

## Racist Hypocrisy on Martin Luther King Day

It was the first celebration of Martin Luther King's birthday as an official national holiday, and America's racist rulers were really spreading it on thick. Ronald Reagan, who fought tooth and nail to defeat the law making M.L.

King Day a holiday, declared the slain civil rights leader "was a great man who wrested justice from the heart of a great country." Alabama governor George Wallace read a proclamation honoring King from the capitol steps

in Montgomery where he once proclaimed "Segregation Forever." The hypocrisy was symbolized by Vice President George Bush joining hands with the widow Coretta King, singing "We Shall Overcome" at King's

Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta. Many blacks and indeed everyone who fought for integration was revolted by the spectacle of arch-segregationists and reactionaries hailing the man they denounced as a communist and "race mixer."

The ruling class seized upon King's "I Have a Dream" speech at the 1963 march on Washington. Ever since the days of slavery they have tried to get black people to live on dreams of heaven by and by—so they would forget about the hell they're living here and now. At the time of King's speech, radical civil rights activists declared, "The American dream is a nightmare

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## For Mass Labor Action to Smash National Guard Strikebreaking! Shut Down Hormel!

AUSTIN, Minnesota, January 28—Sharp battle lines have been drawn for all labor in the five-month-long meatpackers strike against Hormel & Co.'s key pork processing plant here. Two weeks ago the company announced it would try to reopen the plant with scab labor; last Monday the union, Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW), responded by surrounding the Austin plant with militant strikers. After a day of hard struggle on the picket lines, Minnesota's Democratic "friend of labor" governor Rudy Perpich dispatched 600 National Guardsmen to break the strike. The union answered by sending roving pickets to shut down other Hormel plants. *The showdown is here—shut down Hormel now!* At stake is not only the survival of the Austin union, dating back to a victorious 1933 sit-down strike. Today Hormel strikers are on the front line of the fight against wage-slashing, union-busting "concessions" across the U.S.

The Guard is the armed list of the bosses' government, and they soon showed it. When strikers sought to block access roads with their cars early on the 23rd, Guardsmen, state and local cops smashed the windows, dragged picketers from their cars and then drove them over a snow bank into a ditch. On Friday strikers' wives marched on the plant with signs demanding "National Guard Out of Austin" and an end to martial law, while squads of P-9 strikers picketed out Hormel workers at the Ottumwa, Iowa and Fremont, Nebraska plants. Union members honored those pickets, even, in the case of the Fremont plant, waiting until a single carload of Austin strikers showed up. When this happened again on Monday, the company reportedly fired 350 workers at Ottumwa and scores elsewhere. P-9 vowed to continue the flying pickets.

Abandoned by the UFCW International, for months Austin strikers have courageously fought alone against the



Levison/Minneapolis Star and Tribune

**Austin, Minnesota: Striking meatpackers face scabherding National Guard, jeer scabs entering the plant. Thousands of Midwest unionists must be mobilized to smash Guard strikebreaking and run the scabs out of town.**

company assault. All of labor must come to their defense now! Local union president Jim Guyette has pointed out that the "labor movement is under attack throughout the country," and there is an opportunity in Austin to deal a blow against the employers' offensive. But the call for a consumer boycott against Spam and Dinty Moore Stew is a diversion from the crucial struggle to *shut down Hormel*. Twin Cities auto workers, Iowa meatpackers, Chicago newspaper strikers—labor organizations from all over the Upper Midwest must mobilize to flood Austin with thousands of unionists who can send the scabs scurrying! There must be political strike action to beat back the National Guard strikebreaking!

### Hormel Strikers Play Hardball

The fight began 15 months ago when Hormel, whose profits have consistently topped \$25 million a year, ripped up the UFCW contract and cut wages from

\$10.69 to \$8.25 an hour. The union called in "labor consultant" Ray Rogers, who had run a media blitz for the textile workers against J.P. Stevens. As an alternative to "obsolete" strikes, Rogers urged a "corporate campaign" to embarrass Hormel through demonstrations outside stockholders meetings and pressure on the banks. It didn't work. So when the contract expired last August 17, the local union struck the huge \$100 million plant in Austin. Two weeks ago, P-9 strikers turned down the company's "final offer," now up to \$10 an hour. But this is no "69 cent fight." With the company bringing in hundreds of scabs, it's a crucial battle for unionism.

On Monday, January 20, pickets assembled outside the gates of the Austin plant; Local P-9 leaders instructed pickets to obey a Mower County court injunction limiting pickets to three per gate and prohibiting intimidation of scabs. Across the street from the plant's



UPI

two main gates, hundreds of workers stood behind police barricades while a hundred cars circled the facility. A caravan of twenty cars from the Twin Cities joined them. One pickup had a sign in its rear window: "Save our town, kill a scab." Scabs would sneak into the line, breaking out at an entrance to veer sharply into the plant, followed by yells of "Scab!" and "Low-life!" A woman striker, recognizing one of the 80 or so P-9 workers who crossed the line, shouted out, "That was my brother! Well, he's not my brother anymore!"

By 7 a.m. there were scores of cars in the company parking lot, and P-9ers were getting tired of playing by the bosses' rules. One striker demanded, "Let's get some baseball bats and put an end to this!" Scabs found their cars bracketed by strikers' vehicles, while dozens of pickets surrounded them. One scab got special treatment: strikers told *WV* he had been fired last summer, but

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# For the Nicaraguan Revolution

## An Insightful Report

For two weeks last summer, Kim Kihner and her companion Paul visited Nicaragua. They went to observe a revolution in progress and to express their solidarity with the embattled Nicaraguan workers. Paul, who was able to provide some skilled technical assistance, noted the workers he met were "mostly high school kids during the insurrection, all of them fought on the streets of Managua and then came to work" replacing technicians who fled before the Sandinista victory. Upon their return Kim and Paul gave reports to the Bay Area District Committee of the Spartacist League, which senior Central Committee members found informative and insightful. Kim's report is printed below.

When we left Managua they'd started digging in the tanks. So the city of Managua itself, on certain streets, around the airport and in the open field areas, is pretty much tanks and half-tracks every hundred yards, defended by troops that are camping out there. They've also increased the security checks in the city—both of us got stopped on the street during the day by the Interior Ministry.

In the papers, every day basically the front headline is on the CIA and "We Will Not Be Grenada" and "Reagan's Looking for a Pretext," etc. They're really mobilizing the country, with propaganda and military preparation. And they've also gone hard and heavy on the Contadora stuff, trying to win over world public opinion.

The contra attacks are pretty intense right now. They're really penetrating deeply into the country. The boat that

we rode to Bluefields—which is on the Atlantic Coast, a six-hour ride down a river where you think you're in Central Africa somewhere—was blown up by the contras a week and a half after we took it. The soldiers on the boat were killed and some were kidnapped, and all of the passengers thrown off onto the side of the river.

There was a demonstration at the airport by the right-wingers. Cardinal Ohando came in and walked 25 kilometers through town. About 200,000 people reportedly showed up for it—there were 6,000 right-wingers organized at

passed out guns, empty guns, but ones that worked, so at various times during the demonstration—which was quite lively, about 15,000 kids and all these hundreds of guns raised in the air—they were chanting, "¡Aquí, allá, los yanquis morirán!" which is "Here, there, the yankees will die!"

The land confiscations are proceeding apace. This year they've announced that they will have distributed titles to more land in this year than in four years past, and I think it's clearly an attempt to consolidate the peasantry, which is apparently the base of the support for



Kim and Paul (right) in Bluefields, Nicaragua, 1985.

the airport with yellow and white flags of the Vatican, who spontaneously broke into a chant of "Viva Reagan! Death to Ortega!" So the church is a very powerful force in the country. You really feel it on the woman question, and they're a focal point for organizing the contras.

The other thing that we managed to intersect was the Juventud [Sandinista youth] demonstration, which commemorated the martyred dead at Batahola, which is a barrio where 187 youth had died in the insurgency. And there were 15,000 youth there and the Sandinistas

the [Sandinista] Frente. (You see more graffiti and more signs of opposition to the Frente in Managua than you do in the countryside.) So they're basically dispersing the land into small private plots. The state collectivized farms are not very productive, so they seem to be turning toward the private, small plots again. And they're also resettling a lot of the Indians that were moved out of the northern coast or border with Honduras back into that Rio Coco area.

In terms of the working class—these are some general observations, because on the tour that we were on for two weeks, we didn't really get to go to any of the unions or working-class organizations. The paper is filled with a lot of push for efficiency, productivity, discipline—you know, the only way that you can be a defender of the Revolution is to do this so-called voluntary overtime where you work a couple extra hours every day or you come in on Saturdays, without getting paid, it appears. And I know they just announced a new national award for the most efficient and disciplined worker.

You can really feel the effect of the *bloqueo* [U.S. trade embargo], and the government uses it as the reason that the economy's in such anarchy. Which is, of course, not the only reason, but it is a big part of it. The exchange rate: a couple of weeks before, 60 córdobas would buy one dollar; when we hit town 650 córdobas would buy one dollar. So we were buying beer for like 15 cents a beer, and eating huge dinners and drinks and everything for \$1.50. But the population it-

self doesn't have dollars, except for the bourgeoisie, so the economy is very depressed, they're rationing food and fuel.

A lot of the housing, especially in Managua and many areas—we traveled in a lot of areas of Nicaragua—was just horrendous. Systematically, two days out of every week they cut the water, so you have no water from like six in the morning until maybe ten or eleven at night. And in many areas, like in Bluefields, they would cut the electricity, sort of at random, and just darken parts of the city.

You can see the dedication to health care, in the face of a very depressed economy, and the fact that they can't get anything from the United States, which is where they used to get almost everything. They have dedicated themselves to providing free medical care for everybody. I visited Lenin-Fonseca Hospital with a doctor friend of ours, and it was unbelievable, the conditions in there. They had no air conditioning, for one thing, and they had like six beds in every small room, which meant like wall-to-wall beds, people out in the hallway in beds. There's lots of TB in the country; the health conditions are atrocious. Potable water is hard to find outside of Managua. They can't get basic medications, so therefore you have these huge wards of young women with TB.

The state stores vs. the private markets: the state stores are not very well supplied. You get basics (oil, sugar, rice, beans, etc.) but if you want to get anything you go to the private markets, which is overwhelmed by the black market, so the prices are really high. The government says they're trying to control that, which is part of the reason that they changed the exchange rate to 650 to 1, because that's what you could get on the black market.

The schools: there's a real literacy campaign. So the schools are running about three shifts a day, including the primary and secondary schools. Although clearly when we went out into the more rural areas, the young kids are being used in the economy, they're really not in the schools. The universities, however, have been opened up to everybody, and they're running full-time, they're just packed full of students. It's just a nominal cost to go there.

The woman question: it's really intensely terrible for women there. There's not many jobs, they basically work in the markets or on the streets selling food. It's the most oppressive conditions of the intersection of the Catholic church and a desperately poor economy, where they're basically the people that care for the children and the families. There's been some minimal attempt to build childcare centers—there's about 117 right now in Nicaragua. But birth control and divorce laws and you name it, it's so backward.

Bluefields was really interesting. Just a quick story: we looked for some people that might have some contradiction with the Frente, people who were in solidarity with the Revolution. And the line that we got was, well, the Frente is the leftists, and MAP-M1, which is seen

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TROTSKY

### Trotsky on the Death of a Son and Comrade

On 16 February 1938, Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son and close comrade, died at the age of 32, poisoned by the Stalinist GPU. In a moving testament Trotsky wrote of his son: "He unwaveringly served the cause of the oppressed, because he remained true to himself." And he concluded:



LENIN

Goodbye, Leon, goodbye, dear and incomparable friend. Your mother and I never thought, never expected that destiny would impose on us this terrible task of writing your obituary. We lived in firm conviction that long after we were gone you would be the continuator of our common cause. But we were not able to protect you. Goodbye, Leon! We bequeath your irreproachable memory to the younger generation of the workers of the world. You will rightly live in the hearts of all those who work, suffer, and struggle for a better world. Revolutionary youth of all countries! Accept from us the memory of our Leon, adopt him as your son—he is worthy of it—and let him henceforth participate invisibly in your battles, since destiny has denied him the happiness of participating in your final victory.

—Leon Trotsky, "Leon Sedov—Son, Friend, Fighter," *Writings* (1937-38)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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U.S. war blockade exacerbates desperately poor Nicaraguan economy—women and children suffer the most.

WV Photo

WORKERS VANGUARD



Our comrade Kimherly Sue Kilmer died tragically on 24 January 1986. She was only 32, but had been a member of our movement for almost eleven years. She died of carbon monoxide poisoning from a faulty gas oven in her San Francisco home. Comrades, concerned because her companion Paul Costan had not turned up for an appointment, went to their home in the early hours of January 24. There they found Paul overcome, but in time to get him to the hospital; he has since substantially recovered. Kim, a small slender woman, was already dead.

It was "landlord murder." Their apartment had central heating, but the landlord would never supply enough heat. And it can get damn cold in San Francisco.

Kim was a socialist all her adult life. She joined the Spartacus Youth League in April 1975 in Ann Arbor, Michigan and first joined the SL two years later in Boston, where she was youth organizer. Kim worked in the Detroit and Los Angeles branches, and in New York as part of the *Young Spartacus* comp crew. In a brief period of demoralization in 1979 she resigned, but soon came back hard, actively selling the paper in L.A. where she rejoined in 1981. A tenacious, driving comrade, Kim was always in there fighting for the party. She was a party activist. Kim felt strongly that communists must champion the cause of the oppressed—every incident of police brutality or racist victimization became her fight. At the time of her death, she was a member of the SF local committee of the Spartacist League.

It's not easy to be a communist in America, and the bitter tragedy of Kim's death is that she had put in that hard decade of work it takes to make a seasoned communist cadre, and was visibly growing and maturing politically. She and Paul, an active trade unionist, had visited Nicaragua in the summer of 1985 as an act of solidarity with that embattled country. Upon their return she gave an insightful report to the Bay Area district committee that illuminated the necessity of revolution. Kim paid special attention to the condition of women, and how the U.S. imperial-

ists' overt/covert war against Nicaragua led to impoverishment of the population.

A longtime friend and comrade said of her, "Kim was moved immediately and directly by the sight of oppression, to the point of imperiling her own welfare. This could be a cop arresting or messing with someone on the street or a scene during a movie. The oppression of blacks in Detroit, where Kim grew up, was a formative factor in her worldview, and a contributing factor in becoming a communist." Kim came to the party during the course of a bitter campus strike and sit-ins against discrimination at the University of Michigan. Her years on the West Coast, particularly in Los Angeles, reflect the SL's ongoing struggles for labor black defense of minorities against racist terror.

"She was extremely competent, energetic, sometimes too energetic. She seemed to have no threshold of exhaustion," one comrade recalled. Kim put this energy to work, meticulously calling contacts, organizing to build the April 1983 demonstration demanding, "Vengeance for Patrick Mason," the five-year-old black child shot down in his own home by Orange County cop Anthony Sperl. That same June, news reached this country of an international campaign to try to save the lives of three South African black militants facing imminent execution by the apartheid regime. They had less than 24 hours to organize a demonstration—Kim

had all the comrades in the L.A. office within two hours, working against time.

A comrade recalled his work with Kim on the Los Angeles docks: "For two years plus, we did the ILWU longshore sale. This was a tough sale, but Kim knew this turf inside out. The longshoremen there knew that we were reds and *WW* was the working-class paper down there. Kim saw the presence of the timid SWP sales team there as an opportunity to engage in political debate. Week after week, she popped out of a car at 6:30 a.m., ready to fight those disgusting reformists. After our November 27, 1982 victory over the Klan, she hit the SWP hard over their

'free speech for fascists' line." Kim was particularly feisty in defending the Trotskyist program against opponents.

The L.A. comrades elected Kim as their first alternate delegate to the 1983 Spartacist League national conference, primarily based on her hitting interventions against the whining quitters of the ET (External Tendency). She furiously attacked the ET's worse-than-"color blind" line that the Spartacist League was supposedly turning away from the working class by the formation of the labor/black leagues. In 1984, Kim moved to the Bay Area. Her last political action was participating in the 4 December 1985 demonstration called by the Labor Black League for Social Defense in defense of black unionist Jeff Higgins against Jim Crow discrimination at San Francisco General Hospital.

Kim had been a pre-med student, and because of her medical background during her time in L.A. she helped out veteran Trotskyist Dick Fraser when he was in the hospital and out "She'd bring him cigarettes and vodka, go to the races with him," a comrade remembers. "They were both fairly stubborn, and so they would go at it a bit. But they both cared about each other a lot."

Last October, after returning from Nicaragua, Kim spoke at the University of California at Santa Cruz and talked to the students about the responsibilities of American revolutionaries: "We say to really fight imperialism abroad you have to wage class struggle at home against our own bourgeoisie. And we're looking to labor/black America to build a revolutionary party that has the power to bring down the biggest enemy of all the working and poor people of the world, and that's U.S. imperialism. That's our job, and we're looking for people who want to fight with us."

Kim Kilmer's death was a widely and bitterly felt loss in our organization. Comrades came to her funeral in Farmington Hills, Michigan from New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Atlanta and the West Coast. Her closest friends and comrades observed that Kim came out of the New Left, and had a sense of struggle. "Maybe she struggled too much against herself, which is often the case with women. But she always kept on fighting." We extend our heartfelt condolences to her family and her companion.

A memorial meeting for Kim Kilmer will be held in the San Francisco Bay Area.

POLITICAL BUREAU  
SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.  
28 JANUARY 1986

# Kim Kilmer



17 June 1953 — 24 January 1986



WV Photo



WV Photo

Los Angeles 1983



Los Angeles  
1982



# Hormel...

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the union got his job back just before the strike—at a cost of \$4,000. Later, Hormel's photographer got out of his car and threw a punch at one of the strikers. When the pickets parted he was seen being carried to an ambulance holding his testicles. Austin police chief Donald Hoffman wasn't going to tangle with the P-9ers: "I've only got so many men to work with. I'm certainly not going to be like Custer."

Despite the Local P-9 leadership's partially successful effort to keep the strikers in a legal straitjacket, Hormel was worried. So by Monday afternoon, with the aid of Austin mayor Tom Kough (himself a striker!), four military police units of the Minnesota Guard and the Air National Guard were mobilized on a pre-existing plan to move in and break up the pickets. Initially, some strikers thought they would be neutral in the battle with Hormel. Ray Rogers even told the press "they should call out the National Guard against the company"! But Democratic "Farmer-Labor" (DFL) governor Perpich mobilized the Guard to break the back of the militant local. On Tuesday the Guard shut the plant gates in exchange for the withdrawal of mass pickets. At 3 a.m. Wednesday, armed with heavy clubs and tear gas (and rifles nearby in reserve), the troops sealed off the service road surrounding the plant and established a scab entrance on the nearby off-ramp of Interstate 90. The next morning eight strikers were arrested as they tried to clog I-90.

Hormel, a Fortune 500 company which posted record \$38 million profits last year, has gone to the concessions well over and over again. According to P-9 president Guyette, the local has given concessions in 16 of the last 20 years! In 1984 Hormel slashed wages by 23 percent—to achieve "parity" with the rotten contract the UFCW bureaucrats shoved down the throats of other locals. Meanwhile, productivity has increased not because of automation, but through old-fashioned speedup. Despite the modern plant, Hormel workers toil in extremely dangerous conditions, recalling pages out of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*. Forty degree temperatures are common, and hog cut workers handling razor sharp knives are forced in crowded conditions to bone as many as 92 hams per hour. Since 1981, serious injuries at the Austin plant have more than doubled. In the Hormel chain, there are a total of 202 injuries per 100 workers per year.

UFCW International president William Wynn has openly tried to isolate and break the strike, denouncing it as a "suicide mission." But after watching their work speed up and their living standards plummet, packinghouse workers throughout the Hormel chain feel the need for joint action. Earlier this month UFCW members at Local 431 in Otumwa and Local 22 in Fremont voted to demand the International sanction P-9's roving pickets trying to spread the strike. Wynn refused and called on the Austin local to end the strike. International spokesman Al Zack chimed in, "it made no sense to



National Guard arrives at Austin Hormel plant, January 21.

spread the misery." These traitors have imposed giveback contracts throughout the industry, and they're not about to let a militant local bust up their sweetheart arrangement with the companies! They also fear the showdown with the liberal DFL strikebreakers in St. Paul that is necessary to win this strike, and are willing to destroy a UFCW local to avoid it.

## Lessons of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters Strike

Alone in their fight against Hormel, facing their own union misleaders and now the troops brought in to break the strike, P-9 strikers have shown determination and courage. The strike is now at a critical juncture. But it will take more than militancy to win. "We will not be another PATCO," vow the strikers, recalling the air traffic controllers union destroyed by Reagan, with a stab in the back from the AFL-CIO misleaders who didn't lift a finger to back them. From Phelps-Dodge copper miners to A.T. Massey coal miners, all too many hard-fought strikes have gone down in defeat in the Reagan years, where injunctions, massive scabberding and union-busting are the rule. As long as the P-9 strike remains an isolated war of attrition, it will be lost.

Yet there is a wealth of class-struggle history among the packinghouse workers and the Minnesota labor movement which points the way to win. In 1933, the Austin Hormel plant was the site of the first sit-down strike, led by the Industrial Workers of the World, who won recognition for the Independent Union of All Workers, forerunner of Local P-9. The next year Austin militants also sent a motorcycle brigade to aid the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamster strike, a crucial battle for union recognition that beat down strong resistance from the bosses and sabotage by an entrenched union bureaucracy. The Minneapolis Teamsters together with left-led mass strikes that same year in Toledo (auto) and San Francisco (docks) paved the way for the great labor battles for industrial unionism.

Led by the Communist League of America (CLA), Minneapolis Teamster Local 574 pioneered class-struggle tactics which would be used to forge the CIO: mass picket lines, flying picket squads, democratically elected strike committees, the inclusion of the unemployed, farmers and women in strike organizations. But the success of these militant tactics was based on the strike leaders' firm refusal to place any reliance or trust in the bourgeois state and the capitalist politicians. When Farmer-Labor Party governor Olson declared martial law and ordered in the National Guard to break the '34 strike, the Trotskyist union leaders called for a general strike. The Minneapolis Teamsters' Organizer proclaimed: "Answer Military Tyranny by a General Protest Strike! Olson and State Troops Have Shown Their Colors!—Union Men Show Yours!" (Farrell Dobbs, *Teamster Rebellion* [1972]).

It was a Democratic Party "friend of labor" who brought in the National Guard to break the Hormel strike: this should be a burning lesson to every striker that in the class struggle the state is never "neutral," and that the Democrats are no more "friends of labor" than

the Republicans. The cops, National Guard and federal troops are never on the side of strikers. These are the hired guns of the capitalist class. Every serious strike is *political* because it directly confronts not just the individual boss, but the employers organized and centralized through *their* government, *their* law and *their* armed forces. PATCO-smasher Reagan made that perfectly clear.

Strike pickets are, in Trotsky's words, "the basic nuclei of the proletarian army." But to combat the bosses as a class and win workers need their own party, the party that embodies their most proven, dedicated and class-conscious champions. We need an integrated workers party in which black workers, the most combative section of American labor, must play a leading role. Crucial to the victory of the Minneapolis Teamster strikes of the 1930s was the leadership of the Trotskyist CLA, which was the nucleus of a revolutionary workers party. The CLA brought together the best traditions of the heroic Wobbly class battles and the experience of the 1917 Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky, in which

Mass picketing and flying squads were key to victory of Trotskyist-led Teamsters in historic Minneapolis strike of 1934.



the working people took and successfully defended their political power.

## Fight to Win!

Following the lead of a revolutionary workers party, Local 574 broke the back of the open shop and established the Teamsters as an industrial union in Minneapolis. In contrast, the strategy of the P-9 leadership is taking the strikers into a blind alley. Guyette views the picket line as a subordinate part of a "multi-dimensional" campaign to sway Hormel by mobilizing public opinion. Behind this conception is Ray Rogers and his Corporate Campaign Inc., which was hired by P-9 in November 1984 (for \$340,000!) after Hormel's wage cut. Rogers' claim to fame was the American Clothing Workers and Textile Union (ACTWU) campaign against J.P. Stevens which culminated in a betrayal in 1980: in return for standard contracts for less than 10 percent of the workforce, the ACTWU gave up its organizing drive for the rest of the company's workers.

It's not Rogers' flashy razzmatazz but the old-fashioned class-struggle methods of the picket line that have given Austin meatpackers a chance to win. Rogers was *forced* into the Hormel strike, after months of running P-9 members around "exposing" Hormel's ties to the First Bank System, pressuring depositors and lobbying board members. And now he is pushing a consumer boycott, the same tactic the AFL-CIO labor fakers used to cover their betrayal

of the PATCO strike. In the face of government scabberding and vicious attacks on union members, Rogers counsels nonviolence. At one strike meeting Rogers called on union supporters to be prepared to "lay down in front of those plant gates."

All over the country, the militant Hormel strikers are being looked to by workers faced with similar union-husting attacks. Last December at a Chicago conference of the "National Rank and File Against Concessions" (NRFAC), speaker after speaker paid homage to Local P-9. (NRFAC was created in Minnesota last summer by local union leaders involved in support work for the Hormel strike.) Yet this conference pointedly rejected any criticism of the sellout International union tops—even though the UFCW tops have sabotaged the Hormel strike from the beginning! The only help NRFAC offered P-9 strikers was to support the local's "adopt-a-family" campaign. And even though NRFAC includes the elected leaders of Twin Cities auto and steel workers unions, their only response to Perpich's mobilization of the National Guard was an impotent demonstration at the governor's mansion.

These "rank-and-file" bureaucrats are inspired by Ray Rogers' appeals to the bosses' "conscience" rather than class-struggle unionism; they would prefer to see P-9 members lie down in the road than sit down in the plant. Yet the NRFAC has now become the darling of the pseudo-socialist left. The dubious Workers League, led by David North, former disciple of Gerry Healy, British messenger of Libyan dictator Qaddafi, praises the National Rank and File Against Concessions as "a group of militant local union leaders." The social-democratic *In These Times* (29

January) shamelessly quotes a Rogers sidekick saying that "the key to winning has never been closing the plant in Austin"! Instead they talk of "building solidarity with a wider public" by boycotting Spam and Dinty Moore Beef Stev.

Just as among Harlan County coal miners, there are no neutrals in Austin today. Just as at the bitter Iowa Beef Packers strikes, where the bosses have routinely brought in the National Guard with helicopters, machine guns and armored personnel carriers, this is *class war*. The courageous Hormel strikers are fighting for us all. From Cleveland Greyhound drivers and Toledo auto workers to Chicago newspaper strikers, Arizona copper miners, California warehousemen and cannery workers, over the last couple years there have been repeated bitter struggles against union-busting takebacks. But pro-company union tops have left them isolated, like the PATCO air controllers who were left hanging in the wind by the AFL-CIO labor traitors.

Today, while the bosses are still trying to keep up the "concessions" offensive, more and more union workers are saying "No more PATCOs!" The Hormel strike could be the turning point. Even hard-hit Minnesota farmers are backing the strikers with "tractoreades" as they return from besieging the state capitol in St. Paul. Tens of thousands of workers in the region know full well that if P-9 goes down, they will be next. Mobilize them now! ■

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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# Labor Must Crush Fascist Killers in the Egg!

## "The Order": Neo-Nazi Murder, Inc.

The anti-Soviet war drive has spawned a fascist Murder, Inc. at home. From Reagan's salute to the Nazi SS killer elite at Bithurg to the Philadelphia MOVE massacre, the convergence of mainstream bourgeois politics with the right-wing lunatic fringe has enfolded and unified the small but heavily armed fascist movement in this country. There is a terrorist network in the U.S., not of "Soviet surrogates" as Reagan, Meese & Co. allege, but made up of kill-crazy fascist paramilitary outfits as amply testified to by the recent trial of the Nazi "Silent Brotherhood" or "The Order" as it has become known.

On December 30 a Seattle federal court jury convicted ten members of the neo-Nazi Order on conspiracy and racketeering charges stemming from a two-year rampage of murder, armed robbery and terror, including the assassination of Denver radio personality Alan Berg and a \$3.6 million robbery of a Brinks armored truck. The crimes were part of the Order's plan to overthrow the so-called "Zionist Occupation Government," or ZOG, and establish an "Aryan homeland" by exterminating blacks, Jews and "white traitors." U.S. district judge Walter McGovern set sentencing for the ten for February 6 and 7. These murderous scum should be put away for life.

Twenty-three Order members were indicted in April 1985 under the 1970 Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO). Of those 23, one, Richard Scutari, is still at large; another, David Tate, has been sentenced to life imprisonment for killing a Missouri state trooper; five pled guilty and six turned state's evidence in return for plea bargaining. These six provided lurid and detailed testimony on the inner workings of The Order.

During the 14-week trial held under heavy security the prosecution called 295 witnesses and the all-white jury viewed over 1,500 pieces of evidence. Witness after witness testified to incidents of cold-blooded murder, attempted murder, armed robbery, the bombing of a synagogue and an adult theater, counterfeiting and the stockpiling of weapons and explosives.

The trial revealed The Order's "enemies list" of those targeted for assassination, including (in addition to Alan Berg): TV producer Norman Lear, industrialist and "détente" advocate Armand Hammer, the heads of the three major TV networks, Baron Elie de Rothschild, numerous anti-Klan activists and others. According to Order member Denver Daw Parmenter, Berg was assassinated because "he was



Two-bit  
Nazi Führer  
Richard  
Butler  
in fascists'  
Idaho bunker.

mainly thought to be anti-white and he was Jewish" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 17 September 1985). A five-man Order hit squad waited for Berg outside his Denver home in June 1984. According to Robert Ward, U.S. prosecuting attorney, "it took less than one second for 13 shots to spit out" of the .45 caliber MAC 10 machine-pistol. Twelve bullets struck Berg in the head and chest.

Other Order members testified to the execution of Order member Walter West. Deemed a security risk by his fellow thugs, West was lured to an Idaho forest, bludgeoned with a sledgehammer and shot in the forehead. His body was never found.

At the trial it was described how The Order carried out at least four armed robberies netting over \$4 million, most of it never recovered. The most spectacular robbery occurred in Ukiah, California in July 1984. Twelve Order members brandishing automatic weapons and a sign reading "Get out or DIE" surrounded a Brinks truck and made off with \$3.6 million. In planning the job The Order had the help of two Brinks supervisors. The pair also helped plan an aborted \$30 million robbery of the Brinks San Francisco office where they worked before being arrested in January 1985.

A large portion of the stolen money was used by The Order to bankroll other fascist groups. A confession by Order member Bruce Carroll Pierce detailed how the money was distributed. (Pierce became leader of The Order after founder Robert J. Matthews was incarcerated when FBI agents surrounded his island hideout and burned it to the ground with him in it.)

According to Pierce over \$250,000 went to Tom Metzger, San Diego-based leader of the fascist "White American Resistance"; \$300,000 went to Glenn Miller of the North Carolina KKK, \$100,000 to Louis Beam of the Texas KKK (reportedly an Order member) and another \$60,000 to Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations Church in Hayden Lake, Idaho.

Up to another half-million dollars was set aside for Robert Miles of the neo-Nazi Mountain Church and for former aide to George Lincoln Rockwell, William Pierce, the two-bit Führer of the Arlington, Virginia-based National Alliance and author of the tract *The Turner Diaries* on which The Order based many of its actions.

Not one of the groups that received funds from The Order or harbored its members from the FBI is being prosecuted by the government for these crimes. In prosecuting these latter-day Hitler worshipers the Reagan government has no intention of destroying the fascist Murder, Inc. of which The Order is a part. Ordinarily the capitalist government works with and protects the fascists, the likes of Klansman/FBI informer Gary Rowe, who gunned down civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo. But The Order went too far in the eyes of the capitalists—including in their hit list not just blacks, Jews and communists but also FBI agents and federal judges! As *New York Times* Houston bureau chief, Wayne King, who has tracked fascist groups for 20 years, put it:

"I think the FBI and most federal agencies have had less concern about right-wing organizations that tend to be of a possibly violent nature, than they have of left-wing organizations. Guys like Matthews and others declared war on what they called the ZOG—the Zionist Occupational Government—when that happened you saw the feds begin to tremble, when Matthews shot at a couple of federal agents."

—Interview on San Francisco's KQED, 2 October 1985

Unlike in the whitewash trial of the 1979 massacre of five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina where government "prosecutors" did everything possible to let off the Nazi/Klan murderers, in Seattle the government intended to bring their attack dogs to heel.

Order members still face separate trials on murder, armed robbery and other charges, but the government consciously chose to begin its prosecution under RICO's broadly written laws which allow the feds to prosecute for "conspiracy," even when no crime has been committed. Ed Meese's Justice Department touted the trial as the first use of RICO in a "political" case (*New York Times*, 31 December 1985). But the Reagan government's use of RICO

against these genuine terrorists is an attempt to legitimize the use of RICO against leftist political organizations. Lead prosecutor Gene Wilson made this explicit when he threatened that this trial was not only a warning to the right but also the left (*San Francisco Examiner*, 31 December 1985).

The Reaganites, who deny abortion clinic bombers are terrorists, repeatedly try to slander left-wing political opposition as criminals and terrorists, in order to legitimize the use of the secret police and criminal conspiracy laws against them. Some reformist pseudo-socialists such as the Communist Party actually call on this same capitalist state to "ban the Klan" and other fascist groups. Writing to his Dutch comrades on such a proposed "anti-fascist law" in parliament, Leon Trotsky wrote:

"[Such laws] will be used against the proletariat."

"This is not to say that for the immediate future Colijn [then Dutch Premier] will not want to free his right elbow from the excessive presumptuousness of the fascists. The social revolution in Holland does not seem to be an immediate threat. Big capital hopes to allay the threatening dangers by using the strong, concentrated (i.e. Bonapartist, or semi-Bonapartist) state. But to keep the real enemy, the revolutionary proletariat, within bounds, Colijn will never completely eliminate or even sidetrack fascism."

—Letter, 13 January 1936, *Writings (1935-36)*

Today, Reagan and Meese also look to a "strong state" police apparatus. But for the capitalist class, intent on crushing all opposition to the anti-Soviet war drive, the fascists must be kept in reserve, as shock troops against labor, blacks and communists.

The arrest and conviction of the Order members is at best a temporary setback for the fascists in the U.S., which is nonetheless a good thing. But even as the Seattle trial was going on, last October over 200 degenerate fascist thugs, including Klan, Nazi and WAR members, gathered in Cohoctah, Michigan to pay tribute to The Order ("POWs" Metzger calls them) and many broadly hinted that they were already carrying on its bloody work.

The fascists, overwhelmingly drawn from the dregs of society, are well armed and well financed (they have national computer hook-ups like the "Aryan Liberty Net" to coordinate their night-riding terror). They remain small in number and on the fringes of American society, but dangerous murdering thugs, nonetheless. Now is the time to crush the fascists in the egg! The struggle against the fascist killers starts "in the factory—and ends in the street," as Trotsky put it, with mass integrated labor-centered mobilizations to smash the fascists.

The Order originated in Richard Butler's "Aryan Nations—Teutonic Order." Butler in turn traces his fascist "roots" to Gerald L.K. Smith, the notorious fascist anti-Semite. Smith's campaign in California immediately after World War II was smashed by militant labor mobilizations fought for and participated in by the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. Today the Spartacist League carries on that revolutionary heritage. We have successfully initiated mass labor/black mobilizations in a number of major urban centers—Detroit, San Francisco, Chicago and Washington, D.C.—that successfully stopped fascist provocations. We seek to build a revolutionary workers party to fight for socialist revolution that will sweep away the fascist terrorists and the dying capitalist system that breeds them. ■



WV Photo

Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization stopped Nazi punks from goose-stepping in San Francisco, April 1980.



# Sandinistas and Miskitos

Last September 21, residents of the Nicaraguan Atlantic Coast town of Puerto Cabezas stared as Miskito insurgents came to town. *Barricada Internacional* (17 October 1985) reported, "Dressed in camouflage uniforms and with their rifles slung over their shoulders, they walked through the streets of the port, talked to the inhabitants and visited bars and discos.... While in the city, the indigenous combatants were escorted by unarmed officers of the Ministry of the Interior." Only a year earlier such a scene would have been unthinkable. Since 1981, the Miskito organizations MISURA and MISURASATA have been allied with the CIA's "contra" mercenaries, part of Reagan's overt/covert terrorist war against the Nicaraguan Revolution. Now, however, under terms of a cease-fire negotiated last May, fighting between the ruling Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and Miskito groups has virtually halted.

Until the U.S. onslaught against Sandinista Nicaragua thrust them onto the center stage of world politics, the Miskito Indians led an isolated existence in the Caribbean backwaters of Central America. Then American delegate Jeane Kirkpatrick got up in the UN to grotesquely compare the FSLN's 1982 evacuation of the Honduran border with Hitler's holocaust against the Jews. Vietnam War criminal Alexander Haig charged the Sandinistas with "atrocious genocidal actions," waving a photo of an alleged massacre of Miskitos—which turned out to be the devastation of Esteli, in the west, by

Somoza's National Guard in 1978. Investigations by Americas Watch and the Inter-American Human Rights Commission found no basis for reports of "widespread massacres" of indigenous peoples. But this didn't stop the U.S. disinformation mills from trumpeting purported Sandinista atrocities against the Miskitos as a battle cry of counterrevolution.

The conflict between the FSLN and the Miskitos has been a major strategic weakness for the Nicaraguan Revolution. It has soured relations with the population of the Atlantic Coast, where Pacific Coast inhabitants are often referred to—along with the government in Managua, Sandinista or Somozaist—as "the Spanish." This is the only region in Nicaragua where armed opposition to Sandinista rule managed to win a mass base (Miskito villagers call combatants "the boys," much as FSLN fighters were known as "los muchachos" during the struggle against Somoza). The Miskito question became a rallying point for imperialist propaganda against the revolution. And coastal towns like Puerto Cabezas and Bluefields are likely beachheads for a Yankee invasion, just as in the numerous previous times U.S. forces intervened in the Central American country.

So the cease-fire is a major breakthrough for the Sandinistas. At the same time, the fragility of the arrangement is evident: with two armies warily occupying the same territory, any spark can set off another round of tragic fighting. Nevertheless, Miskitos soon began returning to their ancestral homes along

Armed Miskito guerrillas visit Nicaraguan town under cease-fire agreement with Sandinistas.



Barricada

the Coco River in northeastern Nicaragua. The government resettlement effort began last July, supplying transportation and basic provisions to thousands of Miskitos who had been forcibly removed in 1982. By mid-September, the pro-Sandinista Miskito organization MISATAN had organized the return of 7,000 inhabitants, representing half of the river communities. In addition, some of the 20,000 refugees who had fled to neighboring Honduras are also beginning to trickle back.

These developments are part of an autonomy program negotiated with MISATAN, which, if successful, could neutralize what has been a nagging political and military liability for the Sandinista regime. But the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FSLN, in reversing their previous policy toward the ethnic minorities, have flip-flopped from hureaucratic "decolonization" to exempting the Atlantic Coast from even the limited social transformation in progress. By essentially leaving Miskito

elders and Moravian Protestant pastors in local political control—hacked up by the armed MISURA and MISURASATA factions—the Sandinistas are tolerating a regime based on social backwardness, which could be a springboard for opposition to completion of the Nicaraguan Revolution. But in the short term it is the U.S. which stands to lose by peace on the Atlantic Coast, which is why they have assiduously hushed up the cease-fire.

## The Revolution Comes to the Atlantic Coast

While Reagan's Big Lies are patent inventions, the Sandinistas' heavy-handed nationalism did indeed drive the Miskitos into opposition. Even though the FSLN's 1969 program recognizes the multi-ethnic character of the Atlantic Coast population, the Sandinistas, on coming to power, refused to recognize any special rights for the six

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# FSP: Contra Socialists

The Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) has found a new group to champion. These professional cheerleaders for every imaginable Third World "vanguard" have joined Ronald Reagan, Jeane Kirkpatrick and the Polish pope of counterrevolution in boosting "Miskito Power" in Nicaragua. While the Sandinistas' heavy-handed nationalist policies may have driven many among the ethnic groups of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast population into opposition, the main Miskito Indian organizations (MISURA and MISURASATA) sold their services to U.S. imperialism's "contra" mercenaries. But for the FSP, the most oppressed are *ipso facto* the most revolutionary, so in the name of defending the Miskitos, these "socialist" sectoralists end up embracing...the used-up pawns of the CIA.

The Summer 1985 edition of *Freedom Socialist* published an interview with MISURASATA leader Brooklyn Rivera, titled "The Indian Struggle for Autonomy." Rivera is hailed as some sort of revolutionary hero: his speech to an FSP forum was "greeted with thunderous applause," they report. He is presented as a misunderstood "Miskito leader" who really wants to "protect the revolution." Not one word about

how until recently he was bankrolled by Yankee imperialism's Murder Inc. Nor do they mention that Rivera is one of the few Miskito leaders who rejected a truce that, since last May, has brought tenuous peace to most of the region.

MISURASATA was formed in 1979 to represent the Miskito, Sumo and Rama Indians in alliance with the victorious Sandinistas. MISURASATA leader Steadman Fagoth, however, turned out to be a former Somoza police agent presently collaborating with the CIA mercenaries. Brooklyn Rivera was thrown into jail along with Fagoth, and after being released, followed him to Honduras. But there he was kicked out by the Somozaist contras for being tainted with *sandinismo*. He then went to Costa Rica and joined forces with ex-Sandinista comandante Edén Pastora. While allied with Pastora's ARDE, according to former contra leader Edgar Chamorro, "Brooklyn Rivera was receiving funds from the CIA" (*Guardian*, 27 November 1985).

Given only a trickle of dollars by Washington, which preferred dealing with the Somozaist butchers, Rivera's MISURASATA was going nowhere on the battlefield. So in 1984 he broke with

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# Government Hands Off FSP!

The tiny Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) has been thrust into a legal imbroglio with an ex-member which contains serious implications for all left and labor organizations. In 1979, one Richard Snedigar donated \$22,500 to the FSP's Freeway Hall Eviction Fund, to aid in the purchase of new headquarters. Snedigar resigned from the FSP in 1980 and four years later sued for return of the donation with interest. Snedigar's suit alleges fraud and "undue influence," because the FSP failed to purchase the headquarters at that time. Enlisting two red-baiting lawyers, Snedigar has used the suit as a witchhunting vendetta raising a fundamental threat to freedom of association.

During pre-trial disclosure Snedigar and his attorneys have sought to obtain FSP membership lists, names of contributors, supporters and ex-members, bank records, internal documents and minutes of party meetings. The FSP, to its credit, has thus far resisted these disclosure requests. In October, the Superior Court judge exempted the FSP from disclosing the names of members but ordered that party minutes be handed over with names deleted. The Washington State Court of Appeals has granted a stay of this order, and the FSP has sought review by the state Supreme Court, citing their constitutional rights not to disclose these internal documents.

The FSP case has been widely endorsed and an *amicus curiae* ("friend of the court") brief supporting its anti-disclosure motions has been filed by the National Lawyers Guild, joined by the National Con-

ference of Black Lawyers, Washington public workers unions and the NAACP, which has frequently been the target of similar "discovery" harassment. The Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League have also joined in the *amicus* brief.

The disclosure of membership lists and internal documents is an open door to government intimidation and blacklisting, and a set-up for right-wing smears and attack by fascist elements. Snedigar's suit takes place in the context of a reactionary political climate and a growing arsenal for political repression generated by the Reagan/Meese administration. If successful, the suit could establish a precedent for disgruntled ex-members of a political organization to paralyze its very existence by seeking recovery of prior contributions, thereby giving the bourgeois state control over the organization's finances. Particularly for small left-wing organizations, the right of association has meaning only insofar as its members and supporters can participate and contribute to its activities outside of the prying eyes of government snoopers, courts and cops.

Similar issues were raised when the feds prosecuted "Unification Church" head Sun Myung Moon for tax evasion and fraud, declaring that assets held by Moon for his group were taxable property. Moon is a sinister right-wing ideologue and financier of reactionary terror around the world. But his 1982 conviction was a direct blow to freedom of association, and in the fall of 1983 the Spartacist League

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**the freedom socialist**  
Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

—Summer 1985

**FSP halls Brooklyn Rivera, counterrevolutionary Miskito leader formerly bankrolled by CIA.**



# Anti-Soviet Mercenaries Flock to Washington

## Reagan's Contra Band

It's Mercenary Month in Reagan's Washington as the CIA's state-supported terrorists line up at the trough for their paychecks. Reagan has announced he will press Congress for \$100 million in military and other aid for the Nicaraguan contra hutchers, up from \$27 million in "humanitarian" aid last year. And Congress will no doubt secretly renew the estimated \$250 million in covert aid for the Afghan mullahs' *jihad* ("holy war") against the Soviet Red Army and women's liberation from the veil. Meanwhile, Jonas Savimbi, the former Portuguese colonial police agent now serving as a black front man for South Africa's war against Soviet-backed Angola, will arrive in Washington in a few days to get in on the gravy train. (Reagan plans to give him "moral support"—i.e., under-the-table bucks.) No budget deficit will stand in the way of Reagan's global counterrevolution.

In Nicaragua, Cambodia, Afghanistan and Angola, Washington is fielding mercenary armies to overthrow so-called Soviet "proxy" governments. While liberal "doves" occasionally moan about getting bogged down in "another Vietnam," at every step Reagan has pulled them into line by playing the old anti-Soviet card—no Congressman wants to appear "soft on Communism." Ever conscious of the Congressional "Vietnam syndrome," Reagan sold the contra aid bill last year as a way to get counterrevolution on the cheap

"proxies."

General Gorman tried to be a little more specific: "It is a conflict which inevitably involves innocents. It is, almost by definition, war upon non-combatants. Its perpetrators are secretive, conspiratorial, and usually morally

tee that the Nicaragua contras couldn't hope for victory in "the foreseeable future." Yet Congress turned the dollar spigot back on. Similarly, in Cambodia the contra coalition last year saw their border camps smashed up by battle-hardened Vietnamese troops and Kam-



State-supported terrorism: Reagan plots "holy war" with Afghan mullahs against Soviet Red Army (left), apartheid foreign minister P.W. Botha with hired Angolan contra Jonas Savimbi (above).

unconstrained" (WBAI National News, 15 January). While Gorman was talking about "terrorists" and guerrillas, his doublethink description better fits U.S. imperialist intervention into numerous countries over the years. Indeed, "low-intensity conflict" sounds like nothing so much as a Reaganite revival of Kennedy-era "counterinsurgency," which brought the U.S. into Vietnam.

pucheans soldiers. In Afghanistan, liberal columnist Richard Cohen moaned. "We are covertly supplying arms to guerrillas who don't stand the slightest chance of winning" (*Washington Post*, 2 January). And last October Jonas Savimbi's ass was barely saved only by the intervention of the South African apartheid army.

For now, many of these contra armies are being funded simply to bleed the Soviet Union and its so-called "proxies"—in Afghanistan, the Reaganites salivate over the unique opportunity to kill actual Russian soldiers. But in Nicaragua the immediate Reaganite goal is more ambitious, namely the overthrow of the Sandinista regime (make them "cry uncle," as Reagan put it)—and for that the contra army is totally inadequate. Ultimately Reagan will have to send in U.S. troops to "save" his mercenaries. Already the administration propaganda machine is spewing out stories about "sharply increased" Soviet military aid to their "Third World clients," to which the U.S. is supposed to respond with "defensive" lethal aid. Then comes the Rapid Deployment Force.

House Democratic leader Thomas O'Neill predicts that Reagan would lose his request for "aid to dependent

contras" if the vote were held today. This only means that the White House and Pentagon will be busily thinking up new provocations as the vote approaches in order to whip the pusillanimous Democrats into line. According to Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams, there has been "a change in the view held of the Sandinistas. They now have, essentially, no supporters on the Hill." Suddenly last summer it was a "contra Congress," as the Democrats in quick succession approved "humanitarian" aid to the Nicaraguan contras, listed conditions for a U.S. invasion against the Sandinistas and removed the Clark Amendment barring aid to Savimbi's UNITA. Why?

The "solidarity" lobbyists who pretended that the struggle in Central America is divorced from the anti-Soviet Cold War willfully ignored the fact that Reagan has tied every question into his global war on Communism. They even resorted to thug violence and calling in the capitalist cops against the "reds" of the Spartacist League who openly proclaimed, "Defense of the Soviet Union and Cuba Begins in Central America." But now they can't understand how Reagan has succeeded in pulling along the Democratic "doves" for his contra wars. Simply because Daniel Ortega went to Moscow? Rather it's because all wings of the American ruling class are in the anti-Soviet war drive.

It is Vietnam, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Angola and Nicaragua who need all the Soviet aid they can get to face the CIA's "low-intensity" counterrevolutionary war. And it is impossible to effectively combat U.S. imperialism in Latin America or anywhere else, without militarily defending the Soviet degenerated workers state. It will take the independent mobilization of the American working class in struggle for its own class interests to put an end to the imperialists' military adventures through proletarian revolution. ■



Gentile/Newsweek

**Sandinistas crush contras with aid of Soviet MI-24 helicopters. Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!**

and avoid direct U.S. military intervention in Latin America. But the contras are losers, and everybody knows it. So while U.S. troops have been busy preparing the logistics—building roads, airfields and supply depots in Honduras—Reagan has been laying the political basis for the invasion of Sandinista Nicaragua. Reagan wants to reconquer the world for U.S. imperialism and ultimately retake the Soviet Union, home of the first successful workers revolution in 1917.

Translating this into military terms, Pentagon planners have recently coined a strategic doctrine of "low-intensity conflict" (LIC). War secretary Caspar Weinberger in his annual report to Congress declares that LIC will be the leading "threat to free world security for the rest of this century," and called for a major buildup of U.S. special forces. To showcase its "new" hobbyhorse, in mid-January the Pentagon held a public conference in Washington, attended by administration top-siders like Weinberger, Secretary of State Shultz and General Paul Gorman, former chief of U.S. forces in Latin America. LIC turns out to be a catchall concept which could mean anything short of global war, as long as it is violent and directed against the Soviet Union and its

Actually it is far more sweeping and aggressive. As Michael Klare explained in a recent issue of *The Nation* (28 December 1985):

"LIC is counterinsurgency and a whole lot more. As portrayed by Administration officials, it encompasses counterterrorist strikes, 'police' operations of the Grenada type and U.S.-aided efforts to topple pro-Soviet regimes in the Third World."

In the Pentagon's view, says Klare, even the Vietnam War was "low-intensity conflict" for most of its duration (you've got to watch out for that slippage into "mid-intensity"!); And the doctrine is broad enough to include "pro-active" military measures (as opposed to the wimpy "reactive" kind)—meaning naked aggression against any country judged to be a Soviet surrogate. Thus this week, for instance, two U.S. aircraft carrier battle groups, centered on the *Coral Sea* and the *Saratoga*, are "exercising" off Libya's coast, blatantly looking to provoke a dogfight with mad colonel Qaddafi's Soviet-supplied MIGs, in the name of "fighting terrorism."

### Aid to Dependent Contras

The problem for the U.S. is their mercenaries are *losing*; a year ago, General Gorman told a Senate commit-

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### TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA



# Why the FBI Tried to Destroy M.L. King

Amidst the orgy of racist hypocrisy that inaugurated the Martin Luther King federal holiday, one ceremony contained a particularly grotesque irony. On January 16, 1,500 federal employees from 26 agencies were shepherded into the Departmental Auditorium to hear a message from their boss in the White House. There they were addressed by Samuel R. Pierce, Jr., the secretary of Housing and Urban Development and the only black in Reagan's cabinet. Washington here has it that after Pierce was appointed Reagan met him at a reception and asked who he was.

Pierce is a loyal defender of Reagan racism, claiming "the President is very sincere with respect to equality among people" (*New York Times*, 17 January). Regarding M.L. King, who was assassinated on the eve of the 1968 Poor People's March on Washington, Pierce said: "He wasn't seeking so much getting more food stamps, or getting more welfare checks." According to Pierce, King really shared Reagan's vision of "equality" which to paraphrase Anatole France, makes it equally against the law for either the rich or the poor to steal bread or sleep on sidewalk gratings.

But there is also a historical dimension to the cruel irony of black Reaganite Pierce addressing a meeting "honoring" King. For Pierce's name figures in the vicious campaign conducted by Herbert Hoover's FBI to discredit and "neutralize" (eliminate) King as a leader of the civil rights movement. Despite the fact that King sought to disarm black struggle and sink it in the cesspool of the Democratic Party, this campaign was conducted under the Democratic administrations of both John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

By 1962 King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) were the subjects of a "COMINFIL" (for "Communist infiltration") operation of harassment, disruption and "dirty tricks" that anticipated "CO-INTELPRO" operations launched four



Supporters greet King in Baltimore, 1963 (above). Hoover's FBI COINTELPRO memo (right)—ordering feds to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify" black struggle—drips with blood of martyred black leaders.

years later to destroy black groups like the Panthers and their leaders. The FBI launched an insidious McCarthyite smear campaign targeting two of King's closest associates in the SCLC. President John Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, gave Hoover full rein. In June 1963 a meeting was organized between King and the Kennedys to get King to dump his two colleagues, which he did. The SCLC leader reported JFK's sinister warning during this meeting: "I assume you know you're under very close surveillance."

The FBI, under the operational hand of the head of the Domestic Intelligence Division, William Sullivan, escalated their campaign to "discredit" King in the beginning of 1964. In particular, a microphone was planted in King's Washington, D.C. hotel room. Two days later, Sullivan wrote a memorandum

in which he proposed removing King from his "pedestal" and replacing him with the "right kind of national Negro leader" who could "assume the role of the leadership of the Negro people when King has been completely discredited" (quoted in Frank Donner, *The Age of Surveillance* [1980]). Sullivan's candidate was none other than Samuel R. Pierce, Jr.

Throughout 1964, tapes from the bug in King's hotel room were circulated to the bourgeois press and politicians throughout the country. They were played for then president Johnson. They were even mailed to King's wife, Coretta Scott King, and to the SCLC Atlanta office with an unsigned cover letter drafted by Sullivan urging King to commit suicide or face public exposure of the tapes. The FBI's McCarthyite smear of King and SCLC escalated especially when he criticized America's

dirty colonial war in Vietnam.

When members of the press not completely devoid of integrity complained about the crudeness of Hoover's campaign, Johnson defended his FBI director, explaining that it was better having him "on the inside of the tent pissing out rather than on the outside of the tent pissing in" (Morton Halperin, et al., *The Lawless State* [1976]). The ruling class in this country feared nothing so much as the joining of the black struggle for freedom with a communist working-class perspective. They needed Hoover and his secret police.

On April 4, 1968 King was knocked off his "pedestal" by an assassin's bullet. If the FBI did not pull the trigger, they fueled the social climate that spawned vermin like James Earl Ray. King tried to serve both the oppressed and the oppressor, but the latter would not accept a dual loyalty. ■

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: COINTELPRO PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.

## GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In policy there is strength; a truth that is as valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "New Negro" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.

2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. It might have been such a "messiah" he is the party of the movement today.

It is less of a threat because of his age, but a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrine" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. He has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. It should be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

4. Prevent militant black net.

## M.L. King Day...

(continued from page 1)

for blacks." The bitter irony of M.L. King Day 1986 was captured in San Francisco where the march was led off by a contingent of black homeless under the official banner, "Living the Dream." And amid the celebrations came one report after another showing that the desperate "State of Black America" has become a calamity during the Reagan years.

The current occupant of the White House told black children at the Martin Luther King School in Washington, D.C., "It takes a lot of guts not to hit back when someone is hitting you—and [King] had that kind of guts" (*New York Times*, 16 January). What nerve coming

from "Rambo Reagan" who threatens to do away with Qaddafi, the Sandinistas or anyone who so much as looks cross-eyed at an American aircraft carrier! Turn-the-other-cheek pacifist preaching didn't win the gains of the civil rights movement, and certainly won't defend the remaining gains now under massive attack. As the ghettos sink ever deeper into poverty, as big city Democratic Party mayors wage Reagan's war on labor and minorities and their cops bomb black America (the MOVE massacre), it's clear that any talk of "survival" in racist capitalist America is a cruel hoax. *The only road to black liberation is socialist revolution!*

Not everyone was "celebrating" M.L. King Day, however. In a despicable racist obscenity, the Ku Klux Klan surfaced in parts of the South. With

Revolting hypocrisy: racist Reagan sends his vice president George Bush to join Coretta Scott King in Atlanta memorial.



their preferred "Kandidate" in the White House, the KKK marched in Raleigh, North Carolina hailing the birthday of Confederate general Robert E. Lee. In Atlanta, Georgia governor Joe Frank Harris ever so politely refused permission to the Klan to use the capitol steps for an anti-King rally January 20, urging a KKK grand dragon to "reconsider your request to demonstrate...to avoid potentially disruptive activities." In Pulaski, Tennessee, where the Klan was born in 1865, 100 KKK nightriders came out in white sheets and camouflage combat fatigues, hollering "White power!" and "Smash commies!" as a crowd of 2,000 looked on.

There was an orgy of commercialization, with King Day sales and nauseating "memorial" ads from banks, supermarkets, hotels, the whole racist capitalist class which regularly gouges

the ghetto buyer, enforcing residential segregation, living off the "last hired/first fired" exploitation of the black reserve army of labor. McDonald's commercials showed a profile of King with the "Golden Arches"; Teddy Kennedy declares, "Martin's dream of equality has become the American dream." Sammy Davis, Jr. says Martin told him, "We've made it." In the same spirit, for Black History Month the Miller Brewing Company will feature an ad for its Lite Beer with "We Shall Overcome" as the theme song.

Atlanta, King's birthplace, was the focal point of the national holiday. While 6,000 invited "distinguished citizens" marched behind the stars-and-stripes and the *Confederate flag* (Georgia's state flag), a plebeian crowd of tens of thousands looked on. A *New York Times* (20 January) article contrasted

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the celebration by the "talented tenth" with the grim reality of the black condition in Atlanta. In this "Mecca for Middle-Class Blacks," according to official statistics, a quarter of all black households earn less than \$5,000 a year, fully half live in poverty, the infant mortality rate is higher than in Cuba, and the head of the Fulton County Commission sees anger and alienation growing in "a split between the haves and the have-nots" in the black population.

Naturally, black elected officials like King's lieutenant Andrew Young, now Atlanta mayor, and aspiring BEOs like Jesse Jackson used the occasion to join the Reaganites in glossing over the class conflict between the oppressors and oppressed, echoing King's talk of a "beloved community" of interest. Cadet marching bands strutted in memory of the "drum major for justice" and the Air Force did a low overfly as a salute to the man who turned civil rights demonstrators around in Selma and called for the National Guard to crush the Watts ghetto explosion.

Coors, the notoriously racist anti-union brewery whose ultraright president is a top Reaganite and funder of CIA "contras" in Nicaragua, was one of the biggest sponsors of the King Day festivities. So was Coca-Cola, the standard-bearer of the "New South," which is as big a fraud as the "New Coke." Coca-Cola also subsidizes the King Center for Nonviolent Social Change, which symbolizes the whole symbiotic relationship of the thin layer of petty-bourgeois blacks with corporate America. The head of the King Center's public relations department is a vice president of Coca-Cola, and Coca-Cola president Donald Kehoe received the 1986 "salute to greatness" award from the King Center for "community service." The corporation's murderous union-busting in Guatemala and its operations in South Africa where they pay black workers starvation wages were ignored.

At the January 20 "ecumenical service" in Atlanta, Edward Kennedy (who got chased out of Soweto by black militants) called King a "rare genius" and likened South Africa's Bishop Tutu to King. While both appealed to the "humanity" of the oppressors, King at least belatedly came out against the Vietnam War. Tutu, however, calls on Reagan to give Botha the Nicaragua treatment, endorsing the U.S. imperialists' global counterrevolutionary policies and merely urging that they adopt more effective measures against communism in South Africa.

Various leftists have been trying to cover their opportunism with the mantle of King. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) hails King, "Freedom fighter and international hero," while collecting signatures on a "Freedom Letter" to Bishop Tutu (*Young Socialist*, December 1985-January 1986). In Atlanta SWPers marched briefly in the King Day parade, carrying a banner appealing to American rulers to "Boycott South Africa, Not Nicaragua." From Atlanta to SF, the reformists were pushing the lie that King represents the

totality of the civil rights movement. They're trying to forget the "black power" militants who strove to go beyond the preachers' defeatist pacifism and alliance with the Democratic liberals.

Although King represented the liberal wing of "The Movement," he too ran into the dead end which blocked the civil rights movement once they legislated formal elimination of Jim Crow. Black oppression, the misery of the ghettos, is rooted in the capitalist economy. King was shot down in 1968 (while under constant FBI surveillance) supporting striking black sanitation workers in Memphis. In 1986 Memphis distinguished itself by refusing to give municipal workers the day off on M.L.K. Day.

For 15 years, black organizations and others worked to have Congress enact a Martin Luther King Day, the first national holiday in honor of a black person in this country. From Ronald Reagan to North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms to New York City mayor Edward Koch, the resistance was straight out racism. It also reflected their fear of a mass movement of blacks, the same fear which led to the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO operations to "prevent the rise of a black Messiah." We will probably never know what role the U.S. intelligence agencies played in the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King until the workers revolution opens the locked archives of the U.S. secret police.

Not least of all, the red-white-and-blue hoopla surrounding King's birthday is intended to drown out memories of that original "Martin Luther King Day," which sent shivers of fear through America's ruling class. On 4 April 1968 hundreds of thousands of black people took to the streets, leaderless and without political focus, in outrage over the cold-blooded murder of the man who was seen as the leader of struggle against black oppression. Troops were called out, as ghetto explosions broke out in 125 cities across the country. Lyndon Baines Johnson had to call in airborne troop divisions to occupy the capital against the wrath of the population of black Washington.

In 1986, Republicans Reagan and Bush and Dixiecrat Wallace and liberal Democrat Kennedy all praise Martin Luther King's "dream of equality" as school integration is abandoned and social programs for the ghetto poor are slashed in favor of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. Meanwhile, under Democrat Jimmy Carter racist murders of blacks and leftists received state sanction at Greensboro; under Reagan it has become state policy at Philadelphia.

While M.L. King led blacks into the Democratic Party, tragically, groups like the Black Panther Party, isolated in the ghetto, never found the road to link the black struggle to the power of the working class. Such a labor/black alliance means mobilizing the power of the working class and minorities behind the leadership of the revolutionary workers party. ■

## Contra Socialists...

(continued from page 6)

ARIDE and opened negotiations with the Sandinistas. But Rivera terminated discussions last May, demanding "sovereignty" and recognition as exclusive representative of the coastal peoples, as well as withdrawal of the Sandinista army from the rural areas. In June he formed an alliance with Fagoth's MISURA in the contra capital of Miami, but soon thereafter Fagoth was expelled from his own outfit. In July, the new coalition (KISAN) ousted Rivera as well.

A "general" without an army, cut off by the CIA and the contras, and moreover having broken off discussions with the Sandinistas just when an effective cease-fire was negotiated, Rivera has taken to international grandstanding. Last November he was joined by Russell Means, a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), who denounced the Sandinistas' autonomy proposal as a "racist, soulless Marxist experiment" and called for "warriors from North America" to fight alongside the Miskito holdouts. This disgusting attempt to enlist oppressed American Indians for Reagan's global anti-Communist crusade recalls the antics of CORE leader Roy Innis, who recruited blacks to fight with Savimbi's CIA-backed UNITA during the 1975 South African invasion of Angola. (Means has since been expelled from AIM for his support to the contras.)

Since the FSP claims to oppose Yankee imperialism's onslaught against "revolutionary Nicaragua," all it can do is disappear Rivera's CIA connections. But how did Clara Fraser & Co. get into this pickle in the first place? Their support to Miskito contras is a direct product of their sectoralist politics. Born as a split from the Socialist Workers Party in 1966, the FSP is wedded to the idea that each oppressed group must have its own vanguard; their speciality is trying to produce a hybrid of socialism and feminism. Thus the Spring 1983 issue of *Freedom Socialist* contains the bizarre call for "black and workingclass liberation through socialist feminism"! So why not women's liberation through black nationalism, Chicano liberation through Indian power, or ...?

And what happens when "Third World" nationalists like the Sandinistas run up against their "Fourth World" counterparts, the Miskito leaders? According to the FSP, the most oppressed are the vanguard, apparently even if they are being manipulated as imperialist stooges. This opens up quite a Pandora's box. What about the Hmong and other hill peoples in Indochina, enrolled by CIA "secret armies" to transport opium and sabotage the Vietnamese and Pathet Lao struggle against American imperialism? Before them the French used backward tribes as colonialist mercenaries against inde-

pendence struggles in Vietnam and Algeria.

The same FSP article proclaims, "Black lesbians...are the most rebellious and the most unspoiled and creative radicals. They prove Lenin's dictum that the most tormented shall lead!" On the contrary, Lenin called on the proletariat to take the lead in the fight to liberate all the oppressed. By rejecting the Leninist concept of the revolutionary party of the working class as a "tribune of the people," the FSP laid the basis for its present alliance with Miskito contras: this is the counterrevolutionary logic of sectoralism. ■

## Hands Off FSP...

(continued from page 6)

submitted to the U.S. Supreme Court an *amicus curiae* brief against the prosecution, joining numerous religious, civil liberties and political organizations.

The Snedigar suit strikingly resembles the dirty practices of that litigious political swindler, Gerry Healy. Healy's propensity to use the bourgeois courts as a sword against political opponents is notorious. In the strange case of Alan Gelfand, this American Healyite provocateur under the direction of Workers League honcho David North enlisted the capitalist courts to challenge Gelfand's expulsion from the Socialist Workers Party. Recently, following their expulsion from the British Workers Revolutionary Party, Healy and his cohort Vanessa Redgrave sought the recovery of £29,000 from Astmoor Litho Ltd., printer of the WRP's *News Line*, claiming this was a loan by Redgrave repayable on demand. When the WRP now led by Michael Banda refused to pay, asserting that the £29,000 was a gift, Redgrave sued for and obtained the dissolution of Astmoor Litho, and has recovered the sole right to use the *News Line* banner. The Official Receiver's Department will now determine the disposition of the remaining assets of Astmoor Litho.

Intervention by the capitalist state into the internal life of left and labor organizations is lethal. Although we hold no political brief for the FSP's rotten sectoralist politics, which have landed them in an unholy alliance with Reagan's Miskito contra terrorists against the radical nationalist Sandinista regime, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have endorsed their defense in this lawsuit, recognizing the serious threat to democratic rights that is posed.

We call on all left and labor organizations, and all those who defend the right of political association and organization free of government interference, to support the FSP's defense. The PDC has contributed \$100 to the defense fund. Endorsements and donations may be sent to: Freedom Socialist Party, 5018 Rainier Avenue South, Seattle, Washington 98118. ■

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See Page 64



# Miskitos...

(continued from page 6)

different ethnic groups of the region, simply declaring "the Atlantic coast Indians are Nicaraguans like the rest" (*International Viewpoint*, 15 July 1985). As elsewhere in the country, the FSLN sought to introduce social and economic reforms. But the literacy campaign, for example, was originally projected in Spanish until objections from local organizations convinced them to include native languages. Leading the opposition was the newly formed MISURASATA (Miskitos, Sumos, Ramas and Sandinistas United).

Separated from the Spanish-speaking Pacific Coast by mountains and jungle through which no road has passed until recently, the Indians and Creoles of Zelaya province are historically, linguistically and culturally distinct from the rest of Nicaragua. The Miskitos successfully resisted Spanish colonization and were cultivated as allies by England in its struggle against Spain for hegemony in the New World. In the 17th century the English helped create the "kingdom" of Moskitia which served as a haven for their buccaners. English pirates were later replaced by American fruit, mining and lumber companies, and in 1894 the British Atlantic Coast protectorate was incorporated into the Republic of Nicaragua—under the guns of U.S. ships. Subsequent Nicaraguan rulers, especially the Somoza dynasty, maintained the region as a separate preserve for joint exploitation with North American firms.

The Atlantic Coast played no part in the revolution which overthrew the Somoza dictatorship in 1979: it was imported to the region from the outside. As the FSLN extended its rule to the Caribbean, the Sandinistas' hostility to demands for ethnic rights provoked unrest even among initial supporters of the revolution. Frictions over the literacy campaign were followed by disagreements over Miskito demands for a greater share in the income from nationalized lumber and mining concerns. In February 1981, the Sandinistas arrested MISURASATA leader Steadman Fagoth Müller on charges of fomenting a separatist uprising. They soon discovered that he had been an informer for Somoza's secret police and was working with Somozaist counter-revolutionaries in Honduras. When a patrol went to arrest Fagoth's associates in the coastal village of Prinzapolka, a firefight broke out resulting in the deaths of several soldiers and Indians.

In response to Miskito pressure, the government released the MISURASATA leadership, whereupon Fagoth crossed the Coco River to join his Somozaist pals (already being financed by the CIA). They soon launched attacks against representatives of the FSLN government (teachers, medical personnel, etc.) and spread rumors of Sandinista atrocities. The flow of Miskitos into Honduras increased, and contra camps were set up next door to



**Miskito and Sumo Indian populations along rivers and coastline of sparsely populated Atlantic Coast region.**

refugee camps. After particularly violent border raids in December of 1981, known as "Operation Red Christmas," the Sandinistas decided to evacuate the horder area. In January 1982 the government began a forced transfer of horder residents, including about 10,000 Miskitos, to a group of camps about 50 miles south called Tasba Pri ("free land" in Miskito).

While the new settlements provided health care, schools, sanitation, houses with zinc roofs and small farm plots for the refugees, the trauma of the relocation further embittered the Miskitos. Their homes were burned to the ground before their eyes and their livestock slaughtered by Sandinista troops. The evacuation hit the Miskitos particularly hard as their whole universe revolved around the river and its rich alluvial plain. Moreover, the Tasba Pri settlements became particular targets for MISURA raiders who would kidnap entire villages and march them off to Honduras, while torturing and killing every Sandinista official. Belatedly the Sandinistas became aware of their miscalculations regarding the Atlantic Coast. As Interior Minister Tomás Borge put it in July 1984:

"The imperialist strategy grasped at that time that the Sandinista national project did not fully understand the Miskito problem, that it did not have experience and that is why they made [the Miskito question] one of their preferred spearheads, distorting it on an international level."

—*Intercontinental Press*, 18 February 1985

At the same time, Miskito refugees were finding that life under Reagan's "freedom fighters" was turning into a nightmare, with summary executions, mutilations, rape and kidnappings on both sides of the Coco River. In one notorious case, pro-Sandinista Miskito Dr. Myra Cunningham was gang-raped by MISURA soldiers chanting "Christ yesterday, Christ today, Christ tomorrow." The UN refugee center at Mokorón, Honduras became a veritable concentration camp dominated by the psychopathic killer Fagoth and a despotic council of elders. Meanwhile, Miskito combatants inside Nicaragua were being hit hard by the Sandinista army and had difficulty obtaining arms and ammunition after Congress cut off aid. So in mid-1984 MISURASATA leader Brooklyn Rivera opened negotiations with the FSLN (see accompanying article, "FSP Contra Socialists").

Although Rivera broke off talks last May, 15 out of 20 local MISURA commanders agreed to a cease-fire. This awakened tremendous hopes among the coastal residents, and when 200 MISURASATA troops attacked Bluefields shortly after the truce was proclaimed, they were defeated by army troops, local militia and private citizens who came out to join them. Meanwhile, a plan for regional autonomy worked out in conjunction with MISATAN is being discussed in town meetings around the area, and the results are to be

written into the constitution now being prepared by the National Assembly. As the price for peace, the Sandinistas are exempting Atlantic Coast residents from identity cards, compulsory military service, and economic austerity measures. According to the independent (pro-FSLN) *Pensamiento Propio* (September 1985):

"Today they no longer insist on organizing the population into Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), and instead start from respect for the traditional structures of the Miskito people, such as the community and its leaders, the Council of Elders and the Moravian Church itself...."

## For a Socialist Federation of Central America!

Even leaving aside the Reaganite propagandists, who portray the Miski-

**Chapel on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast: anti-communist Moravian church sanctifies poverty and backwardness of Miskito Indians.**



tos as some kind of anti-communist noble savages, the "Miskito question" has given rise to acrimonious controversy, such as the recent exchange between Sandinista apologist Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz and MISURASATA apologist Penny Lernoux in *The Nation* (11 January). But neither Third World nationalists nor pro-imperialist liberals have a program for the emancipation of the innumerable peoples, tribes, fragmentary nationalities and ethnic groups of the more backward and inaccessible regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They have no program because they cannot transcend the *nation-state*, the characteristic framework for bourgeois rule. And for the Miskitos—divided by the Nicaragua-Honduras border, suffering above all from isolation and poverty—genuine liberation is impossible within the narrow confines of a tiny Central American ex-banana republic.

Some Miskitos, such as MISURASATA leader Brooklyn Rivera, call for "self-determination" for the Atlantic Coast. But the people of the area are hardly a nation, not even a nationality. While they do have a distinct history and English is widely spoken in the region, the 67,000 Miskitos, 5,000 Sumos and 25,000 black Creoles make up little more than a third of the population of the coastal provinces, the majority of whom are Spanish-speaking mestizos. Nor is the sparsely populated area an economically viable entity: in

the past its natural resources were plundered by imperialist enclaves, leaving virtually no infrastructure. Moreover, the non-Miskito ethnic groups have shown little sympathy for MISURA/MISURASATA: the kidnapping of respected FSLN black leader Ray Hooker did nothing to endear Miskito rebels to the Creoles, and the Sumos have historically smarted under the more militarily aggressive Miskitos.

A recent article on "Sandinista Power and Minority Autonomy" (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, December 1985) declared that Sandinista policy toward the population of the Atlantic Coast was "shocking in its brutality and authoritarian centralism, worthy of the worst Jacobins." In the classic bourgeois revolution, France of 1789-93, the most radical democrats, the Jacobins, were also the most vigorous centralizers, sweeping away every regional and local particularism as part of the struggle against feudalism. However, in this epoch of capitalist decay, the nation-state is no longer progressive but holds back the development of the productive forces. Particularly in this region where the original Central American Union was splintered into five mini-republics, national liberation for the ex-colonies and neocolonies of the "Third World" can only be achieved in a broader framework, enrolling oppressed peoples and minorities in the struggle for internationalist proletarian revolution against imperialism.

As well as recognizing the right of self-determination of nations such as Finland, Poland and the Ukraine, as early as 1913 Lenin advocated "local self-government, with *autonomy* for regions having special economic and social conditions, a distinct national composition of the population, and so forth" ("Critical Remarks on the National Question"). While this policy was

later distorted by Stalin's Great Russian chauvinism, the early Soviet regime established autonomous and federated socialist republics, as a transitional form to the complete unity of the working people of different nations. For the Bolsheviks, recognition of national self-determination and regional autonomy served the purpose of *spreading the revolution*, to undermine the forces of feudal backwardness. For the Sandinistas—Nicaraguan nationalists—autonomy for the Atlantic Coast means a concession to the status quo, by *limiting the revolution*.

It will take a *workers and peasants government* expropriating the bourgeoisie to lay the basis for liberating the Miskito Indians from isolation, illiteracy, poverty and the domineering control of a tripartite gerontocracy sanctified by the anti-communist Moravian church. A *socialist federation of Central America* will establish free association with their fellow tribesmen across the Coco River, and recognition of the rights of English-speaking black Creoles all along the Caribbean shores of the isthmus. The roots of the Sandinista "errors" on the Atlantic Coast are not to be found in "ignorance" or "lack of experience," as FSLN comandante Tomás Borge insists, but in their *nationalist* program. Key to overcoming them is the forging of a Trotskyist party, built on the *internationalist* program of permanent revolution throughout the region and beyond. ■



**Somozaist spy and Miskito contra Steadman Fagoth.**



# Meese's Porno Witchhunt

With *Deep Throat* star Linda Lovelace (aka Marchiano) standing in for Whitaker Chambers, and the genuinely obscene feminist anti-porn crusader Andrea Dworkin billed as a "civil rights advocate," the nation's top cop Edwin Meese wanted to stage the 1950s HUAC traveling road show all over again. Only this time the object of the witchhunt wasn't reds—not so abundant in Reagan's America—but sex, which apparently still lingers on despite the best efforts of the administration. In the spirit of Jesse Helms's recent declaration that there shall be no more tax exemptions for organized witches and agents of the devil, the attorney general's Commission on Pornography has been holding hearings in Washington, D.C., Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago and New York City. Their aim: to establish that pornography causes marital infidelity, divorce, child molesting, rape, incest, serial murders, hairy palms and zits.

A housewife in Houston wailed, "He had more sex with pictures in magazines than he did with me." And when they brought the hearings to "sin city" January 21-22, a clergyman in New York recounted the testimony of a convicted rapist: "I've got to stay away from those dirty magazines. They are what gets me started." A church-going Christian accidentally got a peek at *Playboy* and before you know it he was mailing pictures of sex acts committed with his own children all around the country. It seems we're headed for a new version of the Dan White "Twinkies defense" (for murdering San Francisco mayor George Moscone and supervisor Harvey Milk): *Playboy* made me do it. It all sounded like another remake of

*Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, and anthropologist Carole Vance correctly identified it as a "sex panic." In periods of rampant reaction—such as '50s McCarthyism—the manipulation of sexual anxieties by the state has been a

every adult bookstore in his jurisdiction, not many supporters of the First Amendment or even sanity made it onto the witness stand. The first day of the New York hearings was composed almost entirely of cops and FBI agents.

Anti-censorship feminists' guerrilla theater ridicules Meese hearings  
In New York, January 21.



favorite tactic to regiment the population through guilt and paranoia. The hysterical atmosphere was exemplified by one Mormon woman's testimony that pornography was a greater threat to America than Pearl Harbor or nuclear war since, once viewed, it "will always remain subject to recall, flashing its perverted images across your mind and drawing you away from the wholesome things in life." Pointing the finger even more ludicrously, a fundamentalist missionary testified, "The witchcraft of Hollywood have seduced America since the 20's," and named Bob Hope and John Wayne as directly responsible for today's social ills!

With a commission of witchhunters hand-picked by Meese and chaired by the notorious Henry Hudson, who as a Virginia vice prosecutor closed down

But it didn't go entirely to the liking of the commissioners. Former *Penthouse* pet Dominique Maure, a stunning example of American womanhood, stated, "I'm testifying because I'm not a victim of what's called pornography. It's been a great benefit, and it hasn't destroyed my marriage to a Long Island policeman." Well-known Harvard law professor Alan M. Dershowitz attacked the Commission's definition of pornography, declaring that being sexually aroused "is as American as apple pie." He might have added motherhood.

Under pressure from Reagan reaction, a split seems to have occurred among feminists. While groups like WAP (Women Against Pornography) have been competing with far right yahoos in the "war against porn," even staging an obviously prearranged take-

over of the mikes for a half-time show during one of the New York hearing breaks, the liberal Feminist Anti-Censorship Taskforce (F.A.C.T.) picketed outside with chants of "Stop Sexism, Not Sex!" Inside F.A.C.T. sat through hours of hearings with large yellow and black cardboard signs reading "CENSORED" across their chests...until the Commission indeed censored the signs on the grounds that they might be intimidating to witnesses.

This ludicrous (and expensive) circus is designed to overturn the results of the 1970 President's Commission Report on Obscenity, which found no connection between pornography and violent or "anti-social" behavior. Reagan's declared "war" on organized crime has singled out pornography, prostitution, gambling and drug use as Mob activities to be stamped out. But, in fact, these are "crimes without victims"—like "sodomy," "fornication" and "adultery"—punished by the capitalist state in order to ensure social conformity and persecute deviants. At the New York hearings, FBI agents complained about the lack of tough porn laws and difficulty in convicting; one said the RICO laws should be used more, noting you can almost always get a conviction under the "conspiracy" dragnet.

This is precisely Meese's aim. The Commission's report is to be issued in June 1986, in time to whip up public hysteria for the fall election campaigns. Congressmen are to be intimidated by fear of being labeled "soft on smut" into passing even more reactionary laws controlling private life and the media. Proposed legislation under consideration by the Commission includes a law against sexually stimulating "rubber goods"—including vibrators! Abolish all laws against "crimes without victims"! No to censorship laws! Government out of the bedrooms! ■

## Report...

(continued from page 2)

as the main left wing, they're ultraleft, they're radicals, they want everything right now, and furthermore they have no support. That's the line that we consistently got from the Frente. We did meet a couple of exceptions. One was a guy in Bluefields, a Spanish guy. And he was telling me about the Civil War in the United States and how what blacks needed in the United States is another civil war.

We met up with some interesting Bulgarians, who absolutely loved our line on "Complete the Revolution." But,

interestingly, when it got to the question of extending the Revolution, it was "No way, no how," they're for peace. And when it came to the question of revolution in the United States, or even working-class action to stop the invasion, it was like, "C'mon, where's the party that's going to lead it? Who's going to fight in the United States?" The Bulgarians are there building some ports in the Bluefields area.

While we were down there—*La Prensa* is obviously the propaganda organ for the contras, and it was exposed in the press that the ex-chief of *La Prensa* was currently this week addressing the CAUSA conference, the Moonie conference, in São Paulo, on the situation in Nicaragua.

We met one interesting guy, 21 years old, in Puerto Cabezas, which is right in the middle of the Miskito area on the Atlantic Coast. He was probably the best that we met, and some of the stuff that he had to say: "I'm tired of the government, I think they have too much patience"—he was a hard Frente member—"I think they're too flexible, they ought to go into Honduras and knock out the contras, and then maybe revolution will spread throughout Central America." He really had his doubts about the Miskitos, who the government is negotiating with right now, one wing of the Miskito opposition. He said if the government gives the Miskitos the right to politically run the coast, the Atlantic Coast, I hope that Fidel will come. ■

## TWU...

(continued from page 12)

adjournment to "complete the investigation" and "evaluate the law." Grimes's lawyer, Harry Lipsig, moved to dismiss the charges altogether. The judge did not rule on Lipsig's motion and ad-

journed the hearing until February 10.

The banks and politicians who run this city are determined that only cops and criminals will have guns and decent working people will be at their tender mercy. To them it's OK that Willie Turks lies murdered while his racist lynchers still stalk the streets of Gravesend. Their idea of "law and order" means TA cops beating and strangling Michael Stewart to death and chaining James Grimes to a bench for nine hours.

If the DA has treaded lightly so far with Grimes it is only because they fear that the mass support for him will mobilize. At his hearing on January 23 nearly a hundred transit workers came out to support him. After the hearing some 40 of those workers marched to TA headquarters at Jay St. and held a spirited demonstration chanting, "Drop all the charges! Reinstate Brother Grimes!"

Make no mistake. Right now the DA's office is trying to figure out how much they can get away with charging Grimes. Even now the TA tops are wondering what kind of discipline, if not

outright firing, they can slap on Grimes as a warning to other workers. We can and must stop them cold.

We thank the brothers and sisters who came out on January 23. We note that Sonny Hall and the TWU leadership didn't bother to attend Grimes's hearing. On February 10 our entire 33,000-strong union should be mobilized to be with Brother Grimes when he goes back to court. Call on your union representatives to organize your shop, crew room, barn or gang to turn out on February 10. Whether it's officially endorsed or not *all TWU workers should be there!*

Drop all the charges against James Grimes! No TA discipline! For the right of armed self defense! Remember Willie Turks!

Be there:

9 a.m. sharp! Monday, Feb. 10th  
Brooklyn Criminal Court  
120 Schermerhorn St. (at Smith St.)

Transit Workers to Defend  
James Grimes  
27 January 1986

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Free Ramona Africa and All MOVE Prisoners!

PHILADELPHIA, January 24—Her arms covered by burn scars, Ramona Africa today faced the man who gave the green light for the incineration of eleven members of the MOVE commune, including five black babies. Ramona is one of two survivors of the government firebombing of her home in black Philadelphia. But in Reagan's America, her dramatic courtroom confrontation with black Democrat Wilson Goode, the "mayor of murder," came in a trial where the *victim of the crime is the accused*. Next week Ramona will face former police chief Gregore Sambor who gloated about allowing the fiery inferno to burn out of control for more than one hour, destroying an entire black neighborhood. She is on trial for *surviving* one of the most savage racist atrocities in the history of this racist country.

Held under a \$2.5 million bail, Ramona Africa is charged with aggravated assault, conspiracy, riot, resisting arrest and recklessly endangering other people. Assuming her own courtroom defense, Ramona indicted the real murderers, "It seems to me that every charge against me fits the

police. They fired 10,000 shots, set the house on fire where me and my family were, and killed my brothers and sisters" (*New York Times*, 7 January). More than 100 predominantly black people turned out to witness the trial. The courtroom was packed and the angry overflow crowd spilled out into the corridors. One man expressed what many felt—when Goode was called to the stand, a voice yelled out "Murderer!" As the shock of the hideous massacre wears off, slowly black Philadelphia is awakening to the enormity of this government crime.

The 13 May 1985 police bombing of the black, back-to-nature MOVE group produced a firestorm that consumed 61 houses and left 250 people homeless. The MOVE massacre carried the signature of the Reagan years. Reagan's top cop, Attorney General Edwin Meese hailed the racist mass murder as "a good example." Philadelphia cops, aided and abetted by Meese's FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, had a vendetta against MOVE going back to at least 1978, when a cop was killed as an attack force of 600 police assaulted

a MOVE home in Philadelphia.

Nine MOVE members are still in jail for trying to defend themselves against that terror raid. Freedom for their incarcerated brothers and sisters was the main MOVE demand before the May 13 conflagration. But the cops wanted blood. A police video tape of the carnage shows the disgusting gloating of the Philly cops as the MOVE commune on Osage Avenue was destroyed in a fiery holocaust—with black men, women and children trapped inside. The image of this hideous crime must be seared into the memory of the working class.

Ramona Africa is a political prisoner facing trumped-up charges that could put her away for the rest of her life. From Michael Stewart, the 25-year-old black artist, beaten and strangled to death by a lynch mob of NYC transit police, to Patrick Mason, the live-year-old black child killed in his own bedroom by a California cop, this racist capitalist system tries to make it a crime to be poor and black in America. And even more so if you raise a cry against the chains of oppression. As Ramona put it in her



AP

opening charge to the jury. "I do not wear my hair like you. I do not believe in the system. For this, I face more prejudice than I do being a black person or a woman" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 15 January).

It is *obscene* that Ramona Africa is on trial. Defense of all the MOVE prisoners is an elementary duty for every working-class organization. Yet from the day the bomb was dropped, the liberal left has dodged this duty or worse, blamed the victims for the massacre. Defense of these victims of the racist capitalist system is directly linked to the building of an integrated workers party that would lead the working class to power. There is no justice for black people short of socialist revolution that will bring to account all those responsible for this heinous crime. We will not forget. Free Ramona Africa and all jailed MOVE members! Proletarian vengeance for the MOVE martyrs!

## NYC Transit Workers: For the Right of Self-Defense!

# TWU Must Mobilize to Defend James Grimes!

For an elementary act of self-defense in performance of his job, 55-year-old black NYC subway token clerk James Grimes was hauled into Brooklyn Criminal Court January 23 on a misdemeanor weapons charge. On January 6, while transporting \$1,490 in Transit Authority cash, Grimes was mugged by three men who grabbed him and knocked him down, shouting: "Shoot him, shoot him!" Fearing for his life, Grimes pulled out his .22 from an eyeglass case and fired at his assailants, wounding one and forcing the others to flee. For defending his life and TA property, transit police outrageously held Grimes for 24 hours including *nine hours chained to a bench*, and the TA suspended him without pay.

But the tremendous groundswell of support for Grimes from every decent person in this city has compelled both the Brooklyn D.A. and the Transit Authority to go a little easier in this case. The Committee for a Fighting TWU distributed 7,000 copies of a leaflet calling on the membership of Transport Workers Union Local 100 to rally for the Grimes hearing. Nearly 100 transit workers turned out at the Brooklyn Criminal Court to be with brother



WV Photo

James Grimes with his wife and transit union supporters outside Brooklyn Criminal Court, January 23.

Grimes and demonstrate their support. The demonstration was widely reported by the media. WABC (Channel 7) quoted car inspector Mary Jo Marino who had helped mobilize for the demonstration: "Many of the workers in our workforce face this kind of situation....

The brother ought to face no charges in criminal court, and the TA ought to get their hands off him." WNBC (Channel 4) quoted another demonstrator: "I feel that everyone should have the right to self-defense because these are dangerous streets, these are danger-

ous subways, and everybody should be out here supporting our brother James Grimes."

The kind of labor action needed to defend Grimes was demonstrated by Chicago transit workers last August. A black bus driver, David Johnson, was subjected to a racist frame-up for a tragic accident in which seven white youth were killed when their car swerved in front of his bus. He was charged with reckless homicide and chained to his hospital bed while suffering from serious injuries sustained in the accident. But when 700 angry union brothers converged on police headquarters demanding that charges be dropped, and over 170 unionists issued a statement calling all 12,000 members of the Amalgamated Transit Union local to show up at his court hearing, the Chicago D.A. quickly dropped the charges.

The day before Grimes's court appearance his wounded assailant died, causing the district attorney's office to ask for a postponement to February 10, which was granted. The D.A. could well come back with more serious charges at that time. To mobilize the full power of the 33,000-strong Local 100 behind their union brother, an ad hoc committee, "Transit Workers to Defend James Grimes," has been formed within the union. They have issued the following leaflet

### Leaflet by Transit Workers to Defend James Grimes

When token clerk James Grimes showed up for his hearing at Brooklyn Criminal Court on January 23rd one of his attackers, Fernando Cruz, had died the day before. Assistant DA Jon Besunder requested a two week

*continued on page 11*