

Reagan Off the Deep End?

There he goes again—as soon as Reagan gets into a political jam at home he reaches for the red phone and U.S. naval task forces are sent prowling for a military “crisis.” For weeks, the Reaganauts have been looking to divert attention from the Iran/Contra scandal with some “bang bang” for the TV evening news. So you could almost hear the shouts of joy from the White House basement when news came from Lebanon that three more Americans had been kidnapped in Beirut. The London *Guardian* (29 December) perceptively noted that this “intensified the political pressure on President Reagan just as the lacklustre State of the Union address to Congress and the nation on Tuesday night conspicuously failed to achieve its goal of re-establishing the prestige of the presidency after Irangate.” Since it didn’t play in Peoria, they bring up the Sixth Fleet.

The very next day the Pentagon canceled port leaves for the *Nimitz*, sending the nuclear aircraft carrier into the eastern Mediterranean; the *Kennedy*’s battle group was ordered to remain in the region “indefinitely”; a 1,600-man Marine amphibious unit is on station while another is due there shortly; six U.S. warships are heading north in the Persian Gulf, and a third carrier, the *Kitty Hawk*, is racing from the Philippines to the Arabian Sea. In addition, the State Department banned all travel to Lebanon and gave American passport holders 30 days to get out of the country. And while they’re rattling sabers in the Med, an FBI dragnet arbitrarily seized Palestinian Arabs in Los Angeles (see page 2) in a transparent effort to whip up war hysteria at home.

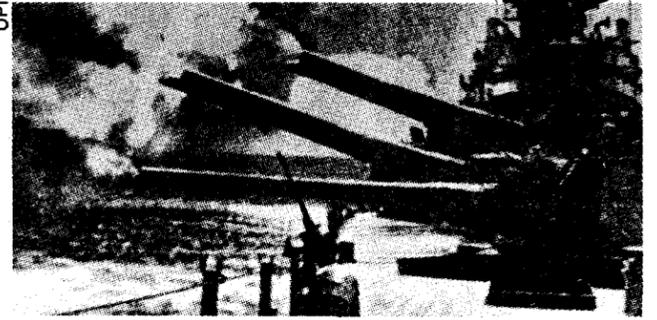
The “State of the Union” speech, supposed to be the rallying cry for the

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AP

Reagan’s “diplomacy”: Bibles and guns for Iranian mullahs. U.S. battleship Iowa off Honduras coast.



UPI

Anger Over Racist Attacks Derailed in Georgia

ATLANTA—They came from around the country to participate in what was dubbed the biggest civil rights march since the ‘60s. But the “Brotherhood II” march in Georgia’s all-white Forsyth County January 24 was more like a walking prison than a freedom march. It was designed and tightly controlled by its Democratic Party organizers as a show of faith in racist American “democracy,” rather than a militant protest against Ku Klux Klan terror. Many of the more than 20,000 undoubtedly came out of a felt desire to oppose KKK lynch mob attacks of the sort met by a few score Martin Luther King Day marchers the previous Saturday. Protesters eagerly bought *Workers Vanguard* and other Spartacist literature calling for a perspective of labor/black mobilization to smash racist terror. But when they arrived in the Forsyth county seat of Cumming, they found themselves hemmed in on all sides by an army of National Guardsmen and local and state cops, and were ordered to refrain even from singing old civil rights songs.

While Georgia politicians bemoaned the bad press being given Forsyth County, more than 1,000 rabid racists turned out. The night before, every gun shop in Cumming sold out of ammunition and weapons. A black TV reporter who got too close to the racist mob was attacked even as she was televising a report. One marcher hit by a brick had to have brain surgery. And after the



Dennis Brack

National Guard, cops, Democratic Party bigwigs corral anti-Klan protesters, Forsyth County, Georgia, January 24.

march, several hundred demonstrators were forced to cower in a shopping center after sundown, fearful of a Klan

attack, while waiting for buses to pick them up. Yet the more than 50 racist terrorists arrested are being slapped on

the wrist with nothing more than misdemeanors. After being subjected to racist invective and intimidation throughout the day the marchers gave a final display of suicidal pacifism, chanting at their would-be murderers: “We love you, we love you, we love you.” The white lynchers retorted: “We hate you, we hate you, we hate you.”

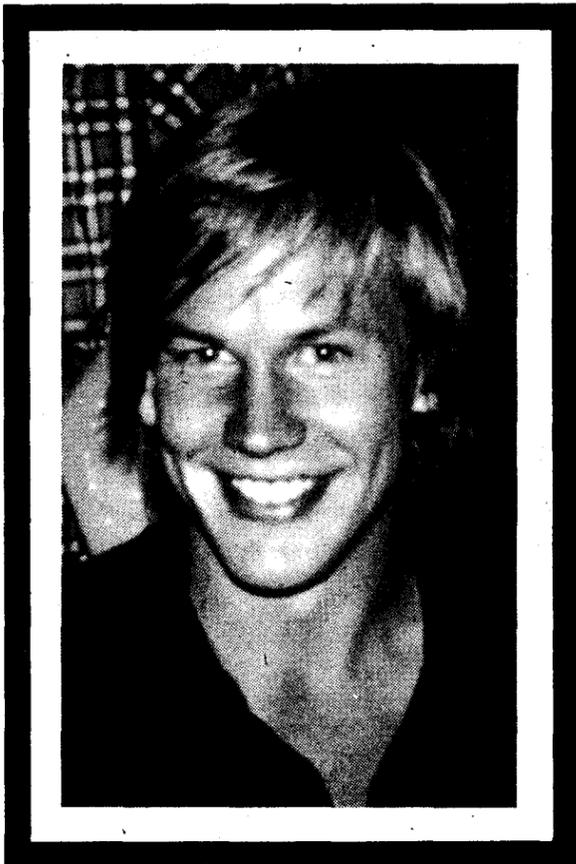
This march against “intimidation” did nothing to intimidate the KKK killers. In its wake, one Klan group announced plans to march through Forsyth County on February 7, another to hold a cross-burning in Barrow County two weeks later. Yet a third Klan provocation is scheduled to go ahead in suburban College Park near Atlanta. And in the aftermath, Forsyth County passed an ordinance to stymie any future anti-racist march, demanding that march organizers pay all “security” costs. Yet the black Democratic politicians and preachers like Atlanta city councilman Hosea Williams who organized “Brotherhood II” join in hosannas for the “New South.” They agree with the *Atlanta Constitution* (26 January) editorial claim that “the events of the last two weekends dramatized just how much it has changed.” Does someone have to remind them that they are all sworn into office under the Confederate slaveholders’ banner, which happens to be the Georgia state flag and the banner waved by the Klan lynchers!

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Unleash Labor/Black Power! Finish the Civil War!

ALDEN BURR CAVANAGH

1 AUGUST 1957 - 20 JANUARY 1987



WV Photo

Tragically dead at 29 years of age by his own hand. A member of our organization for more than eight years.

The shock of his death is compounded by the evident fact that none of his friends, roommates, comrades, lovers or others who were close to him at the time had any inkling of such an impending act. Thus he was deprived of any support in what must have been his agony.

To the extent that others knew him, and especially his comrades, they felt affection and personal respect for him, which feelings only grew with time, thus making his

death all the more bitter.

In a note which he intended as his will, written a few months before and found by his side at the time of his death, he wrote among other things of his regard for the Spartacist League as mankind's last best hope. But he noted that, like his grandfather, he was taking the reasons for this will to the grave with him.

Alden is free now from his torments and our world is a poorer place for it.

— Bay Area District of the SL/U.S.
— Central Committee of the SL/U.S.
25 January 1987

Alden with Spartacist contingent at anti-Klan rally in Boston, 1982.



MEMORIAL MEETING

Sunday, February 15
5:00 p.m.

For more information:
(415) 839-0851

Hyatt Regency Oakland,
California Room, 1001 Broadway

OAKLAND



TROTSKY

Karl Liebknecht: "The Main Enemy Is At Home!"

The great German revolutionary Karl Liebknecht issued the following internationalist manifesto calling for an internationalist demonstration against the imperialists and their world war on May Day 1916. Addressing 10,000 working people in Berlin, Liebknecht was arrested by the Kaiser's troops whose uniform he wore.



LENIN

Poverty and misery, need and starvation, are ruling in Germany, Belgium, Poland and Serbia, whose blood the vampire of imperialism is sucking and which resemble vast cemeteries. The entire world, the much-praised European civilization, is falling into ruins through the anarchy which has been let loose by the world war.

Those who profit from the war want war with the United States. To-morrow, perhaps, they may order us to aim lethal weapons against new groups of brethren, against our fellow-workers in the United States, and fight America, too. Consider well this fact: As long as the German people does not arise and use force directed by its own will, the assassination of the people will continue. Let thousands of voices shout "Down with the shameless extermination of nations! Down with those responsible for these crimes!" Our enemy is not the English, French, nor Russian people, but the great German landed proprietors, the German capitalists and their executive committee.

Forward, let us fight the government; let us fight these mortal enemies of all freedom. Let us fight for everything which means the future triumph of the working-classes, the future of humanity and civilization.

Workers, comrades, and you, women of the people, let not this festival of May, the second during the war, pass without protest against the Imperialist Slaughter. On the first of May let millions of voices cry, "Down with the shameful crime of the extermination of peoples! Down with those responsible for the War!"

— Karl Liebknecht, "May Day Manifesto" (1916)

Down with the McCarran-Walter Act!

Stop the FBI/INS Witchhunt of Palestinians!

To boost his plummeting polls and whip up Americans for new war moves in the Near East, Reagan and his top cop Meese are rounding up Palestinians in Los Angeles, treating them as though they lived under the Zionist jackboot in the West Bank. On January 26, in a Gestapo-like dragnet federal agents burst into the homes of eight Palestinians and a Kenyan, arrested them and are holding them for deportation.

Six of the Palestinians were charged under the 1952 McCarthyite "thought crimes" McCarran-Walter Act for allegedly "advocating communism," i.e., the views of the radical-nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. They and the Kenyan wife of one of the six were shackled hand-to-foot and dragged before U.S. immigration judge Ingrid Hrysenko. Declaring them a "national security risk," she denied them bail and confined them to solitary where they are being held without access to sanitary or medical facilities. Deportation hearings are scheduled for later this month. Two other Palestinians also arrested were expected to be released on bail.

This case is a racist and politically motivated frame-up from start to finish. All of the accused deny membership in the PFLP or participation in any of its activities here or abroad. The "Justice" Department spokesmen admitted they were compelled to use the witchhunting McCarran-Walter Act because "a lengthy FBI investigation failed to turn up evidence of plans to commit criminal or terrorist acts" (*Washington Post*, 29 January). It is the FBI and INS who are America's state terrorists, and the most dangerous terrorist nuts presently lurk in the White House.

Indeed, the nine victims of this vicious

witchhunt are well-established businessmen, students and working people. For example, the alleged Southern California "PFLP leader" Khadar Musa Hamide is a 32-year-old businessman who studied marketing in college, has lived in the U.S. since 1971 and was expecting final approval of his U.S. citizenship application January 27. He is active in Democratic Party politics as a Jesse Jackson supporter, and an outspoken opponent of U.S. aid to the contras. Hamide's wife, Kenyan-born Julie Nyangugi, is an accountant.

Anti-Arab repression is an aspect of racist American capitalism that is compounded by Washington's support for Israel as its gendarme in the Near East. A wave of FBI persecution and Zionist terror bombing targeting Arabs and Arab Americans has swept this country, including the hideous October 1985 murder in Los Angeles of Alex Odeh, a leader of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Needless to say, the FBI has made no arrests in this terrorist crime. And the anti-communist McCarran-Walter Act is used not only to ban distinguished scholars, artists and politicians from the "land of the free," but to witchhunt and throw out of the country an American-born author and critic of U.S. imperialism, Margaret Randall.

This witchhunt targets all of us and the rights we hold dear. Stop the deportation proceedings and release these nine victims of the FBI/INS terror campaign! Give them financial restitution for this racist persecution. Citizenship for Khadar Musa Hamide! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and students! Down with the McCarran-Walter "thought control" Act! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 421

6 February 1987

Spartacist Protest in S.F.

"Spy Shcharansky Guilty As Hell!"



SAN FRANCISCO, January 30—Spartacist protesters confronted imperialist spy and Soviet traitor Anatoly Shcharansky today at a breakfast meeting of the bourgeois establishment Commonwealth Club. While Shcharansky addressed the capitalist "opinion makers" at the posh Fairmont Hotel, Spartacist pickets outside carried signs denouncing him: "Imperialist Spy Shcharansky Is Guilty As Hell!" and "Shcharansky Witting Tool of U.S. Imperialism!" Until he was swapped for a group of Soviet bloc intelligence agents a year ago, Shcharansky was imprisoned in the USSR on proven charges of passing military secrets to Western "news sources," a frequent conduit for the imperialist spy agencies.

The Spartacist protesters also carried signs demanding "Defend Mordechai Vanunu!"—the Israeli nuclear technician who faces the death penalty on espionage charges in Israel for revealing that the Zionist madmen have amassed a nuclear arsenal of up to 200 bombs. In contrast to Shcharansky's crime against the defense of the Soviet workers state, Vanunu has done the international working class a service by his spectacular revelations. Such an extensive Israeli nuclear buildup necessarily threatens a nuclear attack against the Soviet Union. And Shcharansky is a mouthpiece for



Spartacist League protests imperialist spy Shcharansky, demands freedom for Mordechai Vanunu.

those U.S./Israeli "first strike" advocates who have their fingers very near the nuclear trigger and who pose the real threat of a nuclear Armageddon.

In a speech at the demonstration, Spartacist spokesman Martha Phillips declared, "We stand for the unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. We Trotskyists say that the land of the October Revolution is in danger." Interviews with Phillips were aired on the two Bay Area radio news stations and an NBC-TV story on the demonstration focused in on the Spartacist placard: "For Unconditional

Military Defense of the USSR Against Imperialism!"

Other SL signs declared: "Anti-Soviet War Drive Breeds Fascist/KKK Anti-Semites!" and "Shcharansky Supporters Favor Repression of American Dissidents by U.S. Police!" Martha Phillips explained: "Shcharansky is supported by organizations like B'nai B'rith and supposedly he stands for dissidents. Well, B'nai B'rith has come out against Spartacist activist Guillermo Bermúdez, providing information to the San Francisco cops and the San Francisco State administration to try to prosecute this youth because he courageously



stood up for the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. It was B'nai B'rith who offered their services to the San Francisco cops, these same cops who find it amusing to display Nazi posters in their San Francisco van... We Spartacists are the ones who stopped the Nazis from marching in San Francisco in 1980, when they wanted to obscenely celebrate Hitler's birthday right downtown in front of SF Civic Center, in front of City Hall."

Today, while his wife Avital works with the fascist anti-Arab *Gush Emunim* movement in Israel, Shcharansky is doing the anti-Soviet banquet circuit, calling for imperialist blackmail of the USSR. But it is a sign of changing times that his major plea in the Bay Area was for American public opinion not to be "taken in" by Soviet leader Gorbachev. Reagan must have been doubly galled when his former "favorite dissident" and father of the Soviet H-bomb Andrei Sakharov was released from internal exile and came out against the U.S. president's "Star Wars" scheme. And the Zionists' Shcharansky charade, portraying a willful and witting anti-Soviet spy as a "human rights" martyr, just doesn't cut it in these days of Reaganate. For our part, we intend to do our best to see that Shcharansky's real crimes against the international working class are not forgotten. ■

ADL Conspires with Cops, Defames Spartacists

Here's proof: the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is working hand in glove with the police in spying on the left. The letter reproduced here, addressed to the San Francisco State University cops, was turned over to us recently during pre-trial discovery proceedings in the case of Spartacist activist Guillermo Bermúdez. (In a gratifying victory, charges against Bermúdez have been dropped—see page 5.) The police "experiences" during the winter of 1984-85, which Frankel finds so "enhancing" to the ADL's work, consisted of a torrent of arrests, South Africa-style campus bannings, seizure of our Marxist literature, handcuffing and generally harassing our members and supporters on campus.

So the ADL joins with the forces of racist repression against those like us who are committed to smashing fascist terror, and not just in the Bay Area. When the Spartacist League was mobilizing to stop a threatened Ku Klux Klan provocation in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, we called the ADL in New York to get their report on fascist groups in the U.S. A spokesman quoted the *Workers Vanguard* headline "Reagan, Begin and Hitler," and hung up. Recently the ADL came to the defense of the "World Anti-Communist League," a sinister collection of leftover Nazis and death squad killers, claiming "substantial progress" in "ridding the organization of the racists and anti-Semites" (*New York Times*, 14 October 1986). The WACL is one of Reagan's conduits for blood money to the contra terrorists.

Following the line of the Israel/U.S. anti-Soviet axis, the ADL whitewashes fascists while framing communists. Yet it was the Spartacist League that exposed the San Francisco cops for displaying the Nazi swastika "Einsatz" poster in 1985. We are, moreover, unique on the left for not joining in mindless cheerleading for Arab nationalists; our program is for the right to self-determination of

Anti-Defamation League **ADL** of B'nai B'rith

February 12, 1985

Lieutenant Wibel
Department of Public Safety
1600 Holloway
San Francisco, CA 94132

Dear Lieutenant Wibel:

Enclosed is the ADL's Security Manual that we discussed. I hope we will be able to continue working on the Spartacus Youth League's activities on San Francisco State University's campus. Your experiences would certainly enhance the information we have already collected.

If I can be of assistance again at any time, please contact me.

Sincerely,
Bobbi Frankel
Bobbi Frankel
Community Consultant

BJF:jms

both Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking people in a socialist federation of the Near East. Just as Israel's war crazy rulers seem bent on triggering a nuclear holocaust and confirming Trotsky's warning that Palestine would be a deathtrap for Jews, the

Zionist Cold Warriors in the U.S. are fueling fascist KKK/Nazi terror, which targets blacks, Hispanics, immigrants, homosexuals... and Jews. The ADL finger-men are not only reactionary but downright suicidal.

Aquino Regime Unravels

Massacre in Manila

FEBRUARY 1—Thousands of desperate peasants march on the presidential palace demanding land. Hundreds of riot police and heavily armed troops block their way. As the marchers approach, troops and cops open fire point-blank on the defenseless crowd. Marchers flee in terror, bodies litter the bloody pavement, tear gas fills the air as soldiers pursue fleeing demonstrators through the streets. Pinochet's Chile? El Salvador under the junta?

It could have been the work of the murderous despots backed by Washington from Central America to South Korea. But this time it was the work of the regime headed by Corazon Aquino, president of the Philippines and "democratic" darling of U.S. imperialism. Only three weeks previously *Time* (5 January) named Aquino "Woman of the Year," lauding her in nauseating terms as leader of a "fairy-tale revolution" standing on a "platform of faith, hope and charity," "the happiest symbol in a year of symbols [and] the most human." Cory's massacre on January 22 tore off the mask.

Under the slogan of "people power," Aquino was installed a year ago when Washington told her predecessor, the butcher Ferdinand Marcos, he was finished and put him on a plane to Hawaii. Two of Marcos' chief lieuten-

January 22: Peasants demanding land are massacred by Aquino government's troops.



cocked and aimed their M-16s. The supposedly unarmed police produced guns from behind riot shields stenciled with the words "Maximum Tolerance." Most of the dead—landless tenant farmers and migrant agricultural workers—were shot in the head or the back.

Cory's imperialist patrons obscenely blamed the victims for provoking the

that the gear was apparently not for her, since the boots were not her size.

Especially after the January 22 massacre, Aquino's "people power" regime is foundering as Philippine society is increasingly polarized. Aquino is pinning her hopes to restore stability on a new constitution, written by her hand-picked commission, to be voted on in a plebiscite February 2. The idea that a new constitution will restabilize bourgeois rule is, of course, absurd. But Aquino needs to win big to undercut ambitious rightists like Enrile, reassure her imperialist backers in Washington and gain a cloak of "democratic legitimacy" in dealing with the left.

A 60-day cease-fire with the New People's Army, guerrilla arm of the Communist Party, ends on February 7. "Peace talks" in the interim have gone nowhere and were suspended indefinitely the day of the massacre. Meanwhile, it has been revealed how Aquino intervened during her American tour last fall to ensure that the U.S.' giant Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Base will remain open as staging points for nuclear war. A "mandate" for the new constitution is part of the preparation for renewed bloody suppression of the guerrilla insurgency and for further neocolonial subjugation by the Yankee imperialists.

Stalinists Still Tail Aquino

At first the Philippine left—dominated by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)—denounced Aquino for the January 22 massacre, reflecting the felt outrage of their ranks. The leftist umbrella group Bayan declared: "In less



Cambio 16
Cory Aquino, a Reagan lackey in the Philippines.



Cold-blooded mass murder by Aquino's cops and marines exceeded even Marcos' butchery.

ants, armed forces chief Fidel Ramos and defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile, jumped ship in what amounted to a military coup backed by the U.S. embassy, Roman Catholic Cardinal Sin and hundreds of thousands of people in the streets. But the carnage in Manila on January 22 surpassed that of any similar outrage in the capital in Marcos' bloody 20-year reign. Behind the façade of "democratic" talk and "progressive" ministers, this is a regime that does not shrink from cold-blooded mass murder, butchering workers and peasants in defense of the ill-gotten gains of the greedy landlords, capitalists and rapacious Western banks. Above all, they are seeking to protect the Philippines as a strategic anti-Soviet "archipelagic aircraft carrier" for their masters in Washington.

Massacre Planned in Advance

Eighteen people died and almost a hundred were wounded that Thursday in a fusillade of automatic weapon and pistol fire that lasted more than a minute. The march of 10,000, chiefly peasants from north of Manila, was organized by the Communist-led Philippines Peasant Movement. The march organizers had announced in advance that they intended to go all the way to the Malacañang Presidential Palace. Police didn't bother to put up the usual barbed-wire barricades. Videotapes showed that as the marchers approached Mendiola bridge, marines

massacre. "On the left, zealots thirst for martyrs and shootings, the stuff of revolution," ran the editorial apologia for Aquino in the 28 January *New York Times*. Aquino professed "shock" and appointed the usual commission to "investigate"—i.e., to whitewash the government and perhaps come up with a scapegoat. (Such a commission on the military death-squad murder of leftist KMTU union leader Rolando Olalia last November took months to come up with a single low-ranking fall guy.) Ramos and the current defense minister, Rafael Ileto, cynically said the troops "overreacted." But the depth of popular outrage is such that Aquino ordered troops to stay out of the way on January 26 when a march of 15,000 protesting the massacre went to the palace, and she even sent cabinet ministers out to greet it.

Reacting against Aquino's "soft" line, the same day a small group of officers loyal to Marcos and Enrile moved, unsuccessfully attacking two air bases and occupying a government-run TV station in Manila. When Aquino ordered the military to take the station by force, Ramos ignored her and negotiated a peaceful exit. In Hawaii, Marcos was prevented from flying back to the Philippines by Aquino's main patron, the U.S. government. His wife Imelda had gone shopping for the occasion, buying \$2,000 worth of camouflage pants, jackets and combat boots. The store manager remarked laconically

than one year, the Aquino regime has outdone its fascist predecessor in the scale of violence against the people... The Aquino government cannot wash its hands of its responsibility for this bloody incident" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 23 January). But the Stalinist-nationalist CPP and its allies, in their commitment to "popular-front" class collaboration, soon started apologizing for Aquino. Two days later Bayan leader Leandro Alejandro said the group was withdrawing its criticism of the president because "we do not believe she was directly responsible" for the killings (*New York Times*, 26 January). The January 26 protest march to Malacañang demanded the resignations of Ramos and Ileto but not Aquino.

In fact, Aquino and Ramos differ, if at all, only in how best to crush the working people. Since squelching the coup plots of Enrile last November, Ramos has increasingly been calling the shots anyway. Aquino accuses both Enrile and the left of trying to "destabilize" her regime. It couldn't get much more unstable than it is, and it sits atop a mass of social TNT. In the countryside nothing has changed since Marcos, unless for the worse. Rapacious landlords starve peasants and kill their organizers. On the sugar island of Negros plantation workers get 40 cents a day for backbreaking labor when it is available. When there is no work, in the "dead season," the peasants eat roots, or nothing at all.

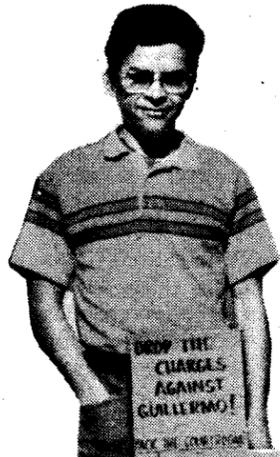
The CPP is committed to a class-collaborationist alliance with the "national" bourgeoisie, a "national-democratic coalition government," which means betrayal of the masses for the sake of a "share of the power" within a capitalist framework. The Stalinist-led peasant movement's demand for "genuine land reform" is a will o' the wisp. The bloodsucking landlords, with their private armies, will not be reformed away. Aquino's own family estate, Hacienda Luisita, is one of the country's largest sugar plantations. One of the demands of the marchers on January 22 was that Aquino show her "commitment" to land reform by starting with Hacienda Luisita. The answer was bullets.

The only way to deal with such exploiters is an agrarian revolution, in which the poor peasants and agricultural workers seize the land. This can be carried out only by a revolution in which the urban proletariat places itself at the head of the insurgent peasant masses to smash the whole framework of capitalist/landlord rule.

Following Aquino's victory last February, in the wave of enthusiasm for the new regime, the reformist left was scrambling to climb aboard the Cory bandwagon. The CPP, which wields mass influence in the Philippines, called its electoral boycott "a major political blunder" and advocated "critically participating in the snap election." In the U.S., inveterate tailists such as the SWP hailed the Aquino "revolution," while the dubious Workers League published an after-the-fact call for "a critical vote for Aquino." The January 22 massacre has starkly exposed the fraud of "people power," and urgently underlined the need for a Leninist-Trotskyist party, forged on the program of permanent revolution. As we warned a few months ago ("Philippine Workers Must Fight for Power!", *WV* No. 415, 7 November 1986):

"...the present prerevolutionary situation is fragile in the extreme, and will not last for long. Under orders from Washington, the Philippine military will move to restore capitalist order by seeking to crush both the militant workers movement and leftist insurgents. The only question is whether Aquino, like El Salvador's Duarte, will serve as a 'democratic' figurehead for the right-wing butchers, or be overthrown by the military. The situation cries out for a revolutionary vanguard party, such as the Bolsheviks forged in Russia, to lead the Filipino proletariat, supported by the peasantry, to fight for its own class rule." ■

Young Spartacus



Guillermo Beats S.F. State Ban

"DROP THE CHARGES AGAINST GUILLERMO SFSU"

A hard-fought victory for free speech! Guillermo Bermúdez (left) fights "ban" against Marxists at SFSU.

Young Spartacus

The two-year vendetta by the San Francisco State University administration, campus cops and the SF district attorney's office to enforce a South Africa-style "ban" on Spartacist youth activist Guillermo Bermúdez has been defeated! On January 25, the D.A.'s office moved to dismiss all charges against Guillermo for the "crime" of passing out a Marxist leaflet on campus. The ban was imposed in November 1984 when Bermúdez and other Spartacist "Red Avengers" held a rally to raise money for Nicaragua's defense against U.S. imperialism. The next day, he defied the ban by coming to campus to give out leaflets and was arrested.

Support for Guillermo's case rolled in from professors, student organizations and unionists who endorsed the defense case, wrote letters to publicize this violation of free speech and invited the "banned" Marxist to speak at their classes. As SFSU faculty member Sam Wellbaum wrote in the *Golden Gate*, "If a little group of radical Trotskyists can be squelched today, more 'respectable' protesters will be tomorrow. That's one of those lessons of history we forget at our peril." We extend our thanks and appreciation to everyone who took a stand to defend Guillermo and in so doing helped set an important precedent in defense of the rights of all who would

**November 1984—
Red Avengers
mock campus
"thought police."
Red Avengers
returned to SFSU
on January 30 to
announce victory
over witchhunters.**

Young Spartacus



protest the criminal policies of this government.

As our Bay Area comrades noted in their victory statement distributed at SF State:

"At a time when the Reagan administration is reeling from the Iran-Contra scandal and the always marginal support for Reagan's Central America policies is plummeting, perhaps the D.A. was not so eager to try to convince a jury of the danger of a young Marxist handing out flyers on a university campus defending the Nicaraguan Revolution.... Meese and Co.'s 'thought police' want to tell American

youth what they can think, read, ingest and do under the covers, but the credibility of this gang is none too high, as they are daily exposed as gross incompetents and fumbling liars."

Two years ago, we enraged the craven campus "left" when we exposed their lie that the way for the workers and oppressed to fight Reagan was by backing loser "Quarantine Nicaragua" Mondale. An unholy alliance spanning the university administration and cops, student government bureaucrats, Democratic Party careerists and their fake-left camp followers launched a frenzied

anti-Spartacist witchhunt at SF State. Women's Center director Judy Moore (aka "Baby HUAC") led this cabal in a rapidly escalating series of attacks from the banning of Marxist literature to the banning of Marxist people. The "Red Avengers of the Underground SYL" were born to fight this onslaught. Scorning the would-be campus McCarthyites, Red Avengers donned "Miss Piggy" masks and witches' hats and performed guerrilla theater skits across the campus. A series of "underground communiqués" were distributed, spoofing the redbaiters.

The cops and the courts were determined to prosecute Guillermo, an avowed Marxist, to set an "example" that would intimidate other student protesters. But just as we defeated UC Berkeley's attempt to jail our comrade on false charges that he assaulted the cop who held him in a choke hold and broke his arm for leading a protest against Marine recruiters (see "Guillermo Bermúdez Wins!", *WV* No. 404, 23 May 1986), the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee fought this case with every legal and political means at our disposal. Guillermo's attorneys, noted civil rights lawyer Howard Moore and Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel Valerie West, took this case all the way to the California Supreme Court, which refused to review their appeal for a dismissal. In pre-trial discovery, the defense uncovered a lash-up with the Cold War Zionists of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, who provided the campus cops with a "security manual" and cooperation in setting up Spartacists (see page 3).

Finally the D.A.'s office threw in the towel, offering the lame excuse that they couldn't find their witnesses—SFSU administrators and campus cops, every one of whom had been served subpoenas by Guillermo's attorneys! *We won!* But funds are still needed to defray the costs of fighting the two-year prosecution. Send checks payable to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. A victory for one is a victory for all! ■

"Finish the Civil War—Fight for a Socialist Future!"

The statement printed below, written by a member of the New York Spartacus Youth Club, recounts the author's experiences growing up in Howard Beach, Queens, the neighborhood where Michael Griffith, a 23-year-old black man, was killed by a mob of white racists on the night of December 20.

By Maryann Murphy

I was born in Howard Beach in 1963 and lived there almost 15 years. The cumulative experiences of that racist hellhole, and the (lack of) consciousness of its inhabitants, were incentive enough for me to run away at 14.

Contrary to the protests of the people who live there today, Howard Beach has always been a white, racist mini-apartheid. They have this paranoid, backward, intellectually deficient mindset, wherein their own little world reigns supreme. An invisible line is drawn. If you're not white, and you cross that line, you'd better have a gun.

Growing Up in Howard Beach

There's a one-sided race war, and blacks are the target.

As I came of age to go to school, there was a national movement of which I was hardly aware. Thousands of people were in the streets—fighting for busing, against racism. We watched the TV news. The sick fight against busing inflamed the minds of Howard Beach residents.

I went to Our Lady of Grace, an all-white Catholic school, for eight years. P.S. 146 was a few blocks away. When busing came to that small town, all the "good Catholics" and "neighborly Christians" put up one hell of a fight to stop black kids and white kids from attending the same school. So much for "God created everybody equal!"

I clearly remember a horrifying in-

cident of racist terror that occurred when I was seven or eight while I was at Charles Park. The Q11 bus route came by there, and the bus would often stop for a few minutes to get back on schedule. Well, that day there was a black bus driver. That invisible line was crossed. These teenage boys from the park went tearing over to the bus, screaming racist epithets, and dragged the driver out of the bus, kicking and punching him. Then they took the bus and ran it up a hill. I don't know what ever happened to that unfortunate victim.

At the same park four or five years later, a kid we hung out with was proudly breaking the news that his cousin was in jail. He'd participated in the Klan-style murder of a black

woman token clerk at the Broad Channel station on the "A" train line. I knew these kids were sick, as were their educators—the parents and teachers who taught them race-hatred. I also thought it was probably the same everywhere.

Escaping from the Howard Beach Torture Chamber changed my entire life. I got a street education in integration and some book knowledge on the Civil War and labor/black defense. I know about the first workers revolution in history—that led by the Bolsheviks in 1917—which put an end to racist pogromist terror and capitalist oppression.

We need flatbed trucks of labor/black defense guards to patrol the streets of places like Howard Beach, Gravesend and Broad Channel. We must build a workers party to finish the Civil War and fight for a socialist future. That is how to avenge the victims of racist terror!

Racist Lynching in Howard Beach

For Labor/Black Defense to Smash Racist Attacks!

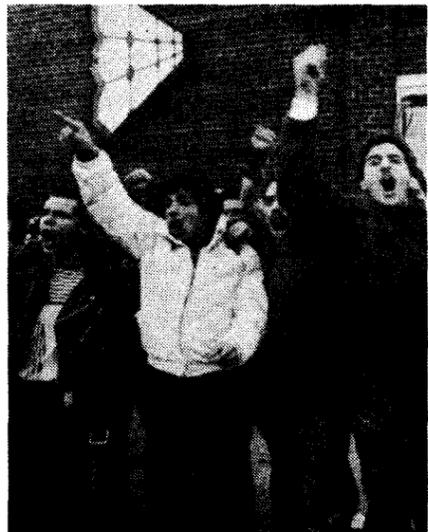
Black History Month

The following speech by Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist League Central Committee member and 1985 Spartacist candidate for NYC mayor, was given at a January 23 SL forum in New York.

I want to start off with some basics. We're talking about a fundamental right here—the right of a black person in New York City to go into a deli and buy a bagel; the right of a black man to walk down any damn street he wants to in this city and buy a slice of pizza. Or of a black family to buy a house in any neighborhood in this country and live without the threat of the burning cross and the Ku Klux Klan. Or the right to drive a silver Mercedes through the streets of Tampa—that's right, they beat up and busted Dr. K., Dwight Gooden, because the idea of a black man making a million bucks and driving an expensive car just stuck in the cops' craw.

Well, we communists of the Spartacist League call on all working men and women in this city, black and white, Hispanics, Asians; we call on all defenders of democratic rights to mobilize to defend those rights and *crush* the racist scum that are wreaking their murderous terror against minorities. There's been a lynching, right here in New York City. And now the people who run this city are trying to lynch the survivors and dig up the corpse to lynch Michael Griffith all over again. This double lynching has brought this city to the point of explosion, and people are searching for answers, for a program to *stop this racist terror*. And that's what we want to talk about tonight.

The Spartacist League and our supporters in the city labor movement have been calling for a massive show of force—it's the only language these racist vermin understand. We call for the formation of integrated armed workers defense guards drawn from responsible union men and women to patrol the streets where Michael Griffith was attacked and killed. Militant transit workers in the Committee for a Fighting TWU in Local 100 put out a call to form a "caravan of flatbed trucks filled with integrated union defense squads to



Marc Asnin

For integrated trade-union defense squads to clean out these racist scum!



WV Photo

Spartacist League forum: A class-conscious labor movement must champion the cause of black freedom.

patrol Howard Beach to ensure that this neighborhood is safe for *all* working people." And with 37,000 members in this powerhouse of New York labor—black, Latin, Irish—you better believe, they've got the muscle to get some respect. But you can't bank it, you've got to use it.

We're talking about a red army—that's what workers defense guards are about—it's an embryo of workers power, of a workers state where these race-terrorists would be gone for good. And that's what it's going to take. In the Russian Revolution, workers defense guards went out and smashed the KKKers of the day—the so-called Black Hundreds, who used to terrorize the Jewish ghettos with their pogroms, their lynch mobs.

We've got Black History Month coming up, so let me read from something written by Claude McKay—the black American writer who was one of the first to rally behind the Bolshevik Revolution. He wrote this in a letter to the editor of the magazine called *The Crisis*, which was published by W.E.B. Du Bois:

"I am surprised and sorry that in your editorial...you sneer at the Russian Revolution, the greatest event in the history of humanity; much greater than the French Revolution, which is held up as a wonderful achievement to Negro children and students in white and black schools. For American Negroes the indisputable and outstanding fact of the Russian Revolution is that a mere handful of Jews, much less in ratio to the number of Negroes in the American population, have attained through the Revolution, all the political and social rights that were denied to them under the regime of the Czar."

Workers defense guards, mass labor/black defense, an integrated fight to smash the racist terrorists—that's what it will take to deal with the lynchers, the cross-burners, the fascists who are acting like they've got a license to kill in Reagan's America and Koch's New York. We of the Spartacist League believe the black question is the key to the American revolution—the fight for revolutionary integration, for black liberation through socialist revolution. We put all faith in the power of the independent mobilization of the working class and minorities under the leadership of the revolutionary party and no reliance on the 106th Precinct—in the cops, the courts, the capitalist state.

This racist atrocity in New York City is part of the overall social climate in this country. It's Racist Terror U.S.A. In

Chicago, the Howard Beach types put on Klan hoods and swastikas and spewed their racist filth in Marquette Park last summer. In Amherst, Mass. a mob of a thousand stampeding white racists set upon a dozen black people after the World Series. And just last weekend in lily-white Forsyth County, Georgia, the KKK terrorized black marchers and then had a so-called

controllers union was his message to labor.

The racist terror comes straight from the top, from Reagan, and from Koch. Lately they got this thing, about how Koch has supposedly changed his stripes. You know, he went out and said the Howard Beach murder was a lynching, akin to something in the Deep South, which it was. But all of a sudden, Koch is not supposed to be a racist pig anymore? This is the man who treats blacks and Latins like he's the Israeli military commander and they're Palestinians on the occupied West Bank; the man who paraded through the streets of Queens with Israeli general Sharon, the butcher of Sabra/Shatila! This is the man whose cops gunned down Michael Stewart, whose cops blew away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs.

The Bumpurs trial is on right now. That's right, supposedly Sullivan the Cop is on trial; but really the murdered victim is on trial, as also in the case of Michael Griffith. Because up in the Bronx they are obscenely trying to pin the blame on the Bumpurs family for the fact that a SWAT team broke down the door and blasted an infirm black grandmother because she was \$387.40



WV Photo

January 12: SL and Labor Black League protest at Bronx courthouse. Racist courts cover up for killer cop Sullivan, put murdered black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs and family on trial.

"white power" rally of 1,000 racists at the county courthouse. These people are *killers*. Where do you think all these guns are going that have been stolen from U.S. army warehouses?

Make no mistake, the Howard Beach mob is not just a bunch of racist yahoos. They and people like them are doing the work of sinister forces that are driving this country to the brink of imperialist war and pushing this city to the brink of race war. Trade war and imperialist war mean racist terror at home. You can hear the beat of war drums—whipping this country into a war frenzy against the Soviet "evil empire" and its "surrogates" from Nicaragua to Libya. And how do they mobilize for war? With racism, with Rambomania. They keep pushing this protectionist poison about Japanese workers supposedly taking American jobs, and pretty soon a Vincent Chin is bludgeoned to death by a white Chrysler foreman. They get those white medical students kissing the ground over Reagan's rape of black Grenada. And anybody who steps out of line—they're to be obliterated, like the firebombing of MOVE. That was Reagan's message to black people, just like the destruction of the PATCO air

behind on her rent. Who here hasn't been \$387.40 behind on their rent, right? So now we have eviction-by-murder in this city.

We ran an election campaign here in the fall of 1985, a campaign like the Bolsheviks did—as a platform to rally the working people and oppressed in struggle. We held a forum at a church in Harlem with the slogan "Harlem to Soweto—Smash Racist Terror!" and it was a very moving event when Eleanor Bumpurs' daughter Mary, and Veronica Perry, the mother of Edmund Perry who was killed by the cops in Harlem, came and spoke of their pain and their anger. And we demonstrated against the cops' coroner, Dr. Gross the Ghoul—you remember, he's the one who gouged out Michael Stewart's eyes and hid them, so the evidence that Stewart was choke-held by the cops wouldn't show. It's really like we said, it's a *system* of racist terror, from the cops to Koch to D.A. Morgenthau to Gross.

Shortly after that was the struggle to defend Brother James Grimes, the black transit worker who did have a gun to defend himself, unlike Brother Michael Griffith or Willie Turks—so James Grimes is alive to talk about it today.

"Gun Control Is Killing Blacks!"

Comrade Ed Kartsen, a Spartacist electoral candidate in 1985, is a member of the SL Central Committee. We print below condensed excerpts from his remarks at the January 23 SL forum in New York.

In Howard Beach what we had was a putrid leftover of something that has to be eradicated from this country, the putrid leftovers of slavery. This time it was the family of Michael Griffith who suffered a deep loss. We share in their grief. And we regard with contempt, disgust and outrage the media campaign to turn the victims into the criminals. The surfacing of mob terror in New York City just adds a note to the fact that the civil rights movement is not only far from complete, but those gains are being driven back at breakneck speed. And these racist murderers know it—that's what has emboldened them. They're in Reagan's America, which is characterized by the massacre of the members of the MOVE organization in Philadelphia, cruelly burned to death, in a city with a black Democratic Party mayor, who worked hand in hand with the federal agents.

In New York City, Koch is Reagan's man. And because the civil rights movement is incomplete, the tasks of the Civil War are incomplete. They have to be finished. The rule of Jim Crow in this city is manifested by *cop terror*, by unemployment, by conditions of the homeless, by massive hunger. It's also manifested by anti-gun laws. Anti-gun laws in this city are analogous to the disarming of black soldiers who occupied the Confederate States of America. It's analogous to the pulling out of the Union Army from the occupied Confederacy. Well, after that pullout the Klan did its work of pushing back many of the gains and many of the potential gains

**July 1983:
Ed Kartsen
at rally of
transit workers
demanding
TWU action to
avenge racist
murder of
union brother
Willie Turks.**



which the Civil War opened up. And in this city, as the cops and mob terror enforce the racist status quo, gun control is killing blacks. Gun control has to be abolished.

Labor has to mobilize in a big way to reverse the influence of the racist lynch mobs in this country and this city, but workers are deeply divided along race lines. In order to successfully break through that barrier, conscious workers have to take a granite-hard stand in opposition to the passivity and backwardness which is manifest in the labor movement. That's why TWU militants have demanded, along with the Spartacist League, that flatbed trucks be mobilized by the thousands into areas like Howard Beach. Racist terror must be answered swiftly and decisively; otherwise the lives of black people are cheapened, inequality is reinforced. The crushing of the race-hating killers by the

mobilized strength of the working class is the only way that black freedom, and the cause of all working-class people, can be ensured.

One of the most important examples of a movement within the civil rights movement to break out of the pacifism that Martin Luther King preached was Robert Williams, head of the Monroe, North Carolina NAACP. He answered KKK terror by organizing armed defense squads to protect black neighborhoods and protests against Ku Klux Klan terror. Robert Williams' tactics, which the Spartacist League supported, tied to the social power of the working class could reforge a movement that would move beyond the limitations that Martin Luther King ran into. It was Malcolm X as well as the Deacons for Defense who fought for the right of armed self-defense. And in order to continue the fight for that right, anti-

gun laws, which are advocated by Democratic Party liberals, have to be abolished.

The "Johnny Reb" types who killed Michael Griffith should share the same fate as the Confederate soldiers who were destroyed in order to overthrow slavery. Our demands are that vengeance be gotten for Michael Stewart, for Willie Turks, for Eleanor Bumpurs, for Dennis Groce, for *all* the victims of racist terror; our strategy is the mobilization of the working class and minorities under revolutionary leadership to finish the Civil War. And we know that this struggle is not exclusively a struggle of the offensive. We know that there is a need to defend many of the class-struggle prisoners who have already become the targets of the racist justice system in order to enforce Jim Crow. I'm speaking in particular of Ramona Africa, the sole survivor of the grisly MOVE bombing, and of Geronimo Pratt, the framed-up ex-Black Panther.

Reagan wants to make the Cold War hot, and the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis and the racist terrorists like the ones out in Howard Beach want to help them by maintaining the racist status quo. The agents of race-hate in the working class want to set black, white, Hispanic and Asian workers at each other's throats. Well, we think that all workers in this country, united with workers worldwide, should defend the remaining gains of the October Revolution of 1917. And the gains of the first and second American Revolutions, which are under attack, must also be defended. What we need is a workers party to do that, and replace that strutting cowboy in the White House and the Democrats with a workers government. Our fight is to finish the Civil War with a third American revolution, a workers revolution. ■

The transit brothers and sisters mobilized, repeatedly, at the courthouse, at the T.A. to defend Brother Grimes. And out of that successful struggle to defend the right of armed self-defense, the New York Labor Black League was formed. And earlier, after black transit worker Willie Turks was killed on Avenue X, in Gravesend, by a racist mob, the militant transit workers also fought for union patrols in Gravesend. That struggle that was sabotaged by the so-called union "dissidents" and by Local 100 president at that time, John Lawe, who said such a mobilization would "disturb good relations with management." You bet it would. *And we are bitter* about this because, if labor had mobilized then, as it should have done, Michael Griffith might be alive today.

Defeat of the Civil Rights Movement

So what happened in the Howard Beach case? Well, after the lynching [of

Michael Griffith] they tried to lynch the lawyers, because Maddox and Vernon Mason didn't want to go along with the standard cover-up that was being cooked up in the D.A.'s office. Maddox said, look, the Willie Turks case shows that this city is not going to prosecute a white mob that killed a black man. Which is the simple truth. So they threw the book at the lawyers—Koch even said the refusal to go along with Santucci was worse than the lynching itself! But unfortunately, behind the lawyers' whole legal strategy is the politics of pressuring the state or federal government to take over the case.

They went looking for a deal with Governor Cuomo, who wants to run for president. But who is Cuomo? He's a product of the same Democratic Queens machine that brought you Donald Manes, Geraldine Ferraro and John Santucci. Cuomo even dumped on Koch for mentioning the word lynching. Well, as Malcolm X used to say, just remember, if you're voting for the Dem-

ocrats, you're voting for the Dixiecrats. So they just formed a political alliance with Cuomo here over Michael Griffith's dead body. And if they don't get justice from this special prosecutor, don't be surprised. We say break with the racist Democrats—forge a multi-racial class-struggle workers party!

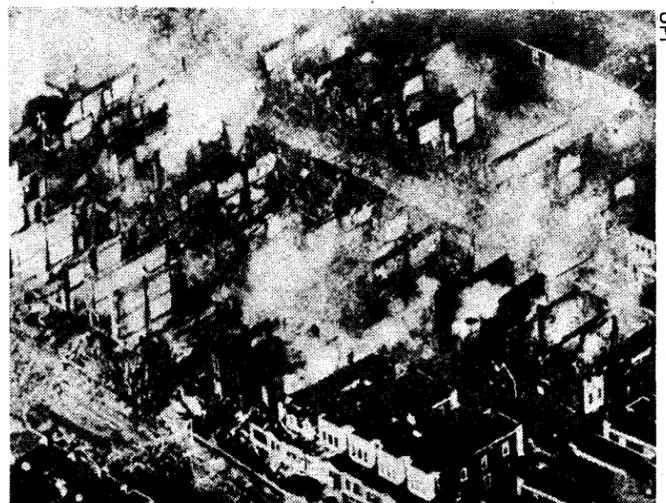
Now, along with the deal with Cuomo, they have this "boycott white businesses" and "boycott white media" campaign. Partly, it's absurd—someone actually raised the slogan "Pizza kills." And supposedly not watching the Superbowl is going to strike a blow against racism? But it's much more sinister than that. Look, the racists are mobilizing to keep blacks out of "white neighborhoods," right? That's what they were using those "stun guns" for in the 106th Precinct, to drive black youth out of Ozone Park. Howard Beach even has Pinkertons to keep out black people. So, along come black misleaders like Al Sharpton or Roger Green, and they're saying don't buy white, stay with your own. That plays right into the racists' hands. That's what the racists want. Furthermore, this is poisonous anti-Italian demagoguery. Just like Sharpton last summer tried to stage a little pogrom against Arab candy store owners in the supposed "Crack-down" in Harlem.

As always, Jesse Jackson's on hand when somebody's brokering a deal with the Democrats, and Louis Farrakhan is in the wings there as well. Farrakhan's people have been whipping up the worst of the anti-Italian race-baiting that has been going on, and the speeches at the January 21 rally were laced with anti-Semitism. What Jesse had to say about Howard Beach was that the focus ought to be on the White House—by which he means vote Democratic in '88,

just like he hustled votes for Fritz ("Quarantine Nicaragua") Mondale and Geraldine ("No to forced busing") Ferraro last time around. And when he glad-handed Mr. Segregation, George Wallace, don't forget that. Because there's a symbiosis between Jackson and Wallace, they go together, just like Louis Farrakhan and the likes of Tom Metzger, the San Diego KKK leader and fellow Democrat. There's a reason why Farrakhan took money from Metzger, why Metzger came out to Farrakhan's speech in the Forum in Los Angeles last year. Metzger and Farrakhan both think "Hitler was a great man," and both of them want to keep black people locked into the ghettos.

Well, here in New York we've seen this kind of dangerous, race-baiting demagoguery before. I'm thinking back to 1978, when Herbert Daughtry diverted protests over the police murder of black businessman Arthur Miller into a march on a Hassidic synagogue in Crown Heights. He had a couple thousand people massed, whipping up the crowd with anti-Semitism, remarks about people in "strange clothing." Today Daughtry is oh-so-respectable, he's in tight with Koch, he gets his picture taken with Cuomo, he wants to be Jesse Jackson's main man in New York. But it's just two sides of the same coin of bourgeois ethnic politics, and it's deadly dangerous. They're toying with race war to get a little "clout" within the Democratic Party, a little influence they can peddle. And race war in this country is necessarily one-sided, against black people.

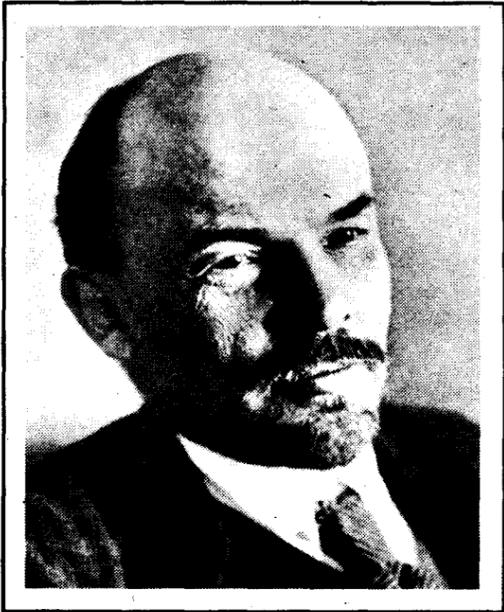
Now in part, they're trying to do a replay of the '60s. Take the protest march they had into Howard Beach right after the murder of Michael
continued on page 10



Racist state terror in Reagan's America: black Democratic mayor Goode, Philadelphia cops, FBI incinerated eleven people in hideous firebombing of MOVE.

HONOR

BOLSHEVIK LEADERS



Progress Publishers



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LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, LUXEMBURG

On January 18, the Spartacist League held a public meeting in the San Francisco Bay Area to pay tribute to the "three L's" of Bolshevism: V.I. Lenin, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, all of whom died in the month of January. Lenin, whose Bolshevist Party led the Russian working class to power in October 1917, died in January 1924; Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the German Communist leaders, were murdered in January 1919.

In the meeting hall were displayed historical photographs and artists' scenes of the German Spartacus uprising, enlarged quotes by Luxemburg, Liebknecht, Leon Trotsky and Lenin, and a literature display. The main speaker, James Robertson of the SL Central Committee, noted that "back when the Communist Party had a memory, some 50-plus years ago," meetings in January in honor of the "three L's" were a regular event. The meeting heard quotes from the writings and speeches of Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg and others. Following the discussion, the *Internationale* was sung and Chopin's funeral march was played.

The main presentation emphasized that there are no "great leaders" in isolation; that for success in situations of urgent revolutionary opportunity, there must be a tested leadership that has an evolved authority among the masses of working people. Lenin's struggle for disciplined communist organization, in the 1903 split with the Mensheviks and onward, forged a Bolshevist Party with the will and



Oakland, January 18: Fighting in the tradition of the "three L's"—Spartacist League pays tribute to historic leaders of the proletarian fight for socialism.

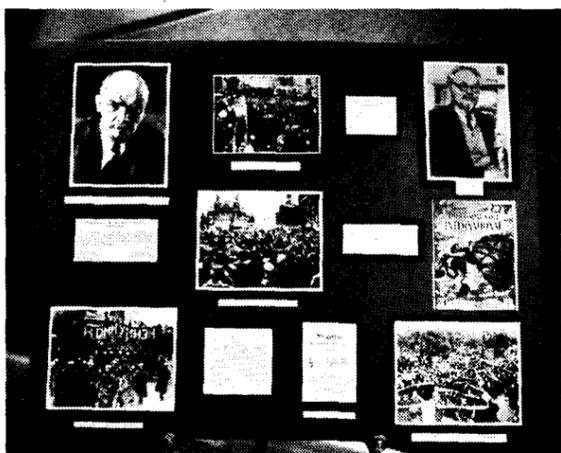
capacity to take power. In Germany, the revolutionists' hard split from the capitulators came much later, after the November 1918 overthrow of the Hohenzollern monarchy. In the revolutionary confrontations of 1918-19 the crucial left-wing leaders Luxemburg and Liebknecht were murdered. And with the proletarian leadership beheaded, the 1923 revolutionary confrontation in Germany miscarried, leading directly to the rise of Hitler and the second imperialist world war.

Among the quotations read to the meeting were a passage from Liebknecht's work *Militarism and Anti-*

Militarism, the appeal to proletarian youth for which he was convicted of treason, and Luxemburg's last defiant article, "Order Reigns in Berlin." A passage from John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World* described Lenin as "a strange popular leader—a leader purely by virtue of intellect...but with the power of explaining profound ideas in simple terms, of analysing a concrete situation." Other readings included sections of Leon Trotsky's speech to the Petrograd Soviet three days after the death of Luxemburg and Liebknecht and Lenin's famous telegram of March 1917 demanding a policy of no confi-

dence in the bourgeois regime (see facing page).

The main speaker concluded: "Our task...is to do two things, in intimate conjuncture. One is to struggle to retain the understanding of the practices and traditions of the international communist movement in the spirit and program of the Bolsheviks." In addition, he noted, "we have to live it to the extent that we can....And part of living as communists is to act like the communists who evolved under the...unusual conditions of the tsarist empire, and managed to crack the power of the rulers and the enslavers." ■



Bay Area comrades assembled moving display on revolutionary work of Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg. "The main enemy is at home!"



Our tactics: no trust in and no support of the new government; Kerensky is especially suspect; arming of the proletariat is the only guarantee; immediate elections to the Petrograd City Council; no rapprochement with other parties. Telegraph this to Petrograd.

Ulyanov

—V.I. Lenin,
"Telegram to the Bolsheviks
Leaving for Russia,"
19 March 1917



State Fine Arts Publishers

Petrograd, 1917: Lenin defends his April Theses.



Novosti

Red soldiers in 1917 Moscow demonstration. Banner says "Communism."

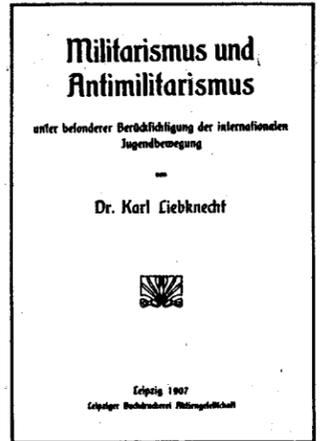


Dietz Verlag Berlin

5 January 1919: Liebknecht addresses Berlin workers, shortly before he and Luxemburg were murdered at instigation of German Social Democrats.

The toiling masses are the prime movers of social revolution. Clear class consciousness, clear recognition of their historic tasks, a clear will to achieve them, and unerring effectiveness—these are the attributes without which they will not be able to complete their work. Today more than ever the task is to clear away the unity smokescreen, expose half measures and halfheartedness, and unmask all false friends of the working class. Clarity can arise only out of pitiless criticism, unity only out of clarity, and the strength to create the new socialist world only out of unity in spirit, goals, and purpose.

—Karl Liebknecht,
"The New 'Civil Peace,'"
19 November 1918



Liebknecht's famous pamphlet directed against capitalist militarism.

The fight for socialism is the most gigantic civil war in history, and the proletarian revolution must prepare the necessary defense for this war. It must learn to use it, to fight and to conquer. This defense of the compact masses of the workers, this arming of them with the full political power for the accomplishment of the revolution, is what is known as the dictatorship of the proletariat. This, and only this, is the true democracy.

—Rosa Luxemburg,
"What Does The
Spartacus League Want,"
14 December 1918; adopted as
the founding program of
the Communist Party of Germany,
30 December 1918-1 January 1919.



Dietz Verlag Berlin

Rosa Luxemburg denounces war preparations in 1907.



Proletarian internationalist paper of German Spartakusbund, founded by Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

Labor/Black Defense...

(continued from page 7)

Griffith. It was a very bad scene there, because the black marchers were surrounded by the racists, who weren't just screaming, they had their baseball bats with them. And when what's standing between you and the racists is the 106th Precinct, you are *in trouble*. On WLIB, people called in and commented that it reminded them of Chicago, of Cicero in 1966, when the civil rights marchers were stoned in the streets by the racists. That march was defeated militarily, but it also marked the political defeat of the liberal civil rights movement when it tried to go north.

Because, you see, the pacifism of the preachers and the politicians was not just because they liked Gandhi or something, it was based on a strategy of *relying on the federal government* to overturn Jim Crow segregation: the right to vote, integrate the bus stations and lunch counters and so forth. (These gains are still under attack, and now being reversed, not only under Reagan, but when the Democrats abandoned busing back in the mid-1970s.) When King launched a campaign for "open housing" in Chicago, they were up against the economic realities that are the bedrock of racist American capitalism, where black people are last hired, first fired, ghettoized, terrorized, in inner cities that have been lumpenized, and are today worse than any time since



SNCC leader John Lewis (fourth from left) addresses Harlem rent strike rally, 1964. Posters mock Republicans, Democrats. As Malcolm X said: "Either party that you align yourself with is suicide."

SNCC and later the Panthers, broke with the black ministers and black Democrats, unfortunately the "black power" movement never found the road to *workers* power, never linked the ghettos to the factories, where the social power is. Instead, they got locked into the dead end of nationalism—which is really a pseudo-nationalism, since blacks in America are not a nation, but an oppressed race-color caste. And many of the most courageous fighters for black liberation were gunned down in cold blood by the cops. Others were framed up and jailed, for years, like former Panther leader Geronimo Pratt who is still behind bars in San Quentin.

1964-68: Northern Ghettos Erupt

But before that, as the civil rights movement was first spreading to the North, there were some real opportuni-

raining ridicule down on the black Democrats; he was calling for armed self-defense. Progressive Labor was up there, in particular Bill Epton. There was a very radical tenants movement organizing black tenants councils. The kind of work the Communist Party did in Harlem in the '30s, like mass defense against evictions: you know, the cops would put somebody's furniture onto the street, except there's 500 people waiting on the street, and they just bring the furniture right back in.

So the ruling class was getting worried about this situation, because they saw the spectre of *red and black together*. Some people may remember, how after the Cuban Revolution, when Fidel Castro came on his first visit to this country, he stayed at the Hotel Teresa in Harlem. And I remember these scenes from television—people were sitting outside on the stoop and cheering every time Fidel and those guys in guerrilla uniforms came out. They were cheering revolution. And the ruling class just went bananas.

In the summer of 1964, our organization, the Spartacists, had just gone public, having been expelled from the Socialist Workers Party, among other reasons because we were fighting to intervene in the black struggle, North and South, on a communist program, while the SWP just wanted to tail along. And in the very second issue of our paper, we warned that the bourgeois state was preparing to use the cops to crush the black struggle in Harlem. Just a few days later the police killed a 15-year-old black youth, James Powell. Harlem mobilized to protest this outrage, and the cops went in guns blazing, nightsticks swinging. Well, big events are the test for a revolutionary party. And Spartacist came out hard in defense of the people of Harlem, at a time when virtually all the left and the black reformist leaders had abandoned them.

The Harlem Defense Council had been formed by Bill Epton and other militants and they were calling for organizing block-by-block, apartment-by-apartment, house-by-house defense against the cops. They tried to hold a mass demonstration in Harlem, but liberal mayor Wagner banned it and the cops arrested the organizers as soon as they stepped off the curb. The Spartacists took the lead in forming a Harlem Solidarity Committee that attempted to take the pressure off the ghetto by rallying mass working-class support. It held a 1,000-strong rally in the garment center calling for the cops out of Harlem and "Support Right of Citizens to Defend Themselves." *Spartacist* editor James Robertson addressed the rally, denouncing the cops and commenting on the attempts to blame the riots on communists. He said, "Unfortunately there aren't many reds in Harlem now—but there will be."

Well, they cut it off with the cop riot and with the witchhunt that would come, and not just in Harlem. They destroyed the ghetto organizations by arresting the leaders; Bill Epton was jailed for "criminal anarchism." And the next year Malcolm was killed. You want to know why we say gun control kills blacks? In New York the city council

passed that law about carrying shotguns and carbines in public because Malcolm had one in his car, since there had already been one attempt on his life. They passed that law, and within months Malcolm was shot dead, in the Audubon Ballroom. Who did it? We don't know, but we do know there were two forces who wanted Malcolm dead. One, the government: as later revealed, the COINTEL program called for "neutralization" of black leaders; and another was Louis Farrakhan.

But it was the events of 1968 that really cut off the prospects of united black/labor struggle in this city. The mid-'60s was also a period of rapid growth by the municipal unions in New York. Remember the '66 transit strike, when old Mike Quill said the judge could drop dead in his black robes, and the union tore up the back-to-work injunction? So the city rulers were worried, and together with the Ford Foundation and the federal government, they came up with a scheme to try to break the teachers union, which had also been expanding at that time. They got a new black administrator in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, Rhody McCoy. And his first act was to dismiss without due process a number of teachers, including the shop stewards; and when 250 teachers walked out in protest, they were "transferred," and replacements hired.

This was straight out union-busting, but the city created a smokescreen to cover it: "community control." Black leaders, and almost the entire left, lined up against the strike. Now the Shanker leadership of the UFT [United Federation of Teachers]—that sounds like a disease, but it's a person, Al Shanker. Shanker played right into Lindsay's hands, by total indifference to the concerns and needs of the ghetto, and even demanding the famous "rowdy child clause." And the card that was played to split blacks from the unions was anti-Semitism, because the teachers union is heavily Jewish. Really ugly stuff. Just to name one flagrant example, there was the repulsive poem read over WBAI by one Les Campbell, Rhody McCoy's right-hand man, that's the man we know as Jitu Weusi today. He went on the air and he attacked Shanker as a yarmulke-wearing "Jew boy," and saying, "I wish you were dead."

1968 split blacks and labor, and that brought in its wake the Big MAC cutbacks of the '70s, which ripped up union contracts and destroyed social services for the ghettos. It gave us labor-hater race-baiter Ed Koch, who, according to his own autobiography really got off on busting the 1980 transit strike and shutting down Sydenham Hospital. So our job is to reforge a fighting unity in this city between blacks and the labor movement. And that means a fight in the unions to oust the Shankers and their ilk, the pro-capitalist Russia-hating labor bureaucracy that plays ball with the bosses. (I mean that literally. Victor Gotbaum bragged that he and Big MAC banker Felix Rohatyn regularly play tennis together out in the Hamptons.) We say: Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win! And that means a fight to break the unions and the black masses from the Democratic Party.

Imperialist War and Socialist Revolution

So here we are, deep into the Reagan years. Blacks and labor have been taking it on the chin. It's been a lousy period, of rightist reaction. But early on, in our party conference in 1981, we had taken up the question of "Facing the Reagan Years," and steered our comrades to fight routinism, to be prepared to seize the opportunities which would come. And we've gone out looking for them. Notably, the Labor/Black Mobilization on November 27, 1982, which we built in one week, that brought out 5,000 black youth and unionists who



Chicago, 1966: Martin Luther King was defeated when he went North. Liberal civil rights movement had no answer to ghetto misery rooted in capitalism.

the Depression, where an entire generation of black youth are condemned to a future of despair. And no civil rights bill, no liberal Democrat is going to change this. For that, you need socialist revolution and the expropriation of the capitalist class.

So the ghetto explosions in the late '60s were really due to the failure of the civil rights movement to make a difference in the lives of the mass of black people in the North. And while the left wing of that movement, located in

ties pointing toward a revolutionary, class-struggle road to black freedom. So I want to talk about the Harlem police riot of 1964, where the question of labor/black defense was posed concretely on a mass scale, from 125th and Lenox to the garment district. Because in that period Harlem was seething, and the political ferment was quickly moving beyond the capitalist framework. There were a number of factors: Malcolm X was there; he had split from the Black Muslim organization and was



Wide World

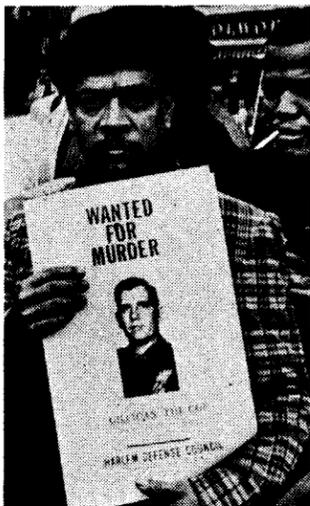
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Robert L. Haggins



New York Times

1964: Outrage over cop killing of 15-year-old Harlem youth (left). Spartacist-initiated rally in garment district to defend Harlem masses against police riot (right).

stopped the Ku Klux Klan cold when they tried to march in Washington for the first time since 1925. And most recently, the ILA strike this past October, where we rushed into action with our special supplement. Unfortunately the strike only lasted three days, because the raw power of that integrated hardball union, with its heavily black Southern locals, scared the bureaucrats and the bourgeoisie.

November 27th by the way, was the culmination of a series of labor/black actions that were instrumental in keeping the Klan off the streets of the Northern cities. It was one of the most important victories in decades in the fight against racist terror in this country. But there are people who can't stomach that—even some on the left, like the so-called Workers League, which called that action a "provocation." That's the same thing they've recently come out and said about our fight in the city labor movement now for massive labor/black patrols in Howard Beach. So they have an article in their paper, the *Bulletin*, one of the most disgusting apologies for the racist killers in Howard Beach I've ever read. They take out the Spartacist League for our statement that this is a "deeply racist country." That is simply true. Why do they want to deny reality? Because they're opposed to mobilizing to stop these racist attacks. As James Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, said of the "colorblind" social democrats of his day, who like the WL were covering for, or were themselves, job-trusting labor fakers, these pseudo-socialists have *nothing at all* to offer black people.

Okay, so it's been six years of Reaganism. But I'm glad to say that recent developments look like the Reaganites are self-destructing pretty fast, and we want to help this along. In our paper, *Workers Vanguard*, we're writing about "Contragate Murder Plots," "Shuttlegate," KAL-007-gate—let's keep those "gates" coming, folks. Reagan also seems to be losing his marbles, or should I say losing his jelly beans. But they're still obsessed with "taking back Nicaragua." And they may just try it. As we've said more than once, this government is crazy, war crazy. But if they do, they'll find out that the Vietnam syndrome is still there. The

Vietnamese did their job with their historic victory that sent the U.S. and its puppets packing, but the American workers haven't done their job yet. Yet if the American ruling class tries it again, in Nicaragua, they'll have one hell of a social explosion here at home.

I want to end on this note. In the California Bay Area last weekend, we commemorated three revolutionaries who all died in January—Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Party, who together with Leon Trotsky led the Russian workers to power in 1917; and Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the Spartacists in Germany, who in World War I said "The main enemy is at home!" and refused to support "their" bourgeois government in the imperialist slaughter. At the beginning of World War I, only four leaders of the German social democrats had the courage to take this internationalist stand—they went to jail, and their *Spartacus* letters had to be distributed clandestinely. But two years later, on May Day 1916, Karl Liebknecht was addressing a crowd of 10,000 in Berlin who were chanting "Down with the war!" So things can change very quickly. And if war is the mother of revolution, imperialist war is the mother of socialist revolution.

Now the Bolsheviks went into World War I with a revolutionary vanguard party, with its cadres tested in the 1905 Revolution, in the experience of the underground struggle during the repression, in resisting the wave of social patriotism at the outbreak of the war. That was decisive for the victory of the Russian October Revolution. But in Germany, Liebknecht and Luxemburg were assassinated in January 1919, their movement defeated in part because they had not assimilated the key question of the vanguard party in time. So we must learn from history. And we of the Spartacist tendency seek to forge that party of world socialist revolution. Finally, let me read a quote from Trotsky:

"Put aside the incidentals which developments have overcome, and we can, with full justification, place our work for the Fourth International under the sign of the 'three L's,' that is, under the sign not only of Lenin, but also of Luxemburg and Liebknecht."

We'd like you to join us. ■

Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

Operation Turnaround, to show that "Reagan's back" and "in charge," was a miserable flop. Though he made it through the upbeat script (selected by Nancy), with Republicans jumping up and down for standing ovations while Democrats sat stonily in their seats, the *New York Times* (28 January) reported a "consensus tonight among politicians in both parties... that the President had not regained the initiative," presaging "an even more rapid ebbing of the Administration's power" than customary. In other words, not a "lame duck" but a dead duck administration, blown out of the water by the Iran/Contragate affair. The *Times* put the knife in, ostentatiously giving top billing to Communist Party chief Mikhail Gorbachev's state of the Soviet Union address over Ronald Reagan's sorry state of the presidency.

There is a deep-going crisis of the regime in Washington today. The American ruling class is kind of panicked that their commander-in-chief has lost his grip. When White House aides refused to let investigators question Reagan on the Iran arms affair, on the grounds that "the President might become confused," Maine Republican Senator Cohen remarked, "I have the sensation we've slipped through a rabbit hole into something of a fantasy land." Asked if the president remembered signing the Bible sent to Teheran, departing White House spokesman Larry Speakes replied, "I don't know that he knew that he knew." On Friday, Reagan actually vetoed a "clean water" bill that had passed the House 408-6 and the Senate by 93-6, guaranteeing that it would be overridden. At this point if Congress (which he dubbed "outer space") passed a bill for motherhood, Reagan would no doubt reject it as a "budget-buster"!

The administration is coming apart at the seams. Secretary of State Shultz told a Congressional committee that the CIA continued discussions with the Iranians after a State Department spokesman supposedly terminated talks in mid-December; and that he had to cable the Kuwaiti government to countermand a CIA request that they release Khomeinist airplane bombers. Meanwhile, the CIA's contra mercenaries are the subject of at least seven different criminal investigations for everything from weapons smuggling, drug trafficking and money laundering to larceny, burglary and murder. And now there are revelations of Angolagate, with CIA fly-by-night airlines funneling arms to South African puppet Savimbi through Zaïre (the former Belgian Congo) with the cooperation of President Mobutu, installed by the CIA in 1965 after the agency arranged for the 1961 murder of Congolese independence leader Lumumba.

"How many dead Lebanese will it take to run Contragate off the front pages?" asked Pacifica radio commentator Travis T. Hip, adding that for purposes of whipping up anti-Arab hatred in the American public, "those hostages are probably worth a great deal more dead than alive from the White House viewpoint." The pattern is by now all-too-familiar. In January 1986, Reagan started ranting about "flaky" Qaddafi and ordered Americans to leave Libya. When Congress turned down Reagan's contra aid bill in March, he sent the Sixth Fleet to provocatively enter Libyan-claimed waters in order to draw fire and attack Soviet-installed SAM missile sites. Following the convenient bombing of a Berlin disco in early April, the U.S. bombed Tripoli in a raid timed to play live on the evening network news. This was a deliberate attempt to assassinate Qaddafi but they only succeeded in killing his 15-month-old daughter and innocent civilians. Now everybody admits that the U.S. government simply fabricated its story

of a supposed Qaddafi "link" to the disco bombing.

Who gets bombed next? Only Reagan and his new National Security Adviser Frank Carlucci know for sure, or maybe only the latter. Perhaps they'll go after the "usual suspects" in the Bekaa region of Lebanon, a favorite Israeli target. The last time Reagan tried anything serious in Lebanon he got 241 Marines blown to bits in October 1983. (That December, the *New Jersey* was ordered to come to the aid of the Marine compound in Beirut, but only managed to shell civilian areas because the 30-year-old powder charges for the 40-year-old battleship's guns caused shells to go astray.) But Reagan was able to cover up this disaster by fabricating another military "crisis"—the U.S. rape of black Grenada. Former Democratic House speaker Tip O'Neill, who went along with Reagan's ploys when the chips were down, admitted the game after he retired:

"When [KAL Flight] 007 went down, that's the day we met and decided to send our Marines to Beirut. When the 241 Marines were killed, three days later [they] get it off the front page and go into Grenada."

—*CNN News*, 14 November 1986

Whatever the administration decides to do in the Near East, it's likely to be a cheap shot—a quick bombing raid, for instance—which they can sell as "America standing tall again." Where they intend to commit the U.S. militarily is Nicaragua, in the name of a global war on Communism. Reagan vowed in the "State of the Union" address to stand by his contra "freedom fighters," proclaiming "There must be no Soviet beachhead in Central America." And as Congress gears up for another contra aid fight, a series of "exercises" are underway in Honduras involving more than 7,000 U.S. troops. Units of the National Guard are flown in for "road-building," the USS *Iowa* pounds away with its 16-inchers to "soften up" the beaches for amphibious landings by the Marines. Up next are helicopter assaults and a parachute drop by the 82nd Airborne, and a war game on "border restoration."

As for U.S. invasion plans, they have long been drawn up and are now finalized. But there's a major hitch: due to post-Vietnam manpower cuts, fully half the combat and support units will have to come from the National Guard and Reserves. These are not 20-year-old would-be Rambos but the family men of middle America, and once they start coming home in body bags it will create a political explosion at home. Not even LBJ dared try that: according to Col. Herbert Schandler (*The Unmaking of a President: Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam* [1977]), Johnson figured that mobilizing the Reserves represented "the elusive point at which the costs of Vietnam would become unacceptable to the American people..." So he rejected General Westmoreland's 1967-68 escalation plans and resigned himself to defeat. But not Reagan—he thinks he has a "mandate" for an anti-Soviet war drive leading to nuclear Armageddon in our time.

Accompanying this imperialist war drive abroad is the war at home, against workers, minorities, immigrants, the poor. And just as the Challenger's rocket launchers kept hurtling skyward following the explosion that disinte-

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CORRECTION

The last paragraph of the article "Howard Beach: Black Victims on Trial," (*WV* No. 420, 23 January) contained a garbled sentence. Referring to the recent escalation of racist terror in the U.S., the sentence should have read: "A vicious attack on anti-Klan marchers in Forsyth, Georgia dramatically underlined this point."

Water Cannon at 40° Below in Minnesota

Battle Over Troops to Central America

On Thursday night, January 22, a demonstration of some 500 people converged on Fort Snelling Air Base outside Minneapolis to protest the sending of Minnesota National Guardsmen to Central America. The troops were scheduled to lift off the next morning for U.S. military "exercises" in Honduras called "Blazing Trails '87." But as ladders went up to scale the chain-link fence topped with barbed wire that surrounds the military section of the Minneapolis-St. Paul airport, Air Force police suddenly turned fire hoses on the demonstrators. But even this drenching in the bitter cold (the wind chill factor stood at 40 degrees below zero) didn't stop the protesters, 22 of whom were seized by police. "I hope that they were amazed the people still kept going over," said a spokesman for the Pledge of Resistance, a liberal civil disobedience group.

It was the second time in a month that hundreds protested at the air base. In the predawn darkness of January 3, activists who climbed the fence and headed for planes warming their engines on the runways were attacked by dozens

of MPs and civilian cops using nightsticks. The actions at Fort Snelling reflect a split among U.S. rulers over the Pentagon's deployment of National Guard units in their military buildup against Sandinista Nicaragua. In 1986, state governors of Maine, Vermont, New Mexico, Washington, Ohio and Arizona refused to permit Guard "training" in Honduras. Last November Congress passed the Montgomery Amendment stripping governors of any say in the matter. But in late January, Minnesota governor Rudy Perpich sued the Department of Defense, Air Force, Army and top Pentagon officials to reassert state control over Guard training.

It's one more instance of how the Reagan administration, with the connivance of Congressional Democrats, has squirmed around U.S. laws to run its dirty war in Central America. The president can always federalize Guard units, but has to report this to Congress, which would then have to take a position. So for mutual convenience, use of National Guard soldiers to pave Honduras coast-to-coast with airfields



in preparation for a U.S. invasion is called "training." With the same subterfuge, the Pentagon used Guardsmen in the 1983 Grenada invasion, and Air National Guard tankers refueled the F-111s that struck Libya last April. The issue is vital to Washington, because following elimination of the draft after Vietnam, the National Guard now constitutes 44 percent of all Army combat units. Incredibly, while sinking billions into "Star Wars," the Pentagon is trying to run an imperial military machine with "weekend warriors."

Liberal Democratic governors struck a cheap pose against Reagan's unpopular war moves by blocking use of the National Guard in Central America. Arizona governor Bruce Babbitt denounced Reagan's "dangerous and wrong" policy of "direct confrontation

with Nicaragua" (*New York Times*, 16 September 1986). Yet this same Governor Babbitt, who is now angling for the Democratic vice-presidential nomination, used the Guard to break the bitter Phelps Dodge strike in Morenci in 1983-84. And Minnesota Democratic "Farmer-Labor" governor Perpich, who brags he is an Iron Range miner's son, called out the National Guard against striking Hormel meatpackers in Austin last year. The same military forces to be used against the Sandinistas are used by the U.S. ruling class against American workers. If Midwest labor had beaten back National Guard strike-breaking at Hormel, it would have been a blow against the U.S. war drive in Central America.

Anti-imperialism abroad means hard class struggle at home. ■

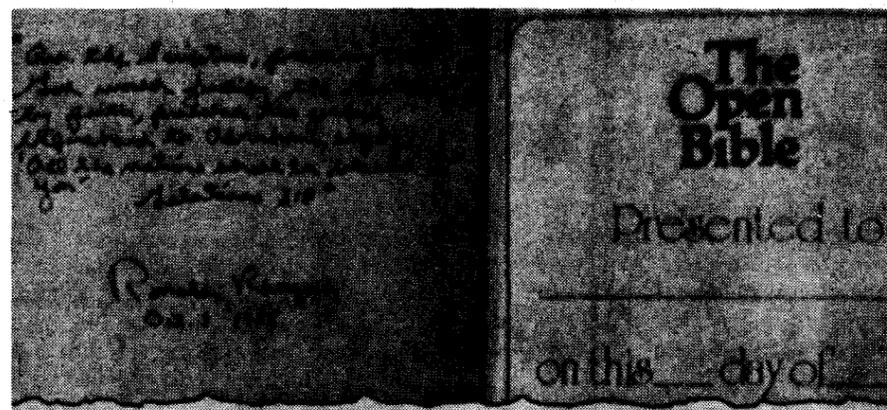
Reagan...

(continued from page 11)

grated the space shuttle a year ago, right-wing reaction is still lurching forward even as the administration plummets out of a six-year orbit under the weight of its own venality, stupidity and lies. Thus in the midst of the Iran/Contragate investigations, Republicans on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee elected as their leader Jesse Helms, a raving anti-Communist from North Carolina who revels in the company of strutting Latin American dictators. The steel companies and airlines and packing house bosses are still trying to rip up the unions, demanding whopping givebacks and locking out the workers, running plants with scabs and running down strikers on the picket lines. And the racists are on a rampage of lynch mob violence from Chicago to Georgia to New York City.

The Reagan administration's war against "the enemy within" takes particular aim at the democratic rights of the American people. For starters, Reagan, Meese & Co. have a plan to round up and imprison 400,000 "illegal aliens" in concentration camps upon a U.S. invasion of Central America. This was exposed in a Florida civil suit filed last year by the Christic Institute (see "Contragate Murder Plots," *WV* No. 420, 23 January). A December 15 affidavit by lawyer Daniel Sheehan reveals the existence of National Security Decision Directive 52, signed by Reagan in April 1984, that authorized the Federal Emergency Management Administration (FEMA) to undertake a secret nationwide "readiness exercise" called "REX-84." Deputizing all Department of Defense personnel and the National Guard would bypass the Posse Comitatus Act, which denies the military the power to arrest. And the detainees can be held at ten military bases, including Fort Drum, New York; Fort Benning, Georgia; Camp Krome, Florida; Fort Chaffee, Arkansas and Vandenberg AFB in California.

In addition, special "State Defense Forces" are to be set up, and these civilian "deputies" along with military forces would receive hundreds of tons of small arms and ammunition. After the "exercise," anticipating the NSC's "Iranscam," half the weapons would be siphoned off for shipment to the Nicaraguan contras! The existence of REX-84 has been confirmed by high-level sources inside FEMA. One told Sheehan that only those who "wore a



The Reagan Bible: Did he know that he knew that he sent it—and when did he forget?

small red Christian cross, or crucifix pin, on the lapel of their suits—were even allowed through the metal security doors on the fifth floor of the FEMA building" where the operation was headquartered. Sheehan also reveals that these "State Defense Forces" are already being secretly constituted in Texas, Louisiana and Alabama, signing up ultra-rightist mercenary and "survivalist" paramilitary forces.

This is the same gang who 15 years ago were up to their eyeballs in "Operation Garden Plot"—the Nixon Pentagon's equivalent of the FBI's COINTELPRO and the CIA's Operation CHAOS. This scheme, and its California adjunct, "Operation Cable Splicer," centered on joint training exercises of military, police and spy agencies to put down political demonstrations and, in the event of a declaration of martial law, to round up black nationalists and Vietnam-war protesters

into concentration camps. Coordinated "Garden Plot" action was taken after the May 1970 bombing of Cambodia, when National Guard units shot down demonstrators at Kent State (after being sent against striking Ohio Teamsters). A year later, antiwar protesters in Washington, D.C. were illegally arrested en masse and held in underground parking garages. The head of Operation Cable Splicer, appointed by Meese as California governor Reagan's deputy for "law

enforcement," was Louis Giuffrida, who at the time NSDD 52 was issued in 1984 was head of FEMA. And the assistant attorney general who ordered the May 1971 roundup in D.C. was William Rehnquist, now Supreme Court chief justice.

The American ruling class cannot bear the truth, that the Vietnamese workers and peasants defeated the U.S. imperialist army on the battlefield. The Reaganites subscribe to the "stab-in-the-back" theory that they "won" the war on the battlefield, but were betrayed by peaceniks and pinko liberals at home. This, of course, was also Hitler's explanation of why Germany lost World War I. And like Hitler, they have declared war on labor, the left, minorities and democratic rights. But the American public has not bought their agenda. Now they are going down, fast, and as they go down they're getting twitchy as hell. Talk of "nuking Russia"

is no longer just barroom bragging, but serious calculation by a war crazy regime. The massive invasion of black Grenada, wanton air raids against Qaddafi's Libya—they'd like to have a military strike against somebody every week, from Nicaragua to the Persian Gulf.

They may be crazy enough to think they can still get away with it, but there's been a big objective change in this country. The polls show the American population is disaffected. Eighty percent think the president's lying on Iran/Contragate, 60 percent oppose contra aid, and now they've even released a Gallup poll showing that last summer 51 percent of the public thought there was too much hype in the "terrorism" scare. And not only is the "Vietnam syndrome" still with us, the American ruling class has acquired one hell of an immune deficiency over military adventures in the Third World. As early as December, they couldn't get any sponsors for Reagan's TV birthday party bonanza, and now even Chrysler has pulled its flag-waving "born in America" ads from ABC's crazed anti-communist *Amerika* mini-series.

Everyone has recognized this regime as a gang of liars and psychopaths, yet for years people just ate it because they were intimidated and saw no way to fight. Now, however, as the Reaganauts are still going hell-for-leather, their incompetence and weird double-dealing becomes increasingly grotesque. No one ever expected to see on a medical readout for this administration big spikes of mental activity, what with Reagan's penchant for sleeping through cabinet meetings and the like; but today it's gone practically linear—brain dead. And as the American bourgeoisie gets the jitters, there could be explosions of struggle challenging these abusive exploiters and oppressors, who stand for unbridled greed like no other government in decades. But for those struggles to emerge victorious there is one central need, for a Bolshevik party like the one Lenin and Trotsky led to victory against a tsarist regime that rivals Reagan's in every index of social depravity. ■

Racist Attacks...

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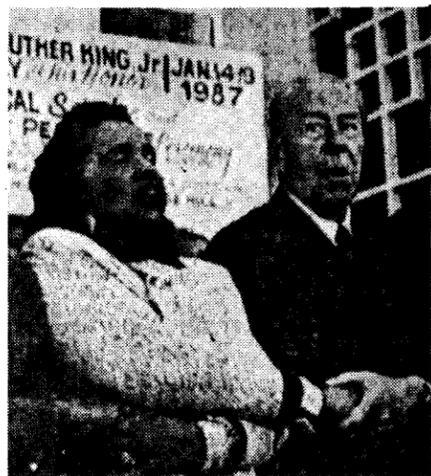
After the march, not even its organizers are trying to claim it achieved any sort of victory against racist terror in Forsyth or anywhere else. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has written federal agencies to determine "whether" lily-white Forsyth County discriminates against blacks in housing and hiring, while others emphasized the need to focus back on such Reaganite concerns as teen pregnancy, "black on black" crime, and drugs. SCLC head Joseph Lowery rammed it home last summer with his obscene statement that "the new KKK is killer krack and koke." And Atlanta mayor Andy Young, just back from preaching the virtues of Coca-Cola capitalism to impoverished black African states, insists that the way to deal with Klan terror is through "job training programs" for the murderous scum (*Atlanta Constitution*, 28 January).

We print below sections of a presentation by a Spartacist spokesman at a January 27 SL public forum in Atlanta, exposing the role of the Democratic Party misleaders in derailing the fight against racist terror.

* * *

What happened in Forsyth County this past weekend was organized on all sides by the Democratic Party. Jesse Jackson didn't show up, but he certainly helped organize the march. You had two people that may well be contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination marching, plus the Senators. The Democratic Party governor of this state organized the troops. And the ex-Democratic Party governor of this state, Lester Maddox, was over talking with the Klan and giving them speeches. I'm sure most of the Klansmen were Democrats, too. The Democratic Party organized all sides of what happened this past Saturday, so it sort of brings to mind Malcolm X's statement. He said a Democrat is really a Dixiecrat.

A lot of people went to Forsyth County this past Saturday because they wanted to be able to make some kind of statement against the Klan. They felt like what had happened was a genuine atrocity that should be addressed at



AP
Coretta Scott King joins hands with Reagan racist George Shultz.

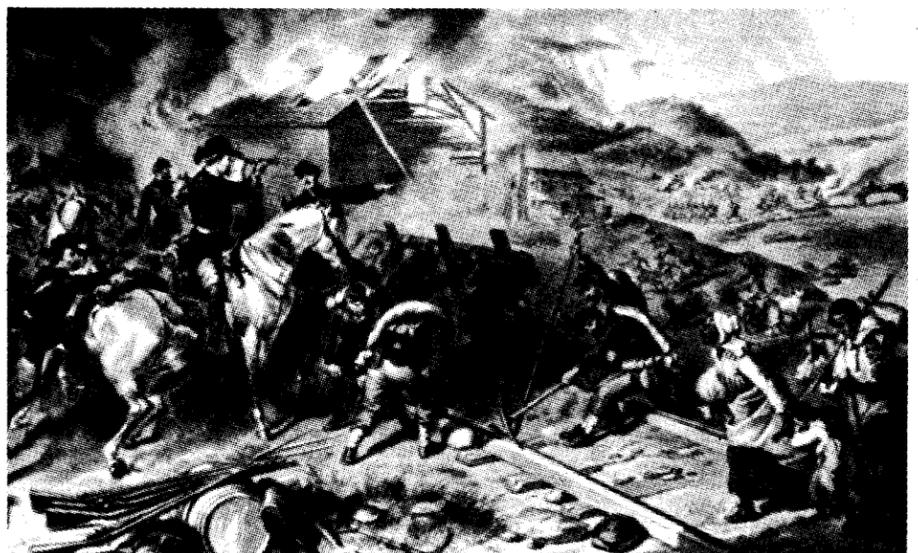
some level. We went down and sold almost 600 pieces of literature to people participating in the demonstration, which is quite high sales for us. And they were interested in what we were saying about the nature and character of that demonstration.

So what did the march leadership want out of this thing? First of all, they wanted to help refurbish the image of Georgia, the South, and in particular the United States. For example, Hosea Williams was quoted as saying, "This is America, this is not South Africa." Well, in reality American life is much closer to South African life than he would like to admit. And then look at the results of the march—nothing's really changed. I don't think anybody in

Hail General William Tecumseh Sherman's Liberation of Georgia!



Library of Congress



Library of Congress

Union General Sherman (left) broke back of Confederacy in his march from Atlanta to Savannah in late 1864.

this room would want to go try to have a cup of coffee in a diner in Forsyth County right now. And if you look at all of the calls for this march, it talks about supporting the Constitution, getting our constitutional rights; nobody mentioned racial equality, racial integration. This was not a repeat of the civil rights movement in that sense.

Another point about this march, and this sort of gives you the character of it, is that there was an intention at least—the crowd was much bigger than they expected—of trying to control and police the participants. So Hosea Williams was saying Friday night that he hoped that it wouldn't go over 5,000, because he was afraid of a crowd bigger than 5,000. We happened to overhear part of a marshals' meeting for this march, and the marshals were told that people were to maintain silence. In the paper some of the marshals' leaders were quoted as saying the reason they wanted people to maintain silence was that they did not want any provocation to come from the black side. That meant that people were hushed up from singing civil rights songs. If there were any loud noises, people were supposed to—and I don't believe this happened—drop to their knees. Also, the marshals were told that if there was anybody in the crowd who began to present an alternative agenda, in other words, of maybe trying to do something about the Klan, that there was going to be a van to pick up and deal with these people in no uncertain terms. It's unclear who they were going to be turned over to once they were put in this van.

Coretta King, in commenting on the march a couple of days before it happened, said, "We are going to be nonviolent and do what we are supposed to do.... Then we're going to leave." The march manifesto said, "To reaffirm that this is a nation governed by law. No disregard for the law, of mindless illegal behavior, will be tolerated or condoned anywhere in the United States." This is with William Bradford Reynolds [who is the Number Three man in the Justice Department] marching at the head of the march! These kinds of controls, and what actually ended up happening on Saturday reminded me of this, which sounds like a fairly good description of what happened at this march:

"They controlled it so tight, they told those Negroes what time to hit town, how to come, where to stop, what signs to carry, what songs to sing, what speech they could make, and what speech they couldn't make; and then they told them to get out of town by sundown. And every one of those Toms was out of town by sundown."

That's Malcolm X talking about the 1963 March on Washington.

So what was going on? Partly it was to maintain the unity of the Democratic Party—it was the hand across the National Guardsmen to the Dixiecrats. So that Hosea Williams was debating one of the Klansmen on TV on Martin

Luther King Day, and he told the Klansman, "I will join you in a lawsuit because if College Park deny you the right to march, they are usurping your constitutional right, and I will stand by your side and march with you." This is not particularly new for Hosea Williams. Remember, he supported Ronald Reagan when he ran for office the first time around. And he also put forward a bill when he was a state legislator to get Lester Maddox a pension. But then you have Jesse Jackson. When he was at the press conference that the march was called at, he said that one of the reasons we want to march is to "love those who hate us, to understand the oppressed

wants in this country. What we need is a workers party, and I'm not talking about a party that calls people out to vote like cattle every couple of years. I'm talking about a party that takes up and organizes the defense of working people. It's got to be a party that stands for revolutionary integrationism. It can't be the kind of party that believes that racism will be ended in this country by some kind of deal with capitalism. Capitalism lives on racism. And the only way to end racial oppression in this country is going to be by smashing the capitalist system.

The point about a place like Forsyth County, it's not a situation where you



Wilkinson/Syigma
KKK racists riot in Forsyth County.

and the oppressor."

The whole idea of nonviolence sets people up for attack by the Klan. It's an invitation to Klan attack. So during the first march up into Forsyth County, people were going to be screened before they got on the bus to make sure they had no violent tendencies. I'm sure the Klan read that in the *Atlanta Constitution* and they figured, good, they're putting a bull's eye on themselves.

If people have illusions in the Democratic Party, then they're going to be worrying about what the ruling class

could simply send in hundreds of flatbed trucks. Because after they left, that situation would go back to what it was. What you need is a modern-day version of General Sherman's army. Sherman took his army and cut a 50-mile-wide path between Atlanta and Savannah. That broke the back of slavery and made a major contribution to winning the Civil War. What you need is a workers government, in which the working class rules and intransigently goes after smashing racist reaction. And it's not necessarily going to be pretty. ■

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Geronimo Pratt—16 Years Behind Bars

Former Panther Leader Fighting for Black Freedom

The time is *now* for labor, minorities, and all enemies of racist injustice to rally to the fight for freedom for America's foremost class-war prisoner—Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt. Framed for a murder he did not commit, and *could not* have committed, the former Los Angeles Black Panther Party leader has spent more than 16 years behind bars—including *eight years* in solitary confinement—in the racist hellholes of Folsom and San Quentin prisons. America's racist rulers tried to kill Pratt, as they killed so many of the best fighters for black freedom. When they failed, they locked him up, tried to

signature of the Reagan years.

Why was Geronimo Pratt singled out for government murder attempts and "legal murder"? Pratt is behind bars because he dedicated his life to the cause of black freedom, which is an inseparable part of the working-class struggle for emancipation from the yoke of capital. Many working people active in the struggle for black freedom in the 1960s remember Panthers like Pratt who were either murdered or dragged in chains through the courts of injustice and gagged behind prison walls for daring to stand up to the racist rulers. The fight against racial oppression and the hard-

would be a big victory for all the victims of Reagan reaction today.

Courageous Fighter for Black Freedom

Geronimo Pratt comes from southern Louisiana. As he told *WV* in an interview at San Quentin, "I grew up in Klan country, fighting the Klan," which victimized his family and killed a close friend (see "Geronimo Pratt Speaks from San Quentin," *WV* No. 382, 28 June 1985). Like tens of thousands of black youth, he was sent to the front lines to kill and be killed in imperialism's dirty, losing colonial war in Vietnam. As a much-decorated combat veteran, Pratt returned to the States opposed to American imperialism and determined to contribute to the struggle against the racist enemy at home.

After enrolling in college in Los Angeles, he was among those who gravitated to the Black Panther Party, which represented the most militant expression of 1960s black nationalism. It taught, as had Malcolm X, that black people had the right and the duty to defend themselves against racist violence. Befriended by the founder of the L.A. Panthers, Bunchy Carter, Pratt became a leader of the Black Panther Party after Carter was assassinated.

Pratt was immediately targeted by the notorious murder and frame-up "Counterintelligence Program" (COINTELPRO), which FBI director J. Edgar Hoover assigned the mission to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize the activities" of black activist groups. Of the 293 COINTELPRO operations against black groups, 233 were against the Panthers. BPP offices were smashed, hundreds railroaded to prison, and 38 Panthers were killed outright. This government murder machine had Pratt in its cross hairs. In a January 1985 court hearing on Pratt's petition for a new trial, the former head of the L.A. "Anti-Extremist Squad 2" admitted straight out about Pratt: "We wanted to render him ineffective."

On 4 December 1969, a massive cop/FBI raid on Chicago Panther headquarters murdered Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in cold blood as they slept in their beds. Four days later the police death squads came for Pratt in L.A. In a pre-dawn raid hundreds of LAPD Metro Squad and SWAT team commandos, armed with M-60 machine guns, tear gas launchers and dynamite,

surrounded the Panther headquarters where Pratt was living, as helicopters circled overhead. They subjected the house to a five-hour barrage, and riddled Pratt's bed—pinpointed by an informer's blueprint—with bullets. Pratt survived only because he was sleeping on the floor due to his war wounds. Having failed to kill him, his would-be murderers arrested him for "conspiracy to assault policemen!"

The cop conspiracy was so blatant that even an overwhelmingly white jury threw out the charges. Yet Pratt was jailed on more minor weapons charges. His wife Sandra—eight months pregnant and also a Panther member—was



Los Angeles, December 1969: Protesters jam L.A. Hall of Justice demanding freedom for Pratt and other arrested Panther leaders.

assassinate his character, and used every means in the attempt to break his spirit. But Geronimo Pratt remains unbowed, unbroken, and deeply committed to the cause of the oppressed.

From Howard Beach to Forsyth County to Contra Costa County, racists are attacking and killing black people. The murderous lynch-mob racist attacks *must* be stopped and they *can* be stopped, by mobilizing the power of labor/black defense. Working people know that the racists take their cue from the White House, which—aided and abetted by the Democratic Party—has trampled underfoot the limited and even the token gains of the civil rights movement. The government bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia, incinerating eleven black people, five of them children, was the

won gains of the labor movement—these are "crimes" in the eyes of the ruling class.

Who, after all, benefits from the continued imprisonment of Geronimo Pratt? Whose interests are served by massive union-busting, by the picket-line murders of strikers like oil worker Greg Goobic and longshoreman Jackson Taylor? The Reagans, the Edwin Meeses, and the bosses they represent! After so many bitter defeats, labor and minorities need victories—which can only be won through struggle. The fight to free Geronimo Pratt *now* is more urgent than ever, as a vital part of the fight against racist terror, union-busting and the wholesale assaults on the rights of us all that make up the domestic component of the anti-Soviet war drive. A victory in the fight for Pratt's freedom



Geronimo Pratt (1971) was targeted for "neutralization" by cop/FBI conspiracy.

"mysteriously" shot in the head, her body dumped on an L.A. freeway; no arrest was ever made in her murder. While Pratt was in jail on the weapons charges, the government subjected him to a "legal" lynching. Using the "testimony" of one Julio Butler—an LAPD agent and FBI informer who lied on the stand about his relationship to those agencies—a 1971 trial framed Pratt for the 1969 murder of a Santa Monica schoolteacher (an antiwar activist).

The FBI "lost" its wiretaps proving that Pratt was 500 miles away at the time of the crime, visiting Panthers in an Oakland house heavily bugged and under surveillance by the feds. At the January 1985 hearing, Wesley Swearingen, a retired high-level FBI agent who was active in COINTELPRO-type operations, came forward to testify that he saw wiretap logs of four telephones proving that Pratt *could not have committed* the Santa Monica murder. As Swearingen flatly stated: "Pratt was set up."

From Day One the murderous vendetta against Pratt has been orchestrated by a conspiracy at the top levels of government. The CIA weighed in with a secret report on Pratt, sent by then-CIA director Richard Helms to the Nixon White House in August 1970. The criminals who run this country, having railroaded Pratt to prison, are dead set on keeping him there. And chief among them is Reagan's sinister attorney general and Contragate co-conspirator Edwin Meese.

Meese oversaw the State of California's campaign to wipe out the Black Panthers when Reagan was governor. Meese still says of a bystander shot down during a "People's Park" protest in Berkeley: "James Rector deserved to



Panthers led away in shackles after murderous assault on their headquarters by 300-strong LAPD death squad.

Down with Meese/FBI COINTELPRO Frame-Up! Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!

Partial List of Endorsers

JoNina Abron, Oakland, CA
Afro-American Cultural Society, Merritt College,* Oakland, CA
All African People's Revolutionary Party, Washington, D.C.
Miguel Angel, Instructor, Mexican-American/Latin American Studies,* Laney College, Oakland, CA
Richard M. Aoki, M.S.W., Counselor and Instructor, Merritt College,* Oakland, CA
Dr. Cecelia L. Arrington, Ethnic Studies Chair, Merritt College,* Oakland, CA
Willie Lee Bell, Recording Secretary/Human Rights Chairman, IAM & AW Local 739,* Oakland, CA
Michael Berry, President, University of California Student Association,* Berkeley, CA
Al Broussard, Executive Board/Trustee, ILWU Local 10,* San Francisco, CA
Bob Brown, Organizer, All African People's Revolutionary Party, Washington, D.C.
Henry A. Bryant, Chair, Ethnic Studies Department, Laney College,* Oakland, CA
Safliya A. Bukhari, Black Community News Service,* New York, NY
Kathleen Cleaver, New Haven, CT
Leroy Collier, President, NALC Branch 2200, Pasadena, CA
Michael J. Cox, Division Chief Steward, CWA Local 9415,* Berkeley, CA
David Creque, Vice President, United Teachers of Oakland, AFT Local 771,* Oakland, CA
Margot Dashiell, Instructor, Laney College,* Oakland, CA; Berkeley Black Caucus*
Ronald V. Dellums, United States Congressman, Berkeley, CA
Erben Dennis, Office Manager, Oakland Progressive Political Alliance,* Oakland, CA
Stephen P. Dunn, Director of Research, Highgate Road Social Science Research Station,* Berkeley, CA
Kay Eisenhower, Secretary, SEIU 616,* Oakland, CA
Rev. Graylan S. Ellis-Hagler, Co-Pastor, Church of the United Community,* Roxbury, MA
Ethnic Studies Department, Laney College,* Oakland, CA
Candice Francis-Sebahtu, Lecturer, African-American Studies Department,* University of California, Berkeley, CA
Richard S. Fraser, Democratic Socialists of America,* Los Angeles, CA
Dr. Bernardo Garcia-Pandavenes, Chair, Foreign Language Department,* Laney College, Oakland, CA
John George, Alameda County Supervisor, Oakland, CA
Stanley Gow, Executive Board member, ILWU Local 10,* San Francisco, CA

Elizabeth Grimes, Jamaica, NY
James Grimes, Railroad Clerk, TWU Local 100,* Jamaica, NY
Eathen Gums, Jr., Legislative Chairman, IAM & AW Local 739,* Oakland, CA
Bruce Haldane, Commissioner, Berkeley Police Review Commission,* Berkeley, CA
Stuart Hanlon, Attorney, San Francisco, CA
Karin Hart, Contractual Vice President, CWA Local 9415,* El Cerrito, CA
John Holmes, Secretary, *Hayward Daily Review* Chapel, BATU Local 21, CWA,* Oakland, CA
Dr. Linus A. Hoskins, Professor, Howard University,* Hyattsville, MD
Jane Jackson, Oakland, CA
Dr. E. Roy John, Director, Brain Research Laboratories, New York University,* Mamaroneck, NY
Randy Johnese, Senior Field Representative, SEIU Local 535,* Oakland, CA
Edward Kartsen, Spartacist candidate for Manhattan Borough President, 1985, New York, NY
Larry Kinslow, President, IAM & AW Local 739,* Oakland, CA
Walter Lippmann, Chair, Human Rights Committee, SEIU Local 535,* Los Angeles, CA
Cassandra Lopez, President, Oakland Progressive Political Alliance*; Executive Board member, Oakland Education Association/CTA/NEA,* Oakland, CA
Froben Lozada, College Instructor, Merritt College,* Oakland, CA
Joseph A. Lucas, President, ILWU Local 10,* San Francisco, CA
Conrad Lynn, Mid-Hudson Regional Counsel, NAACP,* Nanuet, NY
R.W. Major, Lecturer, Black Studies Department,* San Francisco State University, San Francisco, CA
John Martin, Secretary-Treasurer, Hotel Employees, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union Local 28,* Oakland, CA
Howard Moore, Jr., Attorney, Oakland, CA
Jane Bond Moore, Attorney, Oakland, CA
NALC Branch 2200, Glendale, CA
Glenn R. Nance, Chairman, Afro-American Studies,* City College-San Francisco, San Francisco, CA
Morton Newman, Business Agent, ILWU Local 6,* San Francisco, CA
New York Labor Black League for Social Defense, New York, NY
Victor Pamiroyan, Business Agent, ILWU Local 6,* Oakland, CA
Deborah A. Plater, Vice President, IAM & AW Local 739,* Oakland, CA

Leonard Post, Attorney, Oakland, CA
Abba Ramos, ILWU Local 6,* Oakland, CA
Dr. J.W. Reid, Psychologist, Instructor, Merritt College,* Oakland, CA
Al Richmond, San Francisco, CA
Wilson C. Riles, Jr., Member of Oakland City Council,* Oakland, CA
Pete Rockwell, Printer, BATU Local 21, CWA,* Oakland, CA
Al Rossi, President, United Teachers of Oakland, AFT Local 771, AFL-CIO,* Oakland, CA
Jim Ryder, Business Agent, ILWU Local 6,* Oakland, CA
Richard Salvucci, Assistant Professor, University of California,* Berkeley, CA
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Charles Schwartz, Professor of Physics, University of California,* Berkeley, CA
Dan Siegel, Co-Chair, New Democratic Movement,* Oakland, CA
Donald A. Smith, Trustee (Executive Board), NALC Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
Spartacist League
Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist candidate for NYC Mayor, 1985, New York, NY
David Stewart, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10*; Coalition of Black Trade Unionists,* San Francisco, CA
Lloyd K. Vandever, President, UE Local 1412,* Oakland, CA
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Terry P. Wilson, Associate Professor, University of California,* Berkeley, CA
Jeff Woo, Treasurer, CWA Local 9410,* San Francisco, CA
Evelyn M. Wyatt, Executive Board, CWA Local 9410,* San Francisco, CA
Michael Zinzun, Chairman, Coalition Against Police Abuse,* Los Angeles, CA

*Organization listed for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular way with the call by the initiators of this demonstration printed on page 16.

Geronimo Pratt: "Take a Stand Against Injustice"

The fact of you coming together in workers demands for Justice shows a degree of recognition that really frightens the manipulators of labor as they are helpless when faced with the raw awesome power of the worker. So I want to urge you to continue to educate yourselves to these COINTEL-type schemes and learn of the many victims of that secret war so to better defend yourselves.

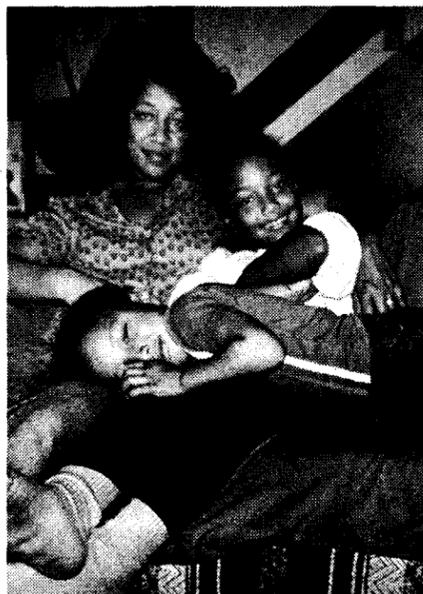
For years we were depicted as gangsters and criminals because we were militant fighters in the Black Liberation Movement. My freedom would be a victory and a statement

that to be a militant fighter for black liberation is not to be a criminal.

I sincerely urge you to come out and take a stand against injustice, against the *real* terrorists—the Reagan Regime. The workers in that fascist land called South Africa are leading in the struggle to overthrow that evil empire. Let their glaring example continue to inspire and encourage us onward...

In the spirit of Tecumseh...

Geronimo
 San Quentin Prison
 Tamal, CA
 28 January 1987



WV Photo
 Geronimo's wife Ashaki with their children Shona and Hiroji.

die." The blood of Pratt's comrades like Bunchy Carter and Little Bobby Hutton (gunned down in West Oakland) is on Meese's and Reagan's hands. Precisely because of Meese's bloody "accomplishments" in the war against the Panthers and antiwar protesters, Reagan picked him to be U.S. top cop, so that he could spearhead the all-out assault on the most fundamental democratic, civil and human rights.

Geronimo Pratt has steadfastly refused to "admit his guilt" for a crime he did not commit. His untiring efforts to win freedom are an inspiring model of dignity and determination. As he says, "My mother didn't raise a murderer... I'm going to survive, and I'm going to expose the truth. I'm going to be completely exonerated." Citing Pratt's courageous refusal to perjure and frame himself, and viciously smearing him as a "danger to the community," the parole board had vindictively kept him in

prison far longer than the time a real murderer would have served.

While in prison Pratt has provided himself with a university-level education—with a focus on American history, and particularly the history of blacks and American Indians. He has worked to educate young prisoners, often beginning by teaching victims of ghetto schools how to read and write. He has remarried, and with the benefit of conjugal visits has two children, ages four and seven. The barbarity of imprisonment of an innocent man—whose only "crime" is that he dares to fight for justice—keeps him separated from his wife, children, and aged mother to whom he is deeply devoted.

In a letter to the Association of Soviet Lawyers and TASS, the Soviet press agency, the Partisan Defense Committee wrote:

"We seek your assistance in bringing the case of this militant fighter against

capitalist racism before the world's eyes. Pratt's cause is the cause of workers and oppressed throughout the world and all those concerned for democratic rights. The continued imprisonment of Geronimo Pratt exposes the lie that there are no political prisoners or human rights violations in the U.S. From frame-ups of black activists to sending arms to reactionary Afghan mullahs, blood-thirsty Nicaraguan contras and South Africa's puppet Jonas Savimbi, the U.S. government is an enemy of the world's working people. It is essential to wage an international campaign to expose this violation of human rights now. A successful fight to free this class-war prisoner would be a great blow to Reagan and his reactionary social and political agenda. We look to you to join the fight to free Geronimo Pratt, and to publicize throughout the world this example of racist capitalist injustice."

Having recently won the right to appeal for a new trial, Pratt stands at an extremely important point in the campaign against his frame-up conviction and imprisonment. Mass protest is cru-

cial in this fight. Labor and community support (see endorsement list above) is gathering for the February 21 Oakland, California demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense, demanding "Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt! Down with Meese/FBI COINTELPRO Frame-Up!"

As underscored in Geronimo's January 28 statement from San Quentin, printed here, mobilizing the power of labor and the oppressed is key to the February 21 demonstration. The working class can place no confidence in the bosses' courts. Mass class-struggle defense is needed to free our fighters from the bars of the class enemy's prisons. The case of Geronimo Pratt must be a rallying point for all those who burn with indignation at oppression and injustice. Geronimo is in prison because he fought for us. Now we must fight for him.

ALL OUT ON FEBRUARY 21!

FREEDOM NOW FOR
 GERONIMO PRATT!

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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 161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
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 41 Warren St. (one block below
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 New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

WORKERS VANGUARD

Demonstrate: Noon, Saturday, Feb. 21!
Oakland City Hall Plaza Park (across from City Hall,
14th and San Pablo)

Labor, Minorities, Anti-Racist Fighters Demand:

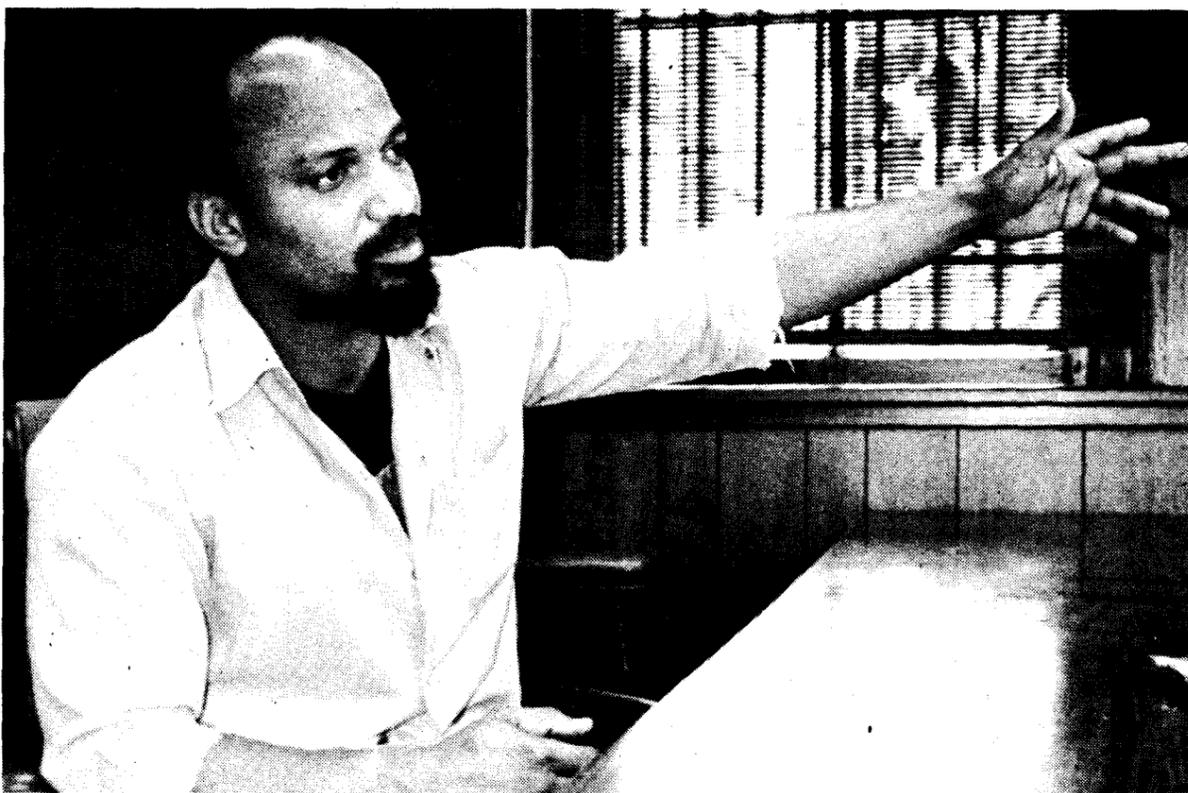
FREEDOM NOW FOR GERONIMO PRATT!

The Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League for Social Defense call on the Bay Area labor movement and all enemies of racist injustice to rally in defense of Geronimo Pratt. Pratt is a decorated Vietnam vet and former Black Panther leader who has been rotting in prison for 16 years for a crime he did not and could not have committed. He is the victim of the FBI's COINTELPRO campaign that physically exterminated the Black Panthers. The FBI and other police authorities have suppressed evidence that proves his innocence. The state has treated Pratt like fugitive slave Dred Scott who the court decided in 1856 "had no rights that a white man is bound to respect."

But like African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, Pratt remains unbroken, committed to the liberation of all the oppressed and to continuing the fight for his own freedom. Pratt has consistently refused parole based on admission of guilt. He is currently imprisoned in San Quentin where he is pressing his fight for freedom in the federal courts. He recently won the right to appeal to a federal Court of Appeals for a new trial.

Pratt's fight for freedom must be labor's cause—backed by mass protest. Working people and all the oppressed must rally to put an end to this hideous racist frame-up. The gang of warmongering liars and labor-hating racists in the White House, Reagan, Meese & Co., oversaw the murderous war on the Panthers in California. Pratt is behind bars for the same reason Reagan/Meese put PATCO leaders in leg irons and conspired with black Democrat Goode to drop a bomb on black Philadelphia and massacre MOVE. They want to crush any opposition to their racist, union-busting anti-Soviet war drive. Freedom for Pratt would be a blow against Reagan reaction when "Ronbo" is reeling from Iran/Contragate.

Labor has the power. From San Francisco to Wash-



WV Photo

Geronimo Pratt in San Quentin, March 1985.

ington, D.C. labor together with its allies mobilized to stop Klan/Nazi racist provocations. Bay Area labor and minorities mobilized to keep Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee from going to jail for defending their picket line from a racist scab assault during the 1983 phone strike. Now Bay Area labor, minorities and all

enemies of racist injustice must rally to defend this heroic class-war prisoner:

**DOWN WITH MEESE/FBI
COINTELPRO FRAME-UP!
FREEDOM NOW FOR GERONIMO PRATT!**

Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101
Labor Black League for Social Defense, P.O. Box 751, Oakland, CA 94604
For more information: (415) 839-0852

What You Can Do:

1. Endorse the demands and the demonstration!
2. Come to the demonstration with your co-workers and family!
3. Send money now! Make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee earmarked "Geronimo Pratt Demonstration." Send to PDC, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101.
4. Take Pratt's case to your union or community organization! For copies of this leaflet call (415) 839-0852.
5. Help us distribute leaflets! Call us at (415) 839-0852.
6. Send telegrams and letters demanding Pratt's freedom! Sample text and addresses below:
"I/we demand freedom now for Geronimo Pratt. Down with Meese/FBI COINTELPRO frame-up!"
Send to:
9th Circuit Court of Appeals, U.S. Courthouse
450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94102
California State Parole Board, District Parole Office
759 South Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94110
re: Parole Hearing for Elmer Geronimo Pratt for April 1987