

Eleven-Month Battle Against Bloody Thatcher

British Miners: Spread the Strike and Win!

LONDON, February 3—Nearly eleven months after their strike against pit closures began, 130,000 British coal miners remain locked in a fight to the finish with the Tory government of Margaret Thatcher. Intent on starving the miners and their families back to work and smashing their union, Thatcher and the Coal Board have now broken up the latest round of negotiations, insisting that the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) must agree in advance to terms which would mean total surrender. Under pressure to cave in and end their strike from all sides—from the Labour Party tops to the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and right-wingers on the miners' executive—the NUM leaders have rightly refused.

The miners' strike is poised on the razor's edge, and with it the fate of Britain's workers and oppressed for years to come. The tens of thousands of men and women who have kept this fight going through bitter hardship remain defiant. They want a road to victory. When NUM vice president Mick McGahey rose to speak at a support rally in Glasgow on January 26, the chant that erupted from the thousands-strong crowd of miners was "No sellout! No sellout!" And the day the abortive negotiations began in London, 3,500 strikers descended on Cortonwood colliery in Yorkshire for a mass picket and demonstration to union leaders that they would not accept a

Strikers' flying picket squads battle scabs and Thatcher's uniformed thugs outside coal pit in Leeds, August 1984.



settlement based on surrender. Pickets huddled cops in full riot gear and transit vans who were escorting a handful of scabs to the pit. It was the decision to close Cortonwood last March that sparked this massive nationwide battle.

In this critical moment the NUM should be straining every muscle to break out of its enforced isolation,

seeking particularly to enlist the strategic rail, truck and dock workers for joint strike action. Instead the NUM leadership is demobilising the struggle, leaving strike activists hanging in the wind, with no national instructions and no proposals for action. Unwilling to make a sharp and open break with the Labour/TUC traitors, in particular by putting

the TUC "lefts" on the line, the militant NUM leadership has been impelled down a dead-end road of concessions and capitulations. These have ranged from NUM president Arthur Scargill's refusal to defend the South Wales strikers facing murder charges over the death of scab taxi driver David Wilkie,

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Ariel Sharon: Butcher of Sabra/Shatila

"History written with an ax cannot be unwritten by the pen" and a thousand "libel" suits cannot wipe the blood from General Ariel Sharon, the butcher of Sabra and Shatila. The arrogant would-be Führer of Israel, Sharon came to New York to "untell" even that small fraction of the truth which emerged about his role as central architect of the massacre of thousands of Palestinian women, children and old men in the refugee camps of West Beirut. Sharon ranted about "blood libel," but this mass murderer has more blood on his hands than Reinhard Heydrich, the Nazi butcher of Prague, who was mowed down in a hail of bullets in 1942.

Sharon sued *Time* magazine for libel, for a 1983 article which linked him to the slaughter at Sabra/Shatila. The jury found one paragraph in the eight-page story "false" and "defamatory," while refusing to award Sharon any damages or brand the article as libelous. The butcher now claims a "moral victory": it is no secret from Tel Aviv to Manhattan that the whole spectacle was part of his strategy to become in fact what his fanatic Zionist followers have crowned him: "Arik—King of Israel." David Halevy, author of the *Time* article, caught the Orwellian outrage represented by the verdict: "Despite the fact that today is January 18, 1985, I

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General Sharon. He did it. Everyone knows it. He has blood of more than 2,000 killed in Beirut massacre on his hands.



Her Work Led to Victory of Suit Against FBI

Toni Randell Remembered

Last November 30 the Spartacist League concluded a successful settlement of our suit against the FBI's latest "Guidelines" for witchhunting and provocation against the left. This legal victory strengthens every one of us, but it is especially a tribute to the work of our comrade Toni Randell (1943-1982). Toni was a ten-year cadre of the Spartacist League; she was a founder of the Partisan Defense Committee and served as the PDC's first secretary. She brought to the PDC work her rigorous integrity and intelligence, and the compassion and dedication of a hard communist.

In defense of our organizations, our supporters and the existing rights of the whole working-class movement, the SL and PDC have undertaken and won a number of legal challenges to the "Cold War II" witchhunt. Our record is particularly impressive given the current political climate, when victories on behalf of the oppressed are

few and far between.

The foundation for our successes in the field of defense work is our adherence to the principles of class-struggle legal defense, the heritage of the early International Labor Defense led by James P. Cannon some 60 years ago. That heritage was made accessible to us through Toni's research. The PDC's commitment to the defense, in the courts and more broadly through class-struggle political mobilization, of all cases and causes in the interest of the working people, without sectarian or factional regard, stands in the honorable tradition of early socialist defense work, later perverted by the Stalinist manipulators, the reformists and spineless liberals.

In particular, the SL's recent successful suit against the FBI was prepared by Toni Randell's years of painstaking examination of the masses of material wrested from the secret police under the Freedom of Informa-

tion Act. Toni meticulously indexed and annotated the 17 volumes of FBI files on the SL made available to us under FOIA. Tracking the FBI's machinations through thousands of pages from which the important words, and sometimes whole paragraphs, had been deleted was a monumental task. Toni scoured every page for clues, counting the number of characters in deleted words, occasionally finding careless slips of the censor's magic marker so that excised information could be deciphered. Toni never lost her sense of humor, as this note reveals: "Here's another FBI volume—yes, they were in the hushes along with the SWP at our Long Lake summer camp." The SWP was there to catch members of theirs in the act of attending a Spartacist camp, which indeed some of them were.

Toni Randell did not live to see the SL lawsuit which her careful work made possible. She died three years



TONI RANDELL
(1943—1982)
Died 12 February 1982

ago on February 12, at the age of 38. Her memory serves to inspire new fighters for the communist future for mankind to which she dedicated her life.

Protesters Drive Marines Off Berkeley Campus Hands Off Guillermo!

BERKELEY, February 3—Marine recruiters were run off the University of California Berkeley campus last week by a Spartacus Youth League-initiated united-front protest. Students not eager to become cannon fodder in the bourgeoisie's war drive to "roll back communism" followed the SYL's initiative in surrounding the Marine recruiters when

they set up a table in Sproul Plaza, the campus' traditional "free speech" area, to peddle their wares of terrorism and bloody counterrevolution. The Marines were rapidly sent packing by outraged students, but the military's protectors in the UC administration and campus police struck back with vindictive rage. SYLer and protest leader Guillermo

Bermúdez was dragged off in a choke hold, his arm twisted behind his back and broken, and then slapped with outrageous frame-up charges of "assaulting a police officer" and "resisting arrest." Twenty years after the famed Berkeley "free speech" fight, UC cops are geared up to make the Berkeley campus "safe" for the U.S. killer elite.

The protest began when Bermúdez and other SYLers spotted the Marines setting up a recruiting table. SYLers approached SAICA (Students Against Intervention in Central America) and the Campaign Against Apartheid group and proposed immediate joint action to run the Marines off. Together the students surrounded the Marines' table, shouting "Marines off campus!" A crowd of nearly 100 students rapidly gathered. Undercover UC police closed in. In an attempt to behead the action, the cops seized protest leader Bermúdez.

A burly cop (at least 6'3" and 200 pounds) seized Bermúdez (5'5", 129 pounds) from behind in a choke hold around the neck and jerked him a foot off the ground. Choking and gasping for breath, Bermúdez landed a kick to the Marines' table, collapsing it and sending the Marines scurrying. Two other cops piled on Bermúdez, wrenching his arm behind his back and dragging him off. As Bermúdez later described it: "There were at least three cops including the tall one who were dragging me. One was holding my right arm and pushing me along. The other was twisting my left arm behind my back and pushing it up, causing me considerable pain. As I was being taken away I kept yelling 'Marines off campus!' but it seems that the more I yelled, the lower I went. They twisted my arm more and pressed their knuckles against my shoulder."

Bermúdez could have been killed by this choke hold, which for minorities symbolizes the police terror which is integral to racist American capitalism. It is a classic cop tactic to beat up a black or Latin youth and then frame up the victim for "assaulting" his assailants. The charges against Bermúdez are a deadly lie. He is not only threatened with jail, but has been set up to be blown

away by police anywhere as a "dangerous cop-attacker." The UC police hastily denied using the choke hold, but a front-page picture in the next day's *Daily Californian* dramatically shows Bermúdez clutched by the throat, and many student eyewitnesses have already signed statements charging the cop with the vicious attack.

His arm in a cast and a sling, Bermúdez was back on campus the next day, leading an SYL rally hailing the Marines' hasty departure and summoning students to Bermúdez' defense. In addition to supportive students, the rally drew a handful of right-wing jocks who loudly defended the Marines' "right" to be on campus, a cause taken up in a January 31 editorial in the *Daily Cal* bemoaning the supposed violation of the Marines' "free speech."

This is a complete red herring. The Marine Corps is not some campus



TROTSKY

Malcolm X on Ruling Class Violence and Black Self-Defense

February 21 marks the 20th anniversary of the murder of Malcolm X, who embodied militant defiance of the racist ruling class and its Uncle Tom flunkies. In his last speech (10 November 1963) before openly breaking with the Black Muslims, Malcolm told an audience of Detroit black people:

As long as the white man sent you to Korea, you bled. He sent you to Germany, you bled. He sent you to the South Pacific to fight the Japanese, you bled. You bled for white people, but when it comes to seeing your own churches being bombed and little black girls murdered, you haven't got any blood. You bleed when the white man says bleed; you bite when the white man says bite; and you bark when the white man says bark. I hate to say this about us, but it's true. How are you going to be nonviolent in Mississippi, as violent as you were in Korea? How can you justify being nonviolent in Mississippi and Alabama, when your churches are being bombed, and your little girls are being murdered, and at the same time you are going to get violent with Hitler, and Tojo, and somebody else you don't even know?

—Malcolm X, "Message to the Grass Roots" (1963)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Jane Scherr/Daily Californian

Berkeley, January 29: Burly plainclothes cop grabs SYLer Guillermo Bermúdez in potentially lethal choke hold and breaks his arm. Now Bermúdez is charged with assaulting police.

debating club but the shock troops of imperialist state power. It is their job to "hit the beach" to inflict massive acts of bloody ruling-class terror, from the horrors of countless My Lai's to the rape of tiny black Grenada. The Marines, ROTC units and CIA agents who were

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Point Man for Reagan's Racist Terror

Ed Meese: Sinister Witchhunter

Edwin Meese III says openly that a person who attends a political demonstration in opposition to government policy deserves to be shot. Can such a man become attorney general of the United States? You better believe it. Last year his nomination was held up by Democrats in Congress who focused on financial chicanery. So Ronald Reagan's top adviser, the head of the White House kitchen cabinet, was kept out of sight for the duration of the '84 election campaign. But following the Reagan landslide in November, Meese has reappeared as point man for the New Right in Washington. And after the Senate judiciary committee does a quick once-over on the ethics of influence-peddling and cronyism, Meese's nomination seems a sure thing. The Democrats certainly don't want to uncover the real crimes of this roly-poly racist witchhunter in a grey flannel suit.

It was logical, even inevitable, that the Reagan administration would want Edwin Meese III as the U.S. top cop. He is certainly the man for the job they want to do on blacks, leftists, unionists and minorities. Here is a man whose idea of "democracy" is more appropriate to a banana republic. It was Meese who goaded hungry Americans a couple of Christmases ago, saying they were in soup lines to get something for nothing. And it is Meese who pioneered and fostered the technique of setting up political opponents as "terrorists." His solution for dissenters is quick and simple: shoot 'em, literally.

Meese represents the desire and active impulse to honapartism in capitalist

Top Cop Meese (left) with White House war "adviser" McFarlane.



racist and reactionary legal policies. Meese participated in the nine-volume Heritage Foundation report, the "New Right" blueprint for Reagan's war on labor, blacks and democratic rights. This report called for eliminating post-Watergate restrictions on the secret police and emphasized targeting individuals and groups engaged in lawful activities. With slight modification the Heritage program has been adopted in near entirety. Meese most adamantly pushed for the 1983 FBI Guidelines which legitimate and lay the basis for a massive COINTELPRO-type operation against political opponents, branding them as "terrorists."

When Meese was nominated for attorney general last year, liberal Senators led by Ohio's Howard Metzenbaum

was ignominiously mowed down by the adding machine."
—*Washington Post*,
5 March 1984

California's J. Edgar

Edwin Meese is the closest thing to a J. Edgar Hoover to come along in some time. For the left, Meese's history has a special and chilling interest. Meese is a cop on the prowl for his victims, consolidating an arsenal of national power. Riding in his White House limo recently, the proposed U.S. attorney general remarked that it "really isn't very different" from the old days when he used to ride around in the cops' cars when he was district attorney in Alameda County (Berkeley/Oakland). It was in California that Meese earned his spurs, and perfected his witchhunting methods against civil rights and antiwar activists.

Becoming assistant D.A. in 1958, Meese got his chance to really begin his lifelong career as McCarthyite cop with the Free Speech Movement (FSM) at Berkeley in 1964. The demands of the FSM, an early expression of the '60s student radicalization, simply for the right to assemble and for political advocacy, were met with massive police power. And Meese was the state's contact man on the spot, on the phone with Governor Pat Brown when the cops came in to bust up and arrest more than 700 students sitting in at Sproul Hall, deliberately dragging them down stairs on their backs. Already in this early confrontation with radical and liberal protesters, Meese labeled his political opponents as violent terrorists. At the trial of the Free Speech activists, for instance, he argued that the sit-in was a "paramilitary operation," and thus the demonstrators deserved to be arrested and manhandled.

In a two-part series on Meese, the *Oakland Tribune* (26-27 February 1984) wrote of the "'60s Top Cop" in California. When Jerry Brown took over the governor's office from Ronald Reagan in 1975, Brown's secretary of legal affairs reports they found a whole operations room left behind by his predecessor Edwin Meese: "There was a little unit in the governor's office with about 800 phone jacks and something that looked like an AP wire machine in the closet." Meese set up secret "intelligence" operations, infiltrating black and antiwar groups, connected to seven different state agencies through the governor's office. You could run a war out of there, and Meese did—a war on the left, blacks and labor.

It was during the so-called "People's Park" incidents in 1969 that Meese's killer cop mentality was clearly expressed. During the cops' attack on demonstrators, James Rector, one of a

group standing on a rooftop, was brutally murdered by a shotgun-toting Alameda County deputy sheriff. When asked by a *Los Angeles Times* reporter in 1980 about this cold-blooded killing, Meese replied simply, "James Rector deserved to die." Meese confirmed the statement in an interview with the *Washington Post* in 1981. He had a political point to make. "My feeling is that if a guy was trying to kill a policeman, he should expect to get shot." When the *Washington Post* reporter pressed him on this blatant fabrication, Meese replied, "Well, he wasn't up there as a spectator." Rector, you see, was a protester and therefore, according to Meese, a potential cop-killer. For the Reaganites there are only two political categories: innocent "spectators" and "terrorists" who deserve to get shot.

Meese and COINTELPRO

As then California governor Reagan's special assistant for "law enforcement" Meese oversaw the state's campaign to wipe out the Black Panthers through racist victimization and murder. One of the principal targets of that campaign is former Black Panther Geronimo Pratt. When the state did not succeed in taking Pratt's life in the 1969 pre-dawn massive raid and bombardment by hundreds of LAPD Metro Squad and SWAT team commandos on the L.A. Panther headquarters where he lived, the state put Pratt in jail in a vicious COINTELPRO murder charge frame-up. And that racist victimization continues as Pratt has courageously fought for his vindication and freedom from behind bars for 14 years, including six in solitary! Most recently, he took that fight into an L.A. federal courtroom last week in a hearing for a new trial (see article, page 12).

And Ed Meese's legacy of racist victimization is still alive in the Alameda County D.A.'s office, which was at the center of the government's war on the Panthers. This office has supplied the present Reagan administration in Washington not only with Meese, but also with Lowell Jensen, currently U.S. deputy attorney general. During the 1983 national phone workers strike, the Alameda County D.A.'s office engineered a sinister frame-up on multiple felony charges of phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero for defending their picket line and themselves from the assault of a racist scab manager. Lauren and Ray were victims of politicized racism because they were an interracial couple, labor socialists, and Lauren was a ten-year member of the Oakland Panthers. In classic COINTELPRO style a years-old mug shot of Lauren was flashed on Bay Area TV in an attempt to depict Lauren as a dangerous criminal and to intimidate other phone strikers. After a vigorous and widely supported class-struggle defense campaign by the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, all felony charges were dropped and Lauren and Ray did not go to jail. This victory for labor and black rights was a direct blow against the Reagan/Meese program to cast picket lines as "criminal activity" and those who defend themselves from racist assault as "terrorists."

As California's top cop, Meese was a leading participant in a nationwide mobilization of the military, feds and local police forces to crush antiwar and ghetto protest. The full extent to which these police-state master plans were implemented has never been revealed but in 1966 Meese testified before the

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LAPD siege of Panther headquarters, 8 December 1969. Meese oversaw state's campaign to wipe out Black Panthers.

America. His police-state solutions appeal to this regime which is planning World War III against the USSR, yet has been unable to mobilize the population for war, or for its anti-Soviet military adventures. The Reaganite reflex is to call out the cops. And a supercop is exactly what Edwin Meese is. The Reagan regime wants and needs Meese to beat back democratic rights they see associated with the "Vietnam syndrome," and not just "war powers" resolutions or Congressional "oversight" of the CIA's dirty tricks and covert wars. For the Reaganites, protest in the streets is "lending comfort and aid to the enemy," i.e., treason to be met with military measures as they prepare for their Armageddon with the "evil empire."

Edwin Meese is the architect and political whip for the government's most

went after Meese not for his "impatience with cumbersome constitutional protections" (*Washington Post*) but over the "sleaze factor." The hard questions for Meese were about unreported loans, home mortgages, payoffs and cronyism. This is the kind of hanky-panky that is standard practice for this type of "self-made" millionaire politico. The Democrats were not going to touch Meese for his crimes against blacks and workers and social justice, for in these crimes they are all accomplices. Columnist Richard Cohen caught the spirit of the Senate hearings when he wrote:

"Al Capone, may he rest in peace, knows exactly what Ed Meese is going through. After a career as a bootlegger, a murderer and even a mass murderer (the St. Valentine's Day massacre), old Scarface finally went to jail for evading his taxes. The man who lived by the gun

British Miners...

(continued from page 1)

to opening the negotiating team to the right-wing defeatists on the executive, to the cancellation of the January 31 special delegate conference which was to have expelled the Nottinghamshire scabs, to pledging "negotiations without preconditions."

What is there to negotiate with a mass-murdering warmonger like Thatcher who has made clear that the government and Coal Board will not give one inch on pit closures and is determined to fire outright over 600 miners sacked during this strike? An emergency delegate conference is necessary—one that keeps scabs out and brings in elected representatives from the militant women's support groups which have become the backbone of the strike. Its task must not be to discuss terms of surrender, but to hammer out a strategy to *turn this strike around before it's too late*. The Iron Lady can still be beaten and brought to heel this winter. But this cannot be done simply through hanging tough in a war of attrition

"Iron Lady" Thatcher wants "vindictive victory" over miners, just like she got off on cold-blooded murder of hundreds of Argentine sailors aboard General Belgrano in Falklands/Malvinas war.



Press Association



Der Spiegel

which the bosses are bound to win sooner or later. What is needed is a sharp shift in strategy:

- Demand that the transport, rail and seamen's unions come out on immediate strike to join the miners in a fighting Triple Alliance to launch a general strike!
- Don't wait for the bureaucrats to act: organise mass delegations to railwaymen, truck drivers, dockers, demanding joint strike action! Blockade the power stations with mass pickets

from all striking unions and build elected joint strike committees! Defend against cop/seab terror through workers defence squads!

• Broaden the demands of such joint strike action to forge unity in struggle: victory to the miners—no victimisations—smash the anti-union attacks! No more layoffs, no more denationalisations! For a 10 percent minimum wage rise across the board for all workers! Bring down the Iron Lady!

Break Through the TUC's Sabotage!

There is no room for compromise in this historic class battle. Right from the start Thatcher has made it clear that she is out for the crushing of the NUM as the key to crippling the entire trade-union movement. The 25 January [London] *Guardian* captured it vividly:

"...the Prime Minister intends to smash Mr Seargill, if she can, in the belief that the destruction of so charismatic a figure will be as effective a warning to lesser militants in the trade union movement as the severed heads which used to be on display at either end of London Bridge."

"This approach was being characterised at Westminster last night as a radical redraft of the Churchillian precept so often quoted by Mrs Thatcher. MPs [Members of Parliament] remarked that she now seemed to be saying: 'In victory, vindictiveness'."

"Lesser militants" would do well to heed this! Lest anyone doubt Thatcher's intent to be vindictive in victory, let them recall that she is a certified war criminal who during the Falklands/Malvinas war revelled in sending several hundred young men from the Argentine vessel, the *General Belgrano*, to an icy, watery grave in the South Atlantic. British naval officers made no attempt to rescue the survivors. Bloody Thatcher undoubtedly had personal charge of this one unambiguously gratuitous atrocity of the Falklands war.

This is the Thatcher who wants the negotiations with the NUM "to be straight, honest and no fudging." And lately, Labour MP Tam Dalyell has revealed that "There are persons in Westminster and/or Whitehall...who know a great deal more about the violent death of Miss Murrell [a 78-year-old woman thought to possess evidence on the *Belgrano*] than they have so far been prepared to divulge (London *Times*, 21 December 1984)." Would that the Iron Lady had been badly defeated in the South Atlantic and suffered the same fate as the Argentine generals!

What is keeping this vicious Tory bitch in power is the abject refusal of the Labour/TUC misleaders, the solidarity-spouting "lefts" no less than the hackstabbing anti-communist rights, to unleash the full power of organised labour.

What is necessary is to forge a fighting Triple Alliance between the miners and the transport and rail unions that can effectively smash the TUC's sabotage and grind this country to a halt through joint strike action. Hundreds of individual militants in these unions have been victimised for hot-cargoing scab coal and fuel, but the "left" trade-union tops have refused to call national strike action. On January 17 the rail unions called a limited one-day strike in defence of their victimised members in Coalville.

The response was solid beyond any expectation—rail workers know they're next on Thatcher's hit list. But far from seeking to extend the strike, the union leaders are giving consideration to British Rail's demand that the boycott on coal be eased.

When Texaco fuel oil drivers in East London struck against management attempts to break their hot-cargoing action last month, TGWU [transport union] officials moved in to scuttle the strike and keep the oil flowing into the power stations. The two dock strikes last summer brought the country to the verge of an explosion which could have catapulted the miners to a rapid victory. But TGWU leaders called off the strikes, and today scab coal imports are being unloaded in numerous small ports around the country. It is such treachery which has allowed the government to carry out its massive strikebreaking operation to keep power switched on throughout the winter.

Throughout the strike the violence-baiting, hallot-mongering Labour Party head Neil Kinnock and his coterie have acted as a fifth column for the Tories to force the NUM into a humiliating settlement on the Coal Board's terms. Above all, Kinnock wants the miners brought to heel as "proof" that the working people of this country have no option but to vote him into Downing Street at some distant future. And while Kinnock publicly denounces Labour "lefts" like Tony Benn for upsetting parliamentary decorum and Sunday speechifying about general strikes, Benn for his part is not even prepared to challenge the despised and despicable Kinnock for leadership of the party.

As for the Communist Party (CP), which has significant influence in the NUM and other key unions, neither of its two openly split factions offers militants anything better than a second-rate Labour Party. Mick McGahey has been instrumental in engineering deals allowing scab coal to flow into Scottish steel plants like Ravenscraig. And within the NUM executive, CPers have been spearheading the disastrous "negotiated settlement" line which, in the words of Scottish area vice president and CP leadership loyalist George Bolton, means that "everything is negotiable." Meanwhile the CP's *Morning Star*, which attracts militants on its pretend pro-working-class orientation and

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

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

Aid to Striking British Miners' Families Accounting of Receipts Nos. 1-131

Partisan Defense Committee Donation	\$5,000.00
Trade Union Donations	4,061.00
including contributions from:	
ATU Local 1575 (San Rafael, Ca.)	
TWU Local 100 (NYC)	
Library of Congress Employees Union Local 2477	
CWA Local 4309 (Cleveland)	
UFCW District Union 442 (Atlanta)	
Hospital & Institutional Workers Union Local 250 (San Francisco)	
National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200 (Pasadena)	
ILA Local 333 (Baltimore)	
Atlanta Georgia Public Employees, AFSCME Local 1644	
Construction & General Laborers Union Local 22 (Boston)	
Graphic Communications International Union Local 507 (Madison)	
UAW Local 148 (Lakewood, Ca.)	
Brotherhood of Teamsters & Auto Truck Drivers, IBT Local 70 (Oakland)	
Service Employees International Union Local 18 (Oakland)	
Butchers Union, Local 120 UFCW (Oakland)	
ATU Local 241 (Chicago)	
Retail Clerks Union, Local 648 UFCW (San Francisco)	
Union Membership Collections	1,091.56
including members of:	
Tunnelworkers Local 147 (NYC)	
USWA Local 1010 (E. Chicago, Ind.)	
IAM Local Lodge 824 (Richmond, Ca.)	
IBT Local 315 (Martinez, Ca.)	
USWA Local 1011 (E. Chicago, Ind.)	
Hotel & Restaurant Employees Union Local 2 (San Francisco)	
IAM Local 597 (El Segundo, Ca.)	
UAW Local 148 (Lakewood, Ca.)	
AFSCME Local 183 (Iowa City)	
Individual Donations	4,197.29
Total Collected (as of 5 February 1985)	\$14,349.85
Amount Sent to Miners' Solidarity Fund	11,626.31
(as of 5 February 1985)	
Amount on Deposit (as of 5 February 1985)	2,723.54
	\$14,349.85

In the last two weeks over \$2,500 in contributions has been made to the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families. 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.

Spartacist League Forum

140,000 British Miners Strike! Labour Party Tops Betray!

Britain's Winter of Class War

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

By WV correspondent just returned from nine months in the coal fields.

Saturday, February 9, 7:30 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel, Regency Room
636 South Michigan

For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

WORKERS VANGUARD

Labor Must Stop Coal to Britain!

For eleven months, the British miners have stood strong against Reagan's crony Margaret Thatcher. The Iron Lady has imposed martial law in the coal fields, two miners have been murdered on picket lines and 10,000 arrested, while miners and their families have been existing on \$16 a week. It's a battle for the fate of the union movement in Britain—and it's high time American trade unionists used their muscle to help win this crucial fight.

Key to winning this strike is running down the coal stockpiles at the power stations. And winter is the period of peak demand: miners know it's now or never. But NUM leaders despair of the possibility of power cuts as British hosses have kept stockpiles at an estimated 15 million tons. How? By massively increasing imports of scab coal, and the U.S. is the main source. According to the *London Guardian*, almost 40 percent of all imported scab coal is American. The coal barons and shippers here are making millions in blood money off the striking miners. As the *Guardian* (16 January) describes it:

"Far away from the large towns and cities, in obscure creeks and river estuaries, an armada of mainly West German ships has been bringing in US, East European, West German and French coal and coke in astonishing quantities."

Rank-and-file unionists here have largely been kept in the dark about this



Scab coal being unloaded at secluded private wharf in Gunness, north England. Main source of imported scab cargo is the U.S.

scab operation. Officials from the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) told us the bosses and government were concealing the destination of the shipments. According to printed trade statistics, imports to Britain have increased ten times over since 1983.

"In reality much of the 'Dutch' coal has been landed in Amsterdam and Rotterdam by large ocean-going ships from the US and then reloaded into coasters for shipping to the UK."

"US coal has also been trans-shipped in

large quantities from Dunkirk and Ghent and has been recorded as 'French' and 'Belgian'."

—*London Guardian*, 16 January

The British seamen's union has been monitoring the traffic and made detailed information available to transport unions internationally. This shameful strikebreaking operation must be stopped!

In response to appeals from the striking miners, several European unions have taken action to "hot-cargo"

the scab coal. French miners dumped truckloads of coal destined for Britain outside the port city of Calais. Union dockers in Holland have choked off a number of the hosses' preferred shipping routes. Large donations of food, clothing and money have poured in from France, Ireland and Scandinavia, and from black mine workers in South Africa. When it was announced that Soviet trade unions had sent over \$1 million to the miners' Hardship Fund, Thatcher tried her usual "reds under the bed" scare. The miners applauded the Russians' act of solidarity.

But as for Lane Kirkland & Co., they haven't given the miners the time of day. They want to screw the NUM because Arthur Scargill correctly called Reagan and his ally Thatcher anti-Soviet warmongers. Well, toeing the Cold War line never did American workers any good. Backing Reagan in 1980 didn't save PATCO's ass. And hundreds of thousands of unionists here remember bitterly how the AFL-CIO refused to mobilize labor to shut down the airports when the strike was on the line.

Working-class solidarity is what it takes to sink Thatcher—and American workers have a big stake in sinking Reagan's key ally. Militants must fight to smash the bureaucrats' scabherding. U.S. longshoremen, railroad workers, miners: hot-cargo scab coal to Britain! Victory to the British miners! ■

CWA Knives Miners' Families Aid Campaign

We print here a national memo (see right) sent out by the Office of the Vice President, AT&T Communications Unit of the Communications Workers of America, along with the reply by the Partisan Defense Committee. The CWA memo is intended to sabotage and destroy the PDC's effort to raise funds for the striking British miners union through the PDC's Aid to Striking British Miners' Families fund drive.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy has made no secret of its hostility to the courageous British strikers. While the miners and their families are arrested, clubbed and starved under Thatcher's reign of terror, the AFL-CIO tops (in Latin America generally referred to as the "AFL-CIA") save their tears for Reagan's company "union" Solidarność, and their bankroll for the racist, capitalist Democratic Party.

The CWA bureaucrats' memo is on the surface "merely" an effort to warn its locals off supporting a worthy cause undertaken by American "reds." If it were really merely that, it might say: send your money directly to the heroic British miners. But from the standpoint of the CWA's "free trade unionism," the British miners are themselves led by "reds." So instead the CWA letter ludicrously says: deal only with the TUC, who are opposed to the strike, who are doing nothing to help it and everything to undermine it. Send your money to the miners' enemy, the TUC—who aren't raising any money.

The work of those CWA officials and members who have aided the British miners despite this vicious memo stands as an example of the international working-class solidarity the British miners need.

Partisan Defense Committee
February 4, 1985

Don Treinen
Assistant to Vice President
AT&T Communications
Communications Workers of America
Somerset, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Treinen:

We have received a copy of your memo dated January 4, 1985 sent to Local Presidents-ATTCOM Unit regarding the Partisan Defense Committee.

You profess concern regarding the PDC Aid to Striking British Miners' Families fund campaign. Please be informed that this solicitation of funds for the embattled British miners and their families is acknowledged and receipted by the National Union of Mineworkers' Miners' Solidarity Fund (letter enclosed).

To our knowledge the AFL-CIO is currently doing nothing in aid of the British miners' strike, in marked contrast to its enthusiastic support of

Reagan and Thatcher's favorite "union," Polish Solidarność, which poses no threat to the bosses, only to the gains of the workers. As far as the AFL-CIO is concerned, the British miners' strike apparently does not exist. For its denial of the urgent appeal for international solidarity by the NUM, the AFL-CIO stands indicted. Thatcher's intent in this strike is to exact retribution that will make Reagan's treatment of PATCO pale in comparison.

As far as the British Trades Union Congress is concerned, it has not lifted a finger to mobilize the rest of labor to take action in support of the miners which is most crucial for their victory. The TUC has in fact sabotaged support actions by sections of the working class. And at their annual conference last September, the TUC explicitly refused to enforce respect for picket lines among its member unions. Thatcher recently appointed the outgoing TUC General Secretary, Len Murray, to a lifetime peerage in the House of Lords. That says it all.

Communications
Workers of America
AFL-CIO

1 Executive Drive
Somerset, New Jersey 08873
201-560-9364

Office of the
Vice President
AT&T Communications



January 4, 1985

TO: LOCAL PRESIDENTS - ATTCOM UNIT
FROM: Don Treinen, Assistant to Vice President
SUBJECT: Partisan Defense Committee

CWA Local 3250 recently advised this office of having received a letter soliciting funds for British Coal Miners, by the above organization.

We have contacted CWA headquarters who in turn contacted the AFL-CIO regarding the validity of this solicitation. They advise that they have not heard of the Partisan Defense Committee, and that the only contact for such solicitations is the British Trade Union Congress.

This office recommends that Locals check very carefully before sending contributions to organizations claiming affiliation with organized labor.

We will continue in our efforts to mobilize support for the miners as we understand the time-honored words of the workers movement, "An injury to one is an injury to all." Every penny received by the PDC's aid fund goes to the striking miners. The money is kept out of Thatcher's grasp and is transmitted to the strikers as quickly as possible. All contributors receive numbered receipts and the financial records of the fund drive are open for inspection by any bona fide workers organization.

You should indeed be familiar with the record of the PDC in its support to cases involving CWA militants. In 1979, the PDC supported CWA member Jane Margolis in her successful lawsuit against the Secret Service for arresting her on the floor of the CWA Convention, violating her rights as a union

delegate and constituting an attack on the entire CWA. Margolis won an apology from the Secret Service and the financial settlement of \$3500 was turned over in its entirety to the CWA Defense Fund. More recently, the PDC was active in supporting the defense of victimized phone strikers in the Bay Area—Lauren Mozee, Ray Palmiero and others who were assaulted and arrested on CWA picket lines.

Enclosed is our "Urgent Appeal for Striking British Miners' Families" for your information. This appeal, along with this letter, may serve as a corrective memo to circulate to your local presidents.

Fraternally,
Deborah Mackson
For the Partisan Defense
Committee

Blacks Hated the Vietnam War

On Veteran's Day last November, amid all the hoopla about the "new patriotism," another Vietnam veterans memorial statue was dedicated. (The first was dug into a depression, resembling a trench—appropriately for a war the American bourgeoisie wishes would disappear.) The new statue was designed to evoke images of the two Lima memorial across the river by the Pentagon. And sure enough, it attracted hordes of warmongers like flies to shit. In front of cheering vets, imperialist chief Ronald Reagan asserted that there has been a "rethinking" on the war. Notorious liar "General Wastemoreland" told the men they "did the job," trying to forget that the U.S. lost the war. But as the *Washington Post* (18 November 1984) noted, "Amid an abundance of green fatigues and red, white and blue sentiments, there was hardly a black veteran's face to be seen." Blacks didn't come to wallow in the glorification of imperialist slaughter, because better than anyone besides the Vietnamese, they knew what that dirty war was all about. And when they came back, they were hit with the worst this country has to offer, from depression-level unemployment to cop/Klan race-terror.

From Vietnam in the '60s to Central America today, the imperialist planners have worried whether a heavily black army will fight and die for the cause of greater corporate profit margins and U.S. world hegemony. In the early years of the Vietnam War, blacks comprised 31 percent of the combat troops and 23 percent of the fatalities (compared to 11

Black GI in jungles of Vietnam. Sign reads, "U.S. Negro Army-men! You are committing the same ignominious crimes in South Vietnam that the KKK clique is perpetrating against your family at home."



A whole wave of "coming home" books and movies have come out in recent years in an attempt to give the Vietnam vets a pat on the back as part of the Reaganite effort to erase the "Vietnam syndrome" and prepare for the next imperialist adventure. One book, *Bloods* (New York: Random House, 1984), by Wallace Terry, a black journalist who was *Time* magazine's deputy bureau chief in Saigon in 1967-69, claims to pay a "special debt" to the blacks who fought in Vietnam by retelling the oral accounts of 20 black vets. Outrageously, Terry tries to duck the issue of the war, even noting that in 1967 he wrote in *Time* that "most black soldiers in Vietnam supported the war effort." He was rewarded for that cynical propaganda by a personal meeting with LBJ at the White House. Nevertheless, the feelings of many black soldiers come through in the accounts in *Bloods*. Specialist 4 Charles Strong recounts:

"I made a promise in 'Nam that I would never risk my life or limb to protect anybody else's property. I will protect my own. So this country is not going to tell me to go out again to stop the spread of communism.... I don't walk around blind anymore. If another war breaks out and they want me to go, I'd rather die. I'll fight anyone here in America. But if they come and get me to send to some other country, I'm going to have my gun ready for them."

Vietnam was America's dirtiest colonial war. U.S. forces and their Vietnamese puppets killed, maimed and tortured millions of Indochinese men, women and children before they were driven out in bloody and ignominious defeat in 1975. The vets' stories are brutal, and almost to a man—even the officers—they reflect on the fact that blacks were used and abused in the military, and got second-rate treatment as vets. The black soldier in Vietnam got shafted. He got the dirtiest front-line jobs while cushy positions in the rear were generally reserved for whites. Especially in the early years of the war,

before the draft brought more whites into combat, blacks suffered a disproportionate number of casualties and deaths.

Racism and prejudice ran rampant, particularly in the rear areas. Confederate flags were everywhere and there were even cross burnings. On occasion, as Staff Sergeant Don Browne noted, black soldiers would fight back:

"A few days after the assassination [of Martin Luther King], some of the white guys got a little sick and tired of seeing Dr. King's picture on the TV screen. Like a memorial. It really got to one guy. He said, 'I wish they'd take that nigger's picture off.' He was a fool to begin with, because there were three black guys sitting in the living room when he said it. And we commenced to give him a lesson in when to use that word and when you should not use that word. A physical lesson."

In another incident, Specialist 4 Richard Ford reported that when some black troops came out of the field and saw a Confederate flag flying over the MP barracks in Nha Trang they announced, "Y'all the real enemy. We stayin' here," and ripped the place apart, overturning bunks, trashing stereos. But it was risky to stand up for your dignity: blacks who got "uppity" in base camp would often get sent back into the field.

A big reason that the U.S. army lost

on the battlefields of Vietnam was that the troops saw *no reason* to fight and die, and that was doubly true for the black soldier. One black vet, First Lieutenant Archie "Joe" Biggers, contrasted his own position with that of the "enemy":

"The enemy would do anything to win. You had to respect that. They believed in a cause. They had the support of the people. That's the key that we Americans don't understand yet."

The turning point came with the 1968 Tet offensive, when the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese launched a full-scale offensive all across the south. It suddenly became clear to the American bourgeoisie that there was no "light at the end of the tunnel." Short of nuking the whole country—prevented by fear of what the Soviet Union's reaction would be—the glory boys of the imperialist war machine had no choice but to negotiate the terms of withdrawal. Draftees and enlisted men may have gone to 'Nam naive and willing to fight, but they generally came out disillusioned, opposed to the war, burned, and often destroyed as human beings. Toward the end there was not just indiscipline but outright mutiny in the army:

"According to Congressional data, US army convictions for 'mutiny' and other acts involving willful refusal' in Vietnam rose from 82 in 1968 to 117 in 1969 and 131 in 1970....

"From 1969 Vietnam brought a grim new word in the military lexicon—'fragging': in plain English, murder. The term fragging derived from the use of a fragmentation weapon, usually a hand-grenade, as the surest way of dispatching an unpopular officer. Between 1969 and 1971, according to Congressional data, the total number of 'fragging incidents'—including actual attempts at murder and intimidation—was 730, and eighty-three officers were killed this way. But these figures do not include assaults on officers with other weapons—rifles or knives—and by one official estimate there was sufficient evidence in only ten percent of suspected 'fraggings' to warrant investigation. The ratio of violence against officers in



LeBeck/Black Star
Militant black protesters at 1967 antiwar march in NYC.

percent of the U.S. population as a whole). The proportion of blacks in the army is virtually the same today. A 1982 Brookings Institution study delicately raised the question that many black youth and their parents ask themselves:

"Does the fact that blacks will probably die in grossly disproportionate numbers, at least initially, in defense of national interests outweigh the fact that the armed forces provide many blacks with their own bridge from the 'permanent underclass' to a better life?"

—*Washington Post*,
12 December 1984

Judging by the Vietnam experience, the bosses have good reason to worry.



July 1969 Issue of antiwar GI paper initiated by Spartacist supporters in the army.

Vietnam was believed to be almost fifteen times as great as the grim trench-warfare of World War I."

—Michael Maclear, *The Ten Thousand Day War* (1981)

"Fragging" was not a political protest, though the large number of incidents certainly shows vast demoralization of the troops and hatred for the war. The problem was the absence of revolutionary political organization inside the army. With its line of moral protest draft resistance ("we won't go"), the petty-bourgeois antiwar movement voluntarily isolated itself from potentially the most explosive antiwar "constituency": working-class, and particularly black, soldiers. In a leaflet mass-distributed at a 1967 antiwar march, the Spartacist League wrote:

"You WILL Go"

"Far from resisting the war, the voluntary purging of radicals from the army strengthens the ideological purity and political reliability of the army.... The Americans who suffer most from the war are the soldiers in Vietnam, and as the war grows longer and bloodier, discontent among G.I.s and its effect on prosecuting the war could be very great indeed."

—"From Protest to Power"
(21 October 1967)

While "peaceniks" holed up in the communes and campuses, preaching holier-than-thou moralism and pandering to spoiled college kids eager to preserve their class privileged 2-S deferments and avoid the harshness of army life, Marxists sought to bring about class polarization in the army, setting the proletarian ranks (and even sympathetic officers) against the top brass and their political bosses—the ultimate war criminals. As the Russian revolutionary and founder of the Soviet Red Army, Leon Trotsky, wrote, "an insurrection is, in essence, not so much a struggle against the army as a struggle for the army" (Trotsky, 1905).

Bringing the War Home

From the beginning, black America was overwhelmingly against the racist war which took their sons and brothers off to die in the jungles of Indochina. Wallace Terry to the contrary, black soldiers knew that this wasn't the black man's war. When world heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali refused the draft in 1966, blacks throughout the country hailed his statement that "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger." And the racist Georgia state legislature

Malcolm X: Vietnam and the War at Home

Malcolm X struck a chord throughout black America when he told civil rights workers from Mississippi visiting Harlem in 1964:

"Imagine that—a country that's supposed to be a democracy, supposed to be for freedom and all that kind of stuff, when they want to draft you and put you in the army and send you to Saigon to fight for them—and then you've got to turn around and all night long discuss how you're going to just get a right to register and vote without being murdered. Why, that's the most hypocritical government since the world began!"

—*Malcolm X Speaks*, edited by George Breitman

refused to seat civil rights leader Julian Bond, a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), citing SNCC's opposition to the Vietnam War. Even relative moderates like Martin Luther King were forced to speak out against the war in order to maintain credibility among the black masses. Vietnam played a major role in radicalizing young black militants. At the same time that SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael was calling for "black power" in 1966, he denounced the "illegal and immoral war." And when King, the NAACP's Roy Wilkins and the Urban League's Whitney Young pleaded with SNCC to call off an antiwar protest outside the wedding of

LBJ's daughter, SNCC denounced the establishment black leaders as messengers for the White House.

Black veterans returning from Vietnam were particularly drawn to the Black Panther Party, which campaigned for black self-defense against racist victimization and cop terror. Private First Class Reginald "Malik" Edwards explained:

"I had left one war and came back and got into another one. Most of the Panthers then were veterans.... We had already fought for the white man in Vietnam. It was clearly his war....

"So I went to the Panther office in D.C. and joined. I felt the party was the only organization that was fighting the system.

"I liked their independence. The fact that they had no fear of the police. Talking about self-determination. Trying to make Malcolm's message reality. This was the first time black people had stood up to the state since Nat Turner. I mean armed. It was obvious they wasn't gonna give us anything unless we stood up and were willing to die. They obviously didn't care anything about us, 'cause they had killed King."

The Panthers became the vanguard of black liberation in this period because they broke from the liberal preachers' dependence on the Democratic Party and organized militant black action. Geronimo Pratt was one of those vets who joined the Black Panthers. In Vietnam Pratt was wounded three times, received two purple hearts, two bronze stars for valor, one silver star, a soldier's medal, an army commendation medal, three combat infantry badges and master paratrooper's wings. And today he is fighting for his freedom after 14 years in jail on a frame-up murder charge growing out of the FBI's COINTELPRO campaign to disrupt the Panthers and all radical black organizations.

Black America hated the Vietnam War. The war radicalized ghetto youth. Returning black veterans joined the most revolutionary-sounding black organization they could find. And the Northern ghettos were burning down as the black masses responded to cop terror, poverty and the murder of their leaders (King, Malcolm, prominent Panthers). Meanwhile hundreds of thousands of students were marching against the war, driving army recruiters off campus, even being shot down by the National Guard at Kent State. And yet the "antiwar movement" and the "black movement" remained separate. The antiwar movement never mobilized the masses of blacks against the racist imperialist war. The separate protests died out rather than flowing together in a revolutionary conflagration. Why?

It was the crisis of revolutionary leadership in the flesh. The New Left and reformist fakers glorified separate sectoralist struggles—students, blacks, women, workers. The "official" antiwar movement locked up in the popular-front coalition led by the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) made it a virtue to refuse to address black oppression, stressing the need for a "single-issue" focus on the war! (The SWP's "contribution" to black liberation was the call to "bring our boys [the imperialist army] home and send them to Mississippi.") The more experienced pop-fronters of the Communist Party (CP) called for a "multi-issue" approach in order to attract different "constituencies." But their message to black people, after calling on them to vote Democratic for Lyndon Johnson against the "new fascist threat" represented by Goldwater, was to pressure LBJ to turn the "Great Society" hoax into reality! None of this had any appeal to ghetto blacks, who were fighting to survive in the face of war, poverty and repression.

The endless "peace" crawls were nothing more than a giant postcard to your Congressman, a walking ad in the *New York Times*, a pressure tactic aimed at shifting administration policy. But the impoverished black masses would never be attracted by such reformist tactics. *To mobilize the ghetto requires a struggle for power, a fight*



Foreign Languages Press

Heroic Vietnamese war against racist U.S. imperialism was inspiration to black struggle at home.

against black oppression and class exploitation at home as well as imperialist war abroad. The Black Panthers, meanwhile, were caught in the nationalist trap, with nothing to offer but heroic gestures as the cops and feds murdered some of their leaders (and bought off the rest). The Spartacist League called for labor strikes against the war, for an "antiwar Friday," to mobilize the working class in action, just as we have fought for the unions to defend busing and for labor/black action to stop racist Klan terror. In contrast to the social patriots of the SWP and CP, we raised

slogans of revolutionary proletarian internationalism: Turn the guns the other way! Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution! All Indochina must go Communist!

As the Vietnam War drew to an end, the prospects of working-class action were not far off. The same National Guard units which murdered students at Kent State were used to put down a Teamsters strike in Ohio in 1970. But to lead the struggles of the oppressed required a vanguard party of the proletariat. As we said in our leaflet,

continued on page 8

Black History Month Spartacist Events

SL/SYL Forum/Video Showing

John Brown and the Fight Against Slavery

- Finish the Civil War!
- For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Video: "We Tore Down the Flag of Slavery!"

Tuesday, February 12, 7:30 p.m.
Mudd Library, Oberlin College
For more information (216) 775-6067

OBERLIN

Saturday, February 16, 7:30 p.m.
University Center, Room 362
Cleveland State University
For more information (216) 621-5138

CLEVELAND

SYL Forum

The Rise and Fall of the Black Panther Party

Speaker: Don Alexander,
SL Central Committee
Thursday, February 21, 7:00 p.m.
Ackerman, Room 3525, UCLA
For more information (213) 384-9716

LOS ANGELES

SYL Forum

The Legacy of John Brown and Frederick Douglass—Finish the Civil War!

Speaker: Ed Kartsen,
Leader of anti-KKK Labor/Black Mobilization, November 27, 1982,
Washington, D.C.

Friday, February 15, 7:00 p.m.
Douglass 143, Howard University
For more information (202) 636-3537

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SYL Video Showing/Discussion

"November 27, 1982: We Stopped the Klan!"

Thursday, February 28, 7:45 p.m.
(See "Today in the Union" for room)
UW-Madison
For more information (608) 257-8625

MADISON

SYL Video Showing/Discussion

"November 27, 1982: We Stopped the Klan!"

Speaker: Cindy Beckum, SYL
Thursday, February 14, 7:00 p.m.
Room N402, Borough of Manhattan Community College
For more information (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

SYL Forum Series

Wednesdays, 12 noon UC Berkeley

February 13:
Class Struggle, Not Liberal Divestment Schemes—Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution in South Africa! Black Oak Room, 4th floor Student Union Building

February 20:
Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement and the Struggle for Black Liberation
Tilden Room, 5th floor Student Union Building

February 27:
The FBI's War Against the Left and the Frame-Up of Geronimo Pratt
Tilden Room, 5th floor Student Union Building
For more information (415) 835-1535

BAY AREA

Guillermo...

(continued from page 2)

run off the campuses at the height of the Vietnam War are reappearing today as part of the Reagan-led, bipartisan drive to unleash counterrevolution from Central America to the Soviet Union. Solidarity with the victims of U.S. imperialism's murder machine means militant opposition to *all* military recruiters and spy agencies. And should the U.S. government need to augment its armed forces recruiting with the reinstitution of a draft, you can bet the Reagan-years liberals and campus editors will be singing a different tune, railing for student deferments to save their white middle-class asses.

Meanwhile, what really *is* under attack is the right of students to oppose the imperialist butchers. The cop assault on Bermúdez is only the most violent and dangerous of recent attempts by UC administrators and their cops to repress political opposition:

- On December 7, 38 anti-apartheid protesters were arrested during a sit-in at UC Berkeley. They face jail terms and/or restrictive probation conditions designed to bar future protests.

- The campus cops recently confiscated a literature table of the Campaign Against Apartheid, set up in an "unauthorized" area.

- On February 1, "Choke Hold" Johnson, the cop who assaulted Bermúdez, intervened in a UC Divestment Coalition rally to prevent a black activist from speaking because he was not previously registered with the cops and could not produce a student



The day after cops broke his arm, defiant Guillermo Bermúdez speaks at defense rally.

registration card.

In their drive to regiment youth for the holy war against "communism," the UC authorities are lining up with their cohorts at SF State University, who have "banned" the SYL and beaten and arrested young Marxists for distributing literature. But the two-bit thought police will not succeed! The SYL is in the forefront of mobilizing opposition to administration/cop repression, and is calling on campus political groups to join in united-front actions to beat back these attacks.

Drop the charges against Guillermo Bermúdez! Drop the charges against the Anti-Apartheid 38! Cops off campus! ■

Vietnam War...

(continued from page 7)

"From Protest to Power": "With the widespread discontent over the war, the rising militancy and restiveness in the labor movement, and the explosiveness of the black ghettos, the prospect for initiating such a party is better now than at any time in the last twenty years." The antiwar movement could stop the warmongers, we said, only if the White House was more afraid of it than of the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution.

At the height of the antiwar movement, a famous joke depicted Pat Nixon looking out the White House windows and watching an antiwar demonstration drawing near. "Call out the 82nd Airborne," says President Nixon. "But dear," replies his wife, "it is the 82nd Airborne." Open defiance was breaking out inside the army—at Fort Hood, for instance, 43 black soldiers refused to go to Chicago for the August 1968 Democratic convention to be used against the antiwar demonstrators outside the convention. *Bloods* recounts the story of another black soldier at Fort Carson who also refused to go to Chicago: "I told them I'm not going there holding no weapon in front of my brothers and sisters," said Specialist 4 Haywood Kirkland.

At Fort Sam Houston (Texas) black GIs put out a pamphlet containing statements and a poem supporting "Black Power" and opposing the Vietnam War. At Camp Pendleton (California) black Marines organized a group based on the Black Panthers' Ten Point program. Throughout all branches of

the service, black soldiers inspired by the civil rights movement and the Panthers organized "Black Power" groups and militant protests against racist discrimination. Often overlapping with this Black Power movement in the armed forces were integrated groups of GIs which published antiwar newsletters. Even in Vietnam, black GIs staged antiwar protests, like the reported demonstration at the U.S. base at Qui Nhon on 30 July 1969 by over a hundred black soldiers who battled police and marched on the local airport demanding an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Today as the U.S. imperialists plan their new adventures in Central America and elsewhere, they are haunted by the "Vietnam syndrome." Even the Grenada walkover brought forth a heroic refusal to fight from inside the Marine Corps, from black corporal Alfred Griffin. What will be the result of a bloody intervention in Nicaragua, worried Pentagon planners ask. Basing himself on the experience of the 1905 Russian Revolution, Trotsky wrote:

"Only when the soldiers become convinced that the people have come out into the streets for a life-and-death struggle—not to demonstrate against the government but to overthrow it—does it become psychologically possible for them to 'cross over to the side of the people'."

—Trotsky, 1905

For the working class, *Vietnam was a victory!* Forward to proletarian revolution! What's needed is a fight not to change the "priorities" of U.S. imperialism, but to overthrow the murderous capitalist system which has brought death and destruction to the masses from Hanoi to Watts. ■

British Miners...

(continued from page 4)

"pro-Sovietism," pleads, "The basis for talks exists.... Force the NCB to the talks." Thatcher would agree: the basis for talks exists as long as "everything"—jobs, victimisations, closures, union rights—is up for sale.

The workers of Britain need a genuinely communist party, like the Bolshevik Party which in 1917 led the Russian workers to the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a planned economy. Particularly in the midst of Reagan/Thatcher's drive toward anti-Soviet nuclear war, defence of the social gains of the Russian Revolution, despite its subsequent Stalinist degeneration, remains a touchstone for those prepared to wage class struggle against capitalism. Those forces within the international labour movement who are most ardent in their support of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, the CIA "union" which is the *cause célèbre* for anti-Soviet warmongers, are also the most hostile to a miners' victory. The American AFL-CIO, which has funnelled millions to Solidarność, has donated not one penny to the British miners. And the German social-democratic-led metal workers union IG

Miners' leader Arthur Scargill, hauled away and arrested at Orgreave coking plant, site of biggest picket line battle where Thatcher's mounted cops ran amok.



Metall (another big booster of Walesa's cause) has actually been sending money collected for the miners to the British steel workers union, which is openly scabbing on the strike.

The CIA-loving bureaucrats recognise the repercussions a miners' victory would have internationally, particularly throughout West Europe, in throwing a spanner [monkey wrench] into the imperialists' anti-working-class onslaught and plans for anti-Soviet war. At the same time, the outpouring of international solidarity for the miners, from the Soviet Union to France and Ireland, offers vivid counterposition to

the nationalist schemes for import controls preached by the Labour/TUC "lefts," the NUM leadership included. And it contrasts sharply with the narrow nationalism all too typical of the Stalinist bureaucracies, worst exemplified by the Polish government's scandalous shipments of scab coal to Britain. The Spartacist League is committed to a programme of international socialist

revolution, and to the construction of a revolutionary workers party in Britain forged through splitting the Labour Party's working-class base away from its reformist misleaders of all stripes.

In the very first days of this strike, we wrote:

"Given the outright political disarray and betrayal of all those claiming to represent politically the wings of British labour and liberalism, the struggle on the industrial front is the only evident immediate tool for British workers.... With the full weight of the capitalist state breathing down upon the miners' necks, simple trade union tactics point directly to a general strike, and that poses the question of power. The reformist limitations of simple trade unionism, no matter how militant, are being put to the severest test and the subject servility of the Labour/TUC tops laid bare."

—Spartacist Britain supplement, 23 March 1984

With the future of the British labour movement and oppressed hanging in the balance over the next crucial days, we say again and with particular urgency: No sellout—For a new, fighting strategy for victory! Rail, road, docks: strike with the miners! Forge a fighting Triple Alliance to launch a general strike! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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Butcher Sharon...

(continued from page 1)

feel like 1984. The truth is a lie, and the lie is truth" (CBS News).

But no slimy legal maneuvers in New York will remove from humanity's collective memory the grisly sight of those camps, the corpses piled high or sprawled in rows on the ground. It recalled nothing so much as the horror of Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen. It was impossible to count the victims, for as the *New York Times* (20 September 1982) wrote:

"...no one has any idea how many bodies were taken off in the scoops of bulldozers, how many were driven away and killed outside of the camp and how many were buried under buildings that were intentionally bulldozed to cover up bullet-ridden men, women and children."

Now Sharon wants the world to believe his indisputable guilt as the war-crime-in-chief of this genocide against the Palestinians has been obliterated by a supposed error in *Time's* reporting.

Thousands of miles away in New York, the stench of mass murder still clings so heavily to Sharon that even the jurors sensed his guilt. Noting that "most of the jurors felt the same way as she did about Mr. Sharon," one told the press, "I felt he knew there could be a massacre...I wanted to believe what *Time* said. But there just wasn't any proof" (*Wall Street Journal*, 25 January). In fact, there's plenty of evidence which has been willfully suppressed by the Zionist state and Washington.

Sharon's "Final Solution"

The Zionist holocaust of September 1982 was met with such revulsion and shock both within Israel and internationally that even Israel's whitewashing Kahan Commission coyly suggested Sharon resign as Defense Minister. (He was immediately reappointed to the cabinet.) The only debate within Israel is whether Sharon's massacre was a bad thing or a good thing; that it is *his* is not in dispute. Just after the Sabra/Shatila massacres, the *New York Times* (19 September 1982) Jerusalem correspondent wrote that months henceforth:

"Israeli officials were speaking privately of a plan, being considered by Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, to allow the Phalangists to go into west Beirut and the camps against the Palestine Liberation Organization. The calculation was that the Phalangists, with old scores to settle and detailed information on the Palestinian fighters, would be more ruthless than the Israelis and probably more effective."

Recall that Israel's blitzkrieg invasion of Lebanon was undertaken with the express determination to "purify" the region of Palestinians. In September, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was disarmed and expelled by an imperialist "peacekeeping" force comprised of U.S., French, British and Italian units. The Zionists seized West Beirut and surrounded the defenseless Palestinian camps. While the Israeli army manned the checkpoints, fascist Muslim-hating Christian forces of the Phalangist Damuri Brigade and Saad Haddad's Lebanese Forces were trucked in.

What ensued was *three days* of mass slaughter by these forces coordinated by and under the direct auspices of Sharon. The Israelis launched flares so that the killing could continue into the night, and provided food rations to the Phalangists. It was Sharon's "final solution" to the Palestinian "problem"; the Phalangists were to him what the Lithuanian and Ukrainian *Einsatzkommandos* and Croatian Ustashi were to Hitler. Sabra and Shatila were part of a calculated plan of extermination; as noted by the popular Israeli pulp magazine of Uri Avneri:

"This was supposed to be the last stage of the 'large plan'—driving the Pales-

tinians out of Beirut and Lebanon by brutal massacres that would drive the Palestinians to run away. And by mid-September the Israeli army and the Phalangists, following orders from Sharon and Raul [Israeli army chief of staff], began with the last stage of the plan. The massacre of Sabra and Shatila was no accident but part of the 'large plan'."

—*Haolam Hazeh*, 8 June 1983.
from Israel Shahak

Like the 1948 slaughter of Arab villagers at Deir Yassin, this massacre was also intended to sow terror in the Palestinian population and get them to flee for their lives.

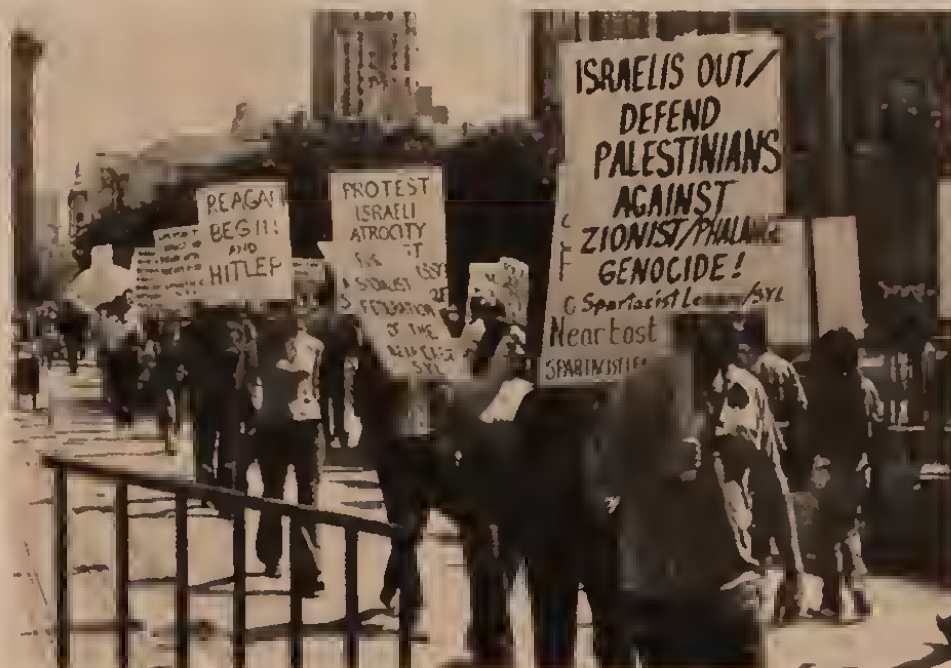
The People Who Brought You Sabra/Shatila

The trial itself revolved around a passage of the *Time* article describing Sharon's visit to the Gemayel family just after Lebanese president Bashir Gemayel was blown away (quite possibly by

but perhaps *Time* finds them discomfiting. Perhaps it feels that the truth about Sharon could not be told without excessive perturbation of U.S.-Israeli public relations."

The fact is that the White House, through General Haig, gave Sharon the green light to invade Lebanon. Washington did have its tactical differences with Israel over how to run the extermination operation against the PLO (the Americans wanted to get the support of conservative Lebanese Muslims), and they felt doublecrossed by Sharon's seizure of West Beirut. The U.S. certainly knew Sabra and Shatila was coming. A few hours before the slaughter began, then Israeli chief of staff Rafeal Eitan told U.S. envoy Morris Draper:

"Yesterday we spoke with the Phalange about their plans. They don't have a strong command.... They're obsessed with the idea of revenge. I'm telling you that some of their commanders visited



San Francisco, September 1982: Spartacist League raises cry of outrage against Zionist massacre at Sabra/Shatila refugee camps.

one of his fellow homicidal maniacs in the Phalange or even by the Israelis, who were furious at Gemayel's failure to launch military action at the time of the invasion). *Time's* article refers to discussions of Phalangist "revenge" for the assassination between Sharon and the Gemayels, asserting that a classified Appendix B to the Kahan Commission report would verify the story. But the commission report had as its main purpose the concealment of Israel's direct responsibility for the massacres, so not surprisingly, Appendix B was hereof of such information. The Israeli government refused pointblank to hand over the bulk of the documentation requested by *Time*. When attorneys for the magazine sought to interview Israeli military and intelligence officials, these officials were threatened in writing that should they talk, the government would prosecute under Israel's draconian "national security" laws. Two key figures—General Amir Drori who commanded the Israeli forces in Lebanon and a Mossad agent present when Sharon met with the Gemayels—were in the U.S. this September. *Time* served them with subpoenas and within hours they had newly acquired diplomatic status rendering them immune from U.S. legal proceedings.

Meanwhile, a staggering deluge of hypocritical "concern" over the accuracy of the bourgeois press serves as the apologia for what is in fact the manifest oheisance of the U.S. press to Washington's line on any given subject. Alexander Cockburn accurately remarked: "this hullyng swine has successfully terrorized the U.S. media" (*The Nation*, 12 January):

"Let the record be clear. Since the day of its inception *Time* has been a bullyragging propaganda sheet, mashing together factoids and fantasy in the cause of the cold war, capitalism and the American way.... Now an even greater bully, about whom it told the essential truth, is manipulating opinion with the same techniques. This is the great irony....

"There are plenty of witnesses available,

me, and I could see in their eyes that it's going to be a relentless slaughter."

—quoted in Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War* (New York, 1984)

The State Department may not feel that Sharon's plans for a Greater Israel extending from the Nile to the Euphrates fit into its own plans for an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" in the region. But the bottom line is that Israel is the junior partner of U.S. imperialism in the Mideast. And it certainly makes it more difficult for the Democratic-controlled Congress and Reagan to shovel billions of dollars into the Zionist arsenal so key to the U.S. anti-Soviet alliance if a prominent cabinet member, not to mention aspiring prime minister, is a certified war criminal. So it was "good business" all around to try and scrape some of the filth from Sharon's reputation here.

"Just Following Orders"

In Sharon's case, however, "rehabilitation" from blood-drenched monster into "free world warrior" will take more than some media disinformation. A personification of that straight line of Zionist atrocities from Deir Yassin to Sabra/Shatila, Sharon's name can be linked with Nazi-like terror and genocide against the Palestinians far, far back. It was to him that Israel's founder Ben-Gurion entrusted the infamous Unit 101—a killer elite which in one of its first operations massacred 70 men, women and children at Kihiyeh, inside Jordan. Sharon personally led the squad that put explosives in the Arab houses. Asked about this 1953 atrocity while in the U.S., Sharon replied, "I implemented an order that I got" (*Nation*, 12 January). In his pursuit of "terrorists" (i.e., all Palestinians) in the Gaza Strip in 1971, Sharon had "hundreds of families, including thousands of people, men, women, babies too... removed from Gaza and imprisoned in a concentration camp in the middle of the Sinai desert, in Abu Zuncima. Each family was kept there until its member

hiding from Sharon was found and killed" (Israel Shahak, "General Ariel Sharon," August-September 1981). His career was summarized by one senior Israeli military officer: "Sharon can kill Arabs better than anyone else" (*Davar*, 11 February 1983).

To publicly delve into Sharon's own career is to touch the truth about Zionist policies of extermination of the Palestinians as a people. Such an accounting is contrary to the interests of the genocidal U.S. rulers who embrace the Zionists as allies in the U.S. drive for war against the Soviet Union, the ultimate holocaust. So the people who brought you Sabra/Shatila now bring you the "moral victory" for Sharon in New York. Oddly enough, they are some of the same people who helped bring you the Nazi extermination of six million Jews—from the Zionist collaborators to the U.S. imperialists who refused to lift a finger or open a border, despite their knowledge of the death camps early on. As for *Time* magazine, it's not "objectivity" that leads these rabid right-wingers to occasionally tell a small part of the bloody truth about Zionist terror. *Time* founder Henry Luce himself proclaimed Adolf Hitler "man of the year" back in 1936.

The United States government and its clients abroad are the biggest mass murderers in the business. To be sure, the Israelis borrowed a page from their American mentors when they denied direct responsibility for Sabra/Shatila; the U.S. claims that in El Salvador uncontrolled death squads are responsible for over 50,000 dead. But the Zionists add their own touch. Then prime minister Begin's comment on the worldwide condemnation of the massacre at Sabra and Shatila was: "*Goyim* [pejorative for non-Jews] kill *goyim* and they immediately come to hang the Jews." Cynically using the Holocaust (*hashoah* in Hebrew) as an excuse for every crime committed by the government has become so common in Israel that it spawned the saying, "There's no business like *shoah* business."

The only way out of the bloody "business" of genocide is to rid the planet of the dying capitalist system which breeds it and creatures like Sharon. Then we will convene the only trial he deserves: with a jury composed of his Palestinian victims. If justice is to be served, the proceedings should be swift. As we wrote after the Sabra/Shatila massacre (*WV* No. 314, 1 October 1982):

"Today the Palestinians face the Zionist holocaust. But there are only three million Jews in a sea of 150 million Arabs. Israel's military expansionism and mass terror against the Arabs ultimately lead to the self-destruction of the Hebrew-speaking people. Some day the IDF will be cracked, and then the Begins, Sharons and Peres will be tempted to launch their nuclear bombs at Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo, even if this means provoking the ultimate holocaust. On the eve of World War II, Trotsky projected that the Zionist settlements in Palestine would become a deathtrap for the Jews. The bloody terror of the Israeli war machine only makes that fate more certain. If the Jewish people in the Near East are to be anything other than a catalyst for a nuclear World War III, the Zionist state must be smashed."■

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Gross/Koch...

(continued from page 12)

happens every day in the streets of New York. The *Village Voice* counted more than 200 civilians in NYC gunned down by cop bullets between 1978 and 1983 alone. In Los Angeles they specialize in the choke hold—in New York, alleged “perpetrators” regularly “fall down the subway steps.” And to explain it all away the police and the D.A. commit mass perjury as a matter of course. This is routine functioning. Gross overdid it, so Gross will go. But meanwhile the cops are asserting their “right to kill” with an ominous bonapartist “fear city” mobilization. It’s the age of Koch in Reagan’s America.

Koch’s Coroner

The *Times* series focused on two notorious cases in the last couple years. Eleanor Bumpurs, an overweight and ailing black grandmother in the Bronx, was murdered by an eviction squad last October for failure to pay \$386 in back rent. (Police Commissioner Ward hypocritically claimed that the cops were only there “to safeguard a mentally ill person who does not voluntarily seek medical assistance.”) After the cops broke down her door, a police sharpshooter blasted her right hand (in which she was allegedly holding a kitchen knife); then, when she was completely incapacitated, he leveled a second shot at her chest and killed her. The pathologist who performed the autopsy, Dr. Pearl, says Gross repeatedly telephoned him asking how many shots hit Mrs. Bumpurs and ordered him to refer to a single “shotgun wound.” But Pearl could identify at least ten pellets and probably more (a 12-gauge shotgun round contains only nine pellets), and he instead wrote “shotgun wounds (two)” in defiance.

Michael Stewart, a former art student at Pratt Institute and son of a retired transit worker, was arrested for painting graffiti at the subway station at First Avenue and 14th Street in September 1983. When he arrived at Bellevue an hour later in a coma, an examining physician, Dr. Robert Wolf, said that Stewart had received bruises on “all major portions of his body, without exception” and that “the most likely source of the wounds was a beating.” After he died, Gross performed the autopsy in the presence of two transit police detectives. Gross’ report made no mention of the 60 hemorrhages and concluded the cause of death was “cardiac arrest,” i.e., he died because his heart stopped beating. But there was one particularly gross piece of evidence of police brutality: Stewart’s eyes had hemorrhaged, a standard sign of strangulation, for example from a choke hold. So the day after the autopsy was performed, the ghoulish Gross returned to the morgue and dug out Stewart’s eyes, placing them in a solution that leaches out any trace of blood. Dr. Wolf concluded: “It was homicide...” and Dr. Gross tried to cover it up.

One of the most excruciating of the cases reported was that of Allen Shapiro, 38, a former employee of the New York Public Library, who died at the Manhattan Psychiatric Center in March 1979. An attendant tried to show off by applying a choke hold, which made Mr. Shapiro go unconscious and, when he regained consciousness, to suffer a seizure. He was then placed in a straitjacket and tied to a bed. As a result of medication and the straitjacket his body temperature was raised to 106 degrees, and after being fed in this condition food entered his breathing passage, blocking his lungs. His hyoid bone, near the voice box, had been broken, a standard sign of strangulation. The examining pathologist listed these as cause of death, saying it should be classified as homicide; a review board concurred. But as chief medical examiner, Dr. Gross refused to allow this finding, and there was no prosecution.

The Bumpurs and Stewart cases were so atrocious that they were already well known throughout the city. Yet nothing was done about it. Stung by complaints of inaction, Koch released to reporters a 37-page memorandum he had ordered prepared on the Michael Stewart case last summer. The memo’s conclusion: “on the whole the matter was handled properly!” The *Times* series went on to show numerous other cases of malfeasance, inconsistent testimony and incompetent errors in diagnosis and a general breakdown of the once-celebrated medical examiner’s office now marked by lack of supplies, antiquated instruments, inaccurate record-keeping, resignations of competent doctors, etc. Thus today New York is the only city in the country which does not report statistics of drug-related deaths even though there are more in NYC than anywhere else. But Gross isn’t just incompetent, he’s a criminal.

Gross was appointed by Koch in 1979. He was put in to replace then-chief medical examiner Michael Baden who Koch had just fired. The medical community was outraged, for Baden was known nationwide for his integrity and independence—just what Koch and Manhattan district attorney Robert Morgenthau had against him. Baden was “not cooperative.” When Arthur Miller, a black community leader in Brooklyn’s Crown Heights, was set upon by the cops and choked to death with a nightstick, Baden told the truth. The *Daily News* (25 June 1978) reported: “According to Chief Medical Examiner Michael Baden, the hold can also fracture the larynx, thereby blocking the windpipe and causing asphyxiation. This, Baden says, is the type of injury that killed Miller...” “This death,” Baden told the *News*, “raises issues that have been raised in the past about people who died in custody. We went through this a while ago with tear gas.”

But what really got them was when former governor Nelson Rockefeller died. In firing Baden, Koch cited complaints from Manhattan D.A. Morgenthau and charges in a letter from Health Commissioner Ferrer that Dr. Baden, in a hospital lecture on Rockefeller’s death, had “included a number of details not previously presented in such fashion as to indicate that the Governor had died during sexual intercourse.” As we noted in our article, “He Died with His Boots Off” (*WV* No. 224, 2 February 1979), Rockefeller was with his young staff assistant who, said a family spokesman, had arrived at the Manhattan brownstone “wearing a long black evening gown.” Ferrer added “regarding the death of Arthur Miller, Dr. Baden issued a report...prematurely and without sufficient data.” Baden wouldn’t go along with a cover-up. So Koch got somebody who would.

Koch’s Cops

At a press conference February 3, Gross denied all (while changing his story on the Stewart case), arguing “it is not in my interest or...the city to participate in a cover-up.” Oh no? If you’re a young male black or Hispanic, your life is at risk in any encounter with the police. Like the guy who allegedly drew a “sharp object” against a cop in Brooklyn the other day and then “took a little fall down the subway.”

But you don’t have to be a minority to end up in the morgue with a police bullet in you—the cops do it to anyone who crosses them. We recall the 1982 case of 25-year-old Richard Sirigiano, a white guy standing on a Queens street corner when he was shot twice by an off-duty cop who had spent the evening harp-hopping and had earlier pulled a gun on six bar patrons. The cop tried to run Sirigiano down; when an argument ensued the cop hit him with a bottle, and finally shot Sirigiano as he was fleeing. Once you get your tail in the wringer you get treated the same as anyone in the ghetto.

And after the bullets come the lies. That’s where Dr. Gross comes in. A lie is a verbal form of violence. The coroner’s

Take a Walk, Cops!

When New York City policeman Stephen Sullivan was indicted last week for killing black Bronx grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, all 252 members of the NYPD Emergency Service Unit ominously requested transfers in protest. In a bonapartist cop mobilization February 5, the Patrolmen’s Benevolent Association also objected to new orders that shotguns not be brought to situations involving “emotionally disturbed persons.” The cops’ action is an attempted coup against any form of civilian control. And they mean business: the ESU is New York’s SWAT team disguised as a rescue unit.

At the same time the PBA told the civilian authorities to shove it,

facetiously demanding a supervisor’s written instructions before using force, and in the Bronx and Brooklyn (where they are pissed at the district attorneys for prosecuting cops) a countersignature from an assistant D.A. They want to remind Koch that he needs his badge-toting gunmen to enforce racist capitalist “law and order.” These cops are the sworn enemies of blacks, the poor, labor and the left, and if they want to go on “strike” then make it permanent.

The 252 cops who are demanding an unrestricted license to murder should take a long walk. The ESU killer elite should be dissolved forthwith. And Sullivan the killer cop should be behind bars. Smash police bonapartism!

claim that a “suspect tripped and hit his head on the pavement” is just as essential a part of this murder machine as the cop who beats with his nightstick, chokes with the choke hold, or pulls the trigger. To justify the killing of Eleanor Bumpurs the cops claimed there was a “funny smell” coming from her apartment, so they thought she might be “cooking lye” to throw at her attackers. The ones who were cooking lies were the police! When the cop who shot Mrs. Bumpurs was finally indicted, he was suspended... for one day. And even this token gesture sparked a bonapartist demonstration by the cops as all 250 officers of the emergency service unit demanded transfers.

The whole capitalist criminal justice system is an edifice of violence and lies. The prosecutors lie, the cops lie and the judges go blind. Central to this is the lie that everything the cops say is the truth, whether they’re lying to cover for some crime, or just because they’re lazy, because not lying would involve doing some work. Still, most places in America the ruling class pulls this stuff only when they have to. But in NYC, where the contradictions of U.S. capitalism are particularly acute, the state power is responding with grotesque depravity as standard operating procedure. Koch is running New York City like it’s El Salvador. Even though no right-winger believes it, New York is still supposed to be part of the United States. And the *Times* wants to bring things back into line.

The police and district attorney’s office commit mass perjury as a matter of course. Manhattan D.A. Robert Morgenthau got Baden fired and Gross hired with a letter to Koch complaining about Baden’s “lack of cooperation” with the prosecutor. The *Village Voice* (15 July 1981) noted Morgenthau is known for trading on his “distinguished family” background (his father was secretary of the treasury under FDR) and has a “strangely contradictory reputation for toughness and liberalism.” But this is the hallmark of New York D.A.’s. Brooklyn district attorney Elizabeth Holtzman ran as the Democrats’ liberal darling for Congress, but as prosecutor trying the white racist punks that murdered black transit worker Willie Turks in Gravesend, she got a jury with no blacks that gave two of the killers a slap on the wrist. The rest of the lynch mob walked.

The prosecutor’s favorite device is the grand jury, where all proceedings are secret, there’s no defense, and the authorities are not accountable. The grand jury is the D.A.’s rubber stamp. So in the case of Michael Stewart, when a courageous juror, schoolteacher Ronald Fields, did exactly what he was supposed to do, namely investigate, the judge claimed the proceedings were “tainted” and threw out even the mild manslaughter indictments. When the grand jury investigated Bernhard Goetz, however, and did exactly what Morgenthau wanted them to, he disclaimed all

responsibility because the jury was “independent.” The Koch clique obviously didn’t want to have an explosive murder trial during election year. But they’re going to try Goetz on what for the bourgeoisie is the crime of crimes: having a gun that hasn’t been hired by “Punch” Sulzberger.

Koch’s Crimes

The Gross case is just lifting the lid of the can of worms that is the Koch administration: violence, lies, frame-ups, murder, and total corruption. Koch pictures himself as an Israeli military commander on the West Bank, blacks and Hispanics are Arabs, and turnstile jumpers are PLO “terrorists.” He’d like to build a barrier at 59th Street—no blacks will get out unless they have a labor pass. But a section of the bourgeoisie is getting worried. With all the heat at the police brutality hearings in the summer of ’83, when angry blacks chased Koch out of Harlem, the *Times* probably figures Dr. Elliot Gross is a man likely to touch off a riot. And with Koch coming up for re-election, they want Gross out now.

So in the midst of the uproar over Goetz, and concerned about what happens when the population “takes the law into its own hands,” a member of the *Times* editorial board, Roger Starr, wrote a companion piece to the Gross exposé in the 27 January *New York Times Magazine*. The article called for mass arrests of subway graffiti painters and turnstile jumpers, streamlining the numerous police forces, more jails, thousands of new cops, and of course, the old racist standby, “strengthen family structure” in the “crime-prone population”—i.e., explicitly blacks and Hispanics. The article is so shameless that it looks back with nostalgia to the way America took care of crime after the Civil War—when the “crime-prone population,” namely the poor, was weeded out through disease. Starr harks back to a hundred years ago when “some of the potential killers...died of diseases like tuberculosis before they grew old enough to kill.” The bourgeoisie’s “anti-crime” program is: kill ’em off, or lock ’em up.

But of course impoverished slums and brutal prisons are the breeding grounds for crime. The fact that ghetto unemployment is so great that almost half of all adult able-bodied black men in the United States don’t have regular full-time work obviously makes it pretty hard to maintain a stable family. With gun control the rulers keep the public unprotected, fearful and vulnerable, and then they are shocked that there is a wave of sympathy for Goetz. And they’ve got a putrid “justice” system slightly more squalid than Nero’s Rome. No wonder they worry that New York could be burning. Koch and his coroner and his cops and his class are guilty of crimes against the people. It will take socialist revolution to sweep out the filth from the White House to Wall Street to the New York City morgue. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Geronimo Pratt...

(continued from page 12)

hlatant frame-up murder rap, despite the fact that he can prove by the FBI's own wiretaps and surveillance logs that he was 500 miles away at the time of the crime; despite the fact that he was convicted only after the jury deliberated for nine days, reaching a stalemate on six different occasions; despite the fact that reams of documents released through the Freedom of Information Act decisively prove the government conspiracy to "get" Pratt and the Panthers!

The massive FBI COINTELPRO operation was aimed at "neutralizing" the radical ghetto-based Black Panther Party for Self Defense and other militant black groups during the late 1960s and early '70s. Across the country some 38 Panthers were killed, some mowed down in the streets, others murdered in their beds. At the hearing, the defense tried to bring out the extent of the Los Angeles COINTELPRO net—how the deadly LAPD Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS) and FBI "Anti-Extremist Squad 2" targeted radical black leaders on a special "Key Black Extremist" (KBE) list, how each Panther leader had a special agent assigned to him, with informants sometimes reporting in as often as three times a day. Hanlon told *WV* that "The real attack of COINTELPRO did not come out in the hearing because the judge did not want to go into what COINTELPRO was. But we touched on it, the fact that he [Pratt] was targeted for neutralization, that he was a number one priority."

On the stand retired FBI agent Wesley Swearingen detailed some of the COINTELPRO operation. He certainly ought to know. Represented by attorney Charles Garry, Swearingen testified to his 25-year career in the FBI, five years in the Communist Party, tracking Puerto Rican nationalists, spying on Chicago Panthers. He received a com-



Thousands of outraged demonstrators jam L.A. Hall of Justice in December 1969 demanding freedom for Pratt and other arrested Panthers.

mendation from J. Edgar Hoover for sending up Weatherman Sam Melville for the bombing of the New York Federal Building—Melville died a martyr in the Attica rebellion. Assigned to FBI "Squad 1" in Los Angeles, Swearingen testified he saw the documents when wiretaps began and ended on four telephones at Panther headquarters for the critical five days between December 15 and December 20 which prove Pratt was in Oakland attending Panther leadership meetings, not in Santa Monica 500 miles away. These wiretap logs are now "missing." Swearingen swore that in his 25 years with the FBI there were no other cases of missing wiretaps.

Julio Butler, ex-Black Panther and a former sheriff's deputy, was the key witness in the trial which convicted Pratt, claiming he had "confessed" to Butler. Butler lied on the stand about working with the FBI and other police agencies. At the hearing FBI agent Richard Held, head of L.A. COINTELPRO at the time, tried to deny that

Butler was an informant. Held admitted talking with Butler because he was "knowledgeable," that Butler "provided information" as a "good citizen." Hanlon pointed to 33 documented contacts between Butler and the FBI where he passed on information. Butler passed on reports about the weapons the Panthers allegedly had. The judge asked if that wasn't being an informant. "In a certain sense," he was, Held finally admitted.

The last two days of the hearing consisted of more such "testimony" as various FBI and CCS agents paraded across the stand, all remembering that they had "no memory," "couldn't recall" and were "vague" about: wiretaps on Panther headquarters they themselves ordered installed, written reports they themselves authorized on the arrest of two other suspects for the Olsen murder, their agencies' relations with each other, or with informant Butler.

On the final day J. Edgar Hoover came alive in Kronenberg's courtroom. Richard Blouser, head of "Anti-

Extremist Squad 2," admitted straight out about Pratt: "We wanted to render him ineffective." When asked what Hoover's directive to "neutralize" the Black Panthers meant, Blouser said agents were told to "use imagination"! They used their imagination all right, like on 8 December 1969 when hundreds of LAPD Metro Squad and SWAT team commandos armed with M-60 machine guns, tear gas launchers and dynamite surrounded Panther headquarters where Pratt was sleeping, and as helicopters circled overhead, submitted the house to a five-hour barrage.

Don Andrews of the Spartacist League Central Committee, who covered the Pratt hearing for *WV*, summed up: "Despite disclaimers, FBI head agent Blouser's unabashed admission speaks volumes about the innocence of Pratt whose freedom must be made a vital issue for the working class. It will take militant mass integrated class-struggle defense led by race- and class-conscious black workers to free Geronimo Pratt. Right after the '69 cop assault on Panther headquarters, thousands of people marched on the L.A. Hall of Justice demanding the arrested Panthers be freed. That's what should happen today."

As Marxists we say to the workers and oppressed: No reliance on the bosses' courts, cops and politicians, but only on the power of independent mobilization of the working class and its allies. The full counterrevolutionary scope of COINTELPRO and its massive crimes against the Panthers and other black militants will be unearthed when the working class, led by a multiracial Trotskyist vanguard party, takes power by smashing the decrepit capitalist system through socialist revolution. The working class will not forget and surely will not forgive such bestial crimes. Freedom now for Geronimo Pratt!

Contributions to Geronimo Pratt's defense may be sent to: Prisoners Litigation Trust Fund, earmarked "Geronimo Pratt." Mail to: c/o Stuart Hanlon, 214 Duhoce Street, San Francisco, California 94103. ■

Ed Meese...

(continued from page 3)

Committee on Un-American Activities about his leading role in COINTELPRO activities.

According to Ron Ridenhour, an investigative reporter for the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (29 January) whose inquiries sparked the investigation into the My Lai massacre, in the late '60s and early '70s, Meese was up to his eyeballs in a secret Pentagon operation code-named GARDEN PLOT. This little-known domestic espionage and provocation operation was the military's counterpart of the FBI's COINTELPRO and the CIA's Operation CHAOS. It not only included the usual widespread spying on antiwar, left and black activists, it was centered on joint training exercises of military, police and "intelligence" forces

to put down political demonstrations. Ridenhour reports that in the scenarios of this "National Master Plan for Civil Disturbance Control":

"The contingency plan invariably moved from some minor incident through a steadily escalating series of confrontations between police or soldiers and political demonstrators or racial antagonists until a declaration of 'martial rule' was issued and the military stepped in and assumed control."

Coordinated GARDEN PLOT action was taken against the mass protests after the May 1970 announcement of the bombing in Cambodia. All over the country phalanxed cops met protesters with clubs and mass arrests. When GARDEN PLOTters from across the country—local cops and secret police, provocateurs and spies—met in Sacramento that May 27-28 to trade "war stories," Edwin Meese was the keynote speaker who congratulated them on behalf of Reagan and Nixon. Meese called for even more police power

on the streets and pointed to the courts to join in more forcefully, "to make sure that those people who have been convicted of revolutionary activity [...] ... are given punishments, penalties that are consistent with the degree of public disorder."

Fight the New McCarthyism!

Meese not only set up leftists as some kind of "terrorists," he also organized the police agencies to gun them down. Meese was vice chairman of the commission which turned out the first California "Organized Crime Report." These reports went on to list left-wing political groups, including the Spartacist League, as "terrorists" and "organized crime" outfits to open them up to the use of the government's RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) "conspiracy" net with its grand jury probes and legal witchhunting measures. The successful Spartacist League lawsuit against then-attorney general of California George Deukmejian forced the attorney general's office to publicly retract its smear of the SL. This campaign struck a blow against the new McCarthyism of Meese et al., as we campaigned under the banner: "Workers Party Has a Right to Organize!"

Today the mobilization of the secret police and legal apparatus against enemies portrayed as "terrorists" has found sinister expression in the 1983 FBI Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorism and Reagan's National Security Decision Directive 138. Under these surveillance/disruption programs, suspect ideas become the basis for increased investigation by the secret police in the name of "anti-terrorism," and then the hit squads move in for "preventive action." Meese had a special under-

standing of how effective COINTELPRO was in setting up and gunning down the radical Black Panther Party. For Meese and his ilk what was wrong with COINTELPRO was that it was exposed as illegal. This is where they want to make the political fight: to re-establish COINTELPRO on an open basis. Thus the successful Spartacist League lawsuit challenging these new FBI Guidelines was also a campaign against this shoot-first-ask-questions-later McCarthyism and its foremost representative, Edwin Meese.

The Reaganites look back with nostalgia to the post-World War II period not only out of longing for unchallenged nuclear blackmail. Reagan wants to return to the days of McCarthyism and together with Meese they have been setting up the machinery for a new witchhunt. But the world has changed significantly in the meantime. The Soviet Union has achieved rough nuclear parity, while the U.S. defeat in Vietnam produced a dread among the ruling class of yet another losing war. The "Vietnam syndrome" is alive and well today, despite Reagan's railing.

Edwin Meese's appetites for police/military dictatorship in this country are still far from realized. But in appointing Meese chief of imperialism's political police, the rulers of this country—Republicans and Democrats alike—want to send a dangerous message to the feds and the cops: that black militants and labor socialists can be shot down, murdered in cold blood. We look forward with impatience to the day when Edwin Meese is tried for his real crimes, when a proletarian revolution in America ensures such venal criminals receive the justice they so richly deserve. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

New York's Racist Mayor and His Dr. Mengele It's Gross, It's Koch

They finally nailed the bastard: Dr. Elliot Gross, the chief medical examiner of New York City. He switches tissue samples from celebrities' cadavers. He alters the date of death to help the prosecution demolish a suspect's alibi. He'll claim it was one shot instead of two pumped into an old lady to help a cop beat a murder rap. And if he has to remove the evidence of death from a police choke hold, no problem: he'll gouge out the eyes of the victim with their telltale blood specks. Gross is no "Quincy": he knows how to get along with the powers in this city. He's a cop's coroner, always ready to suppress evidence, destroy the facts and issue false reports to cover up for the murderers in uniform and keep the wheels of criminal injustice turning. Dr. Gross makes your blood run cold; he must have formaldehyde in his veins. But behind him is the man who runs this city where the racist cops kill with impunity: Edward I. (for "me, me, me") Koch.

Last week the *New York Times* assumed the unaccustomed role of muckraker and set off a major scandal over the nest of corruption and atrocities in America's largest morgue. The four-part series by Philip Shenon which ran in the *Times* January 27-30 was the result of nine and a half months of research and more than 250 interviews. Doctors and medical examiners are obviously up in arms about Gross. The tale is so devastating that Gross will undoubtedly be removed. But the real story is only delicately hinted at in the series. Columnist Sydney Schanberg finally came out and said it:

"...the implications spread far beyond this one man—into the offices of all five



Boenzi/NY Times

of the city's District Attorneys, into the Police Department and into City Hall itself."

—*New York Times*, 29 January

Koch had to know. Koch did know. Gross the ghoul is Koch's coroner.

For the past five weeks, the life of New York has been dominated by the case of the "subway vigilante," Bernhard Goetz, a white electronics specialist who, surrounded by four black youths trying to shake him down, pulled a pistol and shot them. Racist vigilantes like Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post* hailed Goetz as a hero, while knee-jerk rad-libs condemned him as nothing but a racist killer. The Communist Party tried to make Goetz out to be a Hitlerite/CIA agent, even though his

Three faces of New York "justice": Koch and his coroner, Dr. Gross the ghoul, always ready to cover up for racist cop brutality.

German-born parents fled the Nazi holocaust. So if he was CIA, how come he couldn't get a gun permit in NYC? The cops, on the other hand, were complaining that if a policeman shot down four black youth, there'd be an uproar. You bet. There's a big difference between an individual facing a mugging and a uniformed thug with a license to



Garsmeur/Observer

kill. They all want to deny the contradictions in the Goetz affair.

In contrast, the case of Dr. Elliot Gross is completely straightforward. He's the equivalent of a concentration camp doctor. He's Ed Koch's Dr. Mengele. His record amounts to a justification of mass murder, because it

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Class-Struggle Defense Needed

FBI/LAPD Framed Geronimo Pratt

LOS ANGELES, February 4—For the past 14 years, former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt has been tenaciously fighting for his freedom against the massive FBI COINTELPRO ("counterintelligence" and provocation) conspiracy which has kept him locked up in San Quentin and Folsom prisons, sentenced to life for a crime he didn't commit and couldn't have committed. Following a long legal battle to reopen the case, on January 21-23 a hearing finally was held on Pratt's petition for a new trial based on evidence which exposes the FBI/LAPD frame-up. The hearing was called last October after retired FBI operative Wesley Swearingen said straight out that "Pratt was set up."

In court Pratt's lawyers read FBI memorandums stating flatly, "Operation Number 1 is designed to challenge the legitimacy of the authority exercised by Elmer Gerard Pratt, Black Panther Party Deputy Minister of Defense." The

defense brought out that in the original trial the prosecution suppressed the fact that two other people had earlier been arrested for the 18 December 1968 tennis court murder of Caroline Olsen, long before the crime was ever pinned on Pratt. One of them, imprisoned ex-Panther Roger Lewis, who was an informant for the Los Angeles police and worked with the FBI, reportedly "now wants to come forward and say what really occurred," defense attorney Stuart Hanlon told *WV*. Judge John Kronenborg denied an oral request by Pratt's lawyers to call Lewis as a witness, but said he would entertain a written request. The judge also refused to let Pratt speak, on the grounds that his "personal plea is irrelevant."

There is no justice for the black man in the capitalist courts. In an interview with *WV*, Hanlon remarked:

"I think it's clear that Geronimo's case is never going to be won simply in the court. We are where we are because

there has been political pressure from other areas. I think we would welcome and need mobilization of people."

With California heavy Edwin Meese, who oversaw the war against the Panthers in California, now about to become Reagan's top cop, it is clear that the threads of the government provocation/conspiracy go right to the top of the federal government. To free Geronimo Pratt, the last of the Panther leaders in jail, requires a class-struggle defense to mobilize the working class, the ghetto masses and all defenders of democratic rights to bust open the FBI conspiracy and bury COINTELPRO!

It is a measure of American "justice" that in California an ex-cop, Dan White, can murder the mayor of San Francisco and a gay city supervisor and five years later walk out of jail onto the lecture circuit prattling about being "horn again"; but a black man fighting for freedom is railroaded for life on a

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Burning Spear

Former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo Pratt.