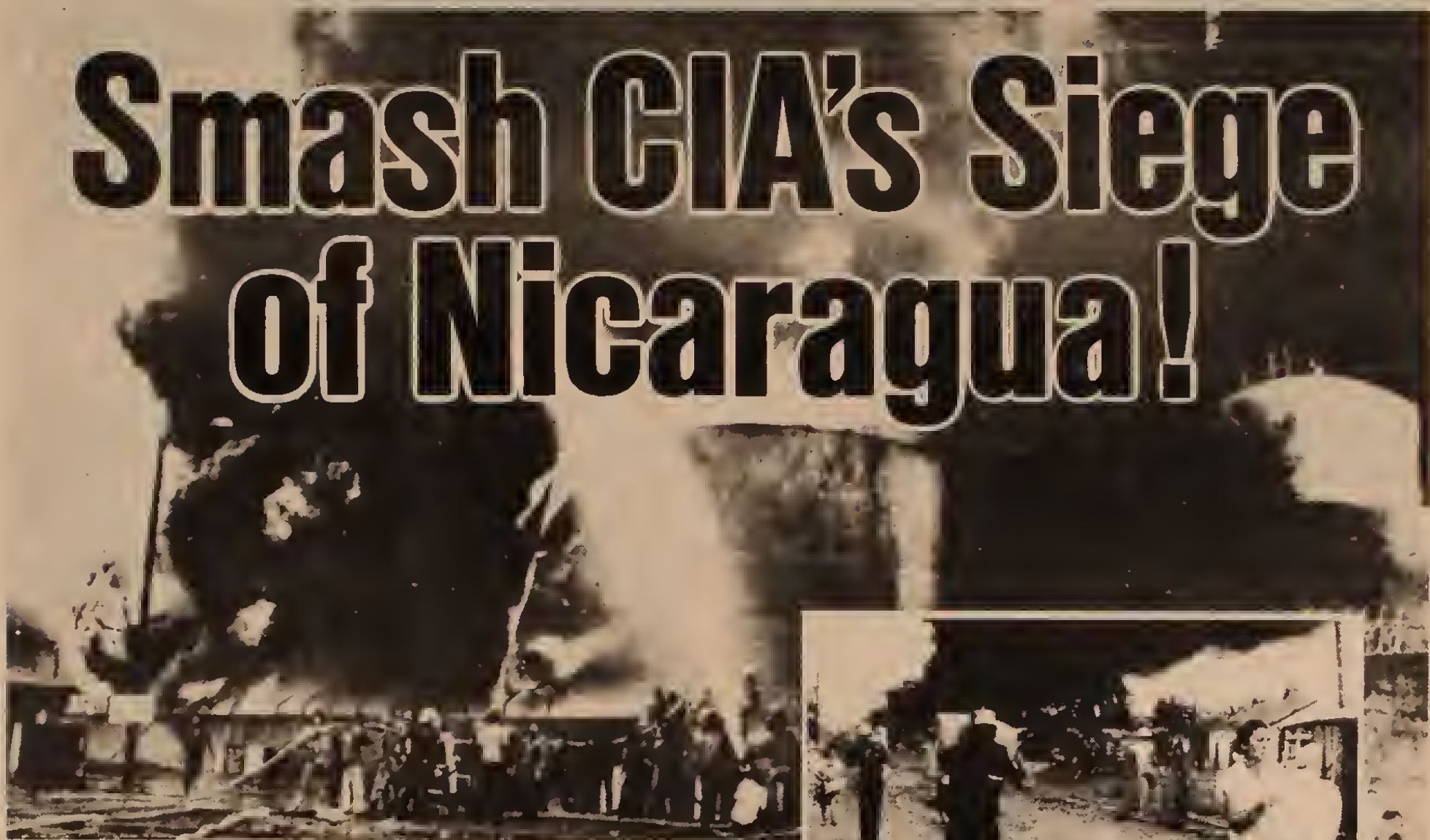


Sandinistas Need Arms...Now!

Smash CIA's Siege of Nicaragua!



OCTOBER 18—With last week's CIA sneak attacks on key oil facilities in the ports of Corinto and Puerto Sandino, U.S. imperialism's war against the Nicaraguan revolution has reached an ominous turning point. For a small country where 75 percent of oil imports flows through one pipeline and more than half of all foreign trade passes over a single bridge, the effect of these attacks on the economy is devastating. Nicaragua has reportedly now been reduced to barely one month's oil reserves. And while smoke billows from the oil tanks, the Nicaraguans are supposed to politely "negotiate" with war criminal Henry Kissinger! It was the U.S. "two-track"

policy summed up: bombs and bullshit. On Saturday, October 15, thousands of angry Nicaraguans demonstrated against this imperialist blackmail, marching behind a giant banner proclaiming (in English), "Reagan Son of a Bitch!"

The Nicaraguan masses have fought too long and suffered too much to lie down and die. For almost half a century the Somoza dynasty, installed by the U.S. Marines in 1934, sucked the blood of Nicaragua's workers and peasants. Fifty thousand people, overwhelmingly youth, were killed in the civil war which finally ended that long night of terror. When the radical nationalist Sandinista



CIA/contra sneak attack on oil depots at port of Corinto forces 25,000 people to flee.

National Liberation Front (FSLN) marched into Managua in August 1979 and West Point graduate "Tacho" Somoza fled for his life. U.S. imperialism experienced a defeat in what Ronald Reagan calls its "front yard" which gave the Americans visions of "another Cuba."

Determined to reverse their ignominious rout, U.S.-armed and directed *contras* (counterrevolutionaries), mostly drawn from the sadistic gangsters of Somoza's National Guard, have waged a campaign of terrorism. But as the *contras* were routed by the Sandinista

continued on page 14

Fight New Witchhunt Guidelines!

Spartacist League Sues FBI

The anti-Soviet war drive is finding its inevitable natural reflex in secret police terror. The FBI's new Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines announced by Reagan's attorney general William French Smith in March target the political opponents of the government.

These guidelines direct the FBI to wipe out any legal distinction between the government's political opponents and "organized crime." Painting the political opponents of the government

as not simply "subversives" but "terrorists," the new guidelines are a set-up for the legal murder and wholesale destruction of the left.

This dangerous development must be fought with all the political, moral and legal resources that can be mustered. That is why the Spartacist League has initiated a suit against the FBI and Attorney General—against the guidelines and their application to the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League in flagrant violation of

our basic democratic rights. Excerpts from the complaint filed by the SL/SYL are reprinted on page 4.

As Marxists, we are hardly shocked that the American state, in its campaign of repression against the left, practices a covert form of General Pinochet's rule. More precisely, when it's having trouble it engages in "excesses" which it then deplores when they have served their purpose, from the mass deportations of leftists in the Palmer Raids to the systematic con-

spiracy to frame up, jail and if necessary murder the Black Panthers. But this government claims that it is democratic, that its people are permitted such social and religious views as they see fit. We Marxists claim and fight for the rights which issued from the American political revolution and are encoded in laws.

Section III of the new guidelines—headed "Criminal Intelligence Investigations"—places the left within

continued on page 4

They're Trying to Kill the Rosenbergs All Over Again...8

Drop the Charges Against Compton NAARPR Leader!

Mattie Billinger: Victim of Racist Vendetta

LOS ANGELES, October 17—An outrageous racist frame-up is being perpetrated here against long-time community activist and National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) member Dr. Mattie Billinger. Last Thursday Compton cops barged into her sister's home, dragged Billinger out, arrested her on trumped-up charges and slammed her in jail when she could not raise the astronomical \$150,000 bail. Dr. Billinger, a child psychologist and local real estate appraiser, has been active in health and education affairs here for two decades. She is a former candidate for mayor of Compton, has served as vice chairman of the King-Drew Sickle Cell Center, on the advisory board of Martin Luther King Hospital, and as housing chairman of the NAACP.

This latest attack against Mattie Billinger is part of the L.A. County Sheriff's Department disruption of the activities of the newly created Compton branch of the NAARPR—which was campaigning against police brutality. In the early morning of June 9, Dr. Billinger was leaving her office when sheriff's deputies, outside their jurisdiction, stopped her car. They asked her if she had a gun. "Yes, it's on the seat," she told them. The gun belonged to the security officer who guards her office. Dr. Billinger was then charged with carrying a *concealed* weapon—a misdemeanor—handcuffed and spent 13 hours in jail. "This was clearly racist and political," Billinger said. "The police regularly advise white businesswomen in Compton to carry weapons" (*People's World*, 17 September).

When she was arrested, Dr. Billinger told the deputies she had business materials and several thousand dollars worth of cashier's checks and money orders in the car, but was not allowed to take them with her. The janitor in her office, whom she had been driving home, was also refused permission to remove the securities from her car,

driven home by the deputies and subsequently arrested when he tried to return to the abandoned car. When Dr. Billinger finally got back to her car the following morning, it had been broken into and the securities, worth some \$30,000, were gone.

Then on June 28, county sheriff's deputies again stopped Dr. Billinger. This time they held a shotgun to her head and searched her. With several witnesses on the scene, the deputies, again out of their jurisdiction, left. After this incident Dr. Billinger's attorney, Lawrence Teeter, filed a damages claim against the sheriff's department, protesting this blatant case of political harassment and frame-up. As Teeter told *WV*, the department maintains an intelligence division which is the county's counterpart to the infamous LAPD "Red Squad." In order to uncover any police surveillance, a discovery hearing was set for October 14, at which all intelligence files on Billinger and the NAARPR were to be made available.

But on October 13, the day before the discovery hearing, Dr. Billinger was arrested in her sister's home, interrogated and jailed. Only later was her attorney informed she had been arrested on the outlandish charge that she embezzled her own business of approximately \$160,000! During the interrogation, one of the cops waved in her face a National Alliance leaflet defending her and said, "I never thought you'd blast the Compton police like this." The dirty work of hatching the felony charges against Billinger was done by the Compton Police Department in an obvious attempt to take some of the heat off the sheriff's department. But on Monday, after she'd been locked up in jail for the weekend, the judge released her on her own recognizance. This is "justice" Los Angeles-style. In El Salvador, when the human rights commission started an investigation, they simply killed the human rights commissioner. In L.A. if somebody complains



No Bounty for Racist Baby-Killer Cop!

"Life Behind Bars for Killer Cop Sperl!" demanded demonstrators in Oakland and Los Angeles October 6. Above, 90-plus demonstrators outside California State Building in Oakland, protesting obscene "compensation" award to Orange County cop for "psychological damage" he allegedly suffered when he murdered five-year-old black child Patrick Mason in his bedroom last March 3.

about cop brutality, the obvious thing to do is lock her up!

With Billinger in jail, attorney Teeter got a month's continuance on the discovery hearing in the misdemeanor case. Deacon Alexander, L.A. county co-chairman of the Communist Party-supported NAARPR, told *WV* that busting Dr. Billinger was an attempt to make her appear as a criminal when she came before the court on Friday. He said Compton was the National Alliance's nationwide choice to campaign for "community control of the police," and that the NAARPR is presently drafting a ballot initiative on this question. An Alliance leaflet defending Dr. Billinger states she was arrested because "our community does not have

any control of the police" and "we are all victims by the police instead of protected by them."

But the job of the police is to enforce the "law and order" of capitalism, not to "protect" the general population. These armed bodies of men will not be "controlled" by the exploited and oppressed until the government of, by, and for the bosses is swept away and replaced by a workers government. These are basic Marxist truths which are demonstrated in every strike and the experience of daily life in the ghetto. But the CP/NAARPR prefers spreading dangerous illusions, just as in their call on the capitalist state to "ban the Klan." Such "anti-extremist" laws will inevitably be used against leftists, as the Smith Act was against the Trotskyists in World War II (while the CP cheered) and then against the Communist Party itself. The way to deal with the fascists was shown in Washington, D.C. last November 27, when 5,000 came out to the call of the Spartacist League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK from marching in the nation's capital.

On October 6, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League demonstrated in L.A. to raise a cry of outrage against the bounty payment to racist Stanton cop Sperl for his hideous murder of a little five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, demanding "life behind bars" for the killer cop. As militant unionist Manuel Delgadillo told the protesters:

"We all know that racist terror must be stopped. But we better know how to do it. Civilian review boards, [Los Angeles black Democratic mayor] Tom Bradley or a Democrat in the White House won't change the racist hellholes we have endured in the ghettos and barrios here and throughout the U.S. What is needed to put a stop to the payment of a reward to this racist baby-killer is...to mobilize the enormous power of the labor movement with its black and Latin memberships."

The outrageous racist cop harassment against Mattie Billinger must be stopped! Drop all charges against Dr. Billinger! The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a donation and urges readers of *WV* to do likewise. Contributions may be sent to NAARPR, P.O. Box 104776, 3870 South Crenshaw, Los Angeles, California 90008. ■

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Delroit	300	338	113
Los Angeles	280	288	103
New York	900	975	108
San Francisco	350	383	109
Washington, D.C.	120	124	103
At Large	-	150	-
National Total	3,340	3,791	114

For Polish Trotskyism to Defeat Solidarność Reaction

Why KOR Counterrevolutionaries Should Now Be Released

When Solidarność chief Lech Walesa was awarded the Nobel "Peace" Prize early this month, the anti-Soviet propaganda mills were churning away. It was a triumph of the "free trade union movement" in Poland, proclaimed Ronald Reagan, who demonstrated his concern for "free" labor by busting the PATCO air controllers union. It was certainly appropriate that the head of this yellow "union" for the Vatican and Wall Street bankers should receive a "peace" prize inaugurated by the Swedish inventor of dynamite. Previous Nobel recipients include Mr. Big Stick, Teddy Roosevelt, imperialist war criminal Henry Kissinger and Zionist terrorist Menachem Begin. Walesa's Solidarność—which has called for subjecting the Polish economy to the starvation dictates of the IMF bankers' cartel—is to trade unionism as these warmongers are to peace.

Solidarność Counterrevolution Spiked

In the fall of 1981 Poland stood on the brink of civil war. Three and a half decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule—highlighted by catastrophic economic mismanagement and conciliation of reactionary forces centered upon the Catholic church—had produced a mass anti-Soviet, clerical-nationalist move-

was the Stalinists who had driven decisive sections of the historically socialist Polish working class into the arms of the Vatican, the International Monetary Fund and the Reagan White House. Indefinite prolongation of martial law, with its accompanying danger of military bonapartism, could only postpone the day of reckoning while giving the imprisoned Solidarność leaders the aura of martyrdom. Thus right after General Jaruzelski's countercoup, we stated: "As the immediate counterrevolutionary threat passes, these martial law measures must be ended, including release of the Solidarność leaders. A Trotskyist vanguard seeks to defeat them politically, by mobilizing the Polish working class in its true class interests" ("Power Bid Spiked," *WV* No. 295, 18 December 1981).

Martial law was formally suspended this past July. But while the imperialists seek to revive flagging spirits with their Nobel for Walesa, the Jaruzelski regime recently indicted four prominent Solidarność advisers for activities against the fundamental institutions of the system, charges which bring five to ten years imprisonment. The four singled out for prosecution—Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Zbigniew Romaszewski and Henryk Wujec—are all former members of the Workers De-

invited Pope John Paul Wojtyla to tour his homeland, inciting an orgy of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet nationalism.

We are for releasing the KOR leaders, fully aware (as we warned repeatedly) that their aim was a counterrevolutionary seizure of power. In the fall of 1981 Kuron called for a "council of national salvation" to split away a wing of the corrupt and demoralized Stalinist bureaucracy, subordinating it to the church hierarchy and clerical-nationalist Solidarność. He added: "The moment the council is formed, it would suspend operation of all authorities, including the government" (UPI dispatch, 16 September 1981). After these plans were frustrated, the KOR leader (who had previously been regarded as a "moderate") threw caution to the winds. According to the well-informed *Der Spiegel* (10 May 1982), Kuron smuggled a secret message out of prison proclaiming:

"In my many years of oppositional activity I have always advocated the principle that one must avoid any resort to force. Therefore I feel obliged to speak out in order to declare that today I regard preparing the overthrow of the occupation [regime] through a general uprising as the least evil alternative."

But Kuron's criminal call for an uprising went unheeded, sparing the Polish masses a bloodbath with horrendous consequences.

As spelled out in response to a letter last year (see "How to Fight Polish Anti-Communists," *WV* No. 306, 28 May 1982), under conditions of civil peace Trotskyists uphold the norm of freedom of expression in the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc, even for capitalist-restorationist tendencies. We do not support imprisoning people because of their *ideas*, however reactionary: it was the counterrevolutionary *acts* of Solidarność which had to be stopped at all costs. The protracted crisis of Stalinist Poland can be resolved in a progressive direction only by proletarian political revolution establishing genuine soviet democracy. This requires the crystallization of a Trotskyist vanguard party, following the path of Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, which can break the hold over the masses of the clerical-nationalist and social-democratic currents embodied in Solidarność.

KOR: The Pope's Dissidents

Jacek Kuron was not always an organizer for "democratic" counterrevolution. As an adolescent in the early 1950s he was a Stalinist fanatic who enjoyed baiting anti-Communist reactionaries, even then all too numerous in "People's Poland." He first came to prominence in 1964 when he was sentenced to six years in prison for co-authoring an "Open Letter" to the ruling Polish United Workers Party. His political outlook at that time was vaguely syndicalist, though couched in some Marxist terminology. In many respects Kuron and his colleagues resembled New Left radicals in the West, who in turn could identify with these Polish dissidents. Despite its fundamental theoretical flaws, the "Open Letter" clearly called for working-class rule:

"Under workers' democracy, the representatives in the plants would



Der Spiegel
KOR leader Jacek Kuron, agent of the Vatican and NATO Imperialism.

constitute the political and economic authority.... There would also be an organization with the power to coerce—the workers' militia."

—reproduced in *Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out* (Merit, 1968)

In this way Kuron distinguished himself from the advocates of imperialist parliamentarism and social democracy. Moreover, the "Open Letter" noted that "the bureaucratic and reactionary dictatorship favors the traditional political right." And it warned against "politically right-wing groupings and currents headed by the church hierarchy, which hang on to the old catchwords of reactionary ideology" (emphasis in the original). When sentenced to prison by the Gomulka regime, Kuron and his fellow oppositionists marched out of court singing the Internationale.

The "Open Letter" was labeled both by the Stalinists and Western bourgeois media as "Trotskyist." And the pseudo-Trotskyists of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat embraced Kuron and his co-thinkers as their own. But even in 1964 it was clear that Kuron was *not* a Trotskyist. As a sophisticated intellectual, who had been tutored by one of the few Polish Trotskyists to return from Stalin's forced labor camps, he knew well that Trotsky considered Stalinism to have a *dual* nature: seeking accommodation with imperialism but resting

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Burnett/Contact

The pope of counterrevolution tours his Polish homeland last June, inciting anti-Communist and anti-Soviet hysteria.

ment in and around Solidarność. When this Polish "free [read: anti-Communist] trade union" at its first national congress in September 1981 consolidated around an explicit program of dismantling the planned economy in favor of "self-management" and "free elections," the international Spartacist tendency raised the call: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!"

Fortunately for the international proletariat, Solidarność hid for power was spiked by the beleaguered Jaruzelski regime in December 1981 at what appeared to be the last possible moment to stop it on the basis of state power. Had Walesa and his colleagues taken over Poland, this would have meant bringing NATO imperialism to the very borders of the Soviet Union, cutting off East Germany and setting the stage directly for a nuclear World War III.

At the same time, we recognized that it

fense Committee (KOR). Among other things, they are being accused in typical Stalinist fashion of "connections with Trotskyite terrorist groups in the West." However, KOR was not a terrorist conspiracy but a propaganda group (and certainly had nothing to do with Trotskyism). Now that the military danger has been surpassed, Kuron et al. should be released along with the rest of the Solidarność gang.

The pro-Western social democrats of KOR are no worse (just more sophisticated) than the rest of the Solidarność leaders, most of whom were released even before the suspension of martial law, including the "charismatic" Walesa. Moreover, while going after Kuron and his colleagues, the Stalinists continue to placate the Catholic hierarchy, the main organizing center for counterrevolution in Poland and the real power behind KOR. Only last June, Warsaw

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 340 21 October 1983

FBI Suit...

(continued from page 1)

the special set of RICO (Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) conspiracy laws, which have already been used for terrible abuse. In his introduction to these guidelines, Attorney General Smith wrote:

"The new approach, combining both organized crime and domestic security investigations in a single set of guidelines, should make it easier for your [FBI Director Webster's] 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

"Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines" is the official title for the Smith guidelines and there should be no doubt as to what is meant here by "terrorism." The statement by Senator Jeremiah Denton (chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism) that groups which "produce propaganda, disinformation and 'legal assistance' may be even more dangerous than those who actually throw the bombs" makes it clear that the FBI's targets are, as usual, leftist political organizations (hearing before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, 24 June 1982). "Terrorist" has been the official description for Salvadoran peasants struggling against the oligarchy, black South Africans fighting apartheid and the women and children of Palestinian refugee camps.

Now this fraud has come home with a vengeance. Lawful dissent is presumably limited to college professors who

write letters to the *New York Times* delicately questioning the U.S. validation of El Salvador's human rights record. All other political opponents of the government become "criminal terrorists." 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).

The new guidelines replace those instituted by Gerald Ford's attorney general in 1977, which supposedly sought to curb the FBI's abuse of "legitimate authority." As we said at the time, the Ford/Levi guidelines simply streamlined the secret police agencies while pacifying the "respectable" citizens who were chagrined to learn that *their* mail had been opened, *their* phones tapped, *their* medical records and sex lives investigated.

For the left and labor movements, such secret police harassment has been the norm for decades. The deadly COINTELPRO campaign against the Black Panther Party involved vicious frame-ups, jailings, provocations, forgeries and cold-blooded murder. Ask some Panther survivors of the 1960s what it means to be tagged as a "terrorist" by the feds.

In 1976 an "administrative index" or ADEX "memorandum" was obtained through the Freedom of Information Act and made public by *CounterSpy* (6 December 1976). The ADEX file was supposedly "abolished" in 1974, but two years later this memo revealed that the

FBI maintained a list of 17 organizations targeted for "special" attention. Among them were the Spartacist League, the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP). We have every reason to believe that the reality of ADEX still exists; according to the FBI's own testimony they do not destroy files "related to subversive, terrorist or extremist activities" and such information remains "readily retrievable" ("Analysis of Claimed Terrorist Incidents in the U.S.," 1981). We also note that the FBI's official definition of the Spartacist League has remained identical since prior to 1977. That "definition" is particularly insidious and ascribes to us a conspiratorial putchism: "... the SPL [FBI acronym for the SL] does not *openly* advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government *at this time*..." (emphasis ours).

If not "openly" then presumably covertly. That the FBI, the truly secret arm of the ruling class responsible for massive, organized violence worldwide, should mount such an attack on the "dangerous" thought of Marxists is more than an irony—it is historical perversity. In fact, the capitalist government is not "overthrown" violently or non-violently. The historical probability is that in a revolutionary situation there may well be little government to "overthrow" and surely not this government in its present form. The choices posed will most probably be between the democratic soviets of the working class and a tottering bonapartist dictatorship led by some retread of General MacArthur, General Haig, Jeane Kirkpatrick or the like. Any organization that fits the FBI's conspiratorial definition would have to be a group of suicidal psychopaths.

Nothing is less conspiratorial than a Marxist working-class organization, whose success is entirely dependent on the open and widest dissemination of its views and aims. In this tradition the SL takes special care to preserve and make publicly available full records of its public expression and internal discussion.

Decade in and decade out, such palpably false characterizations have been used as a cover in order to harass opponents of the government. For 60-plus years the Communist Party has been subjected to intensive, continual government surveillance; the Socialist Workers Party for 40-plus years and the SL for 20 years. Yet there have been no prosecutions of the CP, SWP or SL—or any members thereof—for violent crime or terrorism—a rather remarkable record (and far superior to that of the government) considering the duration and scope of such "investigation." The only successful prosecutions of the left have been for so-called "thought crimes" such as the witchhunting Smith Act. *Sixty years* and the only thing they can get us for is reading Lenin!

The secret police and their bosses haven't changed since Karl Marx was harassed by secret agents of Prussia. Unable to feed the hungry or provide jobs for the unemployed, periodically plunging the population into devastating interimperialist war, sacrificing every vestige of rationality or decency to its insatiable hunger for profit, the bourgeoisie cooks up a spectre of the revolutionary movement as a criminal conspiracy. With this Big Lie oft repeated, they attempt to discredit Marxists in the eyes of the masses and create a climate of opinion favorable to their witchhunting.

The point of a really effective witch-hunt is to coerce the entire population into ideological conformity. The immediate victims, meanwhile, are gotten through the device of conventional fictions whose hypocrisy is made vicious by the suffering that results. There is, for instance—in addition to the usual harassment which results in firings, trouble with one's landlord or bank, visits to one's family—the FBI practice of forwarding to the Secret Service the

names of leftists, who are thus made out to be potential threats to the life of the president, upon no proof or evidence whatsoever. Any Marxist—whose views must necessarily be utterly at variance with such acts of individual terror—can only feel the keenest personal resentment and indignation at being lumped with the likes of the obscure Oswald or the fantasizing fascist Hinkley.

Secret police infiltration and harassment of the left aims to poison both the human and comradely relations within the Marxist organization and those necessary contacts between us and various public authorities in connection with assuring the peaceful and effective exercise of our democratic rights. Should various police authorities take or claim to take the FBI's lies at face value, it lays the basis for murderous violence against us. For instance, any group believed to be "violent" "terrorists" would become an immediate target for police and/or right-wing attack in the course of carrying out ordinary propaganda work: a rally, a street sale, a public meeting. The state takes on "terrorists" with its guns drawn. And such a climate feeds the genuinely criminal activities of the racist and right-wing terrorists such as the Ku Klux Klan, emboldening them to attempt more Greensboro massacres.

All of us on the state's hit list had better know what it can mean to be treated as a terrorist outlaw in America. While almost every left press in the country has taken note of the new FBI guidelines, they have taken no action to defend against this McCarthyism with a drawn gun. We are compelled to undertake this legal battle, not only to defend ourselves against the new FBI red-hunt but also to fight to preserve the existing democratic rights of the working-class movement. We do not intend to be blown away—faceless, nameless victims in the dead of night. As the organization which embodies the continuity of revolutionary Marxism in the U.S. today, our task is too important: the liberation of the workers and oppressed from the chains of this decaying, racist system through victorious socialist revolution. A Workers Party Has a Right to Organize!

We urge our readers to strongly support this case. Donate generously to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, New York, 10013.

UNITED STATES
DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT
OF NEW YORK

SPARTACIST LEAGUE;
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE;
JAMES M. ROBERTSON and
SUSAN ADAMS, on behalf of
themselves and all others similarly
situated,

Plaintiffs,

-against-

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE
UNITED STATES; DIRECTOR OF
THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF
INVESTIGATION; and THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Defendants.

Plaintiffs, by their attorneys, complaining of the defendants, allege as follows:

1. This action for declaratory and injunctive relief concerns political intelligence investigations conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, Marxist political organizations, and the impact of the Attorney General's Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations upon such investigations.

2. The Attorney General's Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorist Investigations recast the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE as violent criminal

FBI's
Hit List
ADEX:
The
Index
of 7500
Americans

In 1971, Attorney General John Mitchell, in an attempt to stave off further criticism of the FBI's practice of keeping huge lists of dissidents—alleged subversives—for who knows 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 stated: "In addition to the foregoing, a review of subject's activities clearly depicts him as a revolutionary attorney and sympathizer who, during a time of national emergency, would be likely to commit acts inimical 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.

Memorandum

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: Special Agent in Charge, New York

SUBJECT: Samuel Strauss, nee Strauss, aka

RE: Summary report dated 6/20/77

1. Samuel A. Strauss, nee Strauss, aka Strauss

2. [Redacted]

3. [Redacted]

4. [Redacted]

5. [Redacted]

6. [Redacted]

7. [Redacted]

8. [Redacted]

9. [Redacted]

10. [Redacted]

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12. [Redacted]

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enterprises and terrorist outlaws on the basis of their exercise of constitutionally protected speech and advocacy. These Guidelines, promulgated without lawful authority, provide a pretext for continued and intensive government political intelligence investigations against the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, the criminalization of political opposition and the targeting of these Marxist political organizations for government surveillance, disruption, harassment, suppression, infiltration, prosecution and physical attack.

3. Plaintiff SPARTACIST LEAGUE [hereinafter also referred to as the "SL"], a Marxist political organization, is an unincorporated association with members and supporters throughout the United States. The national office of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE is in the City, County and State of New York. The SPARTACIST LEAGUE was founded in 1966. The historical and theoretical roots of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE derive from the early Communist Party, U.S.A. [hereinafter also referred to as the "CP"] and the Socialist Workers Party [hereinafter also referred to as the "SWP"]. The immediate precursor of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE was the Revolutionary Tendency [hereinafter also referred to as the "RT"] of the Socialist Workers Party. For twenty years the SPARTACIST LEAGUE has engaged in lawful political, educational and organizing activity. Members and supporters of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE have sought state and local elective offices. The SPARTACIST LEAGUE sues on behalf of itself and its members.

5. Plaintiff JAMES M. ROBERTSON is a member and National Chairman of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE. JAMES M. ROBERTSON joined the Communist Party in December 1946 and thereafter was a member of the Workers Party (later known as the Independent Socialist League), the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Plaintiff ROBERTSON was a member of the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party and a founding member of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE.

6. Plaintiff SUSAN ADAMS, formerly National Secretary of the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, is a member of the international Spartacist tendency, the parent organization of the plaintiff SPARTACIST LEAGUE. Plaintiff ADAMS is Chairman of the Trotskyist League of France and a member of the International Executive Committee of the international Spartacist tendency.

12. Throughout their entire existence in the United States, the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and the plaintiffs SPARTACIST LEAGUE and SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE have been targeted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation [hereinafter referred to as the "FBI"] as subversive organizations, subject to continual, intensive governmental political intelligence operations including, but not limited to, surveillance, warrantless electronic surveillance, mail openings, infiltrations by government agents and informants, burglaries, harassment and counterintelligence operations. The aforementioned Marxist organizations, members and sympathizers have been and continue to be the primary intelligence targets.

13. The FBI's justification for this massive political intelligence investigation is the premise that Marxist political organizations are a threat to the national security; dangerous because of a purported strategic commitment to violence; an alleged adherence to the violent overthrow of the government and use of violence to achieve political goals.

14. The entire history of the aforesaid Marxist organizations in the United States is absent of any criminal activity.

The Communist Party has been subjected to intensive, continual government surveillance for over sixty years, the Socialist Workers Party for over forty years and the SPARTACIST LEAGUE for twenty years. There have been no prosecutions of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party or the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, or members thereof, for violent crime or terrorism despite over six decades of intensive government investigation, a rather remarkable record considering the duration and scope of such investigation. Thus, the continuing investigation of these Marxist organizations is based not on conduct, but ideology.

16. From the formation of the Revolutionary Tendency in 1963, through the founding conference of the SL in 1966, and continuing until the present, the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents agreed and conspired, together with other public officers and their agents, unlawfully, intentionally and knowing-

surveillance of and harassment of the SL and the SYL by causing secret government agents and informants to join or otherwise associate with the SL and the SYL; to report upon attendance, presentations, discussions and activities at classes, conferences, meetings and demonstrations; to disrupt trade-union support work, political demonstrations, legal defense activities, electoral campaigns and distribution of SL and SYL publications; to record the names and addresses of members and contributors; to record the election of national and local officers and central committee members; to purloin and surreptitiously copy documents, reports, pamphlets and memoranda available only to members; and, at the direction of the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents, to influence SL and SYL policies and programs, secure positions of authority, provoke or exacerbate dissension within and without the organizations, and otherwise to interfere with and disrupt

operations and harassment of the SL and the SYL, and plaintiffs JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, upon the alleged commitment of the plaintiff organizations to the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States as well as their alleged conduct which might involve violation of the Smith Act, Internal Security Act and Voorhis Act.

67. On March 21, 1983, Attorney General William French Smith promulgated new guidelines superseding the Levi Guidelines on domestic security investigations. The new guidelines, entitled Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines [hereinafter referred to as the Smith Guidelines or Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines], are integrated into the Attorney General's Guidelines on General Crimes and Organized Crimes Investigations [hereinafter referred to as "the Guidelines"] as a subpart of the criminal intelligence investigations section, with a framework identical to the Racketeering Enterprise Investigations.

68. Organizations previously designated as politically subversive are improperly and impermissibly recast by the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines as violent criminal enterprises and terrorist outlaws. Marxist political organizations are now categorized as criminal enterprises as a pretext for justifying increased scope and intrusiveness of FBI investigative techniques, and facilitating prosecution of Marxist political organizations as criminal racketeering enterprises.

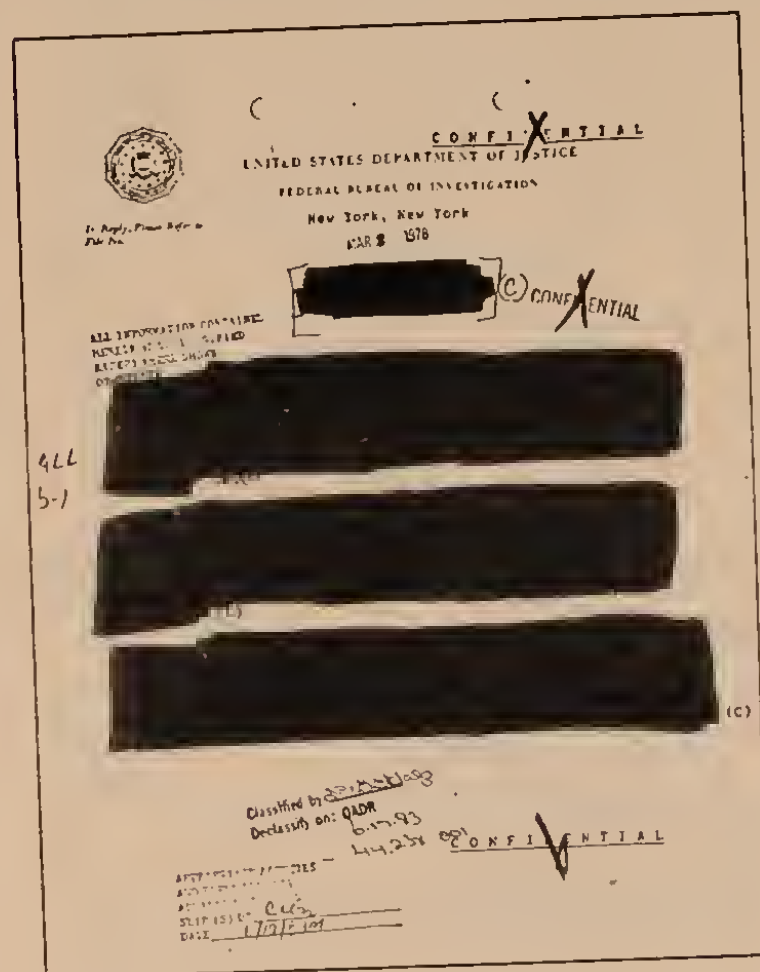
71. FBI determination to target an individual or organization for a domestic security/terrorism investigation is made on the basis of speech, political belief and ideology, and not acts of force or violence.

85. The defendant public officers, their predecessors and agents have equated the Marxist ideology of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE with advocacy of the violent overthrow of the United States government. The false premise of advocacy of criminal or violent conduct is the pretext for initiating, and continuing indefinitely, a domestic security/terrorism intelligence investigation of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE.

87. The defendant public officers and their agents have applied and continue to apply the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines to the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS in bad faith, knowing or having reason to know that the SL and the SYL are neither terrorist nor criminal organizations, and that JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS are not terrorists or outlaws. Using the language of conventional law enforcement, the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines are a pretext for justifying continual surveillance, infiltration, harassment, disruption, as well as prosecution of the plaintiff organizations, their members and supporters based solely on advocacy. Political intelligence investigations of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, pursuant to the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines, are unlawful, neither pertinent to nor within the scope of any authorized law enforcement activity, nor authorized by any executive order or statute.

88. As applied to the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, JAMES M. ROBERTSON, SUSAN ADAMS and SL and SYL members and supporters, the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines infringe rights secured by the Constitution and laws of the United States. The Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines transform the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE

continued on page 6



An FOIA file as released to the SL: typical "Freedom of Information" in Reagan's America.

ly, pursuant to a common plan, to cause agents of the United States to engage in political intelligence operations including a systematic pattern and practice of warrantless electronic surveillance, unauthorized opening and monitoring of mail, burglary, infiltration by government agents and informants, COINTELPRO activities, unauthorized interrogation, and other harassment against the SL and the SYL, their members and supporters.

20. The defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents, together with other public officers and their agents, included the SL and JAMES M. ROBERTSON among the targets of a sustained covert and systematic program known as COINTELPRO to disrupt, disparage, neutralize and destroy the SL.

21. During or about the year 1963, and continuing thereafter, the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, the immediate predecessor of the SL, and plaintiff JAMES M. ROBERTSON were subjected to extensive surveillance and COINTELPRO disruption activities, intended to create division between the RT and the SWP.

22. The purpose and effect of the foregoing actions by the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents was to induce the SWP to expel the RT in order to disrupt, neutralize and destroy both organizations.

23. From the formation of the RT in 1963 through the founding of the SL in 1966, and continuing until the present, the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents have conducted

their activities.

37. The defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents have included the plaintiff organizations, SL and SYL national officers and members, solely because of their political affiliation, on a series of published lists, including the Security Index, the Communist Index, the Administrative Index, and the Agitator Index, used by federal, state and local law enforcement agencies for intensive surveillance and harassment of the plaintiffs, targeting them as dangerous to the national security, inciting public animus against them and exposing them to government surveillance, harassment, prosecution and physical attack.

39. As a result of inclusion on the Administrative Index, JAMES M. ROBERTSON, SUSAN ADAMS and other SL and SYL national officers and members have been targeted for summary detention and indefinite internment during times of national emergency solely because of their association with the SL and the SYL.

40. In or about February 1965 and every year thereafter, agents of the defendant FBI DIRECTOR and his predecessors and agents sent a report of the whereabouts and status of plaintiff JAMES M. ROBERTSON to the Secret Service falsely describing him as a person dangerous to the life of the President of the United States.

48. From the formation of the RT in 1963 through the founding of the SL in 1966, and continuing until the present, the defendant public officers have premised their political intelligence

Support SL Suit Against Moonie Libel That Kills

The Moonies are trying to frame up the Spartacist League (SL) for our role as the initiators and principal organizers of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982. The ultrarightist Moonies' *Washington Times* falsely accused the Spartacists of "provoking violence" against the police on that day. These lies are not just an attempt to discredit the largest, most effective anti-fascist action in decades—the Moonies are trying to set up the socialists who led that demonstration to be shot down in the streets like the Black Panthers were. The Moonie frame-up fits right in with the FBI's new witch-hunting "guidelines": the FBI defines all Marxist political activity as "violent" and "criminal," and the Moonies offer up the Spartacist League as a target. The SL and the Spartacus Youth League have filed a libel lawsuit against the *Washington Times* because this is libel that kills.

The Partisan Defense Committee has launched a fundraising campaign to help pay for and publicize this important legal battle. Support for the case is growing among blacks, unionists and supporters of black rights who see the November 27 victory over fascist terror as their own. Among the endorsers to date are: Conrad Lynn, attorney and civil rights activist; Michael Meeropol, of the National Committee to Re-Open the Rosenberg Case; Israel Shahak, of

the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights; Florynce Kennedy, civil rights attorney; and Ford Greene, attorney and ex-Unification Church member, ex-deprogrammer, now anti-Moonie activist.

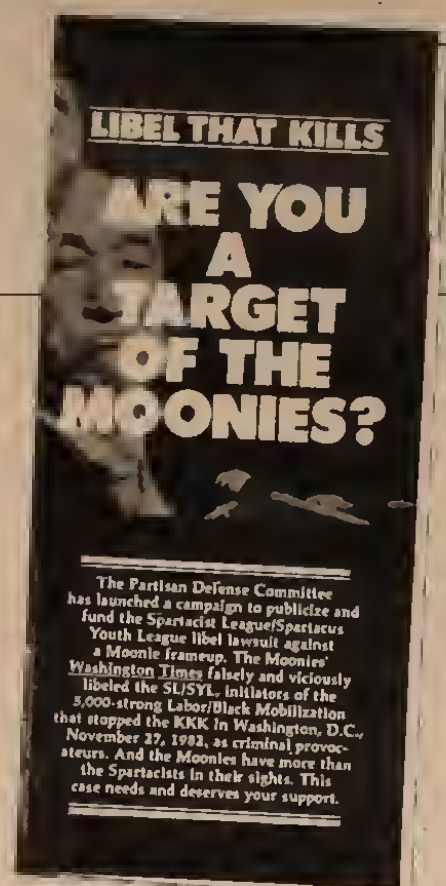
The KKK and the Nazis are the terrorist expression of increasing racism in America. A five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, is blown away in his own home and the killer cop is awarded a \$35,000 bounty. Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero were fired and face eight years in prison for doing their duty on the picket line during the recent phone workers strike because they are an interracial couple, they are union militants, they are fighters against KKK and cop terror, and because Lauren was a ten-year member of the Black Panther Party. Mass labor/black actions can check the growing racist terror and police brutality in this country. The Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan in its tracks shows the way. The Moonie libel goes after all those who endorsed and participated in that action. The Moonies have not only smeared the Spartacists but the over 70 trade-union officials, locals and executive boards who supported that demonstration. That's why it's not surprising that many of these people are among the initial endorsers of our lawsuit.

A number of the endorsements are from Virginia Tidewater-area unionists including: Spurgeon L. Boone, president, IBEW Local 2280, Portsmouth,

VA; Reginald Carrington, ILA Local 1458, Norfolk, VA; Marvin Foreman, business representative, Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 23, Norfolk, VA; Cleophas Hawkins, steward and treasurer, IBEW Local 2280, Portsmouth, VA; Jimmy Volivia, president, UAW Local 919, Norfolk, VA. Brothers from the predominantly black waterfront unions were among the first supporters of the Labor/Black Mobilization and brought the Nat Turner Brigade to the demonstration. Coming from the largest working-class area in the Southeast they understood that Klan threats to march in Washington, D.C. represented an immediate danger. Many of them also participated in the rally monitor squads along with scores of other unionists and Spartacists to ensure that the demonstration was as orderly and disciplined as it was militant. They know firsthand that the Moonie libel is a pack of lies.

Other endorsers of the Labor/Black Mobilization who have now endorsed our libel suit include: Robert Edwards, president, ILWU Local 2, San Francisco, CA; Shelton Tappes, retired UAW member, Detroit, MI; and Alfonso Wells, chairman of retirees, UAW Local 1776, Willow Run, Ypsilanti, MI.

The Spartacist League or anyone else must have the right to organize against Klan/Nazi terror without being subject to frame-up by the Moonies and their press. As the SL warned when we filed



PDC brochure builds case against Moonie libel.

the suit, "If the Moon cult prevails in their libel of us, any group or individual in the lead of struggle against fascist terror will be marked for destruction." The Spartacists have truth on their side. But it will take more than that to win against this highly dangerous, super-rich cult. We need your help.

Your financial support and endorsement are urgently needed to win this lawsuit. Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

FBI Suit...

(continued from page 5)

from lawful political organizations into violent criminal enterprises on the basis of their constitutionally protected speech and advocacy. Thus, the Guidelines target the plaintiff organizations, their members and supporters, as well as plaintiffs JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, as terrorists and outlaws existing without the protection of the laws of the United States. The Smith Guidelines codify, make public and direct the FBI and other law enforcement agencies to ignore legal distinctions between political opponents of the government and organized criminals. The Smith Guidelines expose the plaintiff organizations and their

members and supporters and plaintiffs ROBERTSON and ADAMS to surveillance, infiltration, disruption, harassment, prosecution and violence on the part of law enforcement authorities and political extremists of the right.

89. By promulgating the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines and applying them to the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, their members and supporters, and JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, as a pretext for stigmatizing the plaintiffs as terrorists solely as a result of their Marxist ideology and beliefs, the acts of the defendant public officers, and their predecessors and agents, violate the First, Fourth, Fifth, Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution of the United States inasmuch as:

(a) stigmatizing the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE as terrorist and criminal organizations constitutes a badge of infamy, has the purpose and effect of injuring their good name, reputation, character and standing as Marxist political organizations;

(b) designating the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE as terrorist and criminal organizations renders the plaintiff organizations and their members and supporters excluded from the protection of the First, Fourth, Fifth, Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, subject to continual law enforcement surveillance, harassment, disruption, prosecution and physical attack;

(c) characterizing the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE as violent criminal and terrorist organizations induces in law enforcement authorities fear and hatred of the SL and the SYL and their members and supporters, thereby exposing them to increased threats and potential of violence;

(d) characterizing the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE as violent criminal and terrorist organizations invites extremist groups or individuals of the right to commit acts of harassment and violence against the SL and the SYL, and their members and supporters;

(e) designating the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE as violent criminal and terrorist organizations and enterprises permits the government to prosecute the SL and the SYL, and their members and supporters, on conspiracy and racketeering charges solely as a result of their exercise of protected First Amendment rights.

WHEREFORE, plaintiffs SPARTACIST LEAGUE, SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS

demand judgment as follows:

A. Declaring unlawful the actions of the defendants complained of herein, and permanently enjoining the defendants, their agents, successors, privies and all persons acting in concert with them....

B. Declaring unconstitutional as applied to the plaintiffs herein those portions of the Attorney General's Guidelines on General Crimes, Racketeering Enterprise and Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations that pertain to Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations, and permanently enjoining the defendants, their agents, successors, privies and all persons acting in concert with them, from:

(a) implementing or conducting investigations of the plaintiffs pursuant to the Attorney General's Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations effective March 21, 1983;

(b) retaining or disseminating information about the SL and the SYL, their members and supporters, compiled since March 21, 1983;

C. Declaring unlawful the defendants' use of information about the SL and the SYL, their members and supporters, compiled prior to March 21, 1983 as the basis for conducting an investigation pursuant to the Attorney General's Guidelines, and permanently enjoining the defendants, their agents, successors, privies and all persons acting in concert with them from conducting any such investigation;

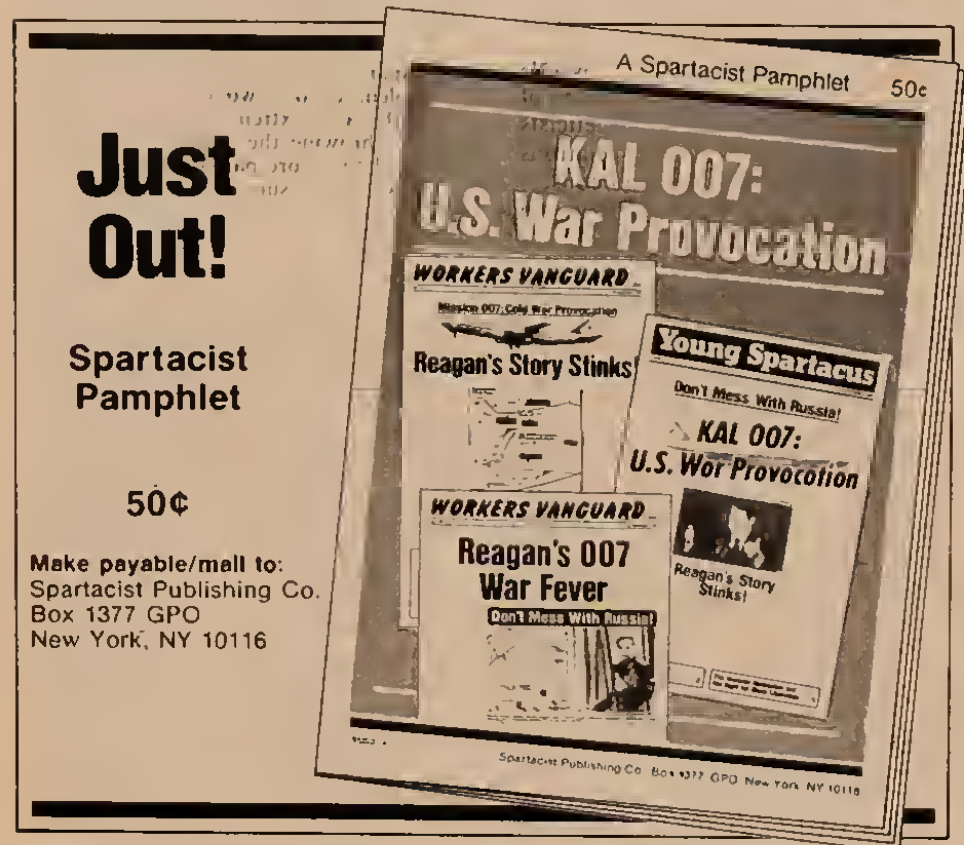
D. Awarding the plaintiffs reasonable attorney's fees;

E. Awarding the plaintiffs the costs and disbursements of this action;

F. Granting such other and further relief as may be just and proper.

Dated: New York, New York
October 19, 1983

Katz & Weinstein, P.C.
and
Rachel H. Wolkenstein
Attorneys for Plaintiffs



"Z" = Stalinist... And "i" = FBI

Used to be, when you ran across references to "Trotskyites," you knew right off who you were dealing with. Using an archaic transliteration from the Russian Cyrillic script, the Stalinists sought to portray Trotskyists as alien, foreign-sounding, with "z" as in Nazi, etc. The spelling itself was an orthographical fingerprint.

More recently, another distinctive misspelling has appeared in some pretty funny places: "Spartacist." Through the years we've noticed how this odd rendering of our name seemed to crop up in connection with the wildest and most sinister smears of the Spartacist League and our forebears, including accusations of arson, baby-killing, violent attacks on leftists.

There was that clumsy attempt to frame up the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) at Wayne State in Detroit, in June 1980 (see "Nasty Lies or Murder Set-Up?" *Young Spartacus* No. 84, September 1980). Someone set a fire in the student center, and scrawled on the blackboard there, "The Spartacus Revolution Begins!" As we pointed out in our denunciation of this crude frame-up attempt, "even if we had abandoned all our political principles and turned to isolated acts of terrorism, wouldn't we at least be certain to spell our name correctly?" We noted, "The arson frame-up is also the kind of 'dirty tricks' the FBI has used over the years to discredit black, labor and leftist organizations and to justify its bloody repression." The SYL leaflet (24 June 1980) asked, "And can anyone be sure that COINTELPRO is really dead?"

Then there was the column by John Trinkl in the *Guardian* (21 April 1982), "Left in form: Right in essence," which accused the "Spartacist League" of "harassment and physical attack" against leftists, especially young women, at the 27 March 1982 demonstration on El Salvador in Washington, D.C. This was an opening salvo of a wave of slander, violence-baiting and cop-baiting aimed at us by rad-lib apologists for the Democratic Party. But Trinkl did not limit himself to a slanderous falsification of our defense of workers democracy in breaking through a cordon of "marshals" who were trying to seal us off and censor our revolutionary slogans. Trinkl resorted to outright fabrication when, incredibly, he also accused us of attacking *our own demonstration*, an anti-Nazi mobilization in Ann Arbor on 20 March 1982. (For a detailed refutation of these slanders, including numerous accounts by unaffiliated eyewitnesses, see "The Big Lie," *WV* No. 305, 14 May 1982, especially the section subtitled, "Trinkl, Trinkl... How We Wonder What You Are.")

The orthographic mutant shows up

again, this time in the Moonies' *New York Tribune* (31 May 1983), where Albert Weeks, the "national security editor," by judiciously twisting, outmoded references, tries to pin the 1932 kidnap/murder of the Lindbergh baby on the German "Spartacists" (the Spartakusbund of Rosa Luxemburg, forerunner of the German Communist Party).

to the degenerate, patriotic Majority social democrats of their time. "In the United States the Trotskyist youth in the early 1930's called their paper *Young Spartacus*. It was an outstanding journalistic fusion of an advocate of revolutionary ideas with a guide to action. We aspire to do no more today than serve as well in honor of the name we have chosen for our endeavor to express the viewpoint of consistent *Trotskyism*, the authentic revolutionary Marxism of our epoch."

Anyone remotely acquainted with the Spartacist League, the Spartacus Youth League, the international Spartacist tendency, our journal *Spartacist*, knows how we spell our name. Even those unfamiliar with the left saw Kirk Douglas as Spartacus, leader of a slave revolt in ancient Rome, whose name derived from the Greek city-state

tinctive typo, so often associated with sinister, violence-baiting innuendo and falsehood.

Among the latest batch of Freedom of Information xeroxes we have received, a few pages hegrudgingly relinquished from the FBI's voluminous files on us, one page escaped the ubiquitous black marker of the censor—a search request for information on the "Spartacist League."

A check back through earlier records turned up yet another clue: heavily censored documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act from the CIA's "Operation CHAOS," aimed at infiltrating CIA agents into left-wing political groups in the U.S. under the guise of seeking foreign subversion. Once again, the characteristic misspell-

(COPY)

INTEL

SMP charges that Spartacist League has "sold out the Revolution" by establishing a bureaucratic-elitist rule. Spartacist is also charged with analyzing situations for the Revolution incorrectly and therefore will not last to be in the vanguard of the movement.

As opposed to this, Spartacist League charges SMP with bureaucratic-elitist rule, disregarding the necessity for Democratic-Centralism. Spartacist also charges SMP with reformism and opportunism; they do not require the discipline and commitment from individuals that is necessary to make the Revolution.

(Comment: Spartacist League seems to be the more violent of the two organizations but both are extremely committed to overthrowing the system. SMP advocates the more parliamentary path to power by supporting independent movements making reforms within the system; until the Revolution - while Spartacist feels that only through violence can anything concrete be established.)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Records Branch

7-5-1982

SEARCHED ☒ INDEXED ☒
SERIALIZED ☒ FILED ☒
MAR 10 1982
FBI - NEW YORK

Special Agent in Charge

Subject: Spartacist League

Re: [redacted]

Date: [redacted]

From: [redacted]

To: [redacted]

FILE NUMBER: 100-441758
SERIAL: 105-168197-102

SPPACTICIS

105-55030-SP 0197
105-90854-160

The Spartacus Revolution Begins

New York Tribune

ALBERT WEEKS

Kidnapping of Lindbergh baby continues to fascinate

Seventy years ago, Bruno Richard Hauptmann, lastly charged and executed, was kidnapped of *Spartacist Magazine* when we embarked on his

Hauptmann penned a letter to the local radical Marxist-Leninist group, the Spartacists, appealing for help with these words: "I have always been a faithful Spartacist."

famous book... back in 1961

Guardian

on the left

Left in form:
Right in essence

The scenario is almost always the same. There is a large demonstration. Often it is against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, but it also could be a demonstration against the Nazis or a rally against the Reagan cutbacks. A smaller group forms away from the main demonstration and yells angrily at the main group. Soon the smaller group works itself up into a frenzy and charges into the larger rally, fists swinging.

Who is this group? Is it the "Moonies," the ultraright followers of the anticommunist Rev. Sun Myung Moon? The remnants of the fascist U.S. Labor Party? Overeager partisans from the Young Americans for Freedom? No, it's the Spartacist League (SL), a small Trotskyist group whose sectarianism has reached new heights.

The SL has a long history of super-revolu-

In the founding issue of *Spartacist* (February-March 1964) we described the origins of our name:

"We chose the title, SPARTACIST, after the name, Spartakusbund, taken by the German revolutionary left wing led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht during the First World War. The German Spartacists waged a brave struggle against their imperialist rulers in wartime and, moreover, had to fight every step of the way in opposition

Sparta. So why this peculiar misspelling, "Spartacist"?

Students of medieval literature and language trace the history and lineage of painstakingly hand-copied manuscripts by tracking the source and radiation of errors in text and spelling; geneticists trace evolutionary paths and relations by tracking the replication and conservation of mutant genes. Similarly, we looked for the source of this dis-

ing appears, this time in an "INTEL" document of February 1972 on the Socialist Workers Party and its left critics:

"Spartacist League seems to be the more violent of the two organizations but both are extremely committed to overthrowing the system. SWP advocated the more parliamentary path to power by supporting independent movements making reforms within the system, until the Revolution—while Spartacist feels that only through violence can anything concrete be established."

We do not yet know (and may never know this side of the American workers revolution) the original mutagenic agent for this misspelling, any more than we know which wing of the secret political police first fabricated the false charges of violence in an effort to smear our decades of lawful political activity and set us up for bloody state repression. As for those who echo these false accusations, we can be sure of only one thing: they have not read the by now millions of papers and leaflets we have published, the picket signs and banners we've marched under. No, they evidently get their information on the "Spartacist League" somewhere else. By their typos shall ye know them. ■



Above, our *Spartacist* masthead reproduced in 1965 *New York Times Magazine*. Left, October 1918 issue of *Spartacus*, journal of Rosa Luxemburg and German Spartacists.



Cold War Rad-Libs Embrace FBI Frame-Up

THEY'RE TRYING TO KILL THE ROSENBERGS ALL OVER AGAIN

At the funeral near the end of the movie *Daniel*, the characters based on the Rosenberg family are buried, and in quick repeat frames hurried again and again. The Hebraic mourners' *kaddish* wails as the caskets descend repeatedly into the graves. One cannot help remembering the execution on 19 June 1953—how the executioners strapped the Rosenbergs into the oak chair, how they failed to kill Ethel with the first jolt of lethal electricity. So they did it again.

The Rosenbergs haven't been easy to kill. And the memory of their case, which stands as an indictment of American Cold War vengeance and secret police terror, has been harder still to bury. But now, 30 years later, in the midst of Cold War II, with the anti-Soviet war drive in high gear for a nuclear first strike, and the U.S. secret police on "red alert"—along comes a new set of political executioners to pull the switch on the Rosenbergs again. A concerted campaign by social democrats, New Leftovers and the liberal media is trying to frame up and bury the Rosenbergs once and for all under a mudslide of old lies and anti-Communist swill shoveled up pretentiously as the "new" discovery of the guilty "truth" of the Rosenberg case.

At the center of controversy in this reactionary campaign is an apparently literary debate over the newly released book, *The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1983) by Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton. The audience for this controversy has become large enough for it to play at New York City's Town Hall on October 20 where Radosh/Milton will debate Walter and Miriam Schneir, who wrote the most exhaustive defense of the Rosenbergs, *Invitation to an Inquest* (Pantheon, 1965, revised 1983).

That a debate in 1983 asks the question, "Were the Rosenbergs framed?", marks how far right the rad-lib and reformist milieu has moved



The brave Rosenbergs, martyrs of Cold War witchhunt.

under the pressure of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. The government legally murdered the Rosenbergs and sent Morton Sobell to prison for 30 years on the basis of testimony cooked up by the FBI and its battery of informers, professional turncoats and lying squealers. What will rad-libs debate next? Sacco and Vanzetti? Dreyfus?

Make no mistake about what is going on here. Arguments may hinge on apparently minute historical details and legal logistics, but the debate over the Rosenbergs is no mere literary exercise. The prosecution of the Rosenbergs in the liberal press is a defense of the secret police, prosecution, judiciary and highest federal authorities who framed them. There is another Red Hunt in the making and its intended victims had better learn to recognize and fight it. What is at stake is the mobilization of opinion behind the anti-Soviet war drive, and the witchhunting of its

opponents. That is the clear and present danger of this Cold War II campaign.

The new Cold War can use these social-democratic prosecutors of the Rosenbergs. The anti-Soviet war drive already has its McCarthy types in Jeremiah Denton, Jesse Helms, et al. But it needs a new younger, activist layer of witchhunting liberal intellectuals to bring anti-Sovietism to a boil. Where is the American Committee for Cultural Freedom now that the CIA really needs it?

It isn't enough to howl in the pages of the *New York Review of Books* about the Soviets' invasion of Afghanistan against the mullah "freedom fighters." It isn't sufficient to take out "I-was-a-dupe" ads in the *New York Times* when the Stalinists came to power in Vietnam. Or to wail for Reagan's favorite "union," counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, or scream "Soviet barbarism" over the recent U.S. war provocation, KAL Flight 007. Just as the Rosenberg case drew the line in the postwar witchhunt, it is again the Rosenberg case which draws political blood today. Ideological limits must be set and enforced: "Beyond this point—treason." It was the ex-Communist Granville Hicks who said that every American Communist "is actually or potentially a Soviet agent" (David Cauter, *The Great Fear*).

The political basis of the postwar witchhunt was set by the Cold War liberals. Their obsessive anti-Sovietism dominated over the Henry Wallace forces as well as the McCarthy gang; they had their torches out long before the Senator from Wisconsin started waving his list of names. It was the pro-Truman anti-Communists who founded the ADA, and the social democrats who drove the CP and radicals out of the unions. McCarthy was a fringe development in the anti-Communist hysteria; and when he went "too far"—that is,

added the names of Cold War liberals to the Attorney General's List—they dumped him. The liberal Cold Warriors shared the same enemy, Communism, but thought McCarthy wasn't efficient.

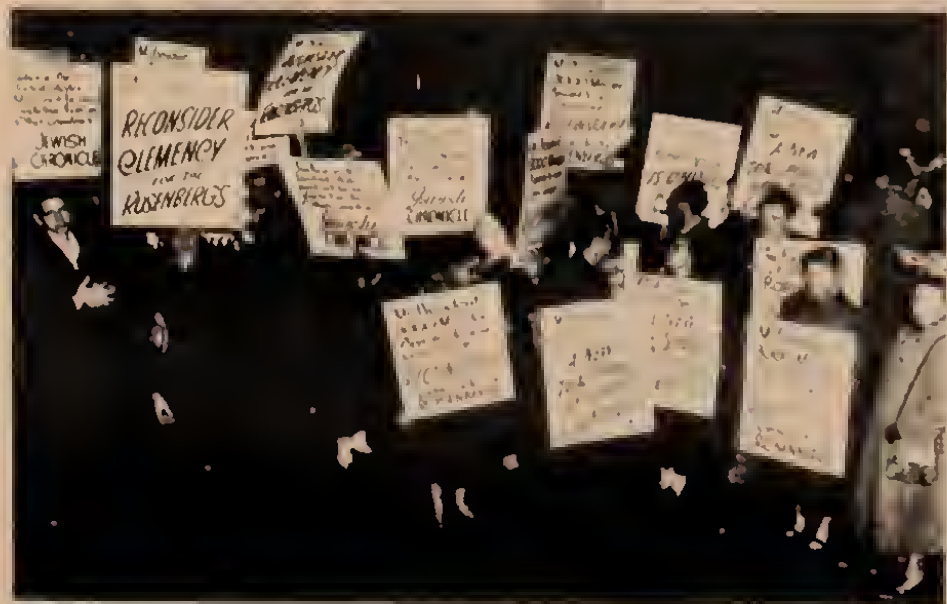
The campaign to re-try the Rosenbergs in 1983 is part of this tradition of liberal witchhunting. But the new Cold Warriors have a special problem. After the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and the exposures of domestic secret police terror such as COINTELPRO and Operation CHAOS, they face not only the "Vietnam syndrome": an abiding distrust of the government's secret police and hostility toward McCarthyism. Into the breach, for the Vietnam generation, has jumped a new political animal: the Cold War rad-lib. Radosh/Milton take the most dramatic example and symbol of McCarthyite victimization to show how they can be lynched by "respectable" anti-Communists.

We don't want to hear clichés about history not repeating itself. Once again the Rosenberg case is the dividing line in the realignment of reformist forces in the anti-Reagan popular front around the Democratic Party. Once again men and women will display their loyalty to their government's anti-Soviet policy by denouncing the "atom spies." For its part, the CP acts as if it does not know what is happening, as once again it blithely continues to hold hands with the liberal "progressives" who are preparing the anti-Communist witchhunt. And the social democrats do a social-patriotic jig on the graves of the martyred Rosenbergs.

The Selling of The Rosenberg File

The Rosenberg File has been hailed by the liberal and right-wing press anxious to find the Rosenbergs guilty as charged. In the *New York Times* (14 August), Alan Dershowitz proclaims *The Rosenberg File* "definitive" and insists with a pomposity that seems to come naturally to Harvard law professors that "all future discussions about the Rosenberg case, at least those that are reasonable, will have to begin with the historical fact that Julius Rosenberg was guilty of espionage."

The liberal book review establishment has jumped at the opportunity to declare *The Rosenberg File* "definitive" and "exhaustive" (*New York Times*) and "honorable" (*Los Angeles Times*). The lightning rods of liberal intellectual anti-Communism at the *New York Review of Books* took the unusual and provocative step of having Radosh/Milton review the Schneirs' book, against which their own is a polemic. Social-democratic editor of *In These Times* James Weinstein—whose memory of a casual connection to Julius Rosenberg, Radosh claims, started "The Search for The Truth"—found the book "convincing," of course, even



Demonstration for clemency in U.S. Radosh/Milton hatchet job claims the CP wanted the Rosenbergs dead.

"fearless" and praises the author for having done "a great service" for the left. But the ultraright, from McCarthy's clone Roy Cohn to the dangerous Moonie cult, applauds the "great service."

What is particularly galling about *The Rosenberg File* gang is their accusations that their critics on the left are sentimental liars, bleeding hearts, softheads and emotional cripples. When for instance one of the sons of the Rosenbergs, Michael Meeropol, wrote an outraged letter to the *New York Times Book Review* (18 September) after Dershowitz' political puff piece on *The Rosenberg File*, citing errors of fact, missing sources, faked interviews and the like, Radosh/Milton and Dershowitz struck Olympian poses of patronizing disdain. Radosh/Milton "fully understand the pain and grief" of the Rosenberg children, but... "it is impossible for us to tailor our findings to satisfy his emotional need." And Professor Dershowitz, not to be outdone for sanctimony and self-righteous sneering by a couple of upstarts from second-rate universities, explains that he "honestly" looks at the problem, whereas "Understandably, the Rosenberg children do not have the luxury of changing their minds about so personal a tragedy." The charges made by Meeropol and the Schneirs however are not at all emotional, but an intellectual frontal assault on the integrity of *The Rosenberg File*. It is the cheap-shot academics who use the personal tragedy of the Rosenberg family in one of the more disgusting *ad hominem* attacks one is likely to see: the Rosenberg children cannot be believed or taken seriously because they are, after all, "understandably"... the Rosenberg children. We hail the efforts of the children of the Rosenbergs to vindicate the name of their brave, martyred parents.

It is no wonder the liberal anti-Communism of *The Rosenberg File* is such a hot commodity in Cold War II. According to the ads, here was the "Search for The Truth" conducted by left-wing radicals persuaded, against their prejudices to the contrary, of the guilt of the Rosenbergs. This son-of-god-that-failed routine for ex-New Leftists is nothing new. Calling himself "a man of the democratic left" (p. xiv), Ronald Radosh, the principal author of *The Rosenberg File*, parades his left-wing "credentials" in an attempt to make his thesis more believable. He begins the book with an "Up from Communism" personal memory of the 1953 deathwatch for the Rosenbergs in Union Square. Now a member of Michael Harrington's Democratic So-

cialists of America (DSA), he has recently protested against the portrayals of him as, in his words, "a McCarthyite right-winger." But Radosh proudly declared to a *Washington Post* (10 September) interviewer: "It's true I'm an anticommunist. It's a sensible thing to be."

These "sensible" anti-Communists claim to present a dispassionate, scholarly historical study relying on the newly released FBI files (and other files of the secret police) pried away from the government in FOIA lawsuits. The government's McCarthyite case is so discredited that Radosh/Milton for the prosecution try to appear evenhanded. In the vocabulary of prosecutors everywhere, they describe Ethel, for instance, as "an accessory." But they concede that there was "no hard evidence against her." They admit the government's "questionable tactics" in the trial and an overzealousness which "hardly fulfilled the high standards of American justice."

The Rosenberg File is an intellectual fraud and a political outrage. Its posture of evenhanded scholarship is a smoke-screen for the fires of a new witchhunt. The authors of *The Rosenberg File* fully deserve to be taken apart for their lousy scholarship: for making up interviews with Communist Party members at the time, falsifying incidents, taking FBI stories at face value, and making cross-checking nearly impossible. But that angle of attack misses the main political point. This book is more a political occasion than the serious historical groundbreaker it claims to be. Despite all the pretense to scholarship, *The Rosenberg File* is a pulp-style popularization of the FBI's line. It is at bottom an event in the mobilization of opinion for Cold War II, along with the American Bar Association's leaking of a report in support of Judge Kaufman, and in a contradictory and unfortunate way, the movie *Daniel*, a grim and twisted version of Doctorow's powerful book. In the film, only the *New York Times* reporter seems to make sense: they had to be guilty of something.

FBI Garbage: "It Comes From Radosh"

It is precisely because the government's case against the Rosenbergs is so discredited and the methods of McCarthyism so despised that Radosh/Milton claim to have discovered the "new" Truth among the FBI files. But they present no credible evidence of the Rosenbergs' "guilt." On the contrary, their own book provides ample evidence of the government's frame-up: the FBI-coached testimony of fingermen Greenglass and Gold, Judge Kaufman's death sentence reached in consultation

with the prosecution, the "confess or die" strategy particularly using Ethel's death sentence as "lever."

So what are the "new" revelations claimed to "prove" the Rosenbergs guilty? They scavenge in the FBI's garbage to attempt to construct a new case built on uncritical acceptance of FBI reports on informers, hearsay about connections between Julius Rosenberg and his CCNY friends, innuendo and FBI speculation, "mysterious disappearances" plus some interviews the content of which is being denied at a rapid rate. Car rides are taken to be secret espionage missions; apartments are viewed through the lens of the FBI as spy nests; and even in the midst of the vicious Cold War witchhunt, flight is offered as "evidence" of guilt. No doubt Radosh/Milton expect Rosenberg's CP friends to trust to those "high standards of American justice."

Radosh/Milton digest and then disgorge as "The Truth" the garbage even the FBI refused to use. And what does their case boil down to? The same testimony of the Greenglasses corroborated by the infamous Harry Gold. As their interviews with the Greenglasses show, they are no more believable 30 years later.

We are not experts on the disputed details of the Rosenberg case. We haven't examined the Rosenberg files. We haven't brought in our own handwriting experts to make an independent check on the "Hilton Hotel Card," and we haven't interviewed James Weinstein's roommates. But we do know a government frame-up and social-democratic political hatchet job when we see one. One need not be an expert on the Rosenberg case to see that *The Rosenberg File* is itself part of the continuing frame-up.

First, Radosh/Milton take the FBI as good coin. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—backed the legal fight of the Committee to Re-Open the Rosenberg Case to get the files released. But of course the PDC had no expectation that the FBI would hand over files which proved the Rosenbergs innocent if such files were in their possession. It ought to be obvious that the secret police are going to withhold or censor the most self-condemnatory materials, and doctor some files they do release. Marshall Perlin, attorney for the Meeropols and the Committee to Re-Open the Rosenberg Case, estimates that at least 100,000 pages, *about one-third of the total*, have been withheld by the secret police. We demand: Release all the files! We too want to see the

government's files exposed. And we are confident that they will reveal even more clearly, for those who are willing to see it, the vicious political frame-up of the Rosenbergs. Indeed, already with the 250,000 pages of newly released files, this is what has happened, Milton/Radosh to the contrary.

Just as the defenders of the Rosenbergs have argued for years, there is further confirmation that the key testimony was cooked up with the close collaboration of the FBI. On the stand, it was Harry Gold's "I come from Julius" which pointed the finger at Rosenberg. The FBI "reconciled" their contradictory statements about the alleged meetings in Albuquerque in 1945. Gold had told the FBI his password was "Greetings from Ben in Brooklyn." Greenglass said there were no "greetings" from anybody. So the government moved Greenglass in with Gold, who was one of the biggest compulsive liars in U.S. judicial history. He said he had become "so tangled up in a web of lies... It is a wonder steam didn't come out of my ears" (*The Rosenberg File*, p. 154). The FBI worked on their stories. On 28 December 1950, the FBI agent who interviewed them both together at the Tombs wrote:

"Concerning the reported salutation 'Greetings from Ben,' Greenglass says that he has no recollection of such a statement made by Gold... Greenglass proposed that possibly Gold had said 'greetings from Julius' which would of course make sense to Greenglass. Gold's spontaneous comment to this was that possibly Greenglass was right that he had mentioned the name Julius rather than Ben."

—*Invitation to an Inquest*, p. 463

Even Radosh/Milton admit that for those who want to prove an FBI conspiracy this is the "smoking gun" (p. 161). But not for the "Searchers for Truth" who find no conspiracies anywhere but among Communists.

Radosh/Milton drag out as a "new" revelation the files on the police fink Jerome Tartakow. Tartakow, a pimp, a convicted robber serving time on his third conviction, struck a deal with the FBI in exchange for money and early parole. The "confession" to a jailhouse informer is practically a genre in the history of American frame-ups. Whenever evidence is hard to find, a jailhouse informer is easy to find. *The Rosenberg File* authors want their readers to believe that Julius Rosenberg, who was daily tormented to "confess" to the FBI to save his wife from the electric chair, blabbed to this jailhouse informer, Carl Marzani, the respected World War II OSS officer and left-wing publisher, who went through the House of Detention in the summer of 1950, has recently written of his conversation with Rosenberg there, noting that Julius Rosenberg told him "the prison was full of informers" (Ann Mari Buitrago, "The Fraud of the Century," *Our Right to Know*, Fall 1983). According to Radosh/Milton, not only did Rosenberg "confess" his own guilt in detail, but also supplied the names of friends as "Soviet agents" and "trusted courier of the Russians." However, the Schneirs note that while the FBI was hardly averse to bugging private conversations, they never bothered to wire their jailhouse rat, Tartakow.

It is obvious that with Tartakow the FBI could produce any story it wanted and get it back as though it came from the mouth of Rosenberg. Those who buy the Tartakow "confession" story ought to be in the market to make a down payment on the Brooklyn Bridge.

Once again, Radosh/Milton are re-prosecuting with material that even the FBI and prosecution teams knew wouldn't make a case against the Rosenbergs. The FBI characterized Tartakow as a man of "unknown reliability." They never had their fink

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UPI



Paris Match



UPI

Judge Irving Kaufman (left) sent Rosenbergs to the chair in act of Cold War terror. Radosh/Milton frame-up rests on stories of David Greenglass (center) and Harry Gold; still liars after all these years.

Rosenbergs...

(continued from page 9)

sign a sworn statement, and they certainly were not going to expose his story to cross examination on the stand. But for Radosh/Milton no rock is too slimy to pick up if they can throw it at the memory of the Rosenberg martyrs. And no lie too big or obvious for these "Searchers for The Truth" who must imagine that their readers have suspended all critical judgment in the interest of "proving" the Rosenbergs guilty. Or they think we're just dumb.

Show Trial U.S.A.

It was not only the Rosenbergs but the "Soviet threat" which was on trial. The Rosenbergs were tried as "atom spies" because U.S. imperialism, after years of portraying the Soviet social system as too primitive to accomplish a technological breakthrough of this magnitude, now was forced to explain its loss of the nuclear monopoly—and thus of its capacity for nuclear blackmail. The government needed to gear up the U.S. for the "arms race," that is, imperialist war preparations. The explosion of the Soviet atom bomb, the victory of the Chinese Red Army over the U.S.-backed Kuomintang, and then the Korean War—the Rosenbergs were blamed for all of it.

The U.S. had come out of the second imperialist World War relatively unscathed and hegemonic among its imperialist rivals. Only the USSR stood between the U.S. and its dreams for "an American century." American weakness was thus attributed to spies and saboteurs, a Communist "Fifth Column." "Who lost China?" The "pinkos" in the State Department. How did the Russians secure their Western border? New Dealer "spy" Alger Hiss engineered it at Yalta. How did the Soviets get the atom bomb? Julius Rosenberg stole "the secret" and gave it to them. The Rosenbergs, as political scapegoats, got the death sentence. Of course, "treason" is supposed to involve giving aid and comfort to the enemy in wartime—but the USSR was an *ally* in World War II!

Judge Kaufman declared (*Invitation to an Inquest*, p. 170): "I consider your crime worse than murder.... I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb..." (a charge neither made nor proved) "has already caused...the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason" (also not charged or proved). And President Eisenhower himself denied clemency on a clear political basis: "I can only say that, by immeasurably increasing the chances of atomic war, the Rosenbergs may have condemned to death tens of millions of innocent people all over the world" (*ibid.*, p. 248).

The government ran its show trial knowing it had no case against the Rosenbergs and Sobell for espionage. So they were charged *not* with espionage but *conspiracy* to commit espionage. The government knew, as the FBI files show, that the Rosenbergs did not "steal the secret of the Atomic bomb." Nor was the sketch recreated by Greenglass on a single sheet of paper what Roy Cohn called it, a drawing of "the atom bomb itself." The newly released files include the formerly secret testimony of Manhattan Project chief, General Leslie Groves, before the Atomic Energy Commission: "I think the data that went out in the case of the Rosenbergs was of minor value. I would never say that publicly. Again, that is something, while it is not secret, I think should be kept very quiet because irrespective of the value of that in the over-all picture, the Rosenbergs deserved to hang..." (Schneirs, p. 466).

The government hoped to get a series of show trials to frame up the CP for

espionage. They went on frequent fishing expeditions hoping to find someone who would "break" under the pressure. They wanted to force "confessions" and get the confessors to point the finger at other CPers, no matter what the facts. The FBI may have struck paydirt with the Greenglasses but not with the Rosenbergs. So they made it a matter of life and death. As we wrote in 1975 in our first article on the Rosenberg case, "In Defense of the Rosenbergs" (*WV* No. 86, 21 November 1975):

"Above all the state hoped to set off a chain reaction of FBI-authored 'confessions,' with the Rosenbergs and Sobell playing along, to finger the real 'masterminds.' During the trial and right up to the executions the Rosenbergs were promised time and again that the state would be lenient if only they would 'cooperate' and name names...the Rosenbergs, with their lives at stake, never swayed."

The authentically great Soviet spy Kim Philby called them "the brave Rosenbergs." Many admired the Rosenbergs' heroism in stopping this government domino strategy. Cast by an accident of history into the role of martyrs, this otherwise rather undistinguished CP couple did not renounce the Soviet Union, and met their political fate without a flinch. Now Radosh/Milton want to take every statement of their heroism as "evidence" of their "guilt."

The Rosenbergs and the Russian Question

From the pages of the *Times* to the debate at NYC Town Hall, the debate on the Rosenberg case has focused narrowly on the question of whether or not Julius Rosenberg engaged in espionage for the Russians. Yet it is clear that the government killed the Rosenbergs for political purposes. The question of their innocence or "guilt" mattered not at all. Nor is it the key question for revolutionaries in this historic case. The unstated but central issue in the resurfaced debate over the Rosenberg case is the dominant political issue of our time—the Russian Question. For Radosh/Milton and the rest of the social-dems, Russian espionage is a crime not only on the law books but in their own American social-patriotic eyes.

For revolutionaries, on the contrary, those who helped the Russians achieve nuclear capacity did a great service for humanity. Had U.S. imperialism maintained a nuclear monopoly, it would have meant historic defeats for the international proletariat. It would have meant nuclear destruction from Southeast Asia to Latin America. Who can doubt that U.S. imperialism would have destroyed Vietnam totally with nuclear weapons if they did not fear a retaliatory Soviet strike? Would Cuba exist today if the U.S. had a nuclear monopoly? It is clear that the USSR's advance to nuclear capacity and then to nuclear parity has thus far been instrumental in staying the nuclear hand of U.S. imperialism.

It is the Soviet Union which is the main target of imperialism as the new battery of first-strike missiles clearly shows. Since the October Revolution overturned capitalist property relations, the imperialists have been at war—sometimes hot, sometimes cold—to restore their social order. One need only imagine the monstrous political and social results if Ronald Reagan faced a non-nuclear Soviet Union with nuclear weapons in his holster. As Manhattan Project chief General Groves put it, Truman dropped two bombs on Japan because two was all he had.

The social gains of October remain despite the Stalinist political counter-revolution. We Trotskyists defend the Soviet Union against imperialism as we fight for a political revolution against the conservative bureaucratic caste which has usurped political power from the proletariat and promotes suicidal illusions in "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists.

With the Rosenberg case the government asserted with state terror that the Communist Party was the direct secret agent of a hostile state power. That is what the charge of espionage means. It charges the entire CP with spying on the basis of its sometimes queasy political support to the Soviet Union. Judge Kaufman was quite explicit in this regard, as he sentenced the Rosenbergs to death:

"It is so difficult to make people realize that this country is engaged in a life and death struggle with a completely different system. This struggle is not only manifested externally between these two forces but this case indicates quite clearly that it also involves the employment by the enemy of secret as well as overt outspoken forces among our own people."

—*Invitation to an Inquest*, p. 169

The connection between "overt outspoken forces" with "secret" espionage is fatal. Outspoken pro-Soviet politics thus becomes "evidence" of espionage, and every CPer can be charged or intimidated with the charge of espionage. Unfortunately, the present Rosenberg debate is posed as a battle for the hearts and minds of those for whom the defense of the Soviet Union is a crime. And as the going gets tougher in Cold War II it may become, in Judge Kaufman's words, a crime "worse than murder."

How the CP Failed the Rosenbergs

One of the creepier anti-Communist themes of *The Rosenberg File* asserts that the CP wanted to see the Rosenbergs dead: "So, while the Rosenbergs were not the victims of a frame-up, they were indeed hapless scapegoats of a propaganda war—a war in which their deaths would be counted as a victory for both sides" (p. 452). Radosh/Milton equate the government's legal murder of the Rosenbergs with the CP's defense policy. *The Rosenberg File* authors explain the CP's reluctance to take up the Rosenberg defense until 1952 as more implied "evidence" of their guilt. But in fact the entire left, with the exception of the *National Guardian*, was slow to take up the case. It wasn't until the death sentence was ordered that the fundamentally political character of this case became evident.

Radosh/Milton argue that the CP wanted the Rosenbergs dead so that they could be sure they wouldn't "confess." To what? The government wanted the Rosenbergs to name other CPers as espionage agents. Once again this disgusting "proof" of the Rosenbergs' alleged guilt misses the entire point of why the American left, including the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP), didn't rush to defend the Rosenbergs. *All* the organizations of the American left were on the defensive and for good reason. It was a time when militants were tried and sent to jail for long stretches often on nothing other than their libraries. Congressmen were calling to make CP membership a capital crime. The government was looking to brand left organizations, particularly the Communist Party, as espionage agents. The witchhunters would have welcomed the opportunity to join the Smith Act "advocacy" cases with the spy cases.

By 1952 the Stalinists had organized a large international campaign. The defense of the Rosenbergs had tremendous appeal outside the U.S. with its particular brand of Cold War pressure. In France, the demand for clemency spread to mainstream bourgeois opinion. It was portrayed as an American Dreyfus case. Even the pope came out for clemency. The CPs stressed the anti-Semitic aspects of the Rosenberg case which were present, though clearly secondary. Radosh argues that the real reason the CPs huilt a defense campaign for the Rosenbergs was to deflect attention from the grotesque and venomous campaign of anti-Semitism by the Stalinists in their purge trials of CP leaders in Czechoslovakia. The CP

had considerable problems explaining the execution of Slansky and the other mainly Jewish CPers who were being executed in Prague as "Trotskyites, Titoists and Jewish nationalists." Here the CP offered the Stalinist "confession" as proof of guilt in these frame-up trials. But Stalin's vicious trials and the CP's boundless hypocrisy does not mean that the CP wanted the Rosenbergs dead.

The betrayal of the Rosenbergs by the Communist Party was not particularly due to its defense policy. Even if they had moved sooner and with more energy it is not likely they could have saved the Rosenbergs from a government intent on killing them. The CP betrayed the working class with its program of class collaboration. The Stalinists then as now maintained a policy of tailing the progressive, "democratic" bourgeoisie only to find themselves without allies when it was time to break up the popular front forged during the "Great Patriotic War Against Fascism." If there is one lesson the CP should have learned, it is how unreliable are its "progressive" bourgeois friends. Years of class collaboration behind Roosevelt—the no-strike pledge, the betrayal of black rights during WWII—took the CP into the McCarthy period completely disarmed and unprepared for the witchhunt.

Leopold Trepper, the heroic Soviet spy who headed the anti-Nazi "Red Orchestra" network in Europe during World War II, noted from his own standpoint that political courage is more a product of political line than of individual personal qualities. Acknowledging that in Russia it was uniquely the Trotskyists who held fast to their convictions during the purge trials and in Stalin's prison camps, he wrote:

"...they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not 'confess,' for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism."

Old Witchhunt, New Cold War

When Radosh/Milton find Julius Rosenberg and a host of other CPers "guilty" of espionage, they reveal their impulse and appetite for a new witchhunt on the left. It is in the name of the "loyal" American "left" that Radosh/Milton point the finger at the "disloyal" types likely to commit espionage. It's politics that makes 'em do it, say Radosh/Milton:

"Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and their accomplices were so captive to their blind adulation of Stalinist Russia that they failed to perceive the true implications of their espionage, much less to comprehend how their actions would discredit the Left in the eyes of their fellow Americans." (p. 453)

It is this blemish, this "discredit" on the patriotism of the American left which is the target of this campaign.

From the murder of Rosa Luxemburg to the present, the social democrats have a standing offer to be the bloodhounds in the service of imperialism. In the U.S., the social dems have been among the most rabid Cold Warriors. During Cold War I they clamored for the deaths of the Rosenbergs. And even the "left face" of American social democracy, Max Shachtman's International Socialist League (ISL, successor to the Workers Party, which had split from the Trotskyist SWP over Shachtman's refusal to defend the Soviet Union in World War II) refused to come out for commutation of the death penalty until 1953. This weathervane of Stalinophobia on the American left used the excuse that "Socialists have traditionally refrained from involving themselves in controversies in which espionage is involved" (*Labor Action*, 19 January 1953).

The question deeply split the ISL. In the Bay Area branch, the vote to support commutation of the death

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Run Union-Buster Kiley Out of Town!

CIA Heavy Becomes NYC Subway Czar

When introducing his nominee for chairman of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, New York governor Mario Cuomo boasted that "Bob Kiley will come to this position with all of the credentials that we were seeking." Kiley has plenty of credentials, all right: cop, union-buster and top-level CIA spymaster during the Vietnam War. His latest assignment is simply a continuation of a life-long war on working people. New York City transit workers, beware—you are Kiley's next target.

When Kiley's nomination was announced, NYC transit workers from 239th Street to Coney Island reacted: "He's a union-buster!" They're dead right. As transit boss in Boston, Kiley slashed the workforce by 10 percent and tried unsuccessfully to introduce part-timers. "They have no right to strike," Kiley arrogantly pronounced. Well, the transit workers in Boston didn't think so. In July 1978 they took off work en masse and mobilized against a Kiley-backed bill intended to strip them of cost-of-living protection.

So Kiley is mouthing off now about how he's going to tighten work rules, contract out repair work, hire part-timers, restrict seniority and, assert "management rights." New York transit workers, already fed up with being scapegoated for a transit system that's gone to hell because the city's bankers and Democratic Party bosses have starved it of maintenance, had better be prepared. What's needed is some hard class struggle to send this big time Beakie and union-buster packing!

Kiley began his career as president of the National Student Association (NSA), later revealed as a recipient of covert CIA funds. After his cover was blown as a secret CIA operative, Kiley was sent upstairs to become manager of intelligence operations and then executive assistant to Richard Helms, director of Central Intelligence. Later this CIA bigwig claimed he knew little about the spy agency's clandestine work! Who does he think he's kidding! Kiley's got blood on his hands—from the Phoenix Program, a counterinsurgency assassination operation that killed 20,000 Vietnamese, to the massive secret carpetbombing of Cambodia in 1969. Not to mention the CIA's murderous "destabilization" in Chile.

During Kiley's tenure, "the company" was even at work in the NYC transit system. An 18-year, super-secret CIA project to develop poisons and biochemical weapons included flooding the city's subway system with a "harmless" version of poison gas (*New York Times*, 17 September 1975).

For a while Kiley worked for the Police Foundation in Washington. He was then recruited to Boston, first working with the police and then, from 1972 to 1975, as deputy mayor under Kevin White. During the Boston busing crisis of 1974, Kiley was in charge of "public safety." This liberal now says he prevented violence, but in fact racist mobs got away scot free with stoning buses of black schoolchildren—and it was on the streets of South Boston that school integration suffered a massive defeat.

After his four-year stint as Boston transit czar, Kiley set up a management consultant firm and recently mounted a loser campaign for mayor of Boston. According to the *Village Voice*, "A surprising number of Kiley's contributors seem to have come from his CIA-NSA network, including Richard Helms."

And New York's liberals are greeting Kiley with open arms. The *Village Voice's* Joe Conason wrote that Kiley "knows how to run trains." Like Mussolini, maybe? The liberal Cuomo needed a proven labor hater whom even Mayor Koch couldn't object to. "What the governor's done is splendid," said Koch, who has for years led a union-busting-assault on city workers.

No doubt the notoriously racist Koch can only smile upon Kiley's intentions to unleash the NYC transit cops. For New York's black and Hispanic subway riders, this means racist murder. On September 28, black, 25-year-old Michael Stewart, the son of a retired transit maintenance man, died from a beating two weeks earlier by white transit cops for allegedly scrawling graffiti in a subway station. Despite injuries all over his body, the cause of death was listed as cardiac arrest. Family attorneys maintain that Stewart was strangled and doctors present at his autopsy cited the massive hemorrhages in his eyes as evidence. Subsequently, Stewart's eyes were ghoulishly, and secretly, removed from his body.

They can't rebuild New York City transit by squeezing the wages of already low-paid workers, jacking up the fares and stomping poor black turnstile jumpers. The bosses have been trying to scapegoat transit workers for the decaying subways. Two years ago then Transit Authority president John Simpson even called a press conference to blame black motorman Jesse Cole for an accident caused by a defective signal system while the driver was literally bleeding to death in his cab. And this summer the TA hired a "consultant" from San Francisco to blame the record-breaking derailments on "cow-boy" motormen. In response, angry motormen staged a slowdown action.

Now, even the bosses have begun to admit the massive structural deterioration that underlies the subway failures. The TA admits that only 30 percent of the trains run on time. Small wonder. "Deferred maintenance" came in when Big MAC was shoved down the throats of NYC's working people ten years ago, and since then track maintenance has been exactly halved. And that's nothing compared to the catastrophes that lie ahead. "Today, it may be track, [TA] officials say, but tomorrow it could be broken signals, crumbling tunnels or faulty motors" (*New York Times*, 7 October). With transit ridership at its lowest point since 1917, the bosses themselves are worried. How can Wall Street rake in its profits if you can't get to work in New York!

But the billions of dollars and



Charles/New York Times
Vietnam war criminal and labor-hater Robert Kiley (right).

thousands of additional workers needed to transform crumbling NYC transit into a safe, clean, efficient system with decent working conditions is *not* what the union-hating, fare-hiking bankers and liberal CIA technocrat Kiley have in mind. You can't begin to fight for what's needed without a massive mobilization of the unions and oppressed in this city. The money's there, all right, but it's going to the parasitic bankers and the bosses' anti-Soviet war drive.

The clean, efficient and beautiful Moscow subways, by the way, are a 1,000 percent improvement over the rolling death traps in New York. The fare has been eight cents there for 50 years and there are no Guardian Angels to terrorize the passengers. But that's not capitalism's way. A transportation "expert" from Pennsylvania recently suggested that Kiley institute a first-class fare system for those passengers willing and able to pay for better service. The rest of us can swelter, freeze and go deaf.

What this city needs is a fighting, anti-capitalist labor movement, centered in the Transport Workers Union (TWU). The TWU has the raw social power to lead New York's oppressed to victory. But instead of using it, TWU Local 100 president John Lawe busies himself,

come hell or high water—and there's been plenty of both in the subways lately—negotiating sellouts which he calls victories. "I've known him [Kiley] for some time," Lawe said (*Chief-Leader*, 14 October). "From everything I hear about him I think he's good material."

Lawe damn sure does know Kiley. As a consultant for the Metro-North Commuter Rail division of the MTA, Kiley was part of the Koch/management mugging of the United Transportation Union (UTU) railroad workers when they struck last March. Jobs, overtime and "swing time" pay were slashed; that's how MTA workers know Kiley! That's what you get when you kowtow to the "friends of labor" Democrats. Lawe backs Cuomo for governor and the transit workers get a \$150,000-a-year war criminal for their boss.

The TWU has come a long way down since it was built as part of the CIO labor upsurge in the '30s. For three decades the city bosses never dared to mess with the union. When they tried in 1966, then-president Mike Quill told a strike-breaking judge to "drop dead in his long black robes." The TWU shut the city down tight until Mayor Lindsay came crawling. In the '60s Local 100's wages and benefits ranked first in the country among transit workers. That was because of its willingness to struggle and utilize the strike weapon.

This year the membership has an alternative to Lawe & Co. In the upcoming Local 100 election a three-man slate has come forward with a call for class-struggle leadership. Ed Kartsen, David Brewer and Jim Smith, leaders of a militant protest over the acquittal of the racist murderers of TWU member Willie Turks, are running on a program to smash management attacks through strike action, labor/black mobilizations to stop racist terror and a labor offensive to reverse the givebacks. They are demanding that the union break with the Democrats, and call for a workers party to fight for a workers government. The TWU militants say: Double the wages! Free, safe mass transit! Cancel the debt, expropriate the banks! What's needed is solid strike action—America can't run without the New York subways! ■

CORRECTIONS

In our article "Reagan's Story Stinks!" (*WV* No. 337, 9 September 1983) we erroneously stated that U.S. pilot Gary Powers was brought down in 1959. In fact, his U-2 spy plane was shot down by the USSR on 1 May 1960. We also gave the wrong date for a 2 September *Washington Post* story that reported that there was no indication anyone had tried to warn Flight 007 it was off course. In "Reagan's 007 War Fever" (*WV* No. 338, 23 September 1983), Jim Wright was wrongly identified as the "Democratic Senate majority leader"—he is the Democratic House majority leader.

We must apologize for impermissibly sloppy editing of "KKK-Style 'Justice' in Georgia" (*WV* No. 339, 7 October 1983) which resulted in several errors being added to the article sent us from Atlanta. Black civil rights activist Tom Shaw is *not* an "Atlanta Civil Rights Worker" as our kicker wrongly said—he is a resident of Dooly County, located in Georgia's coastal plain. Our Atlanta

correspondent noted:

"Dooly is a place that the civil rights movement never got to. Social relations have not changed fundamentally since the post-Reconstruction era. It is brutally race segregated. There are not public bars or restaurants in Dooly. Just white only country clubs, Elks and Lions Clubs. The modest gains of the civil rights movement are not apparent in Dooly or in most of the rural and semi-rural South. Dooly is run by the white landowners for the white landowners."

Nor was Shaw arrested driving home "from the hospital" as we said, which would imply that he had gone there to support deputy sheriff Wright, after Wright's provocative actions against a black social gathering had led to the white deputy's injury. Shaw was seized driving home with a friend several hours later. Finally, arch-segregationist Lester Maddox served as lieutenant governor of Georgia under Governor Jimmy Carter, not the reverse as we had stated.

Better better editorial touchup, but less!

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Australian SWP Defends Ustashi Fascists

We reprint below an article from *Australasian Spartacist* No. 103 (August-September 1983) exposing the Australian Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as a defender of Ustashi fascism. The SWP's association with the Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP) has rightly made it notorious on the Australian left and not only on the left. The 16 August issue of the Australian news magazine *Bulletin* writes that: "The shock waves from the SWP's embrace of the Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP) have even reached the Labor Party, not to mention the Palestine Liberation Movement and the Irish Republican Movement."

Many readers will naturally ask: How is it possible for a group calling itself "revolutionary socialist" to defend the most sadistic and bloodthirsty of the East European fascist regimes which operated under the protection of Hitler's Third Reich? The SWP's relations with the Croatian rightists cannot be dismissed as some strange, inexplicable aberration. Rather the Australian SWP has taken to the logical conclusion—admittedly, a rare thing in politics—the position of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), of which the SWP is a member, toward Soviet-bloc "dissidents."

The USec has long had a positive

orientation toward all oppositional groupings, even the most openly pro-imperialist and anti-Communist, in the East European bureaucratically ruled workers states. Mandel has long maintained that any and all oppositional movements in the Soviet bloc are progressive forces for political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy: "The political conflict in the USSR and the People's Democracies pits the bureaucracy against the toiling masses and not against the imperialist bourgeoisie" (*From Stalinism to Eurocommunism* [1978]). In response to this whitewash, we replied at the time:

"Is the reactionary religious fanatic

Aleksander Solzhenitsyn, who denounces the American people for not destroying North Vietnam, then a legitimate spokesman for 'the toiling masses against the bureaucracy'? What about the liberal cold warrior Andrei Sakharov, who calls for U.S. economic blackmail against the Soviet Union? Or the Zionist Vladimir Slepak, who sought to organize the large-scale emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel?"

—Euro-Revisionists Tail Stalinist Breakaways."

Spartacist No. 26, Winter 1979

Cheering on clerical-led Solidarność in Poland, whose hero is the fascist anti-Soviet dictator Pilsudski; now embracing the heirs of Croatian fascism, who apologize for the genocidal terror of the Ustashi Black Legion—for the USec (along with Ronald Reagan) the representatives of the toiling masses of East Europe are the "captive nations" crowd of pro-Nazi reactionaries who were swept away nearly four decades ago by the victorious Red Army. For the genuine Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency, our fight for workers political revolution in the Soviet bloc is the struggle to ensure that these counterrevolutionary scum will never return.

SWP Defends Ustasha

Jim Percy's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has gone off the deep end. This kinky social-democratic operation has been thrown into crisis thanks to the notoriety it so rightly deserves as a defender of Ustasha fascism. For over a year now the SWP has pursued relations with the Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP), which in terms of organisational continuity and political identification acts and talks like a Ustasha front, openly proclaiming as its goal the dismemberment of the Yugoslav workers state and hailing in its press, *Hrvatski Tjednik*, some of the most bloodthirsty of the Ustasha's butchers. These are the remnants of Ante Pavelic's "Independent State of Croatia," brought to power in 1941 on the bayonets of the invading German and Italian armies. Under the watchful eye of the Axis occupiers, Pavelic turned the satellite state of Croatia into a vast slaughter-yard for Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and many Croats. It took social revolution by Tito's all-Yugoslav Partisans, encompassing Communist fighters of all nationalities, to defeat the Ustasha fascists and their Nazi overlords. It is this social revolution that the losers of the Yugoslav civil war long to overturn through bloody counterrevolution.

The SWP's alliance with the HDP has exploded into a first-rate public scandal, first ignited by the Spartacist League's forceful intervention outside the SWP's "Karl Marx Centenary Conference" in Melbourne last April where Jacob Bilander, a Jewish survivor of the Nazi holocaust, was thrown out after denouncing the Ustasha's monstrous crimes at a special HDP workshop. The SWP/HDP affair has been splashed across the pages of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) *Tribune* and even made the big bourgeois press with an article in Murdoch's *Australian* (12 July). Headed "How the ultra-Right may have finally suckered the ultra-Left," *Australian* journalist David Hirst notes that "egg seems to be sticking on the faces of the SWP-*Direct Action*" and reports rumours of "an anti-Croat faction emerging within the SWP." On 19 June the issue was aired on ABC radio in Sydney on its *Background Briefing* program presented by Mark Aarons, the son of former CPA leader Laurie Aarons. Then, on 11 July a Sydney campus station, 2SER-FM, ran a debate between *Tribune*'s Denis Freney and SWP leader Dave Holmes. Given the history of Ustasha terror in Australia, the SWP should hardly be surprised that Labor Party doors across the political spectrum have been slamming in their face, like ex-Senator Mulvihill who adorned the SWP's "solidarity with Solidarity" platform in



EPB



Australian HDP paper (above) glorifies Ustashi butcher Jure Francetic. Croatian Ustashi (left) were the most sadistic and bloodthirsty of the East European fascists who operated under the protection of Nazi Third Reich.

December 1981, but who now writes to *Direct Action* (19 July) defending Yugoslav anti-Soviet "nonalignment," or Victorian Labor MP Lewis Kent who telegraphed a 16 July SWP/CISCAC conference: "I feel the fascist HDP's association with CISCAC prevents me from addressing you."

In response the SWP devoted a special issue of *Socialist Worker* (August 1983) to "Croatian nationalism and the fight for socialism" and in July produced a 4-page *Direct Action* supplement about "the Croatian national struggle," which announces: "The SWP and the HDP are going on a campaign to get out the truth." And what is the "truth"? This is what the supplement says: (1) "the Ustasha was not a fascist movement"; (2) "Pavelic's real betrayal of the Croatian national cause was his subordination of that struggle to the interests of German and Italian imperialism"; (3) "Even the scale of the Ustasha crimes, real and horrifying as they were, has been deliberately and massively exaggerated"; (4) "it is the Belgrade regime that must answer to the charge of 'terrorism'" (emphasis in original). This is the kind of trash that usually comes from the mouths of Nazi apologists who claim the holocaust never happened. From a supposed "socialist" grouping such statements are unprecedented, amazing, utterly degenerate.

The SWP has now reached the point of openly defending specific acts of

Ustasha terror against the Yugoslav workers state. For years these cowardly reformists have painstakingly sought to establish an image as peace-loving folk with a deep respect for all that is legal, but an exception is made for Miro Baresic, now in a Swedish prison for the 1971 assassination of Yugoslav ambassador Rolovic. On 2SER-FM SWP spokesman Holmes lauds this murder as an "act of struggle against national oppression." According to *Rooted in Secrecy* by Victorian Labor MP Joan Coxedge et al., Rolovic visited Australia in 1970 to deliver a secret *aide memoire* documenting Ustasha activities in Australia. Coxedge charges the McMahon Liberal government and ASIO with complicity in Rolovic's murder, pointing out that the *aide memoire* must have been revealed to the Ustasha because the killers claimed their bloody deed as an act of reprisal for Rolovic's exposure of the clandestine, terrorist HRB. The SWP's July supplement, however, repeats in print Holmes' statement, further defending this act of fascist terror with the claim that Rolovic was an agent of the Yugoslav secret police—so he deserved it.

Assassin Miro Baresic's photo is featured on the front-page of the 19 July *Hrvatski Tjednik*, which just happens to include a lengthy interview in Croatian with Jimom Percijem, a.k.a. Jim Percy. In the same issue is an interview with Danijel Crljen, described in an earlier edition as "a great son of the Croats"

who "worshipped the Poglavnik Ante Pavelic." A Ustasha leader for 50 years, Crljen was in charge of propaganda under Pavelic, i.e., the Croatian Goebbels (*Background Briefing*). Then there is the 19 April *Hrvatski Tjednik* which ran an article by Dinko Dedec—the HDP speaker at the SWP's "Karl Marx Conference"—commemorating the 10 April anniversary of Pavelic's rise to power. Accompanying the article is a large photo of Jure Francetic, commander of the infamous Black Legion, with a caption extolling this butcher as a "symbol of the Croatian people's will for freedom liberated from all ideologies and collaboration." Francetic, we might add, was "liberated" from "collaboration" when the Nazis disarmed his Black Legion for fear that its bestial atrocities would fuel support for the Partisans. But then such company should please "Jimom Percijem" since the SWP's major complaint against Pavelic was his failure to "break" from German imperialism to "travel the Cuban road"! This rogues gallery of fascist butchers paid tribute in the HDP's "Croatian Weekly" is actually cited by the SWP as an example of how the HDP "is forced to confront the wartime experience of the regime of Pavelic and the Ustasha":

"This may mean interviews with former Ustasha leaders who for many in the Croatian community represent a militant nationalist tradition and who may be changing politically" (our emphasis). —*Direct Action* supplement

All of which brings us to the HDP itself. As acknowledged by Dedec on *Background Briefing*, the major component of the HDP came from the Croatian National Resistance (HNO), which in turn was founded by the Ustasha chief of concentration camps, General Lohuric, and for years led in Australia by Srecko Rover, who is wanted for war crimes in Yugoslavia. The HDP's current international president is Nikola Stedul, from 1974 the international secretary of the HNO;

Socialist Workers Party

National Office: PO Box 1208, Haymarket, 2000 Tel 1071 511 7232

July 15, 1981

Dear Dennis,
Tribune

I'm writing to propose a debate between myself, for the SWP, and you, for the CIA, on the topic of Croatia and the HDP.

I think you would agree that the extensive coverage this question has received in *Direct Action* and *Tribune* (and recently in the *Australian*) has it on issue of great interest on the left right now.

A debate would help to clarify the matter and would certainly attract a wide audience.

Recently the SWP debated the International Socialist on Cuba in a well-attended and well-attended event. I believe that this proposed debate would be a similar success.

I would suggest that it be a public event with the stipulation that it not be open to members of either the Spartacist League or the Socialist Labor League. The first two chronically and aggressively disruptive and the second change us, on every possible occasion, with being cops.

I'd like to hear your response to this proposal. If you think that it could be a useful event, we could get in touch to discuss a date, a venue, and a precise format.

Yours sincerely,

Dennis Holmes
Dennis Holmes
Sydney District Organizer

Copies to: Spartacist League, SLL, Mark Barnes and David Hirst as 'trimmings' and as sending them a copy of your letter to me also.
PO Box 1714
Sydney South NSW 2000
July 20 1981

David Holmes,
Sydney district organizer,
SWP

Dear David,

Thank you for your letter of July 15 proposing a debate on the HDP and Croatia.

I accept your challenge to debate on issues that are of some importance. However I also insist on the following points:

1) Topics: I believe the topic should be something like: "The Ustasha terrorists of Croatian nationalists?" or something which includes both sides of the dispute.

2) Titles: I do not wish to speak officially in behalf of the SWP as a democratic organization and I do not wish every comment I might make to be attributable to the SWP. As you will be aware, over decades we have been fighting the Ustasha, exposing their activities, undoubtedly that of the SWP. However I will only speak as a Tribune journalist.

3) Exclusions: I find it extraordinary that you propose that the SWP, Spartacists and the SLL be excluded, but presumably you will encourage your Ustasha friends to come along. I have the deepest political disagreements with both the SWP and the SLL, and they hear with me. I regard both as politically irrelevant. But I am not afraid to have them present and certainly totally reject any exclusions of anyone from the meeting or, if anyone was to be excluded it would be the HDP.

4) Format of the meetings: I was not present at the SWP-15 debate, but from independent people who were I was disturbed to hear that it was managed to exclude any real debate from the floor. I would therefore propose the usual meeting format: perhaps 30 minutes for you and I to present our views. Questions for a further 30 minutes. Speeches from the floor, with representation of all tendencies to reply.

5) Independent chairperson: A person who is independent and experienced and who is mutually acceptable. I haven't mentioned it to Neil Greenham but I was thinking of someone like him.

6) Finances: I would propose a charge of \$5.00 entry for everyone, profits to be divided equally after cost of hall paid. Each side to pay for whatever publicity they produce.

As far as I am concerned, only point one is open to negotiations, as well as a time mentioned in point 1 and choice of an independent chairperson and charge for entry in point 6. I have already asked David of the SLL.

Yours, Dennis Holmes

Australian CP leader's response (right) to SWP debate challenge: "I find it extraordinary that you propose that the Spartacists and the SLL be excluded, but presumably you will encourage your Ustasha friends to come along."

earlier Stedul was a member of Pavelic's rival HOP. The West German leader of the HDP, Stipe Bilandzic was jailed for an armed attack on the Yugoslav consulate in Bad Godesberg while a leader of the HNO. According to anti-Ustasha fighter Marijan Jurjevic in his book *Ustasha under the Southern Cross*, HNO branches in Australia were named after notorious war criminals. Thus the Geelong branch bore Francetic's name, the Sydney branch that of Ante Vrbani. The commander of the Stara Gradiska concentration camp, Vrbani was accused at a War Crimes trial of massacring 3,000 children, some by bashing their brains against a wall. His defence was that he killed only 63. Such are the roots of the HDP which, says *Direct Action* (21 June), "cannot be held responsible for the crimes of the Ustasha" committed "almost 40 years ago".

Why is the SWP doing what it is doing, you might ask? Several possibilities

come to mind: (1) for money; (2) someone who hates the SWP gave Percy a prefrontal lobotomy; (3) the SWP is so factionally polarised over their links with the HDP that their present leadership has no option of backing down; (4) all of the above. Certainly there is no lack of SWP/Resistance members who intimate on the sly their discomfort with the whole squalid business to supporters of the Spartacist League. And one knows that things inside have got to be bad when second-rate hacks like Sol Salby and Roger Miles (who?) are left to write *Direct Action*, while long-time cadre like Nita Kieg or Jamie Doughney and so many others have disappeared from its turgid pages, save an occasional article on the housing crisis—though those two in particular probably got axed over Poland (see "SWP 'Third Campists' Fall Out Over Poland," *Australasian Spartacist*, June/July 1983). Of course, no one in the SWP

uttered a word of complaint until the CPA and associated Labor Party milieus started to turn the heat on.

An important factor that must be kept in mind is the enormous instability generated in the SWP by its break from Jack Barnes' American SWP, which for years did all the thinking for its Australian namesake. Which is not to suggest that the vindictive, eccentric Barnes, now caught between State Department socialism and his own brand of sycophantic Castroism, has any special claims to sanity. Following this traumatic breach the SWP engaged in some heavy petting sessions with Barnes' arch enemy Ernest Mandel, even bringing the leader of international fake-Trotskyism (the "United" Secretariat) to Melbourne for the "Karl Marx Centenary Conference" where Mandel maintained a stony (public) silence on the company the SWP has been keeping.

The basis for this tentative con-

vergence is/was Poland, over which Mandel has definitively passed from centrism to the camp of social-democratic reformism as an outspoken fan of François Mitterrand's ruling Socialist Party. This must have seemed like a pretty good bet for a factional bloc, all the more so since the SWP is itself internally torn over "tactics" on "solidarity with Solidarity," but we wouldn't be at all surprised if the HDP got in the way. To be sure, Mandel's opportunism is boundless, but (a) it was in part to capitulate to Tito's brand of "objectively revolutionary" Stalinism that Mandel first broke from Trotskyism towards Pabloist liquidation, and (b) why would any ostensible socialist want to rub shoulders with fascist butchers like the Ustasha? But then, who knows; maybe *International Viewpoint* will start running articles on "exciting new developments" in the Australian "Croatian Community."

The SWP pretends they can't figure out why everyone is making such a fuss over screwing around with some "leftward moving" Ustasha supporters:

"For 'Tribune,' the Spartacist League, the Socialist Labor League [which having long ago sold its soul to Qaddafi has jumped in to peddle its old FBI slanders—*ASP*], and the ALP 'lefts,' the HDP question provides them with an opportunity to attack the Socialist Workers Party.

"They are worried by the gains made by the SWP in the past year or so, in size and political influence, and a drive against a 'Ustasha front' supported by the SWP seems a convenient opportunity to get at the SWP."

—*Direct Action* supplement

Sure.

Basically the SWP wishes the whole thing would just go away. Repeatedly they "apologise to readers for having to take up this issue at such length," adding that "it is not the central issue facing workers in Australia right now." What the SWP really means is: look, we support the Hawke government; we support Solidarność; we're for "No More Vietnam"—can't you just forgive us this one little indulgence? But alas, for Percy that is, the HDP affair signals a bizarre form of political suicide. Seeing that the SWP appears so intent on politically self-destructing, it is the duty of revolutionists and all decent opponents of fascist barbarism to do what they can to help it on its way. ■

KOR...

(continued from page 3)

on foundations inherited from the October Revolution. In contrast, Kuron maintained that the Stalinist bureaucracy is a *new exploitative class* no better than the capitalists. And now his refusal to recognize the collectivized, planned economies of East Europe, despite their bureaucratic deformations, as a progressive conquest of the international proletariat has led him into the camp of "democratic" imperialism.

The Workers Defense Committee was formed in 1976, its original purpose being to agitate for amnesty for those workers imprisoned or otherwise victimized for their role in the mass strikes and protests against food price increases decreed in July of that year. By this time Kuron had moved decisively to the right, becoming essentially a social

democrat. Instead of workers democracy, he now called for a Western-style parliamentary regime:

"We must strive for a status similar to Finland's: a parliamentary democracy with a limited independence in the field of foreign policy where it directly touches the interests of the USSR."

—"Thoughts on the Action Program," in Jiri Pelikan and Manfred Wilke, eds., *Menschenrechte: Ein Jahrbuch zu Osteuropa* (1977)

With this program, KOR applied for and was granted observer status in the Second International of Helmut Schmidt, François Mitterrand and Sir Harold Wilson.

While the Polish Stalinist regime persecuted leftist oppositionists, it allowed the Catholic church hierarchy to become, as it were, the official opposition. Thus one of KOR's first acts was an appeal for support from Cardinal Wyszyński for the imprisoned workers. The close collaboration between KOR and the church was publicly announced in Adam Michnik's 1977 tract, "Church, Left, Dialogue," which repudiated and denounced the historic anti-clericalism of the Polish left, including Polish social democracy. Abraham Brumberg, a former editor of the CIA's house organ, *Problems of Communism*, observed that:

"[Michnik's] polemic is to persuade his friends on the left that the Church is defending values compatible with the traditions of secular liberalism, and to urge the Church to realize that if it pursues and deepens its struggle for human rights, it can have no better ally than the secular left."

—"The Open Political Struggle in Poland," *New York Review of Books*, 8 February 1979

By the time of the explosion which produced Solidarność, KOR had become a social-democratic component in a clerical-nationalist movement dominated and directed by Karol Wojtyła's Vatican.

Kuron's political trajectory from some kind of revolutionary syndicalist to an agent of the Vatican and NATO imperialism anticipated and influenced the parallel course of many Western New Left radicals of the 1960s, who once denounced Khrushchev/Brezhnev's Russia for not being revolutionary but have today enlisted in Reagan's anti-Soviet "crusade for freedom." Kuron's fate demonstrates with exceptional clarity that those leftists, whatever their subjective motivations, who deny that the Soviet Union is a proletarian state power (albeit bureaucratically degenerated) will inexorably be drawn into the camp of capitalist imperialism.

We do not underestimate the strength of anti-Communist nationalism in General Jaruzelski's Poland. Yet there are undoubtedly militants, in the factories and the universities, inspired by socialist ideals rather like the Jacek Kuron of 20 years ago. They are attracted to the liberating goals of Marxism even though these have been endlessly dragged through the mud by the Stalinist bureaucracy. They are repelled by the medieval mumbo-jumbo of Wojtyła, who would abolish the right to abortion in Poland and introduce mass unemployment in the name of "freedom"; they are repulsed by the insane nuclear warmongering of Reagan, who would turn Poland into a vast field of irradiated rubble in his drive for

war on the Soviet Union. For Polish workers and youth who want to see a socialist world, the Trotskyist program is the only way forward.

Let the despicable fate of Kuron serve as a lesson. It is urgently necessary to build educational and propaganda cells of a Trotskyist vanguard to restore the great Marxist tradition of the Party Proletariat, Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Jogiches, the "Three W's" (Warski, Walecki and Wera Kostrzewa), all inspirers or leaders of the early Polish Communist Party. ■

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Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

militias, straggling back to the Honduran border, often barefoot, for another infusion of CIA aid, the *panquis* decided to go from harassment to beginning full-scale war on Nicaragua. Given the Sandinista regime's massive popular support, the economic devastation unleashed by U.S. imperialism alone cannot topple the nationalist government. The entire thrust of Reagan's actions point to the direct introduction of U.S. combat troops. Right now thousands of U.S. troops deployed just across the border are poised for invasion. It is the elementary internationalist duty of socialists everywhere, and especially in the United States, to defend the Nicaraguan revolution against imperialist/counterrevolutionary attack.

Faced with the CIA war against its strategic industrial facilities, Nicaragua's military arsenal to defend its airspace and coastlines is pitifully inadequate. The Sandinistas are now asking foreign governments for anti-aircraft defenses as well as combat airplanes. The chance of Washington's allies, like "socialist" Mitterrand's France, providing this aid is nil. The Soviet Union is the only real possibility. We say: send advanced weaponry to Nicaragua! When the Spartacist tendency first raised the slogan, "Nicaragua needs Soviet MIGs," the rad-libs and reformist "left" scoffed at this as bizarre. But who today will deny that the Sandinistas desperately need these weapons to defend the revolution against the CIA and *contras*? Smash U.S. imperialism!

From Contra Terror to CIA Bombing

Striking from sanctuaries in neighboring Honduras, the Somozaist mercenaries have conducted hit-and-run terror raids into Nicaragua, assassinating and torturing community leaders and teachers, kidnapping peasants, ambushing buses, shelling schools and hospitals. Altogether they have killed more than 600 Nicaraguans since the beginning of the year. But the *contra* terrorists were getting chewed up by the Sandinista militia (the regular army has not even been thrown into the battle yet). Hence, according to the *New York Times* (16 October), "...a decision, reached by the C.I.A. over the summer, that attacks directly against industrial and transportation targets inside Nicaragua would be a quicker and more effective way of hurting the Sandinistas than previous efforts." The results were not long in coming.

• September 8—A *contra* attack destroyed 400,000 gallons of fuel at the Atlantic port of Benjamin Zeledón. The same day the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE), led by ex-

Sandinista turncoat Edén Pastora, took credit for an air attack on Sandino International Airport in Managua.

• September 9—An attack damaged unloading facilities at Corinto, the country's major port. The same day an oil terminal at Puerto Sandino was sabotaged.

• October 10—Attackers from light planes and speedboats blew up live storage tanks, causing at least 3.2 million gallons of gasoline and other fuel to go up in flames. Major fires swept the city, forcing 25,000 residents to evacuate their homes, though reportedly some have since returned. The main *contra* group, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), took credit for the attack.

• October 13—Puerto Sandino was again attacked, this time damaging the main oil pipeline. Three-quarters of Nicaragua's oil passes through this port. Significantly, the *contra* groups did not take credit for this attack, suggesting that it was carried out directly by CIA operatives.

Meanwhile, equally or more ominously, Exxon, which owns the country's only oil refinery, has said it will not transport oil to Nicaraguan ports due to "safety considerations." The state-owned Mexican oil company, PEMEX, has for now agreed to continue supplying Nicaragua with crude oil but only if the Sandinista government arranges transport. And the *contras* have publicly threatened to blow up tankers delivering Mexican oil to Nicaragua. Mexican workers must demand that the De la Madrid regime continue deliveries of oil to Managua. And Soviet/Cuban naval forces must convoy the urgently needed fuel to Nicaragua.

Even in an impoverished country like Nicaragua, oil is the lifeblood of the economy. Attempts to cut off a nation's oil have been a major cause of the wars and revolutions of our time. Japan was impelled to attack Pearl Harbor a few months after Roosevelt and Churchill embargoed its oil supplies. And recall that it was the U.S. oil companies' refusal to refine Soviet crude petroleum which finally forced the early Castro regime (similar in many respects to the FSLN today) to expropriate both American and domestic capital in Cuba in the summer/fall of 1960. Today Nicaragua stands at such a decisive crossroads.

However, U.S. imperialism is out to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution before it becomes "another Cuba." Five thousand American troops are in Honduras, poised for invasion. Radar stations, airfields, naval bases, military hospitals are being built to handle a U.S. expeditionary force. Marines are "exercising" with amphibious landings. They are all preparing to KO the Sandinista regime. But meanwhile it is the petty-bourgeois FSLN's attempts to maintain a middle road of "mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment" which have been blown up along with

the oil storage tanks at Corinto and Puerto Sandino.

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

The Reagan administration has put Central America on the front line of its anti-Soviet war drive. The leftist insurgency in El Salvador is to be drowned in blood. Sandinista Nicaragua is labeled a "Soviet puppet" whose very existence threatens Reagan's local allies, that assortment of bloody colonels, corrupt politicians, parasitic oligarchs and their death squads. The only "negotiated solution" acceptable to the Reaganites would be the dissolution of the Sandinista government and installation of a *contra* dictatorship ("moderately authoritarian," of course). Reagan's undersecretary of defense Fred Ikle made this clear in a recent address to the Baltimore Council on Foreign Affairs: "...we must prevent consolidation of a Sandinista regime in Nicaragua that would become an arsenal for insurgency.... If we cannot prevent that, we have anticipated the partition of Central America. Such a development would then force us to man a new military front line of the East-West conflict right here on our continent."

—Baltimore Sun, 14 September

While the Democrats may differ over tactics, they share the strategic goal of overturning the gains of social revolutions from Cuba to the Soviet Union. Both hawks and so-called "doves" alike oppose the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinista government. What motivates the doves is not opposition to overt/covert aid to the Somozaist mercenaries, but the fear of "another Vietnam"—that is, another rout for U.S. imperialism. Thus the November 12 rad-lib Central America march in Washington includes among its demands: "No more Vietnam Wars!" In contrast, the Trotskyists proclaim: "Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!" As Vietnamese foreign minister Nguyen Co Thach recently declared in Managua, "North American intervention in Nicaragua could lead to many Vietnams" (*New York Times*, 7 September). The new CIA tactics are intended not only to strangle the Nicaraguan economy, but to show Congress that the war is winnable. And in the wake of Reagan's 007 war provocation, the Democrats' vaunted opposition vanished into thin air; continued funding for the *contras* passed a Senate committee by a vote of 13-2.

The efforts of the soft cops of the Contadora group (Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama) to mediate a negotiated settlement in Central America is an attempt to avoid the domestic repercussions of either direct Yankee intervention or social revolution. The Contadora call, which Castro endorses and the Sandinistas have accepted, for a halt to *all* arms deliveries in the region (including aid to Salvadoran leftist

insurgents), the withdrawal of military advisers (including Cubans) and early elections, is a formula for the prostration of Sandinista Nicaragua before the U.S. war machine and the strengthening of the internal fifth column. Even a "compromise" settlement such as a government of "national unity," no doubt involving reactionaries like Archbishop Obando y Bravo, would only be a brief transition to bloody counterrevolution.

On October 14 Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Sandinista junta, announced the adoption of an emergency plan to confront the present crisis: austerity, strengthening civil defense, rationing fuel, etc. Missing from this ten-point plan are the decisive actions that would inspire the masses to revolutionary defense of their own state: expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the creation of a workers and peasants government.

Mobilization of the Nicaraguan working masses to struggle in their revolutionary class interests would create a social force that would sweep away the *contra* scum and stand up to any and all of the American puppet juntas in the region. This spark would have to ignite the workers throughout the isthmus to relentless class war, spreading north to Mexico with its many-millioned proletariat now facing savage austerity dictated by the Yankee bankers and International Monetary Fund. That is the perspective of permanent revolution, the program for Trotskyist parties in Central America.

The stakes in the battle for Nicaragua are high and not only for the masses of that besieged country. In 1936 the popular-front Spanish Loyalists, faced with Franco's military uprising, sabotaged the heroic struggle of the proletariat: the social-democratic and Stalinist reformists were more fearful of social revolution than of military defeat. When Franco's allies, Germany and Italy, bombed and blockaded the country, the Republic did nothing but issue appeals to the League of Nations while the "democratic" imperialists claimed their "hands were tied" by the non-intervention pact. Meanwhile, the internal bourgeois fifth-column opposition was allowed to flourish. As a result the Spanish working class suffered a historic defeat, which helped set the stage for World War II.

Will the Sandinistas follow the suicidal course of the Spanish Loyalists? Or will they have enough sense of self-preservation to mobilize the masses against the CIA's war as did the Castroites at the Bay of Pigs, thus saving the Cuban Revolution?

Today we urgently demand that Cuba and the Soviet Union must send all necessary military aid to Nicaragua, especially modern jet aircraft. Smash the Somozaist/CIA counterrevolution! Kill the *contras*—Workers to power! Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua needs MIGs... now! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

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

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c/o SYL
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Ann Arbor, MI 48107
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Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

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(Signed)
Jan Noiden,
(Editor)

Endorsers of October 29 March and Rally to Stop the Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero

Partial List of Endorsers

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 Elaine Yoneda, President, ILWU Auxiliary No. 16, San Francisco, CA

*Organization listed for identification purposes only

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the initiators of this mobilization printed below

Lauren & Ray...

(continued from page 16)

disreputable woman is not actually in the Klan, she might as well be.

The railroading of Lauren and Ray is hangman's justice in Reagan's America. Reagan and his millionaire cronies hate black America. They hate unions. Since Reagan destroyed PATCO, the bosses and the government are on the warpath against working people and blacks in particular. When the Klan endorsed Ronald Reagan, they knew what they were doing! Now Reagan, solidly backed by Democratic votes in Congress, threatens to ignite the entire earth in a thermonuclear war against Russia.

The "respectable authorities" use the laws and courts, backed up by racist D.A.'s and cops, to "legally" kill, frame up and jail black people and union members. All the while, the trigger-happy cops terrorize the black neighborhoods, enforcing with clubs and guns the old saying, "If you're black, get back." The brutal cop murder of five-year-old Patrick Mason, and the \$35,000 bounty awarded his murderer by the California Worker's Comp. Board for "psychological stress" says it all about being black in Reagan's America!

No black person in Oakland or California knows for sure when they leave their homes whether they'll make it home that night. Over the years the list of wanton police killings seems endless: Bobby Hutton, Tyrone Guyton, Charles Briscoe, little Patrick Mason, Willie Lee

Drumgoole, Johnny Roman, Michael Guillory, Eulia Love, and many, many more. All too often the terrible racist atrocities are done and protests come too late to save the victims.

We say "enough!" Labor and blacks have the power! Five thousand blacks and unionists mobilized in a Spartacist League-initiated demonstration that was endorsed and supported by the International Longshoremen's Association among many others, and stopped the KKK race-terrorists from marching in Washington, D.C. last November 27. Now is the time for black and working people of Oakland to say this racist anti-labor frame-up will not be tolerated.

What we need on October 29, two days before Lauren and Ray go to court, is a massive militant, disciplined display of defiant power by all the enemies and victims of racism, be it at the hands of

the racists dressed in the white robes of the KKK, the blue uniforms of the cops or the black robes of the bosses' courts.

ALL OUT FOR OCTOBER 29! Get your union, your church, your community organization, your neighbors, your school moving! Come to Oakland City Hall (14th and Washington Sts.) at 11 a.m.! March to the D.A.'s office at the Alameda County Courthouse (12th and Fallon Sts.)!

WE SAY: NO WAY! SMASH THIS RACIST ANTI-LABOR FRAME-UP! DOWN WITH SOUTH AFRICA-STYLE JUSTICE! FREEDOM AND JOBS BACK FOR MOZEE AND PALMIERO!!! PICKET LINES MEAN DON'T CROSS!!!

—Ad Hoc Committee Against Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up of Mozee and Palmiero

Rosenbergs...

(continued from page 10)

penalty lost by a single vote. When Shachtman sent his wire to Eisenhower asking to commute the death sentence, it was done in the name of "an independent socialist organization which has been uncompromising in its struggle against Stalinism" (*Labor Action*, 22 June 1953). Still there was a hue and cry in the party against the decision, as letters poured into *Labor Action* bitterly complaining of Shachtman's "capitulation": "This belated jump into the 'super-liberal' bandwagon... that hangs on the Stalinist coattails."

The Shachtmanites wanted the bourgeoisie to know that their "concern" arises "only from the death penalty." Shachtman's cable to Eisenhower explained that the problem with the death penalty was "it gives worldwide Stalinism an effective weapon." This is the tradition and method of the present campaign to prosecute the Rosenbergs. What Radosh/Milton and the rest of the Cold War rad-libs don't like about the McCarthyite handling of the Rosenberg case was that *it didn't work*. It didn't work in the narrowest sense because it did not force the Rosenbergs to make false accusations against their comrades. And it didn't work in the larger sense that it created Stalinist martyrs. So the social democrats and Cold War liberals offer themselves to

run an efficient witchhunt.

We have here one of the prevailing liberal views of the McCarthy period, namely that it went too far. It convicted the "innocent" along with the "guilty." Who were "innocent"? The liberals, of course. The liberal and social democrat want their civil liberties and their witchhunt too. Thus the liberals' typical hero of the McCarthy period is the non-Communist (preferably anti-Communist) wrongly accused as an agent of the Soviet Union. The problem is that with primitives like McCarthy running the show, liberals can get hurt too. There is an old political joke about the man who is set upon by a frenzied right-wing mob. He shouts out: "I'm not a Communist, I'm an anti-Communist." But the mob leader responds: "We don't care what kind of Communist you are," as they continue to pummel him.

In the U.S., political life imitates political humor. Recently, SDS honcho-turned-Democratic Party-hack-assemblyman Tom Hayden spoke at an anti-Communist 007 rally/"pour-out" of excellent Stolichnaya vodka. "Anyone drinking Russian vodka after this atrocity," said Jane Fonda's husband, "is washing down the blood of innocent people." Pretty strong stuff. But the crowd for this sort of thing was mainly South Koreans and the anti-Soviet Baltic-American Freedom League. And they shouted Hayden down with jeers: "Once a commie, always a commie" (*Los Angeles Times*, 11 September). Unfortunately, the

slogan of the Baltic League isn't the case. The world is full of ex-Communist god-that-failed types. For many New Leftists, particularly of the red-diaper Ronald Radosh variety, the road has led to social democracy.

The Cold War rad-libs like Radosh were in the New Left antiwar movement of the 1960s when anti-Sovietism was suppressed. Russia was seen as being either on the Vietnamese side or as one of the two "superpowers." Radosh, Weinstein & Co. always had a pronounced chauvinist pride in their "organic American radicalism." Their type came through NAM—the New American Movement—into mainstream American social democracy. In the spirit of American entrepreneurship they say: we can build a better witchhunt. It is not only Albert Shanker's S.D.U.S.A. wing of American social democracy which will produce the Cold War bloodhounds; the DSA will provide the rad-lib variety of social-patriotic Cold Warrior. Now they are proving useful in the preparations to witchhunt "disloyal" elements on the left perceived as "pro-Soviet" by the government. Perhaps this is what James Weinstein meant when he said *The Rosenberg File* was a "service for the left."

Cold War II will not be a simple repeat of McCarthyism. But the basic witchhunting method of criminalizing political opposition to the government, particularly with regard to opposition to the anti-Soviet war drive, will be similar.

In the postwar period, the CP was recast as espionage agents. But the "Vietnam syndrome" and the "Rosenberg syndrome" make that kind of open ideological lynching more difficult today. So today the entire "disloyal" left is being characterized as "international terrorism." The secret police are already gearing up on this basis with witch-hunting RICO laws. That is the purpose and great danger of the FBI's "new guidelines." Left organizations branded as terrorists are set up as outlaws, to be shot down like dogs. It is McCarthyism with a drawn gun. That is why the Spartacist League is fighting the basis for the new Red Hunt, with a lawsuit against the FBI (see article this issue).

Fighting this exhumed Rosenberg frame-up is part of the struggle against Cold War II. In 1953 the Trotskyists were fighting the Cold War liberals of their day. And what they had to say then at the time of the execution about the Cold War liberal Max Lerner holds true today for the new rad-lib Cold Warriors like Radosh/Milton. As the *Militant* (6 July 1953) wrote:

"Lerner may think he is rid of the Rosenberg case and now that he has said his 'farewell to the whole topic,' the rest of us will do likewise. But there are tens of millions here and abroad who recognize this case for what it was—a bestial act of capitalist class terrorism intended to help intimidate into silence all who would criticize or oppose Wall Street's policies abroad or at home. These millions will yet say the last word on the Rosenbergs and the evil class system that committed their murder" ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

ALL OUT Saturday, October 29!

Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero Must Not Go to Jail!



Ray Palmiero, Lauren Mozee and her two children.

Stop the Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up!

We reprint below a call for an October 29 protest march and rally in Oakland by the Ad Hoc Committee, Against Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up of Mozee and Palmiero.

On August 10, while on a picket line in the Klan-infested city of San Leandro, striking phone worker Lauren Mozee was called a "BLACK NIGGER BITCH" and hit in the face by a racist Pacific Telephone scab/manager, Michelle Rose Hansen. Lauren defended herself against this provocative and violent assault, and her companion and fellow unionist Ray Palmiero came to her assistance. Now they are fired from their jobs and face up to eight years each in state prison for doing their duty on the picket line. That means no more real picket lines. And if you've got no picket lines, you've got no union.

THIS IS AN OUTRAGE! Black and working people of Oakland—the phone company and the Reagan-loving D.A.'s office want to import Alabama-style justice to Oakland. They want to intimidate us. Their message is that blacks have no right to resist

racist assault. They say unionists have no right to defend themselves from management violence. **WE SAY: NO WAY! THESE FRAME-UPS MUST BE STOPPED!!!**

ASSEMBLE AT 11 A.M. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29 AT OAKLAND CITY HALL AND MARCH AT 12 NOON TO THE ALAMEDA COUNTY COURTHOUSE FOR A 1 P.M. RALLY TO STOP THE RACIST FRAME-UP OF LAUREN MOZEE AND RAY PALMIERO! WE MUST MOBILIZE THOUSANDS OF BLACKS AND UNIONISTS IN THE STREETS TO SEND A LOUD AND CLEAR MESSAGE TO THE UNION-HATING PHONE COMPANY AND ITS REAGANITE FLUNKIES IN THE D.A.'S OFFICE—STOP THE RACIST FRAME-UPS!!! DOWN WITH SOUTH AFRICA-STYLE JUSTICE!!! BE THERE ON OCTOBER 29!!!

This frame-up is an act of politicized racism being carried out by an unholy conspiracy of the powerful and vindictive Ma Bell, the racist strikebusting San Leandro police, the FBI and the Alameda County

D.A.'s office, Reagan's prime recruiting ground for his Department of Injustice. Lauren and Ray were singled out for legal lynching because they are an interracial couple, because they are union militants, because they are fighters against KKK/cop terror and because Lauren was a ten-year member of the Black Panther Party, destroyed in large part by government murder and frame-up persecution.

FREEDOM FOR THIS COUPLE!!! Lauren Mozee, 36, is the mother of two children. Ray Palmiero, her companion, is the son of Italian immigrants. Both are active in their union, the Communications Workers of America. Three children depend on Lauren and Ray for support. What will become of them if Lauren and Ray go to prison?

The arrogant racist Michelle Rose Hansen who called Lauren a "BLACK NIGGER BITCH" is no ordinary scab. She went out of her way to provoke and ridicule strikers while daily crossing their picket lines. Obscene gestures and racial slurs were the ugly accompaniment to her gleeful strikebreaking. If this

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Assemble at 11 a.m. Oakland City Hall, March at 12 Noon to Alameda County Courthouse for a 1 p.m. Rally