

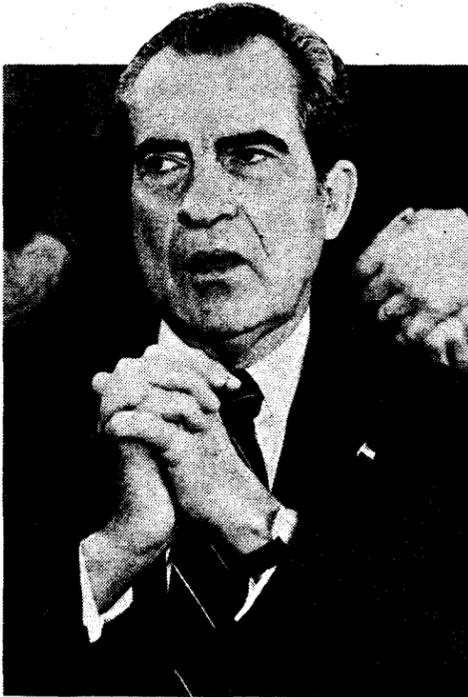
Labor, Minorities Need a Fighting Workers Party!

Watergate—Reagangate

The American ruling class has concluded that Ronald Reagan may continue to reign as president, but he can no longer rule. The Tower Commission, originally appointed to "investigate" the operations of a runaway National Security Council, came back with a damning report that in diplomatic language indicted the entire administration. "Chaos" had descended on the White House, the president "didn't understand" what was going on in the Iran/contra affair, the "legal underpinning" for the arms shipments to Teheran via Israel was "at best highly questionable," and the whole "private" contra supply operation run out of the NSC was an elaborate attempt to get around a Congressional prohibition. Above all, the Reaganauts' schemes, each more bizarre than the next, failed miserably. The Commission ludicrously called the whole business an "aberration." But all wings of the bourgeoisie agree that drastic measures have to be taken to clean up the mess.

The United States, which proclaims itself leader of the "Free World," has been made a laughingstock, and ever since the scandal broke, paralysis has set in. European imperialist allies refer to the "black hole in Washington." Under the headline "Wanted: a Leader," the *Los Angeles Times* (13 February) editorialized on behalf of the American bourgeois establishment: "Someone needs to seize control of the White House, and there is just one person who can do it: Ronald Reagan." But Reagan evidently can't, and that puts U.S. rulers in a dilemma. On CBS' *Face the Nation* news program, former Democratic Senator Edmund Muskie spoke for all three panel members, saying they were

Imperial Presidency in Crisis

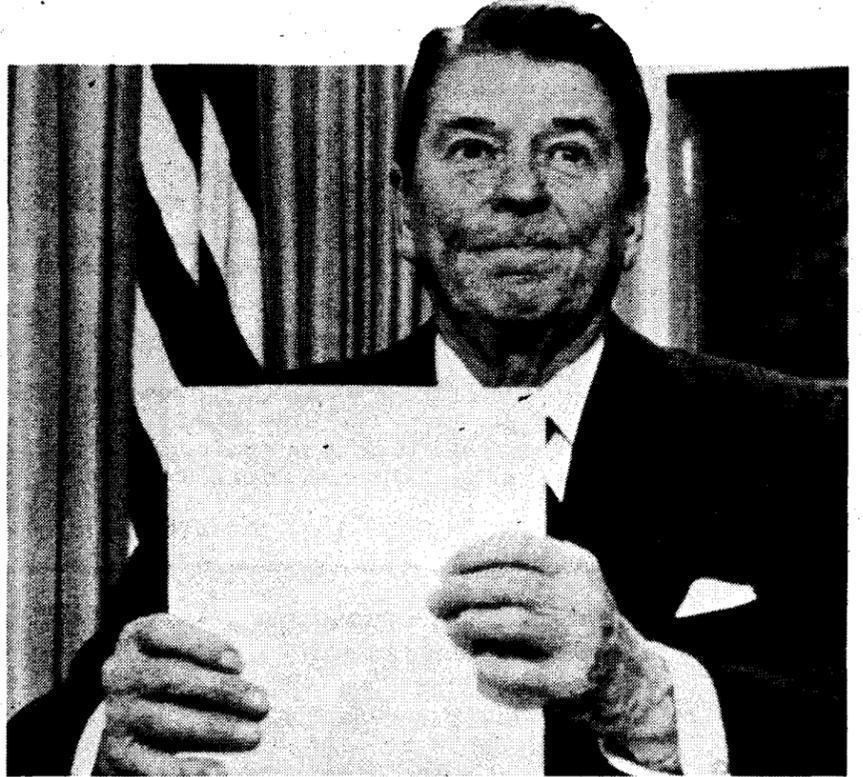


Actualidad Española

Tricky Dick run out of town. Now it's bedtime for Bonzo.

"appalled by the absence of the kind of alertness and vigilance to his job and to these policies that one expects of a president." Muskie's devastating conclusion: "We do not regard him as a mental case, but we regard him as a person who didn't do his job."

There is an acute political crisis at the pinnacle of U.S. capitalism, which could quickly spread through the imperialist alliance. Yet capitalism will not fall by



Tasnadi/AP

itself, and there are other programs to "solve" the crisis. General Haig has declared his candidacy for president, saying if he is elected "nobody, but nobody, will ever ask you who is in charge" in the White House (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1 March)! And while Reagan's contras are still spreading death and destruction around the globe, the racist terrorists carry out their bloody terror at home—from lynch

mobs in Howard Beach, Queens and Forsyth County, Georgia to night-riding firebombers in Marquette Park, Chicago. But there have also been substantial countermobilizations to KKK terror, including in such unlikely places as Louisville, Kentucky and Maryland's Eastern Shore. With the government in turmoil, now is the time for the working class and oppressed to

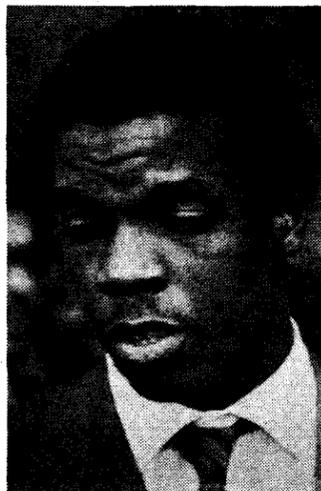
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Black Outrage Over Tampa Choke-Hold Cops



East Tampa burns with black anger against killer cops' murder of black youth, assault on NY Mets pitcher Dwight Gooden (right).

Ledford/St. Petersburg Times



AP

On the night of February 18, Tampa police strangled the life out of 23-year-old Melvin Hair, making him the latest black victim of the wave of racist Klan/cop terror sweeping Reagan's America. A day later, black East Tampa exploded, outraged over the choke-hold murder and a city report released that same day whitewashing the Tampa cops' brutal beating of New York Mets star pitcher and hometown hero Dwight Gooden. Hundreds of black youth fought a running battle with police, hurling rocks and bottles filled with gasoline as numerous fires were set. Cops in riot gear sealed off a five-block area of East Tampa and police helicopters circled overhead. The next night, black Tampa was still burning. Fourteen blacks were arrested on charges ranging from looting to assault.

Melvin Hair's mother had called police to take her son to the crisis center of Hillsborough County, because her son required medication. Police arrived and dragged him down the steps of his apartment building. Betty Johnson, a friend of the family

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Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!

Canada Slams Door on Salvadorans

TORONTO—On February 20, hundreds of desperate Latin Americans, refugees from death squad terror in El Salvador and Guatemala who are now fleeing the U.S. government's racist crackdown on "illegal aliens," found the Canadian border closed by the decree of Reagan's junior partners in Ottawa. Following approval by the U.S. Congress last October of the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration "reform" act, aimed at deporting several million undocumented foreign-born workers, thousands have looked to Canada as their last resort. Facing impossible U.S. requirements for documents, fired by slave-labor employers who have been threatened with stiff fines for hiring "illegals" and looking at the death sentence of being shipped back home, they have been heading to the Canadian *El Norte*. Since the beginning of the year over 6,000 people have applied for refugee status in Canada, close to half of them from Central America. In response the Conservative government in Ottawa rushed through legislation denying entry.

Under the new measures all refugee claimants coming from the U.S. will be sent back until an immigration hearing is scheduled in Canada. That could take months, if not years, and meanwhile hundreds of these "bus people" are backed up in U.S. border towns such as Plattsburgh, NY. The Tory Employment and Immigration Minister Benoit Bouchard claimed that Washington

would not deport refugees seeking asylum in Canada, but American INS Commissioner Alan Nelson declared that individuals "found to be deportable" would be processed accordingly. At the same time Bouchard has de-



WV Photo
Spartacists in Los Angeles demonstrate against racist deportations.

manded documentary proof that all refugees are "genuine"—i.e., that they will be killed if deported.

In March, the government plans to introduce a bill that will limit the stay of refugee claimants in Canada to 72 hours during which time they will be held in

detention centers. All refugees will be deported if immigration officials consider that they "may have had an opportunity" for asylum in another country or even if they "had safe refuge in a refugee camp in some Third World country" ([Toronto] *Globe and Mail*, 21 February).

Some critics have sought to portray Canada's new immigration decrees as a departure from its "humanitarian past." On the contrary, up until the 1960s Canada had a virtual whites-only immigration policy. During World War II they sealed the borders to Jews desperately trying to flee Hitler's concentration camps. But after the war the doors were opened to thousands of Nazi executioners. Last summer, 155 Tamil refugees, fleeing the terror of Sri Lanka and virtual concentration camp conditions in West Germany, risked their lives in a three-week nightmare voyage to get asylum in Canada. Reaching Canadian shores after being rescued from overcrowded lifeboats by Newfoundland fishermen, they were met with a racist backlash whipped up by the bourgeois media and politicians.

A reporter from Ottawa commented: "There is a suspicion that the [Canadian] government's swift reaction to the refugee problem, now that it involves Central Americans, reflects an effort to please the Reagan administration" (WBAI News, 23 February). The campaign against Latin American immigration is closely linked to the fear of

revolution in America's "backyard." Most recently raids by immigration cops on the homes of Tamil refugees in Toronto have driven home the link between the racism and anti-communism which is the heart of the "illegal aliens" scare. After their apartments were ransacked Tamils were warned by immigration officers, "As refugees you should not read communist books" (*Canadian Tribune*, 2 March).

Scandalously, last summer it was Ed Broadbent, leader of the social-democratic New Democratic Party, who demanded a "tougher look at all our immigration procedures" to prevent "abuse" by "quick buck artists." And the Tory government's racist crackdown against Latin American refugees is not going down very well with the public. Demonstrations were held at the Fort Erie "Peace Bridge" border and Montreal churches have provided shelter and advice to refugees in defiance of the legal consequences. There has even been talk of extending the U.S. sanctuary movement's "underground railway" network north to Canada.

At the height of the anti-Tamil hysteria last August, the Trotskyist League of Canada distributed thousands of special supplements of *Spartacist Canada*, headlined "Stop the Racist Backlash! Political Asylum for All Tamil Refugees!" at plant gates, in minority neighborhoods and to unionists at Labor Day marches. Fighting the racist immigration policies of the imperialist party of world socialist revolution to free working people and the oppressed, from El Salvador to Sri Lanka to North America. It is to this task that the international Spartacist tendency is dedicated. ■

Letter

How ILA Backed Down Jim Crow

Oakland, CA
1/6/87

Dear comrades,

WV's recent article on the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) in WV 417 was excellent. The following story is another example of the ILA's key role in the fight against Jim Crow racism in the South.

In the summer of 1965, I was in Gulfport, Mississippi doing civil rights work with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The Longshore union literally stood between us and racist violence.

One of SNCC's main activities was fighting to integrate restaurants, which refused to serve blacks. Our method was to enter a popular coffee shop with an integrated team and try to get served.

After we were denied service, we organized several hundred demonstrators and picketed the restaurant daily. And each day a larger mob of racists surrounded us, spitting, shoving and screaming obscenities.

In the midst of this escalating situation, the black Gulfport ILA local intervened. They had a meeting with the mayor and Chief of Police. They laid down the line saying if any of us were arrested or injured, the ILA would strike and shut down the port.

It worked! Not only were we not arrested or beat up, but the restaurants began to serve blacks. It was an impressive demonstration of how the power of labor could be brought to bear on the struggle for black liberation.

Comradely,
Diana C.



TROTSKY

Celebrate International Women's Day!

Seventy years ago, on International Women's Day, 8 March 1917, the women textile workers of Petrograd led a demonstration of 90,000 that signaled the end of 300 years of tsarist autocracy and the beginning of the Russian Revolution. On the second anniversary of the Soviet victory Lenin reported what that revolution meant to women:



LENIN

In the course of two years of Soviet power in one of the most backward countries of Europe more has been done to emancipate woman, to make her the equal of the "strong" sex, than has been done during the past 130 years by all the advanced, enlightened, "democratic" republics of the world taken together.

Education, culture, civilization, freedom—all these high-sounding words are accompanied in all the capitalist, bourgeois republics of the world with incredibly foul, disgustingly vile, bestially crude laws that make women unequal in marriage and divorce, that make the child born out of wedlock and the "legally born" child unequal and that give privileges to the male and humiliate and degrade womankind....

Down with the liars who speak about freedom and equality for all, while there is an oppressed sex, oppressing classes, private ownership of capital and shares and people with bursting bins who use their surplus grain to enslave the hungry. Instead of freedom for all, instead of equality for all, let there be struggle against the oppressors and exploiters, let the opportunity to oppress and exploit be abolished. That is our slogan!

Freedom and equality for the oppressed sex!

Freedom and equality for the workers and labouring peasants!

—V. I. Lenin, "Soviet Power and the Status of Women," November 1919

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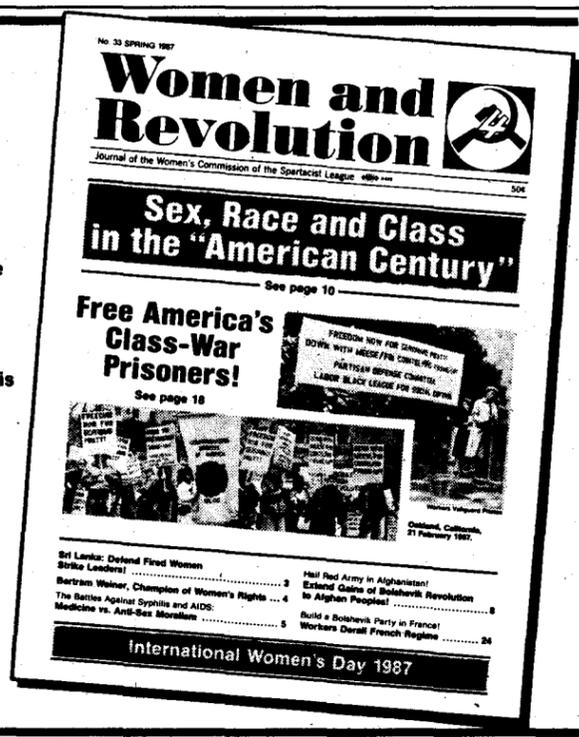
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Angry Protest Over Murder of Black Grandmother

NYC Killer Cop Sullivan Walks

On February 26, more than 150 angry protesters, overwhelmingly black, demonstrated outside Bronx Supreme Court after killer cop Stephen Sullivan was acquitted in a racist sham "trial." Sullivan was the triggerman in the 1984 eviction-by-murder of black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs. Before announcing the verdict, Judge Fred Eggert ordered cops to eject supporters of the Eleanor Bumpurs Justice Committee who protested the exclusion of hundreds of blacks while white off-duty cops packed the spectators' seats. As the protesters were carried out, the crowd jamming the hallways chanted, "We say guilty!"

Inside the courtroom, the cops erupted in applause at the "not guilty" verdict. An elderly black man shouted out "Heil Hitler!" Mrs. Bumpurs' daughter Mary later summed up the "trial": "If you're black get back. You have no rights." In the demonstration, Spartacist supporters' signs proclaimed, "Vengeance for Victims of Koch's Killer Cops!" "Jail Killer Cop Sullivan! Vengeance for Eleanor Bumpurs!" "Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive Fuels Racist Lynch Mob Terrorists!" and "Remember Michael Griffith and Willie Turks! Gun Control Kills Blacks!"

The courthouse, in the black and Hispanic South Bronx, was an armed camp. Hundreds of cops ringed the block and manned nearby rooftops; a police helicopter hovered overhead.



Protest outside Bronx courthouse February 26; Vengeance for Eleanor Bumpurs! Jail Killer Cop Sullivan!

Hundreds of additional police waited at nearby Yankee Stadium. Civilians entering the courtroom were screened by metal detectors and police dogs sniffed for explosives. This blatant assertion of "police power," of cop bonapartism, has marked the case from the beginning. In February 1985, when Sullivan was first indicted, 10,000 armed NYPD cops surrounded the courthouse—an ominous armed demonstration against any civilian control over the killer cops and their guns.

The police have taken the verdict as a license to kill. Sullivan went on TV and vowed he'd do it again, while PBA president Phil Caruso crowed Sullivan was just "doing what he's paid to do." (Caruso also claims the recent ban on hog-tying prisoners is a violation of the PBA contract.) And two days after the killer cop walked they did it again, as eight cops cornered a black Muslim they said was carrying a lead pipe at 125th and Lenox in Harlem, and cut him down in a hail of bullets.

Wilford Harewood

Black Teacher's Home Firebombed

Chicago Elections and Racist Terror

CHICAGO—As the white Machine Democrats whip up racist opposition to black Democratic mayor Harold Washington, they have inspired a wave of terror against blacks on the Southwest Side. On February 17, nightriders firebombed the home of black schoolteacher Dorothy Stirus, who narrowly escaped with her life. Stirus told *WV* she was watching TV in bed when she

aggravated arson and let out on the streets with incredibly low bail. Police initially labeled this attempt at racist murder as a "random act of vandalism"! The night before Stirus' home was firebombed, a black Washington supporter in Marquette Park returned from an election rally to find his home defaced with racist slurs, "KKK" and swastikas.

These attacks came a week before the Democratic Party mayoral primary, as remnants of Boss Daley's Machine went all out to elect "anyone [white] but Harold." When a few dozen blacks from the South, led by Ben Chavis, came to Chicago on a "reverse freedom ride" to campaign for Washington, former mayor Jane Byrne denounced them as "carpetbaggers," the Ku Klux Klan's language for those who fought for black rights during Reconstruction. Washington won 96 percent of the black vote, and riding on the endorsements of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Sun-Times* (and the support of the LaSalle Street bankers) also captured 21 percent of the white vote. Narrowly defeating Byrne, Washington now faces a Republican college professor (who defeated Spanky the Clown in the GOP primary) and a white Democrat or two running on "independent" slates in the April 7 general election.

Four years ago Chicago blacks had illusions that Harold Washington would change "Segregation City." For many those illusions remain. But this time around Washington's campaign rarely ventured into the projects, "high-rise ghettos" like Cabrini Green and the Robert Taylor Homes. After four years of more racist terror, mass unemployment and police brutality, the lie of "black faces in high places" (cheered on

by the reformist left and nationalists) is harder to sell. "It's just the same old same old," said Cabrini Green resident Charles Smith. In 1983, "we campaigned for Washington. Then we were constituents.... After they won, we became hoodlums, thugs and drifters hanging out in the projects" (*Sun-Times*, 8 February).

Harold Washington and the Democratic Party are and have always been defenders of the racist, capitalist system. Washington spent decades as a kept state legislator, and later Congressman, of Boss Daley's Machine. Today, with the Reagan gang on the ropes, the capitalist rulers of this country depend

Taking their cue from Koch and his killer cops, the racists are increasingly taking to the streets. On February 26, a black family's home in Crown Heights, Brooklyn was firebombed. On February 22, blacks waiting for a bus in Bayside, Queens were chased and shot at by a racist, bat-wielding mob. On February 24, "former" KKK "imperial wizard" David Duke showed up outside City Hall, after grandstanding in front of the New Park Pizzeria in Howard Beach where the lynch mob murderers of Michael Griffith assembled last December 20. Duke is recruiting for his "National Association for the Advancement of White People" and claims dozens of members in the racist Howard Beach enclave. Last month, Duke was in the thick of the attack by hundreds of racists on a civil rights march in Forsyth County, Georgia. New York City is on the verge of a racist explosion and fascist scum like Duke want to light the match.

After Sullivan the cop was turned loose, Roger Warshaw, a spokesman for the Eleanor Bumpurs Justice Committee, said that under slavery the white masters "needed our labor." In 1987, he said, "black people have become a superfluous population." But while unemployment is sky-high in the ghetto, black workers do have power—as a key component of an integrated labor movement. The 37,000-strong Transport Workers Union (TWU), for example, is heavily black, and this city doesn't run without their labor. Militant transit workers in the Committee for a Fighting TWU called for the formation of union defense guards to patrol the streets of Howard Beach, using labor's muscle to make them safe for all working people. The racist terrorists in and out of uniform must be stopped with labor/black mobilizations! ■

more than ever on black Democratic Party mayors like Harold Washington and Detroit's Coleman Young to check social struggle.

The KKK and Nazis have targeted Chicago blacks who break the "color bar" by moving across Western Avenue. The racist terrorists must be smashed by the organized power of labor and blacks, like the CTA transit workers and the 26,000-member Chicago Teachers Union. That same power must also be mobilized to fight the decimation of the industrial proletariat of the Midwest, as "smokestack" industries like auto and steel become rusting hulks. This requires an integrated, class-struggle workers party, forged in struggle against the union tops who keep labor and minorities chained to the Democrat/Dixiecrats and this racist, capitalist system.

The bosses like to call this state the "Land of Lincoln," but in Chicago it's clear that it is necessary to finish the Civil War! ■



WV Photo

Dorothy Stirus barely escaped death in racist firebombing of her home.

heard a crash in the hallway. "I jumped out of bed and ran to the door.... When I pushed the door open I saw flames up and down my hall." Stirus had to jump through the wall of fire to escape: "I didn't stop—I just ran!" The four racist punks arrested were only charged with

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Reagangate...

(continued from page 1)

bring down Reagan through sharp class struggle!

Changing of the Guard

The day after the Tower report was issued, Don Regan was unceremoniously fired as White House chief of staff, informed of the event by a TV announcement of his successor. Regan, who had imperiously insisted on "micromanaging" everything in the White House, was variously referred to as "prime minister" and "the real president." But in trying to get Ronald Reagan out there reading his lines, Regan committed the cardinal sin of running afoul of Nancy Reagan. The First Lady who would be empress had insisted on keeping the president sealed off from the press, even trying to cancel the annual State of the Union speech. She cited medical reasons, and with a 76-year-old Reagan who's obviously not in touch she may have a point. But that doesn't help the imperialist bourgeoisie, which needs a functioning government. And one thing nobody proposes to do is to turn the store over to George Bush.

The appointment of "moderate" Republican former Senator Howard Baker as Regan's replacement was widely greeted with a sigh of relief by mainstream politicians. For a while it had looked like no one would take the job. But the *Wall Street Journal* (2 March), reflecting the forebodings of conservatives generally, was distraught over the "Baker regency," fearing that it could "effectively end the Reagan Doctrine,"



FitzPatrick/White House

McFarlane, Casey, Regan—the gang that couldn't lie straight.

nominee to head the CIA withdrew. As you can imagine, it's no easy job to find replacements: the only man they could find for Buchanan's job turns out to have been a member of a Nazi youth group. Meanwhile, North's secretary Fawn Hall is decidedly no Rosemary Woods; after vowing not to shred-and-tell, she's now talking to the special prosecutor in exchange for immunity from prosecution.

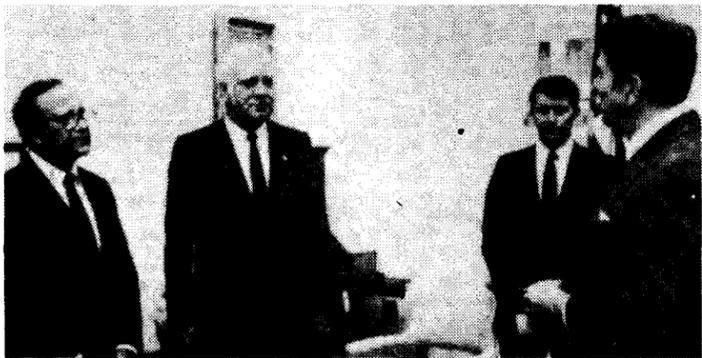
As the U.S. administration unravels, the turbulence in Washington is sending shock waves through the U.S.' "Free World" allies and surrogates. The split in the Nicaraguan contras reflects divisions between the State Department and the CIA...and the fact that the Sandinistas have won. "After this [Tower] report it's all over," says a U.S. official. "We need to start thinking about evacuating the contras" (*Time*, 9 March). In Britain, arch-Reaganite Maggie Thatcher, herself increasingly unpopular, is on the verge of calling elections. The French government is paralyzed in uneasy "cohabitation," with a rightist premier and "socialist"

Tower Commission's report. When Iran/Contragate first broke, Reagan had called up to thank his "American hero" Oliver North, remarking that the story would make a great film. But in 300-plus pages the Tower report lays out the script for a Laurel and Hardy comedy of errors. Cakes, bibles, pistols, planeloads of missiles listed as oil drilling equipment: the latest revelation was a scheme to ransom a hostage with \$300,000 in chemically treated bills that would disintegrate after a couple of days! That one flopped, too. And while McFarlane/Poindexter/North are quoted disparaging the ayatollahs, the net result is that Khomeini has managed to bring down the Great Satan.

On whether he had authorized the first Israeli delivery of antitank missiles to Iran, Reagan first told the Commission he agreed with former NSC head McFarlane that he had approved it; then (on chief of staff Regan's orders) he denied he had okayed the shipment, and finally he sent a letter saying: "I don't remember—period." Reagan's one attempt to defend himself in public was to ask an audience, who could remember what they were doing on August 8, 1985. This has spawned a new adult trivial pursuit. When the *Los Angeles Times* (1 March) asked musician Frank Zappa what he was doing, he replied facetiously: "I was head of the National Security Council arranging to have arms shipped to Pakistan and Angola and diverting funds through a Swiss bank account in order to shamelessly spend it on the campaigns of my favorite Republicans."

But that whole controversy is beside the point. On 17 January 1986 Reagan signed a secret finding approving arms sales to Iran and ordering the affair kept secret from Congress. And on the contra aid diversion, North writes in a 16 May 1986 memo: "the President obviously knows why he has been meeting with several select people to thank them for their support for Project Democracy in [Central America]." As the PROF computer messages and scores of memoranda show, North reported everything to his chiefs McFarlane and then Poindexter, Regan sat in on virtually every NSC meeting, Shultz and Weinberger knew what they wanted to know, and Reagan knew all (whether or not he forgot it). Who's surprised? Reagan was pushing covert action and vowing to overthrow radical-nationalist Sandinista Nicaragua from the start. It was all blatantly illegal, but worse than that in the eyes of the Tower Commission and the American bourgeoisie, it was "clumsily and amateurishly" carried out, and it failed.

"Project Democracy," or PRODEM, was the code name for the covert program funneling arms and guns to CIA-backed anti-Communist forces around the world, from Nicaragua to Angola to Afghanistan and Cambodia. Tens of millions of dollars were raised from rake-offs on Iran arms sales, contributions from kings and sultans, tax-deductible donations from Texas right-wingers, profits from drugrunning, etc. With some creative accounting these funds were not only used to finance the CIA's Nicaraguan mercenaries, despite the Boland Amendment which for a time banned "direct and indirect" U.S. military aid to the contras; but also to lobby Congress and defeat anti-contra Congressmen in the '84 elections. In the course of it, a lowly



Washington Post

Reagan with contra bosses and North.

the 28 percent maximum tax rate and Star Wars, thus endangering their president's "place in history." Baker was to be the great conciliator, who would orchestrate the cameo appearances of the Great Communicator. But the first day on the job he put his foot in his mouth, referring to Nancy Reagan as a "dragon."

Regan follows former CIA chief Casey, former National Security Adviser Poindexter and Lieutenant Colonel North. Already, Navy secretary John Lehman, deputy defense secretary Nestor Sánchez and White House propaganda boss Pat Buchanan headed for the door while they could still walk out. Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams will be "gone by summer," it's reported, and dozens of other high and middle-level administration officials are emptying their desk drawers. And in order to avoid a "Gatesgate" donnybrook with Congress, the White House

president, battered by mass student protests and then a month-long rail strike that threatened to turn into a general walkout of labor. And Washington's chief NATO ally West Germany is torn between wanting an arms deal with Soviet leader Gorbachev and fears that an agreement to eliminate medium-range missiles could lead to a U.S. pullout from Europe.

As the American political superstructure totters, the falling debris can't help but shake the economic house of cards on Wall Street. This administration, after all, is more closely identified with Big Money than any other in decades. And while the stock market has been soaring, it could quickly plummet—looking curiously like Reagan's ratings in the opinion polls. Swindling is rampant: the Boesky and "Yuppie Five" insider trading scams have been tracked to the top levels of the most prestigious brokerage houses. Billions are going into junk bonds as takeovers drive out productive investment. Added to the mammoth U.S. budget deficit and Latin American bank debt, this spells a disaster waiting to happen. Any financial shock could bring it all tumbling down. *Time* (9 March) warned that because of the mountain of debt, "in the event of recession... the resulting bankruptcies and attendant hardships would probably be more severe than during any downturn in recent memory."

Demise of the "Reagan Doctrine"

"If this report had been written by Robert Ludlum, it would make the fiction best seller list overnight. It's a report about a President out of touch and a President out of control." That was one Congressman's reaction to the

colonel put the arm on King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, threatened President Arias of Costa Rica to cut off U.S. aid, ordered the U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica to organize a united contra "Southern Front," and much, much more.

As the White House ran its private wars, lying to Congress and hiding much of the facts from the Cabinet as well, the *New York Times* (2 March) concluded: "Frustrations with democracy, it seems, led President Reagan to turn his National Security Council into a secret government." Former NSC head McFarlane said at one point to North: "If the world only knew how many times you have kept a semblance of integrity and gumption to US policy they would make you Secretary of State. But they can't know and would complain if they did—such is the state of democracy in the late 20th century." The Reaganauts set out to slam the Soviet "Evil Empire" up against the wall, roll back the Nicaraguan Revolution, restore the "American Century" and "avenge Vietnam." They were going to "save democracy" from the State Department, the Pentagon, Congress and the American people.

But the "Reagan Doctrine" didn't work, because the contra scum are losers—they have been smashed on the battlefield in Nicaragua. U.S. imperialism got its ass kicked in Indochina, and most Americans don't want to see the body bags coming home in another mad Third World military adventure to put a gang of rapists and murderers in power. So six years into the abortive "Reagan revolution" the Sandinistas are still there, and Gorbachev has a lot more credibility than the liar in the White House. In fact, over Iran/Contragate the American Congress would like a little *glasnost* (openness) itself. The Tower Commission talked to every living past president and virtually every living former vice president, secretary of state, war secretary, CIA head and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Its modulated but devastating conclusions, therefore, represent the consensus of the U.S. bourgeoisie.

Bonapartism and Democracy

"The President is the ultimate decision maker in national security... We could not long endure exercise of Executive power by committee. A strong Executive with the flexibility to conduct foreign and diplomatic affairs is an essential feature of our form of government," intoned Senator John Tower in presenting the Commission's report. Make the NSC responsible to Congress? No way, they say. A ban on NSC "operational roles"? The trouble with Iran/Contragate in their eyes is that it gave covert action a bad name. The U.S. ruling class wants a strong executive. Their problem is that "effective" presidents have been hard to come by in recent years. Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan were all elected with overwhelming majorities, and all were disgraced or driven from office. So once again, as at the time of Watergate, U.S. rulers are



New York Post

Was Ollie's Fawn Sandinista pawn?

Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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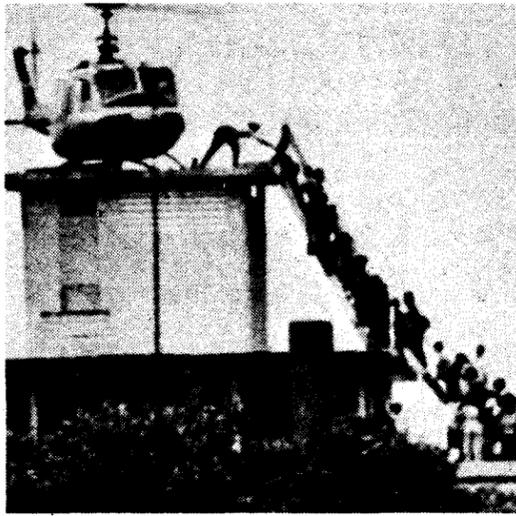
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talking of a crisis of the imperial presidency.

The presidency has always represented institutional bonapartism, a power rising above the elected lawmakers. The American Revolution was, after all, a *bourgeois* revolution, and not the most radical at that. The "founding fathers" took care to construct a government that would enable the executive branch or the courts, as bastions of property, to nullify laws enacted by a popularly elected legislature. A second, upper house of Congress, the Senate, was originally non-elected and intended to give veto power to the much less populous Southern states—i.e., to the slaveowners. The American constitutional historian Charles Beard describes these so-called "checks and balances" as "a government endowed with certain positive powers, but so constructed as to break the force of majority rule and prevent invasions of the property rights of minorities" (Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* [1913]).

The executive branch has been the principal arm of U.S. imperialism in the continual exercise of every kind of mass rapine, butchery and war. Woodrow Wilson engineered America's entry into World War I by concealing that the passenger ship *Lusitania*, sunk by German submarines, was carrying munitions to the British. Franklin Roosevelt prepared the way for World War II with his secret "destroyer deal" to arm England and by pushing Japan to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Truman A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, not to defeat Japan but to send a warning to the Soviet Union, whose Red Army had won the war against Nazi Germany. World War II was the last war Congress ever formally declared. Truman sent troops to Korea as a "police



Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism! Saigon, 1975 (left); Reagan's dogs of war shot down, Nicaragua, 1986.



"moral rearmament" of U.S. imperialism, through his "human rights" crusade directed at the Soviet Union. And then came the "Reagan revolution" which was supposed to "roll back Communism" for real, not merely by beefing up the Pentagon arsenal, but by mobilizing the American masses in a *popular* crusade against the "Evil Empire." Yet Reagan barely got to first base. A passing enthusiasm for the racist rape of tiny black Grenada (where the 82nd Airborne had its hands full with a few hundred middle-aged Cuban construction workers) could barely divert attention from the fiasco of 241 Marines blown up in Beirut. The increasingly frenzied covert operations orchestrated from the White House were a futile attempt to cover up the administration's failure. And now they have brought Reagan's demise.

Impeachment Is Not Enough! For Workers Revolution!

With the ruling class in disarray, the possibility is posed for the working

was endorsed by Democratic Congressman Ron Dellums. The main organizers were a clot of anti-Spartacist renegades around one Bob Mandel and the extended Mandel family; his former buddies of the "External Tendency" (now "Bolshevik Tendency") tailed along with this mini popular front. In contrast, 12 years ago, at the height of the Watergate crisis, the Spartacist League said:

"Socialists should support a congressional move to impeach Nixon. But impeachment is not enough!... The fight to remove Nixon must become a fight not to replace Nixon with Gerald Ford, but a fight to replace the rule of capital with a workers government!" [emphasis in original]

—"What Labor Should Do About Watergate," *WV* No. 34, 7 December 1973

And what is one to make of the absurd demand raised by the Workers League (WL) of the dubious David North (no known relation to Oliver), for an AFL-CIO inquiry into the Iran/contra affair? Lane Kirkland & Co. are loyal lieutenants of American capital-

journalists to contra bases in Honduras, and toured contra leaders in the U.S. It is now reported that PRODEMCA has received an undisclosed amount from Carl Channell, the Contragate PR man who received millions in rake-offs from Oliver North's Iranscam money.

A few short months after Reagan came to power, he busted the PATCO air controllers union. This top-paid, overwhelmingly white union was one of the very few labor groups to endorse Reagan, yet they saw their leaders led away in shackles like slaves in the antebellum South. This strikebreaking gave the green light to bosses around the country who went on a rampage of takeback union-busting, including the deliberate murder of strikers on the picket lines. But now the Reagan gang is on the run, and the workers and oppressed of America face a weak and isolated regime. Though *no one* in the bourgeoisie is talking impeachment, according to the polls fully a third of the U.S. population think Reagan should "consider" resigning! Now is the time to hit back, while they're down. But that requires, first and foremost, a fight to dump the labor lieutenants of Reagan's counterrevolution and to forge a Trotskyist party that can link the seething anger of the ghetto with the social power of the factory.

And there's not a lot of time. The warships are still off Lebanon. The new National Security Adviser Frank Carlucci is reportedly considering plans for a naval quarantine of Nicaragua, and Reagan (who has predicted Armageddon in our time) still has his finger on the nuclear button. At home, Attorney General Meese demonstrates his appetites for a police state, trying to decree a federal death penalty while effectively abolishing the Miranda (suspects' rights) ruling. And COINTELPRO "dirty tricks" are not just a Watergate memory, as more than 50 break-ins have been recorded in offices of groups opposing U.S. war moves in Central America. The basis is being laid for a bipartisan Reagan regency, with Congress brought into the show. But such a regime would be united on a platform for a rationally orchestrated anti-Soviet war drive, which spells union-busting, mass homelessness, hunger and racist terror at home.

A few days before the Tower Commission report was released, the lead article in *Time* magazine (2 March) began: "On the Day of Judgment, according to ancient religious tradition, all secrets will be revealed and all hidden sins bared.... Some aides went so far as to speculate that, depending on how Ronald Reagan and his lieutenants react, Feb. 26 could turn out to be a secular analogue of Judgment Day." Far from it. For the imperialists—who turned Vietnam into a moonscape, ordered the slaughter of tens of thousands of Central American peasants and wage war on labor and blacks at home—Judgment Day will come when a victorious socialist revolution sweeps away all the Watergaters and Contragaters, the My Lai mass murderers and their rapacious capitalist masters. That's when we will finally open the books to find out the murderous secrets the Tower Commission *didn't* reveal. ■



Spartacist League at PATCO rally (left); Solidarity Day 1981 (above). "AFL-CIA" traitors knife class struggle, aid Reagan's anti-communist crusades.

action" and LBJ fabricated a bogus attack on U.S. ships to get the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. Along the way, the CIA has overthrown a dozen or more elected governments, from Iran to Central America.

The schemes cooked up by Ollie North are no more bizarre than the CIA attempts to kill Fidel Castro, including poisoned cigars and biological agents to make his beard fall out. But the CIA's *gusanos* were smashed at the Bay of Pigs. Above all, the heroic peasants and workers of Vietnam decisively defeated U.S. imperialism, triumphing over superior military force and putting an end to the "American Century." LBJ was driven from office by the Tet Offensive of 1968, which exposed the lie that victory was "around the corner." And it was the bombing of Cambodia, in the course of an increasingly unpopular, losing war, that led to the wiretaps on Washington officials and the Watergate plumbers job that brought down Nixon. He was never charged for his hideous crimes against the Indochinese masses, of course. The sole article of impeachment concerned the Watergate cover-up—i.e., Nixon's crimes against the bourgeoisie. And then a dirty deal was patched up with Ford, the unelected vice president, to let the criminal butcher off with a pardon.

Democrat Jimmy Carter began the

people and oppressed of this country to break politically from the Democrats and Republicans, to forge a class-struggle workers party that can sweep away the lying, murdering, incompetent criminals who are driving America to ruin while oppressing the peoples of the world. But as the spectre of a new Watergate loomed, various reformists raised the call for *impeaching* the president. Communist Party leader Gus Hall, trained in decades of donkey work for the Democrats, declared that the Iran/contra affair was "grounds for impeachment," and urged the "new Democratic majority" in Congress to take this course (*People's Daily World*, 13 November 1986). So what would that bring? George Bush, former head of the CIA, representative of Texas oil interests and one of the more sinister elements in Washington.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, a toxic waste dump of pseudo-Trotskyist grouplets, the ex-Maoist MLP and assorted New Leftovers held a demonstration at Oakland Airport, February 20 around the slogan "Oust Reagan-Bush!" Well, if the Republican president and vice president go, that puts the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Democrat Jim Wright of Texas, next in line! Not surprisingly, the ten slogans of the demonstration included no criticism of the Democrats, and it

ism, who have proved their loyalty to the class enemy by fronting for CIA union-busting operations abroad and sabotaging strikes at home. From the beginning, the "AFL-CIA" tops have maintained a conspicuous silence about this affair that has shaken the anti-labor Reagan government to its roots. The reason is not hard to find: the anti-communist labor fakery are getting more than moral encouragement from the network spawned by Oliver North.

When Ronald Reagan proclaimed "Project Democracy" in 1982, it included a publicly funded arm, the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). Prominent on the NED board of directors are AFL-CIO chief Kirkland, American Federation of Teachers head Albert Shanker, Democrat Walter Mondale and right-wing union-buster Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah. Of the \$18.5 million disbursed by the NED in 1985, some \$11.5 million went to the AFL-CIO and its Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI), notorious for its role in CIA schemes to wreck militant labor unions around the world. Closely intertwined with the AFL-CIO's "free trade union" outfit is PRODEMCA, a "private" fundraising outfit heavily involved in Oliver North's scams. PRODEMCA has channeled NED dollars to the internal contra organ *La Prensa* in Nicaragua, paid for tours by

Spartacists Sue "Accuracy in Academia"

AIA: Reagan's McCarthyites

The Spartacist League is suing "Accuracy in Academia, Inc." (AIA), its executive director Laszlo Csorba III and Reed Irvine, founder and chairman of AIA, for willful, false and deadly accusations against our organization. Irvine is notorious as the head of AIA's parent organization, Accuracy in Media (AIM), which specializes in character assassination of liberal journalists while braying about a supposed Red Menace in the American mass media. The legal papers charging Irvine personally and as a representative of AIA were served on the morning of February 13, as this professional witchhunter entered ABC studios to discuss his brainchild, *Amerika*—the 14-1/2 hour, viciously anti-Soviet soap opera which just bombed in America.

An AIA pamphlet authored by Csorba, titled "Appeasing the Censors: A Special Report on Campus Free Speech Abuses," touted by nationally syndicated columnists as an "authoritative" report on leftist student activity, makes the following statement: "Their publications (*Workers' Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus*, and *The Spartacus* [sic]) urge 'military victory' for the communists in El Salvador, and the killing of police officers." As any reading of Spartacist publications would quickly and clearly expose, the charge that we urge the killing of police is a *total and lethal lie*. Police have a way of *killing* people tagged as "cop-killers." AIA's attempt to equate our forthright Marxist politics with terrorism is a conscious and deadly smear. In defense of our members and supporters we intend to mobilize every moral, political and legal resource at our disposal to bring these Big Liars to task and fight this "libel that kills."

We in the Spartacist League are by no means the first or only targets of Irvine/Csorba's poison pens. As "Big Brother" to the media with his platoon of "Little Brothers" in the nation's classrooms, Irvine is dedicated to red-baiting frame-ups and McCarthyite purges of *any* radical or liberal academic or journalist who deviates from the ultrarightist Reaganite "ethic." AIA has compiled a hit list of some 10,000 alleged Marxists and 35,000 liberal professors to harass in an effort to make them conform to its reactionary social agenda, or else drive them out of public life. AIM has successfully forced the transfer or firing of liberal journalists deemed soft on communism by red-basher Irvine, intimidating others from expressing their views. And already AIA's "Appeasing the Censors" has found its way into the *New York Post* (9 October 1986) and the *Chicago Sun-Times* (14 October 1986).

Reed Irvine's AIA and AIM are the living embodiment of what we've described as "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." AIA/AIM are the ideological shock troops for the Reagan/Meese



CovertAction

AIA/AIM "Big Lie" witchhunters Reed Irvine and Les Csorba, with assault rifle. Their Dartmouth Review cohorts launched terrorist sledgehammer attack on "shantytown" (bottom) occupied by anti-apartheid activists.



California Aggie



Peter Blakely

government which seeks to criminalize labor, black and leftist protest, equating dissent with "treason." But today's witchhunters have a problem. The fact is that no major architect of bloody American imperialism from Jeane Kirkpatrick to Cap Weinberger can set foot on a college campus without evoking a storm of protest. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has more credibility with the U.S. media than Ronald "what did I forget and when did I forget it" Reagan. 1950s-style red scares just don't pack the same wallop these days with a population that's increasingly alienated from a government widely despised as a gang of bumbling, incompetent, war-crazed liars.

Unable to win the "hearts and minds" of Topeka, much less Harlem, today's McCarthyites aim not to convince the public but to silence them through intimidation, branding political opponents as "terrorists" to whom rights and due process do not apply. It is in this context of a bonapartist solution to the "Vietnam syndrome" that AIA/AIM's dirty tricks and slander must be understood. As Reagan & Co. revved up the anti-Soviet war drive, AIA's role has been to undertake a *pre-emptive first strike* against political protest.

Tearing a page from the notebook of Hitler's propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels, Irvine's main weapon is the Big Lie. Bill Moyers, formerly at CBS and one of AIM's prime targets, noted that Reed Irvine "is to accuracy in the media what Cleopatra was to chastity on the Nile" (*CovertAction*, Spring 1984). AIA offers no substantiation or proof for their deadly slander against the SL, the lie that we supposedly urge "the killing of police officers," because there isn't any, and there *can't* be any. Any reading of our press, any examination of our program and actions would show such advocacy to be at total variance with all that we stand for.

Furthermore, a review of our successful legal challenges against similar attempts to falsely brand our Marxist political organization as "violent," "terrorist" or conspiratorial would also give pause: we have fought *and won* retractions of such smears from the California Attorney General in 1979, from the Moon organization's *Washington Times* (which both Csorba and Irvine write for) in 1983, from the FBI in 1984 (see "A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!" page 7). As we shall show, AIA/AIM are directly and intimately linked to these same govern-

mental and ultrarightist forces, making it very difficult to believe that AIA/AIM could be ignorant of these cases.

In the pursuit of our own democratic rights, the SL is fighting in the interests of every unionist, every campus protester, every perceived political opponent of this reactionary government. Csorba's "Appeasing the Censors" goes after the Spartacus Youth League for a protest against Marine recruiters at the University of California/Berkeley in January 1985. In that incident Spartacist youth activist Guillermo Bermúdez was seized by a campus cop in a deadly choke hold, then slapped with a phony charge of "assaulting" a police officer. But the AIA doesn't mention this, or that the charges against Bermúdez were dismissed more than a year later—a victory that gave a black eye to the Reaganite witchhunters. The AIA's libel against us is part of an operation to repress *all* who would protest the criminal policies of the U.S. government.

Big Brother and Big Bucks

Historically, every mobilization for imperialist war has had as its domestic reflection an anti-red, anti-labor, anti-black reaction. Going after the perceived "opinion makers" in the media and elite universities, too, was an integral part of the McCarthyism of the 1940s and '50s. Irvine has all the crudeness, belligerence and methods of witchhunter Joseph McCarthy, though he lacks the prerogatives of the Senate. Through organizations like the World Anti-Communist League he "networks" aging Nazis, East European fascists and their very powerful disciples running death squads and contra terrorists on five continents. It's both ominous and logical that Irvine & Co. get a hearing in the seats of power. When Reagan placed a wreath on the graves of Nazi SS killers at Bitburg, the message was clear: to revive Hitler's war against the "Bolshevik menace." And we know what Hitler's anti-Soviet war drive meant for labor, Jews and other minorities in Germany, not to speak of accuracy in the media.

AIA/AIM are part of the Reaganauts' domestic war to regiment the American population into acquiescence to the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. In an article entitled "The Rise and Decline of Accuracy in Media," the *Nation* (13 September 1986) basically dismisses Irvine as a "paper tiger." Like all liberals who believe in the eternal strengths of a "free" America they write off AIA/AIM as just the "lunatic fringe." But Irvine and Csorba are more than just ideological witchhunters. They're sinister Oliver Norths on the home front, reflecting the "privatization" of the drive for counterrevolution from Nicaragua to Afghanistan. It's privatized McCarthyism.

The biggest corporations in the U.S. make their tax-deductible contributions openly to AIM, not the Aryan Brotherhood which is a genuinely fringe, openly fascist outfit. This is because, distasteful as even some right-wingers find Irvine, the bourgeois establishment knows that they need their "new McCarthyites." As documented in *CovertAction* (Spring 1984), AIA/AIM's financial backers span the gamut from the main players in Watergate (Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew, Bebe Rebozo, Maurice Stans) to ex-CIA chief William Casey. Other contributors include the loaded dowager

Washington Inquirer
28 May 1982

The Letelier Legend Lives On

Reed Irvine
Accuracy in Media

Accuracy in Media



Wheeler/Washington Post

The smear in the service of the gun: Irvine disinformation in wake of Letelier assassination.

Claire Booth Luce, Texaco, Good-year Tire and Rubber Co., Reader's Digest Foundation, Exxon USA, Chevron, Union Carbide, IBM, and the labor-hating right-wing beer magnate Adolph Coors.

AIM represents and is backed by right-wing CIA dirty tricks specialists and "retired" generals who map out "Seven Days in May" coups—with the forces to back them up. AIM contributor Richard Mellon Scaife, an old hand at creating and maintaining CIA propaganda fronts, has bankrolled AIM to the tune of a cool half million bucks. AIM co-founder Bernard Yoh was an adviser in counterinsurgency techniques to U.S. puppet Ngo Dinh Diem in Vietnam, 1955-62. He was a conduit for CIA funds to operations in Vietnam, an adviser to Generalissimo Franco in Spain, to the South Korean and Philippines dictatorships, a stalwart backer of Moon and contributor to the Moonie *Rising Tide*. Robert Moss, a notorious disinformation mercenary who was the author of the first open call for a coup in Chile, run on the front page of a CIA-funded magazine in March 1973, now writes fundraising pitches for AIM.

These links, but the tip of the iceberg, cast a certain light on AIA/AIM's unbridled enthusiasm for the international contra scam and the methods for liquidating political opponents they'd like to bring home. One of Les Csorba's personal heroes is the kill-crazy Salvadoran ultrarightist Roberto D'Aubuisson, nicknamed "Blowtorch Bob" for his preferred method of interrogation. In 1984 Csorba traveled to El Salvador on an all-expense-paid trip by the



Meiselas/Magnum

Laszlo Csorba's idol: Salvadoran death squad leader "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson.

Council for Inter-American Security—a D.C. think tank which according to NACLA's *Report on the Americas* (July/August 1986) last year promoted nationwide tours by Nicaraguan contra spokesmen. Csorba's Central American "vacation" included participating in a search and destroy mission with the elite Atlacatl Brigade and posing, rifle in hand, with government soldiers. Csorba was also listed as a contributing writer for *Freedom Fighter*, a publication which sends readers who donate \$20 or more a spent brass rifle cartridge recovered from a battle between the FDN and Sandinista troops.

Irvine himself was involved in the "re-assassination" through disinformation of Chilean exile Orlando Letelier and his assistant Ronni Moffitt. After the former Allende cabinet minister and ambassador was blown up by Pinochet agents in downtown Washington, D.C. in 1976, David Atlee Phillips' Association of Former Intelligence Officers began circulating papers supposedly found in Letelier's briefcase, claiming that Letelier was a Cuban agent (and thus presumably deserved his fate). When even the FBI determined that this story was a total fabrication, Irvine charged the FBI with a cover-up. According to *Covert Action* (Spring 1984), Irvine wrote more than 55 stories on this case. It's a model of the AIM method, the smear in the service of the gun.

Perhaps his admiration for Pinochet's junta is where Irvine developed a fond-

ness for book-burning. Professor Linda Arnold, a historian at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, entered AIA/AIM's cross hairs because she assigned Howard Zinn's *The Twentieth Century* as a text for her introductory courses. The book and Zinn himself are on AIA's "blacklist" for portraying "American heroes" such as Henry Ford and Douglas MacArthur as "villains." Professor Arnold received a phone call from Reed Irvine. "We ended up arguing for an hour, mostly about Zinn's book. Three times he asked, 'Don't you think the book should be burned?' I said I'm against book burning" (*Nation*, 5 April 1986).

Is Little Brother Watching You?

AIA began its campaign in August 1985 with a nationwide network of student and non-student finks at 160 colleges and universities to harangue professors, complain to the administration, solicit letters from right-wing politicians against these professors and otherwise try to stifle teachers from expressing their views. AIA describes itself as a "vibrant new movement that has leftist academics shaking in their sandals." Within this bit of humor lies the true purpose of AIA.

"Appeasing the Censors" represents a new twist in AIA's tactics to witchhunt faculty. The pamphlet retails vicious smears against left groups, including not only us but InCAR (International Committee Against Racism) and CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), in order to isolate the left and scare professors from association with such groups. It seeks more broadly to charge liberal faculty members and allegedly complaisant administrators with providing a protective milieu for the left—just like the '50s McCarthyite accusations of "comsymp" and "dupe" were designed to intimidate and silence liberal opinion. Generalized fear and isolation were key to the success of McCarthyism, as expressed in an old joke. A liberal professor is attacked by a right-wing mob as he leaves campus. Turning to his attackers, the professor says, "Wait, I'm not a communist, I'm an anti-communist!" The mob leader responds, "We don't care what kind of communist you are," and pummels him to the ground. But the fundamental and widespread unpopularity of the Reaganauts' war drive is hardly fertile ground for AIA, hence their increasingly frantic efforts and bigger lies.

"Appeasing the Censors" adopts the Orwellian line of the Reagan administration that those who protest the key architects of U.S. imperialism's international terror have impinged on the "free speech" of the government. But the Bill of Rights is supposed to protect political freedoms for the populace against government censorship and abuse—not the other way around! Csorba makes the ludicrous assertion that "there certainly is no freedom of speech on the larger campuses where radical groups are active in opposing American foreign policy" (emphasis in original). William Rusher, publisher of the *National Review*, put it bluntly in an article in AIA's *Campus Report* (September 1986): "The academy is almost the last sanctuary remaining to the American left... From that final redoubt they will have to be dragged one day, kicking and screaming." The real life model for this scenario is El Salvador's National University which was shut down at gunpoint in 1980 by D'Aubuisson's pals in the military. A lot of people were dragged out "kicking and screaming"—and never seen again.

Csorba himself got his start at the University of California/Davis, with "Students for a Better America" (SBA), a prototype of AIA. Csorba's target was Saul Landau, an outspoken critic of U.S. policy in Central and South America who co-authored a book on the murder of Letelier (*Assassination on* continued on page 8

We Beat Back "Terrorist" Smears

A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!

The Spartacist League has a proud record of fighting this dangerous new McCarthyism. In self-defense we have battled the attempt to falsely brand us as outlaws to be shot first and questioned later. Under the banner: "A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!" we have been in the forefront against the attempt by this government and its spokesmen to equate political opposition with violence, criminal conspiracy or terrorism.

FBI Retracts Its "Definition" Slander



WV Photo

The Spartacist League (SPL), a Marxist political organization, was founded in 1966. The historical and theoretical roots of the SPL derive from the early Communist Party, U.S.A. and the Socialist Workers Party. The immediate precursor of the SPL was the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party. The SPL has an official youth section named the Spartacus Youth League.

The SPL was once the subject of an FBI domestic security investigation. The investigation was closed in 1977, however, and it did not result in any criminal prosecution.

In settlement of the SL's lawsuit against the 1983 FBI "Terrorism" Guidelines, the FBI and the Attorney General agreed to change the FBI definition of the SL to exactly what the SL is—a Marxist political organization. The FBI thereby conceded the central claim of the SL's lawsuit, that Marxist political principles and advocacy cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or a criminal enterprise.



WV Photo

Letters

The Labor-Black Mobilization march story

Editor's note: On Nov. 30, 1982, The Washington Times reported that the Labor-Black Mobilization march was a "riotous demonstration. We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day."

The Washington Times

... that through the influence of the Labor-Black Mobilization the Klan was stopped. Neither the SL, the SPL nor any other component of our mass Labor-Black Mobilization demonstration sought, participated in, or condoned any violence against police.

JAMES M. ROBERTSON
National Chairman
The Spartacist League
EMILY TURNBULL
National Secretary
Spartacus Youth League
Washington

Moonies Retract Libel That Kills

The SL lawsuit forced the Moonies to retract their deadly libel against the militant union-backed, SL-initiated demonstration which stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. 27 November 1982.

Deukmejian Retracts "Terrorist" Smear



WV Photo

State of California
Department of Justice
George Deukmejian
Attorney General

P.O. BOX 13387
SACRAMENTO 95812
(916) 322-2430

December 14, 1981

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Pennsylvania Avenue between 9th & 10th NW
Washington, D.C. 20535

Subject: Correction of Department of Justice's Publication

Dear Sir or Madam:

This is to inform you that the inclusion of the Spartacist League and of the Spartacus Youth League on page 11 of the Department of Justice's publication, "Organized Crime in California . . . 1979, Annual Report to the California Legislature, Part 2 Terrorism," was in error.

Very truly yours,
CHARLES E. CASEY
Chief, Bureau of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence

California Attorney General retracted the inclusion of the SL in the 1979 "Terrorism Report" and sent notification to law enforcement agencies throughout the country.

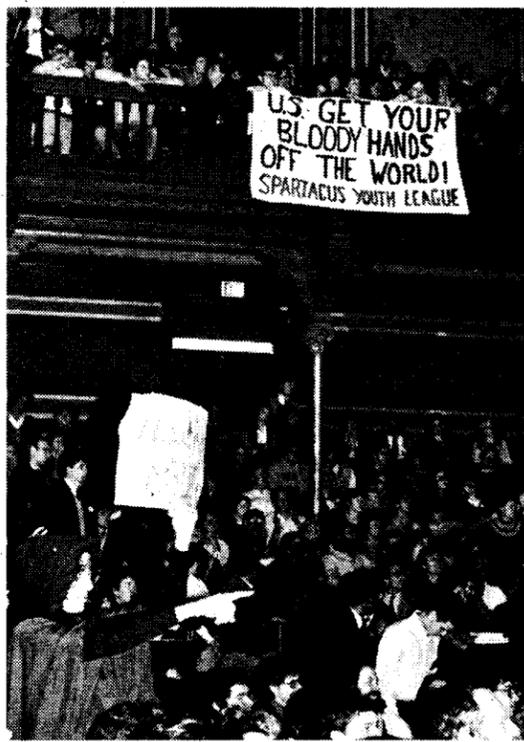
"Accuracy in Academia"...

(continued from page 7)

Embassy Row [1980]). The group's commitment to the "free exchange of ideas" was captured on an SBA placard at a Grenada "victory" rally, "I'd love to kill a Communist." Csorba distributed a flyer against Landau containing information Landau believes was obtained from his FBI files, as well as "quotes" falsely attributed to Landau and Fidel Castro which Csorba lifted from the spy novel *Monimbo* by...CIA operative Robert Moss and witting journalist Arnaud de Borchgrave. Landau filed a complaint with the university's Judicial Affairs office noting, "the provocative nature of the notice could also make me a target for extremists, who might take the aspersion seriously enough to attack me" (*California Aggie*, 22 February 1985). Csorba's malice sparked a HUAC-style probe by conservative Republican senator Richardson who threatened to "raise the issue of Landau's appointment when the state Legislature considers the UC budget" (*California Aggie*, 7 March 1985).

Csorba can't be troubled with adhering to facts or any standards of accuracy. He answers to a higher authority: God. And there's no stopping anyone who thinks he's got a direct pipeline to the Almighty. Still wet behind the ears—pipsqueak Csorba is an '85 UC Davis graduate—he has already been "born again." His own divine revelations provide some insight into his character, or lack thereof. Csorba was quoted in the Christian newspaper, *The Forerunner*, as saying, "I used my prestige and power [while an executive council member in UCD's student government] to manipulate others through election fraud, stealing and misusing student funds. I was a disgrace" (*California Aggie*, 19 April 1984).

Some prominent targets on AIA/AIM's hit list of 45,000 include: Mark Reader, a professor at Arizona State University who describes himself as a "Whole-Earth person" and whom Irvine attacked as promoting "fears of nuclear war"; Terry Anderson of Texas A&M (who is also suing AIA for libel); Bertell



Young Spartacus

ing the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, and the American Association of University Professors which condemned AIA as "clearly inimical to the principle of free expression of views by all members of the academic community." AIA's job is to try to create a social climate through fear and intimidation on campuses so that Klaus Barbie or Heinrich Himmler himself, if only he could be resurrected from the grave, could use the "respectability" of a university platform for their policies without protest. They'd like P.W. Botha to be a featured speaker on race relations at Atlanta University.

The Big Lie: Weapon of the Right

Those who must resort to terror will be found first and foremost in the camp of the dying imperialist system. Brute force, laced with lies, is the only recourse for a system which imposes global wars, starvation and hideous oppression on the peoples of the world. In this country, the bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia bears hellish witness to the bloodthirsty terrorism of the capitalist state. This



UPI

War criminal Weinberger gets the reception he deserves at Harvard, November 1983.

life" movement. In the May 1986 *Campus Report*, AIA ran a prominent fund appeal for the legal defense of these racist assailants with the snide call to support "free speech and free play." Among the backers of right-wing organs like the *Dartmouth Review* are multimillionaire William Simon and "neo-conservative" Irving Kristol, who in 1966 was exposed as an "indirect" recipient of CIA moneys. Simon and Kristol are also major contributors to AIA.

While Csorba hurls his Big Lie at the Spartacist League, baldly and falsely claiming that his inventions appear in our press, he also cites as a source for alleged "disruptive tactics" on our part an article by one Elizabeth Greene which ran in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (12 February 1986). Ostensibly a publication for university administrators and faculty, the *Chronicle* is cited no less than five times in the short capsule smear of the Spartacus Youth League in "Appeasing the Censors." Certainly for a dry, academic journal, the *Chronicle* maintains a hefty international network, with reporters stationed from Cape Town to Helsinki, Eastern Europe to Manila, Managua to Moscow. And while we don't pretend to know who she really is, Liz Greene is no stranger to us.

In an earlier incarnation as a writer for the Columbia University *Spectator*, Ms. Greene was complicit in calling the police against some of our members when they attempted to submit to the *Spectator* an announcement of our successful suit against the Moonies' *Washington Times*—for the same lying charge of urging violence against police that Csorba and Irvine are peddling today. Now Ms. Greene's article surfaces as the source for Csorba. It would appear that young "yellow journalists" in the mold of Claire Sterling—author of that masterpiece of disinformation, *The Terror Network*—are afoot. Certainly the techniques—planting a phony story in a little-known publication, then replaying it for broader circulation as "proof" of the lie—come straight out of the CIA's manuals for black propaganda via the "mighty Wurlitzer" of media manipulation.

The bourgeois media both revile and heed Reed Irvine. *Washington Post* editor Ben Bradlee called him a "retromingent vigilante" (the kind that urinates on himself) but *New York Times* publisher "Punch" Sulzberger meets with Irvine regularly and buckles under to his pressure. Take the AIM operation against *New York Times* reporter Raymond Bonner. Though far from a radical, Bonner's Central America reports didn't always side with the U.S. death squad clients in the region. Irvine went running to Sulzberger brandishing allegations of rad-lib skeletons in Bonner's closet. Then-foreign editor Craig Whitney concluded that AIM "ought to change its name...they

clearly don't know accuracy from a hole in the ground, and maybe a good lawyer ought to take them to court and teach them what libel is" (*Nation*, 13 September 1986). But Bonner was pulled from Managua and transferred to the business desk.

The message was not lost on other journalists covering Central America. An article on the Managua beat in *Esquire* (November 1986) explained the chilling effect: "Several reporters said that sympathetic stories they had written about the Sandinistas had drawn protest letters to their editors from the State Department, letters that might have been dismissed out of hand during Vietnam, but now carried an implicit threat after the Bonner case."

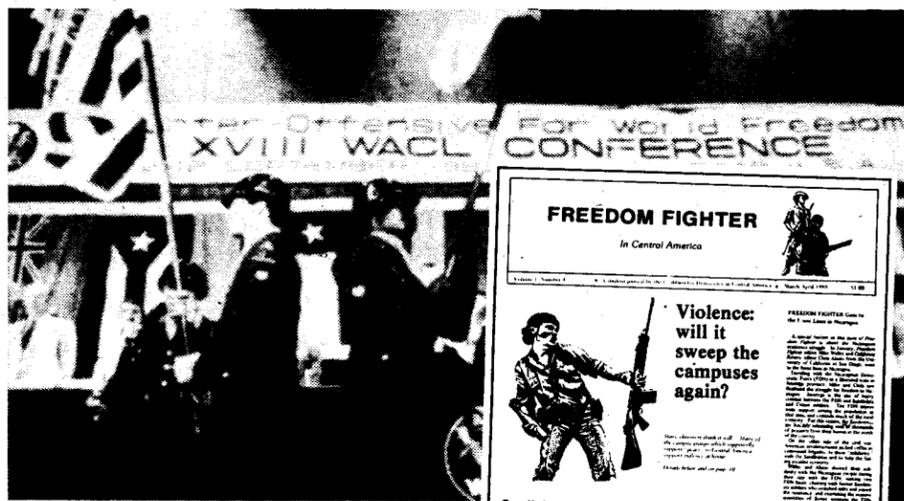
AIM was able to get its hour-long rebuttal to a PBS series on the Vietnam War broadcast by that network. And after ABC aired *The Day After*, a drama starring Jason Robards about the terrible effects of nuclear war set in Kansas, AIM submitted a resolution prior to the corporation's annual meeting "expressing concern that the network's facilities had been used to disseminate Soviet propaganda." Although, according to the *Nation* article, ABC denies that its decision to produce *Amerika* had anything to do with AIM, "Irvine wrote in his newsletter: 'Last November, when "The Day After" was being discussed, a lot of us thought that a movie about a Soviet take-over would be an appropriate counterbalance to the nuclear war scenario that ABC was airing.... I think our pounding on ABC has paid off.'" Irvine says he didn't like the final product, though; he would doubtless have preferred a more upbeat, *Triumph of the Will*-type ending.

Fight the AIA/AIM Witchhunters!

Accuracy in Academia has gone after us in part because they see us as domestic "surrogates" for the forces Reagan is after abroad. We Spartacists are forthright in our unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism. We have actively campaigned to provide material aid to the radical-nationalist Sandinista Nicaraguans faced with the CIA's contra war, Washington's trade embargo and the threat of U.S. invasion. In solidarity with our class brothers and sisters we have led militant protests against those directly responsible for murderous U.S. policy, like Jeane Kirkpatrick. And we will continue this fight to keep the butchers on the run! We stood for the defense of Libya against the Pentagon's terror bombing. In southern Africa, we hail Soviet-backed Cuban troops defending black Angola against the South African army; and we call for the smashing of apartheid, for workers revolution and the establishment of a black-centered workers republic.

Here at home, the definition of "radical" has considerably broadened under the impact of Reagan/Meese's attempted social counterrevolution. Today it could easily encompass those who believe it's all right to read *Playboy*, who don't wish to urinate in a Dixie cup every day on the way to work, who cling to the belief that church and state should be separate, who want their children to be taught science and not superstition. Our Marxist commitment to defending and extending the gains of the Enlightenment means that we are staunch secular humanists and defenders of the right to privacy.

Likewise, our dedication as revolutionaries to black liberation, to the completion of the tasks of the Civil War, has meant that we have uniquely and with success mobilized the integrated labor movement against Ku Klux Klan and Nazi provocations in major urban centers, as in the Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. Because our goal is the emancipation of labor from the chains of capitalist exploitation, we have



Der Spiegel

Irvine in bed with Nazis, Moonies, death squads of World Anti-Communist League. Csorba writes for "campus contra" journal (right).

Ollman, a Marxist who was explicitly denied chairmanship of an academic department in Maryland because of his political views; Mary Karasch of Oakland University in Michigan, because her lectures on Latin American history criticized U.S. policy; William G. Storey, a theology professor at Notre Dame and defender of homosexual rights. AIA/AIM harbor particular venom against Northwestern professor and InCAR supporter Barbara Foley for her commendable participation in a protest against Nicaraguan contra leader Adolfo Calero.

AIA's tactics against individual professors have earned it the enmity of a host of professional associations includ-

state-supported terrorism requires a climate of opinion, one of fear and knee-jerk conformity. Unrestrained use of the Big Lie is indispensable. And that's where AIA/AIM come in.

In the last two years there has been a wave of racist assaults on campuses around the U.S. Most infamous for terrorist violence in the service of reaction were the conservative *Dartmouth Review* staff members who wielded sledgehammers against a symbolic shantytown while it was occupied by anti-apartheid activists. For that, the *Dartmouth Review* has become the darling of the right in much the same fashion as abortion-clinic bombers are the front line of the reactionary "right to

Reagan's Plans for World War IV

American emissaries wing into Tehran disguised as Irish pilots, bringing Khomeini a key-shaped cake (baked in a Tel Aviv kosher bakery), a Reagan-inscribed Bible, a pair of Colt revolvers and a planeload of American TOW anti-tank missiles. Tens of millions of dollars in rake-offs from military sales to Iran by Israeli and Saudi arms merchants are laundered through Swiss and Panamanian dummy companies to purchase Soviet guns for the U.S.' Nicaraguan contra mercenaries. Wierd-o-rama. But while public attention is focused on the National Security Council "cowboys" in the White House, over at the Pentagon secret operations have tripled under Reagan, to more than \$35 billion a year. It's not just running around Central American jungles. They're planning a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union, and their orders (like Oliver North's) come from the top. We've said for some time that this country is being run by a gang of nuclear nuts. Now a series by Tim Weiner in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (8-10 February) on "The Pentagon's Secret Cache" lays it out:

"Under the cloak of black-budget secrecy, the Reagan administration is spending billions on nuclear bombers and millions to train dolphins as underwater saboteurs. It has developed elaborate plans for winning a month-long nuclear war—World War III—and preparing for World War IV. The plans include robots stalking radioactive battlegrounds, satellites orchestrating nuclear attacks and generals speeding along interstates in lead-lined trucks, ordering warheads fired from faraway silos."

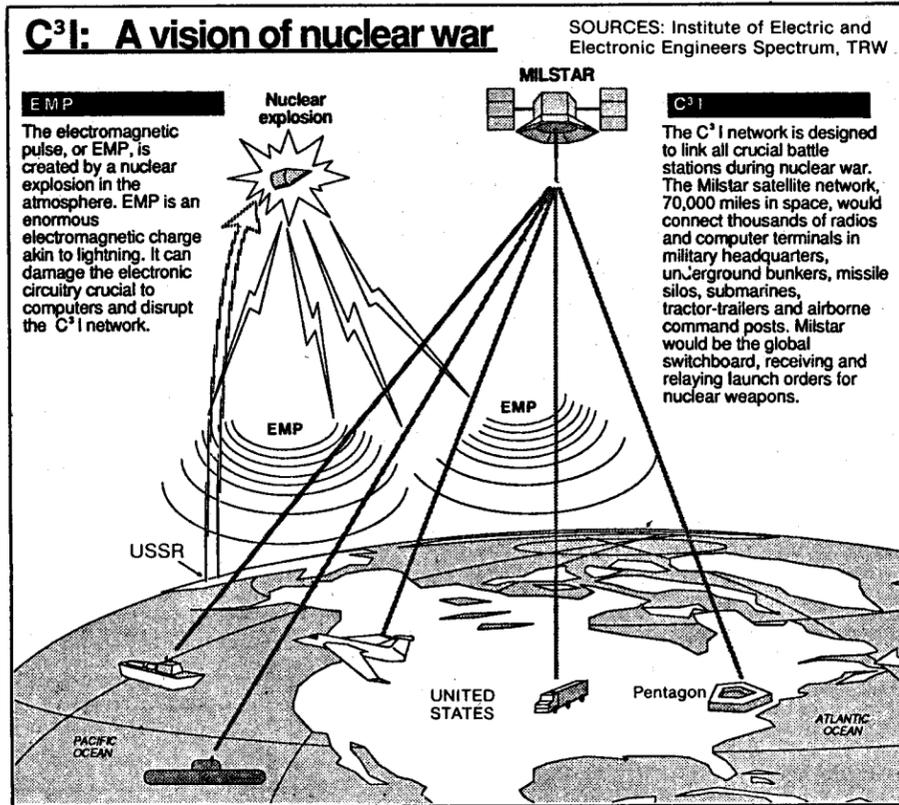
World War Four? You read right. Weiner notes: "Since 1981, shortly after President Reagan took office, the fundamental U.S. defense strategy has been to be able to fight and win a six-month nuclear conflict—World War III—and remain strong enough afterward to strike again." It's all part of the government's plans to wage "limited" and "protracted" nuclear wars, official U.S. doctrine since the Democratic Carter administration. The Reaganites' declared goal is to "prevail... under the conditions of a prolonged nuclear war" and to "force the Soviet Union to seek earliest termination of hostilities on terms favorable to the United States" (from the "Fiscal Year 1984-1988 Defense Guidance"). The key to this strategy is a computerized command, control, communications and intelligence

network ("C³I," pronounced see-cubed-eye in Pentagonese) to orchestrate space satellites and nuclear weapons during and after World War III. And this isn't "Star Wars" fantasy land—a lot of the stuff's already deployed.

The C³I network being deployed by

produced by high-altitude nuclear detonation, which would wreak havoc with communications. At least 50 are already in place.

• Ground mobile command centers, actually 18-wheel lead-lined tractor-trailer trucks, to be used by the president



Pentagon obsession: "command, control, communications & intelligence" to "win" WWIII. Dr. Strangelove was sane in comparison.

the Reagan administration includes:

• The Milstar satellite system (for Military Strategic-Tactical and Relay) designed to transmit launch commands for nuclear missiles from silos and submarines. The first space test of a Milstar satellite was carried out on December 4.

• The Navstar or Global Positioning System satellites, which help guide nuclear missiles to their targets. The satellites also have IONDS (Integrated Operational Nuclear Detector System) sensors to pinpoint nuclear explosions and assess the efficacy of the attack. Navstar is scheduled to be fully operational this year.

• The GWEN (Ground Wave Emergency Network) system of 500 unmanned radio towers designed to withstand the electromagnetic pulse

and/or his generals to continue the nuclear war. Two prototypes have already been built.

• AI (artificial intelligence) robots to pursue the battle in the "enhanced nuclear environment," as the military calls it. The Pentagon's Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency notes that these robots will "not generate discourse"—i.e., they don't talk back.

DARPA's 1987 budget calls for computers to "relieve military personnel in complex decision-making tasks"; former Pentagon missile defense chief Jacob Gilstein is even more blunt: "No human being can enter the real-time decision-making loop and control the system. It has to be pre-programmed with logic so the computer can make the decision and run the game." The popular movie *War Games* depicted a

nuclear war being launched when a computer "game" was connected to the weapons launch system. This is not simply fiction: in mid-1980, Strategic Air Command headquarters in Omaha and the Pentagon's command center went on alert when a single chip failure led the computer to interpret a test message as an actual nuclear attack (Alan Borning, "Computer System Reliability and Nuclear War," *Communications of the ACM*, February 1987). But this real danger of "accidental" nuclear war pales before Washington's plans for a computer-driven nuclear holocaust.

Reagan's secret National Security Decision Directive 13, issued in October 1981, elaborated on Carter administration plans for "decapitation" (i.e., assassination) of the Kremlin leadership. It called for a U.S. capability to control the escalation of a drawn-out nuclear war, force Soviet surrender and preserve sufficient nuclear arms to dominate a post-WWIII world. The stripped-down "Strategic Defense Initiative" being projected for early deployment amounts to a "defense" of remaining American missiles in the wake of a U.S. first strike on Russia. And among Colonel North's first jobs at the National Security Council was installation of computers and high-tech communications equipment, and reviewing "plans for the conduct of an extended nuclear war and the survival of top American officials" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 4 December 1986). You don't see Democratic liberals complaining about that.

For the American ruling class is united in pursuit of its war drive against the Soviet workers state. As the *Inquirer* notes in the concluding article of its series, Congress in the Reagan years has supported U.S. covert actions with hundreds of millions of dollars. And behind Congress' back new super-secret Pentagon outfits were spawned, such as the Intelligence Support Activity, to provide a permanent group to coordinate paramilitary operations. Weiner reports, "Two officers who are said to have participated in the Activity were Lt. Col. Oliver L. North and Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord" of Iran/Contragate fame. From mining Nicaraguan harbors and bombing Tripoli to sending the KAL 007 civilian airliner on a provocative spy mission over the Soviet Union, the war crazies in Washington are toying with blowing up the world. It will take proletarian revolution to sweep away the nuclear madmen. ■

sought to intervene with our class-struggle program and propaganda in working-class battles such as the strike of East Coast longshore workers last October.

AIA/AIM and its fellow travelers subscribe to the right-wing notion that the U.S. lost its dirty, genocidal war against the Vietnamese people because of some conspiracy of "liberal media" and rowdy college kids. So today they want to head off a similar "conspiracy" which might mean losing "the big one"—World War III. It's plenty crazy—but these crackpots wield some influence in a country whose commander in chief "jokes" about beginning the bombing of Russia in five minutes. For the Reaganites, military defeat for U.S. imperialism can only be understood as due to an "excess of democracy" at home. Consider Reagan's response at an April '84 press conference when asked about his position in favor of a declared war in Vietnam. Reagan answered by raving against "the enemy within":

"I said that at a time when it was going on here in our country, in which none of the rules of warfare could apply with regard to lending comfort and aid to the enemy."

—New York Times, 5 April 1984

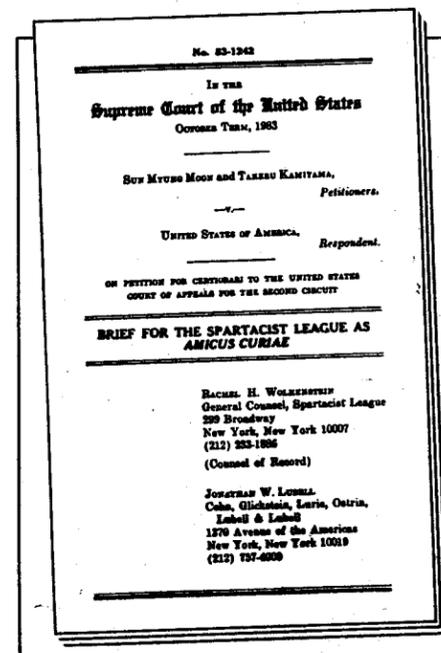
As Richard Nixon used to say, let's be perfectly clear. Reagan was talking

about charges of treason and a wartime mobilization of the police and military to crush antiwar activity.

Reagan and Meese long for a return to the McCarthyite period when millions of Americans were mobilized for war on Communism: recall the ticker-tape parades for MacArthur. Where has

all the confetti gone, Reagan must wonder, as he tries in vain to recover from Irangate, Contragate, Shuttlegate, a cabinet in shambles and a population that sees the White House and their extragovernmental McCarthyite hitmen for the lying, murderous thugs they are. We are confident that many of the

potential victims of the dirty disinformers of AIA/AIM will join us in support of our libel lawsuit. We know, though, that what Csorba and Irvine's murderous libel represents will not be finally defeated until the system which needs it and breeds it is replaced through a victorious socialist revolution. ■

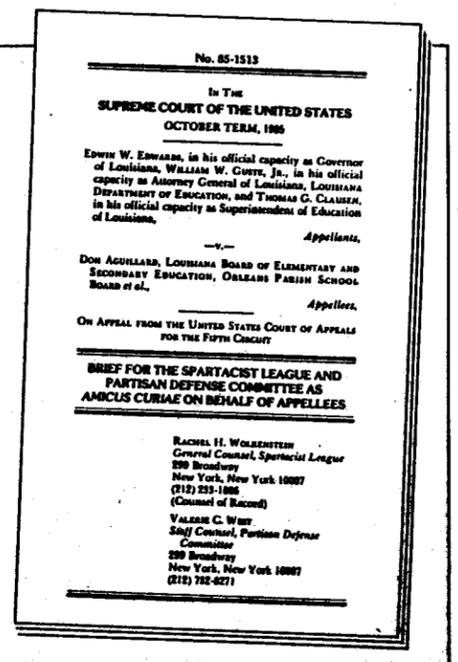


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WV Photo

Black Panthers and Philly black MOVE were victims of Meese/FBI "state terrorism," protesters say.

Pratt Fought for Us...

(continued from page 12)

Now, there obviously should be thousands out here for Pratt today, and there's a reason why there's not. It's not that people don't care, because when we, the Spartacist League, provided revolutionary leadership in Washington, D.C. to stop the Klan in 1982, thousands of working people and black youth turned out. It has to do with the lack of revolutionary leadership within the labor movement and the oppressed minority populations. Because today the labor movement is shackled by a pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy that is totally committed to the capitalist system. It's a wonder that Lane Kirkland and the AFL-CIO bureaucrats didn't help finance that anti-Soviet war-mongering Hitler Big Lie film that's being shown on TV, *Amerika*, since their class-collaborationist program is just as anti-Soviet, just as anti-union, just as anti-black, just as anti-woman as the Reaganite Cold Warriors.

We fight for class-conscious workers to forge a class-struggle revolutionary leadership, breaking workers and minorities from the property parties, the Democrats and Republicans, a leadership that would unleash the power of labor on behalf of all the oppressed. It would fight for the Geronimo Pratts, it would fight for the Johnny Spains, it would fight for the Ramona Africa, for all class-war prisoners. It would demand jobs for all, for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. It would organize the

unorganized, demand full citizenship and union rights for foreign-born workers. And it would struggle for a class-struggle workers party to fight for a workers government.

The black leadership in this country from Jesse Jackson to Lionel Wilson are tied to the parties of the oppressors. After those MOVE adults and children were murdered, what did Jesse Jackson call for? He wanted to make sure a few black businessmen were going to get contracts to rebuild the homes that were destroyed. That is, he wanted a little bit of black capitalism over the graves of those murdered. And I don't have to tell you how Jackson was all over arch-segregationist George Wallace, praising him and saying, "The South shall rise again." It sure as hell is rising again. Like down in Forsyth County, Georgia, where Klan terrorists are rising again while so-called black leaders led anti-racist protesters to that county, like sheep being led to the slaughter. Jimmy Carter is from around there. Remember him? Jimmy Carter, the Democrat, one of his first statements was, I am for ethnic purity, I am for keeping the blacks in segregated neighborhoods, right?

The Russian Revolution established a planned economy and a collectivized property system, and despite its subsequent Stalinist political degeneration resulting from a political counterrevolution, those gains remain and must be unconditionally and militarily defended against imperialism. Those gains belong to us. That revolution was the greatest victory for the international working class and it was the biggest defeat for the imperialists. That's why the bosses hate Russia—and that's why the Klan

BT Provocation Lands in the Mud

Readers of *WV* familiar with the highly dubious nature of the self-styled "Bolshevik Tendency" (formerly known as the "External Tendency") will not be surprised to learn of this outfit's latest provocations at the Oakland rally demanding "Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!"

The BT marched into the crowd in military formation and BT guru Howard Keylor—trailed by a BTER loaded with photographic equipment obviously intending to capture the hoped-for "incident"—shortly proceeded toward the stage. Approaching from the side opposite the access ramp clearly being used by rally speakers, Keylor attempted to leap over some shrubbery onto the stage. Blocked by a rally monitor, Keylor's acrobatics landed him flat on his posterior in the mud. As the rest of the BTers rushed forward to play their part in the orchestrated farce, Keylor then announced that the BT wanted a speaker!

As Spartacist spokesman Al Nelson later told the demonstrators: "This next group, I tell you, is a real test of our very firm belief in workers democracy. Since leaving our organization as individuals five or six years ago, they've since come together as a group whose main purpose in life seems to be to hate the Spartacist League and everything we represent." Nelson explained that prior to

the demonstration the BT had done nothing to support it and that rally organizers had asked the BT for at least a written endorsement of the demonstration's demands. "So they huddled amongst themselves a bit, put something in writing, so we gave them a speaker; that's the way we do things. Also they attempted to donate *one dollar*—that was their whole group's donation today. We told them to stuff it. Somebody once said in the labor movement, it's good to know who your friends are and who your enemies are. So all I can say, folks, is listen to what they say, but hold on to your wallets."

BT speaker Gerald Smith railed against Spartacist "factionalism," the frequent theme of anti-communists. Grotesquely, Smith used this diatribe to rehash the FBI slanders equating Ron Karenga's dubious US organization and the Panthers, blaming US's assassination of L.A. Panther leader Bunchy Carter on "blind factionalism" between the groups. Bunchy Carter was the political mentor and close comrade of Geronimo Pratt, and he was murdered because he was in the government's COINTELPRO cross hairs! In slanderously attacking SL "sectarianism," the BT attempted to use FBI "dirty tricks" to besmirch those who defend the victims of state terror as well as the martyrs who fell in the struggle for black liberation.

doesn't ride in Moscow. Capitalism will surely destroy us—the Reaganites' Star War weaponry is no joke—unless we destroy it, unless we build that mass revolutionary integrated workers party, a Bolshevik party like the one Lenin and Trotsky built in tsarist Russia to lead the working class and oppressed to the seizure of state power, to a workers government, to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The fight for class-war prisoners like

Pratt who stood, and is still standing, in the front lines of the struggle against this system is our fight. He fought for us and now we're using our power to fight for him. This is a very important beginning. It's not a question of one demonstration, but for final victory, labor and its allies must rely only on its own independently organized strength and power in opposition to all wings of the capitalist class. Freedom now for Geronimo Pratt! Free all class-war prisoners! ■

Tampa Cops...

(continued from page 1)

and eyewitness to the police attack, said, "All three of them jumped on him and had him in the neck break or whatever you call it. They were kicking and beating him and choking him." The cop screamed, "I'll kill the black m-f" (*St. Petersburg Times*, 20 February). Johnson and Hair's mother pleaded with the police to stop, but were held at bay by a cop who cocked his gun. Melvin's sister arrived as his limp body was tossed into the squad car. The cops said Hair threatened "four people with a knife," but the Tampa PD now admits he was unarmed.

As black Tampa seethed, the city released a report which blamed Dwight

Gooden for his own beating at the hands of the local cops last December 13. Gooden was driving his silver Mercedes home from a basketball game when he was pulled over by the police and beaten bloody. Taunting him with racial epithets, they went after the superstar's pitching arm, yelling "Hit his arm, hurt it, end his career." The report affirms Gooden was "undoubtedly struck several times by various officers with fists, knees, flashlights and nightsticks," and that a cop "pulled his revolver and placed the barrel under Gooden's chin." They shined a Mag-Lite in his eyes, holding a mock interview: "Dwight Gooden, Action Sports, how are you doing?" and "Our listeners are waiting to hear something. Do you have any comment?" They tried unsuccessfully to apply a choke hold to "subdue him," but Gooden was too strong for them, so he's

alive today.

Nonetheless, the report concludes there is "no evidence" of "intentional police brutality," claiming Gooden instigated the assault by reacting in a "hostile fashion" after being pulled over by the cops. It also asserts race was not a "factor," even though Gooden and his four companions are black and all 22 police involved are white! Facing the threat of a stiff jail sentence which would destroy his professional future, Gooden, now in spring training at St. Petersburg, pleaded "no contest" to felony charges of battery on a police officer and resisting arrest. Not content with this, the racist cops are still pulling him over without cause and staking out his house, Gooden says.

As a pall of smoke hung over East Tampa, Bob Gilder, former Tampa NAACP president, commented, "It's a

war zone down there." And the war on black people won't end after two days of police occupation. The unemployment rate for black youth in the area is 48 percent, Gilder said. With no jobs, no future, these young blacks have been condemned by capitalist society to the refuse heap, and racist cop terror is the means to keep them there. In 1967 the National Guard was called into Tampa to suppress blacks after the cops shot dead a 19-year-old "robbery suspect." Twenty years later, black misery has only increased, as even the modest gains of the civil rights movement are being reversed in the Reagan years.

Democratic mayor Sandy Freedman, the Tampa NAACP and local black preachers appealed for calm and non-violence... and for more black cops. From New York's black police commissioner Benjamin Ward to L.A.'s former top cop, now mayor Tom Bradley, black hands on the nightstick still mean choke-hold murder in the ghetto. But the chain of racist terror *can* be broken, mobilizing the black population in alliance with labor, like the largely black Tampa ILA dock workers. Shutting down the port and local industry to protest the cop rampage would teach some respect to the racists in blue and to the bosses, such as convicted Watergate felon George Steinbrenner, owner of the New York Yankees and the American Ship Building Company in Tampa, who in 1983 shut down his Lorain, Ohio shipyard axing 1,500 jobs in order to bust the union.

Cops out of East Tampa! For labor/black defense to smash racist terror! Hands off Dr. K! ■

A Spartacist Pamphlet 25c

25c (16 pages)

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PDC: Free Geronimo!

The Partisan Defense Committee thanks all who helped build the successful united-front demonstration to free America's foremost class-war prisoner, Geronimo Pratt, in Oakland, California on February 21. The diverse and broad support for Geronimo Pratt reflects the many for whom he fought. The demonstration stimulated new publicity and brought labor support to his case.

This work must be expanded and repeated until the day Geronimo Pratt

walks out of San Quentin a free man. But nothing will give him back the years they've stolen from him. Demand Geronimo's freedom: mobilize your unions and community groups; organize demonstrations; send letters and telegrams; publicize this case and do whatever you can.

Unfortunately there were individuals and groups who placed factional regard above taking a stand for Geronimo's freedom, by refusing to endorse or

attend the February 21 demonstration because of the PDC's accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, and the active role of the SL in helping build this action. In the tradition of the International Labor Defense under the leadership of James P. Cannon from 1925 to 1928, which stood on the anti-sectarian principle of "an injury to one is an injury to all," the Partisan Defense Committee urges labor, socialist, defense and civil rights organizations to support the campaign to free Geronimo Pratt. We, of course, remain ready to coordinate with others to achieve the largest mobilization of

support for Geronimo's cause. Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!

We urge you to send letters and telegrams demanding Geronimo Pratt's freedom to: 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, U.S. Courthouse, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94102; and California State Parole Board, District Parole Office, 759 South Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94110, re: Parole Hearing for Elmer Geronimo Pratt. To continue the fight to free Geronimo Pratt, write to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Pratt Rally...

(continued from page 12)

were among the more than 100 endorsers demanding freedom for Geronimo Pratt, as were former Black Panther Party leaders Bobby Seale, Bobby Rush and Kathleen Cleaver.

Phone workers from Communications Workers of America Local 9410 (San Francisco) came on Saturday carrying their union banner. Messages were read from Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1555 President Hank White, veteran socialist and fighter for black liberation Richard Fraser, the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, and the Ujamaa Society at Atlanta University. Letters to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals from California Assemblyman Elihu Harris and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 Business Agent Joseph Lindsay demanding Pratt's freedom were also read.

Local media covered the demonstration, including ABC-TV's Channel 7. Fellow prisoners of Geronimo Pratt at San Quentin saw the news, calling out to him that his case was on TV. Spartacist spokesman Don Alexander was interviewed on the black radio station KPOO the night before the rally. Both the San Francisco *Chronicle* and *Examiner* publicized the rally, helping to build support for Pratt's case. And it received international coverage, as Radio Moscow broadcast a report on February 24:

"In Oakland, California a demonstration has been held in support of a demand to free Geronimo Pratt and other political prisoners in the United States. A rally after the demonstration pointed out Geronimo Pratt, a leader of the Black Panthers organization, has been in jail for 16 years now, suffering for his political views. He was imprisoned on a frame-up charge."

Radio Moscow noted that other "dissidents suppressed by the United States" include Leonard Peltier and black prison activist Johnny Harris, on Alabama's death row since 1975.

Pratt, a highly decorated Vietnam veteran, was railroaded to prison as a victim of the FBI's COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) murder and disruption operation. He faces a parole board hearing in May and is fighting for a new trial. His 1971 conviction was orchestrated from the highest levels of government. It relied on the "testimony" of an LAPD agent and FBI informer who lied on the stand about his relationship to those agencies. Further, the FBI "lost" wiretaps proving Pratt was 500 miles away in Oakland at the time a Santa Monica schoolteacher (and antiwar activist) was murdered, the crime they framed him for. As former FBI agent Wesley Swearingen testified in 1985, "Pratt was set up."

Jeff Higgins of the Labor Black League declared at the rally, "Geronimo Pratt, unbowed and unbroken, still committed to the cause of the oppressed, is an inspiring model of dignity and determination for decent working people everywhere." Partisan Defense Committee speaker Janet McCullough John added that Geronimo Pratt's "freedom must be the cause of all who



WV Photos

Protesters demand freedom for Geronimo Pratt. Right, Alameda County Supervisor John George addresses rally outside Oakland City Hall.



fight against oppression, not only because of the justice of his case and the crime of his continued imprisonment, but for the memory of his fallen comrades—like Bunchy Carter in Los Angeles, like Little Bobby Hutton, gunned down here in Oakland at the age of 15, not far from where we stand today.... Class-struggle defense means using the power of the working class. It means labor action."

Alameda County Supervisor John George brought the day's stormy weather to bear in his remarks to the rally: "Today is symbolic because the wind was out here today, but it is a wind of change. The rain will come down like justice and we've got to continue this struggle." Frenchie Alford, a vice president of the Oakland Education Association, emphasized the need to continue the fight, saying, "The time is now for the freedom of our brother Geronimo Pratt from the walls of confinement. We must press on to ensure that justice does prevail." Willie Lee Bell, Recording Secretary and Human Rights Chairman of Machinists Local 739, noted that Pratt's frame-up exposed the continuing injustices "perpetrated and manipulated by certain dregs in the dupe Reagan's administration, particularly when he's under sedation.... Each one of us here today could very well be the next victim of a frame-up."

Guillermo Bermúdez spoke for the Berkeley Young Spartacus Club. Spartacist League spokesman Don Alexander stressed the need for "class-conscious workers to forge a class-struggle revolutionary leadership." He noted the Black Panther Party inspired black militants because of their rejection of craven "Uncle Tom" politics, but "as black nationalists, they

despaired of mobilizing the tremendous social power of the organized, integrated labor movement, they were unable to link the struggle in the ghetto to the factories, to the power of the working class.... We, the Spartacist League, call for black liberation through socialist revolution."

For some who came out, the rally was an education. One 18-year-old black woman from the University of California told WV, "The first reason why I came to the rally is because I'm a fan of Malcolm X. I always have believed in the Black Panthers; I always was against Martin Luther King.... I came because it was about the Black Panthers and I would like to learn more about them." Others who braved the rain had experience of working-class struggles, from a Salvadoran phone worker to a Mexican farm worker from Watsonville, where cannery workers on strike for more than a year sent a solidarity greeting. A black

ILWU member told WV he was in Iowa when the Panthers were active in Oakland and admired their work. He contrasted how the government treated the Ku Klux Klan and the Panthers: "They killed Fred Hampton and Mark Clark back in Chicago. I know around Des Moines quite a few of the Panthers were busted on phony charges.... On the other hand you have the Ku Klux Klan, with a long history of killing and murdering innocent people. And yet today their leaders can walk around in perfect safety."

Keep Up the Fight!

The Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League, as well as endorsers like the Spartacist League, built heavily for the rally as part of an ongoing campaign to secure Geronimo Pratt's freedom. Tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed at union meetings and plant gates; pot luck dinners and parties were held to raise money to pay for the rally. The Communist Party U.S.A. and National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression failed to endorse the rally, however. The John Brown Anti-Klan Network was absent as well, reportedly because the Spartacist League was involved. This sectarianism can only hurt efforts to free class-war prisoners like Pratt and many others still behind bars.

But support for Pratt's freedom is growing. At a February 27 press conference in Oakland, former Black Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale urged support for a letter-writing campaign demanding Pratt's freedom. More than 500 people have responded to the PDC's call to submit letters to the Court of Appeals and California Parole Board calling for his release. We urge our readers to take up this urgent cause. Speaking at the February 21 rally, Karen Allen, one of the demonstration's organizers, gave a moving report on her visit with Pratt in San Quentin the day before. When it's over, she said:

"The guards come on the loudspeaker and say 'All prisoners to the rear—all visitors to the gate!' And they rip him away. In the last few moments, you see his eyes, knowing that he's locked up; you're leaving, but he's not. You finally walk out of that prison and you know that man has got to be free, he's got to be outside with us, organizing with us. So he thanks all of you for your efforts. Let's keep fighting!" ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Panther Leader Behind Bars for 16 Years

Oakland Rally Demands: "Free Geronimo Pratt!"

OAKLAND—Demanding "Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt! Down with Meese/FBI COINTELPRO Frame-Up!" over 200 union members and officials, black and Hispanic activists, students and socialists rallied Saturday, February 21 at Oakland's City Hall Plaza Park. Former Los Angeles Black Panther Party leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt has been imprisoned for over 16 years, *eight in solitary*, framed up for a crime he did not and could not have committed. From San Quentin prison this courageous fighter for black freedom sent greetings to the demonstration: "The fact of you coming together in workers' demands for Justice shows a degree of recognition that really frightens the manipulators of labor as they are helpless when faced with the raw awesome power of the worker.... My freedom would be a victory and a statement that to be a militant fighter for black liberation is not to be a criminal."

The rally brought an outpouring of support from coast to coast. Initiated by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—the rally was endorsed by over 60 unions and labor officials. Congressman Ron Dellums and prominent black Bay Area officials Doris Ward and Wilson Riles

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WV Photos

United-front Oakland rally February 21 drew wide labor and black support. At podium, unionist Frenchie Alford.

"Pratt Fought for Us, Now We're Fighting for Him"

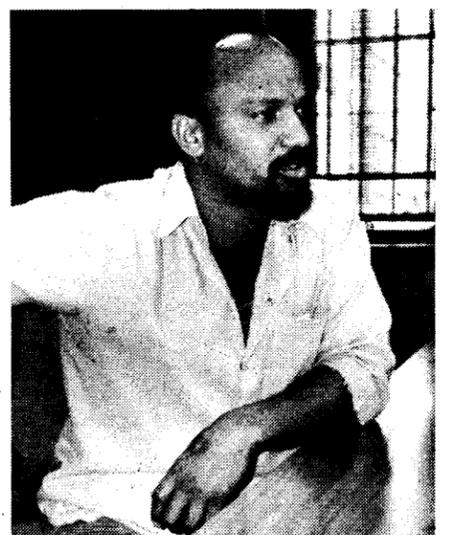
We print below excerpts from the remarks by Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Alexander at the February 21 Oakland rally for freedom for Geronimo Pratt:

I want to tell everybody here that I was sitting in that courtroom back in the early '70s when Geronimo Pratt was framed by the bourgeois state. I saw with my own eyes how happy the racist cops, the racist judge, the Los Angeles Police Department and the various other venal criminals that put Pratt away, how happy they were that day. Because what happened was that these

wild beasts of U.S. imperialism, the Edwin Meeses and Ronald Reagans, put a militant fighter for the oppressed behind bars after they tried to kill him in 1969. For 16 years Pratt has been in jail, eight of them in solitary confinement, under conditions designed to break and destroy him. Over the years the Spartacist League, unlike the pro-Democratic Party left, has consistently called on the integrated labor movement and all anti-racist fighters to come to the defense of Geronimo Pratt and all class-war prisoners.

What really should happen, and what really would be justice, is if Edwin

Meese and Ronald Reagan would be put in solitary confinement themselves for eight, ten years, and then shipped to El Salvador and be put into the hands of the Salvadoran workers and peasants who would place them on trial! The COINTELPRO program had one basic aim: to kill, to jail, to drive out of the country as many Panthers as they could. So when they attacked the Panthers' headquarters in Los Angeles, the cops there probably would have liked to have dropped a bomb on their headquarters like they did to MOVE in Philadelphia—except during that period of time U.S. imperialism was busy raining



WV Photo

"To be a militant fighter for black liberation is not to be a criminal."
—Geronimo Pratt

bombs down on the heads of Vietnamese workers and peasants who beat their butts and sent them packing.

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