

Angela Davis: The Offer the CPUSA Could Not Refuse

August 24 (IPS) — In a rare moment of relative awakening from an Oblomovist slumber, Communist Party USA Chairman Henry Winston recently published a “theoretical” piece in the *Daily World* attacking Herbert Marcuse, Mao Tse Tung, and a number of leading spokesmen for the “New Marxism.”

While his intuitive recognition of the growing ferment within the working class, distorted and muffled by layers of agents in de facto control over the party can only lead the CPUSA further into the arms of Rockefeller labor lieutenants Woodcock and Wurf, Winston’s article nevertheless takes on a primary significance. In attacking Marcuse and Mao, Winston is at least implicitly attacking the degeneration of the left (with the notable exception of the Labor Committees) into fascist counter gangs. That tendency within his own party is most clearly represented by Angela Davis and the hordes of agents who scramble into positions of leadership around her ascendance. The singling out of Marcuse, hence, is a direct attack on Davis, whose political baptism is widely known to have occurred directly under CIA agent Marcuse’s hands.

The problem with this token exercise in housecleaning on the part of the old guard within the CP is that the roots of the now hegemonic anti-working-class tendency in the party cannot be located in anything having directly to do with Angela Davis.

Throughout the early seventies, the hybrid strain of black nationalists and CIA agents which coalesced within the CP around the figure of Angela Davis proved to lead the party straight into whatever task the CIA appointed for it. In March 1973, this resulted in the Communist Party’s final liquidation as a working class communist organization. At that point the CP refused to join the Labor Committees in organizing a united front of unemployed, employed and welfare recipients into the National Unemployed and Welfare Rights Organization (NUWRO). Instead they joined with known CIA agent Ed Schwartz and the OEO-HEW poverty pimp apparatus in a public alliance pledged to defend the slave labor agency, the National Welfare Rights Organization, and to destroy NUWRO.

At that point the Communist Party sold its soul to the devil — eliminating any further possibility for intervention into the working class upsurge which has swept this country since January 1974. Since that time the

Communist Party has lost its base in the United States labor movement, a story which the *Daily World* itself has documented, and is now even losing its last liberal backers to the growing mass of periphery surrounding the now hegemonic National Caucus of Labor Committees. The CPUSA is now a mere dead hulk of an organization.

Although at every crucial point in working class struggle, the Communist Party has done the bidding of the CIA, it would not be fair, as yet, to the bureaucrats in Moscow to label it a “CIA counter gang” like the Socialist Workers Party or the Revolutionary Union. However, since the CP’s 1973 crucial rejection of working class politics, the CIA has been able to manipulate the CP into playing a counter gang role through the calculated orchestration of agency within the Communist Party, the moral ineptitude of Moscow-directed leadership, and the environment in which the CP “found itself.” It is this inside-outside operation which led the Communist Party work with the CIA to frame-up Buffalo Labor Committee members Don Roth and Ira Leibowitz in June 1973. It is the task of the following series of articles to demonstrate the immediate process by which the Communist Party died as a working class organization and became a mere left appendage to the CIA-LEAA-poverty pimp apparatus.

The Black Strategy

In the early sixties, the CPUSA had no real prospects for recruitment, owing largely to the loss of the majority of their most viable young members and periphery in the Progressive Labor split-off. With its traditional blue collar base doggedly silent, the only conceivable course of action open to the party at that point was to drive head-on into the Civil Rights movement — which was already being controlled by the CIA through several large foundations.

What the CP leadership rationalized as the “black strategy” aimed at recruiting the most viable elements within the civil rights movement was nothing more than a classic centrist impulse to go where the action was.

Since the death of Lenin and failure of the revolution in Germany in 1923, the Communist Parties have lost the capability for sustained revolutionary leadership which would enable them to successfully pinpoint the next con-

juncture of capitalist depression and ensuing working class upsurge. It is in these periods of social and economic crisis that successive waves of working class mass strikes under competent leadership can result in socialist revolution. Without a scientific perspective of cadre preparation for such periods of working class upsurge, the avowedly revolutionary leadership begins to relate to its organization in much the same way that a Democratic Party hack relates to this national constituency. The CP leadership holds out promises of revolutionary strategy and pro-working class politics but instead follows the line of least resistance which "gets the votes," "builds the party." This classical centrist pose in the Communist Parties around the world was further exacerbated in the United States by the virulence of American anti-communism in the McCarthy period and the resulting tendency of the CPUSA to burrow into whatever popular structures were conveniently on the scene and would let them in.

In evaluating the immediate transformation of the CPUSA as a socialist organization with a base in the working class to a tiny sectlet operating out of the hip pocket of the CIA, only two consequences of CP centrism are important. One, the paranoia of the CP forced it to recruit from the rear, most backward end of any movement. Second, the CPUSA's measurement of growth in terms of simple gate receipts afforded the CIA a perfect weapon for reward and punishment to the CPUSA for following guidelines established ultimately by the CIA.

Therefore, by 1963, the centrist "Black Strategy" had led the CPUSA to act as the stalwart left borderguard for the CIA's cooptation of the potentially revolutionary black explosion.

In 1963 Malcolm X had also exposed the "big six" Civil Rights leaders for being under the control of CIA conduits: the Field Foundation, the Taconic Foundation, and the UAW. The *Daily World* promptly labeled him a police agent, creating the preconditions of isolation which led to his assassination soon thereafter.

For this job, the CIA allowed the CP to continue in the Civil Rights movement. With the removal of Malcolm X, the CIA set up its own black nationalist movement in 1966 with the Stokely Carmichael's call for "black power." The CP's black strategy became a double-edged sword for the CIA. On the one hand, the CIA was able to heavily infiltrate the party, sending in a network of black nationalists as well as young whites who would push a line of liberal skin-guilt support for "liberation struggles." These operatives served internally as a welcome counterforce to the genuine pro-working class revolts that dotted the young "red diaper" sections in the middle and late sixties.

With the working class only beginning to awaken, and

labelled as the "tired, old left," the CP was frozen out of the student movement by the CIA-controlled SDS leadership. Since they were the only layer of the party bringing in any gate receipts, the figures leading the "Black Strategy," had to prevail as the dominant tendency in the party. Scum like Rasheed Storey were able to move into key positions of leadership by leading the internal fights against pro-working class youth.

Into the OEO

The other lawful outcome of the "Black Strategy" was the CP complicity with establishment of the OEO poverty pimp local control apparatus. When the poverty funds began to flow like champagne, a large number of older Communist Party members by virtue of long years of loyal service within the ranks of the major civil rights groups and within already existing community organizations were on the receiving end. Party members in cities throughout the country found themselves in key positions within the OEO community control apparatus. But the key that opened the door for Angela Davis came in 1968.

In a move to destroy the strongest teacher's union in the country, Albert Shanker's United Federation of Teachers, the Ford Foundation funded a pilot project in locally controlled schools in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. The resulting New York City teachers strike in Fall 1968, posed to the CPUSA and the entire left the alternative between defending the trade union movement in a moment of tremendous threat or falling totally into the CIA's locally controlled environment. In July 1968 the CP was calling Shanker the leading trade unionist in New York. By September both he and his union were "racist." The same CP and Socialist Workers Party goons that had prevented anti-war demonstrators from linking up with the Columbia Strike a few months back were used in Fall 1968 to attack the New York teachers. Only the Labor Committees stood with the teachers and were able to expose and diffuse the scab operation run out of the Ford Foundation to the point that the UFT was not totally crushed.

By this time, as the result of the "Black Strategy" of staying within the confines of the CIA-run black movement, the CPUSA could be viewed as a safe operation. However, its use as a countergang was still limited. The Party had not been able to translate the ferment of the mid to late sixties into a significant increase in membership. With both the Black Panther Party and the Labor Committees emerging as serious revolutionary organizations, a move had to be made. And the CIA knew where to turn.

Enter Angela

The question of whether Angela Davis is a conscious agent is unimportant. What is clear is that the circumstances around which she became an international

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cause celebre were orchestrated by the CIA — and that from very early on in her academic career she came totally under the sway of an international nexus of CIA “intellectuals.” This network had been consciously set up immediately following World War II to generate an intellectual current that would have both a radical orientation and at the same time express a virulent anti-communism: the Frankfurt School in Germany tied to Herbert Marcuse in the U.S.; the Tavistock Institute in England; the situationist and surrealist movements spanning the whole counterculture. This conscious outgrowth of postwar social engineering was specifically aimed at diverting any kind of mass ferment into fascist social formations.

Angela Davis was a classic product of that environment. After attending an exclusive high school in New York City (she was selected out of a Birmingham, Alabama school and funded by the American Friends Services Committee) she went on to Brandeis University where she became Marcuse’s top student in her senior year (only after two semesters on the Left Bank studying at the Sorbonne). On Marcuse’s urging, Davis spent the next two years studying at Johann Wolfgang von Goethe University, Institute of Social Research under Theodore Adorno. Just before her return to the United States, Davis spent the summer of 1967 at the Tavistock Conference on the Dialectics of Liberation, led by R.D. Laing,

Stokely Carmichael and, of course, Marcuse. By this time, any potential that had once existed for creative thinking had been destroyed.

Davis herself said that her identity as a revolutionary came “from my experiences growing up in the South.” Davis was a member of the “Southern Black aristocracy,” raised in a wealthy black community in the heart of the South dubbed “Dynamite Hill” because so many homes were bombed or burned to the ground by the KKK. This terrifying experience could only leave an imprint of sustained guilt due to partial identification with “The White Master” and paranoia due to his seeming omnipotence: “We’ll get you anyway.” Under the guidance of the CIA intellectuals like Marcuse who could quickly spot Davis’ actual potential, guilt and paranoia were raised to the power of an intellectualized belief structure. In this calculated distortion of her search for an alternative, Davis was led to embrace a revolutionary identity of almost frenzied self destruction in the name of the “The People”: the doctrine of revolutionary suicide or to put it more bluntly proto-fascist nihilism. “Resistance, rejection, defiance, on every level, on every front are integral elements of the voyage towards freedom. The path of liberation is marked by resistance at every crossroads: mental resistance, physical resistance, resistance directed to the concerted attempt to obstruct the path. I think we can learn from

the experience of the slave." (From a lecture at UCLA on the Psychologically Liberating Force of the Act of Refusal.)

Not so coincidentally, it is the impulse towards revolutionary suicide which is the key feature of the CIA zombie brainwash program, more recently fine-tuned by the Tavistock colleagues of Marcuse, which is responsible for such monstrosities as the Symbionese Liberation Army and in its less "idealistic" side the Black Liberation Army.

The Slave Revolts

Back in the United States in the Fall of 1967 Davis returned to Marcuse's lair, this time studying for her Ph.D under him at the University of California, San Diego. In these more secure surroundings she began actively to test out some of the ideas she had been mulling over.

After an initial period of organizing on the campus where she led a revolt of minority students demanding their own "all-Third World College," Angela moved on to the big-time world of Black Nationalist politics by moving to Los Angeles. There she became involved with Maulana "Ron" Karenga's police operation US. Karenga, founder of the Temple of Kawaida, was the first of the CIA zombies to push the "Seven Headed Cobra" brainwashing belief structure formulated by Tavistock. He was exposed by fellow police informer Louis Tackwood as having been hired by the Los Angeles Police Department to set up the murders of members of the Black Panther Party. When she broke off contact with US, Davis moved over to the Black Panthers for a brief period before coming in contact with the Che-Lumumba Club, an all black collective within the Los Angeles Communist Party.

It is at this point that the CP's "Black Strategy" and Angela Davis intersect. Che-Lumumba was one of the compromises that the CP leadership unknowingly made with the CIA in order to hold onto a few more card-carrying black faces. The entrance of serious black revolutionaries, often sons and daughters of the ex-CPers from the thirties, into the "traditional" Communist Party represented a step towards what they conceived would be socialist politics which would include the white and black working class. It is the immoral stupidity of the CP leadership which allowed that positive step to be diluted with their toleration of semi-terrorist groups like the Che-Lumumba Club, which were easy prey for CIA control.

At the July 1968 CPUSA National Conference it was reported to the Labor Committees by informed sources that these would-be guerrillas were extorting money for the funneling of guns into the Black Panther Party — thus aiding in the setup of the Panthers for the sub-

sequent frameups and assassinations.

Angela Davis joined the Che-Lumumba Club with Marcuse's apparent blessings.

Marcuse's Network

Through an old State Department socialist friend of Marcuse named Donald Kalish, Angela Davis was hired as an assistant professor of philosophy at UCLA in June 1969. One week later, an admitted FBI informer on the UCLA campus had a letter published in the UCLA Daily Bruin revealing that the school had just hired a member of the Communist Party to teach there in the Fall. Four days later, a major San Francisco daily had Angela Davis' name plastered all over the paper. Through the Fall the battle of Angela Davis raged back and forth: would her contract with UCLA be ripped up or would free speech prevail? CIA columnists like Joseph Kraft made sure that the Angela Davis affair was getting national coverage.

It was, in fact, Marcuse's cronies in the CIA academic social democracy who were key in ousting Davis from UCLA. The University Committee for Rational Alternatives (UCRA) witch hunters used the Davis case as a highly publicized precedent in clearing America's universities of communists, unauthorized radicals, and gradually all professors who persisted in holding onto the humanist tradition and securing the hegemony of Schactian economics and its accompanying fascist worldviews in academia.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, could only gain from the press buildup of Angela Davis as a "black woman communist under attack." The CPUSA acquired a new legitimacy in the black movement.

On to Terrorism

The UCLA purge made Angela bolder. Out of a January 1970 series of killings at Soledad Prison, the Soledad Brothers Defense Committees had been established and Angela Davis soon became one of its prime movers, speaking throughout California at rallies, etc. in their defense. At this time she was constantly in the presence of Jonathan Jackson and at least one or two members of the Che-Lumumba Club (acting as her bodyguards). "Scorned" by the academic community, Davis hardened as an anti-intellectual towards terrorism. In a letter to George Jackson on June 10, 1970 she writes: "The night after I saw you in court I dreamed we were together fighting pigs, winning. We were learning to know each other."

On August 7, 1970 Jonathan Jackson walked into Judge Haley's San Rafael Courthouse carrying four

guns. All four had been purchased by Angela Davis. According to Louis Tackwood, the police knew beforehand that Jackson was armed, but despite this they allowed him into the courthouse. Before the shooting had ended, a number of people including Jackson and Judge Haley were dead. Angela Davis was immediately placed on the FBI's ten most wanted list.

On October 13, Angela Davis was arrested in New York City along with David Rudolph Poindexter. The fatal opportunism of the Communist Party and the press immediately swung Davis on to her meteoric rise as the official martyr of the Black (and Communist) movement.

By November, the CP organizational machinery was ready to go. All internal opposition to a big recruiting drive into the ghetto and student layers behind "Angela Davis: political prisoner" was quickly overcome. At a press conference that month, James Torney, Party Defense Committee Chairman, announced the formation of a Committee to Defend Angela Davis and All Political Prisoners. Franklin Alexander of the Che-Lumumba Club was appointed to head up the Committee. In his anointing speech, Torney declared that the Communist Party would work to build the biggest, most all encompassing movement ever, to defend Angela Davis.

The Davis arrest and the expected swelling of the CP ranks with hundreds of black and white youth was precisely timed. As the student movement breathed its last with the Cambodia student strike and the Kent killings, it was clear to the CIA that the NCLC would emerge the front-runner into the coming working class strike wave if the CP was not quickly activated to deflect students, workers, and young blacks. The Labor Committee-led Baltimore Strike Support Coalition which won the Schmidt Bakery strike in October 1970 and which had won Young Workers Liberation League founder and national leader Charles Henry to the NCLC had made that clear to both the CIA and the CP. With the destruction of the Panthers, the CIA handed the Communist Party a sizable chunk of the ghetto on a silver platter. It is interesting to note that aside from the (then) politically safe Muslims the Communist Party is the only organization independent of the CIA which has gone "unpunished" for organizing in the ghetto; Malcolm X was murdered; the Panthers were set up and violently eradicated as a revolutionary cadre organization; the Labor Committee's Revolutionary Youth Movement has been faced with the hideous brainwashing of any youth leader who demands the right to fight against his own ghetto imprisonment and organize.

For the CIA, the Communist Party rendered two services: One, the widespread popularity of Angela

Davis whose privations in jail only fed the glory ride of the CP, provided the basis for the CP's recruitment in the ghetto. This ghetto base then allowed the CP to enter the campuses in fall 1970 and the coming working class strike wave with the hottest action going, and the leverage to build the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL). The small but explosive Labor Committees were momentarily outflanked.

Second, the Angela Davis maneuver firmly established the Communist Party on the course to its final self-destruction. As the CIA carefully built the gaggle of OEO-HEW "Black leaders" like Jesse Jackson, George Wiley, et al. to herd the ghetto into self-policed slave labor, the CP, never one to miss an opportunity, attempted to push Davis forward as the CP's "Black Leader." This tended to bind the knot forever between the CP and OEO-HEW apparatus which resulted in the final betrayal of black unemployed and welfare layers of March 1973.

To seal the coffin, any agent sent to the party with a suitably "black nationalist" line was guaranteed a position of leadership just by virtue of the fact that he was a "militant black." These agent-leaders were then in a position to direct the CP to the policies which coincided with the aims of the CIA. As the Labor Committees and the Communist Party met in class skirmishes which ensued from 1970-72, the CP consistently took a tailist approach in line with the trade union bureaucracy against the proposals of the Labor Committee for united front organizing.

It would be unfair to say that the CP's policy of CIA directed tailism did not meet with opposition, primarily from pro-working class youth in the YWLL. But these voices were consistently quieted by the Moscow-trained black hacks like Philadelphia's Tony Monteiro and their ever-present thugs like Royce Adams.

The CP continued to keep a toehold within the labor movement through TUAD (Rank and File for Trade Union Action and Democracy), but offered no political alternative. Their policy of trade union militancy was precisely the framework political workers would begin to break out of in the next two years. Therefore as the CP's own opportunism cut it off from effective intervention into the labor movement, the CIA set it up for the final kill with the Angela Davis beeline straight into the arms of the CIA agent Ed Schwartz in the March 1973 alliance against NUWRO.

That the Angela Davis tendency within the CP proved to be fatal is clear. The subsequent manipulations of the Communist Party into an effective countergang role will be outlined in further articles. What remains to be seen is the degree to which the Soviet bureaucracy will take heed before it becomes too late.