

Young Spartacus

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Reagan Drives Toward World War III

Der Spiegel



"Analysis of the KAL incident gives U.S. intelligence what one source called 'a bonanza' of new information about Soviet radar gaps, communications capabilities and chains of command."

—*San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle*, 2 October

Among the American public at large, Reagan's story, that Korean Air Lines Flight 007 was just an innocent passenger plane that "accidentally" flew over the USSR's most sensitive military installations during a Soviet missile test, is mostly *not* flying. Three weeks after the KAL 007 incident and also after the sight of U.S. warships bombarding Lebanon a *New York Times*/CBS News poll showed that for the first time significantly more Americans disapproved of Reagan's conduct of foreign policy than approved of it. Even the U.S. press is skeptical of Reagan's claim that the Soviet "barbarians" purposely targeted a commercial jetliner. The *New York Times* reported on October 7 that "United States intelligence experts say they have reviewed all available evidence and found no indication that Soviet air defense personnel knew before the attack that the target was a commercial plane." The "intelligence experts" merely "omit" to report that they planned it that way from the beginning. In response to this revelation Secretary of State George Shultz commented that "it is just as abhorrent to

Russia to Reagan: "Don't Try It!"

shoot down an unarmed reconnaissance plane." Obviously, only those who would use innocent people as guinea pigs for espionage could make this claim. Now the widow of a Columbia University physicist who was a passenger on KAL 007 is suing the U.S. government, charging the plane invaded Soviet airspace "at the direction and order of the governments of South Korea and/or the United States of America for the purpose of engaging in sophisticated intelligence surveillance." From the first, *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* have documented that KAL 007 was a preplanned U.S. Cold War provocation against the Soviet Union. Since our last issue, additional evidence has come to light which confirms this charge.

On September 19 the Soviet news agency TASS revealed that at 1:30 a.m. on the morning of September 1, as the KAL Boeing 747 appeared over Kamchatka Peninsula, the American intelligence satellite Ferret D—which moni-

tors radio traffic—passed overhead. At 3:07 a.m., three minutes after the KAL jet began its passage over Sakhalin island, home of the Korsakov air and naval base, the American spy satellite also passed over Sakhalin. TASS charged that the reason that KAL Flight 007 was held up for 40 minutes at the Anchorage airport was "in order to strictly synchronise in time the plane's approach to the shores of Kamchatka and Sakhalin with the flight of the American intelligence satellite 'Ferret D'." There is every reason to believe that this is true, especially in view of the presence of at least one American RC-135 spy plane in the area at which the KAL flight began its intrusion into Soviet airspace.

In an article in the *Denver Post*, reprinted in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (19 September), former American intelligence officers T. Edward Eskelson and Tom Bernard detailed the espionage capabilities of the RC-135: "The RC-135 has a super-advanced, ultra-secure

communications system which is linked to the most sophisticated communications network in the world. This system, sometimes referred to as 'backchannel,' permits the instantaneous reporting of real-time, tactical intelligence to the highest levels of the U.S. government, including the president, from any location in the world..." The two former RC-135 crew members revealed that the U.S. National Security Agency periodically sends RC-135s into the airspace of a "target nation" in order to bring its air defenses into a state of alert so that it can "analyze these fully activated systems for potential flaws and weaknesses." They conclude that "Because of these RC-135 capabilities we believe that the entire sweep of events... was monitored and analyzed instantaneously by U.S. intelligence."

While anti-Soviet pundits pontificate about Russian "paranoia," the U.S. extends its "national sovereignty" for 200 miles off U.S. shores—the Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ). It is "within this ADIZ but outside U.S. airspace where U.S. fighters almost always intercept Soviet reconnaissance or other military aircraft and stay with them until they turn around," according to the *Washington Post* (7 October). Moreover, Soviet planes have been refused authorization to fly in American

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LIBEL THAT KILLS
ARE YOU A TARGET OF THE MOONIES? see page 6

EDITORIAL NOTES

Democratic "Socialist" Austerity Santa Cruz DSA Sticks It to City Workers

Santa Cruz city workers found out firsthand about the Democratic Socialists of America's (DSA) version of "socialism" by the seaside. It means wage-freezing, anti-union, capitalist austerity. Since July 1, the city workers represented by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 415 in this West Coast resort and university town had been working without a contract after the DSA-led city council hardlined it against the union's extremely modest demand for a 5 percent wage increase. Prominent DSA city councilman, professor at the University of California and former Santa Cruz mayor Mike Rotkin lamented: "It's an awful feeling. I'm administering the slashing being done by Reagan and Deukmejian and Prop 13. I don't enjoy administering the decline of the capitalist state" (*Phoenix*, September 1983). But, what's a "democratic socialist" to do?

The city council's first offer was a zero

percent wage increase combined with takeaways in benefits. This was rejected out of hand by the union negotiating committee, with Rotkin remarking that the city's offer was "unfortunate and unrealistically low. We had some misadvice from people in the administration on what would be acceptable to labor." The "socialist" city council then offered an insulting 2 percent which union members again rejected by a three-to-one margin. And Rotkin said flatly of the union's demand for 5 percent: "They're not going to get it." So, for all his complaints about "misadvice" and attempts to shift the blame for his enforcement of Reagan austerity Rotkin hardlined against the workers.

Rotkin and the DSA's wretched rôle in sticking it to the Santa Cruz city workers goes hand-in-hand with their Cold War anti-Sovietism. Even in the "bean sprout capital" of California, local austerity makes the working class and minorities pay for the bipartisan anti-

Soviet war drive. Opposing the struggles of American workers against *capitalism*, the DSA loves Solidarność—the company union for the CIA and Western bankers which threatened capitalist restoration and clerical reaction in Poland.

Rotkin teaches a course at UC Santa Cruz grossly misnamed "Introduction to Marxism." The Spartacus Youth League decided that this political fraud could not go unchallenged and confronted Rotkin at his class discussion September 29 while expressing our solidarity with the city workers (who finally squeezed a 4.5 percent wage increase out of the city):

"While calling yourself a socialist and posturing as a modern-day Marxist, in fact as a DSAer you've demonstrated that you're nothing but a reformist who defends this oppressive capitalist system. In the recent contract negotiations with the city workers, you were on the city's side as opposed to the workers' side from the very beginning. What you're doing in the city council is

administering Reagan's austerity and budget cuts at the local level."

At this point, the "Marxist" professor quickly moved to end any discussion which strayed from Hegel, Feuerbach and early Marxism, stating, "This is not a debate between the DSA and the SYL. We're not discussing current politics." As a number of students gathered around at the end of class, our comrade finished his remarks to Rotkin's face: "You complain that it's an awful feeling to administer the decline of the capitalist system but you volunteered to do Reagan's dirty work. So much for your 'sewer socialism'."

The local monthly *Phoenix* newspaper noted that "Socialist city council versus city workers" makes "sensationalistic headlines." Even in the not-so-real world of Santa Cruz, the DSA's "left wing of the possible" means "Marxist" words from the armchair and anti-working-class action from the petty office-holders of social democracy. ■

Action, Harvard DSA-Style: "Go Out and Meet a Millionaire Friend"

CAMBRIDGE—"I am baffled." So sprang pearls of wisdom from DSA honcho Barbara Ehrenreich, keynote speaker at the DSA's September 24 "educational" conference at Harvard University. The poorly attended talk was apparently designed as a recruitment pitch; Ehrenreich even tried to put on a "left" face by referring to the rabidly anti-communist DSA as "Marxist." But the Harvard SYL was there to set the record straight—with a little help from the "baffled" DSAers themselves.

Ehrenreich's "solutions" to Reagan's massive military buildup consisted of the same old tried-and-failed pro-Democratic Party schemes the DSA has been pushing for years: "build coalitions...expand the electorate." An SYL spokesman took to the floor, noting that DSA's "analysis" was only rivaled by its intense inactivity at Harvard:

"The Democratic Party is no alternative. KKKer Tom Metzger is part of the Democratic Party. We're for class struggle. We are for sit-down strikes to

fight for more jobs, not begging the bureaucrats or the government.... In Washington, D.C. last November, when the Klan threatened to march, we organized 5,000—labor and blacks—and stopped the Klan. You were nowhere to be seen. That's one of the reasons there are no blacks in this room! "The only thing you did last year [at Harvard] was to have a demonstration in favor of Israel after the Palestinians were massacred.... The slogan of your demo was 'Israel, yes; Begin, no!'"

The Harvard DSA's stand with Zionist butchers was too much for even Ehrenreich to swallow. Perhaps forgetting for a moment that she was giving a public talk, she turned in astonishment to Harvard DSAer Joe Schwartz and gasped, "Is that true?" Schwartz tried to deny it, but a hush fell over the rest of the audience—they knew well that what the SYL charged was a fact.

Next came Ehrenreich's "State Department socialist" line on the downing of KAL 007. Putting the DSA position in a nutshell, she remarked: "Reagan is right." "One thing we learned," Ehren-

Workers Vanguard Photo



October 20, 1982: SL/SYL in San Francisco protests Zionist butchery at Shatila and Sabra.

Harvard DSA's pro-Zionist demo October 19, 1982 even disgusted DSA vice-chair Ehrenreich.



reich continued, "was that the Soviets have an incompetent air defense, and there's one thing to say about that: Whew!" The SYL countered that the DSA buys Reagan's line and is incapable of answering the same questions about KAL 007 as is Washington:

"Why were the Americans able to track the plane in detail, yet they never informed the Soviets? You and Reagan say there is no military plane that looks like the 747, but there is the [U.S.] military's E4B. We unconditionally defend the Soviet Union, the gains of the Russian Revolution, from imperialism. You have opposed the Russian Revolution since 1917."

It is the DSA's unremitting hostility to the degenerated Soviet workers state which leads them time and again into the imperialist camp at home and abroad. Ehrenreich could only respond with a plea of ignorance on the facts and accused the SYL of making the USSR seem "glorious," adding that "it's actually impoverished and the people there are not happy." This argument fell as flat as the rest of the evening. The Trotskyist SYL is well known for our position of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against rapacious imperialism, coupled with our recognition of the necessity for proletarian political revolution against

the Stalinist bureaucracy which is ultimately incapable of defending the gains of October. Among those gains is the massive leap forward of the Soviet economy and advancement of living conditions for the Soviet masses following the 1917 revolution. Even a DSA supporter, recently returned from a trip to the Soviet Union, took to the floor against Ehrenreich: "When I traveled around, I saw new construction everywhere. I doubt they put it up for the weekend for my benefit. Also, I was in Soviet Azerbaijan. Compared to across the border [in Afghanistan], the living conditions are much, much better—especially for women."

DSAers did not leave the "educational" without at least one directive. After hearing complaints about financial problems from the DSA membership ("We did not get any money from Ed Asner while he was a member," was one such gripe) the local treasurer exhorted DSAers to "Go out and meet a millionaire friend!" Looks like the Harvard DSA is in for another action-packed year. Students seeking an alternative to the warmongering, racist capitalist system must look to the only revolutionary Marxists on campus: the SYL. ■

Exchange with a Howard University Reader

Yes, Harold Washington Betrays Black Chicago

Young Spartacus Photo



Victory to Chicago Teachers Strike! Union-Busting Fuels Racist Backlash

Howard University
Washington, D.C. 20059
September 21, 1983

Young Spartacus
Box 3118, Church St. Station
New York, N.Y. 10008

Dear Editor:

This past week, representatives from the Spartacist League were present at Howard University, seeking new subscribers for the League's two publications, *Young Spartacus* and *Workers Vanguard*. Hence, I became acquainted with a back issue of *Young Spartacus* (#109, May 1983). On the back page of this issue is an article titled, "Harold Washington to Black Chicago: Cutbacks, Layoffs, Cop Terror." This article is exemplary of the criticism that

many leftist publications face: rhetoric. Moreover, this article is saturated with untruths, half-truths, and undocumented premises.

For example, in the first paragraph you stated that, Washington wasted no time in initiating a wage freeze and layoffs of over 500 city employees. However, you neglected to state the economic condition of Chicago at the time of the Washington Transition, nor did you offer any alternatives.

Furthermore, in the next paragraph you stated that, "The cops threatened mass arrests of blacks on election day." However, neither the source of this statement nor the reason for the "alleged" threatened arrests was given. Further in the same paragraph, you stated that "with only days in office, this Democratic Party hack has been busy scrambling to appease the racists and maintain the status quo." Do you have any examples of this blanket statement? Furthermore, the validity of the statement that black teenage unemployment is over 50 percent, needs to be substantiated. Is black teenage unemployment higher in Chicago than other cities that have large black populations?

Later in the article, you used an analogy of the fight against unemployment and a demonstration against KKK/Nazis. The correlation (if one exists) between the fight against unemployment and the KKK/Nazis demonstration seems to be very ambiguous.

Throughout the entire article, your use of untruths, along with quotes taken out of contexts used as manipulators, leaves the lay reader left to their own devices in trying to sift out fact from fiction. Moreover, the statement that Washington is a "long-time loyal flunky" to the Democratic Party is not only untrue, but misleading as well. There-

fore, I have enclosed a brief sketch of Washington's advocacy for Human Services in the Illinois State Legislature and U.S. Congress. And, a further examination of Washington's record will show that Washington is in fact a member of the Independent Democratic Party; a progressive wing of the Democratic party.

In short, your article on Mayor Washington was not only detrimental to the public at large, but also reinforced a "false consciousness" that your many readers have obtained from reading articles as such. Many leftist groups desire change so badly until their methods of advocating change are often unorganized and inadequate. This was certainly reflected in this article. From reading the article one may easily arrive at the question: "Would the Spartacist League have preferred Republican Bernard Epton over Washington?" If not, why not print constructive alternatives instead of detrimental rhetoric?

In writing future articles please keep this passage in mind, (from Manning Marable, *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America*, pp. 261-2):

"... We must always remind ourselves that history is an organic process, the evolution of the forces of production as they affect and in turn are influenced by the civil and political institutions, ideologies and the cultures of human beings. Nothing in Black history, American history, or world history has ever been predetermined by any single factor or force. 'Underdevelopment' and 'socialism,' when reduced to bare economic categories, outside of a particular history, become meaningless abstractions. The socialism we construct will have to encounter racial, sexual, and class components which do not exist anywhere else in the world, exactly as they appear here. If we apply some rigid 'iron laws' of revolution gleaned from the dusty textbooks of other revolutionaries, in the name of

Marxism, we will not only succumb to a left form of economic determinism but will fail to build an alternative to the oppressive state which we seek to overturn. 'Men make their own history,' Marx observed in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 'but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.'

Sincerely,
Dennis M. Rome

Young Spartacus Replies:

Black Democrat Harold Washington was elected mayor of Chicago by barely defeating a racist backlash led by the Democratic Party Machine. We did not give one iota of support to this bourgeois candidate for office, who once bragged (contrary to Rome's assertion about his "independence" from the Machine) that "I am a product of the Machine.... It is proper in its place" (*Sun-Times*, 23 February). But in the face of the racist mobilization against Washington's campaign we insisted that he had the right to take office with all the normal prerogatives.

Rome's implied argument that, given Chicago's economic condition, Washington has no alternative but to lay off

FLASH!

"Victory to the Teachers!" SYL Rally, U. of I. Forum, Friday, October 14, noon.

city workers is a "defense" of Washington only for someone who believes there is no alternative to capitalist austerity. Does Rome think that bourgeois politicians lay off workers because they enjoy it? Only if they are New York City's racist Ed Koch. Or for that matter, does he think the owners of General Motors and U.S. Steel lay off workers because it gives them pleasure? On the contrary, capitalists would like to exploit more workers. Of course Washington "inherited" an economic mess, as would any mayor elected in a major industrial city today. But, Washington has *taken a side* on the fundamental question: who pays for the capitalist crisis—the working class and poor or the bosses? His side is with the bosses. Washington enforces capitalist austerity because as a Democratic Party politician, that is his job. Sections of the ruling class find it useful to have a black mayor enforcing austerity: either he will be able to do so with more support from the populace (initially) or he can take the rap when the city's crisis propels sections of the working class into struggle. Rome's defense of Washington is a defense of the profit system which *must* attack workers and the black masses.

Washington's administration has delivered exactly what our headline predicted: cutbacks, layoffs and cop terror. We would amend this today to include only one thing: a direct attack on city workers. Today the 27,000-strong Chicago Teachers Union (CTU), almost half of whose members are black, is engaged in a joint strike with 11,000 maintenance and service workers against the Chicago Board of Education. Chicago teachers have gone two years without a raise, and their pension payments were cut off this September as well. The CTU was pushed to the wall by School Superintendent "Ruthless" B. Love's demand that any pay raise be offset by teacher layoffs and larger class sizes (i.e., worse conditions in the already rotten Chicago public schools). While Washington is trying to maintain a public posture of "neutrality" his backers, including the *Chicago Defender* (a black newspaper), the School Board, Jesse Jackson's PUSH and the Urban League have gone all out to line up the oppressed black population of Chicago against the striking unions by portraying the strike as a racist attack on Chicago's "voluntary" "desegregation" plan! PUSH and the Urban

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Young Spartacus

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Editorial Board: Bonnie Brodie (editor), Steve Mitchell, Emily Tanner
Production manager: Dorie Reed

Circulation manager: Irene Gardner

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No. 112

October 1983

SYL Fights Anti-Communist Censorship at Howard U.

Who Is Bobby Seale and What Is He Afraid Of?

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Howard University was recently the scene of a cowardly attack on a black Spartacus Youth League (SYL) supporter, physically preventing him from addressing a public meeting featuring ex-Black Panther Party leader Bobby Seale on September 27, sponsored by the National Organization of Black University and College Students (NOBUCS). Seale came to "talk capitalism" and preach the possibility of "making it" in the system—effectively spitting on the struggle of his former Panther comrades. The SYL leaflet protesting NOBUCS' anti-communist censorship, reprinted below, hit the Howard campus like a bombshell. Students angered by NOBUCS' self-appointed role as thought cops snapped up the statement while NOBUCS' defenders engaged in spirited debate at the SYL literature table. The leaflet was printed as a letter to the student newspaper, *The Hilltop*, but with a "deletion" of our reference to the massive student protest last year around the expulsion of then-editor Janice McKnight. On the same page, the news editors—flunkies for Howard president James Cheek—ran an editorial (7 October) looking awfully like a piece of CIA "disinformation" criticizing the unnamed "former *Hilltop* editor" for running up a debt, while objecting to "the ridiculous rumors circulating campus that President Cheek has censored the *Hilltop*...."

In addition to the controversy over NOBUCS' own version of political censorship, Seale's degeneration from a militant and courageous fighter against racist oppression to a pro-capitalist hustler not above even attempting a "debate" with Ku Klux Klan "Imperial Wizard" Bill Wilkinson, has sparked broader interest in the question: What happened to the Black Panther Party? Students expecting to get some answers from Seale on this score were instead advised on how to hustle the capitalist system.

The Spartacist League/SYL simultaneously defended the Black Panther



Young Spartacus Photo

Howard University, September 19: Bobby Seale and NOBUCS goons prevent SYL spokesman (right) from speaking.

Party (BPP) against the brutal state repression which ultimately wiped out or locked up the bulk of the Panther leadership, while seeking to win Panther militants to our Marxist program. We characterized the BPP as "the one [nationalist] organization which has struggled, in a contradictory way, to remain independent of the bourgeois establishment.... As a consequence they were the only organization of militant black struggle to acquire a national following, attracting many of the most serious black radicals" ("What Strategy for Black Liberation?", *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5R). While Martin Luther King, Jr. advocated turning the other cheek against cop and Klan violence—at the same time supporting the use of deadly police force to quell the Watts ghetto rebellion in 1965—the Panthers demanded and organized armed self-defense in the ghettos. Seale, for example, led an armed demonstration outside the California state capitol in Sacramento while the politicians inside debated gun control.

But while the Panthers' radical impulses led them to oppose the murderous capitalist state at home and side with "Third World" revolutionists in Vietnam, their nationalism was a fundamental obstacle to finding the road to socialist revolution in the United States. Blacks in America do not constitute a nation—but rather an oppressed race-color caste, forcibly segregated at the bottom of the economy. Black workers, concentrated in key industries, will necessarily be at the head of the united class-struggle fight to overthrow the racist capitalist order. But the Panthers' glorification of black unemployed ghetto youth as the revolutionary vanguard, and their dismissal of all employed workers—black and white—as hopelessly bought-off, led them to a dead end. The "warrior-hero" cult was substituted for revolutionary program. Tragically, the Panthers' isolation from the working class rendered them more vulnerable in the face of the state's filthy COINTELPRO campaign of murder and frame-up.

The cops and FBI embarked on an unremitting assault against the BPP: Chicago Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered as they slept in their beds; to this day Geronimo Pratt languishes in San Quentin—a Panther political prisoner jailed on a trumped-up murder charge. Free him now! Under the guns of the FBI/cop vendetta, the Panthers moved sharply to the right. Influenced by the cravenly reformist Communist Party, the Panthers launched in 1969 the abortive United Front Against Fascism which sought to create an alliance of everyone to the left of Nixon on a civil libertarian basis. This turn toward mainstream reformism forced an open split between the "guerrillaist" wing, whose best-known spokesman was Eldridge Cleaver, and the pro-liberal faction of Huey Newton and Seale.

While Cleaver degenerated into a despicable mouthpiece for the ultrarightist cult of Sun Myung Moon, Seale made his own peace with the status quo. In 1973, Seale ran for mayor of Oakland as a Democrat; ever since he has shamelessly pimped for the party of war and racism, grabbing a piece of the capitalist "pie" for himself with, for example, his "Barbecuing with Bobby" cookbook.

The Spartacist tendency warned Panther militants against the dangerous right turn their leadership was taking at the time of Seale's Oakland campaign. In an "Open Letter to the Ranks of the Black Panther Party on the Oakland Elections" (reprinted in *Workers Vanguard* No. 18, April 1973) we wrote:

"By raising your demands within the confines of capitalism, you are helping to maintain the illusion that capitalism can be systematically reformed! In fact, comrades, Bobby Seale himself is now campaigning openly as a member of the bosses' Democratic Party. In a recent speech at Laney College in Oakland, Seale ridiculed the 'white radicals' who seek revolutionary solutions. In effect Seale is repudiating the BPP's past—the struggles that grew out of the revolutionary class hatred of ghetto youth against the agents of their oppression...."

"We hope that you comrades will recognize the disastrous right turn of the Black Panther Party and will struggle to replace the present BPP line of support for black Democrats, black churches, black cops and black capitalists with a revolutionary working-class perspective."

In the absence of a revolutionary Marxist alternative, many of the best and most committed fighters against racist oppression were either annihilated by the state or politically demoralized/co-opted into bourgeois electoralism. Revolutionary leadership is key to winning the American revolution—an integrated working-class revolution that

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Vengeance for Patrick Mason!

OAKLAND—Cries of "Vengeance!" rang out in front of the California State Building here October 6 as 100 outraged demonstrators protested a Workers' Compensation Appeals Board ruling which awarded a \$35,000 bounty to Orange County killer cop Anthony Sperl for the "psychological damage" he claimed to have suffered as a result of murdering a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, as Mason sat watching TV in his bedroom last March 3. Demonstrators chanted "No Reward for Killer Cop! Racist Murder Must Be Stopped!" and "Hey Hey, No Way, Put That Killer Cop Away!" and demanded \$20 million in compensation for Patrick's mother, Patricia Ridge. The demonstration was sponsored by the Labor/Black League for Social Defense, and included speakers from the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth League, African People's Socialist

Party, Berkeley Gay and Lesbian Union, Willie Lee Bell from the Civil Rights Committee of International Association of Machinists Local 739, a member of the Oakland teachers union, and John George, chairman of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors. Two of the demonstration participants joined the Labor/Black League for Social Defense and 12 others indicated an interest in joining. Another demonstration sponsored by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League was held the same day in Los Angeles and was advertised by black radio stations KJLH, KACE and KDAY and covered by Channel 11 news. Down with the State's \$35,000 Bounty to Killer Cop for Cold-Blooded Murder of Five-Year-Old Black Child! \$20 Million for Patricia Ridge! Life Behind Bars Must Be the Only Reward for Anthony Sperl! Vengeance for Patrick Mason! ■



Young Spartacus Photos

Down with \$35,000 bounty for killer cop Sperl! October 6 demos in Oakland (left) and Los Angeles (above).

Cult Leader Moon Unleashes... Campus Shock Troops for Anti-Soviet War Drive

The Moonies—those flower-peddling zombies belonging to the purportedly religious cult of Sun Myung Moon—have become well-organized and aggressive shock troops for America's anti-Soviet war drive. Seizing on the downing of KAL 007—Reagan's made-to-order Cold War provocation against the Soviet Union—the Moonies' "Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles" (CARP) organized instant anti-communist, warmongering demonstrations on campuses throughout the country—from Columbia to Madison to Berkeley. Whatever military and intelligence objectives the U.S. intended when a planeload of unknowing civilians was sent deep inside Soviet airspace, the Reaganites also had narrower political aims: to mobilize anti-Communist hysteria in support of their insane nuclear first-strike schemes. The sinister Moon cult was quick to oblige. Moonies burned Soviet flags and effigies, ranted about the need to "outlaw communism" and attacked the occasional bystander (or presumed critic). KAL 007 offered Moon's minions the opportunity to further their bid for "legitimacy" among elements of the Reagan Right as well as to propagandize on behalf of the bloody South Korean dictatorship and promote Moon's own views on the necessity of World War III:

"The Third World War is going to be that in which God intends to restore, as

Anti-Soviet frenzy: Crazy Moonie takes baseball bat to burning Andropov effigy in Washington, D.C.



World Student Times

tion to march even into Peking and Moscow."

These ravings are reminiscent of the Nazis' exhortation "*Deutschland, erwache!*" While the Moonies are not a fascist movement—they are neither a terrorist organization nor do they espouse a fake-populist ideology—

the termination of civil rights for any group, including Communists. Our literature shows that very clearly." Of course, the Moonie literature shows very clearly just the opposite. As the SYL pointed out in a letter to the *Spectator* (which had to be distributed at Columbia in leaflet form, thanks to the editorial prejudices of the *Spectator* which saw fit to print Moonie apologia but not leftist exposure of Moonie lies):

"Mike Jacua lies outright in his letter. A bystander reportedly mistaken by the Moonies as an active counterdemonstrator was beaten up; Jacua conveniently omits this incident from his litany of 'apologies.' Jacua also dismisses the Moonies' slogan 'Outlaw Communism' as something said in the 'heat of the moment'.... But the Moonie demonstrators in fact carried a large banner (not to mention the balloon pictured in the *Columbia Spectator*, 15 September) emblazoned with the slogan 'Outlaw Communism'—obviously something not simply slipped out in the 'heat' of the moment."

The SYL leaflet also pointed out that "what passes for 'argument' with the Moonies often involves violence and provocation against the left as well as a good dose of lies." At the University of Illinois at Chicago (Circle) campus in May 1981, some 20 Moonies jumped

demonstrators from the Circle Organizing Committee on El Salvador, effectively breaking up the rally; one protester was arrested.

Regular readers of *Young Spartacus* will recall the provocative "counterdemonstration" of Conservative Club members and Moonies which attempted unsuccessfully to shut down an SYL-sponsored forum on Poland at Harvard University in 1981. Phony assault charges were then brought against an SYL supporter in an attempt to jail him and possibly legalize our campus organization. A recent issue of the *World Student Times* similarly brags that a Moonie at Cal State Los Angeles provoked a Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) member into a physical confrontation "resulting in the Marxist group's being kicked off campus."

The most recent Moonie offensive on American campuses, using KAL 007 to whip up anti-Soviet, anti-Communist hysteria, has been but sporadically opposed by leftists and anti-Moonie students. Potential targets of this repugnant cult—which ruins young lives, destroys the cultural and family ties of its recruits, and controls the most intimate details of cult members' lives in the service of anti-Soviet Armageddon—had better counter the Moonie danger with effective protest and exposure. The cowardice and the social-patriotism of most of the U.S. "left" disarms them before the Moonie provocations—because their whole reformist strategy is based on cozying up to liberal Democrats, who are no less anti-Soviet than Reagan and help lead the chorus to make the Russians pay for America's deadly serious KAL 007 war games. However, some students are apparently disgusted by crude anti-Soviet warmongering; thus several individuals at Columbia reportedly attempted to rescue the Soviet flag before the Moonies could put it to the torch.

Moon promoted his U.S. operation through recruitment of student youth. Robert Boettcher in *Gifts of Deceit* quotes Moon:

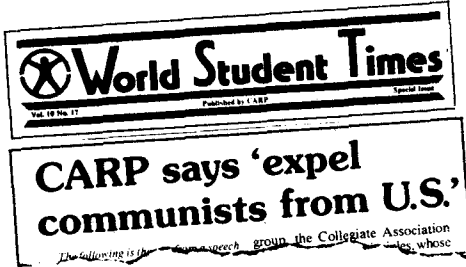
"That is what we want to do because universities are the crucible in which young Americans are formed. So if we can get hold of those, then we can move out into politics, into economics, and so on."

"The attraction of American youth to Moon was seen as a welcome offset to the disturbing leftist student activities of the late sixties," Boettcher writes. Just as the Moonies provided ready-made pro-Nixon rallies during Watergate's end-game days, lobbied on behalf of South Vietnam, South Korea, and the Lon Nol government in Cambodia ("using phony letterheads of ad hoc committees fabricated for the occasion," Boettcher says), the cult now sees its chance to offer Cold War II "rent-a-rallies" on the campuses.

The House subcommittee investigating Koreagate in the late '70s—on which Boettcher served as staff director—

continued on page 9

— Moonie "Heavenly Deception" —



Letter to Columbia Spectator, September 15, 1983

the demonstrators responded with "Commies Off Campus." No, CARP does not support the termination of civil rights for any group, including Communists. Our literature shows that very clearly.

Moonie World Student Times (WST) headline demands expulsion of reds from U.S. while Columbia Moonie spokesman denies their support for "the termination of civil rights for any group, including Communists."

the final measure since He began the providence of restoration, the ideal world by having the democratic world subjugate the communist world."
—*Divine Principle*, 1973

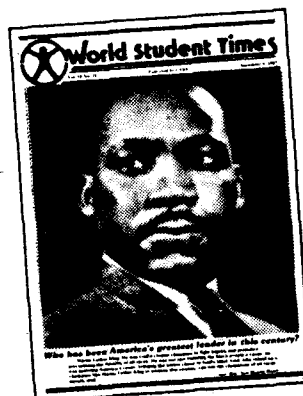
So in Chicago, Ohio and Washington, D.C., Moon's organization joined with Republican politicians or College Republicans in staging anti-Soviet spectacles. A special issue of the Moonies' anti-communist rag, *World Student Times*, reports the speech delivered by CARP national director Joon Ho Seuk at a September 8 rally in Washington "commemorating" numero uno John Bircher Larry McDonald, the witchhunting/Klan-beloved Congressman who was aboard 007. Headlined "CARP says 'expel communists from U.S.," the article quotes Seuk:

"Now the communist invasion has spread to the very neighborhoods of the United States. Their target has always been the White House.... "Next, we urge the American government and people to unite together to expel the communists from the United States—from its labor unions and its college campuses.... "American people, *wake up*. You have a responsibility that goes beyond America's borders. Let us have the determina-

Moon and Hitler share some things in common. According to Moon's *Divine Principle* "due to the faithlessness of the Jewish people" Jesus was unable to finish his job of "subjugating that world centering on Satan" and therefore, "there must come the Third World War." Too, there is Moon's manifest ambitions to emerge from the ashes of nuclear holocaust as the supreme leader of the "free world," getting rid of "communists" and other servants of Satan in the process.

The Hitlerite Big Lie method is also integral to Moon's operations; the Moonies call it "heavenly deception" in cult lingo. A minor but revealing example of this was Columbia CARP spokesman Mike Jacua's lying letter to the *Columbia Spectator*, submitted in an apparent attempt to take the heat off after the Moonies' violent assault on a student bystander. Jacua wrote that "several things were said by speakers in the heat of the moment which do not represent CARP's ideology.... Specifically, the demonstrators started chanting 'Outlaw Communism' at one point.... No, CARP does not support

— More "Heavenly Deception" —



WST (9 September) lauded King; carried article on August 27 March in Washington titled "Entering a new era for civil rights." September 30 issue prints above cartoon: quite another line on the liberal demonstration.

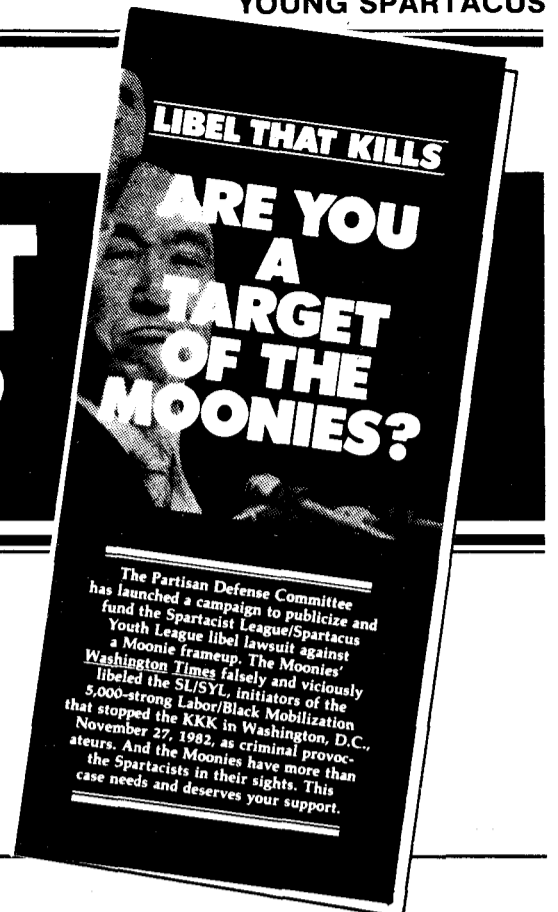
LIBEL THAT KILLS

ARE YOU A TARGET OF THE MOONIES?

The Partisan Defense Committee has launched a campaign to publicize and fund the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League libel lawsuit against a Moonie frame-up. The Moonies' Washington Times falsely and viciously libeled the SL/SYL, initiators of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization

that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C., November 27, 1982, as criminal provocateurs. And the Moonies have more than the Spartacists in their sights. This case needs and deserves your support.

We reprint below the text of the Partisan Defense Committee's recently issued brochure.



ARE YOU A TARGET OF THE MOONIES?

Who is this supremely arrogant Sun Myung Moon who thinks he is "Lord of the Second Advent," better than Jesus Christ? Look at his Unification Church which systematically destroys families because it says that only Moon is the "True Parent." Who has not read or heard stories of anguished parents whose children have been ripped away by Moon's deceitful cult? His young victims are brainwashed and turned out as those glassy-eyed flower-peddlers at airports and street corners who work round the clock to earn cash for their "messiah" who resides on a \$600,000 estate, owns a yacht or two and manages a corporate empire which spans three continents. Moon attempts to control the

most intimate aspects of the lives of his Moonies. Who did not view with horror and pity the arranged mass marriage of thousands in Madison Square Garden? Designated couples consummate the act only at the behest of the Unification Church authorities.

The Moonies are a highly dangerous ultrarightist political cult with a religious facade. This multimillionaire with his South Korean munitions plant has big, sick ideas for America. And Moon has already gone further than most people would care to know.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) have filed a libel suit against the Moonies' publishing arm, the Times-Tribune Corporation, which owns and operates the Washington Times. The Moonies have targeted the SL/SYL because these Marxist organizations were the initiators and principal organizers of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on

November 27, 1982. It was the largest and most effective protest against the fascists in decades. By stopping the Klan in the nation's capital, a 70 percent black city, a direct blow was struck against the growing racist terror in this country.

The Moonie libel does not merely attempt to discredit the successful anti-fascist mobilization, it is *libel that kills*. In targeting the SL/SYL as would-be cop-killers, the Moonies are trying to set up these socialists to be shot first and questioned later. The Spartacists take on this suit in self-defense. But you don't have to be a Marxist to be on the Moonie hit list. That is why we ask: Are you a target of the Moonies? You do not have to agree with the Spartacist League to oppose this growing Moonie danger which has found a powerful and sinister weapon with their control of a libelous daily paper in the nation's capital. That is why this case against Moonie libel deserves your careful attention and support.

THE LIBEL

On November 30, 1982 the Moonies' Washington Times published a feature article about the protest which stopped the KKK on November 27, with the headline: "Left-wing group linked to D.C. riot." In this article they falsely accuse the Spartacists of "provoking violence" against the police. Making up the most dangerous lies from whole cloth, the Moonies accuse the Spartacists of handing out rocks and "heavy metal bolts" to "even children" to throw at the police, while refusing to hand out political posters to non-members. The Moonies smear the Spartacists as a violent, criminal, paramilitary, terrorist outfit whose members wear "blue, black or red berets according to their rank."

The Moonie charges are as false as they are dangerous. The Moonies falsely brand the SL as provocateurs and criminals who should be treated as outlaws, denied the democratic rights of free speech and political association. The SL is a Marxist political organization with more than 20 years of public political activity in America, including running candidates for elected public office. Over the past several years, the Spartacists have been particularly active in initiating five successful mass labor- and black-centered protests against Nazi and KKK provocations in major urban centers.

More than lies, the Moonie libel of the Spartacists as



The Moonies' "alternative voice" for the extreme right viciously libels SL/SYL as paramilitary outlaws.

would-be cop-killers sets up the SL/SYL for police harassment and violence, right-wing provocation, and stepped-up government surveillance and disruption. As the Spartacist League stated on June 14, the day the libel lawsuit was filed, "Especially now when the government's new FBI domestic security/terrorism 'guidelines' promise increased infiltration and witch-hunting of 'violent' and 'terrorist' groups, we must fight the Moonie libel. We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims who can, with impunity, be blown away in the dead of night."

The Moonies have more than the SL/SYL in their sights. Their libel goes after every participant in that lawful assembly on November 27, a massive protest as orderly and disciplined as it was determined to stop the Klan. The Moonies want to destroy the leadership and

discredit the strategy which works: militant black and white workers and other oppressed people in mass mobilizations to stop the fascists. They smear the good names of the endorsers of the Labor/Black Mobilization, including over 70 trade-union officials, locals and executive boards. The Moonie libel attacks decent people everywhere who hailed this victory over fascist terror as their own—people who knew that if the Klan took the streets of the nation's capital for the first time since 1925 it would mean even more racist violence: more burning crosses, more black families' homes firebombed.

The KKK and Nazis are the terrorist expression of increasing racism in America. In the poisonous climate of growing racist terror and police brutality even a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, has been shot dead in his own home, while his killer, an Orange County, California cop, has gone free. A black family, the Taylors, were beaten and jailed when they went South to attend a family funeral. A black transit worker, Willie Turks, was beaten to death by a racist mob in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn. And, remember the five dead in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The Spartacist League or anyone else must have the right to organize against Klan/Nazi terror without being subject to frameup by the Moonies and their press. As the SL warned, "If the Moon cult prevails in their libel of us, any group or individual in the lead of struggle against fascist terror will be marked for destruction."

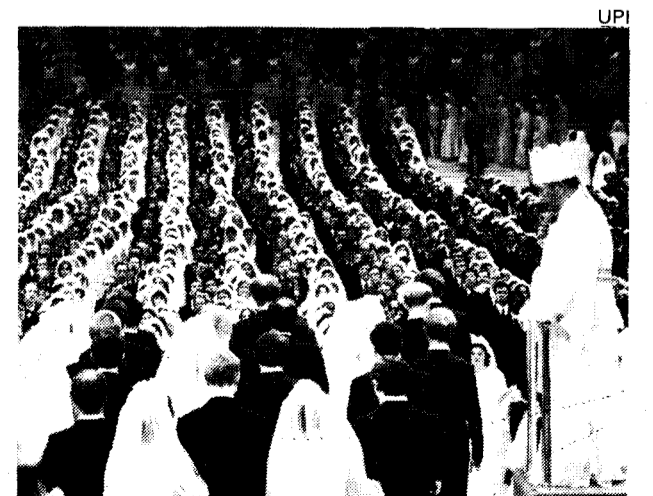
WHAT DOES MOON WANT?

The U.S. Congressional Subcommittee investigating U.S.-Korean relations concluded in 1978 that "among the goals of the Moon Organization is the establishment of a worldwide government in which the separation of church and state would be abolished and which would be governed by Moon and his followers."

The Moonie danger is global as Moon crusades for Armageddon against what he calls "Satanic Communism." From El Salvador and Honduras to Uruguay the Moonies have funneled millions of dollars into their global anti-communist fronts, aiding the bloody dictators, death squads and *contras* responsible for the deaths of over 100,000 workers, peasants and leftists in

the last five years alone. The president of the Moon operation in Central America is Honduran army chief, General Gustavo Alvarez, the minister of "disappearances" and death squads. From South Africa to Washington, D.C. the Moonies have found allies among those who support apartheid and the Ku Klux Klan.

Moon is still fighting the Korean War. And, using big bucks made under the protection and promotion of the South Korean government, Moon is driving for respectability and influence in the U.S. The method to accomplish it? "Heavenly deception," the Moonies call it. The Congressional Subcommittee concluded that "to create an image of power and respectability for himself and his movement," Moon used prominent figures "who had no idea they were contributing to Moon's plan for world theocracy." The Subcommittee noted further that "seemingly philanthropic projects were in reality geared toward [Moon's] ambitious and



Moonie mass marriage of more than 2,000 couples in Madison Square Garden.

UPI

carefully thought out plans for winning control and influence over political and other secular institutions." (For example, of the \$1.5 million collected in 1975 for the Moonies' Children's Relief Fund in Korea with the help of the New Right's godfather, Richard A. Viguerie, only 6.3 percent went to children.)

In the U.S. the fanatically anti-communist Moonies, like the KKK and Nazis, have found fertile ground on the fringes of the new Cold War. This dangerous political cult which crusades against separation of church and state sees its big chance in the theocratically inclined New Right and Moral Majority.

At the center of a publishing empire devoted to "heavenly deception" and Moon's "holy war" for

respectability and influence is the *Washington Times*. Following the axiom that freedom of the press belongs to the man that owns one, Moon founded the daily in the nation's capital with an estimated \$50 million. The *Washington Times* operates as Moon's voice of the ultraright in the nation's capital. The Times-Tribune Corporation also operates the daily *New York Tribune*. And these "heavenly deceivers" are also trying to penetrate socially active sections of American society through a weekly directed at black people in Harlem, and another directed at Hispanics.

The *Washington Times* is the key link in the Moonie-New Right chain of reaction, and the Moonies' most expensive bid for influence in the U.S.

The mainstream Republican Ripon Society found the *Washington Times* a particularly disturbing development which "signaled a quantum jump in Moon's media aspirations." They warned of the Moonies' ominous "campaign to influence the highest levels of our government. The resurgent 'New Right' political movement, elements of the Republican Party, and the media all are in danger of being manipulated by Reverend Moon" (*Ripon Forum*, January 1983).

The Moonie danger can be attacked by supporting the Spartacist libel lawsuit. A victory in this case can help spike the Moonies' bid for respectability and influence. The *Washington Times*' libels that kill can be exposed. If not, who knows who will be next?

THE TARGETS

Moon's enemies list is sweeping. In a recent editorial marking the change of format and name of Moon's New York City daily newspaper, the Moonies vowed to "rise up in a crusade" to "liberate... especially the Russian people." But the Moonie "liberation," as they put it, "must not stop with communism, but embrace every country and creed." The many and various targets of the Moonies will not want to be "embraced." These include:

Public Opponents of the Moonies—Those who openly challenge or even criticize Moon and his Unification Church. Moon has threatened, "every people or every organization that goes against the Unification Church will... drastically come down and die."

Minneapolis mayor Donald Fraser, who as a U.S. Congressman chaired the Subcommittee which exposed much of the Moon operation, has been subjected to a Moonie vendetta. When the Subcommittee found that "organizations connected with [Moon] maintained operational ties with the Government of South Korea, and specifically the Korean Central Intelligence Agency" (*New York Times*, 5 August 1977), the Moonies labeled Fraser a Soviet "agent of influence." They threw Moonie money and personnel into a campaign to make sure Fraser was defeated (narrowly) in a subsequent Senatorial primary election.

Black Communities and Churches—This racist Moon says, "Orientals can contribute in the spiritual aspect, white people can contribute in the analytic, scientific area while black people can contribute in the physical area." Black ministers of Harlem Council for the Church and Community Change denounced the Moonies in a statement in March 1983 noting, "The Unification Church uses the poverty of Black people to infiltrate and attempt to make us dependent upon them."

Jewish People—Dredging up the anti-Semitic filth of the Nazis and their latter-day apologists for the holocaust, Moon has said that "by killing one man, Jesus, the Jewish people had to suffer for 2000 years.... During the Second World War, 6 million people were slaughtered to cleanse all the sins of the



Workers Vanguard Photo

The Moonies' libel targets militant anti-fascist action.

Jewish people...."

Opponents of Right-Wing Terror in Central America—Moon has concrete ties with the death squad governments of El Salvador and Honduras. In the U.S. the Moonies campaign for those "moderately authoritarian" regimes Jeane Kirkpatrick likes best. The *San Francisco Chronicle* disclosed in 1981 that the pro-Salvadoran junta group with which the Moonies were working "was providing junta officials with the names and photos of government opponents who live in the Bay Area."

Religious Organizations and Defenders of the Separation of Church and State—In 1976 a panel of Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish leaders denounced the Moonie cult as "anti-Christian, anti-Jewish and antidemocratic" (*New York Times*, 30 December 1976). For Moon (who was thrown out of the Presbyterian Church in Korea in 1948), those who practice religion outside his Unification Church are in the sway of Satan, and will be treated accordingly. Moon's enemies include civil libertarians of all sorts

who want to keep the church separate from the state and the government out of the bedroom.

The separation of church and state is both a secular and sacred foundation of American democratic principle. Its achievement was an important step forward for civilization and human freedom that must be defended against Moon's drive toward theocracy.

Who Is Next?—The *Washington Times* has depicted the Maryknoll nuns as red terrorists. Who next will be smeared and framed up with impunity? The black church leaders who bolted Moon's orbit? A union protesting the virtual slave labor operations which account for part of Moon's vast wealth? The next Congressman who blows the whistle on Moonie influence-buying or shady deals? A journalist exposing Moonie connections to domestic and foreign intelligence agencies? An unsuspecting professor, angry at being conned into lending his name and reputation to a Moon-sponsored "symposium"? Or will it be your child drawn into the Moonie cult and turned into a money-earning zombie for this "new messiah"?

WE NEED YOUR HELP

A victory against the Moonie libel and setup of the SL/SYL will punch a hole in the dangerous designs of Sun Myung Moon. But it will be a tough fight.

To succeed will require broad support and a lot of money. The Moonies have legions of lawyers and right-wing connections in high places. Moon's seemingly bottomless well of cash comes from more than bilking his flower-peddling victims/followers. He also controls a worldwide corporate empire and receives backing from Japanese industrialists who are self-proclaimed fascists.

The Spartacists have truth on their side. The Spartacist League also has a proud record of

successfully fighting for its reputation against slander and setup. In 1981 it sued then California attorney general Deukmejian for including it among a list of terrorists "with which law enforcement would have to deal." The SL/SYL obtained a retraction which the California attorney general sent to police agencies throughout the country. But it will take more than truth to win against this dangerous and super-rich cult.

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—has launched a campaign to help pay for and publicize this important legal battle, and we need your help. This libel suit is the instrument to strike back against the Moonies' most important thrust for influence and power in this country, the *Washington Times*. This suit for \$20 million and the public exposure can hit the Moonies where they live.

The SL is proud of its Marxist honesty, so vastly opposite to the Moonies' "heavenly deception." The fact that the SL clearly states what it stands for has been appreciated by many who stand in sharp political opposition to the Spartacists. For instance, U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan remarked during a Harvard speech, while he was UN ambassador, that the Spartacists "sail under their own colors." He read aloud from a Spartacist leaflet which stated the intention "to build a socialist youth organization which can intervene in all social struggles with a revolutionary program based on the politics of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky." Daniel Moynihan concluded: "It is doubtless perverse to do so, but I happen to find that an honorable statement of purpose" (*Commentary*, December 1972).

Everyone on the Moonie hit list has a stake in this case, whether or not they agree with the political views of the Spartacist League. The SL/SYL stated upon filing the libel lawsuit:

"As a genuine Marxist internationalist organization dedicated to a future socialist America, we have more than enough enemies. We are now going to court because we know this: if the Moonie cult prevails, the cops will have a reason and an excuse to shoot on sight. And we are a precious resource. As capitalism spins off toward World War III we are America's last, best hope. The future may pose the choice between proletarian revolution and some kill-crazy dictator to the liking of Sun Myung Moon. Those who disagree with our Marxist aims should understand that we are being attacked by sinister forces hostile to the democratic political and cultural values prized by a wide spectrum of the American people. The Moonies are not only trying to wipe out the Spartacist League, but liberties we all treasure. It is in this sense that our fight against the Moonie libel is also yours."

Your generous financial support and endorsement is urgently needed to win this lawsuit. ■

Sources

Citations and supporting facts were drawn from the following source materials:

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- Washington Post*, 28 August 1983, "Moon's 'Cause' Takes Aim at Communism in Americas"

Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____

I endorse/ My organization endorses the libel lawsuit of the SL/SYL.
(Endorsement indicates willingness to permit your name or your organization's name to be used to publicize this lawsuit.)

I would like to work with the PDC.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Phone _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Organization _____

Make checks payable/send to:
Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013 • (212) 732-7861

Defend the Soviet Union...

(continued from page 1)

airspace since January 1982 when Reagan suspended Aeroflot service after Polish Solidarność bid for counterrevolution was spiked. The exceptions which have occurred contain an interesting story—and certainly not one that confirms Washington's claims that Soviet "infractions" of U.S. airspace are allowed owing to the "humanitarian" values of the Western world. In 1981, according to the State Department:

"...two Aeroflot flights...left their normal course to fly over a Strategic Air Command base and a submarine base in New England. There was no immediate response in those cases because the Soviets, thanks to a bureaucratic foul-up, had received U.S. permission in advance."

—Washington Post, 3 September

The "foul-up"? *Scab* air traffic controllers too incompetent to route the planes, or as the *Post* so delicately put it: "inexperienced air traffic controllers after thousands of striking union controllers had been fired."

The Blood on Reagan's Hands

In this U.S. Cold War provocation, the KAL Boeing 747—closely resembling the American E4B military command center and the B-52 bomber,

Russians. Thus, the Democrats have been out-Reaganning Reagan, demanding a "tougher" anti-Soviet response from Washington. New York's Democratic Party governor Mario Cuomo forbade Soviet Foreign Minister and UN delegation head Andrei Gromyko from landing at civilian airports in New York state in order to speak at the UN!

"Being a liberal" didn't stop Truman from dropping the atom bomb on hundreds of thousands of Japanese civilians; it didn't stop Kennedy from threatening the world with nuclear holocaust during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis; and it didn't stop Johnson from trying to "bomb Vietnam back into the Stone Age." There is *no* crime which the imperialist bourgeoisie will not commit in its drive to reconquer the USSR for capitalist exploitation.

Pentagon Goes Beyond MADness

The KAL 007 episode grows out of not only the historic, irreversible hostility of U.S. imperialism to the gains of the Russian October Revolution—which uprooted capitalist rule in one-sixth of the globe—but also more immediately from American military "strategic thinking," which is based on preparations for a nuclear first strike against the USSR. This strategy is known as "counterforce." Rather than immediately hitting Soviet civilian population centers (which was American strategy from the mid-1940s until the mid-1960s

example, Democratic presidential hopefuls Walter Mondale (Carter's vice president when PD-59 was issued) and Alan Cranston are running as "freeze" candidates. At best the "freeze" is meaningless. But for an influential section of the U.S. ruling class, the "freeze" is intended to free up Pentagon money which, after all, is not unlimited, for *more conventional weapons*.

It is far from an accident that two of the leading proponents of the "freeze" and "no first use" of nuclear weapons, Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy, were principal architects of the Vietnam War. As Kennedy's secretary of defense and national security adviser respectively, McNamara and Bundy were leading advocates of a "flexible response" to "Communist aggression" (i.e., social revolution). Vietnam—upon which the U.S. dropped more bombs than the entire tonnage dropped by all combatants in World War II!—was intended to be the testing ground for this "flexible response." Instead the incredible heroism of the Vietnamese people inflicted upon U.S. imperialism the greatest and most humiliating defeat in its history.

Today the American ruling class would like to go back to the pre-Vietnam era when it constantly engaged in threats to "nuke the reds." According to the *New York Times* (3 August 1980), during the Korean War then-president Harry Truman "twice considered using the threat of nuclear war against China and the Soviet Union." In his memoirs Richard Nixon stated that, faced with the impending defeat of French colonialism in Vietnam in 1954, "the NSC [National Security Council] planning board had been discussing the possibility of telling our allies that if we went into Indochina, we might use the atom bomb." And in 1962, the year of the Cuban missile crisis, Kennedy told reporters that "Khrushchev must not be certain that, where our vital interests are threatened, the United States will not strike first." It is only the Soviet nuclear arsenal—its second-strike capacity—which has up to now kept U.S. imperialism from striking first.

The Cold War Is a Class War

Today U.S. imperialism sees its "vital interests" threatened by the leftist guerrilla insurgency in El Salvador, by the resistance of the Palestinian people of the Near East to Zionist oppression, by the struggle of South African blacks against apartheid, by the rebellions against the U.S. puppet Marcos in the Philippines. Behind every struggle for social justice anywhere in the world, the imperialists see the hand of "Soviet aggression" and fear the "creation of Marxist states."

After the Russian Revolution, the young Soviet republic was invaded by 14 capitalist nations, including the United States. The Red Army led by Leon Trotsky defeated the counterrevolutionary Russian white armies and the imperialist invaders. But the Civil War exacted a terrible toll: the working class which made the revolution was decimated. A conservative, nationalist and counterrevolutionary bureaucracy, led by Joseph Stalin, began to consolidate its power under the conditions of imperialist encirclement, the physical destruction of the Soviet proletariat, and the defeat of working-class uprisings abroad—particularly in Germany, and later China. Abandoning the Leninist/Bolshevik perspective for international proletarian revolution as the only means to secure the gains of the October Revolution, Stalin & Co. proclaimed the theory of "socialism in one country" and carried out a bloody political counterrevolution against the defenders of Bolshevism. It was Leon Trotsky and his followers who fought against this bureaucratic degeneration, who defended the banner of the Third International and the institutions of workers democracy within Soviet Russia against the Stalinist usurpers. The

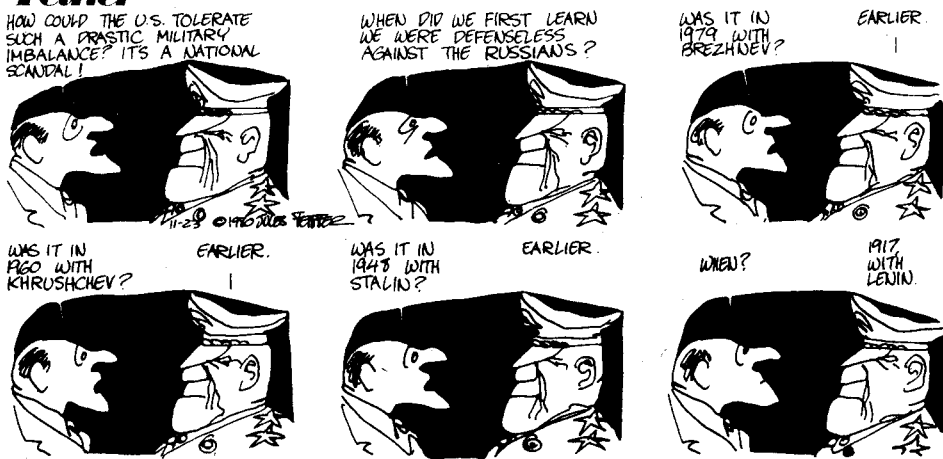
victory of Stalin's political counterrevolution led to the conscious *sabotage* of revolutionary struggles from Spain in the late 1930s to France and Italy after World War II—all under the banner of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Today, as the Nicaraguan revolution is menaced by U.S. war moves, Stalin's heirs declare that "Nicaragua is vulnerable and lies outside the Soviet shield."

But if the U.S. imperialists think that the Stalinists' policy of "détente" means abject capitulation by the Russians to the extent of not defending their own borders, the imperialists are dangerously wrong. The present Soviet leadership was shaped by the experience of World War II. Stalin's criminal appeasement of German imperialism and lack of military preparedness—for instance, permitting continuous overflights of Soviet territory as a preliminary part of the Nazis' "Operation Barbarossa"—exacerbated the military vulnerability of the Soviet Union in the war which cost the Soviets 20 million dead. The downing of KAL 007—dispatched deep into Soviet territory by imperialist spy agencies, refusing to identify itself and ignoring instructions to land—was a defensive act not only from the point of view of the Stalinist bureaucracy, but also from the viewpoint of the interests of the world working class which must defend the remaining gains of the Russian Revolution against imperialist attack.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has betrayed the Russian Revolution, but they have not overthrown it. As Trotsky wrote: "...a victorious revolution is fortunately not only a program and a banner, not only political institutions, but also a system of social relations." The social relations established through the October Revolution—the nationalization of the land, the means of industrial production, transport and exchange, together with the state monopoly of foreign trade—remain in the USSR today as historic acquisitions of the working class, and evoke the implacable hostility of imperialism. Those fake leftists like the Socialist Workers Party who evade the necessity of defending the USSR against imperialism and merely criticize the U.S. government's "hypocrisy"—and still worse, groups like the International Socialist Organization who label the Soviet Union an "imperialist superpower" and echo Reagan's charge that the downing of KAL 007 was an "atrocious"—willy nilly find themselves in the camp of the U.S. State Department. Trotskyists stand for *unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union* and as part of that perspective fight for a proletarian political revolution to oust the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy.

The arrogant imperialists with their nuclear bombs and missiles imagine that they can prolong the life of their decayed system and reverse the process of its historic demise. But the USSR is no pushover. And the Vietnamese showed that U.S. imperialism can be *defeated* despite the technological sophistication of its military machine. Here at home, the desperate conditions produced by capitalist decay—the ominous growth of racist reaction, rampant militarism, depression-level unemployment, union-busting and drastic slashes in social services—drive the working class, oppressed black masses and other minorities into struggle. A revolutionary party can and must intervene in these struggles to direct them politically against the Dr. Strangeloves in the White House and their masters on Wall Street and forward to a workers revolution which will put an end to this racist, capitalist system once and for all. The "vital interests" of the world working class lie in continuing along the path charted by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Defend the Soviet Union! Disarm the imperialists through international socialist revolution! ■

Feiffer



flying without navigation lights and ignoring all Soviet attempts at communication as well as warning shots fired by a Soviet interceptor jet—was ideally suited to the role of bait *not least because there were over 200 innocent civilian passengers aboard*. While an ordinary military spy plane might have served equally well the end of gathering intelligence about "Soviet radar gaps, communications capabilities and chains of command," it was oh-so-convenient to provoke the downing of a passenger plane filled with innocent civilians in order to whip up public opinion against the Russians—thus smoothing the way for the Pershing deployment in Europe and increased commitment (direct U.S. intervention just short of U.S. troops in combat) to the right-wing butchers of El Salvador and the CIA-backed *contras* invading Nicaragua.

The Reagan administration seized on the death of over 200 people, for which it is responsible, in order to secure quick Congressional approval for virtually its entire military budget—including appropriations for nerve gas, the B-1 bomber and the Pentagon's premier first-strike weapon, the MX missile. "The Soviets sure do make it tough to be a liberal in this country," whined Democratic Party Congressman Les Aspin (*Newsweek*, 19 September). But, if any confirmation were needed that there is no such thing as a "liberal" bourgeois politician when it comes to the anti-Soviet war drive, the KAL 007 provocation certainly proves it. Among the many uses to which Reagan & Co. put their KAL Cold War campaign was to remind a squabbling Congress of their main shared interest: get the

when the U.S. enjoyed decisive nuclear superiority), American weapons are to be aimed at Soviet missiles. "Counterforce," euphemistically referred to also as "damage limitation," is a strategy for initiating nuclear war by destroying the Soviet weapons *before* they can be activated.

Presidential Directive (PD) 59, issued in 1980 by the Democratic Carter administration, publicly announced the new "counterforce" strategy, which formally replaced the doctrine of "mutual assured destruction" (MAD). MAD was based on the fatuous idea that nuclear war could be deterred if both the U.S. and USSR possessed enough nuclear weapons to inflict "unacceptable damage" on the other side. This supposed policy, horrifying though it is, was strictly for public consumption, since the U.S. has always planned to *successfully prosecute* a nuclear war and not merely to deter one.

According to then-Pentagon chief Harold Brown, PD-59 was based on a study which sought to "Determine the nuclear strategy that would eliminate the USSR as a functioning national entity" (quoted in Robert C. Aldridge, *First Strike!* [1983]). Brown emphasized that "PD-59 is *not* a new strategic doctrine; it is *not* a radical departure from U.S. strategic policy over the past decade or so." Knocking out the Soviet missiles in a first strike not only requires *more* missiles but *more accurate* missiles, and this is what the U.S. nuclear buildup is all about.

Playing upon the widespread fear that Reagan will launch World War III, many liberal politicians are talking about a "freeze" on more missiles. For

On "Unconditional Military Defense"

At a Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League forum on the KAL 007 provocation held at Columbia University September 30, a representative of the Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist), a small group of "critical" Marcyites based in Connecticut, appeared with a series of "questions"—"Was everything possible first done to force the Korean airliner to land on a Soviet airstrip?... Would it have not been possible to use less lethal measures...?"—about the downing of the KAL jet. Spartacist League Central Committee member Reuben Samuels noted, "What you have done, global class war people, is in the global class war of 007 you have echoed the questions of the bourgeoisie."

During U.S. imperialism's first cold war in the 1950s, a section of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, despairing of the possibility of mobilizing the working class to defend and extend the gains of the Russian Revolution, capitulated politically to

the Stalinist bureaucracy. Styling themselves the "global class warriors," the followers of Sam Marcy combined support to Stalinist repression of the working class (e.g., the crushing of the incipient workers political revolution in Hungary in 1956) with support to bourgeois "progressives" (such as Henry Wallace) in the U.S.

Here we reprint excerpts from Samuels' remarks in response to the RCLI spokesman, in which he explains how the Marcyites' "critical but unconditional support" of Stalinism leads to capitulation to imperialist anti-Sovietism.

So do we hail the downing of the 007 as a great victory? No, not at all. It is simply a necessary defense measure that the Soviet Union had to take and we—who are not defenders of the Stalinist bureaucracy—think that their statements are true and just in this particular case, including about the loss of human life.

Now, your slogan—"critical but unconditional support." What do you do? You see, critical support has to do with *political* support—such as when you're dealing with a candidate. Unconditional defense has to do with the question of *military* support. Now that doesn't mean that we don't have criticisms of tactics, but our support militarily to the outcome of the particular struggle is unconditional—not conditioned by its leadership.

If you're in a strike you have many criticisms of the bureaucracy. But if the bureaucracy calls a strike, and you're on a picket line, your defense of that picket line is unconditional. There's no way you can "critically support" a picket line—that reminds me of the "informational picket lines" you can cross.

When you say "critical but unconditional support" you combine political and military support. You end up giving political support to people who don't deserve any political support, even critical. And you pro-

vide an argument for a half-hearted or no-hearted defense of the military action.

Now while you, the Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist) may have given "critical but unconditional support" to the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan, you were *not among* the 5,000 people who gathered at Constitution and First to stop the Klan from marching down Constitution Avenue. You were in McPherson Square where a diversion was being held—a good section of the Democratic Party establishment told people to go to McPherson Square. There were over 5,000 militant blacks, labor unionists and socialists at First and Constitution. It wasn't a question of masses that carried you over to McPherson Square—it was politics. To confront the Klan, to stop the Klan, to be able to lead that mobilization, you have to be able to address the anti-Soviet war drive which has fueled and emboldened the fascists in this country. So then you wrote your "critical but unconditional" article [praising the Labor/Black Mobilization]. But where were you?

Moonies...

(continued from page 5)

stated that Moon's organization maintained "operational ties with the Government of South Korea, and specifically the Korean Central Intelligence Agency" (*New York Times*, 5 August 1977). "In Korea, Moon was providing anti-Communist indoctrination to government personnel at his training center at Sootaek-ri outside Seoul," Boettcher continues. Meanwhile, extensive ties between Korean Air Lines and the KCIA have been documented, most recently in a National Public Radio program on 26 September by Alan Berlow. He reported that:

"According to Lee [Jai Hyon, former South Korean information officer in the U.S.], while not directly operated by Korean intelligence agencies, KAL is indirectly controlled by these agencies. When they need something done by KAL, Lee said, it's done. I asked Lee if KCIA officers ever fly on KAL jets. Lee: Oh, yes. I know that out of my own personal experience. Yes. There are always KCIA agents flying in the Korean Airlines planes."

According to Berlow, KAL was also responsible for servicing the Korean military by moving equipment and supplies to Vietnam during the Vietnam War.

Moonie agitation around the KAL 007 downing obviously serves a plethora of "masters," particularly given the demonstrable connections between the airline and the Korean spy agency. Moon has meanwhile made good on his promise to "move out into politics." The *Washington Post* (28 August) documented the work of CAUSA—another Moonie organization—which has been "pumping millions of dollars into an anti-communist organizing effort throughout the United States and in much of Central and South America." As we have pointed out, the war against "communism" is no war of words for the right-wing military regimes in the Latin American region. (For more on Moon's connections with the death squad regimes in Latin America, see "Moonie Machinations in Latin America," *Young Spartacus* No. 111, September 1983.) Other Moonie ties reportedly include apartheid South Africa—a connection the cult "conveniently" disappears in their Harlem and student press.

We in the Spartacus Youth League know well the Moonie methods used against the left. The SL and SYL have been libeled and set up by the Moonies' daily *Washington Times* newspaper. That publication smeared us—the principal organizers and initiators of the

Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982—as would-be cop-killers and "violent" criminal organizations. This is libel that kills; it gives the cops and the state a reason and excuse to outlaw us and shoot us on sight. To defend ourselves and all those who participated in the important anti-Klan victory, we have filed a libel lawsuit against the Moonies' publishing arm, the Times-Tribune Corporation. We also intend to use this suit and the issues raised therein to expose and damage Moon's bid for "respectability," a bid enhanced by big bucks and anti-communism. We urge our readers to support this case financially and otherwise. Many of you are targets of the Moonies (see "Libel that Kills—Are You a Target of the Moonies?", this issue). The Moon cult is dangerous and in deadly earnest: their lies cannot go unexposed, their provocations cannot go unanswered. ■

Taylors...

(continued from page 12)

ble \$400,000 in bonds were the Taylors released. The fact that "Yankee" black auto workers heroically defended themselves has put the racists on a rampage. A wave of police terror in the Montgomery area has left three blacks dead and two wounded. And even as the Taylors sat in the Montgomery jail, the KKK trampled on the memory of Annie Bell Taylor, shooting up and ransacking the Taylor home and painting it with Klan slogans and racist epithets, while it supposedly was "under surveillance" by their buddies in blue. Now, in a trial set to start October 24 in the state where the Confederate flag of the slavocracy still flies above the Capitol dome, a decent black family faces the Southern "justice" of a vicious frame-up that could land them in jail for life.

Rallies and demonstrations have been held for the Taylors in Montgomery and in Pontiac, Michigan and Warren, Ohio. And on July 1, the LBSL and RMC held a plant-gate rally outside Ford's River Rouge complex calling for labor/black defense of the Taylors. This action, and the active participation of several black auto workers at the Wayne demonstration, stands in sharp contrast to the UAW International, which has not lifted a finger to mobilize auto workers in defense of the Taylors.

The Wayne demonstration was an important step in building support toward desperately needed labor/black action, North and South, to bury the

state of Alabama's racist frame-up. The protest demanded: Drop the Charges Against the Taylor Family! Jail the Murderous Cops! and \$1 Million in Compensation to the Taylor Family! Speakers included Don Andrews for the Spartacist League and the LBSL, Charles DuBois from the RMC, Topaz DuBois for the SYL, and Marty Freedman, a member of CWA Local 4001 in Detroit. The rally was also endorsed by the WSU Democratic Socialists of America, which sent one member who spoke. The demonstration was also called as part of the continuing efforts by the SYL to raise concrete support for the Taylor family. At a Student Council meeting directly following the demonstration, the SYL presented a motion that the Student Council endorse the demands of the protest and donate \$1,500 for the Taylors' legal defense. But the motion was defeated by Council members who hid their apologies for Dixie lynch terror behind the excuses that a student government donation to the defense fund was "illegal" and that the motion contained "offensive language," i.e., calling the Alabama cops "murderous." Decades of cop and Klan terror have taken the lives of many blacks and civil rights supporters, but for the Wayne Student Council, to forthrightly state such a fact is "offensive."

Equally atrocious was the WSU *South End's* coverage of the demonstration. Peddling the same racist crap as the Montgomery cops, it described the Taylor defendants as "five blacks who shot and beat up two white plainclothed Alabama police officers who allegedly burst in on the group at a funeral wake" (*South End*, 23 September). The *South End* attempts to turn the victims of racist cop terror into criminals, while the police invasion of their home is only "alleged." Anyone with an elementary sense of justice must protest this hatchet job for Southern cop terror!

On October 6 the SYL presented another motion to the WSU Student Council that the Council demand the charges against the Taylors be dropped and allocate funds toward sponsoring a fundraising benefit for the Taylors' legal defense. The motion was met with significant support on the campus, receiving endorsements from several campus unionists and students, including the heads of the Association of Black Communicators, the WSU Americans for Democratic Action, and the Association of Black Students, as well as a member of the Democratic Socialists of America and the LBSL and RMC. In a hard-fought battle, the Council finally passed a motion defending the Taylors

but declining to allocate any funds for their defense. At first, an Executive Board motion was rammed through the meeting to "definitely postpone the issue and not commit itself [the Council] to any monetary or public support of the issue." But the SYL, RMC and members of other student organizations and campus unions present fought to reverse the Exec Board's decision. Other Council members reopened discussion and, in a 7-3 vote passed a motion reading, "That the Wayne State University Student Council supports that all charges be dropped against the Taylor Family and sponsors, other than monetarily, with other interested organizations and individuals a fundraising benefit, the proceeds of which shall go to the Montgomery Defense Fund."

The Taylors were viciously beat up and terrorized by the racists in blue and are now being framed up by the courts. Yet there are those who call for troops and even FBI investigations to bring justice to the Taylor family. But what could be more graphic evidence of the bankruptcy of reliance on the government than the Taylor case itself? The reformist Socialist Workers Party uncritically repeats Alabama state representative Alvin Holmes' call on Ronald Reagan "to declare martial law in Montgomery, suspend all local police agencies, and send federal troops to maintain order 'until local officials see fit to provide equal protection to all citizens!'" (*Militant*, 25 March). If Reagan were to declare martial law, it would be to put blacks, unionists and socialists in jail to preserve the racist status quo!

It will take mass demonstrations to free the Taylors from the noose of Alabama "justice." What is needed is labor/black action, working-class defense. Nothing less can win this fight. Key is the black working class from the auto plants of Detroit to the steel mills of Birmingham, from the docks of New Orleans to the shipyards of Norfolk. It was support from black unionists in the Norfolk-Tidewater area and Washington, D.C. that made the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League-initiated November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK a success. That's the power that can stop the racist Southern cops and the bloodthirsty state of Alabama from carrying out their legal lynching of the Taylors, that can carry forth the fight to finish the American Civil War and smash black oppression once and for all.

Contributions to the Taylor family's legal defense may be sent to: Montgomery Defense Fund, P.O. Box 3273, Pontiac, Michigan 48059. ■

With Friends Like These...

The American Communist Party (CP)'s pretensions to stand on the side of the Soviet Union have been taking a back seat to its capitulation to the U.S. anti-Soviet war drive. Take the downing of spy plane KAL 007, for instance. In the midst of the imperialist frenzy over KAL 007, the CP's *Daily World* ran the shameful headline, "Soviets Deny Downing Plane" (2 September) and editorialized (3 September) that, "A tragedy like this is a time for reflection and condolence. It is not a time for whipping up passion in order to make political gains." So embroiled are the Stalinists in "détente" politics that they've veered off into fantasy land. They can't believe it when the USSR actually takes steps to defend itself. Thus, the CP refuses to forthrightly expose this U.S. war provocation—staged among other things to "make political gains" in American imperialism's bloodthirsty drive to annihilate the Soviet workers state—and contents itself with tepid moralizing about the "tragedy."

The CP's reaction to KAL 007 goes beyond sheer political cowardice, exposing the treacherous results of "peaceful coexistence" and "détente." Its inability to defend the Soviet Union is

one more aspect of its undying faith in imperialism and abandonment of class struggle which sends it scurrying aboard the anti-Reagan, pro-Democratic Party popular front. So when CP general secretary Gus Hall asks, "Who's to blame for the Korean Air Lines tragedy?", he decides it's all the fault of the "lack of integrity and morality of the war-oriented Reagan Administration." And Hall concludes that "Whatever the problems, there are no two countries in the world who have more in common than the U.S. and the Soviet Union—peace, peaceful coexistence and the preservation of precious life on our planet" (*Daily World*, 10 September)!

What does the CP think imperialism is? Anyone with the most elementary grasp of life in the real world cannot help but see that the American ruling class and its politicians are hardly a bunch of peace-loving folk. The biggest war budget ever was passed unanimously by both the Democrats and Republicans. U.S. imperialism is gearing up for war and it is prepared to blow up the planet in its crusade for global counter-revolution. But the American Stalinists have been parroting the "peaceful coexistence" policies of the Moscow bureaucracy for so long that they find it

difficult to accept that the Soviets would put a halt to a provocative imperialist intrusion. In fact, it wasn't until September 13 that the *Daily World* inserted a tiny "correction" to its September 2 headline!

The CPUSA was also incapable of combatting the imperialist war cries over Afghanistan and Poland. It was left to the Trotskyist SL/SYL to proclaim "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" when the USSR intervened there on the side of social progress against CIA-backed mullahs who buy and sell women like cattle. We exposed counterrevolutionary Solidarność as a company union for the Vatican, CIA and Western bankers, pointing out the responsibility of the corrupt Polish Stalinist bureaucracy for driving much of the historically socialist proletariat of Poland into the arms of Walesa & Co. Having sacrificed every vestige of class independence in its search for a bloc with a "progressive" wing of the U.S. bourgeoisie, the CP is unable to fight the bipartisan Cold War drive at home or abroad.

Our headlines called the KAL 007 incident what it was, a "U.S. War Provocation" and warned, "Don't Mess with Russia!" We recognize that ever since the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and



In the face of imperialist KAL 007 anti-Soviet provocation: *Daily World* (2 September) cowardly falsification; *People's World* (10 September) cringing "neutrality."

Trotsky led the Russian proletariat to victory in 1917 and established a planned economy and collectivized property forms, world imperialism has been hell-bent on reversing these gains. It is our duty as revolutionary socialists to unconditionally defend the USSR against imperialism's war plans, in spite of its degeneration under Stalinism, while calling for a political revolution to oust the treacherous bureaucracy which builds the illusion of "peaceful coexistence" with those who want to wipe the non-capitalist world off the face of the earth. ■

Bobby Seale...

(continued from page 4)

will finish the Civil War and liberate black people from the racist chains endemic to the capitalist system. In this context, the political struggle at Howard—historically a vital training ground for black leadership, bourgeois as well as radical—between the SYL's Marxist program and the various trends of pro-Democratic Party liberalism, nationalism and Pan-Africanism is of special importance.

Former Black Panther Party leader Bobby Seale's speech at Howard on Tuesday was supposed to have something to do with militant black struggle. But all this impostor did was hustle his black capitalist schemes and reminisce about when he *used* to be militant. During the so-called "discussion" period, Seale's henchmen in the National Organization of Black University and College Students (NOBUCS) physically prevented a spokesman from the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), a revolutionary socialist organization at Howard, from explaining the decline of the Panthers and what strategy is needed for black liberation today. Seale set up this

cowardly attack by calling the SYLer to the podium "to speak." But on his way up, he was set upon by NOBUCS goons and forced from the stage.

This outrageous attempt to silence socialist militants at Howard must be stopped! Such anti-communist exclusions feed right into the Howard administration's stifling political censorship. Last winter, *Hilltop* editor Janice McKnight was *expelled* for daring to print articles critical of Howard U. President James Cheek. When students fought back against this atrocity, Cheek shut down the *Hilltop* outright! The SYL denounced this outrageous denial of democratic rights and defended McKnight and the *Hilltop* against the Administration's attacks. Howard students and faculty must fight every attempt to suppress opposing viewpoints on this campus, whether by Reagan's buddy Cheek or by the self-appointed NOBUCS thought-police.

Now what was Bobby Seale so afraid of? Answer: exposure of his capitalist politics. This demagogic *ex-militant* has sunk so low that he actually tried to "debate" KKK Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson in Detroit earlier this year! This is just the kind of platform the nightriding, murdering Klan scum want to further their genocidal plans. The Detroit Spartacist League (SL)/SYL

1968: Bobby Seale (right) and Stokely Carmichael. You've come a long way Bobby...



immediately organized a call-in campaign from the labor and black movement that shut down the obscene would-be "debate." And Seale was plenty sore about that.

Last November 27, the SL/SYL initiated the Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 black and white workers and youth that stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. This was despite the threats of D.C. mayor Barry, who, fronting for the White House, sent his cops out to protect the bloody fascists and suppress the labor/black struggle. But thanks to the workers and students who joined us—including a good number from Howard—we marched the route the KKK said they would march!

Fifteen years ago, the Black Panthers courageously stood for the right of blacks to armed self-defense. But despite their militancy, the Panthers had a reactionary, utopian nationalist program that rejected the powerful, integrated labor movement in the fight for black freedom. The organization was destroyed largely by brutal repression by the racist capitalist state, a fact that Seale denied at the forum. With the Panthers destroyed, Seale made his peace with the capitalist oppressors by running for mayor of Oakland for the Democratic Party. That's the same Democrats that under Boss Daley in Chicago had Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark murdered in their beds.

NOBUCS' heroes like Bobby Seale and the Nation of Islam's Louis Farrakhan push the bankrupt notions of "community control" and black capitalism. Likewise, Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Toure), the do-nothing demagogue from the Pan-Africanist All-African People's Revolutionary Party pushes escapist "back-to-Africa" fanta-

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

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

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

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

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

Friday: 5:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California
Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone: (312) 427-0003

New York City

Tuesday: 6:00-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.) New York, N.Y.
Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

Saturday: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario
Phone: (416) 593-4138

Chicago...

(continued from page 3)

League are even threatening to go to court to force the opening of the schools. This supposed concern for "desegregation" is cynical and laughable: the Board of Education's phony plan concedes that 350 of Chicago's 597 public schools will remain all black or Hispanic while setting up "magnet schools" that only 8 percent of schoolchildren—one in 20 black students—will attend. According to a study by the *Chicago Tribune* (17 July), the "desegregation" plan will leave "the majority of children in segregated schools that get less money and offer fewer opportunities."

The black pols' use of this "desegregation plan" is nothing but union-busting demagoguery. Washington refuses to support busing. A report by Robert Crain commissioned (and suppressed) by the Chicago Board of Education reports, "10,000 black students could easily be provided desegregated schooling in the suburbs and no one has made a very hard effort..." (*Sun-Times*, 11 July). It has always been our position to extend busing to the suburbs where the good schools are and to form labor/black defense guards to protect black schoolchildren from racist attack. A powerful, integrated working class has the power, and the interest, to enforce real school desegregation and integrate housing (80 percent of Chicago's black population lives in neighborhoods that are 90 percent black). The Chicago Teachers Union, with its integrated membership and its history of combativity, is in a good position to spark a wider class battle by city workers to cut across the racial polarization in Chicago and smash the city's austerity moves by uniting black and white workers. To do this the teachers union must become the vanguard of a struggle for real school integration, to unite factory workers facing layoffs with the masses of unemployed, to demand big pay increases for all city workers and free mass transit. *Victory to the teachers strike!*

Black teenage unemployment is astronomically high all over the country, with estimates ranging from 50 to 75 percent. A study by Pierre DeVise for the Chicago City Club (*Chicago Defender*, 16 February) estimates black unemployment locally at three times the average for whites, which the Labor Department puts at an unrealistic 23 percent for teenagers nationally (nobody even counts the 17-year-old "discouraged worker"). Of course Washington isn't going to do anything about it: he's too busy wielding the budget ax for the Wall Street bankers. Beginning almost the moment he took office Washington has been on a campaign against city workers calculated to reassure Standard and Poors. Refusing to honor union agreements reached with the Byrne administration, Washington withheld \$7 million in back pay due to city craft workers. His most recent "victory" was a court ruling upholding the firing of 743 workers, bringing the total fired and laid off to 1,349. Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) head Renault Robinson, a Washington appointee, has slashed 959 maintenance workers from the CHA

payroll and has suggested that public housing tenants should do the maintenance themselves! There are now only five union elevator mechanics to serve 1,100 CHA buildings: previously 25 percent of the elevators didn't work—now 75 percent don't. Chicago transit workers are next on the union-busting list, all part of the capitalists' program of letting mass transit, public housing and education—services that blacks and the working poor need—go to hell to pay for the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. The *Chicago Tribune* (12 July) is pleased with Washington's record in this regard, crowing that Washington "shows mettle.... It's about time someone in city government showed some muscle against the unions."

The increasingly bonapartist Chicago cops *did* threaten mass arrests on election day (see "Racist cops on the loose," *Chicago Defender*, 11 April). After his election Washington moved immediately to make his peace with the racists in blue, praising most of the officers as "first rate people." This fact we reported in our article. Meanwhile racist cop harassment and outright murder—from the shooting of a black jogger in Hyde Park, to the stomping to death of a Puerto Rican in Pilsen to the recent arrest of a black bus driver who defended himself against a racist gang of punks—has continued unabated since Washington took office. The racial polarization that erupted during the mayoral election continues in the City Council division between Washington and "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak's racist bloc of 29. The 29 have been playing with racist dynamite in Chicago, the most segregated city in the country, with ex-cop Ed Burke demagogically talking about a "general strike" of white workers, i.e., a race war.

Rome is blind to the reality of Chicago today, and to the only way out of it: integrated class struggle. Only a parliamentary cretinist can fail to see the connection between the fight against unemployment and the fight against racist and fascist terror, both burning issues for the oppressed black masses. Rome disingenuously suggests that our class-struggle opposition to the Democrat Washington is backhanded support to Republican Bernard Epton's racist campaign. Locked into the perspective of "lesser evil" solutions to black oppression via the bourgeois ballot box, the alternatives for Rome may well boil down to Washington vs. Epton. But not for us and not for black Chicago.

Rome complains that we failed to present "constructive alternatives" for Washington and accuses us of lying because the facts in our article contradict his portrayal of Washington as an honest, independent reformer whose hand is forced by tough economic conditions. But it is Rome who can't separate fact from fiction. He believes the fiction (which he espouses with the usual dose of anti-communist complaints about "untruths" and "manipulators"); namely, that Washington can or will answer the aspirations of the black masses who elected him. Washington's liberal voting record hasn't made a damned bit of difference in the quality of life for blacks in Chicago's ghettos, and his election as mayor hasn't either. Our "constructive alternative" is support to the black and white teachers who are striking against the capitalist austerity measures which Washington is carrying out.

It is quite appropriate that Rome quotes Manning Marable, vice-chair and black spokesman of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). The DSA has long sought to be the "left wing of the possible." To reformists the "possible" now means enforcing austerity for the capitalists as the "left wing" of the bourgeois Democratic Party (see "Santa Cruz DSA Sticks It to City Workers" in this issue). Like the devil quotes scripture, Marable quotes Marx—except that Marx was talking about making a revolution, not heading it off into a *bourgeois* party. The "circumstances...

given and transmitted from the past" in American society—the segregation of blacks into an oppressed race-color caste resulting from the failure of Reconstruction to complete black emancipation after the Civil War—have welded the fight for black liberation to the American proletarian revolution. Blacks today are overwhelmingly concentrated in capitalism's industrial reserve army of labor: black liberation is key to the American revolution. As our article noted, the only alternative to grinding exploitation and racism is a "revolutionary workers party that will lead united, integrated class struggle against the bosses and their politicians, black and white." ■

Phone Workers...

(continued from page 12)

the right to strike itself is threatened. As the statement by the Phone Strikers Defense Committee put it:

"The company was particularly enraged at the spirited picket line built by operators—mainly women, largely black and Latin—who the company expects to 'stay in their place' and who instead took a strong stand for unionism.... Don't let Ma Bell give Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero the PATCO treatment!"

The Defense Committee—initiated by members of CWA Local 9415 (Mozee's local in Oakland) and 9410 (Palmiero's local in San Francisco)—demands that: 1) Lauren and Ray be reinstated at their jobs with full back pay; 2) amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers; 3) all charges against Ray and Lauren and all other CWA strikers be dropped. The outpouring of support within the union for Ray and Lauren has been such that both their locals have passed defense motions, as has the Los Angeles local—18 of whose members (an entire picket line!) were arrested by the LAPD during the strike. Support has also been forthcoming from the rest of the labor movement. Of the over 250 endorsers of the Defense Committee's demands, 145 have come from union officials, including representatives of the United Auto Workers, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of Teachers, Amalgamated Transit Union, International Association of Machinists, Teamsters, and many more.

Ray and Lauren need and deserve the support of all youth fighting against the injustices of this racist, capitalist system. The Reagan-loving D.A., the racist San Leandro cops and the union-busting phone company must not be allowed to get away with this frame-up! Both Ray and Lauren are members of the Militant Action Caucus of the CWA—a class-struggle opposition which for years has fought for militant action to defend phone workers and the entire working class. Ray and Lauren have fought to marshal the power of the proletariat to fight against all forms of oppression and for socialism. Lauren was a member of the Oakland Black Panther Party from its inception in 1966 until 1976. She explained to *Workers Vanguard* (7

October)—biweekly newspaper of the Spartacist League, of which the SYL is the youth section—something about the company/cop/media conspiracy to jail Lauren and Ray:

"At the time of Ray's arrest, I didn't even know about any warrant out on me until that evening watching television. They plastered my picture all over TV, as far as being wanted. They put me out to be dangerous, 'still at large.' This was mainly due to the San Leandro police department. They had to have dug this picture up from one of my old Panthers days..."

The television blitz—attempting to portray this victim of racist, company assault as a "criminal" "still at large"—points to a sinister railroad campaign. It was obviously intended as a justification in advance for any atrocity the cops or courts might commit against Lauren, and to whip up public sentiment against the striking workers. Lauren also gave eloquent testimony to the conditions in racist America which led her first to the Panthers and later to the Militant Action Caucus:

"I also learned about racism and the cops early in my life. My mother was married to a Caucasian for 15 years before he died. He was a member of the Teamsters, driving an 18-wheeler, and he was constantly harassed by members of the Illinois and Missouri police departments for being married to a black woman.... I remember a particular incident where we were all with him and the police dragged him out of the truck and beat him because he was with a black family. And when the police found out that this was his wife and stepkids, they became even more violent, banging his head up against the truck."

Ray and Lauren have been targeted by the bosses, their courts and cops because they are anti-racist radicals, militant unionists and front-line fighters in the class struggle. The toll for Ray, Lauren and their family has been heavy: operators in San Leandro take up a collection for groceries for Ray and Lauren every payday. On September 24, a rent party was sponsored by the Defense Committee which raised over \$1,200; the Bay Area Spartacus Youth League was able to bring student supporters to this event and broaden the support for the case on the campuses. But much more is needed. Plans for a mass, militant protest on October 29 at the D.A.'s office against this racist frame-up are now underway: all out to defend Lauren and Ray!

If these unionists are railroaded into prison it will be a defeat for the entire workers movement—an attack on decent working people, black and white. An injury to one is an injury to all! Here's what 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, listed above;

(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 St., Oakland, CA 94612 and Ted Saenger, President PT&T, 140 New Montgomery St., San Francisco, CA 94605. ■

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Down with Jim Crow "Justice"!

Wayne State Rally Demands: Save the Taylors!

Over 50 militant demonstrators rallied September 22 at Detroit's Wayne State University (WSU) to defend the Taylor family, victims of an outrageous racist assault and frame-up by the Montgomery, Alabama police. "Stop the Legal Lynching of the Taylor Family!" chanted students and auto workers, black and white, at the emergency demonstration initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), Labor/Black Struggle League (LBSL) and Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) of UAW Local 600. The demonstration was called to protest the Montgomery grand jury indictments charging five of the Taylors, a family of black auto workers, with attempted murder, kidnapping and robbery. All five face up to life imprisonment in the hellhole prisons of Alabama for defending themselves and their family from racist attack.

This grotesque racist atrocity began last February 27 when some 30 members of the Taylor family, including auto workers from Pontiac, Michigan and Warren, Ohio, gathered in Montgomery after the funeral of 68-year-old Annie Bell Taylor. Friends, elderly relatives and children, some still in their choir robes, were mourning the death of Mrs. Taylor when suddenly two unidentified white men, with guns drawn and screaming racist epithets, broke down the door. Thinking that they were under Ku Klux Klan attack, the Taylors disarmed the racist thugs and called the



September 22 SYL-initiated Wayne State emergency rally: "Drop the Charges Against the Taylor Family!"

police for aid. But the racist marauders were the cops. Ten-year-old David Taylor described the scene: "I heard my parents say they might be the Ku Klan, whatever you call them, and that they kill black people... I was real scared because I didn't want them to kill me" (*Buckeye Review*, 25 March).

The door to the Taylor home was repeatedly kicked in as more cops arrived on the scene. Family members were dragged outside, thrown in the mud, beaten and handcuffed amid a stream of racist insults. Cops told one of the Taylors, "You're going to burn. If I have to come to Michigan to get you,

there's going to be another nigger killing" (*Workers Vanguard*, 22 April). Initially, 26 family members were arrested and eleven of them spent ten days in the Montgomery city jail. Only after family and friends put up their homes and property to pay the incredible

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Defend Ray and Lauren!

Bay Area Phone Workers Fight Racist Frame-Up

OAKLAND—Two Bay Area phone workers face prison for picket duty. Pacific Telephone and Telegraph (PT&T), in alliance with the Alameda County District Attorney's Office, is attempting to legally lynch Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee in the wake of the three-week-long nationwide strike against Ma Bell this summer. While Mozee and Palmiero were picketing the San Leandro Directory Assistance facility during the strike, a white PT&T manager/scab hurled the racist insult "black, nigger bitch" at Mozee and then struck her, breaking Mozee's lip. Palmiero and Mozee have been fired and now face up to eight years in state prison on trumped-up multiple felony charges, including "assault with a deadly weapon." For their action in defense of

themselves and the Communications Workers of America (CWA) picket line from this violent and racist company assault, Ray and Lauren have been deprived of their jobs, denied unemployment benefits and are being dragged through the bosses' courts—threatened with imprisonment. The interracial couple must somehow support three children through this ordeal.

San Leandro is notoriously anti-union and has a recent history of Klan activity: it is no accident that management picked this fight with Mozee and Palmiero there as part of its massive scabberding and violence during the strike. The supervisor who struck Mozee had made it a point of pride to flaunt her scabbing as she crossed the picket lines and has been known to use

provocative epithets before. Striking workers were often menaced: on two occasions men drove by the strike lines threatening pickets with guns; at a nearby phone location a supervisor drove into a picket with his truck. It is in this vicious anti-labor and racist atmosphere that the D.A. hopes to jail Ray and Lauren. The brutal jail terms, the outrageous bail (finally set at \$3,000 after the D.A.'s initial demand of \$10,000 for Mozee), the media blitz—replete with a mug shot of Mozee—all point to one of the most vindictive labor frame-ups in years.

If strikers can be fired and put away for years in the state pen for defending themselves and their picket lines, then the dignity of every union member and

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Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee