

# Young Spartacus

NUMBER 111

25 CENTS

X-523

SEPTEMBER 1983

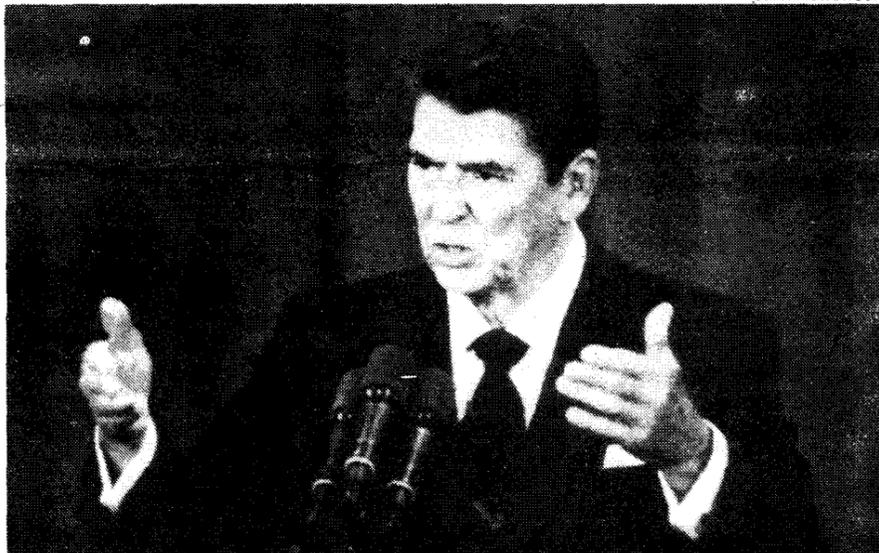
## Don't Mess With Russia!

# KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation

SEPTEMBER 13—The more facts that come to light about the downing of a Korean Air Lines 747 over the Soviet island of Sakhalin in the early morning hours of September 1, the more Reagan's story falls apart into evasions and downright falsehoods.

In a Soviet government statement on September 6, in interviews with the Soviet pilots involved and in a press conference with the chief of the Soviet General Staff—Marshal Nikolai V. Ogarkov—on September 9, the Soviet Union has presented a logical and consistent account, from their side, of the shooting down of KAL Flight 007, based on the results of a state commission of inquiry. Yet after a week in which every Soviet government statement on the subject was met with hypocritical cries of "lies," "coverup" and "massacre" from the Reagan administration, the U.S. government has not responded to the Soviets' account. Why? Because the Soviets have told the truth. The U.S. government has lied, and now all the unanswered questions are on the U.S. side. KAL 007 was deliberately flown into Soviet airspace as a provocation with the cooperation (at least) of the U.S. and Japanese authorities who were closely monitoring the flight. Who took the civilian passengers as hostages on the cold-blooded Cold War provocation in the first place? Reagan is engaging in some Moonie "heavenly deception" on that question.

According to the Soviet account, KAL Flight 007 departed from its path down the international flight corridor R-20 while still in the range of U.S. civilian and military radar. It entered within Soviet radar range at the point at which American RC-135 reconnaissance planes normally operate, on a night in which at least one RC-135 was in the area on the same altitude, and after the RC-135 and the KAL 747 had flown in tandem for at least ten minutes.



Ficara/Newsweek

## Reagan's Story Stinks!

KAL 007 headed straight for the southern tip of Kamchatka peninsula, overflowed the strategic Soviet naval base at Petropavlovsk, skirted Soviet SAM-5 ground-to-air missile batteries. The plane flew without navigational lights, did not respond to Soviet attempts from the air and from the ground to contact it on the international frequency 121.5 megacycles. KAL 007 emitted short coded radio signals of the type used to transmit intelligence information, and did not respond to signals from the four Soviet fighters who scrambled to intercept it.

Flight 007 continued over the Sea of Okhotsk to again enter Soviet airspace

over the island of Sakhalin. This time it was intercepted by six Soviet fighters who tried to signal the plane to land, but the KAL jet "began to change simultaneously the direction, altitude and speed of flight, obviously trying to evade the air defense planes." Flight 007 overflew the Korsakov air and naval base on Sakhalin, again skirting missile batteries. Over the southwestern part of Sakhalin, the Soviets fired four warnings with tracer shells in a final attempt to warn the plane to land. When the plane continued its flight straight toward Seoul—its destination—which would have taken it over Vladivostok, the home port of the Soviet Pacific fleet,

it was stopped by two heat-seeking missiles fired by a Soviet SU-15 fighter. The decision to stop a plane which had traveled for two-and-a-half hours 310 miles into Soviet airspace was made by the district commander of the Biya Air Defense Forces only after the Soviets had "exhausted all cautionary warning devices at their disposal."

Three of the pilots of Soviet fighters who scrambled to intercept KAL 007 confirmed the Soviet government report. In an interview broadcast on Soviet television they all reported being convinced that the plane was a reconnaissance aircraft: one pilot thought perhaps it was bomber (all U.S. spy planes would look *huge* compared to a Soviet fighter and, contrary to U.S. assertions, there is a military plane which has exactly the profile of a 747, the E4B, a converted 747 which is used as a command and control center for nuclear war). None of the Soviet pilots reported seeing any lights on the aircraft and the pilot who had scrambled over Kamchatka reported, "Even on the side of the dark area of the sky there were no signs of any illumination on the aircraft." Marshal Ogarkov explained references to the air navigation and strobe lights in the 11 minutes of tapes released by the U.S. (purporting to be the intercepted communications of the Soviet pilots with ground control) as one of the Soviet fighters reporting the lights of another Soviet fighter. While the transcript of these tapes released by the U.S. explicitly links a reference to blinking lights to "the target," it should be noted that the Soviet government denied the veracity of these tapes. When they were played by dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick for the UN Security Council, the *New York Times* (7 September) reported that "Russian-speaking Westerners said they could not decipher any meaning." Now the Americans have "revised" their initial transcripts of the

*continued on page 8*

**Moonie Machinations in Latin America ..... 2**

**The Russian Revolution and the Fight for Black Liberation ... 6**

## Big Bucks and Anti-Communism

# Moonie Machinations in Latin America

The international anti-communist conspiracy has always drawn from the sickest sections of society: the Hitler-lovers, the nightriders, those skilled in advanced techniques of torture and assassination, the shahs and generalissimos they serve. Among the stranger bedfellows of the extreme right is Sun Myung Moon and his purportedly religious, avowedly anti-communist cult, the Moonies. A recent front-page article in the *Washington Post* (28 August) reported on the activities of a Moon organization called "CAUSA" 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." In some 20 Latin American countries, including Honduras, Uruguay, Guatemala, El Salvador, Paraguay and Chile, Moonie money, publishing outfits and emissaries are making themselves useful (or trying to) in the respective regimes' wars on the left.

A spokesman for Moon's Unification Church in Washington, D.C. described CAUSA to the *Post* as "the arm of the church that's fighting communism." As the targets of death squad terror throughout Latin America can attest, "fighting communism" is no war of words for the military juntas in the region. Below, we quote extensively from the *Washington Post's* article on Moonie activity in Latin America, noting in advance that it's a very peculiar form of "evangelism" indeed.

"The group's [CAUSA] president is retired South Korean Col. Bo Hi Pak, chief aide to Moon, and its executive director is Warren S. Richardson, formerly chief counsel to the Liberty Lobby. President Reagan nominated Richardson to be an assistant secretary in the Department of Health and Human Services in 1981, but Richardson withdrew amid charges that the Liberty Lobby is racist and anti-Semitic...."

"Founded in New York in 1980, Causa has had a rocky time in Brazil, where only police intervention prevented mobs from destroying Unification churches in nine cities; and in Honduras and El Salvador, where Roman Catholic Church leaders denounced Causa as anti-Christian for its links to Moon.

"But in Uruguay, Paraguay and Guatemala and in 18 other nations, Causa literature says, Causa operations are thriving despite opposition from the Catholic Church...."

### Honduras:

"Causa International has recently been most visible in Honduras, where Pak contributed \$50,000 last March on behalf of Causa to a new, exclusive group of businessmen and military officers called the Association for the Promotion of Honduras (APROH).

"The group is widely viewed as a vehicle for the political ambitions of its leader, Honduran military commander-in-chief Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, who is the defense minister...."

### El Salvador:

"Causa had brought 155 foreign journalists and notables to El Salvador briefly in June as part of a 'World Media Conference' it organized in Guatemala. Participants from 45 countries on five continents included former Vietnamese vice premier Nguyen Cao Ky and Lloyd Bucher, who commanded the USS Pueblo when North Korea captured it and held its crew hostage for 11 months in 1968.

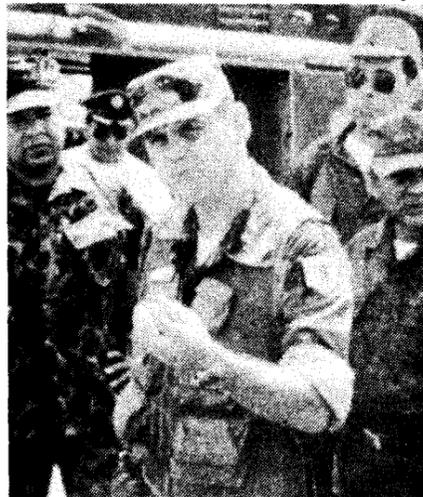
"After the group spent six days in Guatemala starting June 8, according to a June 20 article in Guatemala's *Prensa Libre* newspaper, Causa flew it in a Boeing 707 for day trips to Honduras, Costa Rica and El Salvador. The writers

People Magazine



personal representative of President Augusto Pinochet, according to the COHA newsletter of Nov. 3, 1981...."

*Causa* magazine (September/October 1981) embraces Pinochet's Chile as "a Republic of Nicaragua



Sun Myung Moon (left) and Honduran military leader Alvarez (above). Below: Chilean victims of Pinochet junta terror. CAUSA embraces the Pinochet regime as anti-leftist bastion.

Gamma



met with military and business leaders in each country, hearing from Pak and also from then-President Efraim Rios Montt of Guatemala...."

### Uruguay:

"Causa apparently has had its greatest success in Uruguay. In March, 1981, Pak met in Montevideo, the capital, with top government officials, including then-President Aparicio Mendez, the vice president and the interior minister. Causa then founded a newspaper, *Noticias del Uruguay*, and won the right in a secret auction to build a casino and a luxury hotel, according to later newspaper accounts...."

"In 1982, Causa won a controlling interest of the Banco de Credito, Uruguay's third-largest national bank, and press reports said Causa had put \$50 million into the bank purchase effort.

"They bought newspapers, they bought real estate, they bought generals, they bought out the country," said a Reagan administration official who was there at the time. "There was a big stink about it...."

### Chile:

"A seminar on 'unificationism as the solution to communism' in 1981 drew high-ranking military officers and a

country that has experienced to its marrow the real nature of communism. Despite this—because of the iron will of its people—it has returned to liberty" (*Council On Hemispheric Affairs Washington Report on the Hemisphere*, 3 November 1981). The Pinochet junta which came to power in a 1973 CIA-backed coup and over the corpses of tens of thousands of Chilean workers is in fact an excellent example of "anti-communist organizing" in Latin America.

There are some clues to the purposes served by such extensive and costly Moonie cultivation of Latin American governments. For example, the joint work of Moonies and right-wing Salvadoran emigrés in the Bay Area came to the attention of the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Reporting on their sponsorship of the pro-junta Salvadoran bishop Aparicio, on a speaking tour of Bay Area campuses, the paper noted that "It was in Aparicio's diocese of San Vicente that four U.S. churchwomen, whom Aparicio accused of 'working with subversives,' were murdered by government forces in December 1980" (*Chronicle*, 20 November 1981). Furthermore, referring to the Salvadorans with whom the Moonies were working, "Last April, The Chronicle disclosed the group was providing junta officials with the names

and photos of government opponents who live in the Bay Area."

In early 1980—coinciding with the Moonie thrusts into Latin America and PR work on behalf of the right-wing dictatorships in the region—Moon's organization launched a Spanish-language daily in New York City, *Noticias del Mundo*. Links between *Noticias* and various wire services connected with government and/or military intelligence were noted by the *Washington Journalism Review* in November 1980; specifically: TELAM, "frequently a vehicle for [Argentine] army intelligence propaganda;" SAPORITI, "an old Argentinian news agency now believed to have fallen under the influence of military intelligence" and Dinarp, "the public relations arm of the Uruguayan military." The *Journalism Review* provides an illustrative account of how such links may be used, based on an interview with Robert Cox—former editor of the *Buenos Aires Herald* who left the country after threats against his family. Cox relates the following story involving the Moonie publication *News World*:

"Cox, now a Nieman Fellow in journalism at Harvard University, had spoken editorially in the *Herald* against kidnappings and torture. In the interview he described the case of a woman named Thelma de Cabezas. Mrs. de Cabezas was a leader in the Argentine human rights movement and belonged to a group of relatives of missing persons who held vigils in Buenos Aires' Plaza de Mayo. She disappeared more than a year ago.

"Cox said that a news story, accompanied by pictures of Mrs. de Cabezas, appeared in Buenos Aires tabloids in which she expressed remorse for her human rights activities. The tabloids cited the *News World* as their source.

"Mrs. de Cabezas never emerged in public, said Cox, as affirmations of communist connections in the human rights movement were being made in her name in the Buenos Aires press through the *News World* in New York."

The Moonies' Honduras connection, too, sheds some light on their Latin American "mission." The first testing ground for APROH, according to the *New Republic* (August 15 and 22), was the national university—"a center of support for the Sandinistas and the Salvadoran guerrillas." APROH poured \$125,000 into "electing" a right-wing university rector. Although the election didn't go that way, the courts invalidated the election of the old rector and one Ramos Soto was installed. The "new" rector Soto was among prominent Hondurans to usher the Moon organization into Honduras and remains a staunch CAUSA supporter. A similar APROH campaign was subsequently waged against the leadership of the elementary school teachers union, resulting in police take-over of union headquarters and a state-installed "new" leadership, driving underground the elected union head. *New Republic* quotes a "high-ranking cleric" concerned that "the entrance of CAUSA could create a repressive extreme right that doesn't exist in Honduras now." Of course it *does* exist now. All the more ominous is that Honduras has become the major staging area for U.S.-backed counterrevolution in Nicaragua.

Moon's been in the "anti-communist" business for years—as well as in the munitions business. Among his holdings in Korea are the manufacture of air rifles, parts for the M-79 grenade launcher and the vulcan gun, and M-16 rifles (*Washington Tribune*, 4-17 June 1982).

The U.S. is certainly a target for

continued on page 4



# You Can't Fight the Moonies Without the Money

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and Spartacist League (SL) have been libeled and set up by the ultra-right-wing cult of Sun Myung Moon. The Moonies' *Washington Times* has falsely accused the SL/SYL—principal organizers and initiators of the massive Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. on November 27—as would-be cop killers and “violent” criminal organizations. This is libel that kills, that gives the cops and repressive machinery of the state a reason and excuse to ban us, outlaw us, shoot us on sight. To defend ourselves—as well as all those who participated in the November 27 anti-Klan victory or seek to organize against the Klan/Nazi race terrorists—the SL and SYL filed a libel lawsuit on June 14 against the Moonies' publishing arm, the Times-Tribune Corporation.

The legal response of the Moonies' lawyers was a “motion to dismiss” the case in Washington on a legal technicality. The Moonies and their legal counsel know that we have other options to pursue the case. Their total and guilty silence on the substance of the issues involved speaks loudly to the fact that the libel charge is incon-

testable. Furthermore, a possible outcome of the legal technicality invoked by the Moonies is a change of venue from Washington, D.C. And no wonder they don't want the case tried in D.C.; that's where the Klan was stopped in its filthy provocation. We welcome a jury of Washington residents who are close to the events in dispute and felt the impact of the Labor/Black Mobilization.

Readers and subscribers of *Young Spartacus* have particular reason to support the SL/SYL suit against the Moonies. On campuses throughout the country, the Moonies are justly despised both for their deceptive recruiting techniques and ultra-right political campaigns, including frequent provocations against the campus left. The pathetic results of their recruitment—heavily aimed at college students—are young people whose lives are ruined and brains twisted by Moon's cult. As we and others have noted, the Moonies have been gaining a certain political “legitimacy” among the fringes of the Reagan right, such as the College Republicans.

Our article on Moonie machinations in Latin America—which appears elsewhere in this issue—

documents the Moonies' sophisticated use of big bucks, publications and political connections for their global crusade against “godless Marxism.” Are you an opponent of U.S.-backed death squad terror in Central America? Do you believe that black people and labor have the right to organize against fascist groups such as the KKK? Are you a foreign national who participates in leftist political meetings and demonstrations? Are you a professor active in civil liberties, a strong advocate of the separation of church and state, a defender of the rights of homosexuals? Have you ever had your rally broken up, your picture taken, your name used under false pretenses by the Moonies? You have plenty of reason to support this case if your answer is yes to any or all of the above, because you are a target of the Moonies.

The Moonies have millions of dollars, a legal team with connections to government prosecutorial agencies, friends in high places. It takes more than truth to win in the courts: it takes money. Your financial support and endorsement are urgently needed. Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

## SYL Film Showings/Discussion

### Revolution or Death!

El Salvador:  
Leftist rebels  
must win the war!

#### OBERLIN

Monday, September 19, 7:30 p.m.  
King 106  
Oberlin College  
For more information: (216) 775-5839

#### LOS ANGELES

Thursday, October 6, 12 noon  
Student Lounge  
Compton College  
For more information: (213) 663-1216 or 1217

because they share the Democratic Party's opposition to the “creation of Marxist states.”

Nicaragua is on the razor's edge: it will either go forward to expropriate the capitalists and spread the revolution or it will face bloody defeat at the hands of the counterrevolutionaries and U.S. imperialism. If the Sandinistas, contrary to their own wishes and out of sheer self-defense, take the “Cuban road”—today's Sandinista cheerleaders will split, with a section of them caving in completely to the pressure of imperialism.

Anti-Communism has been the guiding principle of U.S. imperialism ever since the workers revolution of 1917 created the world's first “Marxist state”—the Soviet workers state. Despite the subsequent Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration, the USSR is a society in which the capitalist class *no longer rules*. The reason that the SYL is uniquely capable of advancing a program in the interests of the exploited worker and peasant masses of Central America is that we stand on the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution. While seeking to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy which sabotages the defense of those gains—e.g., by *not* arming the Salvadoran leftists and the Sandinistas—we seek above all to extend the gains of the October Revolution into the belly of the imperialist beast. As an SYL spokesman explained to an audience of over 40 Berkeley students who attended an SYL-sponsored forum and film showing of “El Salvador: Revolution or Death”: “The only way to fight imperialist war and military intervention is to fight the system that breeds it. The American working class, led by a revolutionary Trotskyist party, will be the gravedigger of American imperialism and in doing so will settle the score for the exploited and oppressed the world over.” ■

## Moonies...

(continued from page 2)

Moon's CAUSA as well. Reporting on a series of CAUSA seminars here, the *Washington Post* (28 August) notes that “contacts thus made will be asked to help set up Causa offices in every state starting this month.” A companion piece printed in the same issue, reports on a Washington CAUSA conference this August:

“Asked how God-ism would fight communism, Pak said programs were being developed, but that one ideology must be met with another.

“He asked participants to help Causa in voter registration and in organizing in each congressional district.”

We also know what sinister “anti-communist organizing” the Moonies direct toward American revolutionaries. We are ourselves the victims of sinister and deadly Moonie libel. When the Spartacist League/SYL-initiated

Labor/Black Mobilization successfully stopped the race-terrorist KKK in Washington, D.C. last November 27, the Moonie daily *Washington Times* smeared the Mobilization organizers as seeking violence against the cops—a vicious lie that sets us up for repression and violence. From Santiago and Pretoria to Washington—it is on behalf of the bloodiest and most repressive “free world” regimes that the Moonies campaign. ■

## Central America...

(continued from page 3)

the isthmus up to Mexico. The Sandinistas' narrow nationalism gravely endangers the gains of the 1979 Revolution!

The Sandinistas' attempt to conciliate imperialism in their foreign policy is

expressed domestically in their attempt to preserve a “mixed,” i.e., *capitalist* economy. SAINTES notes approvingly that “80 percent of the land, and 75 percent of the industry [remain] in private hands” and that “Nicaragua's land reform laws are considered moderate by Latin American standards.” But the domestic bourgeoisie in Nicaragua is the “fifth column” of imperialism's attempts to restore Somozaism. After the pope came to Managua to deliver his message of counterrevolution, 500 wealthy Nicaraguans marched through the streets shouting “Long live Catholic Nicaragua!” Their program is the same as that of the CIA's “Nicaraguan Democratic Front,” whose radio announces “With God and with patriotism, we are combatting Communism”—i.e., a program of bloody counterrevolution. Liberal groups like SAINTES oppose the expropriation of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie—the *completion* of the Nicaraguan Revolution—

# SUBSCRIBE!



\$5/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)

\$2/9 issues of *Young Spartacus*

\$2/4 issues of *Women and Revolution*

\$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

PHONE ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

YSp 111

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

**SPECIAL! A Spartacist pamphlet with one year subscriptions to both *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus*.**

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10116

### 1983 Quotas (in points)

Atlanta	120	Cleveland	170	San Francisco	350
Berkeley/Oakland	450	Detroit	300	Washington, D.C.	120
Boston	350	Los Angeles	280		
Chicago	300	New York	900	<b>National Total</b>	<b>3,340</b>

## U.S. Out of the Indian Ocean! For the Right of Tamil Eelam!

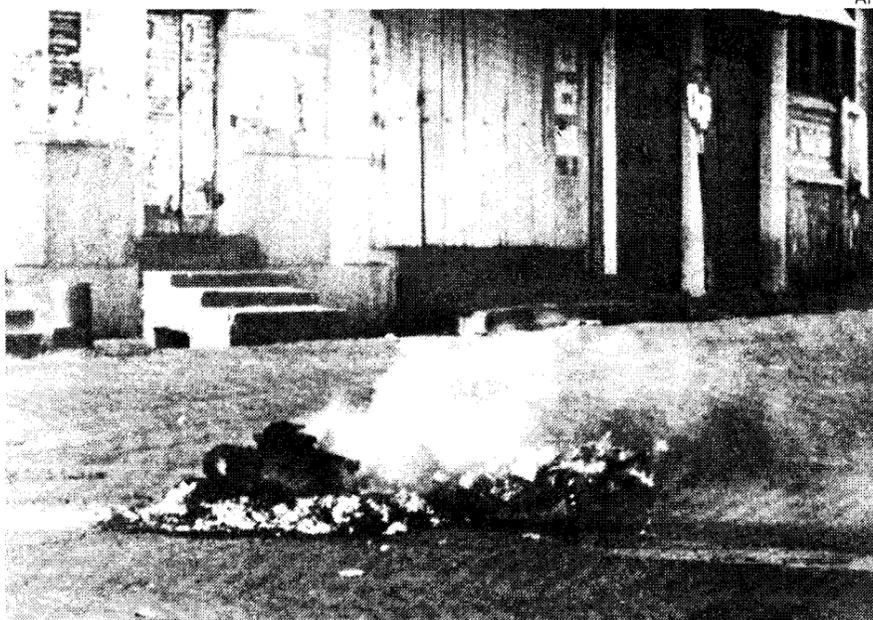
# Anti-Tamil Massacre in Sri Lanka

In early August of this year, the would-be Pinochet of Sri Lanka, President J.R. Jayewardene, found himself at the head of mass, bloody, burning butchery of the oppressed Tamil minority. Murderous pogroms, instigated by J.R.'s United National Party (UNP) government and executed by his rampaging, mutinous army, have massacred many thousands of defenseless Tamils and sent 100,000 or more fleeing for their lives. Many of them are now being held in refugee camps where—starving, under unspeakably filthy conditions, at the mercy of the Sinhalese army—they await relocation in the north of the island. "We are sitting ducks," said one Tamil refugee at a compound near the capital city of Colombo. "They can throw bombs in here and massacre us all like they did in Lebanon" (*International Herald Tribune*, 30-31 July).

The anti-Tamil bloodbath began in late July when Sinhalese (Sri Lanka's Buddhist majority) soldiers abducted and raped several young women from a teachers' college near Jaffna, in the north of the island. Two of the women, hopelessly degraded under prevailing social values, reportedly committed suicide the next day. Outraged Tamil youth took to the streets and erected barricades. Two army vehicles were ambushed; 12 soldiers and an officer were killed. As the army ran wild in Jaffna, organized Sinhalese mob terror swept the South and the economically key upland plantations, where 600,000 legally stateless Tamil laborers live. Whole sections of Colombo were burned to the ground as the cops looked on. A special target of the systematic mob terror was the property of the Tamil merchant layers, who formerly held an important place in the economy of the South (above all in Colombo).

Despite the government's press censorship, the foreign press has documented the wholesale army rampages in the North, and the participation of the cops and army in the killing elsewhere. Advocacy of a separate Tamil state (Eelam) has been illegalized by the government, placing the bourgeois-nationalist TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front, previously the main parliamentary opposition to J.R.'s UNP) in an impossible position.

On July 25, some 35 leading Tamil activists interned in Colombo's maximum-security Welikada Jail were slaughtered. Army men opened the jail gates and cells to allow the professional killers inside the cells of Tamil militants. An hour before the massacre, the authorities moved out three Catholic priests who had been held in these cells. Then the killers moved in. Two days



Body of Tamil victim lies burning in the street.

later, 17 more Tamil prisoners were butchered there.

On August 4, J.R. banned three Sinhalese leftist parties and jailed their leaders in Welikada. There have been over 1,000 arrests and government workers are being forced to take loyalty oaths (eschewing advocacy of Eelam).

J.R.'s preparations for Pinochet-style dictatorship have come together with the anti-Tamil terror campaign. So, too, is the terror tightly linked to the U.S. imperialist anti-Soviet war drive. J.R. is Reagan's man in the Indian Ocean. For some time now, Sri Lanka has been begging to get into ASEAN (successor to SEATO), pimp for genocidal Pol Pot and a front-line instrument for imperialist provocations against Vietnam. The government has for several years implemented a policy of Sinhalese colonization in the historically Tamil east coast port city of Trincomalee, analogous to the Zionist settlements in the West Bank. Thus, the U.S. appetite for the harbor at Trinco—to secure hegemony over the Indian Ocean as a staging area for control of the Indian subcontinent and Persian Gulf—is a main motor force in the Lankan state's war on the Tamil people.

The massive atrocity taking place in Sri Lanka marks a watershed in that island's history. The bloodletting and the mass population transfers have set the economy back at least a decade and are forcing the separation of the peoples. The international Spartacist tendency, which has vigorously campaigned for defense of the Tamil people, has always upheld the Tamils' right to self-determination while counseling against the exercise of that right, in favor of united working-class struggle for Tamil freedom. Now, however, in the wake of the mass killing of Tamils, the bitterness and hostility between the peoples of Ceylon has evidently become insurmountable at least in the short run. Now posed is the minimal democratic demand of a plebiscite of the Tamil working people to decide on the formation of an independent state in the North and East centered on Jaffna.

The formation of an independent state out of the ashes of J.R.'s holocaust would neither ensure survival nor bring national justice for the masses of oppressed Tamils, particularly the million Tamils on the south-central plantations. What is needed is a socialist revolution on the island and its extension throughout South Asia. Such a revolutionary perspective requires the construction of an internationalist Trotskyist party in Sri Lanka, substantially based among the exploited Tamil

masses and forged in struggle against their hideous national oppression.

We reprint below greetings sent to the Spartacist League/U.S. national conference held this August from our comrades in the Spartacist League/Lanka. Until shortly before the American conference convened, we had received from Sri Lanka no information on the safety of our comrades, who while a very small group had become known in the course of their work as outspoken and active defenders of Tamil national rights on the island, including by seeking to link up the leftist student movement at Colombo University with the militant Tamil nationalist activism on the Jaffna campus.

Sometimes heroism is not a matter of doing things, but just of being there and standing fast.

- For the right of Tamil Eelam!
- Patriation of Tamils in Sinhala areas to the North under protection of the Indian army!
- No faith in Indira Gandhi! No "UN" troops!
- Immediate withdrawal of Sinhala army units from all Tamil areas!
- Arms for the Tamil people!
- U.S. out of the Indian Ocean! No U.S. base at Trincomalee!
- Down with press censorship! Free the JVP, CP and NSSP leaders, Tamil militants and all victims of UNP terror! Vengeance for the martyrs of Welikada!
- Forward to a federated socialist republic of Eelam and Lanka!

### Revolutionary Greetings to SL/U.S.

Reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. 337, 9 September 1983

Spartacist League/Lanka  
Colombo  
8 August 1983

The Spartacist League/Lanka (SL/L) sends these warm greetings to the seventh National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. at a time when Sri Lanka is enveloped in the most severe political complexities ever recorded in its recent history.

The six-year administration of the pro-American, rightist J.R. Jayewardene's UNP [United National Party] government has not solved any problems of the people. Instead, they have become aggravated from bad to worse. The "open economy" and the "free trade zone" theories that the government sought to use as supporting pillars for

the crashing economy, are now cracking under the unbearable burdens that rest upon them. By abolishing one by one the rights of the people and by introducing tough legislation the government keeps away the people from the path of struggle. This cruel government that appeared to brighten up not only the earthly life of the people but even their lives after death, and boasted that it laid the foundation for a "Dharmista" [Buddhist righteousness] society, has now got all its dictators' medals soaked with agony and blood of the Tamil people—the victims of violent suppression during the last weeks. The intellectuals' and students' movements within the judiciary, religious and human rights organisations and also in the other layers of society are filled with unrest. More than at any time before, the poorest sections in the island are now facing brutal military law and the force of thugs.

The government, to keep up with its friends, is using all public media, political platforms and forces to declare a "cold war" against the Soviet Union. To serve American and other imperialists' interests, Sri Lanka is invitingly waving its hand to American forces via



Spartacist protests against anti-Tamil terror took place in six countries. Above: New York City, July 28.

capitalist trade tactics. It is seeking to join ASEAN [the Association of South-east Asian Nations] and other counter-revolutionary organisations in an attempt to disgrace the Red victories in Afghanistan, Vietnam and Kampuchea. The government is highly respectful of the Solidarity trade-union movement activities in Poland whilst denying the right of the local workers to demonstrate, picket and strike! The fierce government, having been unable to get out of the capitalist crisis, is now gradually absorbing military juntas into its administration.

As a part of the International, we of the SL/L today join you not only to fight capitalism, but social democracy, reformism and centrism too. Our part in the world is extremely difficult. Risky. We are devoted, as a propaganda group against all types of reactionaries, to building a party on the lines of Bolshevik traditions.

Comrades, Colombo is filled with guns, bayonets, barbed wire, fire, ash and burnt remains, and refugee camps. And from this city, with deep comradely feelings we hold your hand that is raising the red banner of struggle in the conference today.

- The main enemy is at home!
- Indian/Lankan workers key to the socialist revolution in South Asia!
- For the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

### SYL Class Series

#### CHICAGO

For International Workers Revolution  
Alternate Saturdays, 3:00 p.m.  
October 1, 15, 29  
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd floor  
For more information: (312) 427-0003

#### MADISON

For International Workers Revolution  
Alternate Saturdays, 2:00 p.m.  
September 24, October 8, 22,  
November 5  
Madison Room, Memorial Union  
UW Madison  
For more information: (312) 427-0003

#### OBERLIN

Trotskyism:  
Revolutionary Marxism Today  
Exco Course, time and place  
to be announced  
Oberlin College  
For more information: (216) 775-5839

We reprint below a slightly abridged version of James P. Cannon's "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement." Cannon was a member of the IWW (Wobblies) and the Socialist Party from the first decade of this century. He went on to become a founder and leader of the Communist Party until his expulsion as a supporter of Leon Trotsky in 1928, then to become America's foremost Trotskyist. This article was written in 1959 as part of Cannon's letters to the Cold War liberal historian Theodore Draper on the early history of the American communist movement which were subsequently reprinted in 1962 as *The First Ten Years of American Communism*. This veteran communist leader sought to demolish the Cold War liberal thesis held by



American Communist John Reed

Draper and—in a cruder form by Wilson Record and others—that the problems with American communism, especially regarding the black question, were imported from Moscow.

Cannon argues that it took the experience of the Russian Revolution which, to be victorious, had to champion and in some cases to waken the oppressed nations and races of the tsarist empire, to break the early communist movement in this country from a radical tradition which at best ignored the black question and at worst shaded over into the open white racism of the AFL craft unions. It was that experience embodied in the Bolshevik Party and transmitted through the Comintern which reoriented the CP to recognize the black question as one of *special oppression*, extending beyond the immediate conflict between capital and labor. This recognition laid the basis for the effective battles the CP was able to wage in the early 1930s for black rights and equality in spite of its Stalinist degeneration and the Stalinist swindle of calling for "Negro self-determination in the black belt."

The impact that the Russian Revolution had upon the oppressed and colonial nations and races is dramatically portrayed in the movie *Reds* where, at the Second Congress of the Communist International, representatives from the Far East, India and Africa participate as equals with representatives from the countries that are their imperialist masters. What the movie does not portray was the special attention paid and importance given to the American black question by the leaders of the Comintern and especially by the Russian Communist Party. John Reed went to Moscow as a radical journalist won over to the left wing of social democracy and then to the early Communist movement. He went to get the mandate from the Comintern for his faction and

to argue against work within the AFL. Instead, the Comintern insisted that Reed be a reporter on the American black question to the commission and Congress session on the national and colonial questions. Lenin had personally drafted theses for this discussion in which he requested additional information and addenda on "Negroes in America." Reed did make an extensive report graphically relating the oppression of blacks in America that is still worth reading (especially since so little has changed). And Reed was able in part to transcend the Debsian tradition that reduced black oppression to the labor question, stating in his conclusion:

"The Communists must not stand aloof from the Negro movement which demands their social and political equality and at the moment, at a time of the rapid growth of racial consciousness, is spreading rapidly among Negroes. The Communists must use this movement to expose the lie of bourgeois equality and emphasize the necessity of the social revolution which will not only liberate all workers from servitude but is also the only way to free the enslaved Negro people."

—*The Second Congress of the Communist International*

Reed was also directed to be part of the Comintern delegation to the Baku Congress of Peoples of the East (portrayed in *Reds*) in order to understand the importance and relevance of the colonial and national questions to the social revolution in racist, imperialist America.

As Cannon states in the "Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement":

"Everything new on the Negro question came from Moscow—after the Russian Revolution began to thunder its demand throughout the world for freedom and equality for all national minorities, all subject peoples and all



1917: Harlem demonstration against white racist riots in East St. Louis. Lynch mob terror spread after World War I, a so-called "war for democracy."

movement could be read as protests against his own party's capitulation to these two currents at the time. However, it was a protest he was never to raise again. The struggle to build the kind of revolutionary integrated workers party Cannon called for in this article fell to the Revolutionary Tendency within the SWP, precursor of the Spartacist League.

movement could be read as protests against his own party's capitulation to these two currents at the time. However, it was a protest he was never to raise again. The struggle to build the kind of revolutionary integrated workers party Cannon called for in this article fell to the Revolutionary Tendency within the SWP, precursor of the Spartacist League.



Moscow, 1920: Delegates to the Second Congress of the Communist International view battered American radicals' historic indifference to black oppression, stressed Communist fight for black liberation.

"An honest workers' party of the new generation will recognize this revolutionary potential of the Negro struggle, and call for a fighting alliance of the Negro people and the labor movement in a common revolutionary struggle against the present social system."

By the time this article was written, Cannon's party—the Socialist Workers Party—was undergoing a centrist degeneration. Cannon's harsh criticisms of black nationalism and the gradualist, liberal leadership of the civil rights

Schomburg Collection

By James P. Cannon

All through the first ten years of American communism, the party was preoccupied with the Negro question, and gradually arrived at a policy different and superior to that of traditional American radicalism. Yet in my published recollections of this period, the Negro question does not appear anywhere as the subject of internal controversy between the major factions. The reason for this was that none of the American leaders came up with any new ideas on this explosive problem on their own account; and none of the factions, as such, sponsored any of the changes in approach, attitude and policy which were gradually effected by the time the party finished its first decade.

The main discussions on the Negro question took place in Moscow, and the new approach to the problem was elaborated there. As early as the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920, "The Negroes in America" was a point on the agenda, and a preliminary discussion of the question took place. Historical research will prove conclusively that CP policy on the Negro question got its initial impulse from Moscow, and also that all further elaborations of this policy, up to and including the adoption of the "self-determination" slogan in 1928, came from Moscow.

Under constant prodding and pressure from the Russians in the Comintern, the party made a beginning with Negro work in its first ten years; but it recruited very few Negroes and its influence in the Negro community didn't amount to much. From this it is easy to draw the pragmatic conclusion that all the talk and bother about policy in that decade, from New York to Moscow, was much ado about nothing, and that the results of Russian intervention were completely negative.

That is, perhaps, the conventional assessment in these days of the cold war when aversion to all things Russian is

# ution and the eration



**"Workers of the World Unite!" Russian Revolution inspired revolts in the colonial countries.**



**new Red Army parade. Second Congress communists' responsibility to struggle "to free the**

ual Negroes of radical or revolutionary bent.

The earlier socialist movement, out of which the Communist Party was formed, never recognized any need for a special program on the Negro question. It was considered purely and simply as an economic problem, part of the struggle between the workers and the capitalists; nothing could be done about the special problems of discrimination and inequality this side of socialism.

The best of the earlier socialists were represented by Debs, who was friendly to all races and purely free from prejudice. But the limitedness of the great agitator's view on this far from simple problem was expressed in his statement: "We have nothing special to offer the Negro, and we cannot make separate appeals to all the races. The Socialist Party is the party of the whole working class, regardless of color—the whole working class of the whole world." (Ray Ginger: *The Bending Cross*.) That was considered a very advanced position at the time, but it made no provision for active support of the Negro's special claim for a little equality here and now, or in the foreseeable future, on the road to socialism....

Such was the traditional position inherited by the early Communist Party from the preceding socialist movement out of which it had come. The policy and practice of the trade-union movement was even worse. The IWW barred nobody from membership because of "race, color or creed." But the predominant AFL unions, with only a few exceptions, were lily-white job trusts. They also had nothing special to offer the Negroes; nothing at all, in fact.

\* \* \*

The difference—and it was a profound difference—between the Communist Party of the Twenties and its socialist and radical ancestors, was signified by its break with this tradition. The American communists in the early days, under the influence and pressure of the Russians in the Comintern, were slowly and painfully learning to change their attitude; to assimilate the new theory of the Negro question as a special

the conventional substitute for considered opinion. But it is not true history—not by a long shot....

It took the first ten years for the young party to get fairly started in this previously unexplored field. The spectacular achievements in the Thirties cannot be understood without reference to this earlier decade of change and reorientation. That's where the later actions and results came from.

\* \* \*

A serious analysis of the whole complex process has to begin with recognition that the American communists in the early Twenties, like all other radical organizations of that and earlier times, had nothing to start with on the Negro question but an inadequate theory, a false or indifferent attitude and the adherence of a few individ-

question of doubly-exploited second-class citizens, requiring a program of special demands as part of the over-all program—and to start doing something about it....

The effects of this change and preparation in the Twenties, brought about by the Russian intervention, were to manifest themselves explosively in the next decade. The ripely favorable conditions for radical agitation and organization among the Negroes, produced by the Great Depression, found the Communist Party ready to move in this field as no other radical organization in this country had ever done before.

\* \* \*

Everything new and progressive on the Negro question came from Moscow, after the revolution of 1917, and as a result of the revolution—not only for the American communists who responded directly, but for all others concerned with the question....

Everybody knew that the Negro was getting the worst of it at every turn, but hardly anybody cared about it or wanted to do anything to try to moderate or change it. The 90 percent white majority of American society, including its working class sector, North as well as South, was saturated with prejudice against the Negro; and the socialist movement reflected this prejudice to a considerable extent—even though, in deference to the ideal of human brotherhood, the socialist attitude was muted and took the form of evasion. The old theory of American radicalism turned out in practice to be a formula for inaction on the Negro front, and—incidentally—a convenient shield for the dormant racial prejudices of the white radicals themselves.

The Russian intervention changed all that, and changed it drastically, and for

the better. Even before the First World War and the Russian Revolution, Lenin and the Bolsheviks were distinguished from all other tendencies in the international socialist and labor movement by their concern with the problems of oppressed nations and national minorities, and affirmative support of their struggles for freedom, independence and the right of self-determination. The Bolsheviks gave this support to all "people without equal rights" sincerely and earnestly, but there was nothing "philanthropic" about it. They also recognized the great revolutionary potential in the situation of oppressed peoples and nations, and saw them as important allies of the international working class in the revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

After November, 1917 this new doctrine—with special emphasis on the Negroes—began to be transmitted to the American communist movement with the authority of the Russian Revolution behind it. The Russians in the Comintern started on the American communists with the harsh, insistent demand that they shake off their own unspoken prejudices, pay attention to the special problems and grievances of the American Negroes, go to work among them, and champion their cause in the white community.

It took time for the Americans, raised in a different tradition, to assimilate the new Leninist doctrine. But the Russians followed up year after year, piling up the arguments and increasing the pressure on the American communists until they finally learned and changed, and went to work in earnest. And the change in the attitude of the American communists, gradually effected in the Twenties, was to exert a profound influence in far wider circles in the later years.

\* \* \*

The Communist Party's break with the traditional position of American radicalism on the Negro question coincided with profound changes which had been taking place among the Negroes themselves. The large-scale migration from the agricultural regions of the South to the industrial centers of the North was greatly accelerated during the First World War, and continued in the succeeding years. This brought some improvement in their conditions of life over what they had known in the Deep South, but not enough to compensate for the disappointment of being herded into ghettos and still subjected to discrimination on every side.

The Negro movement, such as it was at the time, patriotically supported the First World War "to make the world safe for democracy"; and 400,000 Negroes served in the armed forces. They came home looking for a little democratic pay-off for themselves, but couldn't find much anywhere. Their new spirit of self-assertion was answered by a mounting score of lynchings and a string

continued on page 10



**1932: CP-led demonstration demands freedom for "Scottsboro boys," black youth framed for rape of two white women in Alabama.**

# KAL 007...

(continued from page 1)

tapes to include the Soviet fighter pilot reporting the firing of warning cannon shots at the exact minute the Russians said they were fired. Yet the U.S. government still claims that KAL 007 was never warned! Only Goebbels was more brazen in pursuit of the big lie.

In "Reagan's Story Stinks!" in *Work Vanguard* No. 337, we wrote:

"If the government of the Soviet Union knew that the intruding aircraft was in fact a commercial passenger plane containing 200-plus innocent civilians, despite the potential military damage of such an apparent spying mission, if they deliberately destroyed the airplane and its occupants, then, to paraphrase the French, the act of shooting it down would have been worse than a barbaric atrocity, it would have been an idiocy worthy of the Israelis. But the piecemeal facts and obvious falsifications argue that this was not the case, and something resembling what really might have gone on is rapidly being pieced together internationally."

It is now clear beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Russians had every reason to believe that KAL 007 was on a provocative spying mission, and no reason at all to believe that it was a civilian airliner which had mistakenly "strayed off course." The plane acted like a spy plane: that's what they thought it was. And the Japanese and the U.S. authorities, who so obviously tracked the flight, never gave the Russians any information to the contrary or any information at all!

## RC-135 Controller

The United States government has admitted the presence of an RC-135 spy plane in the area where the KAL 007 entered Soviet airspace. Reagan claims that the RC-135 was just on a "routine" mission, that it never violated Soviet airspace, flew no closer than 75 nautical miles to KAL 007 and was never aware that the KAL jet entered Soviet airspace. According to Marshal Ogarkov the RC-135 was flying a "strange" patrol of wide loops which converged with the flight path of the KAL jet (already off course). The two planes flew side by side for ten minutes, a maneuver which could only have been designed to



Reagan labeled Soviet Marshal Nikolai V. Ogarkov a liar; each new revelation proves Ogarkov was telling the truth.

Moreover, the planes usually carry a "staff of technicians and translators from the National Security Agency." The RC-135 must have been in the air because the U.S. *expected* Soviet fighter activity that night, and it had the full capacity, at least in the early stages, of monitoring all Soviet radar and air defense activity around KAL 007's intrusion into Soviet airspace. According to the same *New York Times* article: "Intelligence experts out of the Government, however, said that if the surveillance plane was operating anywhere near the path of the South Korean plane during the early phases of its encounter with Soviet aircraft, the American plane would likely have detected unusual Soviet air-defense activity. If so, they said, the crew of the plane could have taken steps to notify civilian air-traffic controllers in Japan."

On September 12 the brazen liars in the U.S. government released tapes which purport to show that KAL 007 had "radio" trouble. But these tapes substantially *confirm* the Soviet assertion that KAL 007 went off course while still within U.S. radar range. The tapes of KAL 007's communications (or more precisely lack thereof) with Anchorage ground control show that by the time the plane should have reached the second mandatory checkpoint for radio contact with Anchorage it could no

been a result of mechanical malfunctions or atmospheric conditions. But the general immediate reaction was that the trouble was caused by the airliner's deviation from course to an area beyond the range of the VHF, or very high frequency, radio network."

VHF is the *normal* method of communicating with planes on R-20. The pilots of KAL 007 were experienced enough on R-20 to know the implications of being out of VHF range. The pilot knew he was out of range, i.e., *off of R-20 and off course*. But he was reporting his position to ground control as being on R-20, giving civilian air traffic controllers no cause for alarm, says the U.S. government. Perhaps, but KAL 007 was in range of military radar on the Aleutian island of Shemya, which is responsible for monitoring civilian flights at that point along R-20 under an agreement reached by the Federal Aviation Administration and the Defense Department about a year ago (*Washington Post*, 2 September). Moreover, Shemya is the base of the RC-135 spy plane that was in the air that night and KAL 007 was on a course that led it to enter Soviet radar range at the point where RC-135s normally enter. *Someone* on the U.S. military base at Shemya had to know a lot about the whereabouts of KAL 007.

So much for the U.S. government assertion that it had no concurrent intelligence information about KAL 007. And so much for the so-called "translation" time that is supposed to explain the 22-hour gap between when the plane went down and when it was reported by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz (and by that time the U.S. had its story—the Soviets were still trying to figure out what happened). The U.S. had the capacity to know and *must have known* that KAL 007 was off course and headed straight for Soviet airspace, and they did not alert the Soviet authorities. Neither did the Japanese who were responsible for monitoring the plane at the time it entered Soviet airspace. Did KAL 007 deliberately penetrate Soviet airspace so the U.S. could monitor Soviet responses? It's sure beginning to look that way, and over 200 innocent civilians are dead and their bodies smashed to bits, the victims of an insane game of "chicken" by Cold Warriors against the Soviet Union.

## Provocation Made-to-Order

The U.S. government wants the public to believe that Flight 007 simply "strayed" off course, inexplicably over sensitive Russian military installations, and was shot down by the Russians who knew it was a civilian airliner. Out of the Pacific skies falls a made-to-order incident for Ronald Reagan. It's all so neat. "It's going to make some things easier for us," the *New York Times* (3 September) quotes a Reagan adviser as having said, "and that's a bad tradeoff for the Russians."

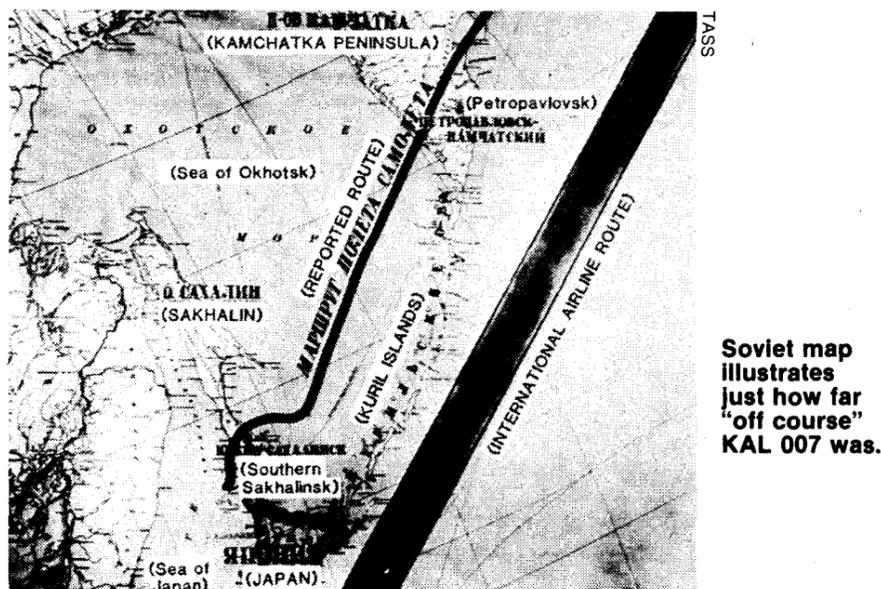
Meanwhile, what the U.S. government would like is to put the Soviets in a situation like 1919: no trade, no commu-

nication, no transportation, a complete world blockade. But this isn't 1919 and it won't work. Reagan backed off on threats to renege on the U.S./Soviet grain deal and he can't impose further trade sanctions against the USSR—except the ridiculous attempts to take it out on Stolichnaya—because the other Western imperialists won't go along (remember the pipeline fiasco). If Reagan canceled the Geneva negotiations he'd risk massive protest in Europe that might threaten the new missile deployment (the Pershings will be only eight minutes from Moscow).

No one should mistake the meaning of Reagan's closing down of Aeroflot's U.S. offices, the banning of U.S. air carriers' right to sell tickets for Aeroflot flights and the temporary banning of flights to the USSR by some other imperialist nations. Now it is even illegal for U.S. airlines to carry passengers to and from the U.S. if Aeroflot is on the itinerary! This deadly and provocative retaliation is an attempt to isolate Russia in preparation for imperialist war.

The U.S. evidently needs about a two-year buildup for war with Russia. A MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction) war is insane, but then the Reaganites are societally insane—"God will prevail over Satan." Their battle cry will be "Remember the Korean Air Line Massacre," Reagan's version of Teddy Roosevelt's "Remember the Maine," as Reagan fantasizes a conclusive first strike or even victorious "protracted nuclear warfare."

Reagan targets the Soviet Union for war because it embodies the gains of the first workers revolution overthrowing capitalism, ripping a sixth of the globe from imperialist domination and because it is the military-industrial powerhouse capable of thwarting imperialist appetites from Southeast Asia to the Caribbean. It is precisely because the Soviet workers state—albeit bureaucratically degenerated under Stalin and his heirs—retains the fundamental gains of the 1917 revolution that we Trotskyists unconditionally militarily defend the USSR against imperialist attack. As is obvious, the threat of war against the Soviet Union is very real and increasingly imminent: the trip wires extend from the Near East to Central America to the Northwest Pacific—scene of a massive deployment of U.S. forces. Vigilance is more necessary than ever in defending the homeland of the October Revolution. The Spartacus Youth League has not—as many American "leftists" have—pretended that the anti-Soviet war drive has nothing to do with U.S.-backed butchery in Central America, the huge military expenditures, the unleashing of fascist and right-wing forces domestically. And while ostensible "socialists" joined the Vatican, Reagan and *Wall Street Journal* in shedding tears for the "workers" of Poland, we told the truth: Polish Solidarność was a Vatican-backed company union for the CIA and Western bankers, aiming at capitalist restoration in Poland. When Democratic Cold Warrior Jimmy Carter beat the war drums over Soviet intervention into Afghanistan (reinstating draft registration and setting a precedent which "liberal" Democrats in Congress uphold today as a tough alternative to Reagan's response to the Flight 007 incident) we again swam against the stream of anti-Sovietism. The Red Army in that instance was not only acting in defense of Soviet borders, but on behalf of social progress in Afghanistan—supporting those forces who, for instance, opposed the virtual slavery and enforced illiteracy of Afghani women. Now we are presented with the Flight 007 provocation which—however specifically initially intended—is indeed being used to bring anti-Soviet public opinion to fever pitch and ensure the relatively smooth progress of the MX, Pershing missile deployment in Europe and increased commitment (direct U.S. intervention just short of U.S. troops in combat) to



confuse the Soviet air defense since the blips totally merged on the Soviet radar screen. Moreover, the RC-135 picked up electronic signals from the KAL jet and "must have been controlling the initial stage of the flight of the Boeing 747 and keeping track of the actions of our air defense system at that time."

Reagan's story is belied by all accounts of the espionage capability of the RC-135. According to the *New York Times* (5 September), RC-135s

"...provide access to certain Soviet military activity that cannot be obtained by satellites or high-flying reconnaissance planes, like the U-2 or the SR-71. Intelligence officials said, for example, that the planes normally fly missions designed to coincide with Soviet Air Force exercises, allowing the American planes to track Soviet fighters in flight."

longer contact ground control over the normal very high frequency (VHF) radio. When KAL 007 was not heard from, ground control tried to reach it three times over VHF, with no intelligible response. Eventually KAL 007's pilot radioed another Korean jet which had left Anchorage 14 minutes after 007 did, and had that pilot radio to ground control that KAL 007 had passed the checkpoint. The sister Korean jet radioed KAL 007's position to ground control again at its next scheduled report time. Did KAL 007 have radio trouble? Then why did it have no trouble contacting Tokyo airport later? The *New York Times* (13 September) gives a hint of the real explanation:

"Technical experts said it was theoretically possible that Flight 7's communication problems could have

the right-wing butchers of El Salvador and the CIA-backed *contras* invading Nicaragua. The U.S.' tissue of lies does not seem to be accepted by much of the American population; even the U.S. press has become openly skeptical. It is again our task to forthrightly expose these lies and warn against the nuclear holocaust that the U.S. rulers believe is "winnable" as well as to defend the Soviet Union and all those countries where capitalism has been abolished against irrational and bellicose U.S. imperialism.

**Stop Provoking the USSR!**

It may come as a rude shock to the rabid chauvinists screaming about the downing of KAL 007, but in the U.S. in the recent period two acts have been committed, the implications of which are far more serious than civilian airliners. In January of 1980 PATCO air traffic controllers at New York's Kennedy International Airport deliberately endangered the life of the Soviet Union's U.S. Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin and all those aboard an Aeroflot jet on its final landing approach when the identification tag that gives the altitude and speed of the aircraft was disappeared from the radar screen. The Aeroflot liner descended ten miles through unprotected airspace before the radar was corrected. On September 5 of this year U.S. authorities allowed about 75 Korean demonstrators protesting the downing of 007 and carrying banners reading "Kill the Russians" to enter the grounds of the Soviet diplomatic retreat at Glen Cove, Long Island, deliberately endangering the lives of all those on the Soviet compound. The rabid Korean anti-communists destroyed security cameras and shredded and burned

**On the Soviet Bureaucracy**

*We publish below excerpts from Spartacist League correspondence in reply to critics of our tendency regarding our dubbing the New York City contingent to the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington, D.C. as the "Yuri Andropov Brigade."*

"In your letter you write, 'On the most general level Andropov and the bureaucrats he represents are counterposed to everything that Trotsky fought for.' In the 1952 factional struggle in the SWP the majority got itself saddled with 'Stalinism is coun-

terrevolutionary through and through and to the core'—a more poetic version of your position. But Trotsky and the consistent Trotskyists have been aware of the dual role of the Soviet bureaucracy both as economic disorganizers and social and political oppressors on the one hand, and, on the other, interested in their own survival at the head of the deformed workers states over which they preside. Adolf Hitler was made sharply aware of the latter aspect of their contradictory role....

"Certainly Trotsky wrote, and the

Hungarian revolution verified, that under the impact of political revolution the ordinarily rigid and stratified despotic bureaucracy, not being a social/economic class, will itself undergo profound differentiation—with some, the most corrupt and bourgeoisified, making common cause with capitalist-imperialist counterrevolution, and at the other extreme some throwing in their lot with the workers in the Leninist soviet democratization. Standing at the very summit of the Soviet bureaucracy, Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov is hardly likely to be among the latter. But let me assure you, comrades, it is easier to conceive of him in that role than, for example, Andre Sakharov, pervasively a political supporter of U.S. imperialism."

activities of the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, taken from the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (16 June):

"On March 25... *Enterprise* sailed, as everyone in Sasebo [Japan] thought, for home. But in fact it steered north, to meet somewhere off the Aleutians two sister behemoths, the carriers *Midway*—normally home-ported at Yokosuka in Tokyo Bay—and *Coral Sea* from California, both accompanied, like *Enterprise* by escorts of cruisers, destroyers, an unknown number of US submarines and four smaller warships from the Canadian Pacific fleet. The three giant carriers between them have 300 attack aircraft and, with their escorts, constituted the most powerful naval force seen in the Pacific since 1945 or, in terms of firepower, ever assembled there.

"This was not, of course, a social gathering. According to a report by James Foley, chief of the Tokyo bureau of the Reuter news agency (who formerly covered Nato headquarters in

carried a terrifying account of a collision between a U.S. and Soviet nuclear sub in Soviet territorial waters in the Barents Sea, just off the entrance to the White Sea in November 1969. The USS *Gato*, a Thresher class submarine, was operating as part of the Navy's secret "Holystone" program and its mission was to track vessels leaving the Soviet submarine base in Archangel on the White Sea. It carried a team of eight NSA agents who spent their time monitoring Soviet communications. If threatened in Soviet waters (it was authorized to go within four miles off the Soviet coast) it had "authority to use weapons." Well, it collided with a Soviet sub and the following is an account by a former crew member of what followed:

"... the *Gato's* weapons officer immediately ran two decks below and prepared for orders to arm the vessel's Subroc nuclear torpedo and three smaller torpedoes that also carried nuclear warheads. Only one authentication—either from the ship's captain or her executive officer—was needed to prepare the torpedoes for launching. "No order came from *Gato's* captain because the Soviet vessel—obviously confused—made no attempt to pursue the *Gato*. Instead, she [the Soviet sub] began utilizing her fathometer in an apparent effort to determine whether she had struck a seamount or a similar underwater object. The Soviet vessel surfaced moments later."

This incident was covered up by the Navy, and it is just one of *four* known collisions of Soviet and U.S. subs involved in the Holystone program. The last known collision, in May 1974, occurred in Soviet territorial waters off Petropavlosk. The commanders of these individual spy operations are authorized to use nuclear weapons. Any one of these U.S. provocations could start WW III.

**Counterrevolutionary Suicide?**

There is an innocent "hypothesis" which is possible, unlike Reagan's absurd story of navigational "error": that the South Korean pilot did it on his own as a macho suicidal act; perhaps he or his family were in trouble with the KCIA back home. Counterrevolutionary suicide by an Asian John Wayne, suicide on a grandiose scale with a lot of involuntary participants: it's a possibility. Moreover, it's clear that either the captain had turned off power to the cabin lights, or the passengers were never warned. If they had been the main cabin would have been a blaze of lights.

According to Major General George Keegan, former chief of Air Force intelligence:

"I have never failed to be surprised at how careless the Koreans are, despite the risks of flying near Soviet airspace.... Despite all that the Soviets had there, the Koreans continued to fly too close. The Koreans continued to bruise the Soviets on this. What happened today they invited."  
—*New York Times*, 2 September

Then there is the case of another KAL flight which in April 1978 flew 1,000 miles off course into Soviet airspace over the strategic naval base at Murmansk before being shot at and forced down by a Soviet fighter. The Korean pilot on that flight also took evasive

action. The U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance just happened to be in Moscow at the time discussing arms control with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. Coincidence?

As to the assertion that a spy mission for KAL 007 is "unthinkable": Ernest Volkman, "national security editor" of *Defense Science* magazine, said in an interview broadcast by the Canadian CBC network on September 2 that Korean Air Lines, among others, is "notorious" for placing "special sensors and photo equipment" on board their planes. Moreover, according to the testimony of the editor of *New Korea* in front of a 1976 Congressional subcommittee investigating KCIA activity, KAL flights out of Los Angeles to Seoul carry one or two KCIA agents every flight. One thing is certain: any innocent civilian who gets on a KAL flight now has got to be crazy.

**Socialist Revolution to Disarm the Capitalist Class**

Reagan answered critics who demanded sterner sanctions against the Russians by saying, "Short of going to war, what would they have us do?" This is no mere rhetorical hyperbole on Reagan's part. Reagan isn't interested in pin pricks, he's after the big bang: he just needs time to prepare. It looks increasingly like the Korean plane provocation has not succeeded in substantially inflaming anti-Soviet sentiment here and abroad. But the rulers of U.S. imperialism are on a headlong war drive to take back the gains of the October Revolution and destroy the Soviet Union. If there is any underlying meaning to this latest exploit it is that Reagan confuses the Kremlin policy of "détente" with capitulation on the part of the Soviets. The U.S. may have sought to confirm that false equation, but the Soviet Union answered "no" in an unambiguous way. It is a good thing for those fighting imperialism in the U.S. and abroad that the Russians don't simply "eat it" faced with heightened imperialist provocations, including the most recent, grotesque KAL 007.

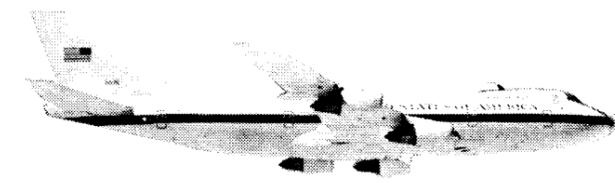
U.S. imperialism has in its hands the capacity to destroy civilization, and the Reaganites will not be restrained by the universal horror of nuclear war, which they insanely believe the U.S. can "win." The working class and its allies must seize power in a socialist revolution and disarm the capitalist class, before imperialism unleashes a nuclear holocaust which will engulf us all. ■

**"All Cats Are Grey in the Dark"**

747 KAL passenger plane, U.S. E4B and RC-135 reconnaissance jets: all look huge to a Soviet fighter (below left).



KAL 747



E4B U.S. Military Command Post



SU-15 Interceptor



RC-135 U.S. Spy Plane

1 inch = 72.51 feet

Soviet flags before they were stopped by some combination of local cops and Soviet armed guards. Diplomatic immunity and extra-territoriality of embassies are necessary conventions if international relations are to exist at all in the imperialist world. The violations of Soviet diplomatic immunity and of the Soviet embassy threaten the very existence of state to state relations.

The USSR is besieged by American imperialism in every known and malicious way, forced into a giant arms race, penetrated, damaged, you name it. In a September 4 interview Col. General Semyon F. Romanov, chief of the main headquarters staff of the Soviet Air Defense Forces said that United States combat planes have violated Soviet airspace near the Kuril islands (just south of the Kamchatka peninsula) nine times this year alone. The United States Navy, whose anti-Soviet strategy depends on bottling up the Soviet navy—which has only four passages to the sea—has also staged deliberate provocations in the northern Pacific. The following is an account of recent

Brussels) the three carrier battle groups then proceeded, in mid-April, to steam down the coast of Siberia 'taunting' (as Foley put it) the Soviet garrison there by sailing 'within a few hundred miles' (or, say 15 minutes' flying time) of the Soviet base at Petropavlovsk, home port of the Soviets' Pacific fleet of ballistic missile submarines....

"The aim of these manoeuvres was not, of course, to practise close-formation steaming, which could be done more economically off Seattle. In classical naval theory, a demonstration of this kind shows your prospective opponent that he is outclassed off his own coastline and had better stick close to home if he knows what is good for him.... As the three carrier battle-groups represent a good quarter of the sea strength of the US, it is inconceivable that they were not carrying their full war armament, including tactical nuclear weapons."

A *Pravda* article on September 6 revealed that on April 4, planes based on the *Midway* and *Enterprise* violated Soviet airspace, part of a systematic buildup of such violations in the area.

U.S. submarines regularly penetrate far into Soviet territorial waters to spy. The *New York Times* (6 July 1975)

## J. P. Cannon...

(continued from page 7)

of race riots across the country, North as well as South.

All this taken together—the hopes and the disappointments, the new spirit of self-assertion and the savage reprisals—contributed to the emergence of a new Negro movement in the making. Breaking sharply with the Booker T. Washington tradition of accommodation to a position of inferiority in a white man's world, a new generation of Negroes began to press their demand for equality.

\* \* \*

What the emerging new movement of the American Negroes—a ten percent minority—needed most, and lacked almost entirely, was effective support in the white community in general and in the labor movement, its necessary ally, in particular. The Communist Party, aggressively championing the cause of the Negroes and calling for an alliance of the Negro people and the militant labor movement, came into the new situation as a catalytic agent at the right time.

It was the Communist Party, and no other, that made the Herndon and Scottsboro cases national and world-wide issues, and put the Dixiecrat legal-lynch mobs on the defensive—for the first time since the collapse of Reconstruction. Party activists led the fights and demonstrations to gain fair consideration for unemployed Negroes at the relief offices, and to put the furniture of evicted Negroes back into their empty apartments. It was the Communist Party that demonstratively nominated a Negro for Vice-President in 1932—something no other radical or socialist party had ever thought about doing.

By such and similar actions and agitation in the Thirties, the party shook up all more or less liberal and progressive circles of the white majority, and began to bring about a radical change of attitude on the Negro question. At the same time, the party became a real factor among the Negroes, and the Negroes themselves advanced in status and self-confidence—partly as a result of the Communist Party's aggressive agitation on the issue.

The facts are not disposed of by saying: The communists had their own axe to grind. All agitation for Negro rights is grist to the mill of the Negro movement; and the agitation of the communists was more energetic and more effective than any other at that time—by far.

\* \* \*

It is customary to attribute the progress of the Negro movement, and the shift of public opinion in favor of its claims, to the changes brought about by the First World War. But the biggest thing that came out of the First World



5,000-strong Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped KKK march through Washington, D.C. last November 27.

War, the event that changed everything, including the prospects of the American Negro, was the Russian Revolution. The influence of Lenin and the Russian Revolution, even debased and distorted as it later was by Stalin, and then filtered through the activities of the Communist Party in the United States, contributed more than any other influence from any source to the recognition, and more or less general acceptance, of the Negro question as a special problem of American society—a problem which cannot be simply subsumed under the general heading of the conflict between capital and labor, as it was in the pre-communist radical movement.

It adds something, but not much, to say that the Socialist Party, the liberals and the more or less progressive labor leaders went along with the new definition, and gave some support to the claims of the Negroes. That's just what they did; they went along. They had no independent, worked-out theory and policy of their own; where would they get it—out of their own heads? Hardly. They all followed in the wake of the CP on this question in the Thirties.

The Trotskyists and other dissident radical groups—who also had learned from the Russians—contributed what they could to the fight for Negro rights; but the Stalinists, dominating the radical movement, dominated the new developments in the Negro field, too.

\* \* \*

Everything new on the Negro question came from Moscow—after the Russian Revolution began to thunder its demand throughout the world for freedom and equality for all national minorities, all subject peoples and all races—for all the despised and rejected of the earth. This thunder is still rolling, louder than ever, as the daily headlines testify.

The American communists responded first, and most emphatically, to the new doctrine from Russia. But the Negro people, and substantial segments of American white society, responded indirectly, and are still responding—whether they recognize it or not.

The present official leaders of the "civil rights" movement of the American Negroes, more than a little surprised at its expanding militancy, and the support it is getting in the white population of the country, scarcely suspect how much the upsurging movement owes to the Russian Revolution which they all patriotically disavow.

The Rev. Martin Luther King did remark, at the time of the Montgomery boycott battle, that their movement was part of the world-wide struggle of the colored peoples for independence and equality. He should have added that the colonial revolutions, which are indeed a powerful ally of the Negro movement in America, got their starting impulse from the Russian Revolution—and are stimulated and strengthened from day to day by the continuing existence of this revolution in the shape of the Soviet Union and the new China, which white imperialism suddenly "lost."

Indirectly, but all the more convincingly, the most rabid anti-sovieters,

among them the liberal politicians and the official labor leaders, testify to this when they say: The Little Rock scandal and things like that shouldn't happen because it helps communist propaganda among the dark-skinned colonial people. Their fear of "communist propaganda," like some other people's fear of the Lord, makes them virtuous.

It is now conventional for labor leaders and liberals—in the North—to sympathize with the Negro struggle for a few elementary rights as human beings. It is the Right Thing To Do, the mark of civilized intelligence....

It never occurs to the present-day liberals to wonder why their counterparts of a previous generation—with a few notable individual exceptions—never thought of this new and more enlightened attitude toward the Negroes before Lenin and the Russian Revolution upset the apple cart of the old, well-established and complacently accepted separate-but-unequal doctrine. The American anti-communist liberals and labor officials don't know it, but some of the Russian influence they hate and fear so much even rubbed off on them.

\* \* \*

Of course, as everybody knows, the American Stalinists eventually fouled up the Negro question, as they fouled up every other question. They sold out the struggle for Negro rights during the Second World War, in the service of Stalin's foreign policy—as they sold out striking American workers, and rooted for the prosecution in the first Smith Act trial of the Trotskyists at Minneapolis in 1941, for the same basic reason....

\* \* \*

For those who look to the future these facts are important; an anticipation of things to come. By their militant activity in earlier years, the Stalinists gave a great impetus to the new Negro movement. Then, their betrayal of the Negro cause in the Second World War cleared

the way for the inch-at-a-time gradualists who have been leading the movement unchallenged ever since.

The policy of gradualism, of promising to free the Negro within the framework of the social system that subordinates and degrades him, is not working out. It does not go to the root of the problem. The aspirations of the Negro people are great and so are the energies and emotions expended in their struggle. But the concrete gains of their struggle up to date are pitifully meager. They have gained a few inches, but the goal of real equality is miles and miles away.

The right to occupy a vacant seat on a bus; the token integration of a handful of Negro children in a few public schools; a few places open for individual Negroes in public office and some professions; fair employment rights on the books, but not in practice; the formally and legally recognized right to equality which is denied in practice at every turn—that's the way it is today, 96 years after the Emancipation Proclamation.

There has been a big change in the outlook and demands of the Negroes' movement since the days of Booker T. Washington, but no fundamental change in their actual situation. This contradiction is building up to another explosion and another change of policy and leadership. In the next stage of its development, the American Negro movement will be compelled to turn to a more militant policy than gradualism, and to look for more reliable allies than capitalist politicians in the North who are themselves allied with the Dixiecrats of the South. The Negroes, more than any others in this country, have reason and right to be revolutionary.

**An honest workers' party of the new generation will recognize this revolutionary potential of the Negro struggle, and call for a fighting alliance of the Negro people and the labor movement in a common revolutionary struggle against the present social system.**

Reforms and concessions, far more important and significant than any yet attained, will be by-products of this revolutionary alliance. They will be fought for and attained at every stage of the struggle. But the new movement will not stop with reforms, nor be satisfied with concessions. The movement of the Negro people and the movement of militant labor, united and coordinated by a revolutionary party, will solve the Negro problem in the only way it can be solved—by a social revolution.

The first efforts of the Communist Party along these lines a generation ago will be recognized and appropriated. Not even the experience of the Stalinist betrayal will be wasted. The memory of this betrayal will be one of the reasons why the Stalinists will not be the leaders next time. ■

### Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

**Ann Arbor:** SYL, P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 662-2339

**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

**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

**Vancouver:** Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8

### 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

# August 27...

(continued from page 12)

route. Blacks and labor mobilized independently of the Democratic and Republican parties, fighting for their rights, was the last thing the black front men for Reagan wanted to see. That's why Washington, D.C. mayor Marion Barry and Congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy opposed the Labor/Black Mobilization and supported letting the Klan march. If today the black Democratic Party fakers feel compelled to deliver windy speeches about "freedom" it is in part because the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization brought out such a massive response from black people determined to defend themselves against racist terror. And the BEOs want to make sure black outrage is safely channeled into the Democrats' ballot boxes.

In explaining why it was initiating the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization, the Spartacist League put forward a real program for "jobs, peace and freedom":

- IN D.C. NOW AND EVERYWHERE, FIGHT KLAN TERROR! Mobilize the power of organized labor and minorities against KKK/Nazi killers!
- Sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Jobs for all—30 hours work for 40 hours pay! Labor/black defense of school busing—extend it to the suburbs; free public higher education for all!

Break America from Carter's Democrats and Reagan's Republicans—for a workers party with a strong black leadership component to:

- Smash the war drive, support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad!
- Institute a massive social security program—health, pensions, full employment compensation at union wages!
- Take American industry away from its incompetent, corrupt owners—nationalize it under a workers government! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

## Misleaders Lull Black Masses to Sleep

The "Coalition of Conscience" told demonstrators, "Let's fulfill the dream of Martin Luther King, Jr." The "mystique of Martin" pervaded the whole demonstration, which was called in commemoration of the 1963 March on Washington at which King gave his famous "I have a dream" speech. That march was intended to put a damper on the militancy of the early civil rights sit-ins and protests. Before the 1963 march King, Fauntroy and others met with President Kennedy to assure him that the march would be tightly controlled, and they censored a speech by John Lewis of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee to delete his criticisms of the Democratic Party.

Today Jesse Jackson offers himself up as the new Martin Luther King, but he's not even for desegregation! When 10,000 blacks marched in Norfolk, Virginia to defend school busing for integration, Jackson spit on their struggle. "I'm not in town marching for desegregation," he said, "I'm marching for the voter registration boost"

(*Virginian-Pilot*, 14 May). Jackson has been running all over the South, glad-handing every racist Democratic Party boss in Dixie—the same types who turned their water hoses and unleashed their attack dogs on King's non-violent demonstrations. He even posed shaking hands with George Wallace, grinning from ear to ear. In his speech to participants in the August 27 demonstration, Jackson likened unregistered black voters in the 1980 election to "rocks, lying around." They should have registered to vote, he said—for Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter!

## Reformists Dreaming of 1984

The reformist "socialists" were all there on August 27, trying to put a "left" face on this Democratic Party festival. The Communist Workers Party (CWP), which is openly supporting Jesse Jackson for president of the U.S., headlined their *Workers Viewpoint* newspaper, "Fulfill the Dream." (Interestingly, however, at a virtually unattended conference at the University of the District of Columbia August 26, black CWP leader Phil Thompson told the SYL that he was not voting for Jackson.) The Communist Party's Young Communist League (YCL) showed up August 27 with its newspaper, wishfully rechristened the *Dynamic!*, with an article entitled "Long Live the King!" "... a revolutionary legacy is something King wrote for himself through his brilliant words and deeds," according to YCL national chairman James Steele. The Socialist Workers Party and Workers World, as well as the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (whose only advice to American blacks is "back to Africa"), all distributed literature attempting to link Martin Luther King with the militant black nationalist Malcolm X. Malcolm X was known for his advocacy of the right of armed self-defense, for his vigorous opposition to the pacifism, capitulation and pious religiosity of Martin Luther King. The two were bitter opponents politically. The amalgamation of the politics of the two vastly different black leaders—one a militant nationalist, the other a turn-the-other-cheek liberal—could only come from groups which have an interest in obscuring and falsifying the lessons of the movement for black rights because they have no program for black liberation today.

Comrades of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League sold over 300 subscriptions to *Workers Vanguard*, which headlined "Labor, Blacks: Don't Crawl for the Democrats!" and contained an article by Malcolm X denouncing King's pro-Democratic Party 1963 March on Washington as the "farce on Washington." Most of these subscriptions were sold on the basis of solidarity with the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization. At follow-up forums at Howard University and the University of the District of Columbia, the SYL explained how King's pro-Democratic Party pacifism was an obstacle to the struggle for black rights in the '60s. King was a personally courageous man who spent much of his life under cop surveillance and harassment. To this day it remains unknown if the government or its secret police had a hand in his assassination. But at innumerable crucial junctures in the

struggle for black rights, King's loyalty to the liberals and Democrats meant betrayal of that struggle. For example: in 1962, after black youth in Albany, Georgia defended themselves against racist police violence, King called for a "day of penance" for the blacks and halted demonstrations in that city, breaking the momentum in a fight for integration. After Watts exploded in 1965, King came out in favor of the violence of the police. "It was necessary that as powerful a police force as possible be brought to check them," he said (*New York Times*, 16 August 1965). And when Stokely Carmichael raised the slogan of "Black Power" during the marches held in the wake of the shooting of James Meredith in Mississippi in 1966, King condemned the slogan and said, "The government has got to give me some victories if I'm gonna keep people non-violent" (quoted in Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle*).

Our tradition is not that of the pacifist liberal Martin Luther King, who slandered black self-defense as "violence." We stand in the best traditions of John Brown, who heroically tried to organize a slave revolt; of Frederick Douglass, the militant abolitionist who recruited hundreds of black ex-slaves to take up arms against the slavocracy; of Malcolm X, who proposed that blacks defend themselves against racist violence. But above all we stand in the tradition of the Bolshevik Party which led the workers revolution in Russia in 1917. It took a socialist revolution to win peace, land and bread in Russia in 1917, and it will take labor/black struggle against racist capitalism to win jobs, peace and freedom here. Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

## Detroit...

(continued from page 12)

to Young's "emergency measures" as STRESS II, "Shop the RenCen. Enjoy Safe Stores," after the notorious STRESS campaign ("Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets") of the early 1970s in which black youth were routinely gunned down by cops. This is how the black mayors front for their white capitalist masters. Young's curfew scapegoats Detroit's black youth for the capitalist crisis which has left a permanent pool of over 70 percent minority youth unemployed. It aims to put a clamp on the felt frustrations and outrage of the largely black ghetto and working masses who suffer daily from the concessions, plant closings and bipartisan attacks on social services that have drained this city dry. The man who was first elected in large part due to black outrage over STRESS I is now Detroit's top cop, Henry Ford II's pal, and implements STRESS II.

In response to the call by the SYL and LBSL, some 25 demonstrators came out to Wayne State on August 3 to protest Coleman Young's racist curfew. "The RenCen should be ours, but it's Coleman Young's showpiece. We say, turn it into a 24-hour youth center with swimming pools and free video games!" said Charles DuBois, member of the Rouge Militant Caucus of UAW Local 600, one of a half-dozen River Rouge workers who came to the demonstration. The spirited protesters chanted, "STRESS killed 16 blacks—Join us and beat STRESS II back!" The fight against the curfew struck a chord among black high school youth, many of whom took stacks of leaflets to hand out to friends.

A popular chant of the demonstration was, "This racist curfew sucks, it makes us sitting ducks!" Coleman Young's idea of "keeping peace" is throwing Detroit teenagers into the slammer. Seventeen-year-old Darien Smith, on whose behalf the ACLU suit was filed, was prevented from celebrating his high school graduation when the cops handcuffed him, threw him into a patrol wagon and jailed

him for over five hours for the "crime" of playing a video game after 11:00 p.m. at night. And while Young pontificates on the "economic root cause" of youth crime and drug use, the much-ballyhooed Michigan Youth Job Corps could barely muster 60 (!) summer jobs for Detroit city youth, most of whom ended up picking up trash on freeways at minimum wage under chain-gang-like conditions.

The curfew was designed to play on the largely black working class' genuine fear of violence and crime in this city where cashiers sit encased in bulletproof plexiglass and armed security guards patrol check-out stands at the neighborhood grocery. No doubt many workers hold illusions that the curfew could cut down crime. But the real causes of crime lie in the racist capitalist system of production for profit, in which blacks are a specially oppressed race-color caste integrated into the economy but segregated at its bottom. Black "progressive" in City Hall or no, the police are notorious murderers dedicated to preserving the racist status quo. In enforcing the curfew, Young has issued a blank check to the cops to bust, beat and kill the city's black youth. The SYL says: disarm the killer cops! Down with the racist curfew!

The entire Detroit "left" boycotted the SYL/LBSL protest against the curfew because they want to keep the "peace" with Young's Democrats and the UAW bureaucracy which run the city. The pro-imperialist Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) refused to endorse the demonstration because the curfew was "not a burning issue." For the DSA, the only "burning issue" is how to help the auto bosses steal billions from workers with the givebacks and concessions engineered by their UAW bureaucrat buddies.

At Wayne State, the anti-curfew demonstration intersected an ongoing mood of struggle by campus workers who are facing a slick union-busting campaign waged by WSU president David Adamany. The largely black custodial workers in AFSCME Local 1497 face continuing layoffs, only to see their jobs replaced by scabs, and contract negotiations with the American Association of University Professors have broken off as fall semester prepares to open. The editor of the campus newspaper, the *South End*, argued that the curfew would "create a better business community" by keeping youth out of downtown! But the cops mobilized against Detroit youth can and have been used against WSU students and workers—and will be again.

The SYL is the fighting youth auxiliary to the revolutionary opposition in the labor movement: Labor must defend Detroit black youth! Young's "solution" to jobless youth is virtual martial law—we call for a massive public works program at union wages, a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, jobs for all. Higher education should be free, with a state-paid stipend for books and living costs. To fight against unemployment, union-busting "austerity" and growing cop license requires a political battle against the Democratic Party/City Council/UAW Solidarity House popular front and its fake-left cheerleaders. And it will take nothing less than a socialist revolution to finish the tasks of the American Civil War, to replace the irrational capitalist system with a planned economy and to put an end to the racial oppression endemic to this sick society.

Following the August 3 demonstration, participants attended a video showing of the successful SL/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. last November. That anti-Klan victory showed the way forward for integrated class struggle. Several workers and youth joined the Labor/Black Struggle League on the spot, and some want to know more about the SYL so that they can join us as soon as possible. ■

## Washington, D.C. Labor Black Defense League Movie Series

Friday, 16 September  
Adapt or Die

Friday, 23 September  
Harlan County, USA

Friday, 30 September  
Nothing But a Man

7:00 p.m. Hines Community Center, 7th St. S.E. just off Pennsylvania Ave. near Eastern Market metro stop, across the street from Eastern Market

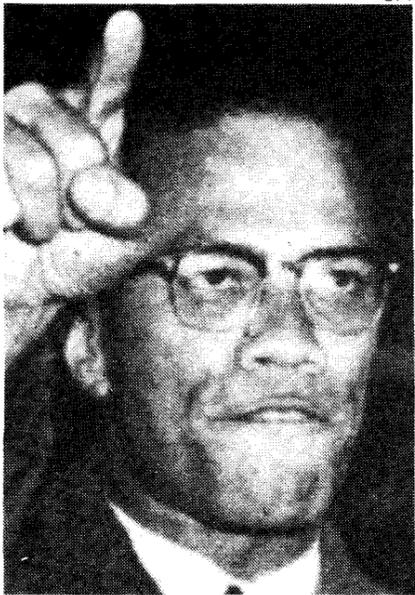
Refreshments will be served  
Free Admission

For more information:  
(202) 636-3537

# Young Spartacus

## Democrats' "Dream"—Nightmare for Blacks

# August 27: Farce on Washington II



UPI

Malcolm X on the 1963 March on Washington: "it even ceased to be a march. It became a picnic, a circus...they told those Negroes what time to hit town...what speech they could make and what speech they couldn't make; and then told them to get out of town by sundown." At right, 27 August 1983 "March on Washington."



Workers Vanguard Photo

Its organizers called it a march for "jobs, peace and freedom," a "coalition of conscience," but it was really a liberal, electoralist anti-Reagan "be-in"—a political hustle for the Democratic Party of unemployment, racism and war. The organizers of the August 27 March on Washington tried to hustle every conceivable constituency, from unemployed black workers to middle-class no-nukers and gay rights activists. It was the quintessential anti-Reagan popular front. Democratic presidential hopefuls oiled their way through the crowd of 300,000 while "Reagan no more in '84" boomed from the platform. We say: No more Democrats' lies! Blacks and workers need their own

party that will fight for labor/black power, not Democrats!

Jobs? One of the main "labor" organizers of the August 27 demonstration was "democratic socialist" William Winpisinger, head of the International Association of Machinists (IAM). "Wimpy" sat on his hands during the air controllers (PATCO) strike while Reagan busted their union back in 1981, putting the whole labor movement on the defensive. If he had called out IAM mechanics to respect PATCO's picket lines, they could have shut down the airports and stopped Reagan's union-busting cold. And from Atlanta to L.A. to Detroit, it's the black Democratic Party mayors who have been enforcing

Reagan's austerity in the form of cutbacks, layoffs and strikebreaking.

Peace? The same anti-Communist warmongers who vote for billions in military expenditures every year were out there rolling their eyes toward the heavens, wondering why everyone can't live in peace and harmony. Democratic Party Congressmen like John Conyers and Ron Dellums advocate a "nuclear freeze" because they want to make sure the U.S.' conventional war-making capability isn't overlooked in Reagan's scramble for deadlier missiles. Remember, it was Democrat Jimmy Carter who introduced draft registration.

It sure wasn't a rally for black freedom. The Democratic rally organiz-

ers have been selling out struggles for years, trading on their reputations as old civil rights activists. So, at August 27 you didn't hear anything about the fight for busing, against cop terror or especially the need to smash the Ku Klux Klan/Nazi scum. Last November 27, the Spartacist League (SL) and Spartacus Youth League (SYL) initiated the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK from marching through Washington, D.C. We successfully mobilized 5,000 trade unionists and youth, mostly black, who stopped the KKK in its tracks—the Klan did not march, and the Labor/Black Mobilization took over their intended parade

*continued on page 11*

## SYL Protests at Wayne State:

# "Down with Coleman Young's Racist Curfew!"

"My job is to keep the peace in the City of Detroit." So states black Democratic mayor Coleman Young, who recently announced a series of "emergency measures" to handle the "uncontrollable youth" of Detroit: a package which includes enforcement of a martial-law style curfew for youth under 18. Hundreds of youth have been arrested in the past few months for being caught outside their homes after 10:00 p.m. on weeknights and 11:00 p.m. on weekends. Cops on horseback ominously patrol the bourgeoisie's showpiece/fortress Renaissance Center, keeping out youth who seek relief from the oppressive summer heat. Detroit cops have even conducted "anti-terrorist practice" war games at Belle Isle. It was against the ruling class' assault on youth and the dangerous growth of police power in Detroit that the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and Labor/Black Struggle League (LBSL) held a demonstration at Wayne State University August 3 to protest Coleman Young's racist curfew.

Young's curfew and other "anti-crime" measures have made the "progressive" Young an object of controver-

sy. The ACLU has filed suit against the curfew, correctly charging that it "amounts to house arrest." But it's no accident that Young announced the curfew and closed the RenCen to black youth the same week that the Democratic National Committee was in town. In 1980, he broke the AFSCME sanitation workers strike to host the Republican convention under the slogan, "Detroit Loves a Good Party." And while recalling that, "At one time in my youth, I was blacklisted and unable to get a job because of illegal political surveillance," Young argues that an ordinance that would have disbanded the city's Red Squad "could damage the ability of the Police Department to actually function" (*Detroit Free Press*, 21 July).

Of course, the Detroit cops welcomed the curfew as a license for police harassment, intimidation and murder. The *Detroit Free Press* (4 July) cited "wags around Detroit Police Headquarters" who thought that Young's curfew "would have gone against his liberal grain," but noted Young's "close relationship with Renaissance Center mas-terminid Henry Ford II." The cops refer

*continued on page 11*



Workers Vanguard Photo

SYL rally at Wayne State: "This racist curfew sucks, it makes us sitting ducks!"