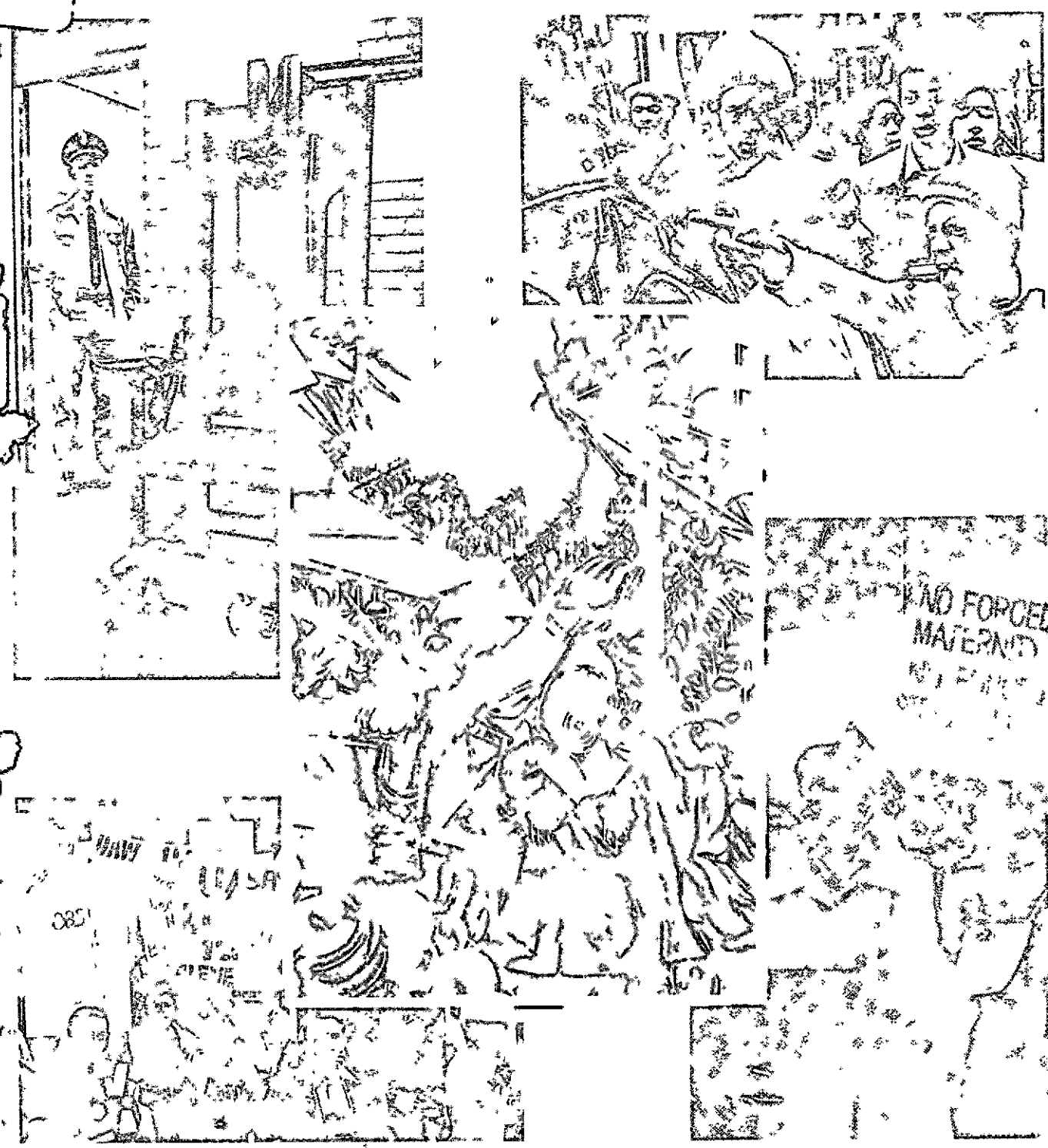


Crime and Social Justice

NEWSPAPER CLIPPING



Crime and Social Justice

MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF THE 1980s

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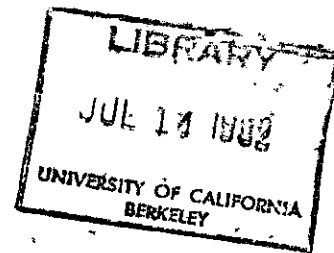
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State and Right-Wing Repression

INTRODUCTION

This new section of Crime and Social Justice is necessitated by the new wave of political repression that is an expression of the world capitalist crisis in the 1980s. In the United States, there are already many indications of a political shift to the right. The Reagan administration and Congress are quickly moving to unshackle the FBI and CIA, to severely restrict the Freedom of Information and Privacy Acts, to pass a very conservative version of the federal criminal code (originally S.B.1), and to revive political witch-hunting via the Senate's new Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism. Reminiscent of McCarthyism—but potentially more insidious and dangerous—the Reagan administration is systematically generating a new cold war ideology to justify military intervention abroad and political repression at home. Side by side with these new forms of state repression, we are witnessing the rapid growth of the New Right in all its legal (e.g., Moral Majority) and para-military (e.g., Ku Klux Klan) forms. In most cases, these New Right organizations enjoy the financial support, political backing, or covert complicity of the state and the conservative wing of the ruling class.

In this section of CSJ, we plan to include commentaries and updates on political and legislative developments, as well as in-depth research reports on specific right-wing organizations. In this issue of CSJ, we present an overview by a representative of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL) of current developments in Congress; plus a preliminary investigation of the U.S. Labor Party, a powerful neofascist organization which recently targeted Crime and Social Justice for "destabilization."

The Editors

THE INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST NETWORK: A RIGHT-WING CONCEPTION OF ACADEMIC CRIMINOLOGY

Gregory Shank and Polly Thomas*

INTRODUCTION

On February 1, 1982, Khushro Ghandhi, West Coast Coordinator of the ultraconservative National Democratic Policy Committee (NDPC), launched an attack on criminologists in the United States, Canada, and Europe. Ghandhi presented California Attorney General Deukmejian with a "brief" and 90 pages of "proof," calling for an official investigation into the network of criminologists and sociologists alleged by NDPC to be part of a web of international terrorism—including the kidnapping of Brig. General James Dozier. They hoped to find a receptive ear in Deukmejian, who has built his career as an "antiterrorist" crusader. While Ghandhi told reporters that he could not link specific acts of terrorism to professors or students, he alleged a new investigation would certainly implicate social scientists in arson, bombing, theft, and narcotics trafficking. He alleged that:

Since the late 1950's, the branch of social sciences known alternatively as "criminology," "international law," and "deviance studies" has been a thinly veiled cover for training, recruiting and deploying of international terrorist organizations, both of the communist and neo-fascist varieties (*Executive Intelligence Review*, Jan. 23, 1982).

Excerpts reprinted from the NDPC press packet accompany this article.

On what basis and why was this attack launched against *Crime and Social Justice* and criminologists on two continents? Why has the NDPC singled out and surveilled

* Gregory Shank is on the staff of the Institute for the Study of Labor and Economic Crisis, San Francisco, and is Managing Editor of *Crime and Social Justice*. He has published several articles in the field of criminology. Polly Thomas, an attorney, is legal counsel for the Institute for the Study of Labor and Economic Crisis. The authors wish to thank the Editors of *Crime and Social Justice*, Tony Platt and Paul Takagi, for their assistance in making this article possible; and Marlene Dixon, Research Director of the Institute for the Study of Labor and Economic Crisis, whose theoretical work provides the framework for the analysis.

the people in the following list—"known associates" of the evil "deviance" network?

In its 90 pages of "proof," the NDPC attempts to link wildly diverse individuals and institutions through the crudest form of guilt by association. The NDPC's "proof" that these criminologists are part of an international terrorist network is, first, that Giovanni Senzani, an Italian criminologist and leader of the Red Brigades, was at the University of California at Berkeley as a visiting researcher for a few months in the early 1970s, and second, that Tony Platt and Herman and Julia Schwendinger, as well as Berkeley students, attended a conference of criminologists in Florence, Italy, in 1974. We suggest that this attack should not be lightly dismissed as the crazed delusions of aberrant cranks: it augurs a new wave of political repression, employing a malevolent logic of terrorism.

Criminologists Targeted by NDPC as Part of the "International Terrorist Network" (partial list):

M. Cherif Bassiouni	Dario Melossi
Marie-Andrée Bertrand	Tony Platt
Luigi Ferrari-Bravo	Sir Leon Radzinowicz
Kit Carson	Karl Schumann
William J. Chambliss	Herman Schwendinger
Margherita Ciacci	Julia Schwendinger
Ramsey Clark	Thorsten Sellin
Stanley Cohen	Mario Simondi
Bruno Cormier	Colin Sumner
Richard Flacks	Denis Szabo
Bertram Gross	Paul Takagi
Stuart Hall	Guy Tardif
Ivan Janković	Ian Taylor
Jim Larson	Laurie Taylor
Klaus Makela	Paul Walton
Milton Mankoff	Leslie T. Wilkins
Thomas Mathiesen	Marvin E. Wolfgang
Mary McIntosh	Jock Young

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The Editors

ABOUT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE (NDPC)

Out of the turmoil of the late 1960s, an organization calling itself the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) emerged as part of the petty bourgeois left. Having been expelled from the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the NCLC bore the mark of its leader Lyn Marcus, also known as Lyndon LaRouche. According to the extant literature (see our "Select Bibliography"), LaRouche was once a member of the Communist Party, USA, and of the Socialist Workers Party, two organizations which he later sought to destroy with armed terrorist assaults in the 1973-1974 period. A 1968 issue of its "theoretical" journal, the *Campaigner*, stated that NCLC's goal was to create a cadre core of intellectuals from upper and middle bourgeois backgrounds.

Over the course of the next 13 years, the core of the organization was constituted on a distinctly right-wing basis, shedding its "leftist" garb once the splitting and wrecking task of COINTELPRO-like destabilization had been accomplished. The agent-like behavior of the NCLC led to a characterization of them as some form of proto or neofascists, exemplified in *NCLC: Brownshirts of the Seventies* (1976). The NCLC undertook the task of forging national and international branches, and links with explicitly right-wing forces. Behind this effort was a staff trained in intelligence, countersubversion, and paramilitary capabilities. Finances for the organization ran in the multimillion-dollar range as did its corporate income. The NCLC produces a multitude of publications which express its aims of infiltration, recruitment, fundraising, and surveillance in practically all strata of the petty bourgeoisie.

The many faces of LaRouche appear in his "War on Drugs" through the National Anti-Drug Coalition; in the messianic drive to advance high technology—especially the nuclear industry—with the Fusion Energy Foundation; and in the Humanist Academy and the Young Scientist youth organization, out to reverse the "collapse of American education." This cluster of "pseudo-science" organizations has successfully penetrated the academic community. The West German branch, centered in Wiesbaden—the location of a major U.S. intelligence installation—does considerable pro-nuclear organizing. The LaRouche organization, like many of the world's largest corporations, accomplishes national and international articulation by means of telex hookups. This communication system is integral to its intelligence gathering, which takes place under the auspices of its "wire service," New Solidarity International Press Service (NSIPS). This is the backbone of their intelligence services, taking the form of *Investigative Leads* and *Executive Intelligence Review*, and is quite likely the largest private intelligence service in the world.

LaRouche's organization is also active in the organized labor movement. Through the *American Labor Beacon*, organizing efforts have borne fruit in the Teamsters, the Operating Engineers, the Laborer's International Union (LIUNA), and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). Foster (1982) views this arrangement as a troika of crooked labor bureaucrats,

organized crime, and LaRouche's enforcers. Leaders in various union locals and national offices, especially the Teamsters, endorsed LaRouche for President of the United States. In tandem with this labor infiltration, the LaRouche organization is attempting to make inroads into the ranks of discontented farmers through the Parity Foundation.

LaRouche has long been active in the electoral arena. He has run in every presidential election since 1972, and his representatives have participated in many local races, garnering enough votes in some cases to serve as king makers in close races. Undertaken through such electoral fronts as the U.S. Labor Party and now the National Democratic Policy Committee (NDPC), LaRouche's program of industrial capitalism and labor-capital collaboration through a government of "national unity" has enabled him to infiltrate organized labor and the conservative wing of the Democratic Party.

LaRouche's electoral strategy appears to be consistent with earlier practice: to split and wreck the Democratic Party by working with other New Rightists within it, hoping to forge a rightist "third force" party from the fragments. LaRouche's vicious attacks on social democrats, such as the Campaign for Economic Democracy, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, and Black Congressional Caucus member Ron Dellums, strongly suggest such a strategy. Links forged by LaRouche with the ultraright—he once stated that his closest allies were the Republican National Committee and the John Birch Society—have been maintained, including associations with the Liberty Lobby and the American Independent Party (George Wallace). NDPC's attack on Jimmy Carter, indeed on the entire international wing of the ruling class in both major parties, is in fact a bid for support from the ultraright by substituting left-liberalism (equated with "terrorism") for the moribund communist menace (Donner and Rosenthal, 1980). Berlet (1981b) contends that through ultraconservative Mitchell WerBell III—LaRouche's personal security consultant and anti-Castro counterinsurgency commander with the temporary rank of a U.S. Army General and an enduring stratospheric security clearance (Hougan, 1979)—LaRouche has been introduced to right-wing military and political circles. They in turn have cultivated LaRouche because his followers could be used to disrupt groups targeted by the ultraright.

WerBell figures prominently in another major area of practice, LaRouche's National Anti-Drug Coalition, which publishes the monthly *War on Drugs*. This recently created coalition ties together drug use, pornography, rock and roll, and opposition to sex education in order to tap into the fundamentalist and New Right currents which put Ronald Reagan into office. Its aims are to solidify ties to police agencies and to penetrate the black community by allying with the conservative World Community of Al Islam in the West (Black Muslims). This "War on Drugs" is reminiscent of Nixon's War on Narcotics, launched in 1972 with the aid of COINTELPRO chief William Sullivan, the White House "Plumbers" unit, and China/Cuba lobby intelligence operatives who came to be lodged in the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA).

The excerpts from the National Democratic Policy Committee below are part of an 80-page packet distributed to the office and the press. The chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Jr., head of the U.S. Labor Party and its president, is the U.S. Labor Party's Executive Intelligence Review. The committee includes Tony Platt, Marlene Dixon and other internationalists. The committee's journal is Crime and Social Justice and Contemporary Intellectuals. It also contains announcements for other organizations. The packet is available from the National Democratic Policy Committee, Berkeley, California. One example from the NDPC (U.S. Labor Party) is:

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE

Issued by Khushro Ghaffari

February 1982

Re-Open Investigation of Berkeley Terrorists

It is a matter of the national security of several nations, that the California Attorney General and the Alameda County District Attorney and other law enforcement agencies immediately re-open investigation of the radical "criminology/sociology" network centered at the University of California at Berkeley. . . .

There are four principal agencies through which the international criminologist network deploys itself:

1. *The International Law Association*: the ILA is the oldest "criminology" organization. It is dominated by Major Louis Bloomfield, member of the board of the 1960's "Permindex" company which was implicated in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, and expelled from France for over 30 aborted assassination attempts on President Charles De Gaulle.

2. *The International Institute for Advanced Criminal Sciences*: the IIACS is located in Syracuse, Sicily and run by the University of Chicago-based M. Cherif Bassiouni.

3. *The International Center of Comparative Criminology*: the ICC is headquartered at the Department of Criminology of the University of Montreal and is headed by Professor Denis Szabo, a close collaborator of Louis Bloomfield. Szabo's department was instrumental in the formation of the Canadian terrorist Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ).

4. *The European Group for the Study of Deviant and Social Control*: the Euro-Group was a direct outgrowth of the early 1970's University of California at Berkeley. It was formally constituted at a 1971 conference in Florence, attended by representatives of the previously named groups and associates of the Berkeley crowd.

Berkeley and the Euro-Group

The Euro-Group project was run by Dr. Leslie Wilkins, a former official of the British Home Office.

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The excerpts from the National Democratic Policy Committee (NDPC) press release reprinted below are part of an 80-page packet distributed by NDPC to the California State Attorney General's office and the press. The chairman of the Advisory Council of the NDPC is Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., head of the U.S. Labor Party and its presidential candidate. Much of the packet material is from the U.S. Labor Party's Executive Intelligence Review, including security "information" on Tony Platt, Marlene Dixon and other internationally known authors. The NDPC packet contains the Crime and Social Justice and Contemporary Marxism mastheads, tables of contents and back issues lists. It also contains announcements for other ISLEC publications and for Punishment and Penal Discipline, edited by Tony Platt and Paul Takagi.

One example from the NDPC (U.S. Labor Party) document follows:

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE FACT-FINDING DIVISION PRESS RELEASE

Issued by Khushro Gandhi, West Coast Coordinator

February 1, 1982

Re-Open Investigation of Berkeley Terrorists

It is a matter of the national security of several nations, that the California Attorney General and the Alameda County District Attorney and other law enforcement agencies immediately re-open investigation of the radical "criminology/sociology" networks centered at the University of California at Berkeley. . . .

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Berkeley and the Euro-Group

The Euro-Group project was run by Dr. Leslie T. Wilkins, a former official of the British Home Office

and Tavistock Institute consultant who assumed the post of acting dean of the Criminology School in Berkeley in 1969. Wilkins wrote one of the key texts of the radical criminologists in 1964, entitled "Social Deviance" and published by Tavistock Institute. The theory of "Social Deviance" is a blatant apology for terrorism. In essence, according to the theory, the modern capitalist nation-state is the real criminal institution while criminals and terrorists are forced into "deviance" by a criminal society.

Under Wilkins and a Wilkins protege Professor Tony Platt, a group of Italian, German and British graduate students were trained in behavior modification and deviance control methods of recruiting prisoners, drug addicts and other criminal elements into revolutionary organizations. Among the students in this initial "insurgent sociology" network was Giovanni Senzani, a leader of the Red Brigades, according to Italian authorities.

Also according to sources in Italy, Professor Luigi Ferrari-Bravo was another Berkeley criminologist student during the early 1970's period of the Euro-Group's formation. Ferrari-Bravo sat for many years on the board of the International Law Association; his brother is presently in prison on charges that he was second in command to Professor Tony Negri in the Padua command of the Red Brigades.

The Berkeley experiment in training terrorists was aborted in 1976 after investigations by the California State Police and the California Attorney General's office led to public hearings and an outcry against the pro-terrorist activities emanating from the Criminology School.

Subsequently, the Berkeley network redeployed into the University's Sociology department and into a San Francisco radical printing company called "Synthesis Press." In the context of the public hearings, Tony Platt was identified as a controller of the San Francisco area branch of the Black Panther Party and of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA). . . .

The results of this activity in the 1970s were (together with COINTELPRO) the murder of Malcolm X, the decimation of Black Panther Party leadership, and an increase in drug addiction due to CIA heroin trafficking. In sum, it meant the destruction of the only social forces that were making headway against ghetto drug addiction. In this connection, the NCLC's violent attacks on the progressive New York Lincoln Detox program at Lincoln Hospital should be noted. Under Nixon there was also an intensification of police powers and abuses through the Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement (ODALE). This agency became notorious for its record of illegal raids, no-knock entries into private homes, and beatings of innocent people. The centralization of intelligence on international drug trafficking and gunrunning in the White House culminated in the creation of the DEA. There are clear parallels between LaRouche's and Nixon's drug control strategies.

Of interest, WerBell and his friend Lucien Conien, an expert on the Southeast Asian narcotics centers, were part of this DEA effort (Hougan, 1979; Kruger, 1980). WerBell teaches counterinsurgency not only to LaRouche staffers but also to domestic law enforcement officials and intelligence chiefs from dictatorial regimes. The "War on Drugs" could presage the use of the NDPC as a parallel police beyond the accountability of a governmental agency. Witness the fact that the basic text of the Coalition, *Dope, Inc.: Britain's Opium War Against the U.S.*, was prepared by LaRouche's intelligence staffers in cooperation with the DEA (Berlet, 1981a, 1981b). The book, which asserts that the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is behind heroin smuggling in the U.S., contains undisguised anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish conspiracy theories.

THE CAPITALIST WORLD CRISIS AND THE LOGIC OF REPRESSION

The growth and development of LaRouche's apparatus, and the NDPC attack on *Crime and Social Justice* and radical criminology are not isolated incidents. They must be understood as a part of the current resurgence of the Right. The growth of new and preexisting rightist organizations is a consequence of a deliberate policy of the right-wing minority of the ruling class who have supplied vast sums of money, provided official legitimacy and media exposure, and refused to prosecute or legally contain the paramilitary wing of the New Right (Dixon, 1982b: 4; Huntington and Kaplan, 1982; Roberts, 1981).

To understand the rise of the Right, "we must first understand the location of the United States in the general world crisis of capital accumulation" (Dixon, 1982b). The defeat of U.S. military might in Vietnam signaled the end of an era. By the early 1970s, the configuration of the world-economy had been drastically altered. The economy entered a crisis of capital accumulation. Corporate profits declined, domestic productivity fell, and the economy began to stagnate. The dollar lost its world hegemony and the superiority of the U.S. was challenged by international competition with Europe and Japan.

In response, prosperity capitalism gave way to austerity

capitalism. Austerity capitalism (Reaganomics) means that the working class is made to pay for the profit squeeze of the bourgeois class. This is done through a variety of mechanisms which lower real wages, including monopoly-controlled inflation and decreases in services upon which the working class depends. As the process continues, the conditions of the American working class, particularly minorities in the working class and "underclass" (by which is meant the permanently unemployed, whose income is dependent upon welfare) will become increasingly intolerable. The militancy and unrest which these conditions breed will present a constant danger to the ruling class. Thus the current official tolerance and support of extreme right-wing organizations "is clearly preparatory to a full-scale assault against domestic unrest and the growth of leftist forces" (Dixon, 1982b: 3-4).

Just as the crisis of capital accumulation is an international phenomenon, the resurgence of the Right is not merely a national occurrence. To maintain the increasing concentrations of wealth and power that have taken on a nonterritorial character in recent decades (the development of transnational capital), international institutions have been created. Bodies such as the Trilateral Commission and World Bank work through national client governments to implement their goals. The World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and LaRouche's organization are other examples.

The emerging ruling class strategy for managing the crisis is not the classical fascist model of Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy. Neofascism in the United States could very well be a process of gradual stages, even a peaceful or electoral transformation of the political economy (see Gross, 1980; Shank, 1981). The NDPC cleverly covers its own tracks by condemning groups and individuals as "subversives" posing a "clear and present danger to the United States Constitution" (NDPC Newsletter, 1, Sept., 1981: 3). What it fails to mention is that it has been cultivating high-ranking military personnel, in all probability doing the groundwork for a coup d'état. For example, the NDPC courted right-wing célèbre Major General John K. Singlaub at the home of Mitchell WerBell, Singlaub's old friend. When repudiating LaRouche's organization, Singlaub was asked if "mention was made in his talks of the possibility of a military coup in the United States—an idea that has recently received currency in the party (NDPC) as a way to put LaRouche in power. 'Well, it didn't come up in that form, but it was suggested that the military ought in some way lead the country out of its problems,' Singlaub replied" (Blum and Montgomery, 1979).

The development of such a system (whether by means of the electoral process or the less likely military coup) is what Bertram Gross calls "friendly fascism," but which we prefer to call neofascism. We do not believe that neofascism is a predetermined outcome of the current crisis. Such a view denies the ability of the working class and its allies to consciously intervene in and turn the tide of history. But we do believe that the development of neofascism is a possibility in the United States. While considerable differences exist between the policies of national and transnational capital, the unifying element is the capital accumulation

imperative of the world's leading capital (Dixon, 1982a). This unity on the possibility of neofascism more likely; differences the national and transnational ruling class may have on other issues, to act together to lay the basis of a new order necessitated by austerity capitalist measures.

This unity also explains the approach presented by LaRouche's vitriolic attack on the internationalist wing of the ruling class, the Trilateral Commission and other Rightist organizations. The common referents with regard to the more meaningful than the divergences: goal of rebuilding the political intelligence introducing repressive measures to "terrorism."

LaRouche's *Investigative Leads (II)* for example, summarizes the lessons of the Brixton riot resulting from austerity policies. It is made that similar riots in the future will follow and that the state needs to be that the Tavistock Institute, the British Institute for the Study of Deviance and Social Control, the Institute for Social Research, and the School of Criminology are responsible for these riots. Bertram Gross, author of *Friendly Fascism*, be "one of the principal advisors for the United Front, one of the primary organizers of the riots in the U.S." The only way to prevent these massive civil disorders and crisis management these networks, states *IL* Editor Robert LaRouche. The attack on the criminology network, the Police Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the part of an "educational campaign" alleged terrorist intentions.

According to *IL*, the alternative to is to adopt LaRouchian economic policy mesh with the necessities of capital accumulation. This characterizes his economic policies "American Whig Tradition," a reaction surprisingly, Nobel Prize-winning economist von Hayek, resurrected and recognized power after a generation of virtual silence. He presented himself as a proponent of the Whig tradition, an opponent of the liberal welfare state. The NDPC calls for expanding the industrial base of the economy in order to provide and therefore a larger budget (for example, thus solving the financial crisis! Such a fantasy unless massive sums of government money transferred to the private sector in a surprise, such as the "Reconstruction Finance Corporation" (RFC) that is being considered in order to rescue large companies and banks from failure (1982b).

In this period of economic contraction, the paucity of investment capital held by institutions; what is lacking are investments that will return a sufficient rate of pro-

imperative of the world's leading capitalist forces (Gross, 1980; Dixon, 1982a). This unity on broad policy makes the possibility of neofascism more likely; for no matter what differences the national and transnational fractions of the ruling class may have on other issues, they can be expected to act together to lay the basis of a repressive regime, necessitated by austerity capitalist measures.

This unity also explains the apparent contradiction presented by LaRouche's vitriolic attacks on the policies of the internationalist wing of the ruling class (embodied in the Trilateral Commission and other Rockefeller interests). The common referents with regard to broad policy are more meaningful than the divergences: there is a common goal of rebuilding the political intelligence apparatuses and introducing repressive measures to control crime and "terrorism."

LaRouche's *Investigative Leads (IL)* (August 4, 1981), for example, summarizes the lessons of the recent riots in Brixton resulting from austerity policies. Here the extrapolation is made that similar riots in the United States will follow and that the state needs to be prepared. *IL* asserts that the Tavistock Institute, the European Group for the Study of Deviance and Social Control, the Rand Corporation, the Institute for Social Research, and the Berkeley School of Criminology are responsible for the forthcoming riots. Bertram Gross, author of *Friendly Fascism*, is said to be "one of the principal advisors for the National Black United Front, one of the primary groups organizing for riots in the U.S." The only way to preempt these plans for massive civil disorders and crisis management is to defeat these networks, states *IL* Editor Robert Greenberg (p. 2). The attack on the criminology network, including the Police Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and others, is part of an "educational campaign" to "expose" their alleged terrorist intentions.

According to *IL*, the alternative to liberal crime policies is to adopt LaRouchian economic policies. These policies mesh with the necessities of capital accumulation. LaRouche characterizes his economic policies as a return to the "American Whig Tradition," a reactionary vision. Not surprisingly, Nobel Prize-winning economist Friedrich von Hayek, resurrected and recognized in the centers of power after a generation of virtual inactivity, also bills himself as a proponent of the Whig tradition, and a messianic opponent of the liberal welfare state (Frank, 1980: 57). The NDPC calls for expanding the industrial and agricultural base of the economy in order to provide a larger tax base and therefore a larger budget (for enlarging police forces), thus solving the financial crisis! Such a program remains a fantasy unless massive sums of government funds are transferred to the private sector in a state capitalist enterprise, such as the "Reconstruction Finance Corporation" (RFC) that is being considered in the higher circles to rescue large companies and banks from trouble (Dixon, 1982b).

In this period of economic contraction, there is no paucity of investment capital held by the largest financial institutions; what is lacking are investment opportunities that will return a sufficient rate of profit to private capital.



Lyndon LaRouche

Likewise, the share of the total tax base contributed by corporations has, since the 1950s, declined precipitously. There is no reason to believe that an RFC-type solution would alter this trend, for what is at issue is capital's share of the national income in a period of economic crisis. Finally, LaRouche's emphasis on capital-intensive, high-technology industrial investment policies meshes with the future direction that the ruling class will take: cost-saving reduction of employment and investment in industries that are dominated by professionals and that are largely non-union. Under some future RFC, strikes would most likely be criminalized and declared outside the national security interest, following the pattern already established in public sector unions (Dixon, 1982b: 9).

Despite rhetoric to the opposite, LaRouche's policies objectively support austerity measures—the cutting of social service spending, the reduction of real wages and employment. The attempt is made to shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the working class without directly imposing "undemocratic" measures (while nonetheless preparing for such an eventuality). In effect, this means restoring the mechanisms for covertly bringing about these ends.

RESURRECTION OF COUNTERSUBVERSIVE INTELLIGENCE IN AMERICA

One product of the capital accumulation imperative of the world's leading capitalist forces is a drive to revitalize the political intelligence apparatuses and the counterinsurgency forces. Between 1972 and 1975, the abuses and usurpations of domestic and international intelligence agencies came under unprecedented scrutiny. This post-Watergate period witnessed a recoiling and regrouping on the part of these public and private intelligence structures. As Frank Donner has observed:

The continuing worldwide erosion of capitalist economic and social structures has clothed the defense of the status quo with a new urgency in a political order governed by constitutional norms restraining official state action. Intelligence is an almost inevitable weapon of choice: secrecy permits it to function without accountability or control by the constitutional standards that prohibit interference with political expression (1980: 435).

In the short run, the LaRouche organization translates this into a widespread articulation of the imagery of international terrorism, the use of scare tactics and ideological codes to discredit progressive organizations and individuals, and the possibility of criminal prosecution, witch hunts, and other repercussions. "In short, it is a classic operation of 'destabilization,' the fruits of some 30 years of counterinsurgency experience by the CIA and other intelligence agencies around the world, now being applied inside the U.S." (*Contemporary Marxism* 4: vi).

The six points in LaRouche's presidential campaign address the indispensability of "restoring the United States to its position as a leading industrial power in the world." What this entails, of course, is restoration of an imperialist strategy in a period when the U.S. is objectively declining from imperialism to militarism. Such a strategy entails a program to "rebuild American political intelligence capabilities" (Spannaus, undated).

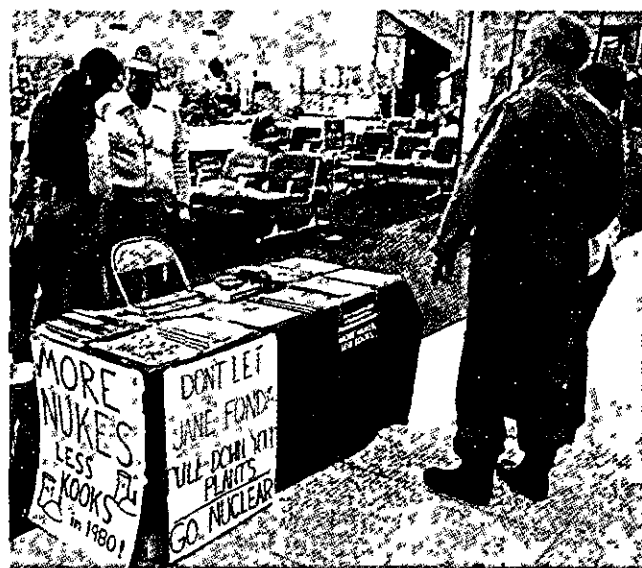
In promoting his 1980 presidential campaign, LaRouche has allied himself with the countersubversive drive to restore the CIA's intelligence powers. On February 27, 1979, he publicly appealed for support for a private intelligence agency to perform the functions "that ought to be the proper domain of the CIA." What he proposed "is a de facto augmentation of the resources of the U.S. Labor Party, thereby combining the core contribution to be made by the USLP with the resources otherwise benefiting a U.S. government intelligence service into an independent agency . . . endowed by corporate and other private sources" (Donner, 1980: 435).

The term "terrorist" has been seized upon by the right wing in its campaign to restore countersubversive

intelligence (expanded intelligence operations). The term "terrorism" is taking on a qualitatively new meaning in the 1980s. While in international affairs, the "Soviet threat" or the "communist menace" is conjured up to justify massive increases in the defense budget, "terrorism" is the new ideological code used by the Right to justify preparations for a full-scale assault on domestic unrest and on the growth of progressive forces. John Birch Society member and Georgia Congressman Larry McDonald brands as "terrorist sympathizers" all who seek some legitimate restraints on the intelligence community. Intelligence propagandists insist that domestic terrorism is a manifestation of a worldwide phenomenon rooted in shared ideology. This permits preservation of the *expansive rationale of imputation* developed by domestic intelligence over the last four decades. "A nonterrorist organization can be tagged for surveillance as a terrorist front, or as a support group, defender, source of cadres, suspected protector of fugitives, or simply—because of its failure to denounce terrorism with sufficient vigor—an apologist" (Donner, 1980: 458).

In LaRouche's lexicon, "terrorist" is simply an epithet used to characterize virtually the entire left-liberal spectrum, a means of mobilizing official intelligence against rivals and enemies (Donner, 1980: 433).

According to LaRouche (1981: 33), the intelligence and law enforcement methods required for dealing with international terrorism are to "strike at terrorism by going to the infrastructure of politicians, journalists, lawyers, and others who coordinated various crucial aspects of the overall operations to which the terrorist deployment itself was merely an essential included part." The attack of the NDPC on disparate academic criminologists and research institutions as "terrorists" grows directly out of this analysis. The web of the terrorist network, in LaRouche's view, now encompasses common street criminals, political terrorists, and nearly anyone associated with progressive institutions or the Left.



Airport literature table

"CRIME PREVENTION": VISIONS OF NIXON AND 19

LaRouche published a major policy paper on crime in the July, 1981, issue of *War on Drugs*, the monthly magazine of NDPC's National Anti-Drug Coalition. In order to properly locate LaRouche's crime theories, we must first briefly summarize the major trends in criminology in the last decade.

In 1974, Platt examined the deficiencies in the dominant liberal consensus in criminology and their typical pragmatic, cynical, passionless technocratic studies which fail to raise general moral and political questions about the nature of society. In 1977, Platt and Takagi editorialized on the rise of a new conservative trend in criminology whose proponents they characterized as "New Realists," or "intellectuals for law and order." They predicted (quite correctly) that far from being aberrant cranks, the "New Realists" would be a decisive and enduring influence, and that their theories and programs (mandatory and long prison sentences, etc.) were on the ascendancy. Today, one of their representatives, James Q. Wilson, is President Reagan's adviser on crime, and the "New Realists" occupy a position of respect within mainstream criminology.

In 1979 Platt and Takagi (see also Galliher, 1978) again pointed to a shift and split in theoretical criminology. They recognized a revival of reactionary biological and "biosocial" criminology. The latter, typified by former American Society of Criminology President C. Ray Jeffery, was notable as indicative of changes in class relations and ideology. Jeffery shared the "Realists'" emphasis on utilitarian models of penal discipline but argued that crime can only be controlled through *preventative strategies*.

More recently, the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, Warren Burger, introduced the concept of "street crime" as "day-by-day" terrorism (see *Crime and Social Justice*, 15: 43-46). Burger criticizes constitutional guarantees; he views law violators as domestic terrorists, a small minority waging a war on behalf of the "criminal community" against the whole of society. He advocates the undermining of rights ranging from the Fourth and Fifth Amendments to the rules excluding use of illegally seized evidence, the right to counsel for indigent defendants, the rights to bail (pretrial freedom) and appeal of conviction, by reducing these to nothing more than impediments to the successful control of terrorist (criminal) elements (see Galliher, 1981).

Such is the leadership that has successfully exploited the crisis of liberal penology and the ineffectiveness of the criminal justice apparatus in controlling crime. The New Right, from Burger to LaRouche, have stepped into the void created by the demise and utter failure of liberal criminology, seizing the opportunity to attack constitutional guarantees, the concepts of "innocent until proven guilty," and the right to trial by jury, and calling for preventative detention. The "Realists," under the banner "reducing street crime," have engaged in a conscious campaign to lengthen prison sentences, destroy social service alternatives to prison, widen the net of criminalization, and maximize the severity of sentences despite the fact that many studies show that such strategies will neither

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reduce "street" crime nor make people safer in their homes (Platt, 1982: 35).

All of these attacks play on the popular fear of street crime, but the overriding intent is to disguise the erosion of bourgeois rights in order to police the marginalized underclass (primarily people of color) and to squelch dissent without legal constraints during a period of crisis. Crime has historically been exploited as a political issue in order to legitimate the concentration of capital and assure order in the seats of power in the disorder of crises. It is the juncture of these two social processes that serves as the starting point for any analysis of neofascism (Dixon, 1982a: i). While the defeat of the working class is the political objective, the attack on bourgeois rights is strategically necessary in order to remove the buffer which at least protects the working class from unrestrained violence. For, as Gross points out (1980: 243), the modern partnership of capital and government operates through—and is to an important extent *constrained by*—the democratic machinery of constitutional government. A "friendly fascist" judiciary, in a time of crisis,

... would offer judicial support for electronic surveillance, "no-knock entry," preventative detention, the suspension of *habeas corpus*, the validation of mass arrests, the protection of the country against "criminal and foreign agents," and the maintenance of law and order. The Court would at first be activist, aggressively reversing previous court decisions and legitimating vastly greater discretion by the expanding police complex.

Let us now locate LaRouche's "crime proposals" in terms of the dominant tendencies in the field of law and criminology, and with respect to the drift toward some form of neofascism in the United States. Like his right-technocratic mentors, when LaRouche speaks of crime, he means "street crime"—robberies, muggings, and drug use.

LaRouche's crime proposals are very much influenced by Burger. Though he directly criticizes Burger for failing to emphasize *crime prevention*, with Burger he laments that the "criminal community" has gained the upper hand in its war against honest citizens. He maintains that law enforcement and judicial policies function to protect the criminal at the expense of the victim. Both Burger and LaRouche attack the probation system as being nothing but a respite in which the inveterate recidivist can further terrorize the community. Both call for larger forces of better-trained police officers.

LaRouche parts with Burger and finds common cause with Jeffery's strategies for crime prevention. While there are significant differences in method, the approach is the same. With prevention the goal, the adversary system and the niceties of due process are simply abandoned, notwithstanding LaRouche's disclaimers. LaRouche shares with Jeffery a clinical-technical orientation. In LaRouche's view, the "criminal mind" has features akin to the paranoid schizophrenic; crime is a form of psychopathology (1981: 32). Whereas Jeffery would nip crime in the bud through psychopharmacological methods and environmental design,

LaRouche aims at creating a crime-free environment through mass arrests and preventative detention—all carried out by “democratic” means. Private “therapeutic communities” are promoted.

LaRouche proposes “preventative interventions” against disorder before the major crime is perpetrated (p. 31). “Law enforcement policy,” says LaRouche, “must focus on the institutionalization of criminal preconditions (e.g., youth gangs), using law enforcement as a weapon of war directed to the destruction of crime” (p. 33). He uses Manhattan’s Bryant Park, a hangout for black youth, as an example. Calling it a “conclave of drug pushers,” he proposes “striking against the institutionalized kernel of the whole array of *imminent* burglaries and muggings organized through that conclave” (p. 31, emphasis added). He advocates “blitzkrieg” sweeps of the park by officers trained in combat conditions.

Similarly, conservative criminologists James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling have recently advocated a policing policy that stresses crime prevention and order maintenance—the use of informal and extralegal measures, primarily against vagrants, drunks, and black “gang” youth—which they admit cannot be reconciled with any conception of due process. If the objective of police work is the maintenance of “order,” then the current focus on individual rights and procedural restrictions on police powers must change. They encourage the revitalization of such dragnet charges as “suspicious person” and “vagrancy,” while opposing moves to decriminalize “disreputable behavior that ‘harms no one,’” since such measures circumscribe the arena of sanctionable behavior subject to explicit police control—especially in instances where “undesirable people” or youth “congregate without breaking the law” (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Here, LaRouche’s “extremism” is quite compatible with the ideology of Reagan’s criminological adviser.

LaRouche also advocates the use of “search-and-seal sweeps.” Adopting the language of counterinsurgency, search-and-destroy—so familiar from Vietnam and El Salvador—LaRouche proposes to extend these methods to eliminate drug use among U.S. and NATO troops stationed in West Germany. He wishes to establish an anti-drug “czar” (presumably himself) to coordinate military intelligence, military police, and a specially created intelligence unit which would include civilian specialists “recruited from anti-drug and police intelligence work.” This czar would establish liaison with U.S. Customs, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Drug Enforcement Administration, and the CIA for purposes of coordination, technical advice, and service.

CONCLUSION

Since the late 1960s, there has occurred a dramatic shift to the right in the centers of power—the transnational and national fractions of the bourgeoisie. These class fractions constitute the social basis for any emergent neofascism. Burger, Jeffery, Wilson, and LaRouche are part of the ideological and political layer of support for movement in that direction. This layer articulates crime policies consistent with the repressive necessities being

contemplated by the bourgeoisie in preparation for containing the working class and underclass in crisis.

Will LaRouche’s crime policies (backed as they are by the strength of his organization) be for the 1980s what the policies of the “New Realists” became for the 1970s? Today the “New Realists” constitute the *mainstream*, with representatives in the seats of power. Or will there be articulated progressive crime proposals which in fact address the issue for its serious social costs? With the dismantling of the expansive welfare state upon which the once predominant liberal tendency in criminology rested, this challenge must be faced.

A broadside attack on our constitutional rights (which undoubtedly will take “democratic” form, perhaps as a series of constitutional amendments) is well under way. The stakes are high. Bourgeois rights and constitutional guarantees do in fact serve as a brake on the power exercised by the partnership of big capital and big government. This is borne out in the Right’s incessant drive to expand the arena of political intelligence, for as Dixon has observed (1982b: 4), “U.S. state repression has always been extralegal because of the bourgeois nature of the state and the necessity of affirming the power of the Constitution to protect national stability.”

LaRouche’s organization, which ideologically and practically aligns itself with the competitive fraction of the bourgeoisie, is in fact a right-wing terrorist organization. The physical terrorism of a previous era has given way to the NDPC’s *current tactic of political-ideological terrorism*. It is attempting to delegitimize both progressive organizations and individuals and to *criminalize* legitimate progressive expressions of protest, as well as the underclass.

We can expect the state to continue to countenance right-wing terrorism through a tacit policy of benign neglect. The open operation of LaRouche’s organization and its encouragement as a surrogate police intelligence and enforcement operation should be expected. The bourgeois state allows the existence of right-wing terrorist organizations because these forces can be substituted for open state repression. As Dixon (1982b: 4) makes clear, this “tactic can become especially pernicious when it is made an excuse to militarize civil society in the name of ‘fighting the terrorism of left and right’.”

LaRouche strives to walk in the corridors of security, to police the criminologists whom the NDPC has characterized as central to international terrorist organizations “of both the red (communist) and black (neo-fascist) varieties.”

Unlucky this clearly is, but it is a lunacy with a purpose, being carried out according to plan by an organization which takes itself seriously and acts on its beliefs. To this extent, it is decidedly dangerous, for tomorrow the government and press may be hunting any of us down to ascertain our personal involvement in a kidnapping in some distant land. Therefore, we need a serious response to LaRouche’s organizations; we need exposés and analysis of this neo-fascist trend; we need to educate and mobilize people to oppose this danger from the Right; and we need to take the initiative in showing our united opposition to the right-wing terrorism of the NDPC.

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CIVIL LIB F

In its first session, the 97th Congress has begun dismantling some of the very important gains in civil liberties and civil rights achieved in a few decades. The conservative agenda ranges from to strip the federal courts of jurisdiction over controversial issues, to bills that would 'ex criminal jurisdiction over citizen activities protected by the First Amendment, and the due process rights of persons accused of a crime. Also, the Reagan administration has succeeded in the shroud of secrecy through promulgation of order that removes significant restrictions on collection both at home and abroad, and expected passage of legislation to further intelligence community from oversight jurisdictions and general public accountability under of Information Act.

It seems evident these days that the policies in Washington are based on a type of fear that in an avalanche of reactionary, simple-minded proposals. The proponents of these proposals a remedy to their growing insecurity with the of the nation. The current thrust to introduce gent crime control proposals is no exception. The Attorney General's Task Force on Violence surfaced with some very simplistic (and what is term "quick-fix") solutions to a series of violence problems regarding criminal violence.

The Reagan administration thus far contends inability to control crime is caused by three things: presumptions about human nature, social theory of the 1950s and 1960s, and government bureaucracy. The administration, as well as many congressmen, proposes "strong measures" to attack the problem at the federal level. Among their "solutions" are provisions of the federal criminal code, which reach simple codification of statutes to alter current law that would seriously threaten the constitutional rights of individuals. The code revision effort has been a

* Lorraine Petti is the Legislative Coordinator of the Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL) in D.C.

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