

Young Spartacus

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NOVEMBER 1983

U.S. Hands Off the World!

Reagan Is War Crazy!



Defend the Soviet Union!

"We need a win somewhere, whether it's Latin America, the Middle East or with the Russians," exclaimed one of Reagan's advisers a few months ago. Now the Reagan gang is celebrating their "win" somewhere: the takeover of the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada, the size of Martha's Vineyard with a population that can fit into the Rose Bowl. And still it took 6,000 "crack" American troops, 20 naval warships and squadrons of Air Force fighters and helicopter gunships almost a week to take the island in the face of heroic resistance by 700 Cuban construction workers.

The great Grenada invasion is getting high ratings in the polls, and so the Democrats are frantically waving the jingoist flag in unison with Reagan. Democratic Congressional leader Tip O'Neill first called the action "gunboat diplomacy" but now finds it "justified." One of the main reasons for the "popularity" of Reagan's Grenada adventure is *not* mentioned by the politicians, press and pollsters, publicly, that is. The sight of all those white boys with guns, many of them Southern crackers, pushing around black Grenadians and overpowering dark-skinned Cubans appeals to the racism which

pervades this sick capitalist society. Grenadian prisoners undergoing "interrogation" are held in tiny crates with a few slits and small holes for ventilation like the "tiger cages" in Vietnam for suspected Viet Cong. And those white medical students who kissed the ground when they got home and practically kissed the boots of Marine "rescuers" commonly referred to the native inhabitants as "FIGS" (fucking ignorant Grenadians). "Liberating" Grenada—the "white man's burden" for Reagan's America.

The Yankee invaders are acting on this small island like the Nazi hordes trampling on East Europe. In particular, they inflicted on the captured Cuban workers and hundred or so Soviet diplomatic personnel the kind of barbaric treatment they would like to inflict

on the entire Cuban and Soviet peoples. A number of wounded Cuban soldiers were left without medical attention and when returned to Cuba their wounds had become gangrenous. The Soviet embassy was seized. Its personnel were hauled to the airport, hands behind their heads, and for eight hours searched, photographed and their belongings ransacked by armed U.S. paratroopers before being expelled at gunpoint. To invade a country and do this to a Soviet embassy is an act of war. Imagine if Russian soldiers had treated American diplomats like that anywhere. Reagan would have blown up the world.

The Reagan gang and other sections of the U.S. ruling class are now floating on a "Grenada high." Suddenly they're masters of the world. As the Russians put it, Reagan conquers Grenada and

thinks he's Napoleon. Remember what happened to Napoleon (and Hitler) when they attacked Russia! The *Wall Street Journal* (4 November) exults that the Grenada invasion has finally overcome the dreaded "Vietnam syndrome":

"What this suggests is that a U.S. victory against communist expansionism, even a small victory, was what Americans mainly needed to cure themselves of the remaining fears and uncertainties left over from the U.S. defeat in Vietnam."

The Reagan gang and *Journal* editors are living in a fantasy world of their own making. Fear of another Vietnam—an endless, losing war of attrition in some far-off land—remains very much alive for the American people. The conservative, but hardheaded, London *Economist* (29 October) observed:

"Most Americans will accept the Grenada operation because it was short, clear-cut and cheap in lives. They do not yet seem of a spirit to contemplate something obscurer and bloodier."

Reagan is not only contemplating something far bloodier, he is now preparing it and about to launch. And as commander in chief of the most powerful military force in history, he has the power to blow up the world with or

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Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home!

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Sue FBI....4

PL Crazyies Run Amok in Chicago

Stalinists Without a Country

Below we reprint a leaflet issued by the Chicago Spartacist League (SL) in response to a lying article in *Challenge* (16 November), newspaper of the "Progressive Labor Party" (PL). The article sought to cover up a violent physical assault carried out by PL against two SL members at a transit workers union meeting November 7. The day after that attack, a gang of PLers at the Circle campus of the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC)—with two National Guardsmen InCAR members in the lead—jumped SYL members in the Student Center. PL had hoped to draw a bloodline between the SYL and members of InCAR, but the plan backfired. The InCAR meeting that night was completely taken up by protests against the assault, and one new member has quit. The leaflet was well received by transit workers at the 69th Street bus garage—where Workers Vanguard sales were twice as high as usual—and at the 79th Street garage, where one of the PL assailants works. SYLers distributed 500 copies of the leaflet at UIC November 18, where PL failed to set up their regular Friday literature table. PL was also absent from the Greyhound picket lines set up that morning.

"I don't think the son of a bitch knows the difference between telling the truth and lying." Harry Truman said that about Richard "I am not a crook" Nixon. The latest issue of *Challenge*, newspaper of the "Progressive Labor Party," a non-Progressive, anti-Labor,

fake-Party, reads like it's entered into competition with Nixon.

Challenge (November 16) cooked up a story about the last meeting of ATU Local 241 which confirms that paper will take anything that's written on it. At that November 7 meeting, a dozen PLP and InCAR thugs jumped two members of the Spartacist League—a labor socialist organization—who were distributing *Workers Vanguard*. At the time, PLers bragged about their cowardly, anti-working class attack. Now *Challenge* has printed the opposite story and claims two *Workers Vanguard* salesmen started the fight against 12 PL/InCAR members (and if one was dim enough to believe PL, no less than 300 workers under its "leadership"). *Challenge* goes on to claim that 20 Spartacists were waiting for them after the union meeting with a "leaflet ready about what had happened that evening.... Only two workers took leaflets, and then promptly threw them back in the Trots' faces." Those two PLers should have taken a closer look at the leaflets they threw away. If they had, they would know what everyone else at the union meeting does: the leaflet had nothing to do with PL's gangsterist attack. It was, in fact, an appeal to defend two Bay Area phone workers—Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero—facing multiple felony charges for defending their picket line against a racist management scab.

The defense effort on behalf of Ray and Lauren—a former member of the Black Panther Party—has received widespread labor and black support,

including most recently from Muhammad Ali. In its splendid isolation and all-consuming campaign to beat up on trade unionists and leftists, PL is oblivious to this critical fight for

parade in June 1982. PL opposed the mass mobilization against the Nazi "White Power" fascists. They took the Nazis' sucker bait and claimed that "gays and Nazis are two sides of the capitalist coin."

PL says union officials are "Nazis in uniform" and anyone who "deviates" from PL's puritanical sexual bigotry is "bourgeois" and "decadent." Furiously anti-Soviet, PL also parrots Reagan's line that the Russians and Cubans shouldn't aid the insurgent workers and peasants of El Salvador.

PL is a Stalinist sect without a country. Pol Pot's Cambodia would be

CHALLENGE

The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper

Transit Union Meeting Workers Power in Action

CHICAGO—On Mon., Nov. 7, the monthly meeting of ATU Local 241 (Chicago Transit Authority) was taken over by 300 workers under the leadership of the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR). The workers, carried by their hatred of the sellout Weatherspoon gang and their unity, were able to temporarily defeat the usually arrogant sellout leaders (also present at this meeting were the presidents of the striking Greyhound workers in Chicago and of Local 308, Chicago train workers).

We don't call them socialists with a pre-frontal lobotomy for nothing. PL's Challenge lies—and not too cleverly.

WHEN A WELL-KNOWN InCAR LEADER ROSE to make a motion, Weatherspoon tried to call him out of order. But the workers, led by a group of 50 organized by InCAR, were able to turn the tables on Weatherspoon and ruled him out of order. Weatherspoon could not be heard above their jeers and shouts. In fact, it was then Weatherspoon who was censured by the workers and he lost control of the meeting. The vice-president of the local took over the meeting and was forced to let the InCAR speaker continue his motion.

The gang of union traitors trembled while the workers actually led their own meeting. Many motions and resolutions that were in the direct interests of the workers were able to be passed in this way. Among them were a resolution to support the Greyhound strikers by joining their picket lines and sending a telegram of support to the International in Washington, D.C. The telegram would demand a national transportation strike to guarantee that the Greyhound workers wouldn't get the same treatment as the Patco strikers (Reagan had destroyed the air controllers' union by firing all the workers when they struck in Aug. 1981.)

The workers also passed a resolution condemning the U.S. imperialist invasion of Grenada as a step towards World War III. The resolution also demanded the immediate withdrawal of all imperialist troops from the Caribbean, Central America and the Middle East.

A third resolution condemned Bill 1805, which had just passed on the state senate (see article, page 5). Workers one after the other denounced the policies of the government. The final one was given by a black back politician who is a member of InCAR. He attacked those and Jesse Jackson as servants of the capitalists, no different from the white politicians. He denounced elections as a trick to try to suck workers into a system that can never serve the interests of the workers. This speech was wildly applauded.

This night was a victory for the anti-racist and pro-working class forces inside the union, despite the intentions of the fake leftists in the union (Trotskyites). Before the take-over, a group of InCAR and PLP members were selling C-D and circulating hundreds of leaflets. It was terrific to see so many workers carrying C-D and an InCAR leaflet. While they were selling and leafletting outside, two Trots came up with their papers, trying to confuse the workers. When one of the Trotskyite women tried to harass a woman comrade, the PLPer threw her to the ground and stomped all over her face. The other Trots ran off.

At the end of the meeting, about 20 Trots were outside the hall, waiting for the InCAR and people. Aware of the situation, the comrades came out among their friends. The Trots had a leaflet ready about what had happened that evening. The provocation earlier was clear. Only two workers took leaflets, and then promptly threw them back in the Trots' faces. The provocation was clear. The Trots were not able to sabotage this struggle against the union hacks. They were no match for the united group of workers.

Nov. 7 was a victory against the capitalists and their stooges in the leadership of the unions and in the fake left.

workers and black rights.

And not for the first time. PL opposed the successful Spartacist League-initiated mobilization of 3,000 unionists, blacks, Jews, gays and students which stopped the Nazi provocation against the Chicago Gay Pride

their best bet. Pol Pot shares PL's hatred of the Soviet Union and hates social progress, too—he levelled the cities and killed off half the population of Cambodia. After PL finally discovered that the Kremlin wasn't about to make a world socialist revolution, it switched its allegiance to Fidel Castro. Then to Mao in China. Then nobody. From the correct premise that Khrushchev, Castro and Mao were not genuine socialist internationalists, PL drew the defeatist and absurd conclusion that there was nothing at all worth defending in the workers states where capitalism has been overthrown.

But they didn't stop there. PL doesn't defend any social gain made by humanity. A year ago *Challenge* proclaimed that "Nuclear War is Inevitable" and talked about organizing revolution from among the atomic rubble. They're so demoralized they wouldn't mind if Reagan launched a nuclear war against the Soviet Union.

Nothing's worth defending for these Pol Potists—not workers states and not workers unions. According to *Challenge* (28 June) "It is correct to say that today's unions are tools of the bosses. These pro-boss organizations must be

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Subscription Drive Success

Congratulations to all comrades on the completion of the *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* subscription drive. The six-week *Workers Vanguard* drive reached 126 percent of the national quota, bringing WV subs (in the U.S. and overseas) to nearly 3,100. We also sold 461 *Women and Revolution* subs.

The sub drive netted 986 *Young Spartacus* subs, just meeting our national YSp quota of 985. However, the YSp sub drive had to be extended for four weeks to complete the quota.

Our sub drive work on the campuses brought mixed results, in keeping with the observation that presently American workers are more class-conscious than the students are radical. We paid special attention to colleges with concentrations of minority and working-class students but also hit some of the more elite private universities. We note with pride the successful sub drive of our two new Southern branches—Washington, D.C. and Atlanta—which grew directly out of the 27 November 1982 SL/SYL-initiated mobilization that stopped the Klan in Washington.



At Howard University, an important center of black cultural/intellectual life and historically an important center for black student radicalism, we sold 35 points, of which 27 were YSp subs. Almost without exception, the students there knew about the November 27

mobilization. The D.C. comrades followed up their drive with a video showing in one of the dorms, drawing half a dozen new subscribers. In Atlanta we sold 37 YSp subs, with a total of 65 points at the Atlanta U. complex of colleges.

Among our regional trips, the Bay Area locals' Northern sub tour to Oregon/Washington State netted 194 points, including 69 YSp subs. New York comrades sold 93 points (including 22 YSp subs) in Philadelphia and 120 points (including 40 YSp subs) at Rutgers University.

We welcome our new readers and hope to hear from you with your comments and criticisms. Now is the time to get involved in the fight for a socialist future and help introduce *Young Spartacus* to your fellow students, co-workers and friends! ■

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December 1

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For more information: (617) 492-3928

CLEVELAND

Trotskyism:

Revolutionary Marxism Today

Wednesday, 7:30 p.m.

December 7

Oberlin College, Wilder Hall, Rm. 102

For more information: (216) 775-5839

NEW YORK

Trotskyism:

Revolutionary Marxism Today

Saturdays, 4:00 p.m.

November 26, December 3, 10, 17

41 Warren Street

(Between West Broadway and Church St.)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

James Cheek: Reagan's Black McCarthy

Stop Anti-Radical Witchhunt at Howard University!

We reprint below a leaflet distributed by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) at Howard University. On October 26, six SYL supporters were arrested by Howard police for protesting against the U.S. intervention in Lebanon and invasion of Grenada. Howard president James Cheek has been out to smash student dissent in a year-long campaign which included the expulsion of the campus newspaper editor and her replacement with administration flunkies. Not coincidentally, following the arrest of the SYL supporters, the Hilltop let loose a barrage of anti-communist, pro-U.S. editorials reminding Howard students that they better keep their mouths shut or face losing their government-supplied financial aid. Charges were dropped against our comrades on November 9; distribution of this leaflet began Monday, November 14.

The Howard administration has been set back a step in its assault on the rights of Howard students—an assault which has been launched from president James Cheek's office and the *Hilltop*. Charges were dropped on Wednesday, November 9 against six supporters of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) arrested by Howard police on October 26 for protesting the U.S. intervention in Lebanon and invasion of Grenada. Over 150 students signed the petition demanding "U.S. Troops Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive! U.S. Troops Out of Grenada! Drop the Charges Against the SYL! Down with Cheek's Political Censorship!" Cheek's campaign to gag all student opposition to Reagan's global anti-Soviet war drive must be fought!

Reagan's rape of black Grenada was met with protest in cities and on campuses throughout the country—from Harvard to Michigan to Berkeley. The U.S. set up over 230 Marines to get blown to smithereens in Lebanon. To divert attention from this disaster and in retaliation for it, the U.S. then launched its attack on the tiny island of Grenada. U.S. troops got the chance to shed Cuban blood, as heroic Cuban workers fought fiercely against the invasion. Soviet diplomats were manhandled and subjected to a humiliating hours-long search at submachine-gun point by U.S. forces. And the invaders got a chance to bully and lord it over the black Grenadians. Grenada was a cheap "victory" for

troubled U.S. imperialism, whose CIA *contras* and butcher juntas continue to lose ignominiously at the hands of the Nicaraguans and Salvadoran insurgents. Reagan and the military are on a "Grenada high" now, hoping to use this singular U.S. military success to erase

It's now a weapon in Cheek's attempt to create a climate of fear and intimidation, the sort of climate necessary for effective witchhunting. Joe McCarthy and J. Edgar Hoover would likely blush at those November 4 editorials. "America: Love It or Leave It" (the rallying cry

dismissed. Carefully avoiding the use of the SYL's name, "Creeping Communism" charges that our "seemingly anti-racist headlines mask their hidden agenda. Communist tacticians believe they can eventually overthrow the United States by rallying together the working class of the country." Perhaps the sheer stupidity of this editorial is the most compelling argument for an FBI hand in it.

Who talks about "overthrowing the United States"? The Southern Confederacy may well have been the last such attempt, one in which Marxists stood with the United States. In fact, the capitalist government is not "overthrown." The historical probability is that in a revolutionary situation there may well be little government to "overthrow" and surely not this government in its present form. The choices posed will most probably be between the

REVIEW & OUTLOOK *The Hilltop*

America: Love It or Leave It

Here we go again. No sooner had U.S. Marines waded ashore on Grenada before every leftist in America crawled out from under his or her rock, hopped up on the nearest soap box, to decry Yankee imperialism. Some of the most dissonant whining emanated from the bowels of this campus.

There is nothing in the U.S. Constitution that declares financial aid an inalienable right, alongside life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. So, rather than biting the hand that feeds, students should be grateful that the government sponsors Pell Grants, National Direct Student Loans, Guaranteed Student Loans, and other assorted forms of financial aid. It does not have to be that

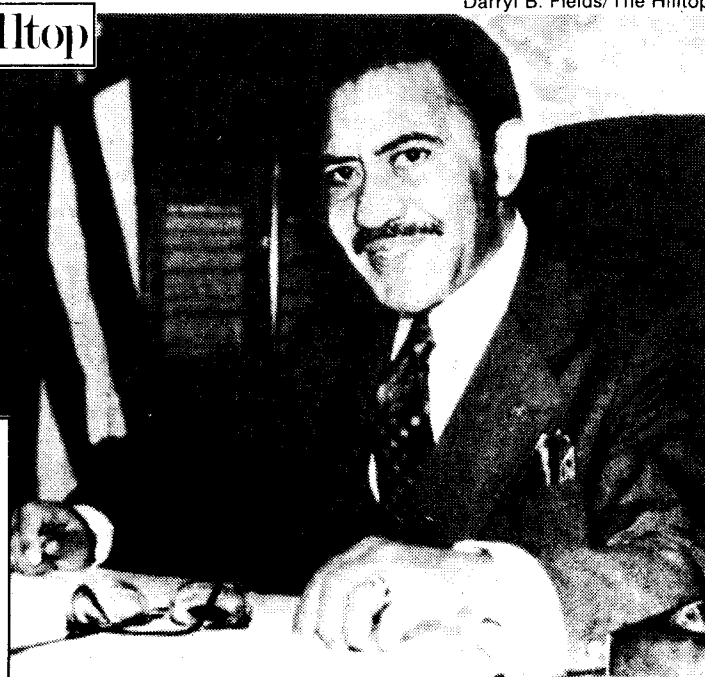
Creeping Communism

As long as we are talking about leftists, we might as well mention the bloodsucking communist leeches who have latched on to this campus. It has gotten to the point where a person cannot walk past the University Center or the Administration building without being harassed by these boisterous neo-Bolsheviks.

many political victories blacks win, no which how much economic progress blacks make, they will still be the most wretched class in the United States. Well not even the most belligerent ultraconservative harbors any more racist beliefs than those just mentioned.

It would not be so bad if these red menaces were U.S.

Regardless of what they may say, these self-serving communists don't want to see blacks make progress. They



Mr. Cheek and the recent editorials of his mouthpiece, the *Hilltop*.

the memory of their humiliating defeat in Vietnam and set the stage for further imperialist adventures from the Near East to Central America.

In a small way, Reagan's war drive was brought home to Howard when Howard cops hauled away in handcuffs the six SYL supporters who dared to mobilize protest against the U.S. invasion. Cheek's putting the entire student population on notice that dissent and protest will be smashed by any means necessary. As one of the 200 outraged students who were on hand for the bust told the cops: "Why don't you arrest me, I'm against the invasion, too." The *Hilltop*—nominally a student newspaper—gave their aid and comfort to Cheek's campaign to silence student protest in a page of editorials on November 4 entitled "America: Love It or Leave It" and "Creeping Communism."

The *Hilltop* has been turned into simply an administration mouthpiece since the expulsion of Janice McKnight.

Young Spartacus Photo



February 1983: Campus exploded in outrage when Cheek expelled student editor Janice McKnight for being too independent.

of reactionaries during the anti-Vietnam War movement) warns that "90 percent of students here receive some form of government-sponsored financial aid" and that "rather than biting the hand that feeds, students should be grateful" for this government "generosity." Its condemnation of students who "hoot and holler about the so-called 'oppressive and murderous' U.S. government" is a message straight from the top: shut up or get out (or get kicked out).

Opposition to Reagan's invasion is widespread in black America and among student youth and hardly limited to "radicals"—even the Black Congressional Caucus is on record against it. But the *Hilltop's* insulting editorial tells students who oppose the government's policies to "take their excess [ha!] government aid money and purchase a ticket on the next boat out of the country." We have a better idea: why doesn't Cheek pack up his Reagan-bestowed "Medal of Freedom" and get out of Howard instead since he and his *Hilltop* flunkies find so odious the legitimate popular outrage against Reagan's racist, warmongering policies? Dump him!

"Creeping Communism"—the second editorial—is devoted to the current targets of Cheek's witchhunt: "bloodsucking communist leeches," "white" (read: integrated) "radicals" who have come to stir up trouble on our black campus." First of all, the *Hilltop* doesn't believe that Howard is *our* campus; they believe it's Cheek's and Reagan's campus. The editors' use of classic FBI code words employed against the Southern civil rights movement—"outsiders," "communists" and integration—raises the question: is COINTELPRO really dead? Especially since the FBI has recently been granted sweeping new guidelines to persecute as "criminal terrorist" any opponent of the government, the conspicuous use of FBI language in the editorial cannot be

democratic soviets of the working class and a tottering bonapartist dictatorship led by some retired of General MacArthur, Haig, Jeane Kirkpatrick or the like. Any organization that fits the FBI's conspiratorial definition would have to be a group of suicidal psychopaths.

As for "hidden" agenda: since 1847 when Karl Marx wrote the *Communist Manifesto*, communists have proclaimed to the world that we seek to lead the working class in the necessary revolution against capitalism. Nor is it a secret that in the United States, the militant and strategically concentrated black workers are key to any successful class struggle.

This society is racist to the core. The *Hilltop* "reminds" the students that here, at the premier black university in the country, 95 percent have below average SAT scores. This is a ringing indictment of the nature of this sick,

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Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus (ISSN 0162-2692) is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, is a socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

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No. 113 November 1983

New Guidelines: McCarthyism with a Drawn Gun Spartacist League/SYL Sue FBI

Reagan's preparations for a thermonuclear "High Noon" against the Soviet Union have been paralleled by moves to squash political opposition to the U.S. government using secret-police methods. Reagan intends a first strike both abroad and at home: to install Pershings in Europe while pushing "gunboat diplomacy" in every corner of the globe, while in the U.S. unleashing the FBI dogs of war against domestic political opponents. And what they're sharpening their fangs for could be you.

You might think of yourself as a political activist—a member of a leftist group, a militant trade unionist, a fighter against the ominous growth of Klan/Nazi racist terror. You might have been a participant in a campus demonstration against U.S.-orchestrated slaughter in Central America, perhaps even one of those vilified by the *Wall Street Journal* for heckling Jeane Kirkpatrick, Reagan's Dragon Lady and heroine of assorted Latin despots and death squads. Even if you're just out to "save the whales" or the trees, to the FBI you're a "terrorist," a member of a "criminal enterprise," someone to be rooted out and "neutralized."

That's the essence of the new FBI "Domestic Security/Terrorism" Guidelines announced by Reagan's attorney general, William French Smith, in March. The title alone gives the content: criminalizing left-wing opposition and eliminating legal distinctions between leftist politics and "organized crime." Painting political opponents as not simply "subversive" but terrorists, the Guidelines aim at wholesale destruction of the left. Smith's introduction, sent to FBI director William Webster, spelled it out:

"The new approach, combining both organized crime and domestic security investigations in a single set of guidelines, should make it easier for your agents to focus their intelligence efforts on those criminal enterprises which threaten our people to attain ideological goals."
—*Criminal Law Reporter*, Vol. 32, No. 24, 23 March 1983

The FBI's equation is "ideological goals" = "bad ideas" = "terrorism." And they've got powerful reactionary friends: Jeremiah Denton, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, stated during hearings on 24 June 1982 that groups which "produce propaganda, disinformation and 'legal assistance' may be even more dangerous than those who actually throw the bombs." In other words, passing out leaflets amounts to assault with a deadly weapon.

This dangerous development must be fought with all the political, moral and legal resources that can be mustered. On October 20, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) filed a lawsuit against the FBI and the Attorney General opposing the new Guidelines and their application to us in violation of our basic democratic rights. We Marxists claim and fight for those rights which issued from the American political revolution and are encoded in its laws. This case deserves your full support—in combating the capitalist state's sinister anti-democratic ambitions, the SL/SYL is fighting for your rights, too.

The post-Watergate restrictions on FBI snooping came about when "respectable" citizens discovered that their phones were tapped, their sex lives investigated—treatment that's supposed to be reserved for "reds." So the FBI's proposed new rules have provoked some howls. Even the chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights noted: "The guidelines permit the launching of a full investigation based on 'advocacy' alone" (*New York Times*, 8 March). But as Marxists, we are hardly shocked—the bourgeois state has done that and worse to leftists for over 60 years. Ever since the Russian Bolsheviks led the world's first workers revolution in 1917, the American capitalists have sought to destroy the "Red Menace." They aim to sterilize the U.S. terrain while they move toward war to eliminate the infection "at the source," as Reagan is wont to say.

It began with the post-World War I "red scare," culminating in the 1920 Palmer Raids in which thousands of foreign-born "radicals" were detained, brutalized and summarily deported. Among the ringleaders of this Gestapo-style roundup was one J. Edgar Hoover, who quickly realized that professional anti-communism was the road to success and power—and that legal niceties were quite dispensable. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer stated what was to become the FBI's guiding line: "There could be no nice distinction drawn between the theoretical ideas of the radicals and their actual violation of any national laws" (quoted in Frank J. Donner, *The Age of Surveillance*, Knopf, 1980).

And everyone was suspect. Donner noted how the FBI's top intelligence officer, Deputy Director D. Milton Ladd, tried to convince a high-level British counterpart (ironically, it was H.A.R. "Kim" Philby) that "Franklin

FD-122 (Rev. 11-22-71)
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum
Director, FBI (Bufile: _____) DATE: MAY 15 1972
SAC, NEW YORK
SUBJECT: Samuel Abraham Strauss aka
Re: NY summary report dated _____
Recommended: ADEX Card ADEX Card changed (specify change only) Subject removed (specify summary attached)

Name: Samuel Abraham Strauss
Aliases: Samuel A. Strauss, Sam Strauss, Abe Strauss
Native Born: Naturalized: Alien:
Tab: Category I Category II Category III

AWC: BVT: BPP: COMMUNIST: JFG: MN: NL: NOI: PLP: PPA: Miscellaneous (Specify): _____
PRN: SDS: SNC: SPL: SWP: WWP:

Date of Birth: 6/20/39 Place of Birth: Brooklyn, New York Race: W Sex: Male Female
Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any: _____ Residence Address: _____

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

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

Roosevelt was a Comintern agent." It was, of course, Roosevelt's 1939 executive orders which the FBI has used ever since as its highly dubious "authority" to conduct a multi-decade holy war against the U.S. left.

The FBI's terror campaign against the left escalated to the elaborately planned "counterintelligence programs" (COINTELPRO) of the 1960s and 1970s. In 1975, William C. Sullivan, former FBI Assistant to the Director, told the Senate Committee on Governmental Operations that COINTELPRO enabled the methods of CIA-style anti-Soviet operations abroad to be "brought home against any organization against which we were targeted." FBI "targets" included unionists and civil rights and antiwar activists as well as leftist groups. The net was thrown wide to snare any group, coalition or whatever deemed susceptible to "Communist influence" and the FBI's Domestic Intelligence Division case load rose by 161 percent from 1965 to 1971. Agents and their hirelings "monitored" everything from Earth Day rallies to sundry campus radicals; one FBI/Washington, D.C. cop informer spied on no less than 28 organizations running the gamut from the Quakers to the Maoists.

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), one of the most significant manifestations of campus radicalism evoked by the Vietnam War, was rife with factions advocating varieties of pro-socialist platforms. (In fact, many leaders of the U.S. left—from the now defunct Maoists to the Trotskyist SL/SYL—trace their political roots to SDS.) Not surprisingly, SDS was a particular FBI target. Inspired by the Nixon White House, in 1970 cases were opened on some 2,500 individual SDS

members as well as 4,000 other New Left radicals. As usual, the FBI "surveillance" was anything but passive—every effort was made to exacerbate racial, political and sexual tensions using FBI-produced leaflets and "anonymous" letters, infiltrators, provocateurs, etc., not without some success. The Bureau also encouraged local police to selectively use drug law enforcement as a vehicle for additional harassment and prosecution.

The most murderous treatment was directed against the Black Panther Party. This reflected both the FBI's pathological preoccupation with anyone espousing any form of revolutionary rhetoric and its deep-seated racism. The FBI's real line is that "the only good red is a dead one," and they felt freest about putting this line into practice against black radicals. An FBI-provoked blood feud between the Panthers and the shady "US" organization of Ron Karenga resulted in three Panthers being shot dead. Anonymous letters and lying informers were used to set up Panther members on false charges of working for the cops—the so-called "snitch jacket." One such case was the grisly torture-murder of Panther Alex Rackley; the principal architect of this crime emerged as a key government witness in the subsequent trial. What the FBI couldn't accomplish by these methods, it achieved by direct police assault. The best-known example took place in Chicago before dawn on 4 December 1969 when the cops slaughtered Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in a fusillade of over 80 bullets. They knew exactly where to shoot—an FBI informer had provided a floorplan of the apartment including the location of Hampton's bed.

Donner (op. cit.) summarized the



1968: Oakland Black Panther headquarters riddled by cops' bullets. This is how the state deals with those it labels "terrorists."



July 23, 1981: SL/SYL protest Deukmejian report in San Francisco.

bloody toll of the anti-Panther COINTELPRO operations:

"The Panther assault claimed twenty-eight dead over an eighteen-month period, some direct victims of aggressive intelligence actions and others traceable to Bureau-assisted feuds. The Bureau unleashed a reign of terror that crushed the organization and neutralized its leadership through death, imprisonment, and exile. Its ferocity and cruelty can only be explained by a racism that holds the lives of blacks cheaply."

Meanwhile, when the FBI infiltrates the truly violent groups, the fascist outfits like the Klan and Nazis, the FBI agents and informants behave as loyal members and leaders. Donner states that there were over 2,000 FBI informers working in fascist groups, some of whom rose to top leadership positions in the Klan. These groups need fear no disruptive "dirty tricks" from their FBI infiltrators, of course. The FBI knew in advance that a violent racist assault was planned against Freedom Riders in Birmingham in May 1961, but took no action. In fact, the FBI has been up to its neck in every major racist conspiracy of recent memory. FBI agent Gary Rowe actively participated in the 1963 Birmingham church bombing in which four little black girls were killed, and in the 1965 murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo. For his part in these and countless other beatings, stabbings and firebombings, Rowe was praised by Hoover and paid \$22,000 in bounty. FBI agents in Greensboro evidently played a big role in orchestrating the division of labor between the Klan/Nazi murderers and the local police in the massacre that left five leftist labor organizers dead. The facade is "even-handed" "surveillance" of "extremists" of the left and right. The reality is that the FBI infiltrators always bloody the same victims—the left, labor and black movements.

Miles of Files, Piles of Spies ... and Hit Lists

The sheer extent of the FBI's operations is staggering. According to Donner, the new FBI building contains some 7,500 six-drawer filing cabinets with over 35,000 linear feet devoted to political intelligence. By 1974 these housed 6.5 million files and a general index of 58 million cards, growing at the net rate of 900,000 per year. The information therein comes from informers (37,000 deployed between 1940 and 1978), FBI agents, anonymous tipsters and public sources.

Naturally this material, including the details of the sex lives of targeted persons, was not collected simply for the purposes of presidential voyeurism (e.g., Hoover's steady stream of juicy gossip to Lyndon Johnson). Those deemed a "threat to national security" have been marked for "custodial detention" in event of a national emergency. This hit list has carried a variety of names: Security Index, Communist Index, Reserve Index and Administra-

tive Index (ADEX). The titles were changed to protect the guilty—each time the FBI was under pressure to disband such files, the information was merely given a new title. Morton Halperin et al. (*The Lawless State*, 1976) estimate that by the 1950s, FBI field offices listed over 200,000 targets for detention.

The sinister ADEX file was supposedly abolished in 1974 but a memo obtained by *CounterSpy* (6 December 1976) showed that 17 organizations were targeted for "special" attention. These included the SL/SYL, the CP and the Socialist Workers Party. And there's every reason to believe the ADEX file still exists—in 1981 the FBI testified before the Denton Subcommittee that files relating to "subversive, terrorist or extremist activities" have not been destroyed and that the information is "readily retrievable."

The government's new effort to portray the left as terrorists and violent criminals is intended to provide an updated excuse for "investigation" after more than six decades of spying and active provocations have not brought to light any crimes except "thought crimes" of "advocacy." The legal Complaint filed by the SL/SYL (for excerpts see *Workers Vanguard* No. 340, 21 October) states that the SL/SYL, as well as the CP and SWP, have been subjected to "continual, intensive governmental political intelligence operations including, but not limited to, surveillance, warrantless electronic surveillance, mail openings, infiltrations by government agents and informants, burglaries, harassment and counterintelligence operations":

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

Another benefit to the witchhunters of their new legal weapons is the ability to apply the sweeping powers of "RICO" (Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organization Act) conspiracy laws to harass and financially cripple the targeted groups. But the main aim is political: to set up Marxists as "terrorist" conspirators and "racketeer" criminals, scaring away their potential defenders while encouraging a *military* answer to Marxist politics from the cops, who deal with "terrorists" by shooting first and asking questions later.

In 1979, California attorney general (now governor) George Deukmejian smeared the SL/SYL as "terrorists" in his "Organized Crime Report." We fought this deadly charge with a campaign which included a lawsuit against Deukmejian. And we won. In 1981 Deukmejian's office admitted that including us in his report was an "error," and sent a statement acknowledging this

\$\$\$ Needed to Fight FBI Red-Hunt

War fever is in the air: Reagan's first-strike missiles in Europe, global anti-Soviet adventurism from the Near East to Central America, and a campaign of political repression and increased racism at home. War preparations trigger domestic witch-hunting. And as the government's secret police go on "red alert," the deadly machinery for a domestic Red Hunt is retooled. Political opponents of the government are branded as "terrorists," "criminals" to be set up for the kill. The FBI has new "Guidelines" for more COINTELPRO-type operations. In this poisonous Cold War climate, racist terror and police brutality rule the streets.

Cold War II is no time to "duck and cover." If there is a simple, practical lesson to be drawn from the terrible times of Senator Joe McCarthy, it is this: better to organize and fight. When facing government set-up and fascist provocation, it is time to defend our rights and our lives before it is too late.

Stop the Red Hunt! The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League are fighting the Attorney General's

new FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines with a lawsuit. These Guidelines make speech the basis for increased surveillance, harassment, disruption and government violence. Marxists, black activists or defenders of black people's rights, trade unionists and other opponents of the government's policies must not remain silent while they are characterized as outlaws, to be shot down like dogs.

Initial endorsers of the suit include Haywood Burns, Co-chairman, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Alexander Cockburn; Florynce Kennedy, Co-founder, Black Women United for Political Action; William Kunstler, Center for Constitutional Rights; Conrad Lynn, Civil Rights Attorney; Carl Marzani, Veteran, Abraham Lincoln Brigade; and Marshall Perlin, National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case (organizations listed for identification purposes only).

Send your contributions for the suit against the FBI (earmarked if you wish) to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

to police and FBI agencies. Now we are compelled to undertake this legal battle again as the White House and FBI seek to extend Deukmejian's ploy on a national scale.

The FBI tries to justify its targeting of us by a self-serving official "definition" of our organization—they say the SL "does not *openly* advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government at this time" (emphasis added). In other words, we must advocate "violent overthrow of the government" *covertly*. But we are Marxists, not conspiratorial psychopaths, and our aim is to openly organize the vast majority of society, the workers supported by all the oppressed and sections of the middle classes, to take state power away from the capitalist rulers and establish a society based on the democratic class rule of the working people. There is no way this aim can be accomplished by any kind of secret violent conspiracy.

In fact, the capitalist government is not "overthrown" violently or non-violently. The historical probability is that in a revolutionary situation there may well be little government to "overthrow" and surely not this government in its present form. The choices posed will most probably be between the democratic soviets of the working class

and a tottering bonapartist dictatorship led by some retread of General MacArthur, General Haig, Jeane Kirkpatrick or the like. Any organization that fits the FBI's conspiratorial definition would have to be a group of suicidal psychopaths.

It is the U.S. imperialists who are the terrorists. Their secret-police hit squads stalk leftist critics, union organizers and political leaders in every corner of the globe. The U.S. government arms and supports every right-wing mass butcher from El Salvador to South Africa. The American ruling class is the world's main purveyor of violence and murder, from the ghettos of this country to the jungles of Southeast Asia. They are at war with the workers and oppressed of the entire planet; they are trying to bring their war home to us. But we do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims blown away in the dead of night. All of us on the FBI's hit list had better understand what it can mean to be labeled as terrorist outlaws in Reagan's America. Now is the time to fight this new "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." We urge our readers to support this case with generous contributions to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

SYL National Office: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008

Ann Arbor: SYL, P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 961-1680

Atlanta: Box 4012, Atlanta, GA 30302

Berkeley/Oakland: SYL, Box 273, Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (415) 835-1535

Boston: SYL, Box 188, M.I.T. Station, Cambridge, MA 02139, or call (617) 492-3928

Chicago: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 427-0003

Cleveland: SYL, Box 6642, Cleveland, OH 44101, or call (216) 621-5138

Detroit: SYL, Box 32028, Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 961-1680

Houston: SYL, c/o SL, Box 26474, Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 663-1216 or 1217

Madison: SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (312) 427-0003

New York: SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 267-1025

Norfolk: P.O. Box 1972, Main P.O., Norfolk, VA 23501

Oberlin: SYL, Box 58, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH 44074, or call (216) 775-5839

San Francisco: SYL, Box 11685, San Francisco, CA 94101, or call (415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.: P.O. Box 75073, Washington, D.C. 20013, or call (202) 636-3537

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8, or call (416) 593-4138

"No South Africa-Style Justice in Oakland!"

Below we reprint Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero's speeches at the October 29 rally in front of the Alameda County Courthouse.

Lauren Mozee

Fired telephone worker facing years in prison for defending her union picket line and herself from racist management/scab attack

I want to thank everybody, and I've had a drink under my belt so I'm a little calm now. I had a frog in my throat, and that washed it down.

As everyone knows, I'm a victim of a racist, anti-labor frame-up. Why? One, I'm a black woman. Two, Ray and I are an interracial couple. Three, I'm a militant—I said *militant*—trade unionist. [Voice from the crowd: "Right on, sister!" Applause.] A former member of the Black Panther Party for many years. And I'm a firm believer—I said firm believer—in socialism. I've always been a fighter against racism and cop terror, and a fighter for unity of the working class against the bosses. Now, for these things and for doing my duty on the picket lines by defending myself against this racist attack, and for defending my picket line and our jobs against those who want to break the unions and take our jobs, I've been victimized.

We have been made a victim by the people who hate blacks, unionists and the whole working class. Blacks, unionists and workers have a right to take a stand in this country. That's what you



Lauren Mozee

all are here for. Local 10 is here, from the ILWU. IAM is here, Willie Lee Bell. And all my phone worker comrades—I see a lot of them! [Applause.] And many, many others. I thank you all for being here, I really do. And your support has been of great effect on the District Attorney's office, let me tell you. Ray is going to talk about that a little bit more.

Ray and I aren't the only ones who face this kind of situation. On Wednesday, October 26th, in Oklahoma City (I have a brother-in-law and a sister that were deported there from General Motors Fremont), the Klan marched into the plant in full dress—hood, robes and all—and worked on the assembly lines! Until my brother-in-law, my brother and my sister stopped the line. [Applause. Chants from the crowd: "Stop the Klan! Stop the Klan!"] So

these people are all over. They're all over, I mean they follow them all the way to Oklahoma. This is their second encounter with the Klan in only five months that they've been there. I mean, two hours after my brother-in-law was in the city they tried to arrest him for armed robbery.

I am a member of the Militant Action Caucus, which is a real, living part of our union. As with Jane Margolis, an elected delegate to the National Convention of CWA in 1979: she was dragged off the convention floor bodily by Jimmy Carter's Secret Service men. Later, in 1980, they sent her a letter of apology and a \$3,500 check which she signed over to the CWA Defense Fund.

So as you see, we can win with this kind of support. We need to win not only for ourselves, believe me. That's a real important point, important in the long run for all blacks and working people. An injury to one is an injury to all. It's not Ray and myself who are the criminals here. The criminals are Ma Bell, the San Leandro Police Department and the District Attorney.

I thank all of you.

Ray Palmiero

Fired and facing prison for defending his union and his companion Lauren

I want to thank you all again for Lauren and myself. We appreciate you all coming out here and hanging with us in this weather. I want you to know, and I'm happy to have been allowed to make

Workers Vanguard Photos



Ray Palmiero

this announcement, that our efforts—your efforts—have already paid off to some degree. Now the fight isn't over, and we have to keep fighting, and we want you all to be fighting with us, but our efforts have started to pay off.

And what I mean by that is, that, number one, the phone company has already started to distance itself from this scab manager. There was an article in the *Oakland Post* dated 26 October where, I quote, "Doug Jones of Pacific Telephone's Community Affairs Department said he had just received a copy of the press release issued by the Ad Hoc Committee and had only a vague idea of what the issue was about. He promised to investigate further and call back with an official statement from the company. He did say that the telephone company was not the party filing charges against Mozee and

Palmiero." [Lauren interjects: "And we all know *that's* a lie!"]

Now, anybody who knows the phone company knows that that woman doesn't go to the bathroom without approval from her superiors. So let's not kid ourselves, they're trying to distance themselves from this because they're already feeling some pressure.

Workers Vanguard Photos



Right, marchers carry photos of victims of racist cop terror: five-year-old Patrick Mason and Machinist Charles Briscoe. Above, rally chairman Don Andrews: "Freedom and Jobs for Lauren and Ray!"

The other encouraging news was that yesterday at our court appearance the District Attorney, with a very sad expression on his face, made a motion to drop one of the charges that was originally filed against us. And that was the "great bodily injury" clause [cheers], saying that originally they had had the understanding that Michelle Rose Hansen would need surgery on her nose, but recently they've come to discover that this wasn't necessary...so, sorry about the lies, but, you know....

So, your energetic work is paying off. They're feeling the pressure. But it's not over yet. As I said, we're dealing with dangerous people here and we have to keep fighting them. These people have to lie, the social contradictions in this society, where a rich minority tries to rule over a working-class majority, force them to lie. Witness Grenada, where the government said that a naval convoy would not be engaged militarily, and then they invade this tiny island in the name of restoring democracy. Lies.

Lauren and I are the victims of the kind of democracy that Reagan would like to see worldwide. The kind of democracy that slaughters thousands in El Salvador, the kind of democracy that massacres Palestinians at Shatila and Sabra. That same kind of democracy has tried to turn Lauren and me into criminals.

Why? Because when we were on a picket line, a scab manager hit Lauren, called her a "black nigger bitch," and Lauren defended herself. And when somebody attempted to get involved, I assisted her. Now, we've been fired, and we've been denied unemployment. We've got Lauren's two children and her nephew to support. And we're facing time in state prison.

So this is an act of politicized racism. It's an attempt to import South Africa-style justice to Oakland. We've been singled out and selectively prosecuted because we're an interracial couple, because we've been active in the Militant Action Caucus, because Lauren was a long-time member of the Black Panther Party. But everybody knows that we are not the only intended victims. They're aiming at blacks and working people. They're saying that blacks do not have the right to defend themselves against violent racist assault. They're saying that unionists do not have the right to defend themselves against management violence on the picket line. And that's bullshit.

Because if we can't defend ourselves on the picket line, then we don't have picket lines. And if we don't have picket lines, then the right to strike is really meaningless. And if we don't have the right to strike, then we don't have unions. And if we don't have unions, Reagan would be a very happy man. Because the only union he likes is Solidarność. They hate unions. They hate us. They hate mobilizations of this kind.

And I want to thank you again for coming out here, because it's labor/black mobilizations of this kind that will stop this atrocity before it happens. And that will stop any other attempted mobilizations by the KKK, the Nazis, as we witnessed in November in Washington, D.C. where the KKK had to put their robes in their brown paper bags and scuttle through the basement of the White House [cheers]. So we thank you, because this is where the power is. We have the real power. We have to organize it, and we have to use it. And thank you very much for coming out. ■

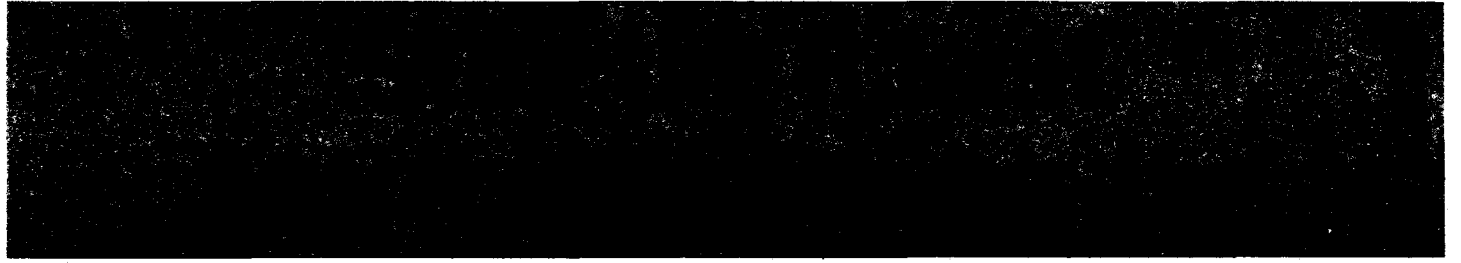


Hundreds March in Oakland

(continued from page 12)

understood that if it could happen to Lauren and Ray, it could happen to them. Unionists from striking United Steelworkers Local 1304—out for over five months; from AFT Local 771—recently evicted from their headquarters in the Piedmont township which doesn't tolerate unions; and carpenters from the building trades currently facing a concerted union-busting campaign: all turned out to support the defense effort for Ray and Lauren. Integrated couples came out and brought their children. One interracial couple told us of their firsthand experience with the racist Richmond cops: the husband, a black man and member of Local 1, public employees, was the victim of the notorious "choke hold"; he still has the marks on his neck. College and high school students came out—often identifying with Lauren's own children. "My mother's a nurse and goes out on strike," one black student noted. "That could have been my mother out there."

October 29 was an important step in the class-struggle defense effort to defend Lauren and Ray from the D.A. and Ma Bell's vindictive, racist frame-up. The impressive endorsements—including from public officials such as Oakland City Council member Wilson C. Riles, Alameda County Board of Supervisors chairman John George,



"Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!" Labor Backs Lauren and Ray

NAVAL AIRCRAFT LODGE, No. 739
(GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES)
 INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS AND AEROSPACE WORKERS
 AFFILIATED WITH DISTRICT LODGE NO. 56, AFL-CIO
 ALAMEDA, CALIFORNIA

October 26, 1983

Dear Sisters and Brothers:
 As you know, this Local Lodge has endorsed the Defense Fund for the defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, two phone workers who have been fired and framed up on serious charges for defending themselves from a violent racist assault.

You will no doubt share my outrage that Lauren Mozee, who was called a "black nigger bitch" and struck in the face by a phone company manager on a picket line during the recent national phone strike, is being brought up on multiple felony assault and battery charges for defending herself. Similar charges have been brought against Ray Palmiero, her companion and fellow union member, who came to her aid. Both face eight-year prison terms on these trumped-up charges. Both Lauren and Ray have been fired from their jobs and denied unemployment benefits. The racist manager still has her job.

As part of the efforts to stop this racist railroad, there will be a mass march and rally in Oakland on October 29th.

ASSEMBLE AT 11 A.M. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29TH AT OAKLAND CITY HALL (14TH & WASHINGTON STS.) AND MARCH AT 12 NOON TO THE ALAMEDA COUNTY COURTHOUSE FOR A 1 P.M. RALLY.

This march and rally has already been endorsed by public officials, including John George, Supervisor District 5, Congressman Ron Dellums, Berkeley's Mayor Gus Newport, numerous labor officials, minority organizations and many others. I urge you to join me at the rally. PLEASE WEAR YOUR UNION JACKET. ALL OUT ON OCTOBER 29TH. Thanks for your support.

Fraternally yours,
Norman Huntman
 Norman Huntman, President
 Local Lodge 739, I. A. M. & A. M.

Communications Workers of America AFL-CIO LOCAL 9415
 1831 Park Boulevard Oakland, California 94606 834-9415 (Area Code 415)

Whereas, the CWA has provided bail and lawyers for members Mozee and Palmiero; therefore be it

Resolved, that CWA Local 9415

- (1) demand that these two members be reinstated to their jobs with full back pay,
- (2) request that the national union seek amnesty for all strikers accused of picket line misconduct,
- (3) cooperate fully with the legal defense team representing defendant members, and
- (4) seek a full report from the national union of efforts to defend and reinstate strikers being prosecuted elsewhere around the country.

MAILGRAM SERVICE CENTER MIDDLETOWN, VA, 22645 28PH

Western Mailgram

HEREWITH YOUR CONFIRMATION COPY OF MAILGRAM SENT 10-28-83 TO: AD HOC COMMITTEE AGAINST RACIST ANTI-LABOR FRAME-UP OF MOZEE AND PALMIERO POB 24152 OAKLAND CA 94623

WE THE UNDERSIGNED SEND GREETINGS ON OCTOBER 29 TO THE "MARCH AND RALLY TO STOP THE RACIST ANTI-LABOR FRAME-UPS OF LAUREN MOZEE AND RAY PALMIERO". WE ENDORSE THE DEMANDS OF THE PHONE STRIKERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE THAT:

1. LAUREN MOZEE AND RAY PALMIERO BE REINSTATED AT THEIR JOBS WITH FULL BACK PAY;
2. AMNESTY BE GRANTED TO ALL VICTIMIZED PHONE STRIKERS;
3. ALL CHARGES AGAINST LAUREN MOZEE, RAY PALMIERO AND ALL OTHER OTHER PHONE STRIKERS BE DROPPED

SIGNED BY THE FOLLOWING

Ray and Lauren on picket duty during national phone strike (right). If you got no picket lines, you got no unions. Labor support has rolled in nationwide—96 Detroit workers, most from Ford's River Rouge plant, UAW Local 600, sent mailgram at left.



Workers Vanguard Photo

Berkeley mayor Gus Newport and Congressman Ron Dellums as well as from 12 unions, 49 union officials and 24 black student and civil rights organizations—attest to the widespread outrage evoked by the case.

Space limitations prevent *Young Spartacus* from listing each individual endorser of the October 29 march and rally. In addition to prominent public officials and union representatives, the action was supported by officers of three

NAACP chapters (Norfolk, Virginia; Richmond, California and Oakland), by the National Lawyers Guild's Bay Area Chapter and by James T. Lafferty—ACLU founder and former chair, Oakland County, Michigan. Support came from Rev. Will L. Herzfeld of Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Oakland, and Father William O'Donnell, St. Joseph the Workman Church, Berkeley. Backing for Lauren and Ray's defense came from representatives of a broad spectrum of socialist organizations—from well-known Democratic Socialists of America leaders Dorothy Healy and Manning Marable and several local DSA leaders to a number of prominent supporters of the Communist Party, as noted elsewhere in this article. Spartacist League National Chairman Jim Robertson endorsed as did SL supporters in a variety of trade unions. Nelson Johnson, area spokesman for the Communist Workers Party, Greensboro, North Carolina—one of the survivors of the Klan/Nazi massacre of five CWP members in 1979—gave his support to the October 29 march and rally.

Extensive press coverage of the case as well as of the October 29 demonstration was crucial to putting the heat on the D.A.; stories were carried in the *San Francisco Examiner*, *People's World*, *Sun Reporter*, *Tribune*, *San Francisco Metro Reporter*, *Oakland Post*, *California Voice* as well as in a number of union publications. Such public exposure, along with the distribution of some 100,000 leaflets and 2,000 posters

announcing the October 29 march and rally, had an effect on the D.A.'s office even before the demonstration itself. Cheers greeted Ray Palmiero's announcement from the steps of the Alameda County Courthouse that the phone company, under pressure, had distanced itself from the racist scab Hansen. Ray also told the protesters:

"I want you to know that... your efforts have already paid off to some degree. Now the fight isn't over... [but] yesterday at our court appearance the District Attorney, with a very sad expression on his face, made a motion to drop one of the charges...."

The D.A. dropped the "great bodily injury" clause, which carries up to three years. Defense motions for discovery and dismissal of charges are scheduled to be heard December 1. The Phone Strikers Defense Committee is organizing to fill the courtroom to give the D.A. the message again: Drop All the Charges!

The bosses' courts and cops want to send a message to the population: black people have no right to defend themselves against racist assault, trade unionists don't have the right to defend their picket lines. But Oakland's working people said no way! The October 29 demonstration was attended by some 50 phone workers, including several who rode up with a bus load of supporters from Los Angeles. Unionists from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, International Association of Machinists, Teamsters and Steelworkers provided monitors to

continued on page 8



nd, October 29: Labor/black rally protests klan terror, cop murder, racist frame-ups—we o finish the Civil War!

Hundreds March...

(continued from page 7)

help ensure an orderly march and rally—particularly crucial given the provocations by the Oakland Police Department against the protesters.

Demonstrators assembled at the Oakland City Hall and then marched to the county courthouse for the rally. Union contingents formed the front of the march with banners from CWA Locals 9410 and 9415, AFT Local 771 and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1011. Drizzling rain did not dampen the spirit of the marchers who saluted with raised fists and the chant "Picket lines mean don't cross!" as they passed a small picket line of striking bookstore workers en route. As the march proceeded down 14th Street to the courthouse, motorcycle cops deliberately grazed three marchers with their bike mirrors. Midway through the march, another protester was hit in the back by a cop's motorcycle handlebar. Upon arriving at the Fallon Street entrance to the courthouse, some six motorcycle cops zoomed through the demonstrators—an attempt to "clear" the street which contravened a prior agreement between the march organizers and police department officials. Despite the efforts at provocation by the police, the protesters maintained their discipline and the rally proceeded without incident.

From black Oakland—including city officials—to the labor movement here, there is a historic adversary relationship with the bonapartist and notoriously racist Oakland cops. Prominently displayed from the podium in front of the courthouse were large portraits and flowers to honor the memory of two black victims of racist killer cops: Patrick Mason, the five-year-old child shot to death by an Orange County cop last March, and Charles Briscoe, the 37-year-old Machinists union official brutally gunned down in 1979 by Oakland cops. Patrick Mason's killer—Anthony Sperl—was recently awarded \$35,000 in bounty by the California Worker's Comp Board for "psychological stress." Oakland cop Robert Fredericks pumped 10 rounds of ammunition into Charles Briscoe; this was the same cop involved in the killing of 16-year-old Panther Bobby Hutton and in no less than four other shootings of blacks, two of them fatal. That Sperl and Fredericks walk the streets as free men today is an unspeakable obscenity that says it all about racist "justice" in America.

Among those who addressed the rally was IAM Local 739 spokesman Willie Lee Bell, a close personal friend of Briscoe. Other rally speakers included Tom Sullivan, president of striking USWA Local 1304. One of the black members of that local is facing charges for picket duty and served as a monitor for the October 29 march. Also addressing the rally were Tim Ligosky, Exec Board, IAM Local 284; Victor Pamiroyan, business agent, ILWU Local 6; Ann Fagan Ginger, president, Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute; Father William O'Donnell; John George, chairman, Alameda County Board of



Get Your Button Now!

Order from:
Phone Strikers Defense Committee
P.O. Box 24152, Oakland, CA 94623
(415) 763-1382

Supervisors; Wilson C. Riles, Jr., Oakland City Council member; Ed Kartsen, Transport Workers Union Local 100, New York and Diana Coleman, former Spartacist candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Music was provided by Houston Person's excellent jazz band.

A high point of the rally was Lauren's forthright and angry statement that:

"As everyone knows, I'm a victim of a racist, anti-labor frame-up. Why? One, I'm a black woman. Two, Ray and I are an interracial couple. Three, I'm a militant—I said militant—trade unionist. A former member of the Black Panther Party for many years. And I'm a firm believer—I said firm believer—in socialism. I've always been a fighter against racism and cop terror, and a fighter for unity of the working class against the bosses."

The legacy of the Black Panthers, their brutal annihilation at the hands of the state, and the continuing obscene litany of racist cop killings here inspired support for Lauren and Ray particularly on the predominantly black community campuses. Both Laney and Merritt colleges were formerly hotbeds of black radicalism and recruitment centers for the Oakland Panther Party. In just one day at Laney, the SYL signed up over 40 people to help get the word out about the October 29 march and rally. Cafeteria workers came out during their breaks to get leaflets, sympathetic professors gave over class time for announcements of the upcoming rally. The head of the Laney Academic Senate not only distributed leaflets to the faculty, but provided invaluable advice on fund-raising and other aspects of the campaign.

One Merritt student member of the Labor Black League for Social Defense (LBL), Lydgia, commented that working with the SYL on the Ray and Lauren campaign reminded her of early days as a young Panther. We were able to announce the October 29 march and rally at an anti-fee hikes protest on the campus and Afro-American Studies professor J.W. Reid—among others—urged his class to attend, offering course credit to those who did.

The Black Student Union at Contra Costa College in Richmond endorsed the October 29 action and has subsequently offered to donate money and organize a canned food drive for Lauren and Ray, "adopting" them for Thanksgiving this year. At the University of California at Berkeley, the leader of the Black Students in Health Association (BSHA) was instrumental in distributing over 3,000 leaflets. A resident of Richmond, BSHA president Desmond Carson knows firsthand about racist cop terror. Noting that some black students attending Berkeley may believe their campus reg card renders them immune from the ugly racist reality of this society, Desmond was particularly interested in getting his friends out into the community to build for October 29.

A gratifying number of young high school students turned out for the march and rally. One Berkeley High student, Kelly, whose mother works for the phone company, took stacks of leaflets to school and was prohibited from distributing them by the principal.

Undeterred, she proceeded to leave the campus and leaflet the shops and restaurants on Telegraph Avenue. At the demonstration, Kelly sported a button which read: "I did my duty on the picket line, did you?" Several young men from Oakland Tech also turned out—outraged by the racist frame-up. They attended the successful social following the rally, where they were among some 30 who signed up to find out more about the Labor Black League.

In contrast to the widespread and heartfelt response to this fight for Lauren and Ray among blacks, organized labor, students and youth, the petty-bourgeois "left" milieu abstained in the main from endorsement or participation in the campaign. Groups like the Socialist Workers Party and Workers World Party refused to endorse and instead helped organize a rally in San Francisco that day to protest the invasion of Grenada in liberal, write-your-Congressmen fashion. The Communist Party (CP) responded to the case in a more contradic-

Walter Mondale, the weepy, warmongering clone protégé of professional anti-communist Hubert Humphrey. I'll tell you, brothers and sisters, you gotta be kidding. There has to be a better alternative in this country for us.

"We of the Spartacist League intend to build a mass, class-struggle workers party. Not the kind that simply participates in elections but a fighting workers party, a multiracial working-class party that can lead the workers and the oppressed, and take power."

Nothing is fair or democratic about this sick, decaying system: that's why killer cops walk the streets and a black five-year-old lies in his grave. That's why Michelle "Scab" Hansen has her job today while Ray and Lauren, with three children to support, have virtually no income and are being dragged through the bosses' courts, forced to wage a staggeringly costly legal defense campaign to stay out of jail.

The fight is far from over. Workers, blacks, students and youth all have a stake in the victory of this crucial defense effort. Keeping these class-struggle fighters out of jail and winning their jobs back will take a lot more



Young Spartacus Photo

From Oakland to Washington, D.C., black youth say: "Hands Off Lauren and Ray!" Below, statement of support by 152 Howard U. students.

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Western Union Mailgram

PHONE STRIKERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
PO BOX 24152
OAKLAND CA 94623

WE ARE IN SOLIDARITY WITH OCTOBER 29 DEMONSTRATION IN OAKLAND. STOP RACIST ANTI-LABOR FRAME-UP OF LAUREN MOZEE AND RAY PALMIERO.

WE DEMAND:

- A) LAUREN AND RAY BE REINSTATED WITH FULL BACK PAY;
- B) AMNESTY TO ALL VICTIMIZED PHONE STRIKERS;
- C) ALL CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST LAUREN, RAY AND ALL OTHER PHONE STRIKERS.

FREEDOM FOR LAUREN AND RAY...DOWN WITH ALABAMA-STYLE JUSTICE.....

152 HOWARD UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Howard U. Students Defend Lauren and Ray

tory way: *People's World* has given prominent coverage to the case and the rally, well-known CP supporters Angela Davis and Bettina Aptheker endorsed. Rose Chernin and S. Deacon Alexander of the Los Angeles National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression sent a statement of support congratulating "the Defense Committee, the union and all involved for their heroic effort in this matter.... Our spirit of fight back is with you." At the same time, the CP neither mobilized its supporters for the demonstration nor chose to speak at the rally.

Spartacist spokesman Diana Coleman addressed the broader concerns of those who had come out in Lauren and Ray's defense: how to effectively combat racist Reagan reaction:

"We need labor action to bring down Reagan. Does anyone here think that Walter 'Mundane' Mondale is going to stand up for the minorities and the working people against Reagan reaction? [Cries from the crowd: 'No!']

work—and a lot more money. Here's what you and your organization can do to help:

(1) Make a much-needed financial contribution to the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, P.O. Box 24152, Oakland, CA 94623;

(2) Send a letter to the Phone Strikers Defense Committee endorsing the demands of the Defense Committee that Lauren and Ray be reinstated with full back pay; that amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers; that all charges against Ray and Lauren and all other CWA strikers be dropped.

(3) Send a telegram to support the demands of the Defense Committee (plus a copy to the Committee) to: John J. Meehan, Alameda County District Attorney, 1225 Fallon Street, Oakland, CA 94612 and Ted Saenger, President, PT&T, 140 New Montgomery Street, San Francisco, CA 94605.

Lauren and Ray fought for all of us—now we must fight for them. ■

PARTY!

Be there for music,
dancing and partying
Saturday, Dec. 3, 8 p.m.

YWCA, 15th and Webster
Oakland

The Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Spartacist League invite you to a party to celebrate the one-year anniversary of the Spartacist League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that drove the KKK out of Washington, D.C. last November 27. Join us in stopping the racist anti-labor frame-up of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.
Call (415) 835-1535

Smashing Performance at Blues Benefit for Lauren and Ray!

NOVEMBER 15—Last night's special blues benefit on behalf of fired and framed-up phone strikers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero was a smashing success. Over \$2,000 was raised in advance ticket sales and donations at the door from the 250 people who jammed into "Your Place" in south Berkeley to hear the hottest blues musicians in the Bay Area. Sonny Rhodes, singer Maxine Howard, The Right Kind and others donated their time and talent to this benefit sponsored by the Phone Strikers Defense Committee. Opening with the song "Money," blues band Malik and The Plus Factor kicked off the fund-raiser, which was broadcast live over radio station KPFA.

Phone workers from San Leandro directory assistance and throughout the Bay Area, trade-unionists, socialists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, individual supporters of the defense campaign—the predominantly black and working-class audience came there because they wanted to see justice done. And they know its costs money—hard-earned money. The phone company has millions, while Lauren and Ray rely on working people who, like one couple at the benefit, literally emptied their pockets except for bus fare. The most successful individual fundraiser was a San Leandro phone worker who sold \$105 worth of tickets to friends and co-workers.

Virtually every person in the audience had their own personal run-ins with racist insults or attacks, cop harassment, scab violence. So emotions ran

high as Lauren and Ray addressed the packed nightclub full of friends and supporters. Lauren told the crowded room, "I'd like to thank the bands who've donated their time, the owner of 'Your Place,' and the Phone Strikers Defense Committee. They have been fantastic to me, to my family." She continued, "It's just been fantastic. And we're going to win this case. They're not going to railroad me into jail. They did it once before, years and years ago. My kids were young. They took me away from my kids for a while, but they're not going to do it again."

Throughout this campaign, black women in particular have been moved to action by the outrageous character of this frame-up. For instance, two black women in their fifties, one of whom had been to the October 29 demonstration, came to the benefit and took posters and cans for fund-raising at their church and workplace.

Ray drew applause as he explained: "All of you here, all of you listening on KPFA—I thank you for your support. I want you to know that the Phone Strikers Defense Committee has been very helpful in supporting us since the phone company fired us. We're grateful for any assistance that any of you can give the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, because right now that is our livelihood. We're supporting three teens, and the working class has to stick together on issues like this. Working people and black people can't allow this to go unanswered. We will defeat them!" For several minutes afterward, the

People came for a good time and a good cause.



nightclub echoed with chants of "Hey, D.A.—Workers say get your hands off Lauren and Ray!"

People came for a good time and for a good cause. But they also wanted answers on how to fight against racist attacks, union-busting, cop terror, unemployment and war. Darlene Posey, a member of the Labor Black League for Social Defense and of the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA, spoke to some of these concerns:

"Let me tell you a little bit. I worked with Lauren. In my garage we have less than 50 people and we have been off strike for two months. And in two months we had three people fired—for defending picket lines, for fighting overtime. And when I say overtime, I mean 12-13 hours a night for weeks at a time...."

"They're not just doing it to us. They did it to PATCO, which set the trend to all the union-busting going on right now.... Look at what they're doing to Greyhound.... Pacific Telephone made over seven billion in profits and they worked me 12, 13, 14 hours a day, being a single parent. They worked me those hours and instead of cutting into their profits and hiring some of those [unemployed] people that are out there.... Lauren and Ray were two people who finally said no."

Spartacist spokesman Diana Coleman noted the seemingly endless

list of martyred black victims of capitalist repression: Patrick Mason, Charles Briscoe, Bobby Hutton, the names go on. "But I'll tell you something," she said, "it's not going to happen to Lauren and Ray because we have the chance to defend them before they go to jail. And we'd better do that now."

Following the successful fund-raiser four Oakland Police Department squad cars descended on the area in an obvious attempt to intimidate and harass those in attendance. Two squad cars tracked Mozee and Palmiero—who were accompanied by an armed security guard hired by the Defense Committee—to a nearby restaurant, and three squad cars were waiting outside when they departed. This pattern of provocations and harassment, designed to spark an "incident" which the police could use to justify cop violence, is strikingly similar to that used to set up and destroy the Black Panther Party, of which Mozee was a ten-year member.

The successful defense of Lauren and Ray means a victory for all opponents of this sick, racist system—and for all its intended victims. We urge *Young Spartacus* readers to give generously—their time and money—to this important defense campaign. ■

PL Runs Amok...

(continued from page 2)

smashed." You don't have to be a communist to know that the unions have to be defended against the bosses. Even a bad union is better than none at all. Nobody except those who start from defense of the union can play a part in the struggle to oust the misleaders of the workers movement and replace them with class-struggle leaders dedicated to fighting for a workers government.

Writing off the mass organizations of the working class, PL obviously has no strategy for victory. They try to take on the Klan and Nazis with only themselves and a few militants and end up most of the time in pointless losing brawls with the cops. It gets demoralizing to be beaten up and arrested all the time, even if you can occasionally land a punch at

the odd Nazi. Faced with the demonstrated success of the Spartacist League's class-struggle strategy of mobilizing broad numbers of trade unionists and blacks to stop the fascists, PL goes bananas.

Oscar Wilde once said that hypocrisy is the acknowledgement that vice gives to virtue. (Of course, PL would never heed Wilde since he was a homosexual). PL is not simply incompetent and crazy. *They know right from wrong and they don't care.* The Spartacist League is pro-union and we were attacked by PL. *Challenge* has to print the exact opposite story because they know they can't get away with telling union members they assaulted two Spartacists because we are "fascists." Or perhaps there is some factional division within the PLP, some elements that don't want to smash trade unionism and/or attack leftists?

In either case, PL/InCar is bad news. No sane person would want to get within 30 feet of any of these running dogs for Pol Pot. ■

Howard U...

(continued from page 3)

racist system which deprives even the "talented tenth" of equality in education, along with everything else. The only other conceivable answer is provided by such racist "theoreticians" as William Shockley who propound the myth of inherited racial inferiority. But the *Hilltop* indicts the *students* and in so doing echoes Shockley and his ilk. The truth is that things are so bad for black youth that many see the military as the only way out of this deadly trap of rotten schools, unemployment and cop terror—but only to get blown away in someplace like Lebanon or sent to occupy black Grenada. And the few who make it to Howard are supposed to feel really lucky and grateful to the white master in the White House.

Anyone claiming to be a fighter for student rights, for black rights on this campus had better understand what's coming down from Cheek. Black students and workers are the Achilles' heel of Reagan's war drive. Cheek's trying to put the clamp on this place in the service of his political bosses and is using every trick in the book to do it. The communists of the SYL were targeted first—not least because we were among the initiators of the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching last November 27. That successful show of black working-class power enraged the powers that be from the Reaganite administration to mayor Marion Barry.

The day before the arrest of the six SYL supporters, elements in and around NOBUCS launched a vicious physical attack on black and white SYL supporters—unable to answer our program for integrated class struggle by any other means. Maybe they're trying to make their reputations for future government jobs. They certainly put themselves in league with Cheek & Co. since no witchhunt is complete without the element of physical violence and intimidation.

Despite Cheek's heavy-handed at-

tempts to keep the campus quiet and docile, plenty of students here know what's at stake. That's why the campaign to defend two California phone workers—former Black Panther Party member Lauren Mozee and her companion Ray Palmiero—against a racist, anti-labor frame-up by the phone company and Alameda County District Attorney received substantial support here. That's why hundreds of Howard students turned out last November to stop the KKK. That's why over 150 signed the petition demanding that the charges against the SYL be dropped. Cheek and the *Hilltop* say "Love It or Leave It." We say students must be won to a revolutionary perspective—that labor and black struggle is needed now to get what is rightfully theirs: the whole damn country.

- Stop Cheek's Witchhunt!
- Immediate Recognition of the SYL at Howard!
- Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!
- Defend Cuba/USSR Against U.S. Imperialism! ■

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(Signed) Bonnie Brodie (editor)

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U.S. Hands Off World...

(continued from page 1)

without Congressional approval. Plans are being accelerated to invade Nicaragua and send U.S. combat troops into El Salvador. The largest U.S. naval force ever stationed in the Mediterranean is now concentrated off the coast of Lebanon, poised to attack Syria, the Soviet Union's principal ally in the Near East. Another U.S. aircraft carrier group, based on the island of Diego Garcia, is in the Arabian Sea, set to strike at Iran and take over the Strait of Hormuz through which passes much of the world's oil. In the Atlantic a few weeks ago a U.S. destroyer crippled a Soviet nuclear-armed submarine. U.S. imperialism is on a global offensive against the Soviet Union, its allies and so-called "proxies."

Grenada Invasion Can't Hide Lebanon Disaster

Yet just a few days before the Grenada invasion the Reagan administration was in real trouble domestically. The devastating attack on the Marine headquarters at Beirut airport, killing 240 U.S. soldiers, produced a strong popular reaction against foreign military adventurism. Reagan proclaimed "the outrage of all Americans" at the bombing, but the fact is that the outrage was directed at him. "I am furious at the people who sent our boys over there," one woman told the *New York Times*. And a Marine in Beirut told the *Times*, "I only wish President Reagan would pull us out." The Marines in Lebanon, their families, the American people at large all wanted the U.S. soldiers out of the bloody quagmire Reagan had gotten them into. We say: U.S. Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!

Reagan had to do something and quickly to shift public attention from the body count at Beirut airport. While the invasion of Grenada was long planned, its timing was clearly *diversionary*. Suddenly the front pages of all newspapers, all TV news programs were filled with nothing but Grenada stories, even though no reporters were allowed to cover the invasion. The reformist left played right into Reagan's hands over Grenada. The front pages of the left press, too, were filled with nothing but Grenada. A November 12 protest in Washington, built by the usual anti-Reagan popular-front gang (CISPES, the Socialist Workers Party [SWP]), had as its main slogan: "Stop U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean!" Nothing about the Near East, where U.S. imperialism is right now set for a major war or wars.

The reformists are opposing the Grenada invasion mainly in the name of liberal legalism and "world opinion." This is, of course, also the line of the dwindling band of Congressional "doves" on the question. For example, black Democratic Congressman Ron Dellums, also a vice-president of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), declared, "I believe we're in gross violation of international law." Similarly, Democratic Congressman Ted Weiss told the November 12 protest that the invasion was a "usurpation of Congress' right to declare war" and a violation of various treaty obligations. Echoing these liberal concerns, the reformist Stalinoid *Workers World* (3 November) complains that "only Congress can authorize any acts of war against another country" and that "the invasion of Grenada clearly violates the charters of the United Nations and the Organization of American States."

"International law" is a liberal fiction. It doesn't exist. Law exists only where there is a state power—a police and army—to enforce it. As the great German chancellor Otto von Bismarck stated over a century ago: "The great questions of our time will not be settled

by resolutions and majority votes... but by blood and iron."

The mass of Americans are not concerned that Reagan violated "international law" or that in the UN General Assembly a hundred or so governments voted to condemn the U.S. action in Grenada. It took 50,000 body bags coming home to turn the mass of Americans against the war in Vietnam and against Cold War militarism more generally. The Vietnam War deeply affected this country because the U.S. lost, and that defeat has acted as a check to similar military adventures since. For example, fear of another Vietnam prevented Washington from sending U.S. troops to aid its South African allies in Angola in 1975-76.

U.S. Out of Grenada, Dead or Alive!

All socialists, class-conscious workers and enemies of imperialism must oppose the barbarous U.S. occupation of Grenada and militarily support all resistance to the Yankee invaders. Yet it is a tragic fact that there was no revolutionary mobilization of the Grenadian masses against Yankee imperialism. This gives the lie to the myth of the "Grenadian revolution" peddled by much of the fake left, especially Jack Barnes' SWP. The main force which resisted the U.S. invasion were the Cuban construction workers—and they fought magnificently—while the "People's Revolutionary Army" melted away.

Certainly, the palace coup which killed the popular leader Maurice Bishop the week before (and which Reagan used as a pretext for the invasion) demoralized the masses. When American radical journalist Paul McIsaac asked if the resistance would have been greater under Bishop, he was told, "When they killed Bish, they killed half Grenada" (*Village Voice*, 8 November). But the essential point is that Bishop lost power the exact same way he gained it in 1979: through a *military coup* led by Hudson Austin, who began his "revolutionary" career as a prison guard for bizarre right-wing strongman Sir Eric Gairy.

In Grenada one can see clearly the difference between a genuine social revolution, the genuine mobilization of a people against imperialism as in Cuba, despite bureaucratic deformations, and a left-nationalist military coup. The Rosacrucian Gairy was replaced by the "Marxist-Leninist" Bishop but nothing changed in the condition and mobilization of the masses.

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Reagan, like much of the reformist left, equated Grenada and Nicaragua. And he is preparing the Grenada treatment for the radical-nationalist Sandinistas in Managua. The *New York Times* (11 November) reported a secret meeting of the military chiefs of El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Panama to study "the legality of joint military action against Nicaragua." Asked if the U.S. would "aid" an invasion of Nicaragua by its Central American *gorillas*, National Security Council head Robert McFarlane replied, "Yes, we support them."

A U.S./*contra* invasion of Nicaragua will be no Grenada. Unlike Bishop's New Jewel Movement, the Sandinistas came to power through a popular revolution in which 50,000 people, mainly youth, gave up their lives to overthrow the bloody Somoza dynasty. The unremitting hostility of U.S. imperialism is pushing Nicaragua down the "Cuban road" toward a deformed social revolution. But the petty-bourgeois radical Sandinistas have conciliated and protected the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, who still control 60 percent of the economy, and, along with the Catholic church hierarchy, constitute a counter-revolutionary pro-imperialist "fifth column"—the *contras* from within. The defense of Nicaragua against Yankee

imperialism demands the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. Complete the Nicaraguan revolution!

If the U.S. and *contras* invade, the Nicaraguan workers and peasants will fight like hell. But the popular will to fight imperialism is not enough. Besieged Nicaragua desperately needs effective weapons, especially anti-aircraft missiles, which can only be supplied by the Soviet bloc. We demand



Caspar Weinberger, Class of '41, gets warm "welcome" from Harvard students November 17. The Secretary of War was jeered throughout his 75-minute speech. The SYL's banner read "U.S. Get Your Bloody Hands Off the World!" Other students hung an American flag upside down and a few balloons filled with red paint hit the podium. The Black Law Students and just about every group on campus to the left of Bill Buckley participated in the "welcoming committee." Kirkpatrick at Berkeley, Pastora at Columbia, Weinberger at Harvard: Keep them on the run!

that Cuba and the Soviet Union must send all necessary military aid to Nicaragua!

The answer to the Yankee imperialists and their *contras* is to wage revolutionary war—for workers revolution throughout Central America and extending north to Mexico with its powerful industrial proletariat. That is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution for constructing revolutionary vanguard parties in Central America. To suppress a revolutionary war throughout Central America, Reagan would have to send in tens of thousands of U.S. combat troops, and this could well provoke an explosive reaction within the United States itself where Vietnam has not at all been forgotten.

Defend the Soviet Union!

Behind the rape of Grenada, the CIA/*contra* terror war against Nicaragua, the carrier fleets off Lebanon and Iran is U.S. imperialism's global war drive against the Soviet Union. Any and every government and movement Reagan doesn't like is labelled a Soviet "proxy" regardless of its actual relations with Moscow. Reagan targets the Soviet Union for war because it embodies the gains of the first workers revolution overthrowing capitalism, ripping a sixth of the globe from imperialist domination, and because it is the industrial-military powerhouse capable of thwarting imperialist appetites from Southeast Asia to the Caribbean. It is precisely because the Soviet workers state, albeit bureaucratically degenerated under Stalin and his heirs, retains fundamental historic gains of the 1917 October Revolution—socialized property and a planned economy—that we Trotskyists unconditionally militarily defend the USSR against imperialism.

In a world without Soviet military power, U.S. imperialism would drown every revolutionary movement of the colonial peoples in blood. Were it not for the Soviet Union, Kennedy would have invaded Cuba and returned it to the Mafia and ITT. Were it not for the

Soviet Union, the Pentagon would have turned Vietnam into a nuclear wasteland. Were it not for the Soviet-backed Cuban military intervention, Angola today would be a South African colony. The flag of white supremacism would fly over all of Southern Africa.

The crime of the Kremlin Stalinists is not that they are out to "Communistize" the world but the opposite, that they seek "peaceful coexistence" with capitalist imperialism, especially at the expense of other people's revolutions. To restore the Soviet Union as a bastion of revolutionary internationalism and an inspiration to the workers of the world—as it was under Lenin and Trotsky—requires a proletarian political revolution led by a Trotskyist vanguard party against the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Student Protests Over Grenada

The Grenada invasion sparked some of the largest protests in years on campuses across the country. Many students saw in Reagan's unrestrained militarism and jingoist flag-waving the prelude to new Vietnams. Naive liberals were shocked that the U.S. took over a sovereign country, violating the UN charter and all kinds of treaties. Black and Hispanic students identified with the Grenadians and Cubans under the boot of Yankee imperialism.

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) intervened in these protests with a revolutionary, internationalist and class-struggle program. At Berkeley the SYL chapter distributed the Cuban statement honoring the construction workers who resisted the Yankee invaders. The statement announced that communications had been cut off with the Cuban embassy in Grenada and continued:

"We can only tell you that at 0955 hours the Cuban embassy in Grenada reported that the latest enemy attack on our positions was carried out using all available means: fighter aircraft, helicopters, heavy and medium calibre artillery and mortars. But at the end, a group of six comrades, clutching our flag, continued fighting."

"At 1117 hours our ambassador communicated that there is no further Cuban resistance. The fighters in the final redoubt did not surrender and gave their lives for the homeland."

At Madison, the University of Wisconsin *Daily Cardinal* (28 October) ran as its "Quote of the Day" the SYL slogan, "Roach Motels for the CIA, they check in and there they stay!" referring to the U.S.-backed *contra* roaches trying to invade Nicaragua.

Above all, the SYL insisted that the invasion of Grenada was but one small part of Reagan's global war drive against the Soviet Union. Here the line was drawn most sharply between the Trotskyists and the rad-lib and fake-left organizers of the Grenada protests, who were almost as rabidly anti-Soviet as the right-wing counterdemonstrators who supported Reagan's adventure. At Harvard, for example, a protest organized jointly by the stars-and-stripes socialists of the DSA, the anti-communist "Unity" front group of the Maoist League for Revolutionary Struggle and assorted fake-lefts pushed the slogan, "Grenada: Another Afghanistan!"

For liberals, social democrats and petty-bourgeois radicals, national sovereignty, the inviolability of state borders, is the most sacred political principle. Not so for Marxists for whom the progressive struggle of *classes* is decisive. In Grenada Reagan overthrew a left-nationalist "black power" regime to further whip up war hysteria against the Soviet degenerated workers state. In Afghanistan the Soviet army intervened to defend a modernizing national government against CIA-backed Islamic feudalists. The Afghan "freedom fighters" are mainly fighting to keep their women illiterate and enslaved to the veil. Even American bourgeois journalists recognized "it was the Kabul revolutionary Government's granting of

On the Slogan "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!"

Imperialist War, the Armed Forces and Revolution

We reprint below edited excerpts of a presentation given by comrade Reuben Samuels to the New York Spartacist League, November 6, on the U.S. intervention in Lebanon and invasion of Grenada. Reagan first sent the Marines into Lebanon in the late summer of 1982, at the request of Yasir Arafat among others, in order to disarm and expel the armed forces of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The imperialist "peacekeepers" thus set up the massacre of defenseless Palestinians at the Shatila/Sabra camps by the Israeli-organized Phalange fascists. At the time much of the U.S. reformist left, notably Sam Marcy's Workers World Party and Jack Barnes' Socialist Workers Party (SWP) supported the U.S. military intervention in the name of "saving lives."

These groups are notorious for their uncritical tailing of anti-proletarian, petty-bourgeois nationalist forces. In the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war when a potential social explosion of the oppressed and downtrodden Muslim masses was channeled by their feudalist leaders into an inter-communalist bloodletting, Workers World and the SWP were vocal cheerleaders for the Muslim clan chiefs who were no less brutal and unsavory than the Maronite rightists. From the standpoint of the toiling masses, all sides were reactionary.

Today these fake-leftists look to the Lebanese Muslim Druze and Shi'ite groups which have become an appendage of the Assad regime of Syria, which intervened in the civil war in favor of the Christian Maronite Phalange! None of the treacherous forces in the current Lebanese imbroglio are fighting U.S. imperialism. However, a U.S./Israeli attack on Syria could easily escalate into a war against the Soviet Union. Should this happen, revolutionaries must give unconditional military defense to the Soviet Union.

One can see in the conditions of war those things which hasten the day of self-emancipation of the proletariat, those conditions which are indeed revolutionary. One aspect of our attitude towards the Vietnam War, as well as the many wars that Reagan is fighting, is that the more bogged down U.S. imperialism gets in these various colonial and anti-Soviet adventures and confrontations, it's a good thing, even though—and this is dialectical—

demand the U.S. get out everywhere. We want to see U.S. imperialism hemorrhage. This provides a certain breathing space for social struggle elsewhere as well as generating the conditions of social struggle within the United States itself.

In the Vietnam War we supported the demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of American troops. *But not by itself.* Because we were not only for the defeat of our own imperialist bourgeoisie in Vietnam, we also supported the *other side* which was the side of a social revolution as well as a struggle against colonial subjugation which had been going on for decades. We realized that U.S. imperialism could not be decisively defeated in Vietnam unless that social revolution was victorious and consolidated. So these demands were *interrelated*, the demand for the U.S. to get its troops out and victory for the social revolution in Vietnam.

The Socialist Workers Party attempted to tailor its propaganda to the worst sorts of social patriotism—"Bring Our Boys Home." Well, our boys in Vietnam were the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese army. There were a number of ways that the American boys could have been brought home. They could be withdrawn or they could be brought back in body bags. The important thing was that the U.S. get out and the other side win.

Now, why is our current line in Lebanon not the same as in the Vietnam War? If there was any side that was fighting the Marines, we could give them military support. The problem is there's *no side* that's fighting the Marines. The side that was most likely to, whose cause is clearest, the Palestine Liberation Organization, saw the Marines as their principal protectors and invited them into Lebanon in the first place. All of the other forces in Lebanon are simply jockeying for position with the other imperialists in the region.

We were the *only* force on the left, you will recall, to be outspoken from the very beginning in opposing U.S. intervention in Lebanon. But now that they're there and are getting bogged down, we also realize the contradictions that causes for this government. This blowing up the Marines headquarters came after there had been a great deal of disgruntlement towards Reagan's policies in Lebanon, which we have exploited jocularly with headlines like "U.S.

Up Lebanese Creek."

When the Marines were blown away and the headquarters was blown away, from Camp Lejeune throughout wide sections of American society the American people were driven into an anti-government frenzy and outrage over the policies of the Reagan administration. Basically they saw the blood of Beirut on Reagan's hands. This was the initial reaction in the interviews with these Marines, their families, in polls that were taken: that this is a senseless, stupid, destructive waste and that the culprit is in the White House. Well, we weren't indifferent to this. We tried to find a slogan, "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!", which addressed this widespread sentiment, which was pacifistic, which certainly had an element of patriotism, and to exploit this contradiction between the people and the government pursuing a war policy which in this particular conjuncture looked extremely stupid and criminal.

Of course, the U.S. has gone into Lebanon as part of Reagan's general anti-Soviet war drive. So we have raised a *number* of slogans over both Lebanon and Grenada, including the defense of Russia and Cuba. These slogans must be seen as *interlinked*.

The point is to take the pacifism of the masses and direct it against its own government, to make the masses recognize in their government their own enemy. If there is to be peace, then that government must be replaced with a government of the working people. Over Lebanon we were a couple of steps down that road. Because over Lebanon a lot of people saw Reagan as the *main enemy* for a moment.

Now, you get the argument that the Marines are the baddest, they're the worstest, they're the personification of evil. Well, in Grenada that's true. And that's why we have another slogan, "U.S. Out of Grenada, Dead or Alive!" There's a UPI dispatch that a number of Cuban war prisoners sent back to Cuba have gangrene because of untended war wounds. The Marines in Lebanon are the same guys as in Grenada, but they're not fighting at the moment.

Here's the thing about the Marines that was very evident in Vietnam. The Marines are the vanguard units of combat, and so they're the people who get the most shot up. Therefore to join the Marines very often involves a certain element of machismo, patriotism and all

that. But also once you get over there, the contradiction between what it's about and what's happening to you is the sharpest. And very often those guys come back as the angriest. One of the most important developments in the antiwar movement in the armed forces were Marines who came back from Vietnam to Camp Lejeune and organized around a newspaper called *Head On*.

The armed forces, that is, the core of the state, is an armed body of men, separated from the population as a whole, which defends certain class relations. But there are gradations of how much an armed force can be separated from the population depending on the degree of military mobilization. If a country is going to war, it may need to mobilize substantial sections of the population. And the amount of separation, even with uniforms and barracks and barbed wire, begins to break down. When you have mass conscription it brings into the armed forces elements from all sections of society.

We make a class distinction between the rank-and-file soldier and the cadre, the professional soldier, the officer corps. The officers are basically going to devote their lives to the armed forces. The enlisted man is going to go back after a few years of service into the general population and has not severed his links, in that sense, with the rest of the population. Our policy in terms of the armed forces is to exploit this class differentiation between the enlisted men and the officer corps, between the enlisted men and the elite units, the killer squads like the Special Forces.

The question is, how do you get the power? We have our newspaper and the links with the mass organizations of the proletariat; and they have all the guns and the tanks and the air force. That is why all the talk about violence coming from a Marxist organization is completely absurd. The violence comes from the ruling class. The road to power is through the demoralization of that ruling class, the polarization of the armed forces in which, in the main, the soldiers either join the revolution or step aside. And the bourgeoisie are left without troops to defend their positions of power. Otherwise you don't have a revolution.

There's a nice joke from the Vietnam War days that sort of captures this. And it also captured what was happening to the United States. This was almost becoming true. There was an antiwar demonstration at the White House, and it was very noisy and boisterous and large. Nixon's wife was looking out of the window. So Nixon says: "So there's an antiwar demonstration out there, huh? And it's getting closer to the White House? Okay, call in the 82nd Airborne." And Pat says: "It is the 82nd Airborne." ■

new rights to women that pushed Orthodox Moslem men in the Pashtoon villages of eastern Afghanistan into picking up their guns" (*New York Times*, 9 February 1980). The Soviet military intervention opens the possibility to bring wretched, mullah-ridden Afghanistan into the twentieth century, where women are no longer degraded slaves. We say: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the Social Gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan Peoples!

Just as we draw the class line internationally so we insist that anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. Against this, the reformist organizers of the Grenada protests were aiming to pressure the "liberal" wing of the imperialist ruling class. This was especially true of the November 12 demonstration in Washington. Here was a protest in a 70 percent black city against the KKK's candidate Ronald Reagan who was trampling on a black West Indian people. Yet the demonstration was overwhelmingly white, middle-

class student-youth. For the organizers, mobilizing Washington's black masses was irrelevant. They were busy mobilizing Democratic Congressmen (not with much success). The contrast could not be clearer with the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization in Washington in November a year ago, when 5,000 mainly black workers and youth came out and stopped the Klan from marching in the nation's capital.

The Real Lesson of Vietnam

The rape of Grenada, the counter-revolutionary terror in Central America, the war moves in the Near East, these are not the whims of one man, Ronald Reagan. Since its victory of World War II the American ruling class has sought to act as policeman for world capitalism. The U.S. armed forces, mainly working-class youth in uniform, are the last reserve to suppress all the exploited classes and oppressed peoples around the globe. All the revolutionary forces in the world press

against the United States. With a revolutionary vanguard which can channel and direct these pressures, U.S. imperialism can be defeated *from within*.

That possibility was particularly clear in the last years of the Vietnam War. That long, losing, dirty colonial war slowly sapped the anti-Communist fervor which had sustained Cold War militarism for twenty years. By 1970, after five years of war, probably a majority of the American people wanted to get out no matter what, even if this meant a Communist victory (which is exactly what it meant). Antiwar activism was extending far beyond its original campus base. Antiwar groups were spreading in the armed forces, not only among draftees but even advance combat units like the Marines. Even the ultra-jingoist labor tops had to talk up (but never act) against the war.

As early as 1967 the Spartacist League called for labor strikes against the war. By the early 1970s this had become a real possibility. A number of

key unions, especially those with large black memberships, had come out against the war. At the same time, the war-generated inflation was producing a major industrial strike wave. Had the war dragged on a few more years, there would have been labor political strikes against the war. The country was just on the edge of that.

But because the massive opposition to the Vietnam War was *not* directed into revolutionary class struggle, U.S. imperialism has recovered somewhat and is now on a desperate and bloody offensive. The invasion of Grenada, the death squads counting the corpses in El Salvador, the terror bombing of Muslim villages in Lebanon by its Israeli and French allies show the destructive frenzy of U.S. imperialism as it drives toward nuclear holocaust. Those of us revolutionaries who live in the belly of the beast have a great opportunity and a great responsibility: to destroy this truly monstrous enemy of all the world before it destroys the world. There is not much time. U.S. Hands Off the World! ■

Young Spartacus

Hundreds March in Oakland Protest "Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!"

OAKLAND—"Hey, D.A.! Workers say: Hands off Lauren and Ray!" Expressing their defiant opposition, black Oakland and the area's integrated trade-union movement put the Alameda County district attorney and Pacific Telephone on notice: Stop the racist, anti-labor frame-up of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero! A determined, militant protest of some 400 on October 29 demanded "Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray!" and asserted the basic trade-union principle "Picket lines mean don't cross!"

Lauren and Ray were facing seven and a half years in prison for doing their duty as unionists during the recent national phone strike. While on the picket line in Klan-infested San Leandro (known in parts of the black community as "Little Mississippi"), Lauren was called a "black nigger bitch" and hit in the face by racist scab assistant manager Michelle Rose Hansen. Because Lauren defended herself against this violent company assault, because her companion Ray came to her assistance, the two are facing multiple felony charges. They have been fired from their jobs and denied unemployment benefits.

Ma Bell, the D.A. and Oakland cops have conspired to carry out a blatant act of politicized racism in the service of union-busting. Lauren was a member of the Oakland Black Panther Party from its inception in 1966 until 1976. She and



Oakland, October 29—From left: Rally chairman Don Andrews, Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee lead chants: "Hey, D.A.! Workers say: Hands off Lauren and Ray!"

Ray are an interracial couple; both are active members of the Militant Workers Caucus in the Communications Workers of America (CWA). During the phone strike, Lauren and Ray were exemplary defenders of the picket line

against a vicious campaign of company and cop harassment.

The working people of Oakland did not stay quietly "in their place" while two left-wing activists in the union were picked off by the courts, cops and

company. The October 29 demonstration was an important display of labor/black action against racist, union-busting reaction. It brought out a serious, hard core of people who

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"The Greatest" Backs Lauren and Ray Defense

Muhammad Ali is no stranger to fighting racist persecution. He was not only "the greatest" in the ring but had the guts to defy racist America at the height of the Vietnam War. When Ali announced his membership in the Black Muslims in 1963, after defeating Sonny Liston for the heavyweight championship, racists everywhere were determined to restore the crown to a white or Christian hope, by any means necessary. Indicative of the early crusade was the World Boxing Association's stripping Ali of their version of the title, on the pretext that he fought an unauthorized rematch with Liston.

The cruelest and most vindictive part of the crusade was Ali's 1966 conviction for refusing induction into the imperialist armed forces as a conscientious objector. His famous statement, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger," captured the heartfelt disgust of most American blacks at being used as fodder in the imperialist

rape of Vietnam by this racist government. Like his early hero, the first black heavyweight champion, Jack Johnson, Ali's courage, defiance and outspoken black pride were rewarded with constant threats of imprisonment, the loss of his championship and livelihood.

At the peak of his physical abilities, having beaten every fighter of merit, Ali's boxing license was revoked—a hypocritical and shamelessly politically motivated act. The authorities who run boxing at the behest of the promoters and gambling bigwigs, revelling in the spectacle of two black men battering each other, were beside themselves with obscene rage at the champion's stand against the racist colonial war. These unspeakable gentlemen think black fighters should be seen and not heard. These professed guardians of the high moral tone of the community purged Ali even before his court appeals were exhausted.

Four years of exile ended when the Supreme Court, in 1970, reluctantly reversed Ali's conviction on the technicality that the government had misrepresented facts to the court. Within a year of his return, Ali suffered his first defeat, to Joe Frazier. Ali's loss was hailed by every right-wing sportswriter, politician and entertainer. But the celebration ended three years later, when Ali recaptured his championship by knocking out the "invincible" flag-waving George Foreman.

Ali's international stature is not solely a product of his amazing athletic abilities. He is honored worldwide for his identification with the victims of American imperialism and for the racist persecution he understood for speaking out. With his endorsement of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero's fight against South African-style justice, the champ once again takes a stand with the oppressed against vindictive American racism.

