

Defend the Soviet Union!

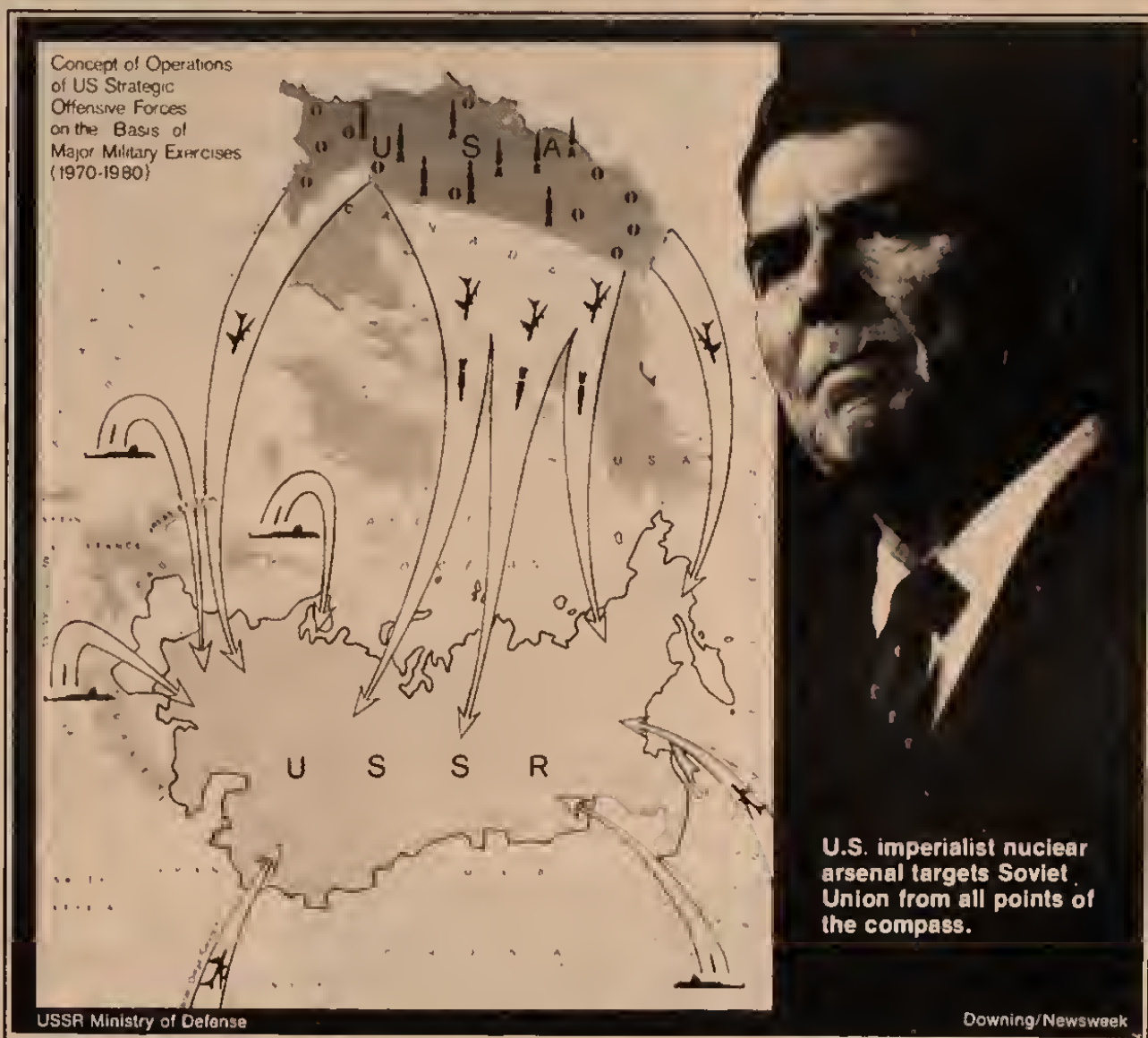
Reagan's "Star Wars" First Strike Plans

"Stardate, 1984: This is the captain's log of the Starship Free Enterprise, whose four-year mission is to destroy the 'evil empire'."

No, it isn't Captain Kirk fighting Klingons, but the American imperialist commander in chief. Early last month Reagan had preached to his evangelical followers that the Soviet Union was an "evil empire" and the "focus of evil in the modern world," that it was better to see your children "die now" than live under communism. For the benefit of the "nervous nellys" worried about the future of humanity, a few weeks later he went on national TV to sell his nuclear first-strike plans with a "vision" of science-fiction weapons providing an impenetrable shield against retaliation. First talking about shovels and shelters, now fantasizing about lasers and particle beams, the Reaganauts want to convince the public that they can blow up the Soviets without a single white middle-class American getting killed. This is patently absurd, but make no mistake about it: Reagan, Weinberger & Co. are intent on launching nuclear war against the USSR.

In his March 23 TV special, after a lengthy dissertation on the mythical "Soviet threat"—complete with satellite photos of three (count 'em) Soviet helicopters in Nicaragua (which the Sandinist leadership noted can be "discovered" by any traveler, such as the pope, landing at Managua airport)—he argued for his mammoth \$239 billion military budget for 1984. Then toward the end came his "vision of the future"—yet another arms race for the ideal anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defense system. Exhorting the scientific community, he called for a gargantuan program which "will take years, probably decades, of effort." In fact, under Reagan the budget for space weapons has already increased to about \$1 billion annually (not including the amounts spent on the space shuttle, which already has numerous military assignments, including the testing of an aiming mechanism

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McCarthyism with a Drawn Gun

FBI Red-Hunt

You, a *Workers Vanguard* reader, may think of yourself as a political activist, a member of a left organization, for instance, a supporter of a black organization, or a militant trade unionist. But the capitalist state—with all its power, its cops, courts and secret police—is defining you as a terrorist. And it is defining your organization as a violent "criminal enterprise." In short, an outlaw. That is the meaning and threat of the new FBI red-hunt orders announced on March 7 and put into

effect March 21.

All of us on the state's wide-open hit list had better know what it can mean to be treated as a terrorist outlaw in America. The FBI Guidelines are not only about the usual tapped phones and plainclothes agents visiting the employers of "subversives." The state takes terrorists with drawn guns. You are driving down a road one night and get pulled over by the cops. A name goes into the computer, and it comes out "terrorist"... "member of a violent

criminal enterprise." What happens then? Ask some Black Panther survivors of the 1960s what it means to be tagged as a terrorist by the feds. They were infiltrated by provocateurs, set up,

framed up and finally shot up on the streets, in their offices, in the jails, even in their beds. The new FBI Guidelines are a set-up for legal murder and wholesale destruction of the left.

Thus the fraud of the "international terrorist conspiracy"—with its wild pope plots and "yellow rain" lies—has come home with a vengeance. The word "terrorism," which has been developed as a code-word in the anti-Soviet war drive, now frames up left-wing political opponents of the government in the U.S. And these "Regulations" are so broad as to ultimately set up *any* political opponent of the government for disruption, suppression, expropriation and murder. For the new Cold

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**SNCC: "Black Power"
and the Democrats 6**

Democrat Washington No Answer to Epton-Byrne Race-Hate Reaction

White Racist Backlash in Chicago Elections

Twice in the last two weeks Chicago's black Democratic mayoral candidate has been accosted by ugly racist mobs as he campaigned in predominantly white neighborhoods. On Palm Sunday Harold Washington and Democratic presidential hopeful Mondale were driven from a Catholic church up on the ethnic-Polish Northwest Side by an angry crowd of whites sporting Epton buttons who snarled "Nigger go home," "carpet-bagger" and "babykillers." On Easter the police had to be called to escort the candidate through a menacing mob which surged around him shouting "crook" and "sleaze." These outrageous outbursts of bigotry are only the tip of the iceberg of the virulent racism which has increasingly come to dominate the mayoral race.

The city is being swept by a vicious white racist backlash. And the Democrats are to blame. It is the Democratic Party with its legacy of ethnic-patronage politics that made Chicago Segregation City. No one's done more to inflame the situation than Jane Byrne, who tried to cancel the election results with her write-in campaign. Before the primary one alderman quipped, "Attila the Hun or Yuri Andropov could win Chicago's April election provided they ran as Democrats." But perhaps a black cannot.

For over half a century the Democratic "primary" has been the real election in Chicago, and the April election nothing but a rubber stamp. But now a section of the Machine doesn't like the result of the last election, so they in effect called another vote for April 12. Police chief Brzezczek announced (threatened) that the streets would not be safe to walk if Washington was elected. Then came Byrne's "white-in." A new chancellor was hurriedly

appointed for the city college system to head off a Washington appointee. We wrote that although "the election of this Machine Democrat (in a fractured Machine) is no victory for black people," nevertheless "Washington has the right to take office with all the normal prerogatives. Blacks have a right to elect whoever they want to office" ("Jane Byrne, You Lost!" *WV* No. 326, 25 March).

Bernie Epton, a liberal Jewish Republican from Hyde Park, initially seemed an unlikely candidate for the race-haters to rally 'round. But his campaign slogan makes an overtly racist pitch: "Epton, before it's too late." And he's getting the payoff. Right-to-lifers chose Epton over Washington, though both support abortion. The Polish American Congress has announced for the Republican and "Solidarność-Epton" buttons are popping up all over the city. There was a mass rally for Epton in Marquette Park, long a focus of fascist "white power" rallies, where only a few years ago anti-Semitic Lithuanians gave Nazi leader Frank Collin 20 percent of the vote in a local election!

There's big stakes for the Democratic Party in this election. In recent weeks every major Democratic presidential contender and a host of other big name Democrats have paraded through Chicago stumping for Washington. Democratic Party fundraisers in New York City and Washington netted the candidate nearly a million dollars. It was the black vote that gave Jimmy Carter the election in 1976. Washington said it in New York: "The last 15 days of the campaign to elect me mayor of Chicago are the first 15 days of the campaign to defeat Ronald Reagan as President of the United States." Black politicians have warned that a defeat for Washing-

Racist mob drives Harold Washington from church screaming, "Nigger go home!"



ton could lead to a massive defection of blacks from the Democratic Party, and are talking of a symbolic black presidential candidacy as a pressure tactic.

Washington is being touted as the savior of black people. But what has he promised to do about racism? The "Chicago Plan" for "voluntary" segregation of the schools is a creature of the Democratic Party, and Washington has made it clear he'll do nothing to upset that Jim Crow deal. As for open housing, Al Raby, Washington's campaign manager, recently said, "We're very interested in community stability... the most destabilizing force in the city has been block busting..." (*In These Times*, 30 March-5 April). The "black elected officials" may get "their turn to rule," but the black masses will just get more of the same... racist cutbacks, strikebreaking, mass unemployment and cop terror.

The reformists on the left are just wild about Harold. Manning Marable, of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) and a spokesman for the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), was on to something when he cited the left's role in Washington's victory, comparing it to "the situation faced by Salvador Allende in 1970" in Chile (*Guardian*, 16 March). The liberal Democrat-black-labor alliance is the

question of the popular front in the United States. Under the pressure of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive virtually every organization on the left is scrambling to become the best broker for the Democrats in their campaign to unseat Reagan. Of course the DSA has the inside track because they've been "boring from within" the Democratic Party for years. But the Communist Party's not far behind. The *Daily World* reads like a campaign rag for Washington. Support for "progressive" Democrats is nothing new for the CP... they've been doing it for half a century. Why they even supported "lesser-evil" Jane Byrne in 1979!

Meanwhile, on March 27 a mass rally of 15,000 was held for Democrat Washington by union sellout artists like Doug ("giveback") Fraser and Lane Kirkland. The popular front ties workers and blacks to the class enemy. You can't fight racist reaction with Democrats. Powerful integrated class struggle is needed against segregation, mass layoffs, plant closures, givebacks, rising fascist terror in Reagan's America. The Spartacist League showed the way mobilizing 3,000 unionists, blacks, Jews, gays and socialists who stopped the Nazis in Lincoln Park last June 27. Break with the Democrats! Oust the bureaucrats! Workers and blacks need their own revolutionary party. ■

Gino Bova Gets Off Easy Put Away All the Racist Killers of Willie Turks!

On March 31, before a packed courtroom in Brooklyn, racist killer Gino Bova was sentenced to 5-to-15 years for his role in the lynch mob murder of black transit worker Willie Turks. In five years Bova could be out on the street; but Willie Turks will never walk this earth again. This is justice?

A virtually all-white jury had acquitted Bova of second degree murder, while finding him guilty of the lesser charge of second degree manslaughter. That means Turks' death was an "accident," there was supposedly no intent to kill! It's obvious the defense and the prosecution were on the same side—how else could you end up with a "whites only" jury in New York City? Even the judge admitted in her

remarks before the sentencing, "There was a lynch mob on Avenue X that night. The only thing missing was a rope and a tree. Gino Bova supplied that when he hit Turks over the head."

Earlier D.A. Liz Holtzman hailed the verdict, "It means a racially motivated homicide will not be tolerated in Brooklyn." In Camden, New Jersey a young Hispanic child is mowed down with a car because the life of a "minority" had a certain point value for the sicko driver. In Brooklyn a racist punk can bludgeon a black man to death and only do five years in the pen. It is a measure of the depth of the racism in this society that the value of a black man's life is quantified in such trivial terms.

Gino Bova got off easy. He spent six months in a private segregated cell on Rikers Island. Throughout the trial defense attorney Callan tried to make the victims of this racist atrocity the criminals, arguing Bova was just a young man who tried to defend his friend and his neighborhood. In an emotional appeal to the court Bova pleaded, "Nobody here knows me except my family and Jesus Christ... I spent six months in jail by myself. Nobody saw me, nobody saw how it hurt." Well, since he's not doing much time, every black person from Brooklyn to Harlem would like to see him sent to the Attica Yard... no segregated cell this time. Let him explain to the Attica brothers how it hurt.

But Gino Bova, though the ringleader, is only one of the 15 to 20 white racist punks who heat Willie Turks to death last June 22. The cops only caught three others. Joseph Powell is a fugitive at large. Paul Mormondo, who also faces murder charges in Turks' death, is out walking the streets right now. His lawyer has moved to delay the trial citing the judge's remarks about lynching and the "poisoned atmosphere in Brooklyn." Hell, that anger against the racist

killers should have been right there in the courtroom, packed with outraged transit workers staring at Bova and the jury. We say put away all the killers of Willie Turks and throw the keys in the East River!

Willie Ann Lee, Willie Turks' mother, addressed the court briefly before the sentencing. Her face wracked with pain she said, "No mother should have to go through this; what I've been through. Death is death and something we all have to go through, but not this way—it got me." And that is the question. What will prevent future racist murders like that of Willie Turks? Not reliance on the capitalist courts that treat the racists with kid gloves anyway. Not illusions in the Democratic politicians, black and white, whose racist cops maintain capitalist "law and order." It will take integrated working-class action to put an end to lynch mob terror. Militants in the TWU have fought for effective union action, thousands of union members making a show of force, rolling through Gravesend on flatbed trucks to defend the right of black people to walk the streets of Brooklyn. That's the kind of action it will take to stop racist attacks.

Vote Martha Phillips! For a Workers Party!

OAKLAND, April 3—As the Democratic Party front men for Reagan austerity throw teachers, county workers and warehousemen out of their jobs and onto the unemployment lines, Martha Phillips, Spartacist candidate for city council member at large, is bringing the Trotskyist call for "Sit-downs, Not Souplines" to this black and working-class city.

On March 22 Phillips attended the Oakland city council meeting where the Democratic administration applied the final touches to its plan to screw the Carnation workers, who are members of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6. With fake-left ILWU business agent Jim Ryder pleading for a "fair" severance deal, the council put its stamp of approval on the dirty deal between Carnation and the Port Commission to close the 60-year-old plant on May 31, "encouraging" Carnation to provide a "just severance package," a retraining program—and to use ILWU members to clean up the plant after closure! A local paper reported:

"In a fiery eruption that had to be quieted by the mayor, City Council candidate Martha Phillips called on union members to reject the council's plan and fight to keep their jobs."

"The time to fight for a job is when you still have it," she invoked them, saying that they should conduct a sit-in and take over the plant until they get their jobs back."

—The Enterprise, 23 March

Phillips' sharp exchange with black Democratic mayor Lionel Wilson (see below) was also reported in the Oakland Tribune and the Montclairion (29 March), which noted that "300,000 jobs have been lost to plant closures and

mass layoffs in California" in the last three years, citing the resulting toll in suicides, homicides, heart-related and drinking-related deaths, mental illness, etc.

The next day, March 23, Phillips attended a spirited picket line of 300

packed room of 300 angry teachers and parents when she denounced the board and its layoff schemes:

"We haven't come here to beg the Board of Education for mercy. So many of our children already come out of these schools unable to read, let alone hope for a job.... I say it's time to use the real



SF Public Library

1946 Oakland general strike shows the power that labor and minorities could wield.

members of the Oakland Education Association teachers' union held in the pouring rain to protest the school board's plans for mass layoffs. One week later at a follow-up school board hearing, the Spartacist candidate drew enthusiastic applause from the jam-

power that we have, which is the power of a teachers' union, of the parents with their support, the power of the Oakland labor movement....

"There's another program here, that says don't struggle, vote Democrat, wait for some new Democrat. Well, we've already seen what you Democrats stand

for and it's not for our children. It's for more wars, it's for more austerity. It's for sitting around in these board meetings while the Ku Klux Klan grows in Oakland....

"I say it's time to fight. Let's go out on strike if necessary. No cutbacks, no layoffs, no takebacks [applause]."

The big city Democratic mayors are desperate to keep the lid on as the pressure builds among workers, blacks and the unemployed driven into misery by the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive of a capitalist system in deep crisis. In Oakland the local Democratic machine is divided between Mayor Wilson's "moderates," who push a "trickle-down" program of reliance on big business to bring jobs through sweet deals for a large-scale downtown development project, and the Ron Dellums/Wilson Riles, Jr. "progressives," who urge reliance on the national Democratic Party to spread a few more crumbs around. Both wings of the Democrats, and the craven bureaucrats of the Central Labor Council, endorsed Reaganite Republican Frank Ogawa for the at large seat on the city council as part of their election-time wheeling and dealing.

Only the Spartacists tell labor and minorities to rely on their own organized strength. This call for independent, militant class struggle brought the November 27 victory over the KKK in Washington, D.C. when the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization prevented the racist terrorists from marching for genocide in the nation's capital. Phillips, an organizer of the November 27 victory, has made the Labor/Black Mobilization a central theme of her campaign.

In stark contrast to the Spartacists' fighting class-struggle campaign, Socialist Workers Party candidate Jan Gangel echoes the Dellumsites' tired refrain about "changing the priorities" of the imperialist U.S. government. When the candidates for council member at large appeared on KDIA, a local black radio station with a wide audience, on March 27, Gangel whined: "At this point the priorities are not for human needs but for profits." "Anybody who tells you that the ruling class in this country is going to put anything before their profits is either a liar or a fool," replied Martha Phillips. Phillips' campaign calls for military victory to

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Martha vs. the Mayor

We reprint below a verbatim transcript of the attempt by Oakland mayor Lionel Wilson to silence Spartacist candidate Martha Phillips, running for City Councilmember At Large in upcoming April 19 local elections, at hearings on plans by the city administration and company officials to close down the Carnation warehouse in the East Bay docks area. Phillips was scheduled to speak after Jim Ryder, a business agent of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6.

Ryder: ... My final comment is that the plant committee and the membership of Carnation had suggested that I be the spokesperson for that plant this evening and whatever you're going to hear next is not official ILWU Local 6 or Carnation policy or a presentation, it's individual.

Wilson: Now, Martha Phillips indicated she wanted to speak on the other side of this issue.

Phillips: Yes, my name is Martha Phillips. I'm the Spartacist candidate for Oakland Councilmember At Large. Yes, the side that I want to speak for is for the Carnation workers to keep their jobs...

Wilson: Well, that's the same side.

Phillips: This deal is an outrage...

Wilson: Well, that's the same side.

Phillips: Excuse me, could you please speak when I'm finished...

Wilson: I'm sorry, I called only because I thought we've dealt with this issue, but if you were on the other side and were going to speak against what we're doing... And that's just what we're doing, then you ought to be entitled to speak. But say I'm sorry since you're not speaking against it, why, I'm going to proceed.

Phillips: Excuse me, I would like to speak to the Carnation workers here. Let's look at what's happening. The Port Commission is getting millions of dollars, Carnation is getting millions of dollars, and the workers at Carnation, 160 of them of the ILWU, plus 20 others, are getting the ax. Now, let's look at the real situation here. There's no...

Wilson: Pardon me, just a moment (gavel, gavel).

Phillips: ... reason that this plant has to close.

Wilson: Excuse me, now just a moment.

Phillips: I would like to talk about the example of the Oakland general strike.

Let me tell you what happened only a few blocks from here...

Wilson: I'm sorry... call the guard.

Phillips: ... a couple of blocks from here there were 110,000 workers when the city, just like your city administration, wanted to take jobs away from people...

Wilson: Would you... I'm sorry, will you please step back from the mike.

Phillips: You know what happened—110,000 went on strike. I would like to address my remarks not to you but to the Carnation workers...

Wilson: Well, address your remarks somewhere else, not in this meeting.

Phillips: Look, you and your high office say that these workers should be on the streets. Let me remind you what happened to the Fremont auto workers...

Wilson: Just pardon me.

Phillips: People like you said that they should be thrown out on the streets. A year after...

Wilson: Now just a moment please...

Phillips: ... they were out on the streets only 12 percent of them got a job. The message that I have to the Carnation workers is this: the time to fight for a job is when you still have it! Don't let them throw you out on the streets. Take that plant! You spent your lives working in it, you deserve the right to a job. And the message that I have to the voters of Oakland, despite the Democratic ad-

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Warriors, a new "subversives list" is not a sufficient license for what they have in mind. They want to come after the left with armored vehicles and machine guns. Therefore, what was "subversive" in the 1950s has been defined as the "terrorism" of the 1980s. The politically "subversive" organization has been recast as a violent "criminal enterprise."

The new FBI "Guidelines" may well be the watershed document in this sinister process of criminalizing and setting up left-wing opposition to the government. It codifies, makes public and *directs* the FBI to wipe out any legal distinction between the government's political opponents and "organized crime." The introduction, from Reagan's attorney general William French Smith to FBI director William Webster, is, in Richard Nixon's favorite phrase, perfectly clear:

"It is important that the FBI devote its criminal intelligence expertise to domestic security/terrorism cases as it has, with increasing success, in organized crime cases. In the past, operating under distinct guidelines setting different standards and procedures has hampered this effort. The new approach, combining both organized crime and domestic security investigations in a single set of guidelines, should make it easier for your agents to focus their intelligence efforts on those criminal enterprises which threaten our people to attain ideological goals."

—*Criminal Law Reporter*, Vol. 32, No. 24, 23 March 1983

The last ten words of the paragraph above are, of course, a witchhunter's dream. And so is the entire strategy of which these guidelines are a part. Not since the days when the Roy Cohn types read passages of Karl Marx in court as "proof" of criminality has there been such an open declaration of official red-hunting.

Worked out with the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism headed by right-wing fanatic Jeremiah Denton, the "Guidelines" were consciously aimed directly at the political left and other perceived ideological opposition. It was speech, "advocacy" and political program rather than criminal acts which were the targets of the hearings. As Webster explained, groups which "produce propaganda, disinformation and 'legal assistance' may be even more dangerous than those who actually throw the bombs" (*New York Times*, 24 June 1982).

The FBI claims to be investigating crimes, but here the "focus of evil" is propaganda, even "legal assistance." This last target might recall the 1950s when the courts often threw the lawyers in jail along with their clients (this is called a "chilling effect" on legal representation for the accused). It was committee head Senator Jeremiah Denton himself who explained during the hearings that the "terrorist groups" are "no different from other criminal enterprises, except that their motivation may be political rather than financial" (*New York Times*, 24 June 1982). The witchhunters are no longer satisfied with the profile of the New Left "terrorist" of the 1960s. They have their Cold War big guns and their army of provocateurs not for robbers and bomb-throwers. They already have plenty of laws on the books for that. They are after us, gentle reader, you and me!

Just who are these "terrorist groups" and "criminal enterprises"? First on Denton's list was none other than one of the most tame, "peaceful-legal" reformist outfits on the left: the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). As for these "legal assistance" "terrorists," he cited the National Lawyers Guild because it "seeks to exploit the law in order to bring about revolutionary change" (*New York Times*, 24 June 1982). So think about it. If the "terrorist groups" will include the SWP and the Guild, which groups can conceivably *not* be falsely branded as terrorists?

These FBI Guidelines are a dangerous deception. Of course the government knows full well that such groups are not terrorist or criminal conspiracies. After all, it has been the government which has had these groups under its surveillance for decades. "Surveillance!" What a mild word, for the witchhunting attacks of the government. Continuous "surveillance"—for over 60 years they have spied, penetrated, set up, framed up, imprisoned and attempted to destroy the Communist Party in every known way—legally and illegally; for over 40 years the SWP has been hit with the same "surveillance" of provocateurs, informers, wire taps and mail covers, firings, Smith Act prosecutions and jailings; and we know that the Spartacist League has been on the FBI hit list for this filthy business for 20 years.

The only time they ever got criminal prosecutions and/or convictions was when they invented laws in connection with "advocacy" or membership. The FBI excuse for all of this surveillance is that they are supposed to be stopping crimes which it is even historically clear these groups do not commit. But what has the FBI done to stop the Croatian terrorists, for instance, or *gusano* terrorists of Omega 7, who really do bomb and murder, extort and hijack?

The real FBI targets are the leftists, particularly revolutionaries. And with the charge of terrorism, the secret police have added a most dangerous twist to the witchhunt. Not only does the charge serve to falsely discredit political opponent organizations in the eyes of the public, it can scare hell out of potential new members. It says that if you join this organization you are a terrorist in the eyes of the state, i.e., the guys with the frame-up laws and the guns. Of course all this is transparently meant to isolate and intimidate the members of the leftist political organization and those people whom it hopes to influence. And with the net of conspiracy thrown so wide, the witchhunters hope to be able to reduce the funds of the target organization by intimidating potential contributors. This is the standard stuff of political witchhunts.

The point of a really effective witchhunt then is not only to get the immediate victims, but to coerce the entire population into ideological conformity. In the U.S. this obvious kind of witchhunting runs into the bourgeoisie's sometime pretense to the democratic idea of free expression. It is no wonder that the Reagan FBI Guidelines have already provoked a nationwide yelp from civil libertarians. Even the chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights noted that "the FBI wants to investigate speech": "The guidelines permit the launching of a full investigation based on 'advocacy' alone" (*New York Times*, 8 March).

In the U.S. the government goes out of its way to define the victims of its politically motivated state repression as terrorists rather than political opponents. The victims of ideological witch-hunts are treated as common criminals. There are no political prisoners in U.S. jails according to the government, just common criminals. The Reaganite red-hunt has followed this "law of the excluded middle" to its last letter, coming up with the tag of "terrorist." They recognize only two categories of opposition. Lawful dissent is limited to the likes of college professors and churchmen who write letters to the *New York Times* expressing tender concern over the government's validation of the human rights record of El Salvadoran butchers, or South African apartheid. All other political opponents of the government become "criminal terrorists."

Big Brother RICO Does More Than Watch

Branding the left as terrorist "criminal enterprises," the Reagan FBI Guidelines serve two important, linked func-

In 1971, Attorney General John Mitchell, in an attempt to stave off further criticism of the FBI's practice of keeping huge lists of dissident-alleged subversives-for whom known what nefarious reasons, announced that all of the lists had been abolished and were replaced by one short "Administrative Index," or "ADEX," of less than 10,000 names. Since that list was also unrelated to proven, or even suspected criminal activity, in 1974 Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray announced that the ADEX had been abolished. However, in 1976, a politically active attorney from New York, requesting his FBI file under the Freedom of Information Act, discovered, buried in his dossier, a copy of his ADEX entry Memorandum and Report. ADEX, it appears, was not abolished, simply moved around. No explanation of the four categories was given. The New York office recommended that the lawyer be put in the lowest category, IV, "because of subject's apparent influence with New Left leaders." However, the home office recommended that the lawyer be placed in Category III, "because of subject's activities clearly depict him as a person who is sympathetic to the national defense, and the foregoing, a review of subject's activities clearly depicts him as a person who is sympathetic to the national defense." In view of the above, subject is being included in Category III of ADEX. What fate is in store, we wonder, for people put in Category I? The names and addresses have been changed, otherwise, the document below is an exact replica of an ADEX Memorandum

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106
UNCLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK

FROM : Samuel Abraham Strauss, AKA

SUBJECT: NY summary report dated 6/20/79

RECOMMENDED: ☒ Full Case ☐ Add Case (changed priority ratings add) ☐ Delete (confidential letter or summary change)

Samuel Abraham Strauss

Samuel A. Strauss
Sam Strauss
Sam Strauss

☐ Active Status ☐ Suspended ☐ Inactive

☐ C-1 ☐ C-2 ☐ C-3 ☐ C-4 ☐ C-5 ☐ C-6 ☐ C-7 ☐ C-8 ☐ C-9 ☐ C-10

☐ C-11 ☐ C-12 ☐ C-13 ☐ C-14 ☐ C-15 ☐ C-16 ☐ C-17 ☐ C-18 ☐ C-19 ☐ C-20

☐ C-21 ☐ C-22 ☐ C-23 ☐ C-24 ☐ C-25 ☐ C-26 ☐ C-27 ☐ C-28 ☐ C-29 ☐ C-30

☐ C-31 ☐ C-32 ☐ C-33 ☐ C-34 ☐ C-35 ☐ C-36 ☐ C-37 ☐ C-38 ☐ C-39 ☐ C-40

☐ C-41 ☐ C-42 ☐ C-43 ☐ C-44 ☐ C-45 ☐ C-46 ☐ C-47 ☐ C-48 ☐ C-49 ☐ C-50

☐ C-51 ☐ C-52 ☐ C-53 ☐ C-54 ☐ C-55 ☐ C-56 ☐ C-57 ☐ C-58 ☐ C-59 ☐ C-60

☐ C-61 ☐ C-62 ☐ C-63 ☐ C-64 ☐ C-65 ☐ C-66 ☐ C-67 ☐ C-68 ☐ C-69 ☐ C-70

☐ C-71 ☐ C-72 ☐ C-73 ☐ C-74 ☐ C-75 ☐ C-76 ☐ C-77 ☐ C-78 ☐ C-79 ☐ C-80

☐ C-81 ☐ C-82 ☐ C-83 ☐ C-84 ☐ C-85 ☐ C-86 ☐ C-87 ☐ C-88 ☐ C-89 ☐ C-90

☐ C-91 ☐ C-92 ☐ C-93 ☐ C-94 ☐ C-95 ☐ C-96 ☐ C-97 ☐ C-98 ☐ C-99 ☐ C-100

☐ C-101 ☐ C-102 ☐ C-103 ☐ C-104 ☐ C-105 ☐ C-106 ☐ C-107 ☐ C-108 ☐ C-109 ☐ C-110

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SPORTACIST LEAGUE

The Spartacist League (SPL), founded in 1965 by former members of another Trotskyist-communist organization, advocates the destruction of the capitalist system and the creation of a workers class system and a workers class society. The SPL national headquarters is located in New York City. While the SPL does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U. S. Government at this time or violations of other Federal or state laws, the SPL does believe that eventual violent revolution to overthrow the present capitalist system of government in the U. S. is inevitable. The objective of the SPL is to organize a membership to take action to precipitate such a revolution when conditions are ripe and to direct and seize control of the revolution when it occurs.

Sample page from FBI's "ADEX" hit-list file as it appeared in CounterSpy magazine 6 December 1976 (above). The special listing of "SPL" on ADEX makes us targets for the new FBI Guidelines. The FBI definition of the Spartacist League (below) uses classic witchhunt language of "violent overthrow," and "does not openly [our emphasis] advocate" to falsely accuse the SL of secretly planning some kind of conspiratorial putsch. Now they have added "terrorist."

tions for the witchhunters: 1) for *investigation* it justifies the continuing spying on left-wing organizations although no crimes have been committed or even alleged; and 2) for *prosecution* it defines the left within the special set of RICO (Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) conspiracy laws.

Under the Guidelines Section III headed, "Criminal Intelligence Investigations," the attorney general lays out the rationale for the FBI to continue to do all those things it was supposed to have stopped doing after the exposures in the 1970s because they exceeded its "legitimate authority."

Step one: equate "the mob" with the left as similarly violent "enterprises." "This section authorizes the FBI to conduct criminal intelligence investigations of certain enterprises who seek either to obtain monetary or commercial gains or profits through racketeering activities or *to further political or social goals* through activities that involve criminal violence [our emphasis]." (For the government, participation in the struggles of the working class, like strikes and demonstrations, and particularly the preparation of the working class for a future socialist revolution necessarily "involve criminal violence.")

Step two: define the investigation as not limited to specific, actual crimes. "These investigations differ from general crimes investigations.... An intelligence investigation of an ongoing criminal enterprise must determine the size and composition of the group involved, its geographic dimensions, its past acts and intended criminal goals, and its capacity for harm."

Step three: determine that the license for such investigation lasts indefinitely. "While a standard criminal investigation terminates with the decision to

prosecute or not to prosecute, the investigation of a criminal enterprise does not necessarily end...."

Step four: establish that anything goes. "Unlike the usual criminal case.... It often requires the fitting together of bits and pieces of information many meaningless by themselves to determine whether a pattern of criminal activity exists. For this reason, the investigation is broader and less discriminate than usual...."

All this talk about "intelligence" and "information" is of course about penetration agents, informers and disruption, smear jobs, firings and worse. "Highly intrusive" measures are to be employed only for "compelling reasons." But the FBI decides when to feel compelled. Editorializing in defense of "constitutional rights," the *Los Angeles Times* (9 March) expresses concern that the new FBI Guidelines will make it easier within the law to "place informers in organizations before the agency has a 'reasonable indication of criminal activity.'" And the *New York Times* (8 March) notes that an FBI investigation now "is substantially less strict than the standard for obtaining a search warrant, which requires 'probable cause' to believe that a crime has been or will be committed."

For prosecution, the government has the extended conspiracy laws of RICO which gives them sweeping legal powers that are in particular aimed at financially stripping their victims, thus denying them adequate legal defense. Passed by Congress in 1970, RICO's vague definition of "racketeering" invites precisely the strategy the government is using to ensnare the left in its net. RICO is the law to get those who are "ungettable" by the usual means. Not only are multiple prosecutions and special heavy sentences available under RICO, but the government can grab the assets of the

FBI's Hit List

ADEX:
*The
Index
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accused "criminal enterprise" even as it is being tried. Thus without a crime, the victim is made to pay. Further, RICO grand juries can make wide-ranging assaults based on conspiratorial "association" which can be as flimsy as a "common belief" in "social goals" such as socialism.

RICO is also a first-strike legal weapon in the government's union-busting war against the labor movement. With such "labor racketeering" laws the bosses' state has carried out vicious vendettas against the ILA's Tony Scotto, and recently used RICO to get the Teamsters' Roy Williams. Marxists say: labor must repel the class alien intruders and take care of its own house—state out of the union movement!

The model offered by the witch-hunters for the effectiveness of the "terrorism/RICO" method is the Nyack Brinks job witchhunt in the fall of 1981. Using the case of a bank robbery with a strong smell of government provocation about it, the FBI whipped up a first-rate "red terror" and "anti-terrorist" witch-hunt. Pushing the line of getting "to the bottom of" widespread "conspiracy," the cops kicked down doors, shot up and arrested people on the basis of alleged "connections." While tanks and Air Force SWAT teams hit the home of a black nationalist leader in Mississippi with no evidence of involvement, an official explained that "the groups share common purposes." Another official suggested that the purpose could be "the creation of a socialist state" and "an end to the United States Government as we know it" (see "The Nyack Brinks Job: We Don't Know," *WV* No. 292, 6 November 1981). The deputy director of the FBI in New York was quick to proclaim the witchhunt a "major racketeering investigation," thus putting the RICO grand jury in place which has been busy rounding up and terrorizing "the usual suspects."

Recently, the government's RICO machine was buffeted around in appeals court, which ruled that the Croatian terrorists didn't fit as a "racketeer" organization because they weren't out for financial gain. And an "organization striving for the independence of their native land" was certainly not "corrupt," the judge's panel said (*New York Times*, 27 January). Thus the Croatians

who bomb for "freedom" but not for profit slipped out of the RICO net in court.

A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!

When the Spartacist League discovered in 1981 that we had been included on a government "terrorism/RICO" hit list, we determined that we would not be silent while the secret police branded us "terrorists" and blew us away. We fought California's attorney general (now governor) George Deukmejian and his pioneer effort to define the left as terrorist. His "Organized Crime Report" was developed under Reagan adviser Edwin Meese III when he was Alameda County District Attorney. The Spartacist League was listed as "left-wing terrorists" under the category "organized crime." It was not just a "subversives" list. The witchhunters want us to be known for what we don't do. They willfully confuse Marxism with terrorism so they can create the atmosphere to wipe out the Marxists. We fight to be known for what we do. We organize demonstrations against the KKK/Nazis, for instance. We publish Marxist socialist propaganda on behalf of the workers and the oppressed. The cops long to answer *Workers Vanguard* or militant trade-union leaflets with a .357 Magnum. It is they who want the excuse for a military solution to the political opposition of the revolutionaries. We understand that at bottom the witchhunters want to destroy the vanguard of their class enemy. In our fight against Deukmejian's hit list, we demanded: "Workers Party Has a Right to Organize!"

We fought this dangerous smear with a campaign that included a lawsuit against Deukmejian. And we won. "Marxists Not Mobsters," was the memorable headline in the *S.F. Examiner* (18 December 1981), as our success struck a blow against California's new McCarthyism and punched a small hole in the RICO net. Deukmejian's office was forced to back down on its terrorist smear charge against the SL, retracted our name, and admitted their "error" in a statement which it distributed to cop/FBI agencies nationwide.

Now the White House and the FBI are putting this most dangerous witch-

Geronimo Pratt (right) with Black Panthers after their L.A. headquarters was shot up in 1969 SWAT team attack: Ask the Panthers what it means to be branded "terrorist" in the U.S.



hunting strategy into place on a national level. Does the FBI have a list? The FBI is in the hit-list business, from the authorization of the 1950 McCarran Act secret list for the future interneers of the concentration camps to the "subversives" list compiled and called the "administrative index" or ADEX (see "What Is the ADEX File?" *WV* No. 151, 1 April 1977). The ADEX file was supposed to be abolished and destroyed in 1974 after the Watergate and COINTELPRO revelations. But in 1976 an ADEX "memorandum" was obtained and made public through the FOIA (Freedom of Information Act). It revealed a list of 17 organizations which get special FBI attention, including, besides the CP and SWP, the designation "SPL." The FBI admitted its "SPL" was the Spartacist League (see "FBI Targets the Spartacist League," *WV* No. 151, 1 April 1977). Because the Spartacist League appears on the ADEX, we are surely targets for the new FBI Guidelines.

During the Senate's 1975-76 Church Committee hearings, when the heat was on for the FBI to streamline its operation, many promises were made to cease illegal acts and to destroy files like the ADEX. But there is every reason to assume that the ADEX and its priorities remain intact. Recently even the FBI admitted it. When pressed in connection with the Denton Subcommittee's interest on how it could "clear" prospective employees if it had destroyed its files, the FBI answered simply:

"No FBI Headquarters files related to subversive, terrorist or extremist activities by individuals or organizations have been destroyed. The information appearing in these files documenting such activities is readily retrievable. . . . —Analysis of Claimed Terrorist Incidents in the U.S., 1981 (p. 73)

When does the FBI destroy a file? Ask Rosemary Woods. The case of Elmer (Geronimo) Pratt is a case in point. Pratt, a Black Panther leader, was targeted for "neutralization" under COINTELPRO, framed up on murder charges and is still in jail in California. Pratt has shown that on 18 December 1968, the day the state claims he murdered someone in Santa Monica, his surveillance records would reveal he was in Oakland. He has demanded those records. But the FBI first claimed they had no records on Pratt before 1969. Then it was revealed that the FBI had all the Black Panther leaders under surveillance in 1968. So they explained to an appeals judge that with regard to the records wanted by Pratt, "the transcripts of the conversations recorded by these telephone taps have been lost or destroyed" (*CounterSpy*, February-April 1982). It is in part on the basis of the Pratt case that Amnesty International is demanding a U.S. human rights "commission of inquiry into the effect of domestic intelligence activities on criminal trials. . . ."

It is the U.S. government and its secret police which are a criminal enterprise. They are the perpetrators of terrorism and violence, leaving a trail of dead and maimed across the entire globe. Preparing to plunge the world into another war, they contrive the spectre of a "violent revolutionary conspiracy" to legitimate their own

terror tactics, their own consummately violent state and economic war on millions of proletarians and blacks. That is why the FBI must portray the "speech crimes" and "thought crimes" of the Marxists as "terrorism." Capitalism's secret police have no other purpose than to frame up and destroy the state's political enemies. And they don't much care about the law or the naive reformers who imagine otherwise. In 1977 when many liberals were smug in their conviction that the FBI would become a gentlemanly operation because of the post-Watergate/COINTELPRO exposures, we wrote, in "What Is the ADEX File?":

"The government's covert operations may be reshuffled and reorganized, streamlined and prettified, renamed and swept further underground. But the FBI continues to carry out its dirty work of spying, intimidation and harassment, slander and disruption of the political and personal lives of people whose only 'crime' is their political convictions."


Fight the New McCarthyism!

Before the early-1970s, most Americans thought of the FBI as the guys who caught the criminals rather than being the criminals themselves. They then learned what the left had known all too well for decades. It was no longer possible for the government to completely cover up FBI crimes as it was revealed that the FBI was up to its shoulder holsters in the blood of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, murdered as they slept in their beds in Chicago. Americans learned how George Jackson was shot down like a dog in prison. And they read about FBI creature Gary Rowe, who was perhaps the most murderous of all the Klansmen in the U.S. They learned of the COINTELPRO program which set up and tried to destroy particularly what it called "black hate" groups which included not only the Panthers, but even liberal pacifist Martin Luther King.

Because the antiwar movement and civil rights movement had a large bourgeois liberal constituency, so did the FBI's "enemies list." Not just the left, radicals, labor and blacks, but bourgeois "respectable" citizens found out that the FBI had read their mail and tapped their phones, investigated their sex lives and medical records. That was when the decisive sections of the bourgeoisie decided the FBI had overstepped its "legitimate authority." The FBI had broken the rules, they said, and began to write new rules. In the wake of the Watergate and COINTELPRO exposures, "Guidelines" were established in 1977 by Gerald Ford's attorney general, Edward Levi. It is this set of guidelines that is now being replaced.

But for the Reaganites the new punitive Guidelines are part of a concerted effort to rearm U.S. imperialism after the U.S. defeat in Vietnam. When Reagan proclaims that "America is on the mend" he is sloganeering not only for his economic policies. The Reaganites understand their political mission as the cure for the "Vietnam syndrome," the disease of declining U.S. imperialism demonstrated by the U.S. defeat in Southeast Asia. This mission

continued on page 10



State of California
Department of Justice
George Deukmejian
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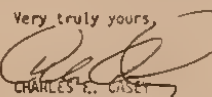
December 14, 1981

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

Subject: Correction of Department of Justice's Publication

Dear Sir or Madam:

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

Very truly yours,

CHARLES E. GRIER
Chief, Bureau of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence

In 1981, California attorney general George Deukmejian backs down and his office issues statement of "error" to FBI and other police agencies. SL campaigns in San Francisco, July 23, against Deukmejian "terrorist" smear. We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims.



The 5,000 demonstrators, overwhelmingly black and working-class, who stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in the nation's capital last November 27 may have opened a new chapter in the struggle for black liberation in America. Responding to the call of the Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League, thousands of anti-racists streamed from the Capitol to the White House, chanting, "1, 2, 3, 4, Time to Finish the Civil War—5, 6, 7, 8, Forward to a Workers State!" Our slogan caught on instantly, expressing the continuity of a century and a half of struggle for black freedom. After a decade of defeats, November 27 pointed the way forward out of the impasse reached in the 1960s when the militant civil rights activists ran headlong into the realities of black oppression in racist, capitalist America.

The spectre of blacks and reds backed up by the power of labor sent shivers down the spine of the bourgeoisie. So their furor against "outside agitators," the "Tarzan Trotskyists," was predictable. Despicably, a "socialist" cult-sect based in Ann Arbor even echoed this with talk of "carpetbaggers." The bourgeois hysteria came not just from Reagan, whose attorney general had vowed to protect the KKK and even brought in the FBI to back up city police. On November 27 Washington's black mayor, Marion Barry, conveniently departed for a "mayor's conference" in Los Angeles, leaving his cops to tear gas and club black youth. The Walter Fauntroy's and their reformist hangers-on had their "free food" diversions, their pop-front gab fests at distant sites to try to channel the anger of the masses into "safe" directions. But they failed...and the Klan was stopped.

On November 27, a spokesman for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) asked from the Labor/Black rally podium why Marion Barry wasn't out there with us. Many demonstrators had the same question, and a National Black Network talk show host later asked rally organizers whether we thought Marion Barry had sold out. After all, Marion Barry was the first chairman of the militant Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the early 1960s. And as was pointed out in a recent TV documentary in the *Frontline* series, "In the Shadow of the Capitol," ex-SNCC activists dominate the D.C. city administration. Ivannoe Donaldson, Marion Barry's deputy mayor and chief political adviser, was a SNCC organizer in Mississippi. John Wilson, now a city councilman, used to run SNCC's draft resistance program. Courtland Cox is another top Barry aide. Frank Smith was just elected to the City Council, and so on.

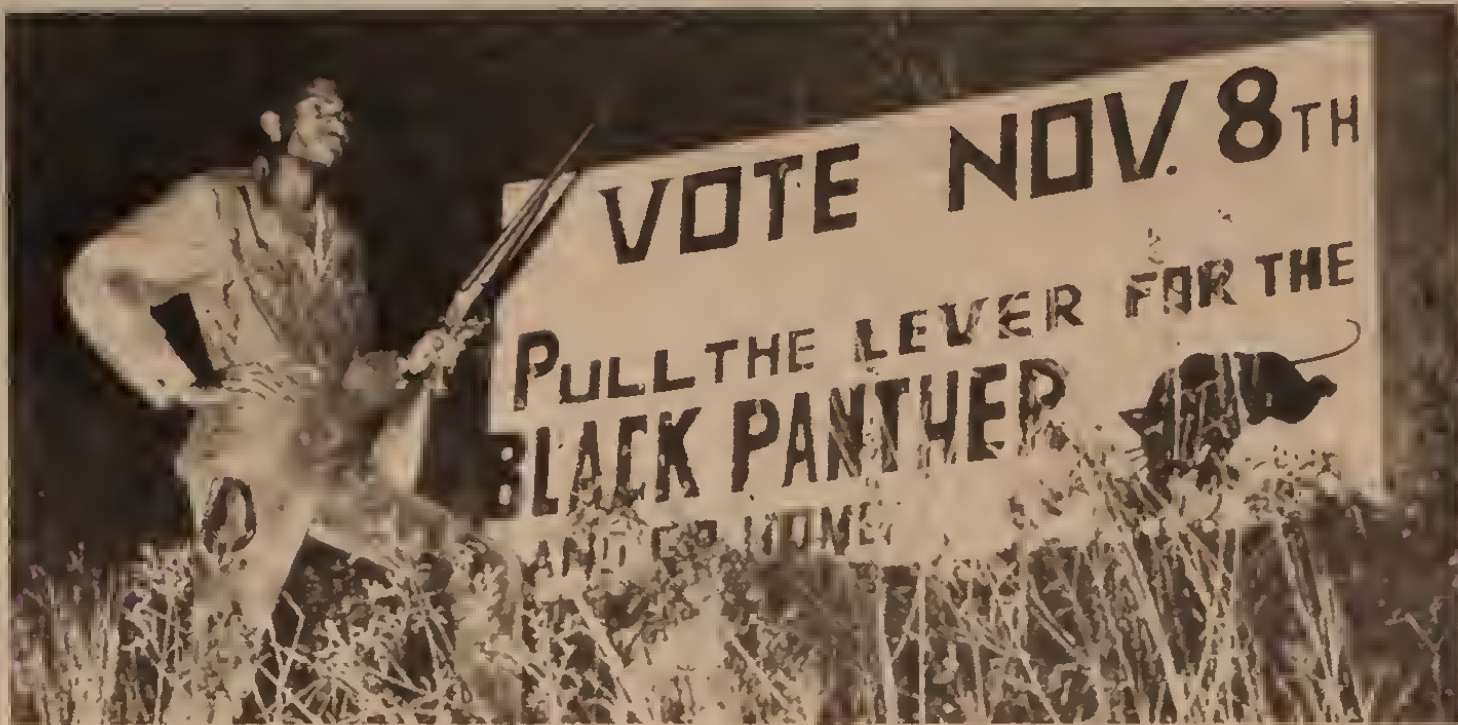
So ex-SNCCers are practically running the Washington city government,



Washington Post

Washington, 27 November 1982: Spartacist-Initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the Klan.

Neither Nationalism Nor Liberalism, But Revolutionary Integrationism!



Election night, Lowndes County, Alabama, 1966.

Doug Harris

SNCC: "BLACK POWER" AND THE DEMOCRATS

such as it is. But what has that meant for the quality of life in the Southeast D.C. black ghettos? As ex-SNCC staffer Charlie Cobb, narrator of the TV documentary, noted, "The guys in Anacostia don't really feel like they know Marion Barry anymore." Barry, who once led lunch counter sit-ins in Nashville, now tells the demonstrators who picket outside his office, "I can get more done in five minutes with my signature on a document" than they can with 1,000 people on the street. And just what are those documents he's signing? How is it that these "Movement people" have now become the protectors of the KKK, the administrators of racist budget cuts, the instigators of mass expulsions of black students at the University of the District of Columbia?

Marion Barry did not "sell out." SNCC was heterogeneous, and its "moderate" wing never saw itself going beyond reforms "within the system." They and their seniors in Martin Luther King's SCLC were always looking to become something like the mayors of Atlanta and Washington, D.C. And they did. But what about the radicals like Stokely Carmichael (now Kwame Toure) who fought *against* the Marion Barrys and whose break from liberal pacifism was expressed by the slogan "black power"? While Carmichael and his "All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party" may not be administering the bourgeois state apparatus, they are totally irrelevant and frequently *obstacles* to today's black struggles. As the white sheets and burning crosses multiply in Reagan's America, Stokely says, "It's a waste of time" to fight the Klan!

So here you have the spectacle of two former chairmen of SNCC: one leaves town ordering his cops to protect the Klan, and the other tells the Howard and UDC students who were part of the thousands of black Washingtonians who stopped the KKK November 27 that their action was "a diversion." A recent book, *In Struggle—SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*, by Clayborne Carson sheds considerable light on a subject of great interest to communists: how the left wing of the civil rights movement, located mainly in SNCC, broke from liberalism only to disintegrate and become trapped in the dead end of black nationalism.

In Struggle is a comprehensive, vivid description of the crisis in this crucible of black radicalism. What Carson cannot explain is why it happened. To understand the impasse of the civil rights movement, to open the road to the genuine emancipation of black people in America, requires a materialist analysis and Marxist program of revolutionary integrationism.

From Liberal Pacifism to "Black Power"

The appearance of the Southern civil rights movement with the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott opened a new phase in postwar American history, ending the period of Cold War/McCarthyite hysteria. Increasingly American society was polarized along the lines of for-or-against Jim Crow. The young liberal activists, black and white, who threw themselves into the lunch counter sit-ins and freedom rides were not sympathetic to communism, but they were breaking

with the anti-Communist prejudices of their parents which had paralyzed the struggle against racism.

SNCC was formed in 1960 at the initiative and under the auspices of King's SCLC. Its founding statement of principles began: "We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of non-violence as the foundation of our purpose...." SNCC at birth was a constituent part of the black liberal establishment in the South, the youth group of what W.E.B. Du Bois earlier termed "the talented tenth." Yet six years later SNCC would infuriate liberal opinion by raising the slogan "black power," and shortly thereafter its new chairman Hubert "Rap" Brown would declare, "the only thing 'the man's' going to respect is that .45 or .38 you got." What caused so radical a transformation during those six years?

Through bitter and repeated experience the SNCC activists learned firsthand that the white liberal leaders—the Bobby Kennedys, the Hubert Humphreys and Walter Reuthers—were a lot closer to Dixiecrat racists George Wallace and James Eastland than they were to the civil rights activists. They saw information given in confidence to Justice Department "observers" passed on to cracker sheriffs who naturally used it to victimize SNCC organizers and supporters. There came a moment when a majority of SNCC had rejected liberalism as they knew it, but had not yet embraced black nationalism. Black oppression could not be overcome within the framework of bourgeois democracy, however radical. The conditions weighing on the impoverished

urban masses. South as well as North—terrorized, last hired/first fired, condemned to a life of desperation in the ghettos with their mean streets, lousy schools, rat-infested housing—these could not be solved by a new Civil Rights Act. Genuine equality for blacks is inconceivable without socialist revolution and the massive redistribution of society's wealth, possible only through socialist economic planning.

The SNCC radicals came up against the social revolutionary implications of the struggle against black oppression, but without the intervention of communists they were not able to make the leap to proletarian socialism. When SNCC attempted to go beyond voting rights and access to public facilities (which blacks in the North and a number of Southern cities already had), the organization entered a prolonged crisis of identity. James Forman, SNCC executive secretary in this period, later wrote, "So long as we were working on voter registration and public accommodations, there was a broad consensus under which everyone could move" (*The Making of Black Revolutionaries*). So long, but no longer.

During the critical period of 1963-66 SNCC militants faced three fundamental political alternatives: reintegration into the liberal establishment, the reactionary utopianism of nationalist separatism, or proletarian socialism (Marxism). Some, like Marion Barry, took the first road via LBJ's "Great Society" poverty programs. However, the most militant elements in SNCC went over to black nationalism, initially a small and isolated current in the organization. Why did these young black radicals opt for nationalist separatism rather than Marxism?

One important factor was their revulsion against the existing organized labor movement, whose liberal face was that of United Auto Workers chief Walter Reuther, a man SNCC cadre had good and personal reasons to despise. In general, the Meany/Reuther-led AFL-CIO was, if anything, more committed to the racist status quo than were many liberal Democratic and even Republican politicians. Typically the children of preachers, schoolteachers and funeral parlor owners, the student radicals in SNCC were isolated from the mass of the black working class and socially above them (despite wearing farmers' coveralls, which became almost a uniform). These petty-bourgeois radicals had no conception at all of setting the base of the labor movement against the top.

But who could bring them this conception except Marxists? The fate of SNCC was decided, as much as by any other single factor, by the criminal abstentionism of the ostensibly Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Defining itself in effect as a "white party," the SWP refused to involve itself in the Southern civil rights struggles while tailing "the Movement" from the outside. Here a historic but fleeting opportunity was lost to change the course of black struggle in contemporary America. The history of SNCC is the story of the road not taken, the only road leading to black liberation, that of proletarian socialist revolution.

Breaking with the Liberals

SNCC emerged out of the lunch counter sit-in movement which swept the Southern black campuses in the spring of 1960. It began when the North Carolina A&T students sat in at Woolworth's in downtown Greensboro (the city where 20 years later, the KKK/Nazis would massacre five blacks and leftists in cold blood). The SNCC activists came out of the elite black schools like Morehouse College (Julian Bond), Howard University (Stokely Carmichael), Fisk (Marion Barry) or even Harvard (Bob Moses). An exten-

sion of black liberalism, the initial goal was formal, legal equality—civil rights, or "Northernizing the South." The political strategy was to seek the support of, and avoid antagonizing, the liberal establishment, bringing to bear the powers of the federal government which was controlled by this establishment.

But if the SNCC activists at first saw themselves as the future Martin Luther Kings, soon their experience was teaching them different lessons from those taught by the preachers. They had illusions in the federal government, but repeatedly received object lessons in the class nature of the bourgeois state. On the freedom rides, the young activists watched how the FBI "observers" stood by taking notes as the sheriffs' goons hashed demonstrators' heads (the FBI of course was in cahoots with, and often part of, the Klan). Carson tells how, after Bob Moses first went

government rushed in their black brokers to cool it, their CIA agents to co-opt it, their courts to indict it, their troops to crush it.

Albany, formerly the slave and cotton capital of southeast Georgia, marked the beginning of the open split between SNCC and the black preachers of the SCLC. In Albany SNCC sang "Ain't Gonna Let Chief Pritchett Turn Me 'Round," but after more than a year of sustained struggle, SNCC found all its tactics—mass arrests, flooding the jails, rallies, boycotts, vigils—failed to break the grip of Jim Crow. "We were naive enough to think we could fill up the jails.... We ran out of people before [Chief Pritchett] ran out of jails," SNCC staffer Bill Hanson said later.

In Albany, the SNCC workers who had tirelessly stomped the dirt roads, gone door-to-door on the black side of town to win support for the movement,

bureaucracy was used by the government to put the lid on the exploding black movement. The civil rights leaders had initially called the march to put the heat on Kennedy who was dragging his heels on the passage of the civil rights bill. But when the president called them into conference they quickly changed their tune, agreeing to change the march location from the White House to the Lincoln Memorial, deny participation to all "subversive" groups and censor all speeches. So, orchestrated straight from the White House, the march would be a giant liberal prayer fest to channel the masses safely back into liberal Democratic politics. King's "I Have a Dream" speech celebrated "non-violence," while the USIA filmed the whole event for foreign consumption to prove how "peaceful change" was still possible in America. Disgusted SNCC staffers took to wearing "I Have a Nightmare" buttons, and Malcolm X dubbed it the "Farce on Washington."

While the popular front stretching from Kennedy to Reuther to King could all comfortably rail against the Southern Dixiecrats, at the march SNCC's bitter fury against the federal government had to be kept in check. There would be no "communist" words like "masses" or "revolution" in Washington that day, the "official" black leaders vowed. They censored SNCC chairman John Lewis' speech, deleting his conclusion that:

"The party of Kennedy is the party of Eastland.... We cannot depend on any political party for both Democrats and Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence."

The labor bureaucrats Walter Reuther and A. Philip Randolph took the lead in pressuring Lewis (who was far from a radical within SNCC) to tone down his language and criticism of the Kennedy administration.

MFDP vs. Lowndes County Black Panther Party

As the culmination of SNCC's voter registration projects in Mississippi, 80,000 blacks who had been prevented from registering as Democrats signed "protest ballots" as members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). At the 1964 Democratic Party convention, the MFDP hoped their 68-member alternate delegation would unseat the "regular" Jim Crow slate. With the Dixiecrats already vowing to bolt to Goldwater in '64, the MFDP was making a bid to the liberals for the Democratic Party franchise. As Carson put it, "The hopes of the MFDP delegation were based on the belief that they, rather than the regular, all-white delegation, represented the expressed principles of the national Democratic party." Surprise, they didn't.

The MFDP was based in Ruleville, Mississippi, where Dixiecrat boss Senator James Eastland had his plantation. Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Eastland launched a personal vendetta against SNCC for registering the blacks off his estate. The story of Fannie Lou Hamer, who

continued on page 8

CORE's Floyd McKissick (left), Martin Luther King and SNCC's Stokely Carmichael lead march in Mississippi, 1966. When Carmichael raised the slogan of "black power" at this time, incensed liberal establishment went wild.



into Amite County, Mississippi in 1961, a black sharecropper who helped him was gunned down by a white state legislator, E.H. Hurst. A black witness then told Moses he would testify at Hurst's trial, if promised federal protection. Moses told this to a Justice Department official who not only refused protection ("Justice" was only there to "observe"), but the identity of this witness was passed on to the local racists and he was subsequently murdered.

From Albany to the "Farce on Washington"

From Albany, Georgia to Lowndes County, Alabama to the plantation country of Mississippi, SNCC was radicalized by its grassroots organizing of poor black sharecroppers which repeatedly brought it into head-on conflict not just with the Dixiecrats, but the whole racist, capitalist state. Every struggle drove them further away from the liberal premises on which they were founded. The Kennedy White House might be willing to integrate the bus station bathrooms and drinking fountains, but they were not about to make a fundamental change in life in the "Black Belt," where the heirs of slaveowners still lorded over the plantations and the Dixiecrat politics, while the sons and daughters of slaves, the terrorized black majority, scratched out a precarious existence as sharecroppers, day laborers and maids. And as SNCC's organizing among the black masses repeatedly brought the situation to flash point, the

were less than thrilled with King and Abernathy's highly publicized weekend jaunts into town to cool things out and arrange "truces" on their behalf. "Don't get weary. We will wear them down with our capacity to suffer," King told the black masses in Albany. But SNCC was beginning to question King's whole strategy of non-violent resistance. In midsummer with 3,000 Klansmen massed outside town, Albany's black youth fought back with bricks and bottles when the cops attacked a rally outside a black church. King declared a "day of penance" for the "violence," but SNCC refused to condemn the action. In Albany, SNCC started referring to King contemptuously as "De Lawd."

At the August 1963 March on Washington, SNCC saw how the whole liberal establishment and particularly the liberal wing of the trade-union

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SNCC...

(continued from page 7)

became the MFDP's Congressional candidate, was typical—the youngest of 20 children of black sharecroppers, she was evicted from the plantation where she had worked for 18 years because she registered to vote. When she moved in with a friend in Ruleville, their house was firebombed.

The MFDP was really an outgrowth of the 1964 "Mississippi Summer Project," braintrustered and financed through Allard Lowenstein, the sinister operative of Cold War liberalism. (As the *New York Times* wrote upon his assassination in 1980, "Most of the New Left labeled Mr. Lowenstein as a CIA agent.") Working closely with Bob Moses, Lowenstein brought thousands of Northern white college kids to the South for the summer, hoping to "restore faith in the system" by forcing a confrontation in which the federal government would have to intervene.

Going into Atlantic City, the MFDP had considerable support from Northern state delegations. But Lyndon Johnson, still determined to keep the Southern white vote, offered Hubert Humphrey the vice-presidency on the condition that he get the MFDP to back down. They lined up the whole liberal entourage—from Reuther to King to Lowenstein—to put the squeeze on the MFDP to accept the "compromise" by which they would get two "at large" seats, while the *entire* Dixiecrat delegation would be seated. Despite the pressure, the SNCC leadership rejected the "compromise" and the racists were scared. As Forman wrote, "Atlantic City was a powerful lesson, not only for the black people from Mississippi but for all of SNCC and many other people as well. No longer was there any hope, among those who still had it, that the federal government would change the situation in the Deep South."

In Lowndes County, Alabama Stokely Carmichael and the other SNCC staffers who stayed on to organize after the Selma demonstrations of April 1965 drew their conclusions from the bitter experiences of the MFDP. In George Wallace's Alabama where the words "white supremacy" were part of the Democratic ballot designation, SNCC decided to register blacks for an independent party. As Carmichael said, it was "as ludicrous for Negroes to join [the Democratic Party] as it would have been for Jews to join the Nazi party in the 1930s." The local residents agreed. One recalled, "SNCC mentioned about the third party and we decided we would do it, because it didn't make sense for us to go join the Democratic party when they were the people who had done the killing in the county and had beat our heads." The new organization took a snarling black panther as its symbol, and soon came to be called the Black Panther Party.

Although narrowly based on a single impoverished rural Black Belt county, Lowndes was important because it was

organized in opposition to the Democrats. The Lowndes Black Panther Party was also important for its open advocacy of armed self-defense. Armed self-defense was a burning necessity for the black movement in the South. In Monroe, North Carolina beginning in 1959 local NAACP chapter head Robert Williams' courageous battle against KKK terror and his book *Negroes With Guns* became a beacon to militant blacks throughout the South. Indeed, James Forman, then a young *Chicago Defender* reporter, visited with Williams just before Williams was forced into exile in Cuba in 1961. In Lowndes the SNCC workers were influenced by and defended the militant black sharecroppers who owned guns and were willing to use them against racist attack. By 1965 the Louisiana-based Deacons for Defense and Justice had spread to Alabama; black rallies in the county were often defended by these armed self-defense squads.

The Ghettos Explode

But it was above all the Northern ghetto explosions which marked the end of the civil rights period and had a profound effect on the SNCC militants. This is something Carson doesn't understand—the main weakness of his account is its SNCC-centricity, barely touching on factors such as the ghetto "riots" or the influence of Malcolm X, except insofar as they directly intersected SNCC. But "non-violence" died in Harlem in the summer of 1964 and Watts a year later. Until then the civil rights leaders could plausibly claim that their policies and outlook were supported by the black masses, actively in the South and at least passively in the North. But after Harlem and Watts, when it was clear that the explosions were no isolated event, but part of a pattern, it was clear that the whole "turn the other cheek" ethos had no relevance to the embittered urban black masses.

There was enormous pressure on the official black leaders to denounce the "riots." So in '64 it was only the reds who defended the Harlem ghetto masses against what was in fact a *police* riot. Bill Epton of the Progressive Labor Party, organizer of the militant Harlem Defense Council, was witchhunted by a bourgeois hysteria campaign which included all the black establishment figures. The Spartacist group vigorously defended Epton and the Harlem youth. On the eve of the "riots" we had noted that the mass character of the black struggle in the North was posing a direct threat to the capitalist system and predicted that the cops would soon crack down hard. *Spartacist* (No. 2, July-August 1964) called for block councils as a "basis for the organization of self-defense." At a mass rally in the New York garment center, called by the Spartacist-initiated Harlem Solidarity Committee, we called for removal of the rioting cops from the ghettos and recognition of the ghetto masses' right to defend themselves against police occupation.

In contrast, in Watts in the summer of

1965 King declared, "It was necessary that as powerful a police force as possible be brought in to check them [the ghetto masses]" (*New York Times*, 16 August 1965). The Black Muslims' famous cartoon captured King's spirit: "If there is any blood spilled on the streets, let it be *our* blood." King's defense of cop terror to smash the ghetto explosions was the ultimate proof of what his one-sided "non-violence" really amounted to. For the SNCC radicals this provoked a sharp break with King and the whole liberal civil rights movement. For up until that point the young militants, although many were never committed pacifists, had accepted "non-violence" as a tactic. They had fought for "one man, one vote." But how did "non-violence" and voter registration answer the oppression of Northern ghetto blacks? As Forman later wrote:

"The basic question, 'What is SNCC?' had not yet been answered. Our long-range goals had called for redefinition ever since Atlantic City, and especially since the 1964 and 1965 Civil Rights acts—which made obsolete many aspects of our early organizing work. Watts had exploded in August, 1965; could we still call ourselves 'nonviolent' and remain in the vanguard of black militancy? If we were revolutionaries, what was it that we sought to overthrow?"

—James Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries* (1972)

Crisis of Identity

SNCC radicals had broken with liberalism as they knew it. But where did they go from here? Although he cannot explain it, Carson graphically describes the prolonged crisis which broke out after the MFDP debacle—the malaise, the complaints of "loss of will," the endless conferences, the debates, the therapy sessions. Psychiatrists came in and diagnosed it as "battle fatigue" after the grueling Mississippi summer. Sociologists chalked it up to the problems of elite black students "relating" to ghetto youth. It was not a sociological question. SNCC had run head-on into the black question in capitalist America.

The Waveland Retreat in November 1964 was symptomatic. For this conference 37 papers were written analyzing SNCC's failure to act decisively after the "freedom summer." The ensuing debates took up everything from Forman's position to turn SNCC into a professional cadre organization to Bob Moses' "anti-leadership" bent for local community work. But around what program? There was massive dissatisfaction with SNCC's penny-ante projects. What good was integrating the lunch counters, if you couldn't afford to buy lunch, they argued. Instead of "stopgap measures which buy off revolution," SNCC should "take all the Negroes from the rural areas into the cities and force the revolution," one member proposed. At Waveland, a women's workshop was held protesting the relegation of SNCC women to office chores and their exclusion from leadership roles. The workshop was generally ridiculed; Carmichael notoriously responded that the proper position of women in SNCC was "prone."

Basically SNCC was, within its own terms, effective so long as it was fighting institutionalized Jim Crow and could unite the entire black community around the most elementary democratic demands, such as voter rights or access to public facilities. But in places like Atlanta or Montgomery, they found that the kind of things they were doing had been done, and done better, by the Democratic Party lobby, or the churches, and somewhat later by the poverty programs. They had to develop a social revolutionary program. In the absence of this, those who did not want to be merely co-opted into the liberal Democratic mainstream were drawn to nationalism.

The first nationalist locus in SNCC was a circle around Bill Ware, a Pan-Africanist who only entered the organi-

zation in 1964 and set up his own operation, the Atlanta Project. Ware worked briefly building support for the Julian Bond Democratic election campaign in Atlanta's Vine City ghetto. (Bond, who had won election to the Georgia state legislature, was refused seating by die-hard white supremacists.) But the Atlanta Project soon split off to work Vine City on a hard nationalist basis. The Atlanta separatists argued that whites could not "relate to the black experience," that their presence "diluted" SNCC and intimidated blacks from expressing themselves, etc. But to most SNCC cadre, white staffers like Bob Zellner and Jack Minnis were seen as an integral part of the group. The Ware faction's motion at the March 1966 staff meeting to expel all whites was defeated by a majority which then included Carmichael. (Although he's disappeared it now, Stokely, from Bronx High School of Science, was around YPSL and the social-democratic Howard University Non-Violent Action Group and for years had some of the closest ties to white leftists.)

Although the nationalists were initially isolated, they quickly gained ground for *they were the only ones with a coherent anti-liberal ideology*. SNCC hated in their guts the treacherous white liberals, the trade-union bureaucrats, the government agents with their crocodile tears and their money, their connections, all tantalizingly held out to wrap a net around the struggle and draw it back under their control. The black militants rejected integrationism which they identified with the ideological hegemony of the Bobby Kennedys and Allard Lowensteins. They never became aware of the program of *revolutionary integrationism*—integration into egalitarian socialist society.

SNCC knew who they hated. But it was a negative program. In the absence of a revolutionary alternative, the nationalists won out in their call to break all ties with the "white Establishment" in which they lumped together the communists with the liberals, the unions with the bureaucrats, thus cutting off the road to socialist revolution for the black working masses in America. It is a historic crime of the Socialist Workers Party that it refused to go in and do battle for people who were quite openly groping for a radical alternative to the liberalism of the Hubert Humphreys and Martin Luther Kings. Inside the SWP the Revolutionary Tendency (RT)—the core of the future Spartacist League—fought for the party to seize this opportunity to win black Trotskyist cadres. An RT motion to the convention of the SWP's youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), urgently insisted:

"The masses of black workers and the SNCC leadership and ranks will not pragmatically come to understand and adopt the science of Marxism simply by virtue of their militancy and readiness to grasp any methods within their reach..."

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black revolt and the contradictory and confused, groping nature of what is now the left wing in the movement provide the revolutionary vanguard with fertile soil and many opportunities to plant the seeds of revolutionary socialism. Our task is to create a Trotskyist tendency in the broad left wing of the movement, while building that left wing...."

—"The Negro Struggle and the Crisis of Leadership,"
Draft Resolution on Civil Rights, submitted to the YSA, August 1963

The RT's resolutions were voted down and shortly after we were expelled. The majority's position was that *no* SWPer was needed in the South at all, since SNCC would become revolutionary on its own in the course of the struggle. When black RTer Shirley Stoute received a personal written invitation from James Forman to work with SNCC in Atlanta, the SWP had to accede. But they sent down majority agents to spy on her, and within about a month called her back to New York on a pretext, refused to let her return to Atlanta, and would not even let her give them a statement why! Thus as the SWP tailed popular black figures, searching around for a "black Castro," they actually forced militant party cadres out of this critical work. For the SWP's centrist degeneration was marked precisely by its rejection of the need for a revolutionary vanguard party from Cuba to the black struggle at home. In 1963, the expulsion of the RT opened the road for the SWP's consolidation around reformism—only a year later after the murders of Chancy, Schwerner and Goodman in Philadelphia, Mississippi, the SWP would come out with its obscene call to withdraw the troops from Vietnam and send them to Mississippi!

"Black Power"

In Lowndes County SNCC had broken with the Democrats. The black radicals advocated armed self-defense in the South and sided with the ghetto rebellions in the North. As the Vietnam War escalated, they made the link between black oppression at home and the U.S.' dirty imperialist war abroad. SNCC's stand against the war horrified the black establishment. When King, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young pleaded with SNCC to call off an antiwar protest outside Lucy Baines Johnson's wedding on 5 August 1966, they shot back a bitter reply:

"You have displayed more backbone in defending [the president's daughter and her fiancé] than you have shown for our black brothers engaged in acts of rebellion in our cities. As far as we are concerned you messengers can tell your boss that his day of jubilation is also the day that his country murdered many in Hiroshima."

This trend had culminated in the May 1966 election of Stokely Carmichael as SNCC chairman. A month later in Greenwood, Mississippi Carmichael raised the "black power" call to a cheering crowd.

The effect was electric. "Black power" was picked up by the young radicals from the burning ghettos to the Jim Crow South as the rallying cry *against* the black preachers' sermonizing, the liberals' hedging. After all the hopes and expectations of the black masses raised and betrayed by the civil rights leaders, "black power" was the definitive rejection of their "faith in the system," a vow to take matters into their own hands. For SNCC, the "black power" slogan was their hoped-for route to catch up to the urban ghetto masses who had outstripped them. "If America don't come around, we're going to burn it down," swore "Rap" Brown. As the bourgeois press screeched, virtually the entire black establishment was mobilized to condemn it as the "new racism." King temporized, saying he didn't want to "excommunicate" the black power radicals. And Harlem demagogue Adam Clayton Powell was sharp enough to see which way the wind was blowing—he jumped on the bandwagon

declaring "black power" meant voting for him. But white liberals were horrified.

Initially, the "black power" movement was contradictory. As we wrote:

"SNCC's empirical rejection of the more obvious brands of reformism advocated by white liberals and petty-bourgeois Black 'leaders' has taken the form of a call for 'Black Power,' a militant-sounding phrase which frightens the white liberals and Uncle Toms. The concepts implied in the SNCC slogan of 'Black Power' are radical enough to have caused the bourgeois press and politicians to shower vicious abuse on it, precisely because the slogan is a groping for solutions *outside* the framework of the capitalist society."

—"SNCC and Revolution,"
Spartacist No. 8, November-December 1966

But we warned: "...the slogan 'black power' must be clearly defined in *class*, not racial terms, for otherwise the 'black power' movement may become the black wing of the Democratic Party in the South" ("Black and Red—Class



Harlem, 1964: Ghetto youth protest against shooting of black teenager by racist cop Gilligan. In response cops rioted against black community.

Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967). Our prediction seemed almost inconceivable to most people at the time, yet that is precisely what happened.

Even though we were small, the Spartacist tendency, recently expelled from the SWP, fought to intersect the "black power" radicals. Our call for a "Freedom-Labor Party" was the axis to link the exploding black struggle to the power of labor, North and South. With it we posed a series of transitional demands to win militants to this class-struggle perspective: for "A Southern Organizing Drive Backed Up by Organized Labor," for "A Workers United Front Against Federal Intervention," for "Organized, Armed Self-Defense." And we sought to translate this into practice, organizing aid ("Every Dime Buys a Bullet") for the Deacons for Defense and Justice. The Deacons were black vets who sprang up in Jonesboro and Bogalusa, Louisiana to protect CORE workers there. As we wrote:

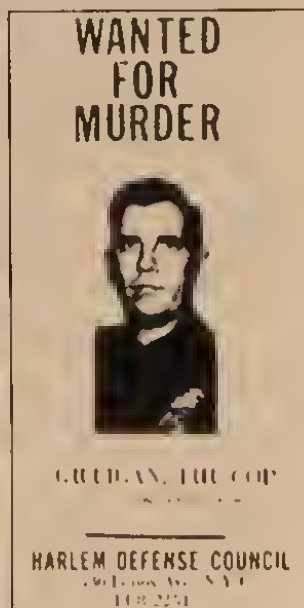
"The Deacons organization is a tremendous step forward for the Negro struggle, not only because it saves lives, but also because it raises the level of consciousness of the civil rights movement by encouraging independent action and discouraging reliance upon the institutions of the bourgeois state."

—"Toward Arming the Negro Struggle," *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965

But we lacked the forces. As a result of the criminal abstention of the SWP when SNCC first began to break from liberalism the "black power" radicals never found a bridge to the program of workers power. Increasingly in SNCC "black power" came to mean exclusion of whites and consolidation around a hard separatist program. In December 1966 the remaining whites were finally expelled. Even then the vote was 19-18 with 24 abstentions, indicating how deep the bonds of comradeship had been, how wrenching the destruction process. A few years later, as Carson observes, Carmichael's anti-"honky" separatist diatribes put SNCC far to the

right of the Panthers. In Oakland, California, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense had been inspired by and took its name from Lowndes County. But in 1968 the Panthers broke with Carmichael over his anti-communist and anti-white political line. At one point Carmichael refused to speak at a big "Free Huey" rally at the Oakland Courthouse (where Huey Newton was imprisoned on frame-up charges of killing a cop) because he didn't want to sit on the same platform with whites from the Peace and Freedom Party. When he finally did show up, it was only to denounce all "white" doctrines such as "Marxism." "Communism is not an ideology suited for black people, period, period," Carmichael raved. Bobby Scale felt compelled to reject this position from the podium, stating that Carmichael was playing "the Ku Klux Klan's game."

Forman, who had been increasingly uneasy about Carmichael's hard "reac-



UPI

tionary nationalism" and seeing himself some kind of Marxist, went with the Panthers in the split. After playing around with his "Black Manifesto" scheme, Forman briefly got involved with the important circle of black radical workers springing up in and around the Detroit auto plants. But the League of Revolutionary Black Workers never broke from nationalism and lumped the UAW into the white "power structure." Thus even though it was located in America's most strategic concentration of black workers, it too could not find the road to revolutionary power, working-class power.

Repression and Co-optation

But if the bourgeoisie uniformly denounced black radicals, they also recognized that some of them could be bought. Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" poverty programs were extremely important in co-opting many. Carson tells how Marion Barry, who was sent to Washington in 1965 as SNCC's representative, wrote back to complain that they were losing good organizers to the federal poverty programs, which were doing the same thing as SNCC but paying the staff a lot better! Shortly after, Barry quit SNCC to become head of PRIDE, Inc. Barry was typical of a whole layer of the organization that went this route into the Democratic Party.

On the other hand, those who were so alienated that they couldn't be bought—the "Rap" Browns and a big layer of the Panthers—were simply wiped out. As the ghettos exploded, the bourgeoisie mounted a campaign to pin the riots on black radicals (while SNCC leader Brown played into their hands with his verbal terrorism). Dubbed the "Rap Brown Act," an amendment to LBJ's voting rights act made it a federal crime to cross state lines to start a riot. The feds busted down the doors to SNCC offices, framed up the leaders on the whole gamut of phony charges—arson, conspiracy, criminal syndicalism—and

finally just gunned them down in the streets. J. Edgar Hoover's COINTEL-PRO labeled Carmichael and Brown "vociferous firebrands" and started moving in—Carmichael escaped to Africa (having married South African folk singer Miriam Makeba), but they shot Brown and sent him up for a long stretch in jail. The Panthers, coming slightly later, got the full brunt of the unprecedented campaign to exterminate a whole generation of black radical leaders.

Where Are They Now?

In Carson's "Where Are They Now?" epilogue, you can see three SNCC generations. The first generation, who really were simply younger versions of Martin Luther King, ended up in the Democratic Party—Marion Barry, Julian Bond, John Lewis, Charles Sherrod, Ivanhoe Donaldson. A middle layer, like James Forman and Bob Moses (who, burned by Lowenstein, broke off all relations with whites and dropped out after MFDP) drifted back into academia—they were not hardened nationalists but were too radical to be comfortable in the Democratic Party. And the black nationalists only became more so. Carmichael and his AAPRP are the embodiment of reactionary utopian Pan-Africanism. Rap Brown today is a Black Muslim.

Although at one time Barry and Carmichael represented polar opposites in SNCC, nonetheless, as was seen on November 27, their basic response to today's struggles is to put themselves on the same side—the side opposite the black masses. There is indeed a symbiotic relation between the black liberal establishment and the nationalist-separatist sects. One is the wing of "the talented tenth" who have made it in America; the other is the wing who aspire to their own bourgeois state power. Both of them are instinctively threatened by real struggle for black liberation in America.

A decade ago when black militants were groping toward revolution we did not have the organizational weight to pose an alternative to the no-win choice of liberalism or dead-end black nationalism. A whole generation of dedicated, young black fighters was lost. What would 100 black Trotskyist cadre have meant in Oakland in 1968 or in the volatile conditions of Detroit auto at that time? Surely the whole course and rhythm of the American class struggle would look quite different today.

We didn't have the weight to change the course then. Today, instead of the "choice" between Carmichael and Barry, there is a Marxist answer for class- and race-conscious black youth, for black workers seeking emancipation from racial oppression and wage slavery. November 27 as we marched, 5,000-strong, blacks and workers led by communists triumphantly through the streets of the capital, the resounding slogan, "Finish the Civil War—Forward to a Workers State!" pointed the way forward to Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution. ■

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“Star Wars” ...

(continued from page 1)

for a laser weapon).

Democratic critics, posing as the peace party in order to grab the White House in 1984, instantly dubbed it a “Star Wars” scheme. But some, like *Time* and *Newsweek*, took it seriously and dutifully printed artists’ conceptions of laser battle stations in space. Edward Teller, the so-called “father of the H-bomb” and archetypal “Dr. Strangelove,” dubbed Reagan’s speech a “turning point in history” comparable to FDR’s decision to build the atomic bomb. Despite the Democrats’ ridiculing, it is being taken seriously in important bourgeois circles because both sides of the aisle recognize the need to sell the anti-Soviet war drive in the face of peace sentiment in West Europe and at home.

Ever since the outbreak of the Cold War the American ruling class has tried to convince itself that it could fight a nuclear war with the Soviet Union and somehow still survive. Reagan ran in 1980 openly calling for military “superiority” over the Russians, that is, first-strike capability. The now notorious Pentagon “Defense Guidelines,” leaked last year, spoke of “prevailing” in a “protracted” nuclear war. But as Soviet defense minister Dmitri Ustinov warned last July, “the aggressor will not be able to evade an all-crushing retaliatory strike.” Hence, developing “defensive” weapons against incoming missiles is key to any first-strike strategy. And this fact is recognized by all weapons experts. For example, Victor Weisskopf of MIT, one of the scientists who met with Reagan just before his Star Wars speech, called the U.S. commander in chief’s plans “extremely dangerous and destabilizing” (*New York Times*, 25 March).

Reagan has rekindled an aspect of the arms race which has lain relatively dormant for 11 years—since 1972, when the U.S. and the USSR signed the ABM treaty. Ballyhooed as a victory for “peace,” the treaty merely was a tacit recognition of technical reality—that a truly effective ABM system was impossible. Pentagon experts lamented at a 1981 Senate Armed Services subcommittee hearing that a “damage denial” ABM system would cost an incredible \$500 billion and even then would suffer “leakage”—i.e., enough “enemy” missiles would get through to cause “unacceptable” damage. And it would be easy to foil such a system—such as by overwhelming it with decoy missiles or, in the case of a laser system, wrapping your offensive missiles with a shiny coating to reflect the laser beams. Even more ominous, a space-based system designed to destroy the “enemy” missiles when they were launched would have to destroy *thousands* of missiles within a few hundred *seconds* after detecting an attack, and so would have to be virtually automatic and computer-controlled.

The 1972 ABM treaty was the product of the momentary weakness of American imperialism, which at the time was spending millions of dollars *per day* for carpet-bombing the Vietnamese, and so wanted to limit the nuclear weapons race. This was a major aspect of the short-lived “détente” with the Soviet Union. But now the American imperialists are trying to shake the “Vietnam syndrome” in favor of a renewed arms race aimed at the Soviet Union. Even if a space-based ABM system doesn’t work, Reagan gloats at the prospect of bankrupting the Soviet economy with a spiraling military budget.

Reagan Newspeak: “War Is Peace”

While mobilizing the greatest arms buildup in human history, Reagan is using “peace” rhetoric to cover for his war plans. His PR men have noted the significant public opinion in favor of a nuclear “freeze.” Why, his ABM plan is

not for war but “to give us the means of rendering these nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete,” cooed Reagan. The “peace through strength offensive” was also taken to Europe, in an attempt to undermine the protests against the scheduled deployment of 572 NATO missiles beginning this year, including 108 Pershing 2s in West Germany—a scant six minutes from the Soviet Union. Reagan’s original “zero-option” proposal was a pure propaganda ploy: the USSR is supposed to *dismantle and destroy* all 600 of their present intermediate-range missiles in exchange for the U.S. *not deploying* the 572 Pershing 2s and cruise missiles in Europe. Soviet leaders naturally and rightly rejected this demand for massive unilateral disarmament out of hand.

Now Reagan steps forward with another propaganda ploy, the so-called “interim solution,” suggesting that he would compromise at an “equal” number of missile launchers and warheads for the U.S. and the USSR in Europe. The Soviets, of course, noted the cynicism of this “equality,” which would prevent them from answering the threats from France, Britain, China and U.S. sea-based forces. Even the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow, who long ago gave up world revolution for the will-o’-the-wisp of détente with imperialism, seem to be finding Reagan’s plans for nuclear war too much to take. In an unusual press conference in Moscow broadcast live on Soviet TV on April 2, Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko answered the hypocrisy of Reagan’s “interim solution.” Noting that “it is common knowledge that a circle of American military bases surrounds the Soviet Union,” that “Japan and the waters around it are stuffed with nuclear weapons and carriers for them,” he asked, “Does the Soviet Union not, may one ask, have the right, for the purposes of defense, to have something to match those weapons? It does have this right.” And in a cutting response to Reagan’s “evil empire” remark, he shot back, “If it were possible to start compiling charts of the amount of evil in the two systems I want to assure you that the height of the curve for the United States would be hundreds of times higher than ours” (*New York Times*, 3 April 1983).

The “Freeze” Fraud

The Stalinists and other reformists base their hopes on the so-called “freeze” movement, a loose protest movement whose focus is a Congressional resolution which calls for “a mutual and verifiable freeze on the testing, production, and further deployment of nuclear warheads, missiles and other delivery systems.” While it has postured as “non-political,” it is overwhelmingly led by Democratic politicians. Anybody who thinks the Democratic Party is the party of “peace” should be reminded that it was the Truman administration which in 1945 dropped two atomic bombs on Japan, which had already been defeated, in order to intimidate the Russians. And it was the Kennedy administration which brought the world to the brink of nuclear war in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. Indeed, the Democratic Party has historically been the American imperialists’ war party in the 20th century precisely *because* it has a more popular image and so is more capable of mobilizing for war.

To the extent that the freeze resolution represents a real policy difference with the Republicans, it is a call for a more “rational” weapons mix of nuclear and conventional arms to make war against the Soviet Union. Some of the \$90 billion savings from the freeze over the next five years “could be spent... to improve the readiness and reliability of our conventional forces,” candidly wrote Democrat Kennedy and Republican Hatfield in their book *Freeze!* But leave it to the “left” donkeys for the Democrats to paint even this cynical gimmick as some kind of “people’s”

movement for “peace.” “Peace Power Shakes House,” trumpeted the Communist Party’s *Daily World* (17 March) about the drive to pass the “freeze” resolution in Congress. “Freeze movement is snowballing” boasted the social-democratic *In These Times* (23-29 March) and, just to prove how popular it’s become, they brag shamelessly that former CIA director William Colby has become “a convert to the movement,” along with “disillusioned military scientists and even former Pentagon officials.”

American imperialism led by both major parties is rushing headlong toward World War III—unless the proletariat stops it. Reagan’s maniacal belief in finding the “super-weapon” to save a dying system is reminiscent of Hitler’s *Götterdämmerung* and reflects at bottom the frenzy of a dying class. More than ever, the American working class needs a workers party to fight for a workers government, to put an end to the capitalist system of war and exploitation. And a workers political revolution is needed to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, whose dangerous détente illusions threaten the defense of the gains of the October Revolution! Defeat Reagan’s anti-Soviet war drive through international proletarian revolution, the only road to world peace! ■

Phillips ...

(continued from page 3)

leftist insurgents in El Salvador, for unconditional defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union, for a one-day West Coast port shutdown against Reagan’s Central American war drive. The main enemy is at home, she told the KDIA audience. “For there to be real justice, real equality, real jobs, it’s going to take a socialist revolution.”

Phillips is running as a class-struggle fighter for black rights on the Trotskyist program of black liberation through socialist revolution. On March 28 the Spartacist candidate sent a telegram to the Orange County district attorney denouncing the grotesque police murder of a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, in his home near Los Angeles, and the racist victimization of Patrick’s mother Patricia Ridge by a grand jury investigation. Phillips demanded that the killer cop be jailed and all charges against the victimized mother be dropped.

As Phillips concluded in her election brochure:

“There isn’t much time. Reagan is ready and able to blow up the world. What is needed is a multi-racial revolutionary party whose aim is a workers government that will rip the productive wealth of this country, including all the idle factories, out of the hands of the capitalist class and establish a planned socialist economy. This is key to the liberation of minorities, women and all the oppressed. The struggle must begin now to forge such a party. Stopping the Klan, fighting for jobs, the fight against racial and sexual discrimination—victories in these struggles will not be won at the ballot box. Martha Phillips’ campaign aims to mobilize the exploited and oppressed against their class enemy. A central part of this campaign is building a new and very needed Labor/Black League For Social Defense. Join Us!” ■

FBI...

(continued from page 5)

has been expressed lately in the vocabulary of faith-healing. Like Hitler during the interwar period, Reagan & Co. are trying to revive new “national pride” based on militarist Cold War reaction.

It is in this context that the Reaganites want to create a climate of opinion more favorable to the secret police. This was stated quite clearly by Senator John East of North Carolina, on the Denton Subcommittee, to Webster. East associated the 1976 Guidelines with “a tendency in the Congress and among

a number of people... to belittle and to berate the FBI and CIA... weakening their morale... weakening their capacity to perform effectively.” East explains that it is the job of the committee “to see that you have the tools that you need. To do everything we can to help boost the morale of your organization....”

These are not the words of a mere FBI “booster.” This man is preparing the tools to whip up a good ole witchhunt to help the war drive. In 1977 we wrote in “FBI Targets the Spartacist League”:

“The current climate of bourgeois opinion militates for the present against the application of the kind of ‘Catch 22’ for which the FBI lusts: legislating the ‘criminality’ of the communist program in order to force the left into the defensive semi-clandestine status which would then serve as a definitive self-justification for the illegal conspiracies and murderous machinations of the secret police.”

It is the political residue of that climate, conditioned by the Vietnam War defeat, which Denton and East hope to witch-hunt out of existence.

This particular strategy for domestic witchhunting for Cold War II has been a while in the making. The wide-ranging McCarthyite witchhunt of the 1950s was not a carbon copy of the Palmer raid “red scare” and deportations of the 1920s against “foreign Bolsheviks.” And now the witchhunt of the 1980s has followed its own twisted logic. It has its deadly machinery in place—retooled, streamlined and ready to roll out destruction to the left, black and labor movement.

Witchhunting is part of an overall political policy. Often for the imperialists it is the natural political reflex to war preparations. In this case it is the anti-Soviet war drive pushed by all wings of the U.S. capitalist class—starting with the Carter administration and made more acute and ideological by Reagan.

Congress has taken steps toward an “official secrets act” in an attempt to stop up “leaks” while the CIA escalates covert operations from Nicaragua to Poland. Polygraph loyalty tests for federal employees, visas denied, FOIA information squeezed off, convicted FBI criminals pardoned, a variety of “Un-American” committees in the Congressional wings, and the extended conspiracy net called RICO. All of this in Reagan’s America with racist terror on the rise from the KKK/Nazis to the trigger-happy cops.

It is in this context that the 1983 Reagan FBI Guidelines represent the culmination of a Cold War witchhunting process. Defining the left organizations as violent and conspiratorial “criminal enterprises” and their members as “terrorists” sets up all of us for legal murder. It gives the police a license to treat leftists as if they were mad dogs to be shot down with impunity. It is McCarthyism with a drawn gun.

For all the government’s talk about “terrorism,” it is precisely the element of state terror which they have made central to the new style of witchhunting. For those who think that a U.S. witchhunt must follow the pattern of the “Hollywood 10,” recall the case of Fulani Sunni Ali (Cynthia Boston). Not long after the Brinks robbery, she was at her home in rural Mississippi while her children played with neighbors’ kids outside. Sunni Ali, a black nationalist member of the Republic of New Africa, was the first victim of the Brinks job RICO dragnet. They blitzkrieged her shack with three tanks, four SWAT teams, helicopters, 150 cops and troops. They seized Sunni Ali and held her incommunicado. They even grabbed the terrorized kids. “When you exercise military force or armed force,” explained FBI director Webster to the Denton Subcommittee, speaking of the Mississippi operation, “in a potentially violent situation, be sure that you are in a position to succeed....”

When you’re looking up the road and the tanks are coming down, it may be too late. That’s why the new red hunt must be fought now. ■

Down with Racist Gun Control!

Recall Labor-Hater Feinstein in S.F.!

SAN FRANCISCO—"I shed a few tears," San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein told reporters in January, when recall petitions with 35,000 signatures, nearly twice the required number, were filed at City Hall. And well she might have. For the recall election, scheduled for April 26, gives S.F. workers, minorities, gays and leftists a chance to dump the haughty Feinstein, with reason aplenty.

Turning out Feinstein would be richly satisfying to the oppressed of San Francisco, who have suffered her arrogant labor-baiting, pro-cop grandstanding, benign-neglect racism and anti-gay bigotry. From her posh Pacific Heights mansion, Feinstein has lorded it over S.F.'s workers and poor since 1978, when she slipped into the mayor's office over the corpse of then-mayor George Moscone, gunned down along with gay Supervisor Harvey Milk by ex-cop Supervisor Dan White.

San Francisco is a financial, legal and marketing center and has not been as hard-hit by the capitalist recession as the industrial Midwest and Northeast; the city even shows a budget surplus. But this has not prevented Feinstein from turning the screws on the unions, unemployed, the homeless and aged, like her brethren big city Democratic mayors who were wielding the austerity ax even before Reagan was elected.

Doubly grating is the style in which Feinstein wines and dines the city elite, delights in hobnobbing with visiting dictators and dignitaries (most recently the British monarch), while turning a deaf ear to the city's dispossessed. A blend of Jane Byrne, Marie Antoinette and Nancy Reagan, with her guileless currying of the rich and famous, Feinstein has richly earned such nicknames as Attila the Hen, Queen Bee and Lady Di.

The San Francisco recall law is extremely limited, even by normal bourgeois-democratic standards. If Feinstein loses the vote, Board of Supervisors president Wendy Nelder (the not-too-bright live-at-home daughter of an ex-S.F. police chief) assumes the post until the Board appoints a new mayor. No new election is mandated and S.F. voters would be saddled with the hand-picked choice of the Board of Supes, most likely another mainline Democrat like Feinstein.

But Feinstein would be barred from

office for two years, a respite much to be enjoyed. A "yes" vote on the recall is a repudiation not only of Feinstein but of the class-collaborationist city labor tops who have rushed to embrace the labor-hating Feinstein. Vote yes! Recall Feinstein!

Gun Ban Backlash

The recall effort was sparked by Feinstein's attempt to ban handguns in S.F. last year. Modeled on the infamous Morton Grove, Illinois ordinance, Feinstein's gun ban was passed by the Board of Supervisors and signed into law last June. It required all owners of handguns to turn them in to their local police precinct or face confiscation and prosecution.

Shortly after the gun ban passed, the White Panthers, a small communal group left over from 1960s Haight-Ashbury hippiedom, began circulating recall petitions against all the Supervisors who had supported it, then decided to focus in on Feinstein. Basing themselves on an eclectic "Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, Castroism," flavored by a strong devotion to the Bill of Rights' Second ("right to bear arms") Amendment, the White Panthers clearly tapped into a pool of discontent far beyond their small numbers, estimated at less than two dozen.

The attempted gun ban generated an enormous controversy. There is widespread opposition to attempts to disarm the populace. In Reagan's America, with Klan/Nazi terrorism on the rise blacks feel the threat with especial intensity. Campaigning with Richard Bradley last November for S.F. Board of Supervisors, Spartacist candidate Diana Coleman won vigorous applause when she spoke out at a special public hearing on the gun bill: "If guns are banned, only the cops and Klan will have guns...gun control will leave blacks and other minority people defenseless in the face of racist terror."

Despite various Feinstein stunts to boost the gun ban (a highly publicized ceremony where she handed over her own .38 police special and a presentation to the pope of a cross made of 15 melted-down guns, including her own), only a few dozen guns were handed over. A nervous city attorney ruled against enforcement of the ban until court suits against it were resolved. Meanwhile, the California electorate



Ressmeyer

S.F. mayor Dianne Feinstein sports police jumpsuit while trying to disarm citizenry.

buried by a two-to-one margin a November ballot proposition which would have frozen the number of pistols in the state, a repudiation of gun control that went largely unreported in the nation's media. The state Court of Appeals subsequently ruled Feinstein's gun ban illegal and inconsistent with state jurisdiction over gun ownership, a decision upheld by the California Supreme Court.

What was especially rankling about Feinstein's attempt to confiscate everybody's guns was her long and well-known record as a fervent fan of the police, whose day-to-day job is to inflict violence on the poor and working people. The mayor has opposed even the sop of a civilian review board to investigate repeated charges of police brutality and harassment, particularly against Chicanos, blacks and gays. With a penchant for giving the keys to the city to right-wing dictators, she has sent her TAC Squad heavies against protesters while the Philippines' Ferdinand Marcos, Pakistan's Islamic fanatic Zia and Salvadoran junta president Napoleón Duarte enjoyed the city's hospitality.

Of course, Feinstein would continue to enjoy ample armed protection while everyone else went defenseless. One of her pet projects is to cruise the streets in her city-provided limo, surrounded by armed bodyguards, radioing in police cruisers when she "suspects" trouble. Just last month, Feinstein outraged black residents when she called in several carloads of police after she "thought" she had seen a man with a gun through the window of a parked van. Shotgun-brandishing cops spilled into the streets, roughing up several blacks—and no gun was found.

In her anti-recall campaign, Feinstein has attempted to bury the failed gun ban and focus on a red-baiting attack on the White Panthers as a radical "fringe group" abusing the recall process. But the thousands of signatures on the recall petitions show the breadth of discontent surpassing the White Panthers or even

the gun ban issue. Jobless minorities living in dilapidated housing have watched the mayor cut city funds for jobs and training while hoarding the budget surplus to entice the Democrats to hold their '84 national convention here with promises of massive police protection and plenty of red carpet treatment. Gays have been outraged by Feinstein's broken promises of more protection from police harassment and, most recently, her veto of "live-in lover" legislation that would have granted legal status and opened the door to minimal health benefits for non-married companions of city employees.

But centrally, it is the city's workers and unionists who have every reason to hate Feinstein. Her anti-labor record goes back to when she was on the Board of Supervisors and in the forefront of the labor-baiters during the 1976 city workers strike. Her administration has pursued a vendetta against the small Plumbers local union stemming from that strike, seeking a \$4 million damage award because the Plumbers alone refuse to waive the right to respect picket lines. In 1980, Feinstein's cops repeatedly waded into the picket lines of striking hotel workers for violation of "excessive noise" laws. Last fall, Feinstein sparked repeated demonstrations of shipyard workers when City Hall engineered the sale of Bethlehem Shipyards' city-owned land to Todd Shipyards at the cost of hundreds of union jobs.

Having been repeatedly kicked in the teeth, the city's labor leaders have shamelessly thrown themselves into Feinstein's anti-recall campaign in a groveling attempt to regain some influence at City Hall. The Central Labor Council and the influential International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union have provided full-time organizers and hundreds of canvassers to hit the streets hacking the mayor.

The recall's perceived threat to bourgeois "stability" has united virtually the entire spectrum of the city's political establishment. The unholy alliance embracing Feinstein ranges from the labor bureaucrats to "democratic socialist" Supervisor Harry Britt. The Republican County Central Committee joined its Democratic counterpart in backing Feinstein, reportedly after promises of patronage appointments in the future. The Black Leadership Forum and most of the city's black ministers are boosting Feinstein, including the rad-lib Rev. Cecil Williams, a favored speaker at reformist El Salvador protests. Virtually all the big business-controlled newspapers, TV and radio stations have come out for Feinstein. Unfettered by normal financial restrictions on campaign contributions, S.F.'s big corporations have poured thousands of dollars into Feinstein's nearly \$350,000 war chest, with Feinstein's investment banker husband Richard Blum acting as bagman. Standard Oil, Bechtel, Pacific Telephone, BankAmerica Corp. and Southern Pacific among others have each contributed \$10,000.

The bourgeoisie and its bootlicking labor lieutenants are sticking with Feinstein. The Communist Party's *People's World* has maintained silence on the question, characteristically unwilling to part company with the Democrats and labor misleaders. For our part, we urge a large and defiant turnout on April 26: Dump Feinstein! Vote "yes" on the recall! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

SL Protests CIA/Somozaist Invasion of Nicaragua

Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs!

"Defend Nicaragua! Complete the Revolution! Kill the Invaders!" read the banner the Spartacist League (SL) unfurled outside the Honduran Mission to the United Nations in New York City. Some 90 Spartacist-organized protesters chanted, "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua Needs MIGs." The SL mobilized the largest, most combative contingent on March 25 to protest the CIA-directed, U.S.-financed invasion of Nicaragua by counterrevolutionary mercenaries bent on overthrowing the Sandinista government. Meanwhile, the reformists, nationalists and liberals of the anti-Reagan popular front split the demonstration in half rather than demonstrate with the Trotskyists, and held their own desultory picket around the corner.

As members of the Honduran mission peered out the windows they saw some 200 demonstrators ringing the building. Casa Nicaragua and the Coalition for a Free Central America who called the emergency protest mobilized a grand total of 100. Their organizers refused to march with the Spartacists because we called for defense of Cuba and the USSR against U.S. imperialism and for the Russians and Cubans to send all necessary military aid to Nicaragua to beat back the *contras*. Quite a few Latin American militants were disturbed by the sectarian splitting move, lingering between the two picket lines engaged in intense political discussion with Spartacist supporters. While the dispirited "Coalition" droned on with their liberal slogans, many picked up our chants, including "¡Muerte a los somocistas, Obreros al poder!" (Death to the Somozaists, Workers to Power!).

The official organizers of the protest also went out of their way to avoid directing their fire against the U.S., choosing to focus on Honduran backing of the Somozaist invaders. As an SL spokesman said at the rally:

"Why are we here at the Honduran mission? We should be at the U.S. mission to the United Nations, the home of Jeane Kirkpatrick, America's Madame Chiang Kai-shek. The Reagan administration is what's behind this



New York City, March 25: Spartacist-organized protesters chant "Defend Nicaragua! Complete the revolution! Kill the invaders!"

invasion and it's necessary to strike at its source. We say that Jeane Kirkpatrick ought to be extradited to a liberated area of El Salvador. Kill the invaders!"

The U.S.-orchestrated onslaught against Nicaragua is aimed at destroying revolutionary struggles throughout the region. The Sandinistas have constantly sought to appease Yankee imperialism, refusing to aid Salvadoran leftist rebels against the U.S.-hacked

butchers. Even now as the CIA/*contras* attack towns along the Honduran border and deep inside Nicaragua, and the U.S. Second Fleet conducts menacing "exercises" only miles off the shores of Cuba, the Sandinistas deliberately downplay the counterrevolutionary threat. "Coalition" representatives even objected to our references to "invaders," saying it was only a matter of "intervention." In contrast, the SL vigorously

chanted, "Drive the *contras* into the sea! Kill the invaders!" and "Roach motels for the CIA—They check in and there they stay!" But it's not just a question of a mop-up operation against a few thousand die-hard Somoza-loving killers.

This is a moment of decision for Nicaragua. "*El pueblo unido jamás será vencido*" (The people united will never be defeated) was a constant refrain from the picket organized by Casa Nicaragua. The supporters of the petty-bourgeois nationalist FSLN want to maintain the "unity of the people" at all costs. The Trotskyists say that's impossible, that the "unity" of the working masses with their exploiters will only pave the way for a reactionary bloodbath as in Chile. Today in Central America it's either social revolution or bloody counterrevolution. As the SL spokesman told the demonstrators:

"It's necessary not just to defend the Nicaraguan revolution. It is necessary to extend it and complete it. Inside Nicaragua there is a capitalist fifth column. They just expropriated Coca Cola. [They] aren't the only pro-imperialist forces there. The capitalist class there is aiding the counterrevolution. It's necessary to expropriate the bourgeoisie and wage a Central American-wide war."

SL signs proclaimed: "For Central American Workers Revolution!" and "For a Trotskyist Party," while demonstrators chanted, "*Contras no, obreros si, overthrow the bourgeoisie!*"

The strategy of the reformists and nationalists is to pressure the imperialists with appeals to the United Nations and the Democrats in Congress. Casa Nicaragua's press release says, "During the critical moments CASA NICARAGUA asks the support of the American People to denounce this aggression by writing to your Congress Person or the President of the United States." In contrast, the SL protesters carried signs demanding, "No U.S. Aid to Central America! For a One-Day Port Shutdown!" Militants in the San Francisco Bay Area longshore union have initiated a call for a 24-hour shutdown of all West Coast ports to oppose Reagan's war drive. That's what's needed—militant working-class action not impotent appeals to the imperialist war makers.

The reformist left in the United States, taking their cue from the Sandinistas and the leaders of the Salvadoran opposition popular front, call for a negotiated "political solution" that would sell out liberation struggles in Central America. The Spartacist League, which has consistently fought for military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador and workers revolution, chanted "No sellout political deals, win it on the battlefield!" While the American bourgeoisie, from Reagan to the liberal Democrats, worries about dominoes toppling from Panama to the U.S.' southern border, SL signs at the demonstration proclaimed holdly, "Extend the Revolution to the Rio Grande! Mexican Workers Arise!" As a speaker at the Spartacist protest told the crowd in Spanish, "We must put all of Central America in flames! Defend, complete, extend the revolution!" ■

Labor Action Against U.S. Aid to Central American Butchers!

S.F. Longshore Local For One-Day Port Shutdown

The following resolution was passed on March 21 by the executive board of Local 10, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) to be forwarded to the upcoming ILWU convention as the position of the Local. The call for a 24-hour West Coast port shutdown is urgently necessary in the face of Reagan's war escalation against Salvadoran rebels and Sandinista Nicaragua. We hope that union militants will press forward their efforts to turn this call into effective action, which could electrify the labor movement, striking a dramatic blow of solidarity with the embattled workers and peasants of Central America.

WHEREAS:

The November 1980 International Executive Board has stated "The ILWU strongly protests any further U.S. military, political or economic assistance to the military government of El Salvador which has imposed a virtual reign of terror over its people" and all ILWU locals have been authorized to "refuse to handle any and all military cargo or so-called 'riot control' equipment being shipped to El Salvador", and

WHEREAS:

In response to the dramatic battlefield victories by the Salvadoran rebel forces the Reagan administration is demanding an immediate

massive escalation of U.S. military and economic aid to the bloody junta, including sharply increasing the number of U.S. military advisers, and

WHEREAS:

Our brothers and sisters in El Salvador urgently need immediate help from the American labor movement in the form of specific acts of labor solidarity, therefore

RESOLVED:

The ILWU will organize a 24-hour shutdown of every major West Coast port to demand an end to all U.S. military, political and economic assistance to El Salvador.