

Smash the Imperialist War Drive!

Reagan's First-Strike War Plans

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

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

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

Adding insult to injury, the U.S. put together a "peace" delegation to Geneva which is about as interested in disarmament as Adolf Hitler. Virtually all of

them (including Shultz) are members of the ultraright Committee on the Present Danger, the cabal which helped torpedo the 1979 SALT II agreement. "Arms control" negotiator Nitze practically invented the arms race back in 1950 when he discovered the mythical "bomber gap" (followed a decade later by the equally nonexistent "missile gap"). Kenneth Adelman had trouble getting confirmed as head of the arms control and disarmament agency in 1983 because he wouldn't even label the effects of nuclear war "horrible."

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

It's very good of the Russians to talk to the Americans. But they should be telling Reagan: "You want star wars? We'll give you galactic wars! We asked you not to deploy your missiles eight minutes from Moscow, but you did it anyway. So screw your treaties. For decades you've been trying to drive the Soviet Union to economic ruin with an unbridled arms race. Now the shoe is on the other foot. Go ahead, make our day—develop your "Star Wars"

continued on page 8



Taylor/Sygma

Pershings (above) and "Star Wars" components of U.S. first-strike plans against Soviet Union.

Right: Reagan's ray gun, artist's conception of chemical laser spacecraft.



Aviation Week & Space Technology

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Kurdish Workers in the Iraqi Revolution of 1958-59

1 November 1984

To the editor:

The Spartacist greetings to a recent Kurdish conference in Central Europe ("For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan," *Workers Vanguard* No. 362, 14 September 1984) state: "While there are many Kurdish workers, most are working outside of the geographical regions with a predominantly Kurdish national identity"; and "the Kurdish proletariat exists primarily in the diaspora." This may well be true today due to the policy of "Arabization" of Kurdistan conducted by Iraq's Ba'athist regime. According to the book *People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan* (1980), edited by Gerard Chaliand, more than 200,000 Kurds have been removed from the strategic oil region of Iraqi Kurdistan. Historically this was not always the case, however. Communist-led Kurdish workers concentrated in these oil fields played a vital, if contradictory, role in the revolutionary period following the overthrow of the monarchy in 1958.

Iraq, like most of the states of the Near East, is an artificial creation of the post-World War I imperialist partition of the Ottoman Empire. Under the Ottomans Iraqi Kurdistan was the *vilayet* (administrative division) of Mosul. Victorious Britain incorporated Mosul into a common state with the vilayets of Baghdad and Basra both to gain control of this petroleum-rich region and to give its newly created Iraqi protectorate something resembling a viable economy. Until recently Kirkuk province in the heart of Iraqi Kurdistan supplied 90 percent of Iraq's oil production. Even with the development of the

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



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

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

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

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

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

Thus the entire Kurdish nation and especially its urban working class enthusiastically welcomed the 1958 revolution, which was made as much against the Baghdad Pact as against the corrupt, decrepit and repressive British-hacked monarchy. The unstable bonapartist regime of General Qassem, leader of the 1958 revolution, sought at first to consolidate its rule by relying on the ICP, which though small was the unchallenged leader of the Iraqi working class, both Arab and Kurdish. Instead of pursuing this rich opportunity for proletarian revolution, the ICP subordinated itself to Qassem through the "United National Front" with three bourgeois parties (soon joined by the Kurdish nationalists). The betrayal of the Iraqi revolution was ordered directly from the Kremlin, in the name of cementing the "Spirit of Camp David" with Eisenhower (whose answer to the 1958 revolution was to land 10,000 Marines on the coast of Lebanon). Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher

noted at the time:

"Khrushchev refused to countenance a communist upheaval in Baghdad, afraid that this would provoke renewed Western intervention in the Eastern Mediterranean, set the Middle East aflame, and wreck his policy of peaceful coexistence."

—reprinted in Deutscher, *Russia, China and the West* (1970)

The contradictory role of the Communist-led Kurdish proletariat in this period was demonstrated by the events in Mosul of March 1959 and the Kirkuk massacre in July of that year. At the beginning of 1959, Qassem's rejection of "pan-Arab" unity with Nasser and his modest land reform program created an unholy alliance between the old reactionary classes and the Nasserites, who plotted a right-wing coup. The coup was to begin with an army revolt in Mosul. Anticipating this revolt, the ICP called a mass rally: from all over Iraq 250,000 youth, many armed, flocked to Mosul. The ICP was able to unite Kurd and Arab soldiers against their officers; the poor laborers of the Muslim Arab quarter were augmented by Kurdish tribesmen and Armenian peasants who swept in from the countryside. The coup was suppressed, and the popularity and revolutionary opportunity of the ICP grew to its height.

This makes the Kirkuk massacre of July 1959 all the more tragic. In the aftermath of the 1958 revolution the ICP concentrated in its hands control of many local governments, militias and even army garrisons. The largely Kurdish ICP branch in Kirkuk used this control to escalate a squabble over the celebration of the first anniversary of the revolution into an intercommunal bloodbath, particularly directed against the Turkomans who made up much of the city's commercial and middle classes. One month later in a central committee plenum called to deal with the consequences of the Kirkuk massacre, the ICP in referring to its own membership was forced to condemn "the dragging of bodies, torture of detainees, looting and trespassing on the rights and liberties of citizens."

The Kirkuk massacre was a tragic turning point for the ICP and the Iraqi working class. It generated an enormous erosion of support for the ICP and Qassem used it as a pretext to repress the Communists. The revolutionary opportunity was squandered, and with it the opportunity to forge a class-conscious Kurdish proletariat. Leadership of the oppressed Kurdish toilers reverted to sheiks, khans and mullahs, as the subsequent Kurdish national revolt demonstrated. For that revolt, led by mullah Mustafa Barazani, was as much in defense of feudal relations in the countryside as it was against the Arab chauvinism of Baghdad. In 1958-59, the proletariat of this divided nation, carved up by four oppressive capitalist states, lost a unique opportunity to be the vanguard of social emancipation, not only for the rest of Kurdistan, but for the entire Near East.

Comradely,
Reuben Samuels



TROTSKY

Marxist Newspaper: The Collective Organizer

In "Where To Begin," written in May 1901 and later expanded as *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin explains the role of the Marxist press in building the proletarian vanguard party.

A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer.... With the aid of the newspaper, and through it, a

permanent organisation will naturally take shape that will engage, not only in local activities, but in regular general work, and will train its members to follow political events carefully, appraise their significance and their effect on the various strata of the population, and develop effective means for the revolutionary party to influence those events. The mere technical task of regularly supplying the newspaper with copy and of promoting regular distribution will necessitate a network of local agents of the united party, who will maintain constant contact with one another, know the general state of affairs, get accustomed to performing regularly their detailed functions in the All-Russian work, and test their strength in the organisation of various revolutionary actions.

—V.I. Lenin, "Where To Begin" (1901)



LENIN

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF Noah Wilner

EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER Darlene Kamiura

EDITORIAL BOARD Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg (Closing editor for No. 370: Liz Gordon)

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Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Framed-Up Black Panther Behind Bars Since 1969

Free Geronimo Pratt!

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

The racist imperialist American state first tried to murder Pratt on 8 Decem-

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

Here are a few words about Geronimo Pratt, a Black Panther Party member in prison for over a decade. In the early 1970s I attended Pratt's trial, including the day the FBI COINTELPRO conspirators obtained their conviction. Pratt's innocence was clear to anyone who had the slightest interest in justice. I remember at the time how the prosecuting attorney did his damndest to whip up a Southern-style lynch mob atmosphere against Pratt in particular and the Panthers in general. It didn't matter that Pratt did not murder the Santa Monica schoolteacher, that one witness's description of "two light-skinned blacks had been seen in the area" could not possibly have been

Pratt, that solid evidence was amassed by Pratt's attorneys to show that he was in the Bay Area at the time—none of this mattered. And could not have mattered.

The racist capitalist rulers were busily orchestrating one of this country's most violent, racist, terrorist vendettas to wipe out the Panthers. And in Pratt's trial capitalism's human refuse was paraded in court, including one Julio [Butler, an FBI informant who lied about it at the trial], who claimed that Pratt had "confessed" or some bullshit. The bourgeois state was determined to get Pratt and to "teach" active, surviving black militants a lesson or two. This was painful to watch because in the courtroom the racist cops were numerous,

Geronimo Pratt in San Quentin.



happy and smiled a lot, while Pratt's supporters were few. I thought then, "Why has the left abandoned Pratt and the Panthers? Why?"

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

to his friends as well as his enemies that he stood for revolution in the belly of the beast.

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

Asylum for South African Militant!

The Reagan administration is trying to deport black Howard University student Thembekile ("Twiggs") Enoch Xiphu, a determined fighter against racist apartheid, to the dungeons and torture chambers of South Africa.

Twiggs has been an active member of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) for more than a decade, having joined Steve Biko's South African Students Organization (SASO) in 1973. In his hometown of Port Elizabeth, Twiggs was a leader of student resistance to apartheid. Following the Soweto rebellion and student strikes in Port Elizabeth, and one month after Biko was murdered by South African security police, in October 1977 Twiggs was seized by the cops (including one of Biko's murderers). He was held incommunicado and in solitary under South Africa's draconian National Security Laws, and taken daily for interrogation and torture to the very building where Biko was murdered.

Twiggs was released in December 1977 but subjected to close surveillance until he was forced into exile in neighboring Botswana in June 1978. In January 1979 he came to the United States as a scholarship student at Howard University, where he continued his anti-apartheid activity as the chairman of the BCMA in the U.S. and a founder of the South African Students Committee (SASCO). Last September Twiggs chaired

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

Richard R. Spurlock
District Director, Dept. of Justice
U.S. Immigration and
Naturalization Service
Baltimore, MD

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

Partisan Defense Committee

a united-front anti-apartheid protest at the South African embassy which SASCO, BCMA and the Spartacus Youth League helped organize and which also included representatives from the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) and the Howard University Student Association. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service authorities have continuously denied Twiggs' requests for political asylum and have tried to deport him, even before he finishes his studies, back to racist South Africa or to its Botswana client state where refugees from apartheid terror are routinely kidnapped by Pretoria.

Union Locals Back Appeal for British Miners

Striking miners up against Maggie "Iron Lady" Thatcher's despised Tory regime are now in the tenth month of their battle. It is a fight in which the workers of the world have a big stake. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is hanging tough, despite massive police violence and Thatcher's "starve them back to work" tactics. In an attempt to provide urgently needed international labor solidarity and financial assistance, the Partisan Defense Committee launched a \$25,000 "Aid to Striking British Miners' Families" fund drive.

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

and to continue the same donation each month until the end of the strike.

After their two-month strike in San Francisco, members of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 2 passed the hat for the British miners and collected over \$200, most of it at the local's Christmas party. Donations have also been received from AFSCME Local 2477 in Washington, D.C., UFCW District 442 in Atlanta, AFSCME Local 12 (University of Iowa), Communications Workers of America Local 4309 in Cleveland and AFSCME Local 2733 in Ann Arbor. A PDC social in Boston, attended by a number of workers of Irish ancestry who have special hatred for the British rulers, was able to raise nearly \$300 in an evening.

Since the initiation of the fund-raising campaign, *WV* readers have donated generously. As Reagan prepares his second inauguration with a call for non-union entertainers to perform *gratis*—a trivial but symbolic provocation and insult to the labor movement—his British counterpart is hell-bent on smashing the courageous miners. All of labor must be hell-bent on seeing the miners win. As comrade Eibhlin put it:

"It really is in the interest of every trade unionist of no matter what country to make sure that this type of union of maybe 200,000 members doesn't go down the way that PATCO went."

Victory to the British miners' strike!

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

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

COINTELPRO "Dirty Tricks"

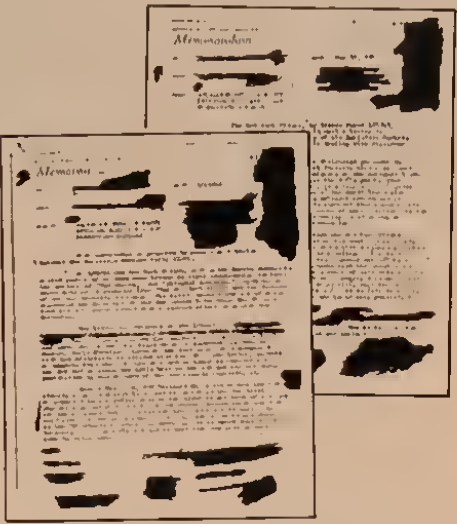
Only in 1971 when anti-Vietnam War protesters broke into an FBI field office in Media, Pennsylvania were the first documents on the FBI's decades-long COINTELPRO disruption program within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) brought to light. Among these extensive operations were the Bureau's efforts to exacerbate factional divisions within the SWP and hopefully to foment the expulsion in 1963 of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), the predecessor of the Spartacist League. In response to our requests for files under the Freedom of Information Act, the FBI never acknowledged the existence of these COINTELPRO documents. We obtained copies of these files by purchasing them from the SWP during that organization's suit against the FBI.

This is one piece among many of our party's history as told in a warped and perverse fashion in the files of the secret police. As Marxists, we understand that we will never get the real story of what the FBI has done to us until the victorious proletarian revolution liberates the documentation. But in upcoming issues of *WV* we look forward to examining for our readers the tip of the FBI "dirty tricks" iceberg which can be glimpsed in the ultra-expurgated materials which we have. Such material should be of great interest to all opponents of the capitalist spy agencies' witchhunting assaults on democratic rights, and to the many people, ranging from the parents of SL members to the lawyer supporters of various of our opponents, who have congratulated us on the recent successful settlement of our landmark suit against the current FBI "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines" (see "FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists," *WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984).

We begin by considering the FBI's disruption campaign against the left where it targeted us as the SWP's Revolutionary Tendency in the early 1960s. Poisonously, the FBI injected itself into the internal political disputes of the SWP. Substituting Castroism and vicarious enthusing over black nationalism for revolutionary Trotskyism, the SWP slid rightward on a course which would and did ultimately finish it as a revolutionary party. A left opposition,

the RT, arose which tempered solidarity with the Cuban Revolution with criticism of its Stalinized leadership and raised a Marxist call for organs of proletarian democracy; which counterposed to the SWP's abstention in the civil rights movement a class-struggle intervention in order to win the best militants to Marxism. As the factional heat within the SWP intensified, the FBI saw an opportunity.

Field offices and headquarters became embroiled in a fevered debate on what to do to whom first (anonymous mailing to the minority, or to the



FBI-style "Freedom of Information."

party leadership?) It goes without saying that the central issues being debated in the SWP were quite beyond the FBI's comprehension and, of course, there was never any question here of investigating anything "criminal." But, it was an opening for "disruption," and an attempt to "neutralize" both the SWP and RT. Throughout the operation the FBI credits itself absurdly and disproportionately for the effect of its "dirty tricks" on the political fight and the anti-democratic expulsion (for which the SWP leadership gets credit, with help from one Tim Wohlforth).

A taunting letter was sent by the FBI in June 1963 to SWP national secretary Farrell Dobbs, purporting to be from "An Old Timer" complaining about what he considered to be soft treatment of the minority ("You're getting shoved around by a minority group of

punks..."). The letter was sent after debate within the FBI in March and April over plans to send an anonymous mailing to the RT encouraging a split with the SWP and formation of a separate organization. Those plans were scrapped in favor of the letter to Dobbs because, according to the FBI's New York Office,

"There is some question, however, as to how widespread we could expect the disruption to be in the SWP if...a few minority members receive an anonymous mailing. Based on past experience, no communication is apt to cause any of these individuals to renounce Trotskyism..."

"The NYO has doubts that much could be said to a minority follower against the SWP majority which would increase his wrath sufficiently to have a major disruptive effect."

When the RT was suspended and later expelled, the FBI congratulated itself heartily, noting that its mailing to Dobbs "may have incited the SWP leadership to take more firm action to get rid of its minority leaders."

In April 1964 COINTELPRO agents sent faked letters to *Spartacist*, the publication of the expelled RT. A brief excerpt of the first of these appeared in *Spartacist* No. 2 (July-August 1964) because we had received independent confirmation of the information provided by the FBI's phony "Insider" letter. But then we began to receive letters maliciously slandering SWPers, including materials calculated to defame the SWP on grounds of financial malfeasance in Southern black defense work. Such vicious accusations reeked of FBI disinformation and we immediately alerted the SWP. As *Spartacist* editor James Robertson wrote in a note to an SWP leader, George Weissman, sent with a copy of this slanderous material:

"We seem to have landed on somebody's 'hate the SWP' list. You people running the party have given us good reason to despise you for your witchhunting expulsions. But we don't go for libel either, so we are keeping you informed of this stuff."

The FBI also succeeded in the early sixties in planting a number of such malicious slanders in the bourgeois press, defaming black SWP leaders and candidates for public office. "The failure of the SWP to attain influence in the

Negro civil rights movement may be in part attributable to disruptive activities taken by the New York Office," boasted Hoover's finest. They did real damage to the SWP, but they exaggerate their effect grossly. In fact the SWP's failure was essentially a failure of politics and program. Abandoning Trotskyism to uncritically tail any black leadership from King to Malcolm X, the SWP could provide no independent pole of revolutionary leadership in the civil rights movement. The task of upholding revolutionary integrationism and proletarian class struggle against the dead ends of liberal pacifism and nationalist separatism fell to the Spartacists. In pursuing that task, we became a target both for the SWP leadership, in the throes of centrist degeneration, and for the spies of the imperialist state.

We publish below some appropriate excerpts from the files of the FBI's "Counterintelligence Program" (COINTELPRO):

17 April 1962
SWP Disruption Program
From [deleted] to [deleted]:

"This program was initiated by Bulet 10/12/61 [letter from Bureau headquarters]...for the purpose of causing disruption within the SWP and making the public aware of the true nature of the SWP..."

"While there is no specific tie-in with other programs, this program is on occasion tied in with operations being carried out under the Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program in that the SWP is utilized when the opportunity presents itself to disrupt CP activities."

28 March 1963
Director to New York:

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

"In the event any information of a

FBI Forgers at Work

In early April 1964 the FBI sent the *Spartacist* group a letter purporting to come from an SWP member, signed "The Insider." A fragment of this FBI forgery was published in *Spartacist* No. 2 (along with other letters, like the one from

SWPer G.L.). At the beginning of May an obvious piece of FBI disinformation against the SWP was received by us, which *Spartacist* editor Jim Robertson immediately forwarded to the SWP with the note reproduced at right.

New York, N.Y.

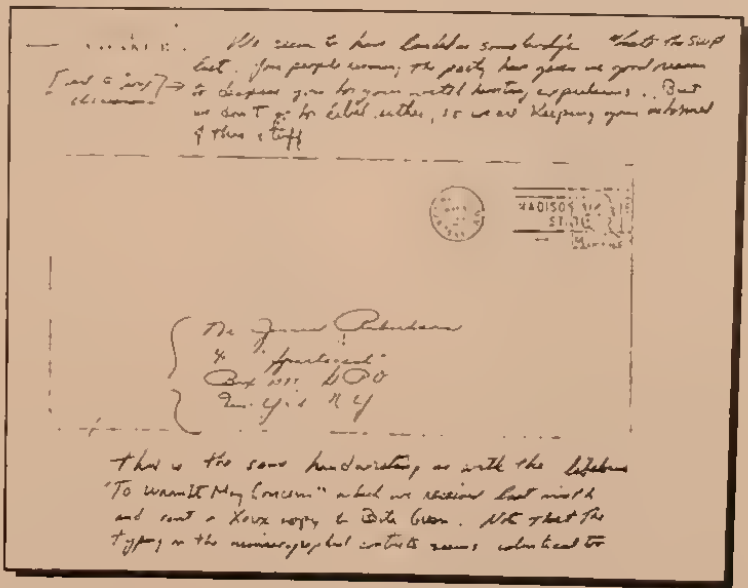
... The first number of the "Spartacist" was such a dreary, neurotic, ultra-sectarian, paranoid and unreadable thing that I was almost glad such dreary people had been thrown out of the party. ...

Comradely regards,
G.L.

New York, N.Y.

I saw "Spartacist" and it opened my eyes. I'm too much committed to get out and join you, but believe me there are more than a few of us inside supporters. You may be interested to learn ...

Comradely,
The Insider



[Sent to George Weissman] We seem to have landed on somebody's "hate the SWP" list. You people running the party have given us good reason to despise you for your witchhunting expulsions. But we don't go for libel either, so we are keeping you informed of this stuff.

This is the same handwriting as with the libelous "To Whom It May Concern" which we received last month and sent a Xerox copy to Berta Green. Note that the typing on the mimeographed contents seems identical too.

derogatory nature comes to the attention of your office, suitable recommendations regarding the utilization of such information in a disruption program operation should be submitted...."

7 May 1963
New York to Director:

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

"Upon serious consideration the NYO [New York Office] has doubts that much could be said to a minority follower against the SWP majority which would increase his wrath sufficiently to have a major disruptive effect.

"The NYO considers that an anonymous communication to SWP headquarters as suggested in relet [referenced letter] might be more effective since it would get to the hands of the leadership, those in a position to take serious action. With the goal of engendering a split in the Party, a letter such as the following might be sent to FARRELL DOBBS, National Secretary of the Party, implying softness in dealing with dissident members:

"Dear Farrell:

"As one who left the Party in the 'big split of 1953,' please let me tell you what a laugh I get over the 'uneasy alliance of 1963.' I have recently learned that Tim Wohlforth is a real buddy with Jerry Healy and they share a political line that's about stealing the Party out from under you. This is really ironic when you think back to the Cochranite minority of 10 years ago. The Cochranites were forced out of the Party because they had a different point of view and exchanged a few of these with Pablo. This was supposed to rid the SWP of 'unprincipled wreckers.' So where are we a decade after the big purge. You're getting shoved around by a minority group of punks who can't compare with the knowledge, and, yes, principle of Clarke, Cochran and their minority of 1953... Farrell, I am glad I am out. I look forward to 'laughing on the

outside' next time I meet my new minority friend and hear more about your troubles.

An Old Timer"

16 May 1963
From [deleted] to [deleted]:

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

17 May 1963
Director to New York:

"Authority granted to anonymously mail the communication to Farrell Dobbs.... Every precaution should be taken to insure that the Bureau does not become known as being responsible for this communication."

31 March 1964
New York to Director:

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

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

"This has had a very disruptive effect on the SWP. Within the Party, there are rumblings of discontent in several branches of the SWP because of the 'undemocratic' expulsions. On the other hand, the expelled faction leader, JAMES ROBERTSON, has brought the struggle to public notice. He has issued a publication, 'Spartacist,' bitterly attacking the SWP leadership and has been quoted in the public press describing details of his expulsion....

"The Bureau's approval is requested therefore to furnish ROBERTSON brief items of information he might be expected to use against the SWP, purportedly from a Party insider who is in secret sympathy.... ROBERTSON

can be presumed interested in any faction developments on the international Trotskyist scene detrimental to the interests of the SWP....

"Consideration has been given to furnishing the SWP leadership information on WOHLFORTH's secret trip [to visit Healy in London], on the assumption that this would be grounds for expulsion. It is felt, however, that WOHLFORTH is of greater value for our purposes at this time, operating as an fifth column within the SWP."

7 April 1964
Director to New York:

"Authority is granted for the New York Office to furnish James Robertson with the information as emanating from a Party insider in secret sympathy with Robertson...."

15 April 1964
From [deleted] to [deleted]:

"The over-all value of the program has been demonstrated on various occasions. It is recalled that the SWP owned and operated Mountain Spring Camp at Washington, New Jersey, was raided on 9/1/62 by New Jersey State Police and Agents of the New Jersey Alcoholic Beverage Control Board. Four SWP members were indicted for selling alcoholic beverages without a license. The SWP Political Committee on 5/3/63 voted to sell this property as no longer being suitable to SWP needs. Murray Zuckoff, Newark SWP Organizer, stated, 'The raid broke the back of the camp.' Three of the SWP members arrested in connection with the operation of the Mountain Spring Camp received fines in the amount of \$200 each on 1/30/64....

"In December, 1963, five leaders of a minority faction within the SWP, known as the James Robertson faction, were expelled from the organization. The New York Office [FBI] had directed an anonymous letter to the SWP leadership chiding them for tolerating this minority faction when other leaders had been expelled in the past for less censurable activities. This inference of weakness is believed to have been

partially responsible for the expulsions. Considerable dissension within the Party has resulted.... This situation is furnishing other excellent opportunities to widen the split between the SWP leadership and minority factions and is being pursued."

15 April 1964
From [deleted] to [deleted]:

"On 4/8/64 the New York Office, with prior Bureau authority, mailed copies of an anonymous letter to eight individuals, including the editors of 'The Worker,' the 'National Guardian,' Negro author James Baldwin, a reporter from 'The New York Times' [Peter Kihss] and two leaders of the SWP minority factions [Robertson and Wohlforth]. The letter accused the SWP of having organized the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (CAMD) as a fund raising scheme rather than a sincere effort to assist the defendants.

"The letter was prepared by the Laboratory [deleted].... The letter, purporting to emanate from the WWP [Workers World Party], was designed to cause disruption within the SWP and to widen the split between the SWP and the WWP....

"George Weissman, SWP National Committee member who was closely associated with CAMD, was in Monroe during the trial. He reported to the police that he was alone in the home of a Negro physician on 2/26/64 when two armed Negroes forced their way into the house, bound and gagged him and broke into a wall safe. An estimated \$10,000 to \$15,000 was taken. The incident was reported in the 'Charlotte Observer' of 2/27/64. It is noted that the CAMD treasury was reportedly depleted at that time....

"The New York Office has proposed a follow-up to the above anonymous letter by mailing Xerox copies of the clipping from the 'Charlotte Observer' to the same eight individuals.... New York also proposes enclosing the following poem with the clipping to add further spice:

George-Porgie, down in Monroe,
Found himself alone with the dough.
Called the cops, and what did he say?
'Bad guys came and took it away!'"■

Congratulations on Victory Against FBI

The 30 November 1984 settlement of the Spartacist League lawsuit against the current FBI witchhunters' "Guidelines" won an important admission from the government: Marxists are not terrorists. In our last issue of WV we published some of the messages we have received stressing the importance of this victory from civil liberties lawyers, unionists, fighters for black freedom and even an occasional left spokesman. We continue here with some more of these letters.

A Most Significant Victory

The Partisan Defense Committee's suit against the FBI and the Attorney General challenging the Guidelines of Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations was extremely important to litigate. The victory is most significant.

It is important to serve notice on the government that such attempts to label opposition political groups as "criminal conspiracies" involved in "terrorist" activities when no evidence exists to justify such accusations will not be tolerated. The FBI has been involved in such activities for years, and will no doubt continue unless they are held accountable for such actions whenever they engage in them.

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

Sincerely yours,
John W. Roberts
Executive Director,
Civil Liberties Union
of Massachusetts

Marxists Are Not Criminals

Congratulations!

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

James Weinstein
Editor, *In These Times*

America's State-Supported Terrorism

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has no business putting labels on

political organizations. This is because the FBI has shown itself incapable of seeing *actual* terrorist activity when it is going on right under its nose.

A case in point is the current wave of (to date) twenty-five arson and bombing attacks directed against abortion clinics. According to the December 5, 1984 Los Angeles *Times*, FBI Director William H. Webster has decided that these attacks do not fall within the FBI's definition of "terrorism." Thus, the FBI has decided that these attacks do not warrant priority attention.

Nevertheless, the fact that the FBI has been compelled to hack off of its characterization that the Spartacist League "does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government at this time" represents a victory for the democratic rights of working people.

Walter Lippmann, Chair
Human Rights Committee,
Local 535 SEIU

FBI Destroyed the Black Panthers

I want to offer my support to the Spartacist League in its successful legal victory against the F.B.I. This is a victory for all of us who are concerned about the growing threat to civil liberties and democratic rights, particularly as the Reagan administration begins its second term.

We who remember the tribulations that accompanied McCarthyism, who remember the lives shattered and destroyed by F.B.I. "dirty tricks," who recall the disruption of civil rights

organizations and virtual destruction of groups like the Black Panther Party, must fight against all attempts by the government and its police agencies to make political opposition a "crime."

The successful conclusion of your lawsuit is a part of that fight, but we all know that the struggle to preserve democratic rights is an on-going one.

Keep up the fight!

Very truly yours,
John George
Chairman, Alameda County
Board of Supervisors

A Blow Against Racism and Oppression

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

Bill Hampton,
Brother of murdered
Panther leader

First Amendment Rights

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

Ben Margolis
Attorney

Abortion Clinic Bombings: Reaganite Terrorism

Late Christmas Eve 1984, bombs ripped through three medical offices in Pensacola, Florida, blowing up the only facilities outside of hospitals where women can obtain abortions in that city. And on New Year's Day, another blast blew up an abortion clinic in southeast Washington, D.C. Altogether at least 29 centers were hit by arson and bomb attacks last year, and *hundreds* of violent incidents have been reported. It's pure luck no one has yet been killed. Yet the Federal Bureau of Investigation has given "low priority" to investigations of these deadly attacks on women's rights. FBI director William Webster outrageously claimed the abortion clinic bombings do not constitute "terrorism" in the government's definition of the term because they were not committed by an "organized group" (!) which publicly took responsibility for the action and the firehoppers do not aim to "overthrow the government." Of course not! These vicious terrorists are *Reagan's* people, after all.

Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms official Tom Hill said, "...our investigation doesn't point to a nationwide organized conspiracy." The government has effectively pronounced its henediction on this right-wing terrorism. Left-wing columnist Alexander Cockburn (*Wall Street Journal*, 6 December 1984) commented: "If the administration very obviously reserves 'terrorist' as an epithet for socio-political violence it dislikes, then the conclusion must be that there are forms of socio-political violence—such as the anti-abortion bombings—that it views in a tolerant and even sympathetic light, and which it refuses to denounce." Far from denouncing the attacks on abortion rights, Reagan refers to abortions as "murders," and indeed the bloody-minded "right-to-lifers" label women seeking them as terrorists! Planned Parenthood official Thomas Webber blasted Webster's remarks: "If we saw in this nation, hospitals being similarly victimized, nursing homes being victimized, legal aid offices, churches and synagogues being victimized, we would have a national campaign to ferret out those responsible" (*New York Times*, 6 December 1984). Instead, the feds are not so secretly applauding.

This escalating wave of right-wing terrorist attacks on abortion clinics is



Deadly wave of "right-to-life" terror-bombings hits abortion clinics across country. Above: Wheaton, Maryland clinic devastated in November.

threatening the basic right of women to safe, legal abortions. Since the Supreme Court legalized abortion in 1973, right-wingers have demonstrated against it—but lately, and especially in the last year, these "pro-life" fanatics have turned to arson, death threats, vandalism, bombings and personal harassment. Throughout his term in office Ronald Reagan has maintained a thundering silence on this *real* violence faced by women seeking to exercise their right to a safe and private abortion, while he continues to foam at the mouth against imagined "state-supported terrorism" threatening America. On January 3, nodding to mounting public outcries, he issued a token protest against the bombings as "anarchism." He won't call the bombings by their right name—terrorism—because these are *Reagan's* terrorists, carrying out Reagan's program, targeting poor and minority women.

Banning women's right to abortion was, along with school prayer and how to kill the Russians, a No. 1 political question in the recent presidential elections; Reagan and Mondale oozed pomp and piety as they debated whether women's fundamental right to abortion is "murder" or "just" a mortal sin. They debated how those millions of American women who have had abortions should

be punished: should they be dragged into court and condemned for Murder One (Reagan's line) or "merely" exposed to the moral condemnation of society and preachers' threats of burning forever in hell (the Democrats' response)? One thing's for sure: should the Reagan reactionaries get their way and an amendment to the Constitution is passed banning *all* abortions, there will be a lot of dead and mutilated teenagers who in desperation end up with their bellies ripped open by back-alley butchers. On whose hands will *that* blood be?

The infinite cruelty of Reagan's hypocritical defense of this "kind and gentle land" in his debate with Mondale about abortion can be partly charted in the pain and terror "his" terrorists of the far right are inflicting right now on women. His "kind and gentle" friends of the Moral Majorityite persuasion have dynamited, firebombed, devastated birth control clinics across the country, kidnapped doctors, made death threats (including against Supreme Court justice Blackmun, who approved the 1973 legalization of abortion), harassed teenagers and working-class women seeking abortions. Patients have received threatening phone calls from religious fanatics who track them down: one clinic receptionist was chased through a shopping mall by a maniac screaming "stop murdering babies," while another arrived home to find her pet cat decapitated. Five to six death threats *per day* are received at abortion and family planning clinics nationwide. The *National NOW Times* quotes 177 violent incidents as of September 1984 alone. Indeed, as American Civil Liberties Union official Wesley Watkins charged Reagan: "Trickle-down works! The rhetoric of intolerance at the top creates a climate of violence at the bottom" (*New York Times*, 20 November 1984).

These right-wing terrorists can't wait. They want to implement the Reaganite/Moral Majority program to stop abortion *now*, never mind the niceties of the law. Pro-life "Non-violent" Action Project co-founder John Cavanaugh-O'Keefe said to the *New York Times*: "Any pro-lifer that does not feel the urge to respond to the violence of abortion with violence has lost all feeling for anything." Moral Majority vice president Cal Thomas justified the bombings in an article entitled "Bombing

Abortion Clinics: It's Violent, but Why Not?" (*Los Angeles Times*, 27 November 1984).

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

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

It's no surprise to Marxists that the feds won't do anything to stop attacks on women's rights. The NOW feminists won't get anywhere with their pleas to federal agencies. They went all out for Mondale and Ferraro, Cold War hawks whose only response to this reactionary barrage was to mouth a few pieties about "choice" while condemning abortions—as if the millions of ghetto women who can't afford expensive legal abortions have any. It was under Democrat Carter, after all, that the Hyde Amendment banning federal funds for abortions under Medicaid was passed, while he coldly told poor women, "There are many things in life that are not fair."

In fact the feminist movement as a whole has bought the Moral Majority anti-sex line: their main concern these days is to stop the "violence" (sic) of pornography! The self-proclaimed champions of women's rights try to trample on the First Amendment rights of everyone, while American women are facing daily terror! Recently liberal civil libertarian darling *Village Voice* columnist Nat Hentoff castigated women for being "selfish" for seeking abortions for "mere convenience." Today the left wing of the women's movement seems by default to be Planned Parenthood, founded by socialist Margaret Sanger, which has initiated a national campaign against the terrorist attacks. To its credit, Planned Parenthood has also advertised its services widely against the fears spread by Reagan's attempted enforcement of the Squeal Rule, which would have required birth control clinics to notify the parents of young women under 18 that they had received contraceptives.

What's necessary is *labor action* to stop the terrorists. As we said in *Workers Vanguard* No. 361 (31 August 1984): "The only thing that's going to stop these supposedly 'god-fearing' reactionaries from spreading their murderous attacks against poor and working women is to put some *real* fear of god into them: next time they try to firebomb and maybe murder some scared kid trying to get out of a bad fix, they ought to be met by a strong workers defense guard protecting women's rights!" It's urgently in the interest of the working class to fight for free abortion on demand and free, quality health care and birth control. The wives, sisters and daughters of the ruling class will always be able to get their abortions, legal or not: in this country, the rich buy their rights. The workers must fight for theirs! Defend Planned Parenthood! For labor action against Reagan's nightriders! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

Atlanta
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston
Box 840, Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Cleveland
Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 384-9716

Madison
c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 257-8625

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
Box 1972, Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
P.O. Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Extend Social Gains of Bolshevik Revolution!

Red Army Mops Up CIA's Afghan Feudalists



Hail "Red Thunder": Soviet Mi-24 "Hind" helicopter gunship on patrol in Afghanistan.

Crown

Ever since the Soviet Red Army moved into Afghanistan on 27 December 1979, the U.S. ruling class has portrayed that just mission against CIA-backed feudalists as "Russia's Vietnam." The imperialists wistfully hoped the USSR would become involved in an endless no-win war that would drain its defenses and open up the formerly Muslim area of Soviet Central Asia to Islamic counterrevolution and capitalist restoration. But it's clear five years later that the Red Army has put the reactionary mujahadeen (Islamic tribalist warriors) on the run. Moreover, the Uzbeks, Tadzhiks and other Central Asian troops who make up a large portion of the Soviet force, far from being attracted to the Koran and the *chadri* (veil), correctly see themselves as liberators of the oppressed Afghan masses. Even so-called Red Army "deserters" (soldiers captured by rightist guerrillas, force-fed heroin and transported to the West for propaganda purposes) are voluntarily going home.

So as the fifth anniversary of the Soviet intervention came last month, the imperialists had little to crow about. Instead, in countless newspaper articles, TV specials and "human rights" reports, the Soviet army was accused of every genocidal crime the U.S. war machine made famous in Vietnam, from "carpet-bombing" to "free-fire zones." (Interestingly, this time around they didn't have much to say about "yellow rain," the CIA slander which everyone now knows was so much hee shit.) Reagan took the occasion to warn the Kremlin that Afghanistan was still "a serious impediment to the improvement of our bilateral relations" and ordered a doubling of U.S. "covert" aid to the Islamic reactionaries to \$280 million per year—and that's just the tip of the iceberg. Democratic Party "doves" like Congressman Boland threw in their two cents about supposed Soviet human rights violations. And, of course, all this served to divert attention from the real atrocities committed by America's allies—particularly by the monstrous racist apartheid regime in South Africa.

Reagan and the Democrats don't give a goat's fart for the "independence" of 17 million Afghans living on a pile of rocks and barren dirt. The main issue in

Afghanistan is Red Russia, and they know it. The American bourgeoisie and its imperialist allies have never accepted the loss they suffered in 1917, when the Bolshevik Revolution tore one-sixth of the globe out of their hands and laid the foundations for a planned economy based on collectivized property. They want it back. Lashing out against so-called "Soviet expansionism in Afghanistan," Democrat Jimmy Carter kicked off Cold War II with a five-year, trillion dollar military spending program. Reagan has carried this program onward and upward—and perceptibly closer to World War III. American working people must fight Reagan's mad terror campaign against the USSR, which they are paying for with busted unions, lowered living standards and the escalation of racist discrimination and violence. Despite its bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin, the Soviet workers state embodies massive economic and social gains for the international proletariat. Defend the Soviet Union against the imperialists' war drive!

The Spartacist League welcomed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan with the slogan: "Hail Red Army!" As we wrote in *Spartacist* No. 29 (Summer 1980):

"For revolutionary socialists there is nothing tricky, nothing ambiguous about the war in Afghanistan. The Soviet army and its left-nationalist allies are fighting an anti-communist, anti-democratic mélange of landlords, money lenders, tribal chiefs and mullahs committed to mass illiteracy. And to say that imperialist support to this social scum is out in the open is the understatement of the year.... The gut-level response of every radical leftist should be fullest solidarity with the Soviet Red Army."

Virtually the entire "left" from Maoists to fake-Trotskyists fell in step behind Carter and Reagan demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops and recognition of Afghanistan's right to self-determination. But there is no Afghan "nation" and there never has been. The petty-bourgeois nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) came to power in 1978 amidst an incredibly backward society with virtually no industry (not a single mile of railroad track, for example) and a

multitude of tribes over which no previous government had ever completely established its authority.

The Red Army's arrival in December 1979 meant that, as we wrote, "the liberation of the Afghan masses has begun!" ("Hail Red Army!" *WV* No. 247, 11 January 1980). The troops were originally sent in to bolster the beleaguered PDPA regime, whose moderate reforms had outrun the meager social forces available in the country to institute them. (There was no Afghan proletariat to speak of.) To talk today about "self-determination for Afghanistan" is to condemn the Afghan masses, particularly women draped head to toe in heavy muslin, to a barbarous existence under the mullahs, tribal *khan*s

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

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

These days even NATO analysts warn against uncritically accepting reports emanating from Peshawar and New Delhi about rebel victories and Soviet atrocities (like the carpetbombing of crops!). Here's a rule of thumb concerning the claims of Soviet casualties inflicted by an Afghan tribal chieftain: throw out 95 percent of them as patently false, and divide the rest by a hundred times the number of wives he has.

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



Tail tales and veils: Afghan reactionaries report to boss at the White House.

and landowners. The armed might of the Red Army poses the possibility of Afghanistan achieving not only the social gains of the bourgeois French Revolution, but of the proletarian Bolshevik Revolution as well.

Mopping Up Feudalist Reaction

Over a year ago the imperialists were forced to admit that, for all intents and purposes, the Soviet/PDPA forces had won the civil war. An article by *New York Times* military "expert" Drew Middleton (26 December 1983) reported that the reconstituted Afghan army, originally plagued by desertions, was carrying out the bulk of the fighting against the imperialist-armed guerrillas, and that no more than the equivalent of

their targets are the civilians who frequent hotels, bars, theaters, airports, and schools which violate the guerrillas' "self-determination" by teaching little girls to read! These supposed "freedom fighters" have destroyed 1,800 schools in the last five years and killed hundreds of teachers in the name of Ronald Reagan's "free world."

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

continued on page 10

U.S. Anti-Soviet Provocations

Drumbeats of War

It takes more than weapons to make war, and ever since coming into office the Reagan administration has been hard at work whipping up anti-Soviet war fever. Their favorite tactic is provocation—most spectacularly the dispatch of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 to overfly supersensitive Soviet military installations on Kamchatka Peninsula and Sakhalin island on 31 August 1983. When Soviet air defense forces shot down the unidentified intruder, the U.S. launched a worldwide hysteria campaign against the "evil empire." KAL 007 was followed by a long string of additional U.S. war provocations.

- November 1983: In the Atlantic Ocean, 500 miles off the coast of South Carolina, an American sub-hunting destroyer struck and disabled a Soviet nuclear submarine.

- 20 March 1984: A Soviet tanker was damaged by a CIA-laid mine in the

harbor of Puerto Sandino, Nicaragua.

- 24 March 1984: The 80,000-ton U.S. aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* deliberately rammed a nuclear-armed Soviet sub in the Sea of Japan.

- 2 April 1984: The U.S. frigate *Holt* sideswiped the Soviet carrier *Minsk*, broken down in the South China Sea. The *Minsk* tried to warn off the approaching U.S. ship by firing numerous flares, but the Americans ignored the warnings.

- 20 April 1984: A heavily armed U.S. Cobra helicopter gunship intruded several kilometers into Czechoslovak airspace before being chased off by MIG pilots using rockets and guns.

- 11 August 1984: Reagan said in a radio voice test that the bombing of Russia begins "in five minutes." The "joke" reverberated around the world, and three days later a Soviet command unit in the Far East reportedly declared

a wartime alert, causing Japanese forces to respond. Fortunately the Soviets called off the alert after 30 minutes.

- 30 November 1984: The U.S. sent the nuclear-powered carrier *Nimitz* and the cruiser *Arkansas* to within five miles of Cuba, to bring back a disabled Navy-chartered spy ship caught in Cuban waters.

- Mid-December 1984: Two U.S. carrier battle groups conducted "exercises" within 50 miles of Vladivostok, the hub of Soviet military defenses in the Pacific, leading the Soviets to launch a defensive alert scrambling at least 100 Soviet jet fighters. The *New York Times* (19 December) paraphrased a U.S. official describing this as "the kind of alert the Russians would launch if their defense controllers thought Soviet military installations were about to be attacked."

U.S. officials regularly attack Soviet "paranoia" about imperialist encirclement and the threat of American attack. If you had been sitting on the hot seat in the Soviet defense ministry for the last 18 months, you might be "paranoid" too. Reagan & Co. are preparing war on Russia. When they are ready they will invent their "Gulf of Tonkin incident."



U.S. Air Force
U.S. fighter plays chicken with Soviet reconnaissance plane. Don't mess with the Russians!

in the Gulf of Fonseca off Nicaragua or the Sea of Okhotsk or wherever. The terrorist provocateurs are entrenched in the centers of power in the White House and the Pentagon. We say: U.S. hands off the world! ■

War Plans...

(continued from page 1)

schemes like crazy, and we'll develop our countermeasures at 1/1000th the cost. You threaten surgical strikes against Nicaragua if they get MIGs? Okay, by those rules something bad ought to happen to the countries where you stationed Pershings. It can be arranged."

The imperialists will never disarm, just as they have never accepted the elimination of capitalist rule over a third of the globe. If Chernenko & Co. don't sell out anything at Geneva it may be because Reagan won't give them the chance. But the Stalinist bureaucrats' pipedreams of convincing the imperialists to heat their swords into plowshares represent a grave danger to the remaining legacy of the Bolshevik Revolution. The Soviet Union has indeed survived until 1984, but faced with imperialist madmen who seriously discuss the possibility of Armageddon in their lifetime, the only way to secure the gains of October is to extend the revolution throughout the world. Defend the workers states through proletarian political revolution—Clean the compromisers out of the Kremlin—Forward to the program of Lenin!

If West European rulers are more than a little nervous about Reagan's scripts, it is because they fear their countries are the theater in which the trigger-happy cowboy in the White House plans his spectacular last round-up. For now they seek to spread counterrevolution by "peaceful" means, undermining the Soviet bloc from within as with their support to Polish Solidarność, the favorite "union" of union-busters Thatcher and Reagan. But behind the carrot of trade is the appetite to "roll back" the conquests of the Red Army, which smashed the Hitler-Nazi regime 40 years ago; witness the imperialist outcry last summer against the 1944 Yalta agreement, and West German chancellor Kohl's revanchist remarks which rightly upset the Kremlin (and the Poles!). Peace in Europe cannot be achieved by sanctifying the status quo of a divided Europe. The Trotskyists fight for a revolutionary reunification of Germany in the struggle for a Soviet Socialist United States of All Europe!

Imperialist America, the organizing center of the anti-Soviet war drive, is the number one enemy of the working and oppressed people of the world. In the United States as in Europe, anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. Solidarity with South African

blacks fighting apartheid, with Central American workers and peasants facing the threat of U.S. invasion, means breaking with both capitalist parties, fighting for concrete working-class action against the U.S. rulers. While the Democrats and Republicans tried to outdo each other in flag-waving fervor during the recent elections, American labor, blacks, poor and aged are all under the gun of Reagan's war. Only workers revolution at home will smash the insane imperialist war drive by smashing the imperialist system itself.

"Star Wars" and First Strike

The administration's intentions were spelled out a couple of years ago when parts of war secretary Weinberger's 1984-88 "Defense Guidance" were leaked to the press, calling for the U.S. to "prevail" in a "protracted" nuclear war. The document also called for "plans for the first-use and possible follow-on uses of TNE" (theater nuclear forces) in a "limited nuclear exchange" such as over Europe. It also urged an all-sided weapons buildup, including space-based weapons systems, and warned against signing treaties and agreements which might "foreclose opportunities to develop these capabilities and systems." So Reagan is pushing every conceivable high-tech weapon, from the B-1 bomber to the MX missile, which could be thrown at the Soviet Union. And meanwhile the U.S. deployed the supposedly pinpoint-accurate Pershing 2s and hard-to-detect cruise missiles in Europe, wrecking disarmament talks then underway.

In March of 1983, Reagan delivered his "Star Wars" speech promising middle-class white America that it needn't worry—if they only spent \$400 billion or so to deploy high-tech space weapons, the U.S. could be completely shielded from Soviet retaliation. And it would be paid for by a tax cut combined with taking school lunches away from ghetto kids. This plan was cooked up by Dr. Edward Teller and the "High Frontier" crowd of New Right nuts whose goal has been to "win" a nuclear war. The "great communicator" pitched it as the ultimate "peace" proposal, to protect people and render nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." But virtually every reputable scientist who has looked into it has labeled "Star Wars" extremely dangerous and destabilizing. It is that and much more: this "defense" system is worthless *except* as part of a "pre-emptive" strike.

The "Star Wars" scheme envisions a "layered" defense, using several weapons systems to zap Soviet missiles and



Sovfoto
The late Soviet defense minister Dmitri Ustinov.

their warheads while in flight. Among the publicized weapons under development are space-based lasers, particle-beam weapons and kinetic energy "rail" guns flying on orbiting battle stations. The technical problem is that nobody can come up with a method to guarantee the destruction of hundreds of missiles during the very short (three minutes or less) boost phase. The problem is multiplied in the mid-course and descent phases when thousands of warheads and decoys have separated from their missiles. The Soviets would have numerous, and relatively inexpensive, countermeasures available, such as putting reflective coatings on their missiles, multiplying the number of decoys, etc. A "leakage" of only 1 percent in the shield would mean the failure of the whole system, since it only takes a few nuclear warheads to devastate a country. And the scheme doesn't even take into consideration the threat from subs, low-flying cruise missiles and bombers. The cost of launching sufficient numbers of battle stations would run into the hundreds of billions of dollars.

As an umbrella against surprise attack, "Star Wars" is truly a hare-brained scheme. But as part of a first strike it makes a lot of (twisted) sense. The Union of Concerned Scientists' detailed study on *Space-Based Missile Defense* (March 1984) notes that an attacker with thousands of missiles could readily smash through any conceivable defense shield, but ballistic missile defense (BMD) systems "might

perform with some effectiveness against a poorly coordinated and weakened retaliatory strike." "One can readily appreciate," concluded the UCS analysis, "that the Soviet Union might view an American BMD as part of a larger US effort to acquire a first-strike capability." And that is exactly what the Kremlin concluded. Four days after Reagan's speech, then Soviet leader Yuri Andropov replied:

"In fact the strategic offensive forces of the United States will continue to be developed and upgraded in full tilt and along quite a definite line at that, namely that of acquiring a first nuclear strike capability. Under these conditions the intention to secure itself the possibility of destroying with the help of the ABM defenses the corresponding strategic systems of the other side, that is of rendering it unable of dealing a retaliatory strike, is a bid to disarm the Soviet Union in the face of the U.S. nuclear threat."

Even the article by McGeorge Bundy, George Kennan, Robert McNamara and Gerard Smith ("The President's Choice: Star Wars or Arms Control") in the ultra-establishment *Foreign Affairs* (Winter 1984/85) concluded that while "our government, of course, does not intend a first strike," nevertheless "we are building systems which do have what is called in our own jargon a prompt hard-target kill capability, and the primary purpose of these systems is to put Soviet missiles at risk of quick destruction. Soviet leaders are bound to see such weapons as a first-strike threat."

Thus the scheme would destabilize the current rough balance of terror by vastly encouraging the U.S. to strike first. Simply to defend themselves, the Soviets would be forced to accelerate their production and deployment of offensive missiles in order to guarantee that their second strike could penetrate the U.S. BMD arsenal. And they will have to develop their own ASAT weaponry to destroy the U.S. battle stations and other satellites. In a period of political crisis the pressure to launch on warning would be overwhelming as the Soviets face pressure to "use them or lose them."

In practice, though, the only aspect of ballistic missile defense systems which appears to be within reach of present technology is a limited defense in the terminal phase. "Star Wars" is becoming strikingly similar to the early 1970s ABM systems. "There are some intermediate steps which have intermediate utility," Undersecretary of Defense Fred Ikle hinted at a secret Senate committee meeting last year. And Weinberger has said that indeed SDI might have a "transitional phase"

involving point defense of U.S. missile silos. However, the 1972 ABM treaty sharply limited the number of ballistic missile defense clusters to two each for the U.S. and the Soviet Union. This was a tacit admission on both sides of the futility and danger of ABM defense. Now the U.S. is saying the ABM treaty may have to be "revised"—"in other words, broken" as even the *New York Times* (30 December 1984) admitted.

Space Shuttle Provocation

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

With 30 secret military missions already scheduled for the next five years, the Pentagon's purpose was to get the press to keep its mouth shut. And, ominously, at first everyone went along. Even the *Post* emphasized that it deliberately withheld some details for "national security" reasons, which didn't save it from being denounced by Weinberger for giving "aid and comfort to the enemy," the classic witchhunters' phrase for treason trials. Indeed, the administration is trying to establish legal precedents for prosecuting journalists under espionage laws. The test case is the Justice Department's prosecution of naval intelligence analyst Samuel Loring Morison, grandson of the famed naval historian, for providing a reconnaissance satellite photograph of a Soviet aircraft carrier to *Jane's Defence Weekly*, a house organ of Western intelligence agencies, of which he is the American editor.

It's no wonder they want to muzzle the press: the media had uncovered a gigantic hoax. The public had been led to believe that the space shuttle, unlike "evil" Soviet space missions, is intended for purely peaceful, scientific purposes. But the 20 December 1984 *New York Times*, in the middle of an article about the "secret" military payload, casually mentioned "the shuttle's spacious cargo bay, whose dimensions were specifically designed for military missions." The next day the *Times* revealed in detail how the Pentagon's enormous space budget enabled it to take over the shuttle. A recent report in *Aviation Week* (5 November 1984) was even more sensational, reporting that the Pentagon already has a pool of 25 military astronauts, independent of the civilian NASA space agency, to fly military space missions. "Star Wars" is a lot closer than you think.

Anti-Soviet Madman in the White House

Quite a few establishment figures and even some of Reagan's staunchest defenders have begun to worry about his

reckless offensive strategy. Other NATO heads of state, including British prime minister Thatcher, French president Mitterrand and West German chancellor Kohl have expressed their "deep reservations" about U.S. development of space weapons. Listening to some of the Reaganauts in the Pentagon reminds one of French chief of staff Joffre's "strategy of the offensive" which managed to get tens of thousands of

ly destroying an enemy force." Shades of General Joffre! West European leaders worried that this would rip off NATO's mask as a "defensive alliance." Criticizing West European leaders for having a "Maginot Line mentality," Rogers and other American military planners argue that "emerging technology" (appropriately dubbed "ET") gives the West the capability to strike at the heart of the Warsaw Pact with non-



Soviet missiles in Red Square: When Reagan starts talking "disarmament," reach for the SS-20s.

French youth slaughtered in the early days of World War I, repeatedly throwing them against the devastating fire of entrenched German machine guns. In the nuclear era, however, the Reaganauts' war madness can have cataclysmic results for humanity.

Take the case of Reagan's secretary of the navy, John Lehman, a 41-year-old Young Americans for Freedom type never involved in naval operations, who has laid down a strategy of "forward defense." Lehman says that in wartime the Pentagon is going to send its expensive (\$3 billion plus) nuclear aircraft carriers right into the lair of the Soviet fleet to attack the Soviet naval fleet in its home base of the Kola Peninsula. Military analyst William Lind called it a scenario for the "ride of the Valkyries" in a recent (1 January) TV documentary in the *Frontline* series on "The Battle for the Norwegian Sea," saying U.S. carriers would be sitting ducks for Soviet subs and land-based bombers. This didn't daunt Lehman, however, who claimed the advantage of "knowing Soviet capabilities at sea because we're rushing up against them every day, everywhere in the world.... We know how good they are, we know we're going to win."

Former CIA director Stansfield Turner calls this "forward strategy" a "mistake of historic proportions," and claims that not one admiral supports Lehman. The navy chiefs are probably having nightmares about being sent into a repeat of the 1916 battle of Jutland (or Skagerrak), in which the entire force of German battle cruisers was sacrificed in a suicidal charge at the British fleet, which smashed the German ships in a hurricane of fire. The Germans called it a "death ride," and the kaiser's surface fleet didn't venture out again for the duration of the war. The sinking of the U.S. navy would do far more for the cause of world peace than any treaty, but it's not what the brass had in mind for their ships.

After two years of controversy among military leaders of the Western imperialist alliance, last November U.S. general Bernard Rogers, supreme commander of NATO forces, pushed through a new strategy named "Follow-On Force Attack." FOFA involves plans for "deep strikes" into the Soviet bloc to destroy Soviet rear echelons with high-tech weapons. It is the application to Europe of "Air-Land 2000," a doctrine developed by the U.S. General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth for "offensive tactics." According to U.S. Operations Manual FM-100, the fundamental precept of Air-Land battle is that: "The offense is the decisive form of war, the commander's only means of attaining a positive goal or of complete-

nuclear forces. However, the "Rogers Plan" does not reject previous NATO policy of first use of nuclear weapons.

"ET," "Star Wars," "Air-Land Battle": the Reagan regime's nuclear policy is the distilled essence of Silicon Valley, Orange County and the Pentagon, concocted by an aging YAFer dressed up like Darth Vader in a video games parlor. Half of the fabled U.S. "emerging technology" doesn't work (the Pershings which regularly miss their targets, the Sergeant York gun which does best against outhouse exhaust systems, the Assault Breaker system which can hit some tanks that don't move)—and the other half doesn't exist. No one buys the administration's pretense that it is talking about defense. What worries rational imperialist planners, however, is not that Reagan wants war but that he may screw it up and lose badly.

Some of the more responsible statesmen, like veteran diplomat George F. Kennan, for instance, are genuinely afraid that Reagan might blow up the world. In a column titled, "World War I; Then, II; Then..." (*New York Times*, 11 November 1984), Kennan recalled that the first imperialist world slaughter was prepared by:

"...new vainglorious dreams of total war, unconditional surrender and the total victory that was supposed to make all things possible.

"And we of this age? How about us?"

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

From KAL 007 to Geneva

In order to fob off the blame for shredding the 1972 ABM treaty, the Reaganites, with a cynicism rivaling Goebbels, have invented a list of supposed "Soviet violations." Top on their list is the unfinished phased-array radar located at Abalakova (near Krasnoyarsk) in Siberia, which Washington claims could be used for ballistic missile defense. There is overwhelming evidence that the U.S. launched the provocative KAL spy mission into Soviet airspace, overflying the Soviet Union's most sensitive Far Eastern

military facilities, in coordination with an American "ferret" spy satellite, to test the capabilities of the new Siberian radar (see "Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels," *WV* No. 350, 16 March 1984). And now the White House provocateurs dare to accuse the Soviets of "violations"!

In the fall of 1983, at the height of the imperialist propaganda blitz over KAL 007, as the U.S. (with the agreement of its NATO allies) was preparing to deploy Pershings in West Europe, Soviet defense minister, Marshal Dmitri Ustinov, who died last month, declared that the USSR was "displaying truly Leninist self-control":

"No 'preemptive strike' will help the strategists on the other side of the ocean to avert a devastating retaliatory strike. Nothing will save the aggressor from retribution if he uses nuclear weapons in a first strike against the Soviet Union and its allies....

"We do not seek nuclear superiority, but neither will we allow the US administration to use nuclear blackmail to conduct a policy of strength against us."

—*Pravda*, 19 November 1983

Or as the then chief of staff of the Soviet armed forces, Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, put it: "Retaliation will be inevitable in all cases." But a sound military defense is only the beginning of the defense of the revolutionary conquests embodied in the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state.

With good reason, Soviet leaders have not been overly optimistic about the upcoming Geneva talks. Communist Party general secretary Chernenko called for "radical" arms reductions, but *Pravda* commented pessimistically in its New Year's edition, "We have no illusions." Unfortunately, the history of the Stalinist bureaucracy shows an overabundance of illusions in "peaceful coexistence," "détente" and other code words for achieving a live-and-let-live deal with the imperialists. As Marxists we understand that the capitalists will never accept the Bolshevik Revolution. Defense of the gains of October can only be secured by extending proletarian revolutions, particularly into the imperialist heartlands. This was the task undertaken by the Communist International under V.I. Lenin and continued by Leon Trotsky, founder of the Soviet Red Army, in his struggle for the Fourth International.

We do not begrudge the Kremlin its efforts to stave off the tremendous costs of a space arms race. But a treaty with the imperialist U.S. rulers will no more guarantee defense of the Soviet peoples against imperialist intervention than did Stalin's pact with Hitler. What's needed is a return to the policies of Lenin and Trotsky, the policies of proletarian internationalism and world socialist revolution. In his "Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam" (July 1932), Trotsky wrote that:

"The pretense of 'disarmament' has and can have nothing in common with the prevention of war. The program of 'disarmament' only signifies an attempt—to up to now only on paper—to reduce in peacetime the expense of this or that kind of armaments... The question of disarmament is one of the levers on the arena of imperialism in which the new wars are being prepared. It is pure charlatanism to attempt to distinguish between defensive and offensive machine guns, tanks, airplanes. American policy is dictated in this also by the particular interests of American militarism, the most terrible of all... Petty-bourgeois pacifism, which sees in a 10 percent, or 33 percent, or 50 percent disarmament proposal the 'first step' towards prevention of war, is more dangerous than all the explosives and asphyxiating gases....

"Without the slightest confidence in the capitalist programs for disarmament or arms limitation, the revolutionary proletariat asks one single question: *In whose hands are the weapons?* Any weapon in the hands of the imperialists is a weapon directed against the working class, against the weak nations, against socialism, against humanity. Weapons in the hands of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations are the only means of ridding our planet of oppression and war."

—*Writings of Leon Trotsky* (1932) ■

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Peter Kihss: A Journalist with Integrity

Peter Kihss, for many years ace reporter on the *New York Times* metropolitan desk, died December 28 of a heart attack at the age of 72. We of the Spartacist League had contact with Peter Kihss extending over 20 years and we always got a fair shake from him. Which is more than we can say of the bourgeois press generally, including in particular his employers at the *Times*. Noting how the press uncritically peddles government smears against the left, we have had occasion to refer to "the Fourth Estate, the world's oldest profession." Peter Kihss was different—he was that rare species, a journalist with integrity, who thought the truth was "fit to print." And for that we honor him.

The *Times* (30 December 1984) obituary was a retrospective of Kihss's career covering almost half a century. "He was, by nearly every standard of American journalism, an ideal reporter," wrote Robert McFadden, noting his thoroughness, tenacity and objectivity, as well as the speed and grace of his prose. McFadden recalled the time Kihss literally picked up Mayor Fiorello La Guardia and shook him, saying "Four hundred thousand readers of *The World-Telegram* want to know," when his zionist threatened to throw the reporter down the City Hall steps for asking embarrassing questions. He remembered that Kihss faced down a hostile crowd of racists when he was covering the enrollment of the first black student at the University of Alabama. He didn't have much to say about Kihss's activities as an active member of the New York Newspaper Guild, though. Kihss's retirement notice noted that during the 1950s McCarthy period he had most of the big local stories on the "Communist and Nazi" beat. And A.J. Liebling in his collection of essays on *The Press* (1975) contrasts Kihss's factual reporting on the Alger Hiss case to the sensation-mongering of his editors at the New York *Herald Tribune*.

We didn't know Peter Kihss well, but on those occasions when we intersected we found his reporting accurate and intelligent. Kihss wrote a substantial story in the *New York Times* (8 March 1964) on the expulsion of the Revolutionary Tendency, predecessor of the Spartacist League, from the Socialist Workers Party. Based on an interview with *Spartacist* editor James Robertson, he noted that the SWP stood

accused of expelling members solely "on the basis of opinions" for the first time in its history. Kihss indicated the political basis for the expulsions, quoting the first issue of *Spartacist* attacking the SWP for "surrender of all Marxist responsibility toward the Cuban Revolution through abasement as an uncritical apologist for the Castro regime." He



also noted the RT's objection to the SWP's "will-o'-the-wisp chase after Black Nationalism" in the U.S. Kihss's care in reporting was shown by the fact that between the early and late editions of the paper he added news of additional expulsions of RT supporters and a quote from Myra Tanner Weiss denouncing the purge. Those who read Kihss's piece would know more about the expulsion than readers of the SWP's *Militant*.

The *Times* obituary says Kihss wrote "dispassionately" on a wide range of topics. A lack of passion is hardly our standard of journalistic excellence, but in our experience at least, Peter Kihss's commitment to "objectivity" was not an excuse for slanting the story against those who challenged the established order. We recall the assassination of Malcolm X, where Kihss wrote a page one news story noting the black militant's "gift for bitter eloquence against what he considered white exploitation of Negroes," and that "Malcolm's new movement emphasized self-defense even with weapons" (*New York Times*, 22 February 1965). While Kihss was hardly

sympathetic to Malcolm, his account sharply contrasted with the *Times*' rabid editorial vilifying this courageous tribune of black freedom as "an extraordinary and twisted man, turning many true gifts to evil purpose," and virtually blaming Malcolm for his own death: "...his ruthless and fanatical belief in violence...marked him for notoriety, and for a violent end."

Later that year, Kihss covered the "Harlem riots" of July 1964—in reality a cop riot touched off by the police killing of a young black man and directed against militant efforts to organize the ghetto around tenants committees. Kihss reported how the FBI and the mayor's office were trying to blame everything on "Communists" and "fringe groups" who allegedly incited violence, but he also went out and got what the "reds" like Progressive Labor's Bill Epton had to say. Where most journalists didn't recognize the existence of anything to the left of the reformist CPUSA, Kihss reported on a garment center rally of the Harlem Solidarity Committee including speakers from PL, Workers World and Spartacist.

Many years later, in September 1981, our paths crossed again at the offices of Albert Shanker's United Federation of Teachers. The UFT hosted a press conference for a representative of the Polish "union" Solidarność who was setting up a New York office (with the help of the "CIA socialists" of Shanker's SDUSA crowd). The Spartacist League demonstrated outside the UFT headquarters with signs including: "Reagan Smashes PATCO American Union, Loves Solidarność!" and "Social Democrats and the AFL-CIO Front for CIA in Poland, Too!" This led the *Wall Street Journal* (29 September 1981) to write an ominous editorial denouncing "a respectably-sized group of demonstrators [that] was organized to picket the opening in protest against the American imperialism it allegedly represented." The house organ of American finance capital warned, "Anyone seeking to delegitimize" American labor leaders' fronting for Washington "should be aware of just how serious an attack he is launching," and threatened that if they persist in this "very dirty business...they should not be allowed to do so easily."

Kihss covered the Solidarność press conference, and stopped to observe our demonstration. The *New York Times*,

which purports to be the newspaper of record in the United States, found the SL demonstration to be no news. Kihss's draft had, however, reported on our protest and on 29 September 1981 he sent us a courteous note lamenting this censorship: "I did think you warranted mention." He enclosed a copy of the story as written, which ended: "In the street, 50 pickets from the Spartacist League, a Trotskyist Communist organization, chanted and carried signs to charge that 'Solidarity has become an instrument for Ronald Reagan's drive to 'roll back' the social and economic gains of the Russian Revolution'." When we ran into him at another event, he apologized again, adding that the *Times* has "almost a policy of not covering demonstrations" unless you're about to take power. As top reporter on the metro desk he had run into this barrier time and again.

We gather this wasn't the first time Peter Kihss had expressed dissatisfaction with hatchet jobs on his copy. The *Times* Op-Ed page this January 1 published a remembrance by Sydney Schanberg who recalled that Kihss proudly called himself "just a reporter." Kihss, he said, once described an editor as "someone who separates the wheat from the chaff—and sees to it the chaff gets into the paper." Schanberg added that Kihss "quit" a few times after bitter jousts with editors, but he won "a basketful of awards" during his 49 years as "just a reporter": "in an era when the press came under increasing criticism for arrogance and carelessness, Peter Kihss was an exemplar of accuracy and fairness."

American journalism is a deservedly maligned profession. "The press is free," as it is said, "for them that owns one." Not much has changed since H.L. Mencken wrote his scathing diatribes against not only the "journalistic street-walkers" but the majority of newspapermen who were "ignoramuses, and proud of it": "It is this vast and militant ignorance, this widespread and fathomless prejudice against intelligence, that makes American journalism so pathetically feeble and vulgar, and so generally disreputable" ("Journalism in America," 1927). Peter Kihss, however, was not "just a reporter" but an honest reporter. He didn't write for the "boobies" but for intelligent people who care for the truth. Sadly a man such as he is a voice in the wilderness in the world of capitalist commercial enterprise. ■

Red Army Mops Up...

(continued from page 7)

Apparently the anti-Soviet warmongers would have preferred that Abouchar's story remain locked up in Kabul. When he got home Abouchar wrote that "between the Afghan Communists and the ayatollahs, the former might still be

preferable... The men of the principal resistance movement...are religious fanatics. They send a shiver down the spine" (quoted in the *Nation*, 15 December 1984).

Soviet intervention is pulling Afghanistan into the 20th century. Schools and factories are being built. More than a million Afghans have been taught to read and write. Thousands of youth are being given a chance to study in Soviet universities. Mineral deposits of copper

and uranium have been discovered and are being opened up for development. A key index of social progress is the position of women, who are being liberated from the *chadri*, educated and slowly integrated into the workforce. Last summer a reporter for *India Today* (31 July 1984) encountered five 15-year-old girls, armed with rifles and belonging to a "civilian brigade to defend the revolution," in a village near Kabul:

"They spoke fervently and passionately about their revolution and what it meant for young women in Afghanistan: it meant 'an education, freedom from the veil, freedom from feudalists who want to keep us down,' said Khalida. 'We do not want to become the fourth wife of a 60-year-old man, existing solely for his whim and pleasure.'"

At the same time, the PDPA government of Babrak Karmal has sought to piece off the opposition by reinforcing some of the most reactionary features of Afghan society. In particular, Karmal has strengthened the government's ties to those among the Islamic clergy who have not taken up arms against the regime: not only are the mullahs' tithes and landholdings exempt from taxation, seizure or redistribution, but the mullahs themselves are supported by

state stipends. Compulsory education has been replaced by an "optional literacy program for women," and Karmal criticized the land reform decreed after the "April (1978) Revolution" for "resorting to force for implementing land reforms" (*Kabul New Times*, 12 March 1984). But only through force will the feudalists' resistance be crushed. The task of the bourgeois revolution remains far from completed in Afghanistan.

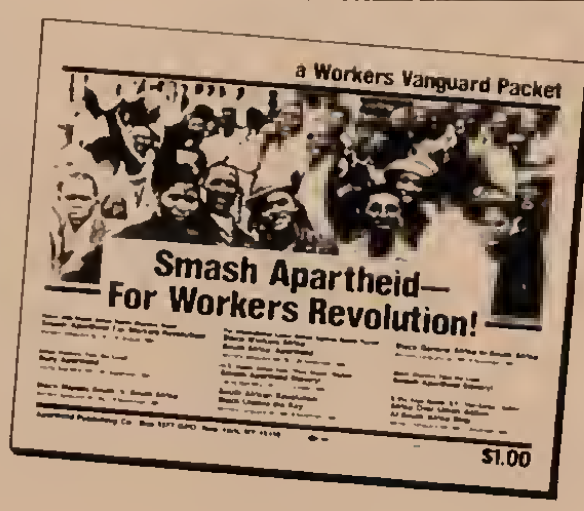
Today Afghanistan is only just emerging from the Middle Ages, literally. The government is implementing the economic plan for the year 1363 (by the Islamic calendar) while convening a "grand jirgah [council] of the scholars and spiritual figures of the DRA [Democratic Republic of Afghanistan]" at the Intercontinental Hotel in Kabul! Yet Afghanistan's likely future can be glimpsed north of the border in the Soviet Central Asian republics, where the Red Army waged a decade-long civil war in the 1920s and '30s to defeat the tribalist Basmachis. In these backward areas, the workers state led by the revolutionary Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky was able to eliminate the veil and the bride price, secure land to the tiller, and break the

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“Subway Vigilante” ...

(continued from page 12)

paper” in this city) ran fund appeals—“Gina Clubs Vow Cash Aid to Vigilante”—and reported \$100 checks rolling in from retired cops. Curtis Sliwa of the Guardian Angels claimed Goetz as one of their own, and began collecting hail money in the trains. The “Angels” are the people who go around terrorizing subway passengers in the name of fighting petty crime. And U.S. imperialism’s most disreputable black pimp Roy Innis came forward to “defend” the gunman—about what you’d expect from people who recruited black mercenaries for the CIA in Angola.

The haughty *New York Times* is probably the only newspaper in the world that could write an article about the IRT shooting and never mention the race of the youths, as they did the first day! But the popularity of the “subway vigilante” has them sufficiently worried that the *Times* (4 January) editorial made an “unauthorized disclosure,” finally conceding that pervasive crime in the subway “generates fear that a system millions must ride has slipped out of control” and called on the city to beef up the numbers and the quality of the transit cops. This is a grotesque joke. Nobody thinks the cops are going to protect them. And the *Times* wouldn’t even admit up until now that it was “Fear City” on the trains—it took a racist nut to pose this issue sharply.

Everybody knows the cops are never there when you need them—the classic case is Kitty Genovese, stabbed and murdered while nobody heeded her screams for help, and many others since then. Of course, the transit cops do kill people—but not those in the act of committing crimes. No, they specialize in shooting turnstile jumpers, or graffiti-painters such as young black artist Michael Stewart bludgeoned to death at Union Square last year. To make it explicit, the *Times* editorial calls for stepping up arrests for “quality-of-life offenses”—this means war not only on black youth, but tens of thousands of homeless, the bag ladies, the derelicts dumped out on the streets from the mental hospitals and welfare hotels who now call the subway home—one of the most tragic stories of human waste in New York.

The bourgeoisie’s response to crime is to strengthen its own repressive apparatus while disarming the population. The *Times* (28 December 1984) predictably editorialized for gun control: “Where



Slogan spray-painted on FDR Drive. In racist America, vigilantism targets blacks.

guns are outlawed, as in New York City, only outlaws have guns. But that is still better than everyone having them. As the subway shooting demonstrates, the ‘decent citizen’ armed with a gun may all too quickly become the criminal.” This is the sanctimonious posturing of hypocrites secure in the knowledge that the armed bodies of state repression exist precisely in order to protect *their* lives, *their* institutions, *their* private property and corporate investments. The NY city council law against carrying long arms in public was zipped through to prevent Malcolm X from carrying a earhine—he was assassinated shortly after. But *New York Times* publisher “Punch” Sulzberger, who has his own armed guards and rides around town in a chauffeur-driven limousine, was in 1980 one of the 550 civilians with a pistol permit.

It is precisely these limousine liberals with their sermonizing about gun control—a patently worthless measure which abuses only innocent citizens—that drive people into the arms of the vigilantes. One could sympathize with Goetz’s frustration over his attempt to get a handgun license. He went through the wringer of bureaucratic investigation/interrogation like a good citizen and was rejected anyway. Even to get the less-restricted keep-at-home license you have to pay \$75, submit pictures of yourself and three full sets of fingerprints, then wait six months while everybody from the FBI to the state bureau of mental health looks into your past. In the end the applicant ends up feeling like a criminal. But Marxists, and the U.S. Constitution, hold that everyone has a right to bear arms. As the saying goes, “God created men and women, and Colonel Colt made them equal.” And gun control is first and foremost directed *against blacks*.

Suppose the subway gunman was black and the youths had been white. Murdoch’s *Post* wouldn’t hail him as a hero, but he’s got every damn right to defend himself too. As a black NYC

transit worker at the Coney Island yard said, referring to a black transit worker bludgeoned to death by a racist mob in 1982, “If Willie Turks had had a piece, he’d be alive today.” Last week right-wing populist Barry Farber remarked on his WMCA radio talk show how courageous blacks saved a lot of lives back in the ‘30s and ‘40s. On the weekends some of the white crackers would get liquored up and talk about going over to “nigger town” to “get them some.” But after a few minutes someone would remark, “Hey Clem, it’s getting dark. Those Negroes have guns, and they know how to use them.” That was the biggest deterrent to lynching there was. It sure as hell wasn’t the local sheriff.

The condition of black people in Reagan’s America is increasingly desperate. In the wake of the 1960s civil rights struggles, the Johnson administration tried to put the lid back on the exploding ghettos by pumping in a few million dollars in the bogus “war on poverty.” Today the re-election of Ronald Reagan is a blatant assertion that there will be no attempts to improve the situation of the black masses. Black people, at the bottom of American society, the last-hired, first-fired reserve army of labor who are considered expendable in hard times, are simply written off. Essential services are slashed, school lunch programs canceled, Medicare curtailed. In New York the privatization of public facilities has reached the point that big-time realtor Donald Trump announced that seating at the projected new city sports stadium will be sold as “condos.” How soon until seats in public schools are sold to the highest bidder?

So it’s election year in New York. The mayor is once again busily whipping up racist sentiment, just as he did in 1977-78 when he made the death penalty the centerpiece of his “Fear City” campaign. Ed Koch is a man who makes his mark going around verbally abusing blacks

with his spit-in-the-eye racism while others turn the mayor’s words into action. After lecturing New Yorkers that they will not be permitted to take the law into their own hands, he tried to shore up the Queens racist vote by refusing to make Martin Luther King’s birthday a city holiday. In the days following the subway shooting there is an ominous atmosphere abroad. The general mood on the street is one of vengeance, that vigilantism works. And the fact that the lumpen population of urban America is overwhelmingly black and Hispanic produces the dangerous intersection of anger over crime in the streets with the poisonous racism which permeates this society.

A decade ago, at the time of Koch’s first election campaign, we wrote in our article “Fear and Violence in NYC” (*WV* No. 147, 4 March 1977):

“Communists are not bleeding-heart liberals who preach ‘Christian concern’ for the brutalized lumpen criminals marauding through the streets and subways, killing, maiming, raping and robbing hapless citizens. When the burnt-out rubble of the South Bronx begins to resemble Dresden after World War II, it is to be expected that the vast ghettos will produce depraved human beings, as the ‘Empire City’ slides into the barbarism of decaying capitalism. It is intolerable that such ‘human garbage,’ as Marx described the criminal elements of the lumpenproletariat, can terrorize the public at will.

“Ultimately the solution to spiraling crime rates is abolition of the capitalist system which breeds poverty and crime. In the meantime, it is a just and elementary reflex that the whole population (not just the well-heeled, cops and criminals) have recourse to firearms to seek protection from this hideous social irrationality....

“While upholding the right of individuals to effectively defend themselves, we strenuously oppose any kind of vigilantism, which could only become a racist pogrom. Gun-nut groups and ultra-rightist types who rail that the cops are too soft on ‘crime in the streets’ are the advance elements of a fascist movement. We do not call upon the working masses to implement the bosses’ racist ‘law and order.’ But in a time of revolutionary upsurge—a dual power situation—a racially integrated workers militia, with recognized authority among the ghetto masses themselves, would certainly deal firmly and justly with lumpen violence....

“It is profoundly dangerous and demoralizing to keep the population, white and black, in a constant state of helpless fear; such desperation spawns fascist mobilizations and racist vigilantes, as shown by the enormously enthusiastic response to the movie ‘Death Wish.’ Marxists must struggle against the monopolization of the means of violence in the hands of the bourgeois state while asserting the right of the working people to defend themselves, as Malcolm X said, by any means necessary.” ■

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

Extend Social Gains of the October Revolution to Afghanistan!

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

“... it is clear that the war is not resulting in the domestic backlash that the Vietnam War stirred in the United States. In talks with people around Moscow, both young and old, no sign emerges of a discontent that could force Kremlin leaders to bring the boys home soon. ‘I don’t know if you would call this a popular war,’ a Moscow scholar said privately. ‘But certainly it is not an unpopular war.... More or less, it’s a popular war,’ he said. ‘People say: “Aha, the Americans wanted to grab Afghanistan. We’ll show them!”’

A Moscow novelist said: “We see how poor the Afghans are, how dirty.... Our boys give them pieces of sugar, and they have never seen sugar before. We are bringing them a better way of life.”

During the summer of 1919, as the revolutionary wave was receding in

central Europe, Trotsky noted that the Red Army (which he led) could pave the way for extending the Russian Revolution to the East, beyond the boundaries of the former tsarist empire:

“We have up to now devoted too little attention to agitation in Asia. However, the international situation is evidently shaping up in such a way that the road to Paris and London lies via the towns of Afghanistan, the Punjab and Bengal.... Naturally, we had had in mind even earlier on the need to assist the revolution in Asia and had never abandoned the idea of revolutionary offensive wars.”

—*The Trotsky Papers*, Vol. I (1917-1919)

The plan was stillborn, as the Red Army was forced to marshal every last man and weapon to defend the young workers state from foreign intervention and internal counterrevolution.

Trotsky’s Red Army was an instrument of revolutionary policy; its role was to defend the Soviet state and assist the development of international working-class revolution. The bureaucratic caste which seized power in the mid-1920s is interested not in revolution but in peaceful coexistence with the imperialists. Soviet aid is as capable of propping up oppressive regimes (such as Mengistu’s Ethiopia) as overthrowing

them. Nevertheless, faced with a direct imperialist military threat the Kremlin’s defensive intervention in Afghanistan opened up the possibility of replicating the social transformation that took place in Soviet Central Asia six decades ago.

Only a workers political revolution can restore the Soviet state and its army

to their internationalist, revolutionary mission. And our goal of socialist revolution in the imperialist countries takes on a sharp urgency at a time when Reagan & Co. rattle their H-bombs for the sake of overthrowing the gains of the Russian Revolution. Once more we hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Smash Reagan’s anti-Soviet war drive! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

The NYC "Subway Vigilante"

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

In the absence of any mobilization for social struggle, the desperation of black youth has produced a wave of teen-age crime around the country. In Detroit, even with a vicious anti-youth curfew and police riding roughshod on the streets and in the schools, more than 220 kids were shot in street violence during 1984. In Chicago, where 133 youth were killed last year in gang-related violence, there's been an outcry for "more cops" following the shooting of a talented black high school basketball player. But nobody thinks the cops will protect them. And they can't stand feeling helpless. It was a 37-year-old white rider of the IRT No. 2 subway train in NYC who struck a chord among the population, locally and nationally, by pulling the trigger last month on four black youths who tried to rip him off.

Within 24 hours after the incident, the NYPD phone hot line logged more than 500 calls supporting the "subway vigilante." The story of the IRT gunman had an explosive impact in a society where the basic right of self-defense is intimately bound up with the scourge of racial oppression, where there is no future for blacks, where everyone who walks the streets or rides the subways feels up against the wall. Marxists are not "bleeding heart" liberals who close their eyes to the reality of lumpen crime. We say that everyone's got a right to

defend himself, and death to vigilantism! If every subway rider carried a piece, the trains might look kind of weird for a couple of days. But there'd be a lot less harassment, a lot less fear, and it would go a long way toward breaking down the racial divisions in this country.

If there are eight million stories in the Naked City, there is a common thread

"hustle," crime a way of life. The most pernicious effect of capitalism is to force blacks and other minorities into the lumpenproletariat which then becomes fuel for the racism. Lumpenization is the heart of "Fear City" and racism is the blood it pumps.

While liberals prattled about gun control, racist forces seized upon the vulnerability and defenselessness of the

train, walked down the tracks and disappeared.

It was practically like a scene out of *Death Wish*, the popular movie where Charles Bronson starts blasting muggers and rapists off the streets and subways after his wife is beaten to death and his daughter viciously raped. In real life, Bernhard H. Goetz is probably closer to playwright Brian Garfield's image of the New York architect-turned-vigilante than Bronson who played it like a Dodge City macho-man. The comparison was inescapable. The *Daily News* (2 January) wrote:

"One minute he was Everyman, his 90-cent ride beneath the streets interrupted by the sort of fear that is familiar to those who daily enter the dim, predator-and-prey world of the subway system. With four gunshots Everyman became the Lone Ranger, the Avenging Angel..."

Russell Baker in the *New York Times* (5 January) dubbed the mood in the city "Waiting for Wyatt."

In subsequent days, while the cops searched for the gunman, the four South Bronx kids lay in hospital beds. Three of them appear to be fully recovering, while the fourth remains paralyzed from the waist down, due to the bullet which damaged his spinal cord. Three of the four youths had minor arrest records—petty larceny stuff like stealing \$14 from video-game machines and possession of marijuana, while a fourth is facing an armed robbery charge. The press made a big deal about "sharpened screwdrivers" supposedly found in their pockets, but police reports later clarified that the screwdrivers were "sharp" only in the sense that they were new. One of the kid's brothers said they used them for breaking into video-game coin boxes. In the middle of the afternoon on a car full of passengers, maybe all they had in mind was getting something for free. But they picked the wrong guy.

After he gave himself up, a picture of Bernhard Goetz emerged as a solitary electronics whiz, a loner-turned-vigilante who was reportedly traumatized by the experience of being mugged and slammed round by three black kids who tried to snatch valuable electronics equipment he was carrying, back in 1981. After that, Goetz applied for a gun permit, went through the bureaucratic rigamarole, but was turned down. He seems to have become some kind of law-and-order freak, living in a luxury apartment building right off the sleazy drug center of Union Square and 14th Street. A neighbor says Goetz was involved in torching a newsstand on 14th and Sixth a year ago, because it was "an eyesore." Neighbors also said Goetz had been removed from the hoard of directors of the building's co-op for making "higoted remarks." Goetz probably could get off pleading temporary insanity. The description by one of the kids he shot squares with this: "The white guy just snapped and broke off" (*New York Post*, 7 January). Or he may not be charged at all.

Death to Vigilantism!

Murdoch's *Post* (which a *Times* editorial referred to as "the Australian continued on page 11



WV Photo

"Anti-mugging zone" on NYC subways: Fear and desperation breed racist vigilantism.

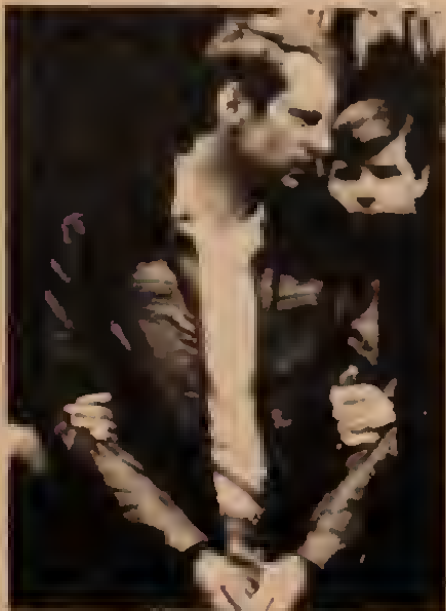
running through them all: it's "Fear City" every day on the New York City subway. You take your life in your hands every time you go down in the tunnel, waiting there on filthy platforms reeking of piss, hugging a pillar so some punk won't push you onto the tracks. At night people huddle together in the official yellow-lined "anti-mugging zones" hoping for protection in numbers. When the train finally comes, you cram into the center car with the conductor, avoiding eye contact by reading the subway ads which warn women riders to keep their gold chain necklaces well hidden. And you pray nothing's going to happen, because there's never a cop when you need one (they're off peddling dope, beating turnstile jumpers to a pulp or getting shot with their own service revolvers). So just before Christmas, when they heard that a man who was being mugged took out a gun and *blew the mother-fuckers away*, the New York subway-riding public cheered.

Liberals like *Daily News* columnist Jimmy Breslin tried to put the popularity of the IRT vigilante down to simple black vs. white hatred (see "Color Us White and Brutal on this Black Day," *Daily News*, 31 December 1984). But the applause for plugging muggers was pretty nearly universal, particularly among black working people who loathe lumpen criminality. Black women were strongly for the gunman. Even black teenagers hanging around the playgrounds remarked they felt safer on the trains. Ghetto residents are the most frequent victims of the mugger. Driven out of the labor market, jobless, for the kids on the street survival becomes a

population to whip up an atmosphere of vigilantism, hailing the "IRT Avenger." Rupert Murdoch's tabloid gutter press, the *New York Post*, has gone on campaign footing to turn gunman Bernhard Goetz into a vigilante hero, headlining, "Vigilante's Untold Life Story," "Vigilante Vowed: I'll Get Them. Sooner or Later," "Grilled Like a Criminal, Not Hero, He Clams Up." A giant sign was spray-painted on the FDR Drive, "Power to the Vigilante! N.Y. Loves Ya!" In racist America, just as the cry for "law and order" translates into stepped-up police attacks on oppressed minorities, so vigilantism must become a license to terrorize and murder black people. Vigilantism will turn into an extralegal prop for the cops; writ large it is not simply a lynch mob but a fascist movement.

"Death Wish" on the IRT Express

It was 1:45 p.m. on a Saturday afternoon, December 22, on the No. 2 express train southbound from 14th Street to Chambers in lower Manhattan. A group of four black kids came up to a slim blond white man wearing glasses and began to work the classic New York shakedown. They asked for the time, they asked for a cigarette, they asked if he "had \$5." According to the youths, the man replied, "Yes, I have \$5 for each of you," then pulled out a nickel-plated .38-caliber revolver and methodically shot each one—one on the head, one in the side, two in the back. He fired a fifth time at one youth who was not yet down, only stopping when he ran out of bullets. He calmly walked up to the conductor, said they "tried to rip me off," jumped off the



Maass/Photoreporters

Bernhard Goetz