

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!



Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982—5,000 jubilant demonstrators charge up Capitol Hill after Labor/Black Mobilization stops Klan march. WV Photo

Labor, Blacks: Don't Crawl for the Democrats!

Malcolm X blasted the 1963 March on Washington, calling it the "Farce on Washington." But he wasn't laughing as he lashed out against M.L. King & Co. who were sinking the black struggle in the cesspool of the Democratic Party. Malcolm X was burning mad because he knew it was going to take a revolution to win black freedom in America. And the 1963 march, like its pale reflection on August 27, was organized *against* militant black struggle.

But if the first march on Washington was a farce because it undercut black militancy, this time around it's tragedy for black America. Now a generation later hundreds of thousands will once again stand with locked arms singing, "We Shall Overcome" and the "Star Spangled Banner." Once again the words of Martin Luther King will be heard: "I have a dream." Now they say, "We still have a dream."

To the jobless, angry and hungry black people of this country, the march organizers say: "Let 'em eat dreams." And what is their lousy dream when you strip away the preachy milk-and-honey rhetoric? They dream of putting a

Democrat in the White House. That's all. This march isn't about jobs, nor freedom, nor peace. And it's certainly not about a new civil rights movement. *They aren't even making promises this time.* "Still have a dream?" How about a job? A school lunch? A decent education? These necessities of life are presented as a dream for blacks.

Thanks to the black misleaders, unlike the 1963 March on Washington, today there isn't even any struggle to sell out. On the contrary, both Democrats and Republicans have been steadily dismantling even the token gains of the civil rights movement. And the people on the podium August 27 certainly aren't going to do anything to stop this. The 1983 march is for nothing but the Democrats. That's why it's supported by the bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO and the Cold Warhorses of the ADA. Similarly the Labor Day marches planned by the giveback bureaucrats in fifty cities are also crawls for the Democratic so-called "friends of labor."

The Democrats are trying to put together a combination for an electoral victory in '84. That is the content of the march slogan for a "new coalition of conscience." This coalition is not new, nor is it one of conscience. It is an attempt to repair the tattered old

Rooseveltian coalition which flopped so miserably at the polls after four years of Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale. It is this coalition which ties the working class and oppressed minorities to its sworn enemies through the treachery of the labor tops and black politicians. The Democratic Party, which black people vote for in overwhelming percentages, is at bottom the party of a necessarily racist capitalism, the party of George Wallace, the Dixiecrats and even some open KKKers like California's Tom Metzger.

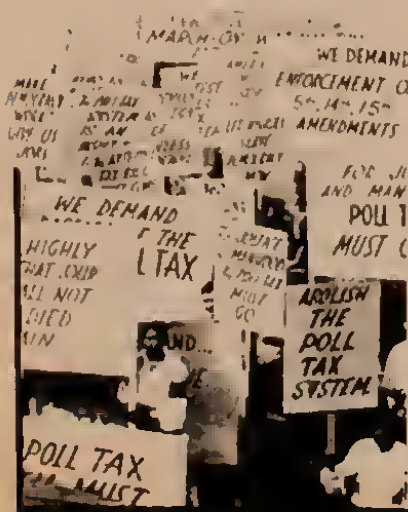
The reformist left is most anxious to build the anti-Reagan popular front for the Democrats. This is a strategy of defeat. Indeed the August 27 march is a *celebration* of defeat. No wonder the Reagan White House, too, wants to get in on the act of celebrating black defeats by making Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday. But another Democrat in the White House is no way to fight racist reaction. The party of Carter/Mondale is no less committed than the Republicans to U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive paid for by attacks against working people, the poor and minorities at home. We say: Break with the Democrats! Bring down Reagan with labor/black action!

That blacks want to struggle was

shown in Washington, D.C. last November 27 when 5,000 responded to the call of the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization and stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in the nation's capital. This direct blow against growing racist terror was hailed by decent people everywhere who knew that if the Klan had been able to stage their provocation in Washington it would have meant more black families' homes firebombed, more burning crosses. But it was the kind of demonstration which scares the hell out of Democratic liberals. It was masses of blacks mobilized in struggle, led by socialists and backed up by an important segment of the labor movement. And it worked.

Not only did that demonstration stop the Klan in its tracks but it took the very Klan route to the White House for an anti-Klan victory march. On November 27 Washington was not a Klan town, it belonged to blacks and labor and those who hailed that demonstration. What stopped the Klan that day and gave the participants in the Labor/Black Mobilization

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The March on Washington That Wasn't

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Malcolm X on '63 "Farce on Washington"

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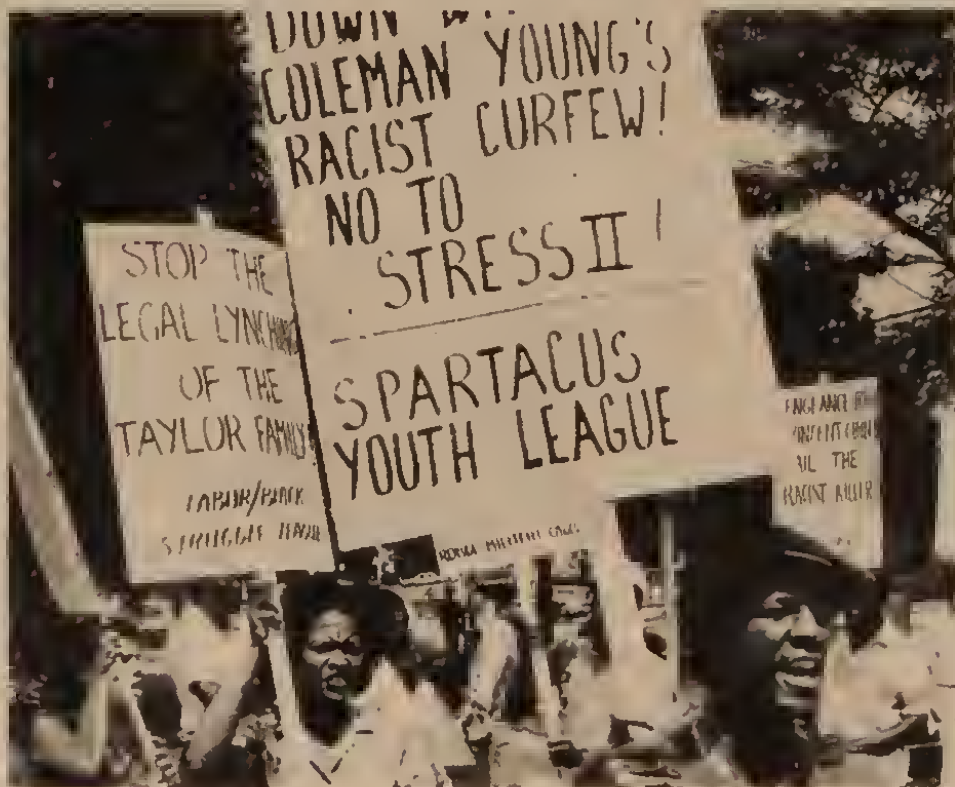


SYL, Labor/Black League Protest Coleman Young's Racist Curfew

DETROIT—"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!... STRESS killed 16 blacks—Join us and beat STRESS II back!" said Charles DuBois, member of the Rouge Militant Caucus of UAW Local 600. A half-dozen River Rouge auto workers had come out to an August 3 demonstration at Wayne State University, called by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and Labor/Black Struggle League (LBSL), to protest Democratic mayor Coleman Young's racist curfew. WWJ, Detroit's all-news station, carried coverage of the demonstration.

Young's curfew scapegoats Detroit's black youth for the capitalist crisis which has created a permanent pool of 70 percent minority teenage unemployed. The curfew was welcomed by the racist cops who will use it as a license for police harassment, intimidation and murder. The police refer to it as STRESS II, "Shop the RenCen, Enjoy Safe Stores," in remembrance of STRESS I, the notorious unit of police killers that routinely gunned down black youth in the early 1970s.

"This racist curfew sucks, it makes us sitting ducks" was a popular chant of the two dozen demonstrators who rallied across from WSU's MacKenzie Hall. An LBSL sign proclaimed, "Stop the Legal Lynching of the Taylor Family!" This referred to the victimization of Michigan black workers who defended themselves against a racist cop attack on a family gathering in mourning for a



Detroit, August 3—Ford Rouge workers join protest called by SYL and Labor/Black Struggle League at Wayne State University.

deceased relative in Montgomery, Alabama last spring. "Sitdowns Not Souplines—Fight for Your Jobs," read a Rouge Militant Caucus sign as Ford's steel division is facing massive layoffs and concessions. An SYL sign, "Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive Is Killing Blacks and Labor in America" linked the wave of union-busting, cutbacks and racist terror in the U.S. to the government's "rollback" foreign policy.

The anti-curfew demonstration met with considerable polarization among Detroit's workers and students, as black mayor Coleman Young plays on the largely black working class' genuine fear of violence and crime to whip up support for his ominous "emergency measures." No doubt in this city where cashiers are enclosed in bullet-proof plexiglass many workers hold illusions that the curfew might just stop some

crime. But the real causes of crime lie in the racist American capitalist system of production for profit, where life is cheap and the lives of black people are even cheaper. The fight against the curfew was a felt issue among black youth, many of whom took stacks of leaflets to pass out to friends at the local high schools. And the Rouge workers who came out to the demonstration understood the need for a class-struggle program to fight unemployment, and to dump the labor traitors.

Coleman Young had announced the campaign to enforce the curfew and closed the capitalist showpiece Renaissance Center to black youth in late June, the same week the Democratic National Committee was in town. In 1980 Young broke the AFSCME sanitation workers' strike to host the Republican Convention under the slogan, "Detroit Loves a Good Party." Breaking black workers' strikes, keeping the "lid" on the ghetto—this is how the black mayors front for their white capitalist masters. Young was first elected in large part due to black anger over STRESS I. Now he implements STRESS II!

The popular front means that blacks and working people must eat it—anything not to disrupt the anti-Reagan Democratic Party coalition. Chuck Fogel, editor of the Wayne State paper *The South End*, said the curfew would "create a better business community" by keeping youth out of downtown! The Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) argue that it's "not a burning issue." The DSA are the pro-imperialist

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Protest Police Gangland-Style Murder of Michael Woods Jail Racist Cleveland Killer Cops!

CLEVELAND—On July 23 about 50 angry Clevelanders gathered at the downtown Justice Center to show support for the family of Michael Woods, an unemployed black worker wantonly murdered by racist killer cop Joseph Paskvan exactly one year ago to the day. Called by Lucius Woods, the father of the murdered victim, the demonstration focused attention on the vicious racist brutality of Cleveland cops and supported a court suit filed by the Woods family seeking damages against the cops and the city.

Paskvan, a notorious racist-in-blue

with a history of atrocities against blacks, boasts of killing dozens of Vietnamese. He was subsequently cleared of murdering Michael Woods by a closed-door grand jury and a mayoral committee. But numerous eyewitnesses to the scene last year portrayed the situation as calculated murder. The 24-year-old Woods was on his way to get a birthday cake for his one-year-old son when he was shot by the gun-waving off-duty cop who reportedly refused to allow him medical attention immediately after the incident.

The Spartacist League mobilized the largest contingent at today's noon-time rally. SL members and supporters initiated a spirited and militant picket line which was joined by the Woods family, friends and supporters. The Spartacist contingent chanted, "Vengeance for Michael Woods! Jail Killer Paskvan!" and "Gun Control Kills Blacks—Disarm the Cops!" SL signs called for "Millions in Compensation to the Woods Family—Cops Must Pay!" and warned "Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive Means Racist Terror at Home."

The media did its best to redhail the protest. A local radio journalist even tried to get Mr. Woods to disassociate himself from radicals... "who have not had a whole lot to do with your cause." But Woods honorably refused: "People in Cleveland know what happened. But they're afraid to take a stand. You know, police retribution is pretty rough. So I guess that these people," he said, referring to the demonstrators, "are not afraid, and I appreciate their effort."



Cleveland, July 23—Spartacist contingent demands "vengeance for Michael Woods" at Justice Center protest.

The local fake-lefts refused to mobilize or effectively participate in this demonstration. People United Against Repression, a liberal coalition run by the local supporters of black nationalist Imamu Baraka, set up a small, silent vigil 100 feet away from the chanting protesters. A few cowardly ISOers refused numerous invitations to participate in the picket line. Rather than being even remotely associated with revolutionary politics, they finally went off to stand silently with the PUAR on the sidelines. Some RCPers literally sat on

the fence, taking no part in the demonstration at all. A token couple of SWPers appeared briefly, only to collect signatures for their reformist electioneering.

The first anniversary of Woods' death takes place in the city recently judged second only to Chicago in the degree of its segregation. It will take the mobilization of the powerful integrated workers movement to unlock the social power to smash racist brutality once and for all. Vengeance for Michael Woods! Jail Killer Cops! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Occupy Phone Installations to Win!

Victory to Phone Workers Strike!

AUGUST 8—Some 700,000 phone workers in three unions are out on their first national strike in years. This strike is effectively a lockout, provoked by an arrogant phone monopoly intent on imposing a massive defeat on the unions, particularly the Communications Workers of America (CWA). The bosses want to soften up the unions in preparation for a government-mandated reorganization, under which AT&T plans on not only eliminating the jobs of tens of thousands of phone workers but on setting up the CWA to be dismembered.

Phone workers know their jobs and future are at stake. Pickets outside an AT&T building in New York chanted, "What do we want? Job security!" In Brooklyn a couple of cops who tried to aid scabs were taught a lesson by several hundred rallying strikers. Phone trunk lines were slashed in Miami and in several locations delivery trucks were turned away by pickets. But everywhere the lack of strike preparation was evident, and frequently union leaders sought to quell militancy. In Chicago, officials were booed when they told hundreds of strikers that henceforth only skeleton picket lines were necessary. And in one Bay Area location, officials ordered strikers to cease their attempts to stop scab trucks from leaving a splicing garage.

The CWA leaders, headed by Glenn Watts, have told phone workers for years that strikes aren't necessary and thereby permitted the company to go on the offensive. Now it's up to the phone workers. No confidence in the union bureaucracy! What's needed to stop AT&T is exemplary militancy and steadfastness.

Already the bosses have taken an ax to the workforce. Thousands of phone workers have already been subjected to forced downgrades, transfers and layoffs. The bosses are right now reassigning workers to different work locations, often hundreds of miles away, and in many cases without regard to seniority.

This is a set-up for next January, when AT&T will be split into several subsidiaries and "independent" regional operating companies. As part of this operation, the bosses want to smash any semblance of uniform national wages and benefits. Backed up by the courts, AT&T has already gotten the go-ahead to establish separate pension plans for the new companies: a worker transferred from one part of the country to another would lose his pension. Phone workers don't know what company they'll be working for in January—if they have a job at all—or even whether they'll have a union contract! Management is bitterly contesting recognition of the CWA at the newly formed AT&T Information Systems, and union militants say that the bosses want to eliminate the union *entirely* from this workforce.

The Watts gang never wanted this strike, and now they've left angry and frustrated phone workers out in the cold without a program to win it. You don't win a strike by letting management and scabbing phone workers cross picket lines with impunity. In the highly automated Bell System, the bosses can keep essential phone service running with minimum disruptions. But there is a way to win—lock the bosses out!

The kind of class-struggle tactics needed to win were demonstrated by 11,000 phone workers of the Telecommunications Workers Union (TWU) in British Columbia (Canada) who struck in February 1981. After going without a



New York Tel headquarters, midnight, August 7: Workers want to fight. They need a strategy to win.

contract for 14 months the ranks finally blew up. But they didn't leave their buildings: they *occupied* every major BC Tel installation in the province around the clock! For five days they held the company's precious private property, while BC Tel shrieked helplessly and ran to the courts for protection. Subsequently the TWU tops caved in to the court injunction, but a class-struggle leadership could have pushed the strike forward into a giant victory for labor.

What's needed here now is hundreds of thousands of phone workers occupying the buildings, rallying behind them millions of other trade unionists and the poor. With a flick of the switch, phone workers could win millions of allies among working people by providing free phone service and thus striking a much-needed blow against the arrogant, parasitic and widely hated phone bosses.

You don't go after the bosses' communications system lightly. Striking a blow at phone means an immediate confrontation with the capitalist state. But there are millions of working people who hate AT&T and Reagan. This national strike by the CWA, even though forced on the union by the company, still *can* potentially turn into a powerful strike movement if the rest of the labor movement can be brought in behind it.

What's going on here is an attempt by the richest and greediest corporation in the U.S. to crack another union and give the whole labor movement a humiliating defeat. So it's in the interests of the entire workers movement, including especially its more historically militant sectors—many of whom have at least a tradition of actually *fighting* on picket lines, in mass strikes, to defend the workers' interests—to get behind this strike.

Phone workers need to forge links with auto workers, transit workers, steel workers, Teamsters, with the unemployed and blacks, with all victims of this decaying capitalist order! We need *strike action* to bring down Reagan and the bosses who maintain this rotting society! Fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours for all: full cost-of-living protection, jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay! This kind of fight is desperately necessary, and

sharply poses a political break with the whole capitalist order, the need to build a workers party to fight for a workers government.

It's clear enough that phone workers need to fight to defend their interests. But Watts has been saying and doing the opposite right up to the strike. A decent leadership would have mobilized phone workers against the company years ago. At the national convention only two months ago, which was mainly a platform for presidential hopefuls from the racist, anti-labor Democratic Party, the CWA International *reduced* the strike fund. Watts even declared to the delegates, "AT&T Chairman Charles Brown recently predicted a bright future for the new Bell System, and that's good enough for us," and then boasted that a workable contract would be negotiated well before the expiration date.

Far from it! When negotiations broke off two days ago the profit-bloated bosses—who raked in over \$7 billion last year—"offered" a grand total of a 3.5 percent wage increase over three years to top craft, and *nothing* to lower-paid phone workers, while demanding that phone workers pay 20 percent of their medical insurance. AT&T is demanding elimination of evening and midnight shift differentials, as well as a host of other union givebacks, including downgrading almost half the craft workers to 65 percent of existing top pay!

Watts is now posturing about holding

out for a few more pennies, which the richest corporation in the U.S. can easily afford, in order to pave the way for a massive sellout that would give the company a free hand to bust seniority, transfer workers at will and further slash the workforce. The union tops are not even demanding an end to job cuts—only that more "advance notification" be given before layoffs!

The CWA reflects what unrestrained class collaboration leads to. For decades Watts and his predecessor Joe Beirne have run a union that's never broken qualitatively from its company union origins. The CWA has never won a real strike: class-struggle tactics like sit-down strikes and flying picket squads are not even a distant memory. Absent are elementary trade-union gains like a union shop, under which all workers must join the union. Instead the company runs the shop floor like a plantation. In many locals shop stewards are appointed by and beholden to the craven bureaucracy, rather than the membership. And under the "fact-finding" grievance procedure, stewards don't defend the members but are forced to supply evidence to the bosses to use *against* the workers.

The roots of the CWA bureaucracy's servility to the company lie in its ties to the capitalist state. You can't break the phone bosses unless you're willing to take on the government. And the CWA hacks won't do this because they are loyal lackeys of American imperialism. The CWA withheld its affiliation to the CIO until 1949, when socialists and communists were being expelled from the unions and the bureaucrats were consolidating behind the Cold War. Today the CWA bureaucrats enjoy the dubious distinction of being the foremost supporters and financiers in the labor movement of AFL-IO, a CIA front up to its neck in supporting right-wing coups from Brazil to Chile and El Salvador. Watts has been opposing strikes here for years, while supporting Reagan's "company union" Solidarność in Poland.

Like the rest of the anti-Soviet AFL-CIO bureaucrats, the Watts gang wants no part in any action that challenges the normal functioning of the capitalist order. The labor fakers criminally allowed PATCO to be blown away by refusing to back up the striking air controllers and shutting down the airports—because they didn't want a real struggle against Reagan's government. That defeat gave a green light for AT&T and every other boss to attack the unions.

Striking phone militants determined to defend their union know that the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Thought Cops in Barnestown

OBERLIN, Ohio—Call it the "convention that wasn't." As readers of our last issue of *WV* already know, July 30-August 6 was the annual national gathering held in this college town of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Jack Barnes. Some 1,000 SWP supporters attended.

Barnes the bureaucrat—having manifestly failed to reestablish tight control of his SWP by increasingly draconian purges and gross intimidation tactics against minorityites—had cancelled the SWP's scheduled national convention and replaced it with a tepid "educational" gathering. Barnes seems to think that if he pretends to ignore an internal factional polarization (which threatens a big split sooner rather than later), it will ignore him. Indeed, in the introduction to Barnes' Saturday night speech, Pat Grogan referred to the organization as "homogeneous!"

Barnes' idea of "education" was offerings like these:

- "Home and Hearth: Should Workers Own Their Own Homes?"
- "Key Questions in Developing a Proletarian Program for Farmers in the U.S."
- "Report from the July 1983 Founding Convention of the Minnesota State Organization"—billed as "Strengthening the Revolutionary Party in the Upper Midwest" (read: smashing the Twin Cities branch minority, rumored to have reached 50 percent).

Thanks to the Spartacist sales team that went to Oberlin (and to the people who give us SWP documents like "the Dianne Feeley letter" which Barnes has tried to suppress from his members), the Oberlin farce had some educational value for some of its participants. Our idea of education was the tongue-in-cheek "questionnaire" reprinted below, and the article on the shrinking SWP of eccentric social-democrats in the last issue of *WV* ("Final Solution in Barnestown," *WV* No. 335, 29 July).

The Barnes machine, of course, outdid itself this year in attempting to prevent access to Spartacist literature by surrounding SWP members with goons to seek to intimidate *WV* sellers and SWP potential readers. On the opening day of the conference, they even took a line of six Barnesite "watchers" off campus and set up in front of the bookstore in downtown Oberlin, where *WV* was on sale. (We soon persuaded the bookstore manager to put our papers back on sale and the SWP pulled its "watchers" back to campus before we could get a photograph of the spectacle.)

At various concentration points on campus, "mass mobilizations" of SWP goons maintained a vigil rain or shine. Nonetheless, we were able to sell 72 copies directly to conference participants; another 30 were sold in the stores and shops of Oberlin. And other SWPers apparently obtained copies in other ways: an additional 20 copies

"vanished" from the campus restaurant and from a bakery. On the first day of the conference, we were rather surprised to find the SWP goon squad engrossed in Spartacist literature.

Most SWPers remained too cowed to openly buy a *WV* but most eagerly snapped up copies of the "questionnaire." "It's vicious, but very, very funny," one SWPer was overheard telling another. We suppose the denizens of Barnestown can use a few laughs these days. The popularity of this scathing leaflet (about 750 copies were distributed) testifies to the high level of cynicism among SWPers, of course. But it also bespeaks some de-zombification of the SWP ranks under the heat of the factional struggle that Barnes isn't talking about. In rare cases SWPers even protested being harassed by their goon squad: "I'm not afraid of that paper," one older participant declared; from another, "Leave me alone—I'm just buying a paper."

Inside, as well as stonewalling on the internal crisis, Barnesite hacks utilized the non-convention to bait their critics and hard line it on the "turn to industry," "centralization" and the prospects for a "new International" (not accidentally the name of the SWP's new theoretical journal—which has finally published Jack Barnes' January public speech formally denouncing Trotskyism). Thus, Malik Miah's presentation stressed the "lessons" of the Communist

International: "the need for a strong party apparatus." Of particular concern to Miah is the "district structures" and "state structures" being instituted in the organization. Supposedly, these bodies are essential to "centralize" industrial implantations; in reality they are another effort to retake control of dissident locals. Meanwhile long-time Barnes hacks continue dropping out (or going over to the other side?)—Dick (a.k.a. Catarino) Garza is reportedly one such new casualty.

Barry Sheppard's presentation—devoted to applauding the SWP's discovery of the labor movement a decade after every other left organization established union implantations—added a little "historical" perspective of a piece with Barnes' denunciation of Trotsky as an ultraleft. It seems that the SWP survived a "semi-sectarian" period from 1947-1978! Assailing critics of Barnesite union work, Sheppard declared that they had been accused of being "revolutionary grasshoppers" but it's "better to be a revolutionary grasshopper than a lethargic counterrevolutionary slug." At least New York City transit workers can heave a sigh of relief over the apparent imminent departure of one Mark ("I debated Klansman Tom Metzger") Friedman from their union. It's likely that other SWP supporters will follow.

Even in the stultifying atmosphere of

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Questionnaire for Participants of the 1983 SWP Non-Convention

1. Why is the SWP not having a convention this year?
 - A. Don't know
 - B. Don't care
 - C. Huge faction fight raging in the party
 - D. What's a convention?
 - E. Can't answer; don't want to be expelled
2. Why does the SWP claim that Hedda Garza was testifying for the FBI during the "Watersuit" trial?
 - A. Because the government attorney for the FBI said so and government attorneys never lie
 - B. Because the *Militant* said so and the *Militant* never lies
 - C. Because Hedda Garza was in the Internationalist Tendency
 - D. Can't answer; don't want to be expelled
3. What was the most surprising outcome of the May 1983 NC plenum?
 - A. The decision to cancel the convention
 - B. The suppression of information from the membership of the plenum's proceedings
 - C. The minorities may have formed a joint Oppositional Bloc
 - D. The minority Oppositional Bloc was not expelled on the spot
4. Grounds for expulsion from the SWP include:
 - A. Being older than Jack Barnes and having political differences
 - B. Being older than Jack Barnes
 - C. Having political differences
 - D. Talking to YSAers
 - E. Talking in your sleep
 - F. Writing poetry
 - G. Reading the Dianne Feeley letter before turning it in
 - H. Trotskyism
 - I. All of the above
5. Grounds for expulsion from the SWP *don't* include:
 - A. "Talking socialism" as white new hires in the Alabama coal mines until racists started fire-bombing black miners' cars
 - B. Getting some gusano vigilantes to get you a gun after the 1981 Miami racial violence
 - C. Fingering "ultraleftists" to the Nicaraguan government
 - D. Linking arms with the Marcyite goon squad and/or calling in the cops to seal off the Sparts' "military victory" and USSR/Cuba-defensist slogans
 - E. Crossing picket lines
 - F. Defending the KKK's "right" to a platform for genocide
 - G. Marching with "captive nations"-style reactionaries for "Free Trade Unions" in Poland
 - H. All of the above
6. What is the largest mass movement associated with the SWP?
 - A. An "international" of 1) Fidel Castro; 2) Lech Walesa; 3) any wing of the FDR/FMLN; 4) the Ayatollah Khomeini
 - B. Ed Sadlowski
 - C. Those who have or are about to quit
 - D. Can't answer; don't want to be expelled
7. What will be the price of the next SWP Internal Information Bulletin?
 - A. \$8.99
 - B. \$99.99
 - C. Not available at any price
8. How can the SWP improve its financial situation?
 - A. Stop turning down those million-dollar bribes
 - B. Keep Frank Lovell off the N.O. xerox machine
 - C. Raise the issue price of the *Militant* to \$8.99
 - D. More implantation into garment
 - E. Stop publishing Trotsky's "ultraleft" books on the Permanent Revolution
9. Areas of agreement between the SWP and Fidel Castro include:
 - A. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan
 - B. The crushing of Solidarność counterrevolution
 - C. Support to SP-led raids on CP offices in Portugal, 1975
 - D. Whether the Angolan FNLA was progressive against the MPLA in 1975
 - E. Can't answer; never could figure it out
10. Where can SWP members find out what really goes on in Barnestown?
 - A. *Workers Vanguard*
 - B. *Young Spartacus*
 - C. Minority caucus meetings
 - D. Wherever ex-members congregate
 - E. Wish I knew...
11. When will the next SWP convention be held?
 - A. 1984
 - B. After the "World Congress" of the "United Secretariat"
 - C. After the minority is expelled
 - D. Never again (you lucky Sparts)
 - E. Only Allah knows
12. Who will be your next national secretary?
 - A. No one ever but Jack Barnes
 - B. Michael Harrington
 - C. "Pedro" Camejo
 - D. Larry Seigle
 - E. Quasimodo
 - F. Can't answer; don't want to be expelled (see A)
13. Who is the most boring "leader" of the SWP?
 - A. Doug Jenness
 - B. Doug Jenness
 - C. Doug Jenness
 - D. Doug Jenness
 - E. Doug Jenness
 - F. Doug Jenness
 - G. Doug Jenness
 - H. Doug Jenness
 - I. Doug Jenness
 - J. Doug Jenness
 - K. Doug Jenness
 - L. Doug Jenness
 - M. Doug Jenness
 - N. Doug Jenness
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 - P. Doug Jenness
 - Q. Doug Jenness
 - R. Doug Jenness
 - S. Doug Jenness
 - T. Doug Jenness
 - U. Doug Jenness
 - V. Doug Jenness
 - W. Doug Jenness
 - X. Doug Jenness
 - Y. Doug Jenness
 - Z. Doug Jenness
14. Memorable *Militant* headlines I will always cherish include:
 - A. "U.S. Aid to Nicaragua [sic]!"
 - B. "Victory in Iran!"
 - C. "Where CIA Agents Go Wrong on Poland"
 - D. "Mark Friedman Debates Dem Klandidate"
 - E. "The Truth About Afghanistan" followed by "Correcting the Truth About Afghanistan"
 - F. Don't know; the only thing I ever read is Harry Ring's column
15. The life of an SWP oppositionist is:
 - A. Nasty
 - B. Brutish
 - C. Short
 - D. All of the above
 - E. There are no oppositionists in the SWP—just loyal members (and ex-members...)
16. Why did the SWP refuse to publicize the Gelfand case for so long?
 - A. Because it wasn't important
 - B. Because the SWP leadership didn't want to assist the SL in defending the workers movement against this attack
 - C. Because the SWP leadership is really stupid
17. Tom Kerry died:
 - A. Loving the SWP
 - B. Cursing the SWP
 - C. Conveniently
 - D. Tom who?
18. Why does the SL want to file an amicus brief on behalf of the majority in the case of Asher Harer?*

*Special bonus question—you get a free sub to *Workers Vanguard*.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Let Victims' Families Pass Judgement

Richmond's Racist "Cowboy" Cops

OAKLAND—The Richmond, California cops just might be the most brutal, racist gang of murdering mad dogs in America. And that is quite a badge to wear in this racist country where cop terror is a daily fact of life and death on ghetto streets.

For its size, about 75,000, Richmond has more serious brutality cases than any police department in the country. And it's getting too expensive and too public even for local ruling circles which regularly look the other way when, for instance, an Orange County cop guns down a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, while he is at home alone watching TV. The flaunting of systematic racist cop brutality in Richmond has stirred up even the pro-cop courts and press.

In the largest "wrongful death" verdict in U.S. history, a federal jury in early June awarded \$3 million to the families of two slain victims of the Richmond cops' racist street "justice": Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory, both black, both shot down in their own bedrooms in separate incidents in 1980 and 1982. The cops falsely and routinely claimed in each case that their victims had guns. In the case of Guillory, the trial showed that the "handgun" was a small packet of marijuana. It was clear that Roman and Guillory were shot down because they were black. As the foreman of the jury put it, "two white boys... would not (have been) shot in their bedrooms" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 4 June).

Roman and Guillory were two of six blacks to be killed by the Richmond cops in the past two-and-a-half years. One of these, Willie Lee Drumgoole, was strangled to death in jail. Another man was shot on his front porch. No criminal



Richmond's "cowboy" cops, a racist bend of kill-crazy nightriders with badges, pose with Confederate flag of slavery.

boys," dresses up in the costumes of post-Civil War Klan-type raiders and gets photographed waving the Confederate flag of slavery. Supported by the entire Richmond police department, these self-consciously organized racist vigilantes with badges take their western boots and gold jewelry in the shape of pigs, their police dogs with names like "Rommel" which respond only to commands in German, and drawn guns to hunt down Richmond's black citizens.

The Richmond "cowboy" police department has even managed to provoke a damning exposé by the notoriously right-wing labor-hating cop-loving Hearst paper, the *San Francisco Examiner*. Two weeks after the record \$3 million verdict in the Roman/Guillory trial, the *Examiner* (beginning June 19) ran a series of articles on the Richmond cops titled, "With the Authority of Law—Police Violence in Richmond." The series presented a hair-raising picture of the Richmond cops as an outfit just short of Nazi stormtroopers and Klan nightriders. The articles presented a mountain of statistics: you are 90 times more likely to be bitten by a police dog in Richmond than in San Francisco, Richmond jails one-tenth of its population as "suspects" every year, there are five times as many police brutality complaints per 100,000 population against the cops in Richmond than against the infamous LAPD, 10 times more than NYC. While the cases that are taken to court can only be a slight reflection of the actual cop violence inflicted on the Richmond population, nevertheless over the past 15 years the city and its insurance companies have been forced to pay \$2 million in 127 police brutality cases.

It is not in the avalanche of statistics, however, but in the piling up of firsthand accounts by the victims of Richmond cop attacks that the *Examiner* article captures the real stench of this outfit. The stories almost always end with the price of the settlement of a police brutality lawsuit: cops injure the back of a 50-year-old disabled grandmother when they come to arrest her son—settlement, \$7,500. A striking Chevron worker on picket duty has his head split open by one of the "Cowboys"—\$1,200. A warehouseman eating his lunch is attacked by cops who notice his car lacked a front license plate: 12 stitches in the head and an eye injury—\$6,822. And so it goes totaling the dollar cost

effectiveness against great and often tragic injury. The victims of the Richmond cops' brutality deserve every cent they can get. But the millions of dollars can not begin to compensate Richmond residents for the cops' reign of death and racist terror.

While blacks are the main targets of "cowboy" lynch law and make up 70 percent of the arrests in this half-black city, even those deemed "unlikely suspects" by the *Examiner* are likely to be beaten to a pulp. Last year 50 people were beaten and mauled by the Richmond cops' German shepherds, which are used on even minor traffic "investigations" or to clear out noisy parties and crowds at sporting events. Bystanders like 18-year-old Robert Fowler are often the victims. Fowler was leaving a football stadium when a fight broke out which he watched from the sidelines. "Rommel" was used by the cops to clear the crowd and the dog attacked the young man, biting his face and legs and crotch. Fowler was arrested but later found "not guilty" of "assaulting a police dog." The city paid \$3,000 in the lawsuit.

On a summer evening in 1980 the "cowboy" cops besieged the home of Roman Ortega where they claim a "noisy party" was taking place. With snarling police dogs and swinging batons the cops waded into the party. They sent 10 people to the hospital and three were bitten by the dogs. Ortega, a 23-year-old paraplegic was dumped from his wheelchair and repeatedly beaten on the legs. Later one of the mad-dog cops defended the attack saying that "a paraplegic sitting in a wheel chair can still grab you... and try to get your gun." Ortega's police brutality lawsuit is still pending.

"I don't care what you do so long as they go to jail and they're bleeding" was the instruction to the cops quoted in the *Examiner*. And that is one order the Richmond police obey with sadistic enthusiasm. A fourteen-year-old pom-pom girl was sprayed in the eyes with mace when she asked a cop patrolling the Richmond High School if she could get into her own school locker. Years later she still must wear dark glasses. She only got \$300. The Richmond cops even clubbed the city's Human Relations Officer, Joseph Battle, Jr., last year when they claimed Battle was driving recklessly. They stormed into his house and also arrested and handcuffed his wife. Battle, whose job it is to flack for the brutality complaints, said "I found

some of the incidents incredible—until it happened to me" (*Examiner*, 19 June).

The Klan and the "Cowboys"

Richmond is Klan-infested and Klan violence is increasing. Since 1981 an active Klan chapter has recruited at Richmond High School. Black residents in Richmond and nearby communities in Contra Costa county have been shot at and firebombed and a number have been driven from their homes. The interpenetration of the KKK with the racists-in-blue has been widely observed. But a tightly-knit gang of Richmond cops has singled itself out as "the Cowboys."

The *Examiner* series was useful in providing a thumbnail sketch of some of the "cowboy" criminals, identifying them by name and badge number. For instance there is Clinton Mitchell who was one of the cops who shot Johnny Roman. Mitchell is nicknamed "Mad Dog." After many complaints of brutality he was sent for special "retraining" in 1980. After "retraining," more than a dozen Richmond residents were named in court as victims of Mitchell's racist terror. One of these victims, Sylvester Williams, recalled the night he and friends were standing around talking in downtown Richmond when Mitchell drove up and said: "I like to see niggers run. Run niggers, run." Mitchell followed Williams home and beat him and his mother. "Mad Dog" Mitchell testified that he "was a little excited." Bleeding, with teeth missing, Williams was arrested. The settlement in court: \$6,300. Police Chief Garfield's response to the efforts of Mitchell's retraining? "He's turning out to be a pretty good policeman" (*Examiner*, 20 June).

Gary Dixon is another typical "Cowboy"—a former Green Beret who served twice in Vietnam and once in Central America. Garfield calls him a "bad attitude case." Dixon says openly, "I wish they would have resisted (arrest), just so I could beat the shit out of 'em."

Whether or not the Richmond "Cowboys" are actually Klan members isn't known or admitted. But as their famous self-portrait shows they are living the dream of the KKK. With virtual impunity and with state power they have subjected the black and minority population of Richmond to a reign of racist terror. And they can do it without white hoods. As the lawyer for the Roman family said in a recent lawsuit, "The lynch mob inevitably is worse if those in the crowd wear uniforms and badges." This organized lynch mob of "cowboy" cops has got to go. Let the victims' families pass judgement on this self-identified and "independent" gang of racist marauders!

For Labor/Black Mobilizations Against Racist Violence

Richmond's cops are perhaps the most obvious of the breed, but from Los Angeles to the East Coast, the cops are more boldly and dangerously expressing their self-conscious "independence" from civilian authority. A stunning gesture of cop bonapartism took place in California recently when a sheriff's deputy got shot in the line of duty by a nutty "mountain man" in the hills of Santa Cruz. The nut was shot down. But at the cop's funeral, hundreds of cops came organized from various jurisdictions up and down the California coast in a show of police force.

It is because Richmond is a particularly open and nasty version of what is

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When militant longshoremen defied court injunction in June 27 port shutdown, Richmond cops made themselves scarce.

charges have ever been brought against the Richmond killer cops. And the verdict in the Roman/Guillory case is now under appeal.

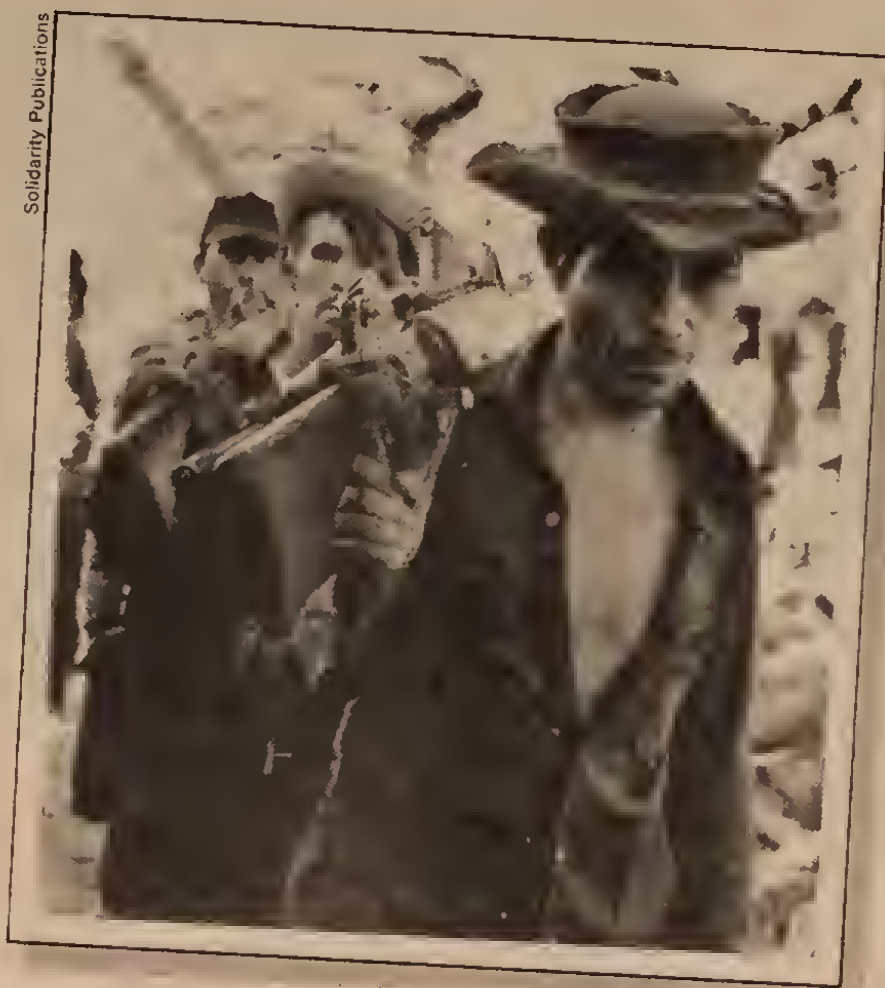
It is the wide open display of racist violence and police-state defiance which has caught the jaundiced eye of important sectors of the capitalist class. They prefer their killer cops to operate with some cover and connection to civilian authority. And when a few do get exposed, they like to be able to claim it is only some "bad apples." But not in Richmond. Here a whole section of the police department, dubbed the "Cow-

Military Victory to Leftist Rebels—No Negotiated Sellouts!

With the Guerrillas in El Salvador

AUGUST 6—Brinksmanship, gunboat diplomacy, the Big Stick: Ronald Reagan has set off a fireworks display of imperialist domination in Central America. But he's not just "playing with fire" as some liberals charge; he's heading straight for war involving American forces. This prospect has set bourgeois rulers in the region scrambling to negotiate an end to the fighting before it becomes an apocalypse here. Worried that direct U.S. intervention could inflame the restive masses, and even more concerned about the powerful effect a victorious social revolution in El Salvador could have on their exploited workers and peasants, the Contadora Group—Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama—have increased efforts for a negotiated settlement. Imperialist liberals in Washington, who think Reagan's going about the anti-Soviet war drive the wrong way, are also rushing to negotiate. Even the leftist rebels' supposed allies, Castro's Cuba and Sandinista Nicaragua, are pushing talks. If they are successful in negotiating a sellout of the struggle, it will be the workers and peasants of the isthmus who pay in blood the price of a "political solution."

Reagan gloats that the Big Stick policy is paying off. Already in his supposed non-blockade of Nicaragua the U.S. destroyer *McCormick* last weekend challenged the Soviet cargo ship *Ulyanov*, then shadowed it for 24 hours before turning away at Nicaragua's 12-mile limit. In his press conference two weeks ago, Reagan tried to play the peace-monger before the cameras. But he has dispatched two war fleets complete with aircraft carriers and the battleship *New Jersey's* 16-inch guns, along with an air force of 140 jet fighters and 5,800 ground troops—according to *Philadelphia Inquirer* (31 July) altogether more than 20,000 U.S. military personnel are to be involved in the air-ground-sea maneuvers over the next six months. Make no mistake: the escalating U.S. intervention to annihi-



Heroic leftist guerrillas have Reagan's butchers on the run.

late Salvadoran leftist guerrillas, the CIA-sponsored Somozaist counterrevolutionaries and Reagan's dispatch of an armada against Nicaragua are not just pressure tactics. Washington hasn't even demanded that the Sandinistas *do* anything concrete to capitulate. The White House is set on overthrowing the left-nationalist petty-bourgeois regime in Nicaragua, as a prelude to war moves against the Cuban and Soviet bureaucratically deformed/degenerated workers states.

On the same weekend of the *Ulyanov* incident, Rubén Zamora, a representa-

tive of the Salvadoran opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), met in Bogotá, Colombia with U.S. envoy Richard Stone, former PR man for the genocidal Guatemalan government. Calling the talks the first "small steps" to a "solution" to the civil war, the dissident Christian Democrat Zamora, who was once a U.S. nominee in the Salvadoran junta, as well as the rest of the FDR/FMLN leadership, have long advocated a "negotiated solution" of the heroic struggle of the Salvadoran masses for social liberation. Now Cuba and Nicaragua have renewed

their calls for a negotiated settlement in response to Reagan's war preparations. According to the *New York Times* (5 August), "Although Cuban and Nicaraguan leaders in recent days have publicly reiterated their support for the Salvadoran rebels, in private they have told them that urgent negotiations are needed to safeguard the survival of the Sandinista Government and even the safety of Cuba..." This is nationalist treachery, and shortsighted besides, for they are next on Reagan's hit list.

However, for the guerrillas in the field it's a different question. Asked about Nicaraguan junta coordinator Daniel Ortega's July 19 offer to put an end to arms shipments to "either side" in the bitter Salvadoran civil war, a Salvadoran guerrilla leader replied, "This is a heavy meal. It will take a while to digest." Any kind of "power-sharing" agreement that would leave the murderous army intact (not to mention the imperialists' phony baloney about "free elections" at gunpoint) would not only be a betrayal of their fallen comrades, but a death warrant for the combatants and their families. Only the Spartacist tendency calls for a military victory for the leftist insurgents in El Salvador, for building Trotskyist parties on the program of permanent revolution throughout the region, from the unstable dictatorships of South America's Southern Cone and north to Mexico and the imperialist heartland of the United States.

We print below an interview with Swedish journalist Jens Rydström, a correspondent for the Communist party paper *Ny Dag*. Rydström along with another Swedish journalist and an American were in the headlines last February when they disappeared outside Aguilares, El Salvador, later turning up with the rebels at the guerrilla stronghold on Guazapa volcano. His account offers a revealing glimpse into the struggle of the exploited and oppressed of El Salvador.

WV Interview

WV: Guazapa is about 25 kilometers from the capital, and a lot of people fighting there are from the capital.

Rydström: The majority of the fighting forces are peasants from the area, but there are quite a lot of former university students, teachers and so on. It's interesting to see the difference in approach to the war between these two groups, the combatants who are *campesinos* and the combatants who come from the town, mostly students but also factory workers. For the *campesinos* it's a more natural thing to join the guerrillas—they had lived in that area, been subjected to massacres from the government forces. For the people from the town, to leave the town and go up into the mountains is a much greater decision. I could distinguish two levels of political consciousness. The *campesinos* are very aware of who the enemy is and why they are fighting this war, that is a just war—they're fighting to survive. The students, but also the factory workers, tend to have more theoretical background for their decision. They tend to occupy the leading positions, commanders of platoons...

WV: What would you say the peasants felt they were fighting for?

Rydström: They fought basically to

survive, but also for a just distribution of the land. They also had seen very concretely the advantages of the economic system that the guerrillas try to establish. Of course, it is very difficult to do in a war situation, but they were cultivating the land that they had taken from the abandoned *fincas* [farms] in the area in a collective manner.

WV: Did people talk about socialism as a goal?

Rydström: Yes, they did. The comandantes emphasized that their party was a Marxist-Leninist party. But they were also very careful to point out that the Common Platform of the FDR-FMLN [Democratic Revolutionary Front—Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation] was not a socialist platform but what they called a revolutionary-democratic platform, which did not imply collectivization of the agricultural sector, for example.

WV: Yet they were farming collectively in the areas that were under their control.

Rydström: Yes, but the *campesinos* that still had their little plot of land worked on that land on their own. The land that they farmed collectively was taken from the *fincas*.

WV: Did they have any problems explaining that they were for socialism in theory but that in particular they were for a so-called "democratic revolution"? Was that controversial?

Rydström: I found it at times controversial. I asked them specifically about what would happen after a triumph of the guerrilla front. They said that all of the five parties of the FMLN were in favor of the collectivization of agriculture, but that to establish a viable political platform they did not push this issue.

WV: On Guazapa there are representatives of almost all of the groups in the FMLN. Could you see differences?

Rydström: I was with the PRTC [Central American Revolutionary Workers Party] all the time and we didn't have too much contact with the other groups. Of course they have joint military command which plans actions on a large scale, but in the actual combat they worked very much on their own—they had their terrain to defend. They seem to have split up the area between them.

WV: When you left there was a tremendous government attack against Guazapa...

Rydström: I think at most there were 12 battalions involved, including the whole Policía de Hacienda [Treasury Police], one battalion of the National Guard, the U.S.-trained Atlacatl, Atonal and I even think the Ramón Bellosó [brigades] were involved.

WV: Did you see any evidence of U.S. advisers?

Rydström: One night there was a night

bombing of the Guazapa volcano, and according to the guerrillas that was the first time they ever saw the Salvadoran air force attack in nighttime. They claim that Salvadoran pilots wouldn't be capable of such a thing, so their conclusion was that it must be an adviser in the plane. The inefficiency of the air force was also quite striking. I heard figures that they wasted \$5 million on this, and during the campaign according to the guerrillas five guerrilla soldiers were killed—about \$1 million per soldier. There was a massacre among the civilian population, 60 or 70 killed in an air attack when the army attacked Tepestenango.

WV: How many people were evacuated from Guazapa?

Rydström: It was an awful lot of people, probably altogether 8,000. The first *guinda*, when the civilians had to pull out, was after severe attack. After a day they realized that they wouldn't be able to hold their positions, so they ordered the *guinda*. We reached a river and the descent was quite dangerous, very steep, so they preferred to wait to daybreak, which was in a way dangerous because there was always the danger of an air attack. But the Salvadoran air force worked in its usual way—they seldom start to fly before nine o'clock in the morning. At six o'clock at night they went back to their positions. It was very impressive, the punctuality.

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As U.S. imperialism began a rapid war buildup in 1940, American blacks eagerly awaited the opportunity to work in war industry, and to participate in government-financed training programs set up to overcome the shortage of skilled workers. But in these programs, in the military as well as in industry, blacks faced restrictions and were assigned to a minimum role and rigidly segregated. In the Navy, the blacks could enlist only in the all-black messmen's branch. The Marines and the Air Corps excluded blacks entirely. Black Americans were prevented from enlisting in the Army, except for filling a few vacancies in the four regular black units that had been created shortly after the Civil War. In the fall of 1940, Roosevelt explicitly defended these Jim Crow policies:

How Stalinists, Liberals Sold Out Blacks During World War II

The March on Washington That Wasn't



March on Washington Movement demonstration in NYC, June 1942, against legal lynching of black sharecropper Odel Walter in Virginia.

"The policy of the War Department is not to intermingle colored and white enlisted personnel in the same regimental organizations. This policy has proved satisfactory over a long period of years, and to make changes would produce situations destructive to morale and detrimental to the preparations for national defense."

Now highly urbanized and increasingly proletarianized as a result of World War I migrations and the buildup for the coming war, blacks began to exert pressure on their "leaders" to drop the hats in their hands and to use those hands for something other than pleading and begging. It was the pressure of these masses, especially black workers now organized in unions as a result of the CIO's giant organizing strikes of the 1930s, that pressed the Randolphins and Whites into more direct action against the industrialists' Jim Crow policies.

On 1 January 1941 Randolph proposed a July march on Washington ("Anti-Jim Crow, Pro-Jobs March") to force Roosevelt to pass an executive order abolishing discrimination not only in war industry but in all industry. Later known as the "Double V Campaign" ("victory for democracy abroad and at home") the proposal for a march aroused the enthusiasm of blacks to challenge their pariah status under Jim Crow capitalism. March in Washington youth chapters were formed in several cities; MOW leaflets, buttons and other paraphernalia were widely distributed in preparation for the July march. The growing movement was fueled by an unprecedented outburst of black protest within the armed forces.

While the Trotskyists of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP) opposed Randolph's pro-imperialist line on the war, it was clear to them that in the context of the black sailors' protests the March on Washington could serve to escalate the fight for black rights and link it with the labor movement in the fight against imperialist war. An SWP pamphlet at the time stated:

"A militant march on Washington, the national capital of Jim Crowism, a march made up of thousands of

Negroes who will be able to get there only because hundreds of thousands of others support the march morally and financially—this would really strike fear into the hearts of the administration and the bosses."

—from Albert Parker, *Negroes March on Washington* (June 1941), reprinted in *Fighting Racism in World War II* (Monad Press, 1980)

"We support a militant action, not Randolph's reason for it," said the SWP.

Meanwhile, the CP opposed the March on Washington, not only boycotting the march but actively sabotaging it. At first the Stalinists used ultra-left arguments—pointing to Randolph's social-patriotism, they denounced the march as "the supreme effort of America's big shot businessmen to win the masses of the Negro people to the war program of the Administration" (*Daily Worker*, 16 June 1941). This was during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, when the Kremlin had ordered an antiwar line in the imperialist "democracies." This had cost the Stalinists the support of many of their erstwhile allies in the Rooseveltian "popular front." By the late '30s, thousands of blacks who had been won to the party particularly through its defense of the Scottsboro Boys had also quit, many of them out of disillusionment over the Soviet Union's

shipment of oil to Italy at the time of Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia. But unlike white liberals, who accepted the democratic pretensions of U.S. imperialism, blacks were *attracted* by the CP's antiwar line. Even a vicious Cold War anti-Communist admitted:

"The Party was sharply aware that Negroes had little enthusiasm for the war.... Negroes remembered all too well the role played by black soldiers in World War I and the violent attacks leveled against them [lynchings of black men who dared to wear a uniform] after their return from Europe. They found it difficult to become enthusiastic about the defense of democracy in Europe when they had so little of it in the United States."

—Wilson Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party* (1951)

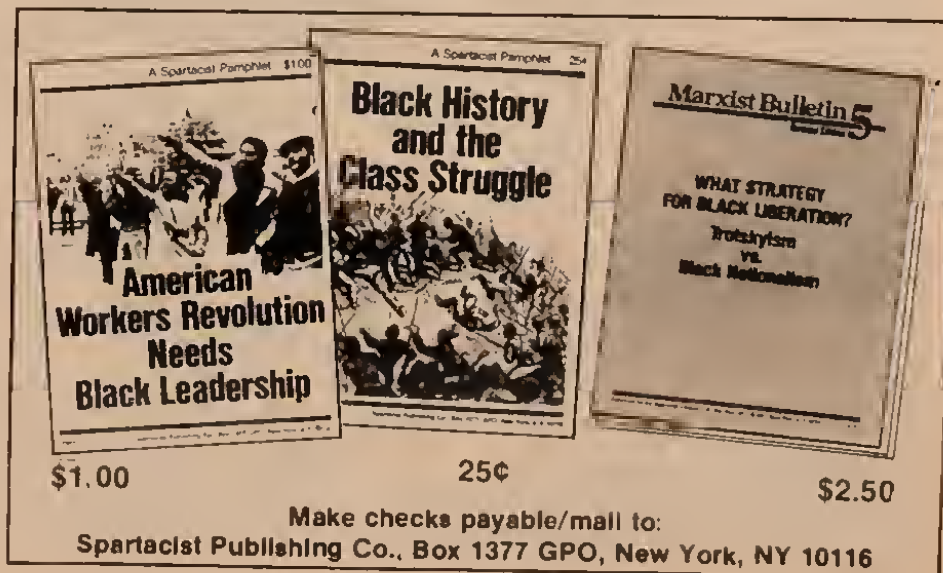
The march had been scheduled for 1 July 1941. On June 22, Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union. After fighting exclusively against the impending war, to the point of denouncing the MOW's protest against discrimination in war industry as a diversion, suddenly the CP became pro-war. "Everything for Victory over the Axis!" shouted the *Daily Worker*, meaning nothing for struggle against racist capitalism here. Then, three days later, President Roosevelt signed an executive order against discrimination in war industry. Predictably, and it was predicted by the Trotskyists, the pro-Roosevelt, pro-British, pro-war Randolph canceled the march. He touted FDR's establishment of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), a committee without enforcement powers, as a "second emancipation proclamation." The CP, now once again popular-front patriots, hailed the executive order as a victory and made no criticism of the march cancellation.

However, Randolph's betrayal didn't go unchallenged. Pressure began to mount again from young MOW leaders who denounced his bureaucratic heavy-handedness in canceling the march. From all over the country, MOWM chapters sent telegrams pleading with Randolph to make plans for a future march. Many challenged his unqualified praise of the "second emancipation proclamation." In early 1942 Randolph was forced to "unpostpone" the march and began to set the MOWM in motion again. Instead of a march on Washington, though, a series of local marches were scheduled for June 1942 and eventually held. The largest of these rallies was held in Madison Square Garden on 20 June 1942 with 25,000 anti-Jim Crow fighters on the street. The long list of speakers were cheered, especially those who gave vent to the masses' hatred for segregation and those who demanded the freedom of Odell Waller, a black sharecropper who was scheduled to be executed for slaying his landlord in self-defense.

CP Betrays Black People

Today, the Stalinists try desperately to cover up their crimes against the working class and black people which flow from the *anti-revolutionary* policy of the popular front. Writing in the

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Malcolm X Called '63 "The Farce on Washington"

REPRINTED FROM
MALCOLM X SPEAKS
GROVE PRESS (1966)

The Negroes were out there in the streets. They were talking about how they were going to march on Washington. Right at that time Birmingham had exploded, and the Negroes in Birmingham—remember, they also exploded. They began to stab the crackers in the back and bust them up 'side their head—yes, they did. That's when Kennedy sent in the troops, down in Birmingham. After that, Kennedy got on the television and said "this is a moral issue." That's when he said he was going to put out a civil-rights bill. And when he mentioned civil-rights bill and the Southern crackers started talking about how they were going to hoyaote or filibuster it, then the Negroes started talking—about what? That they were going to march on Washington, march on the Senate, march on the White House, march on the Congress, and tie it up, bring it to a halt, not let the government proceed. They even said they were going out to the airport and lay down on the runway and not let any airplanes land. I'm telling you what

they said. That was revolution. That was revolution. That was the black revolution.

It was the grass roots out there in the street. It scared the white man to death, scared the white power structure in Washington, D.C., to death; I was there. When they found out that this black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in Wilkins, they called in Randolph, they called in these national Negro leaders that you respect and told them, "Call it off," Kennedy said, "Look, you all are letting this thing go too far." And Old Tom said, "Boss, I can't stop it, because I didn't start it." I'm telling you what they said. They said, "I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it." They said, "These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us." And that old shrewd fox, he said, "If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it."...

As soon as they got the setup organized, the white man made available to them top public-relations experts; opened the news media across the country at their disposal, which then began to project these Big Six as the leaders of the march. Originally

they weren't even in the march. You were talking this march talk on Hastings Street, you were talking march talk on Lenox Avenue, and on Fillmore Street, and on Central Avenue, and 32nd Street and 63rd Street. That's where the march talk was being talked. But the white man put the Big Six at the head of it; made them the march. They became the march. They took it over.... And as they took it over, it lost its militancy. It ceased to be angry, it ceased to be hot, it ceased to be uncompromising. Why, it even ceased to be a march. It became a picnic, a circus....

They controlled it so tight, they told those Negroes what time to hit town, how to come, where to stop, what signs to carry, what song to sing, what speech they could make, and what speech they couldn't make; and then told them to get out of town by sundown. And every one of those Toms was out of town by sundown. Now I know you don't like my saying this. But I can back it up. It was a circus, a performance that beat anything Hollywood could ever do, the performance of the year. Reuther and those other three devils should get an Academy Award for the best actors because they acted like they really



Gordon Parks

Malcolm X

loved Negroes and fooled a whole lot of Negroes. And the six Negro leaders should get an award too, for the best supporting cast.

Don't Crawl for Democrats...

(continued from page 1)

zation such a tremendous sense of their potential social power was the strategy that can mobilize workers and black people for *real freedom* and *real power*: the strategy of proletarian revolution.

Democratic Congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy's soup-kitchen "community unity" diversion flopped as angry black Washington residents decided that the Klan must be stopped rather than ignored. After the victory it was Fauntroy who along with the bourgeois press tried to discredit the demonstration as some kind of "black riot" led, in Fauntroy's words, by "Tarzan Trotskyites." After having lost so many of his constituents to militant and effective action, it is no wonder that shortly after November 27 Fauntroy among others announced the 1983 March on Washington to get blacks on the Democratic track of defeat.

Labor/Black Power vs. Democrats

After Martin Luther King's '63 "I have a dream" speech, the young civil rights militants of SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) started wearing "I have a nightmare" buttons to show their anger with King's liberal pacifism. And 20 years later, life for the masses of blacks compacted in devastated ghettos has become worse as capitalism declines into crisis. Every year the Urban League and other black groups publish grim statistics proving the deepening gulf of racism. But blacks don't need a pile of statistics to know life and livelihoods in the ghetto are a nightmare. It is registered most of all in the children, a majority of whom now live below the poverty line. Black teenagers are thrown wholesale onto the streets where they are marked as targets for the racist cops. On the very basics of life black people in America are on the edge of survival.

The capitalists answer with more cops and racist terror. Not even a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, at home watching TV, was safe. The Orange

County killer cop who gunned him down was let off. In New York City black workers have been beaten to death by racist mobs and the courts just acquitted one of the ringleaders of the lynch mob. A black man can't walk into Cicero, Illinois or Gravesend in Brooklyn without taking his life in his hands. As the courts and cops make black lives cheaper the murderous KKK and Nazis



Leaders of air controllers union (PATCO) jailed by Reagan in 1981.

take their cue. Nightriding violence is on the rise from coast to coast as the fascist fringe of the anti-Soviet war drive comes home in white sheets and waving blood-soaked swastikas.

What has changed since the March on Washington of 1963 is the growing number of black Democratic faces in city halls of black and proletarian cities. Martin Luther King was assassinated when he was leading marches in support of striking Memphis garbage men. Today city workers can have their strikes broken by ex-civil rights activists and

close companions of Martin Luther King. Atlanta mayor Andrew Young who lay down in front of sanitation trucks in the '60s to defend an Atlanta sanitation strike is now running those trucks and in charge of strikebreaking. In Washington ex-SNCC leader mayor Marion Barry is the cutback king engineering the mass expulsions of black students from the University of the District of Columbia. In Detroit "progressive" black mayor Coleman Young responds to the 70 percent black youth unemployment with cops' nightsticks and pistols, reviving the racist cop terror squads to enforce the youth curfew. These black Democratic mayors are on the cutting edge of Reagan reaction. It is their cops who brutalize the black population.

These massive defeats for black people are cynically touted as examples of black political power because they are organized by black overseers. From Jesse Jackson's ploy to increase his own demagogic voice in the name of a "black candidate" and voter registration schemes to the Harold Washington campaign in Chicago, the black misleaders of the Democratic Party can only offer new defeats to the black masses. Democratic hawks like Kennedy and Mondale rushed into Chicago because they need the black vote. While the left hailed and tailed the Washington campaign, we told the bitter truth: "Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago," proclaimed *Workers Vanguard*. Now Harold Washington has delivered his first smack in the face to Chicago blacks in the form of city worker layoffs.

Nowhere is the defeatism of this "elected leadership" more evident than in their response to the question of integration. The 1983 march which is supposed to celebrate the civil rights movement doesn't speak to the question of busing. When Harold Washington ran for mayor in the most segregated city in America, he did not call for busing to break up the segregated schools. Jesse Jackson went to Norfolk, Virginia recently where thousands of blacks were marching against segregated schools. There he explained that he wasn't marching for integration but for the "voter registration hoost." This "separate-but-unequal" defeatism was

inspired by the Democrats who capitulated to the anti-busing racist mobs on the streets of Boston and Louisville.

The supporters of Washington ask "What else can he do?" Indeed what else can any of the black mayors do who are running the capitalists' racist offensive in the cities. And that is just the point. Harold Washington runs Chicago in the interests of Continental Bank, not the South Side. Kenneth Gibson runs Newark for Prudential Insurance. Coleman Young runs Detroit for Henry Ford II and the auto barons. That is because blacks can't gain their freedom in America this side of the socialist revolution. Segregated as a race-color caste at the bottom of American society, the racist oppression of black people is intrinsic to capitalist society.

But blacks *do* have potential power in the U.S. because while they are segregated at the bottom of society they are also integrated economically into the proletariat. Integrated workers struggle against capitalism for black rights—*revolutionary integrationism* is the source of black and proletarian power in America. A march that could really begin to turn things around in this country would be a march of the ghetto masses in support of their brothers in the auto and steel plants who were occupying them in a strike against layoffs. What is urgently needed in the U.S. is real black leadership—part of a multi-racial Trotskyist vanguard party which can bind the factory to the ghetto in the struggle for workers power which alone can lay the basis for black liberation.

How the Democrats Killed the Civil Rights Movement

The purpose of the 1963 March on Washington was to channel the explosive anger of the civil rights movement into legalistic reform and electoral support to the Kennedy Democrats. Everyone who participated in this march should remember how King & Co. censored the speech of John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee—the most militant wing of the civil rights movement. Lewis, who declared that "the party of Kennedy is the party of

Eastland" and asked "Where is our party?". was pressured into deleting from his prepared speech the statement: "We cannot depend on any political party for both the Democrats and Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence." Those few trade-union bureaucrats involved in the civil rights movement, notably Walter Reuther and A. Philip Randolph, were especially determined to censor and suppress black militants like SNCC's Lewis.

With the mass of the black population and many young militants rebelling against King's disastrous liberal pacifism and his support to the party of Kennedy and Eastland, a revolutionary socialist organization could have gained significant influence in this movement and radically changed the course of American history over the next 20 years. The Spartacist tendency, which originated in this period, raised the demand for a South-wide Freedom/Labor Party to link the fight for black equality with the working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation. Such a party, breaking with the Democrats, would have given tremendous impetus to similar action among Northern workers. This would have required the organization of the union ranks to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, its liberal Reuther wing as well as the openly reactionary and racist Meanyites. However, the Spartacist tendency's forces at that time were too small to win the mass of young black activists to Trotskyism.

In the 1960s the black movement was faced with two dead ends: the liberal pacifism of King and the no less defeatist ideology of Stokely Carmichael and the nationalists. Both failed to see the need to mobilize the power of the unions, through challenging the racist pro-capitalist bureaucracy: King and the black ministers because they were committed to the Democratic Party; Carmichael and the black nationalists because with the defeats and sellouts of liberal reformism, they had taken the road of black separatism which ignored "the white working class." The two dead ends represented by King and Carmichael led to a decade with no significant black struggle, thus encouraging the present racist reaction spearheaded by the Reagan White House.

The 1963 March on Washington was organized by people who were at the

head of—and trying to contain within the bounds of capitalist reform—a mass movement against racist oppression. But the August 27 march is organized by the very people who have suppressed significant black struggle for over a decade, even struggles to defend the limited gains of the civil rights movement. The Democratic BEOs (black elected officials) serve as the indispensable front men for Reagan's austerity in the big, black proletarian cities like

movement by firing an entire union of air controllers (PATCO) for going on strike. This attack momentarily united organized labor across race and craft lines against Reagan and the government, generating Solidarity Day in September 1981, the largest and most integrated labor demonstration in American history. Significantly, no Democratic politician dared address this massive militant rally, while on the West Coast Mondale was booed off the

direction of the independent political mobilization of the working class. That is why the bureaucracy sabotaged real trade union solidarity with PATCO and got behind Reagan and the Democrats to defeat the strike. This defeat set the stage for the wave of giveback contracts in industry after industry which have slashed the living standards of the American working class. Nevertheless, in September 1981 the labor movement took over Washington for a day and demonstrated the social power to turn it into the capital of a workers government. What was lacking was revolutionary leadership.

The Democrats' and labor bureaucrats' only answer to Reaganomics is national economic protectionism, that is, economic warfare especially against the Japanese. "Buy American" chauvinism leads straight to "white power" race-terror. In Detroit last year a white auto foreman beat to death a Chinese American, Vincent Chin, whom he took for a Japanese. The Fraser regime of the Auto Workers, which works overtime pushing protectionist poison, is responsible for this racist atrocity. Meanwhile Jesse Jackson, in addition to wooing the Dixiecrats, is now trying to whip up anti-Japanese protectionist sentiment among blacks, and Democratic presidential frontrunner Mondale talks about landing the U.S. Army in Tokyo to sell American cars. Protectionism does not create jobs, rather it feeds into the climate of racist reaction whose main target is blacks.

The answer to layoffs, cutbacks and givebacks is the fight for a workers government that will rip the productive wealth of this country out of the hands of the capitalist class and establish a planned economy. This is key to the liberation of all oppressed minorities. Black workers particularly will play a vanguard role in forging a revolutionary workers party fighting to mobilize the power of labor in industrial and political struggle against the bosses and their government.

It took a social revolution to free blacks from the chains of slavery. And it will take a workers revolution to at last free black Americans and all working people from the shackles of capitalism. That is the task to which the Spartacist League is dedicated. Finish the Civil War! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! ■



Anti-Klan protesters on November 27 say: Finish the Civil War!

Detroit, Chicago and Gary. The heirs of George Meany in the AFL-CIO headquarters, the very people who willfully sabotaged and humiliated the civil rights movement, are major organizers of August 27. Thus AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland, who is one of the sponsors of this march for "peace," was just appointed to Reagan's commission to prepare direct U.S. military intervention in Central America.

At the same time, the labor tops are doing Reagan's dirty work in enforcing massive layoffs, plant closures, throwing millions onto the unemployment/soup lines. Not long after he took office, Reagan frontally challenged the labor

platform with shouts of "PATCO! PATCO! PATCO!"

These workers were so angry at the government that they were open to class-struggle answers even when presented by an openly Marxist publication. The SL sold over 8,000 copies of *WV* with the popular headline "Labor: Shut Down the Airports!" to the Washington rally alone. That headline captured the felt need of every worker as to what was needed to win the PATCO strike and stop Reagan's union-busting offensive. But that would have required a class-struggle mobilization against the capitalist government, a strike that was inherently political and pointed in the

Jesse James Jackson and August 27

We print below excerpts from a statement by a black trade unionist from the Tidewater area who helped organize the "Nat Turner Brigade" in the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C.

This March on Washington is just a front for the Democratic Party to sway people their way and get votes for the future elections. The D.P. doesn't give five cents about unemployment, the arms race or basic rights, or programs of any sort to ensure freedom for anybody but the people big business tells them.

Surely they cannot be talking about a program to ensure freedom because if this is correct, then all of these counterfeit endorsers would have been in Washington November 27, 1982 at the foot of the hill to stop the KKK from marching from the Capitol building down Constitution Ave. on to the White House. They should have been there. BUT OH NO, the Klan didn't march. They didn't dare to march for there were 5,000 labor and let me call them people from the field to stop them (the Klan). Not one of

these phony endorsers of the Aug 27, 1983 march was NOWhere near the designated place to stop the Klan, but yes some of them were over on the other end of town fooling the masses.

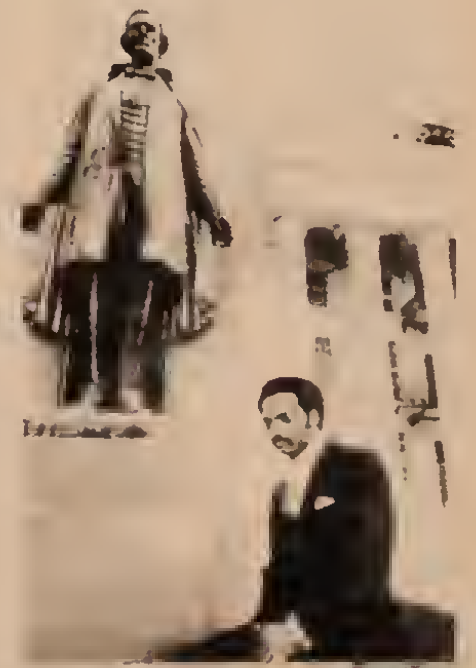
These people know who they are, and if you want to know just who they are then pick up an endorsement sheet of the August 27, 1983 March and you can just about read all their names because they are all listed there. Mayor Marion Barry, Walter Fauntroy, got the nerve to have honorable placed in front of his name, he ought to be ashamed of himself, and just read the endorsers, especially the individual endorsers for none of them were near the correct place to stop the Klan. They were on the other side of town, for it is the same as sending a defensive football team to stop an offensive team from running a touchdown and the defensive team take their position outside the stadium.

And the one who will be telling you all these lies will be no other than Jesse James Jackson old J.J., and the others with him are HIS brothers, NOT THE SAME when you and I say brother; I mean the Younger Brothers. Jesse James J. and the Younger Brothers. They will be in Washington to steal

your votes for the Democratic Party.

Recently didn't J.J. Jackson go to Alabama and have a meeting with Segregation Wallace, and then make the statement that the "South Will Rise Again." This is the slogan that was used immediately after the Civil War, and for a black man to even think about saying such a thing is a disgrace, but Jesse James Jackson is a house Negro so if the South rises again, he will sleep in the same house as his master, eat the same food (the leftovers) as his master, and wear the same clothes (the hand-me-downs) as his master and still his master will let him make speeches to the field Negroes, the same as he is doing now, for nothing will change for J.J. Jackson and his Younger Brothers.

So if you want to go into Washington on the 27th of August, for a 20 year anniversary, you go right ahead and when the Toms tell you dance, you dance, hut dance good. If they want to go into Washington on August 27, 1983, and parade around on the streets for Democrats to gain votes, then it's their decision to make. If they are fool enough to let Jesse James Jackson make a complete puppet out of them, then it's their



Jesse Jackson poses in front of Alabama statue of Jefferson Davis, president of defeated slavery.

fault. Tell people the truth and later as times go by, people will listen to you again. Tell people a lie, and they will never listen to you again.

March on Washington...

(continued from page 7)

August-September 1979 *Political Affairs*, CP leader Kendra Alexander retells the timeworn Stalinist fairy tale that, "in a basic sense the history of the Communist Party is also a history of the Communist Party's unrelenting commitment to the freedom calls of black people." "Unrelenting"?! The only way he can accomplish this trick is by simply skipping the whole period of World War II, when black people were putting forth enormous efforts to batter down the walls of Jim Crow.

The American Stalinists boycotted the march and denounced Randolph and thousands of blacks as "appeasers of the Axis." They denounced the "Double V" slogan because, as a *Daily Worker* writer said, "Hitler is the main enemy" and "the foes of Negro rights in this country should be considered secondary"—a statement that (as the SWP's *Militant* put it) would "gladden the hearts of the poll taxers, lynchers, and advocates of white supremacy!" As for the black sharecropper Odell Waller, the CP had not a word to say about him until the day before his scheduled execution (Waller was on death row for 630 days), and then only attacked this legal lynching because it gave the "foul and hypocritical defeatists"—in particular "the unspeakable Trotskyists"—an opportunity "to divide national unity and weaken our whole war effort" (*Daily Worker*, 2 July 1942).

The CP became the most vicious defenders of the racist status quo. In September 1941, black Stalinist leader Ben Davis said publicly "the CP is disturbed by the increasing struggle of Negroes for jobs in defense plants." In 1943 black CP leader James Ford explicitly attacked the March on Washington Movement because it "was creating confusion and dangerous moods in the ranks of the Negro people and utilizing their justified grievances as a weapon of opposition to the Adminis-

tration's war program" (*The Communist*, July 1943). To counter this the Stalinists formed the "Negro Labor Victory Committee" in order to mobilize pro-war sentiment among blacks. So vitriolically opposed to any struggle for Negro rights did the Stalinists become that in 1945 when four black WACs at Fort Devens were court-martialed for complaining about the lack of medical care for wounded black soldiers, CPer Davis jumped in on the side of the prosecution:

"The U.S. general staff has on many occasions...proved that they deserve the full confidence of the Negro people.... We cannot temporarily stop the war until all questions of discrimination are ironed out."

—*Daily Worker*, 8 April 1945

When the Trotskyists say that Stalinism is the syphilis of the workers movement, we are not exaggerating one iota. During the war the CP even opposed the fight to integrate the blood banks! In the interests of preserving Stalin's wartime alliance with "democratic" American imperialism, the CP became the bourgeoisie's super-patriotic bloodhounds. In the labor movement they became the most rabid strikebreakers, supporting the CIO no-strike pledge: when John L. Lewis led a coal miners' strike, the CP denounced it as "treason" and slandered Lewis as "part of the pro-Nazi fifth column" (*The Communist*, July 1943). As part of its despicable whipping up of war hysteria, the CP expelled all of its Japanese American members and supported the locking up of everyone of Japanese descent (more than 100,000 people) in American concentration camps "for the duration." Even more despicably they hailed the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They also cheered Roosevelt on when the federal government jailed 18 leaders of the SWP and the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters union, who had led the 1934 general strike there, for their internationalist opposition to the imperialist war. Yet after the wartime "anti-fascist" alliance inevitably fell apart, the CP itself fell victim to the same witchhunting Smith Act.

With the onset of the Cold War and the collapse of the "anti-fascist" alliance, the Communist Party at Stalin's behest criticized some of the more egregious acts of racist class treason it committed during World War II. They were blamed on Earl Browder, general secretary of the CP during that period. But when the CP today calls on the Klan-endorsed Ronald Reagan and the racist capitalist state to "ban the Klan"; when it calls on Congress to trim the anti-Soviet war budget rather than demanding "not a penny, not a man" for the imperialist armed forces; when it backs "progressive" and black Democrats like Tom Bradley, Coleman Young and Marion Barry—it shows that Stalinist-Browderist popular frontism is very much in command in the CPUSA today.

Trotskyists Fight for Labor/Black Mobilization

The CP's treacherous suppression of class struggle at home in the name of "anti-fascism" only encouraged the most right-wing racist elements to come out of the woodwork and attack blacks. While this so-called "war for democracy" was in progress, bloody race-terror attacks were being inflicted on blacks in the U.S. Black soldiers were shot down in cold blood and jailed for demanding their rights. Black doctors like Edgar Keemer of Detroit were denied the right to practice even among segregated black troops. In February 1942 KKK-incited mobs attacked black workers and their families who dared to move into the Sojourner Truth federal housing projects in Detroit. That summer a "hate strike" occurred in Detroit's UAW-organized ordnance plants against blacks being hired into production. The next year an anti-black pogrom took the lives of over 30 Detroit blacks, most of them shot by the police. All this was encouraged by the Jim Crow policies of the Roosevelt government in civilian and military life. The Stalinists' response? When the MOWM blamed the administration for the anti-Negro outbreaks, the CP blamed...blacks! According to the *Daily Worker* (18 July

1943), "...Negroes, have not rallied sufficiently to strengthen the President's hand" (quoted in the anthology, *Fighting Racism in World War II*).

Under the ferocious bourgeois pressure to "keep Negroes in their place," only the then-revolutionary Trotskyist SWP fought for militant black and labor action against the poll taxers, lynchers and Jim Crow segregationists, while courageously opposing the imperialist war even though it meant jail for their leaders. At the height of the Detroit pogrom by white supremacist mobs, the Trotskyists called for union action to defend blacks:

"The chief responsibility for defending the Negro people rests today upon the trade unions. The CIO, most powerful organization of the working people in Michigan, was established and grew strong because of its policy of nondiscrimination...."

"Flying squadrons of union militants should stand ready to protect the rights of their Negro fellow workers menaced by the mobs. The various local unions should maintain order and clear their respective territories of anti-Negro, anti-labor gangs."

—SWP on the Anti-Negro Terror," *Militant*, 3 July 1943

Today as Reagan gears up a new war drive, this time aimed directly at the Soviet Union, the question of labor/black mobilization against reaction is posed with great urgency. Today it is the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League who fight for labor/black mobilization, such as took place in Washington on November 27. Then 5,000 mainly black workers and youth came out to the SL's call and stopped the Ku Kluxers in their tracks through disciplined and powerful mass mobilization, while the reformists and Democrats blew hot air at a rally a couple of miles away. We Trotskyists continue the tradition of the Communist International in Lenin's day, which proclaimed itself "not simply the organization of the enslaved white workers of Europe and America but equally the organization of the oppressed colored peoples of the world...[whose] duty [is] to encourage and support the international organization of the Negro people in their struggle against the common enemy." ■

Detroit...

(continued from page 2)

"socialists" whose friends at Solidarity House supported the curfew in 1976 when it was first enacted. For them the only "burning issue" is how to help the auto bosses steal billions of workers' wages and benefits (the givebacks which UAW tops engineered and DSA supports) and to push racist anti-Japanese protectionism. This deadly poison inspired the murder of Chinese American Vincent Chin by a Chrysler foreman and his stepson. Signs at the demonstra-

tion read, "Vengeance for Vincent Chin! Jail the Racist Killers!"

In the present climate of Detroit, to protest the curfew brings you right up front against the ire of Coleman Young and the cops. Despite attempts to isolate the militants, the demonstration intersected an ongoing mood of struggle at Wayne State, where the largely black campus unions face a union-busting campaign and workers are charging racism against the administration. In Detroit, the Spartacist League, SYL and LBSL took the initiative in protesting this curfew and what it will mean—increased police roughriding in

this hard-hit labor/black city. The small but important core of workers from River Rouge braved considerable pressure and then faced police intimidation in showing up to protest. At a video showing and forum which followed the successful action, several workers and students who had participated joined the Detroit Labor/Black Struggle League! ■

Richmond...

(continued from page 5)

going on throughout America, that the *Examiner* and other bourgeois elements are increasingly concerned to rein in their more flamboyant and far out expressions. But in the main the stories in Richmond take place in towns throughout the South, and increasingly in the Northern urban centers. Blacks know that when it comes to racist harassment and cop violence, Richmond can be Anywhere. U.S.A.

Like many Northern and Midwestern cities, Richmond got its first major influx of blacks when WWII war industries required their labor. From 1940 to 1944, the city's population skyrocketed from 23,000 to almost 100,000, mainly black and white Southerners needed for the shipbuilding industry. But after the war, most of the shipyards closed and unemployment and poverty reclaimed many, mainly black workers. Meanwhile, the capitalists used their strikebreaking police to try to break the unions in the oil industry which organized in Richmond after the decline of shipping. Yet the Richmond cops are affiliated to AFL-CIO Operating Engineers Local 3. All cops are mercenaries of the bosses—paid strikebreakers. We demand: cops out of

the unions!

The liberals and reformists are of course all clamoring for a reform of the Richmond Police Department. But for at least 15 years the various reform schemes, reviewing procedures, screening and training techniques, have only resulted in more police brutality. Now there is growing sentiment for a civilian review board. Here as elsewhere such a board will not stay the hand of the cops' racist terror. However, if the issue in Richmond becomes a referendum on civilian control vs. racist police bonapartism, revolutionaries critically support a civilian review board.

The scabherding, anti-union racist cops thrive in this climate of anti-labor offensives and union bureaucrat sellouts and givebacks. But the power of working-class militancy scares hell out of the cops. Before the recent port shutdown in the Bay Area was sold out by the ILWU labor traitors, the longshoremen's mass pickets defied all the injunctions and restraining orders. Here was the biggest "illegal" action in Richmond where the cops delight in beating up residents for parking violations. They weren't about to go up against 700 longshoremen, mainly black and well organized. The racist "Cowboys" didn't want to repeat Custer's last stand.

It will take socialist revolution to at last end the racist terror of the capitalist state. And part of the struggle for workers revolution, and the forging of the multi-racial Trotskyist party needed to lead it, is the mass mobilization of labor and blacks to fight racist violence in all its forms. That is the program of the Spartacist League and the Labor/Black League for Social Defense. Jail the killer cops! ■

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Money Needed to Fight Moonie Libel That Kills

The Spartacist League (SL), initiator and principal organizer of the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27, has been libeled and set up by the ultra-right-wing cult of Sun Myung Moon. The Moonies' *Washington Times* article on the massive protest falsely accuses the Spartacists as would-be cop killers and a "violent" criminal organization which should be outlawed. This is a libel that kills.

To defend itself the SL and SYL filed a libel lawsuit on June 14 against the Moonies and their publishing arm, the Times-Tribune Corporation which publishes the *Washington Times* (see SL statement on the libel lawsuit, "Moonie Libel that Kills" and the legal complaint in *WV* No. 332, 17 June 1983). The Moonies must not be allowed to get away with targeting the organizers and participants of the largest and most effective protest in

decades against Klan racist terror. If the Moonies have their way, any group or individual in the lead of struggle against the KKK and fascist terror will be marked for destruction.

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—has launched a campaign to help pay for and publicize this important legal battle. Defeating the Moonies will help to protect all intended victims of the Moonies. This case can be the instrument to strike back against this ultra-right cult's most important thrust for influence and power in America, the *Washington Times*.

It will be a tough fight. We have the truth on our side, but it will take more than the truth to win against the Moonies. The cult seems to be made of money. It has legions of lawyers and

right-wing connections in high places. From his giant munitions plants in South Korea to bilking his flower-peddling zombies to his big-money backers, Moon's "holy war" of reaction is well financed.

Everyone on the Moonie hit-list has a stake in this case: parents who have seen their children twisted by the cult, the left and civil libertarians who are marked as "Satan" in Moon's drive for theocracy, clergy and professors deceitfully used to increase Moon's sinister influence, and decent Americans everywhere who hailed the November 27 anti-KKK demonstration as their own and want to see the fascist terrorists stopped.

Your financial support and endorsement are urgently needed to win this lawsuit. Please send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York City, N.Y. 10013



Lane/Newsweek

Racist Moon said: "White people can contribute in the analytic, scientific area while black people can contribute in the physical area."

Guerrillas in El Salvador

(continued from page 6)

WV: On the fighting in El Salvador, many of the Democrats in the U.S. favor a "political solution" because they don't want to see the spread of revolution throughout Central America. The Spartacist League on the other hand has called for military victory to the leftist insurgents and a revolutionary war throughout the region. We have pointed out that the United States was defeated in Vietnam not by the "peace movement" in the U.S., although that had an impact, in terms of bourgeois public opinion which toward the end grew quite defeatist, but above all because they were defeated on the battlefield. In terms of El Salvador, you've seen what the oligarchy and the Salvadoran capitalist ruling class is like—what do you think it would take to defeat them?

Rydström: The guerrillas are making progress in the armed struggle, but I think they still have a very long way to go before they can annihilate or defeat the government army. But my impression of the guerrilla soldiers is that that is what they are fighting for. We come back to this question of negotiations. They were fighting and hoping for a military victory. They were talking about "it will take a long time yet, but we are advancing," and they were hopeful about [some day] being able to make the same kind of military triumph as happened in Nicaragua. Many of them would feel it's a crushing anticlimax to all of a sudden stop the war, lay down the arms, and we'll have a little bit better

government than we had before. That's not what they're aiming for, they're aiming for military victory.

WV: You think about in this country in the middle of the Civil War if there had been a negotiated settlement, what would that have meant for blacks—no emancipation, slavery would still have existed in some form. That's obviously the implication in El Salvador, that if there were some negotiated settlement obviously it would mean leaving in place the capitalist structure that has made the life of the workers and peasant masses a hell for much more than the 50 years that the military has been running the country. The title of that movie, "Revolution or Death"—for the masses of the Salvadorans, that really is the alternative.

Rydström: I was very impressed. I come from a country that hasn't had any war since 1810 and no war on its territory since 1523, and it was very hard for me to understand the implications of this armed struggle. I was always very impressed with the attitude the combatants had when they were facing death. They had seen so many of their friends die, that they had to live with that possibility that they would be killed in battle. I think that many of the people there had that feeling, that they had done very much and they would die happily if it was in battle.

WV: On Nicaragua, many of the same people in this country who are talking about a negotiated settlement are also trying to pressure the Sandinistas into negotiating with the *contras*. At the same time, the Sandinistas while resisting the *contra* invasion—which is financed by the United States—have tried to follow a "middle road," to have a "mixed economy, nonalignment and political pluralism." What do you feel will happen there? Sweden was always supposed to be the "middle way," as a matter of fact....

Rydström: Well, in the historical situation we see now in Nicaragua I very much doubt that it will be possible to keep this "middle road," and I think that the external aggression and internal conflict will force the government to choose the road to follow. I think that eventually it will be a historical necessity to follow the Castroist road, to expropriate private property. On the other hand, you have to understand the dilemma of a small country liberating itself from the tyrant that Somoza was. If it's a small underdeveloped country, as Nicaragua is, they are dependent upon external aid; and if the United States cuts off all aid, they have to look for material aid from the Soviet Union, and even if they try to maintain an independent path and not to become a

new satellite—well, they don't have much of an alternative, do they?

WV: Well, the real alternative would be a workers revolution throughout the area, which obviously could not be limited just to Nicaragua or El Salvador but would have to include the heavy battalions in Mexico. ■

CWA...

(continued from page 3)

bureaucracy's line, "what's good for the company is good for the workers," is a lie. But what's necessary to turn this into a strike that can win is to forge a new leadership that breaks *politically* from the pro-company, pro-CIA union tops. Fighting for that perspective is the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a small group of militants centered in the Bay Area and Los Angeles with more than a ten-year history in the CWA.

MAC has been the only grouping in the CWA to demand militant industry-wide strike action against the bosses. In response to the "crime" of exposing collusion of union misleaders with the company and organizing phone workers to struggle, CWA bureaucrats launched a campaign to "Get MAC." Watts wrapped up the '82 CWA convention by declaring: "When we go into negotiations in 1983...the Militant Action Caucus...will be picketing our meetings, will be urging our members to strike and not settle no matter how good a settlement that we might get." That was the signal for Watts' local henchmen to go into action. In both L.A. and San Francisco this year local bureaucrats have launched McCarthyite witch-hunts against MAC—the most notorious being the ongoing eight-month vendetta of SF Local 9415 president Jim Imerzel to expel exec board member Kathy Ikegami.

MAC has fought for a full union shop, elected stewards with the power to settle grievances through strike action, and the local right to strike. MAC exposed the CWA tops' rotten ties to the CIA, and has fought for labor action against imperialist war from Vietnam to El Salvador. Where Watts praises bloody segregationist George Wallace, MAC has helped mobilize phone workers in labor/black actions to stop the Klan and Nazis. In L.A. MAC members sought to mobilize phone workers, including CWA convention delegates, for an emergency rally called to stop the murder of three anti-apartheid militants by the racist South African regime. MAC has fought consistently for independence of the unions from the capitalist state and bosses' parties. MAC calls for expropriation of the parasitic phone monopoly,

as part of a struggle to smash the entire private profit system and replace it with a workers government.

A March 26 MAC leaflet demanded: "We can't afford to follow the bureaucrats' program of roll over and play dead. Our jobs and our union are on the line. It will take a sharp break from the present policies of our current misleadership to stop the companies' plans cold. We need one national contract with one expiration date for the entire telecommunications industry. We need contract language calling for uniform wage scales, benefits and working conditions at the highest level—no givebacks because of reorganization. For full CWA representation of *all* non-management job titles in all Bell subsidiaries, spinoffs and reorganized entities. All contract demands have to be based on the fact that the jobs we have are ours and nobody is going to take them away without a fight. It's time we told the company to shut up, we're doing the talking! For strike action to fight the layoffs, downgrades, forced transfers and firings and to fight for jobs for all—30 hours work for 40 hours pay." ■

Barnestown...

(continued from page 4)

Barnestown/Oberlin, politics will out and things heated up for a while between British supporters of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat" (Usec) and Barnesite Fred Feldman. At a workshop on disarmament, Feldman went after the Usec majority for its capitulation to the pervasive anti-Sovietism of the European anti-nuke movement (captured in the slogan "For A Nuclear Free Europe from Poland to Portugal"). British Usec supporter Brian Smith responded that Feldman's presentation was "slandrous" and challenged the SWP to "open the discussion" and "publish the documents." Starved for political debate, SWPers packed the workshop, which extended for several hours.

Meanwhile, in San Francisco, one Pedro Camejo, formerly a Barnesite top-dog hatchet-man now turned factional globetrotter for the SWP's estranged international Usec bloc partners, gave a public talk August 5 to an audience laced with SWP members and ex-members. Will attendance there be a new Barnes pretext for more expulsions, like the alleged recent gathering of minorityites and ex-members on the West Coast? Back in Oberlin, the National Committee was having yet another hush-hush plenum, which we bet didn't spend its time discussing the plight of the working farmer... ■

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Direct Report From Sri Lanka

COLOMBO, August 2—The newspapers of 25.7.83 reported a news item released by the Department of Information that 13 army personnel were killed by a shootout and bombing by terrorists in Thirunelveli, Jaffna area on the 22nd around midnight.

The government had made arrangements to bring down the bodies of these dead army personnel and to bury them at Colombo. The bodies were airlifted from Jaffna to Colombo on the 24th of July. Relations and religious dignitaries were invited to attend the funeral. However, the relations wanted the dead bodies to be taken to their villages. The government position and the relatives' stand were counterposed and the result was the police inspector in charge of the arrangement has been attacked. Thereafter all Tamil shops around Borella (Colombo-08) were looted and burnt.

The deaths of the 13 army personnel were published in the newspapers on the 25th, and the anti-Tamil activities in the Borella area on the evening of the 24th were spread through rumours. After that the widespread attacks on the Tamil people were released. On the morning of the 25th all Tamil shops in Fort and Pettah (in Colombo) were destroyed and burnt. These attacks were done by the same thugs that the UNP deployed against the Supreme Court judges and the picketing workers. Some Buddhist monks too supported this attack. Today Colombo stands as a bombed city. This example of attacking the Tamils spread to the North and South of the city by the afternoon. Sinhala communalists looted any Tamil

building that they came across and burnt them. Vehicles on the roads were stopped and petrol was taken by thugs from these vehicles to torch the buildings belonging to the Tamils. From Colombo south on the Galle Road up to Kalutara (27 miles) not one Tamil building was left. All were destroyed.

Many factories have been completely burned and destroyed. Some of these belong to Indians. Hundreds of thousands of women workers who were employed in these have lost their jobs.

The government reports that there are 50,000 refugees. The most distressing news is of the murder of Kuttimani and Jeganathan and 35 other prisoners on 26 July who were arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The radio and TV announced that about 100 other prisoners despite the orders of the prison's officials broke open the cells and murdered these Tamil prisoners. However our information is completely different. That is that the army broke into the cells and murdered these prisoners.

By the 27th these anti-Tamil attacks spread to Kandy. Whilst all these happened the government kept silent. The army completely supported the Sinhala communalists to destroy Tamil shops. We saw that Tamil shops and houses had been looted by Sinhala communalists during curfew hours! They were not stopped. Especially the curfew imposed on the 24th-26th from 2 p.m. was for name sake. Damage was done during curfew hours in the presence of the army.

Newspapers of the 29th reported the

second wave of killings in the Welikada prisons. This time 18 Tamil prisoners were killed by Sinhala prisoners on the 27th.

The country is facing a severe shortage of food. Long queues are visible in front of government marketing sales depots.

The majority of the Sinhalese agree and approve this attack. There is no basis for any other observation. However generally leftists do not side with these attacks. But at the moment the left movement does not have the strength to swim against this tide. The government has used press censors and other regulations to stop left opinions from surfacing.

The Prime Minister in his address to the nation on the 29th declared that all organisations demanding a separate [Tamil] state or any organisation that supports such a view is to be banned and their properties confiscated by laws that are to be introduced on the 4th of August, Thursday. Thereafter, he said,



Kuttimani, Jegan and Dr. S. Rajasunderam: three of the Tamil martyrs murdered in Welikada prison.

PLOT Photos

Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 16)

village... Brandishing clubs and knives they checked vehicles for the presence of Tamils." At the Buddhist Temple of the Tooth in central Kandy, a Tamil body was found floating in the idyllic lake.

Few horrifying tales have yet emerged from the sealed-off Northern Province. Several reports tell of the fire-bombing devastation from army helicopters of whole Tamil villages and Jaffna University. Rumors of an army massacre over a week ago are only now being confirmed by government admission. In Jaffna, during a rampage of indiscriminate shootings of Tamils on July 25, government troops ordered at least 20 Tamils from a bus, including women, and shot them one by one in the street.

The international Spartacist tendency has sponsored demonstrations in six countries on three continents as part of an international campaign to save the Tamil people from Jayewardene's rampage. The lives of three million men, women and children—the fate of an entire people!—is hanging in the balance. This life-and-death matter calls for urgent action by the international working class and its allies. We demand: *Smash J.R.'s massacre—Defend the Tamil people! Immediate withdrawal of Sinhala army units from all Tamil areas! Arms for the Tamil people!* The Tamils in the refugee camps are now at the mercy of the same army butchers who engineered and executed this pogrom for their passage to the North. *Patriation of Tamils in Sinhala areas to the North under the protection of the Indian army! No faith in Indira Gandhi! No "UN" troops!*

This atrocity taking place in Sri Lanka marks a watershed in the history of that island nation; that society will never be the same again. The impact of the bloodletting and mass population transfers can only be described as a catastrophe. J.R. has ripped the country apart, forcing separation of the peoples

by eliminating Tamils in the south and uplands and shipping the survivors to be compacted in part of the Northern Province. What is posed now as a minimal democratic demand is a plebiscite of the Tamil working people to decide on the formation of an independent state in the North: *For the right of Tamil Eelam!*

The repression and compaction of the Tamils is linked by many strings to a war drive against the USSR. Among a frenzied mounting list of fake villains and alibis J.R. has fantastically accused the Soviets of orchestrating communalism, mass murder and plunder as part of a plot to overthrow his government. By latest reports J.R. intends to throw out 80 percent of the diplomatic staff of the Soviet and East German embassies. In his anti-Soviet frenzy J.R. even threw the Vatican rep out of the country for allegedly collaborating with the Tamil terrorists and denounced Amnesty International as a bunch of communists. Sri Lanka's pretenses to "non-alignment" are utterly sham. The UNP (United National Party) government points an accusing finger at the Soviet Union as the "superpower with a long history of subversion in the Third World," as if it weren't the CIA and IMF which are busy worldwide bringing down governments and starving the people for imperialist profits. It's clear J.R.'s looking to sell Sinhalese labor power and strategic Trincomalee harbor to the "superpower" which boasts about its military might. As retired U.S. Navy admiral Edward Snyder put it when the USS New Jersey was brought out of mothballs: "If you are a Buddhist and someone trains a battleship's 16-inch guns on you: 'Where do I sign up to be a Christian, boss?'" For some time now Sri Lanka has been hedging to get into ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations, pimps for genocidal Pol Pot), the front-line instrument for imperialist attempts to reconquer Vietnam.

It's not for nothing he became known as "Yankee Dickie"—J.R. is Reagan's

man in the Indian Ocean. And he surely aspires to be Jeane Kirkpatrick's model of a "moderately authoritarian" dictator. The Reagan administration has praised Sri Lanka as a model for Third World development, a free enterprise paradise for the imperialists. For the Lankan masses it's dollar-a-day wages and slave-labor conditions for women workers in the "free trade zones" and the Tamil plantation workers. The U.S. imperialists have designs on Trincomalee as part of their plan to secure hegemony over the Indian Ocean and encircle the Soviet Union. J.R. is willing to trade the strategically important deep-water harbor of Trincomalee in exchange for access to U.S. markets for cheap goods produced in the "free trade zones." The UNP government has pursued a conscious policy of colonizing Sinhalese into the previously Tamil-majority areas like Trincomalee, not unlike the Zionist policy in the West Bank. The Sri Lankan government's request for military assistance from the U.S., Britain, Pakistan and Bangladesh to repel the threat of a "foreign invasion" appeared to be an open provocation against quasi-Soviet-friend India. J.R., like his big brother in the White House, seems to have no qualms about dragging the world yet another step closer to World War III. *J.R.'s massacres pave the way for the bloody USA! U.S. out of the Indian Ocean! Hands off Diego Garcia! No U.S. base at Trincomalee! Down with the anti-Soviet war drive!*

J.R.—Sri Lanka's Pinochet

The bourgeois press is attempting to portray this conflagration as a spontaneous outburst of communalist racial strife or a backlash against the Tamil separatist movement. This is an obscene lie! The pogromist massacres have been instigated and organized by the government.

The government campaign to annihilate the Tamil nationalists actually started when, at the World Tamil Conference in 1974, the police attacked

the talk of a separate state will end!

There is no chance for a Tamil to walk in the streets in and around Colombo. He will be chased by Sinhala communalists declaring him a "tiger" and hacked to death. We defended our Tamil comrades and our other Tamil sympathisers.

The government will bring their sixth amendment to the constitution to ban any organisation which demands a separate state or the right of self-determination. The amendment will be proposed in parliament on the 4th August. The government intends to get it passed on the very same day. Any party or individual who is guilty of such activity will be punished. Their property will be confiscated and/or they will be sentenced to a 20-years imprisonment or death sentence.

J.R. government is following Hitler's methods and has proscribed the following parties and their printing presses—Nava Samasamaja Party (New LSSP), Sri Lanka Communist Party (Moscow), Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front)—under the emergency law. Any party members who break this law will be given death sentences. ■

a peaceful cultural meeting and killed nine Tamils. This led to the birth of the guerrillaist Tamil Tiger movement. The stage was set for the current government pogrom when Sinhalese soldiers abducted and raped several young Tamil women from Palaly Teachers Training College near Jaffna. Two of them, hopelessly degraded by prevailing reactionary values, reportedly committed suicide the next day. Outraged by this atrocity, Tamil youth took to the streets and erected barricades. Two army vehicles of the occupying forces were

As retired U.S. Navy admiral Edward Snyder put it when the USS New Jersey was brought out of mothballs: "If you are a Buddhist and someone trains a battleship's 16-inch guns on you: 'Where do I sign up to be a Christian, boss?'"

ambushed; 12 soldiers and one army officer were killed. The army response was to unleash a bloody massacre. Reports of the nightmarish violence all over the island confirm the government's role in the terror. Eyewitnesses tell of army and police standing by for 12 hours as Colombo burned. According to one account by numerous foreign tourists, nine Tamils were incinerated at Colombo's main railway station as policemen, troops and several European tourists looked on:

"After being beaten the Tamils were placed on the railway tracks by the crowd which used papers and other debris as kindling to burn the battered but still living people."

—Guardian [London], 29 July

Army men were supervising the pillaging, according to reports in *Libération* [Paris] (4 August):

"On Galle Road Monday afternoon people were in their cars trying to get home, but army men were stopping them and helping the hooligans confiscate their gasoline to set fire to shops and homes. In High Street I saw an

WORKERS VANGUARD

attack upon a recently opened tourist inn. Army men were supervising the looting of fans, furniture, mattresses."

J.R. has done his best to behead the Tamil nationalist movement. The slaughter of 52 leading Tamil activists held under the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act in Colombo's maximum-security Welikada jail was an act of raw vengeance by the government. Army men opened the jail gates and prison cells to allow professional killers into the cells of these Tamil militants. Groups of ten, armed with swords, rods and pistols, entered each cell. After ten minutes it was total silence. Two hours later, jail wardens leisurely appeared on the scene to claim that some prisoners had broken out of their cells and attacked and killed some Tamil prisoners before order could be restored. Thirty-seven were dead. Two days later 17 more prisoners were butchered in a second sweep that was clearly meant to finish the job. When questioned about the present safety of political detainees in light of two successive massacres, government spokesman Liyanage responded laconically: "We're not the only country which has prison riots" (*Guardian* [London], 3 August).

The overwhelmingly Sinhala army has been an army of occupation in the Northern Province with increasing troop concentrations for several years. Now, like a foreign army of conquest, soldiers rape, burn, maim, pillage and brutalize the population in unspeakable ways. In the east coast port city of Trincomalee 130 Sinhalese sailors broke from their barracks and burned an entire Tamil village to the ground, killing one Tamil and injuring ten others. The government has stampeded tens of thousands of families into ten refugee camps where there is no food, no water, no sanitation, no medical aid. The government is holding up crucial foreign relief aid, food and medical supplies. "We are sitting ducks," said a 32-year-old Tamil clerk in the Pillaiar Hindu temple compound which houses 4,000 refugees in utter squalor on the outskirts of Colombo. "They can throw bombs in here and massacre us all like they did in Lebanon. We can't stay here" (*International Herald Tribune*, 30-31 July). One recalls the carnage of the massacres at Shatila and Sabra.

J.R. is moving fast to consolidate a Pinochet-style dictatorship. The economic interdependence of the Tamil and Sinhala peoples has been systematically destroyed while the survivors of the anti-Tamil pogroms are being compacted in a South African-style bantustan in the North. J.R. carefully prepared the way: first with his ominous "referendum" which extended the life of his UNP-dominated reactionary "long parliament" until 1989; then with showpiece local elections that were boycotted by 92 percent of all the Tamils in the North and East. He rounded up the most well-known Tamil leaders and threw them in jail, where many were then butchered, following torture. He shut down the Tamil paper *Sutantiran* and the English-language *Saturday Review*, both published in Jaffna, to



Colombo: Police stood by as Sinhalese mobs burned and looted Tamil shops.

muzzle the main voices of Tamil opinion in the North. Then he unleashed the bloody rampage.

J.R. has now extended his repression to Sinhala leftist parties. The Communist Party, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) and the Nava Samasamaja Party (NSSP) have been outlawed and many of their leaders thrown in Welikada prison! There have been over 1,000 arrests including prominent leftists—among those jailed or being hunted are Rohana Wijeweera (JVP), Vasudeva Nanayakkara (NSSP) and three leaders of the Communist Party. *Down with press censorship! No ban on Saturday Review and Sutantiran! Release all victims of UNP terror!*

One Big Lie After Another

J.R. has now concocted a series of big lies to justify his crackdown on the leftist parties. At first he pushed the lie that the violence was provoked by the terrorism of the Tamil Tigers rather than by Sinhala chauvinism. Then he tried to pin the blame on the Russians. Now he has spun an elaborate fantasy about a diabolical plot by the Sinhalese left in collusion with left-wing military officers to exploit the tensions between the Sinhalese and Tamils and unleash civil disturbances in five stages to provoke a coup by the military and national police. Asked by a reporter why he waited five days before publicly appealing for a return to order, J.R. replied, "I might as well have asked George Washington not to start his war of independence or revolution. You people think it is a [communal] riot. It is not. It is a revolution, and we have to adopt counter-revolutionary methods" (*Washington Post*, 8 August).

J.R. wants to blame everybody for the bloodletting except for those who did it—the mutineers in his own army. The *Sunday Times* (7 August) reported:

"...carefully-worded version of Jayawardene's speech, released to the press by the official censor, hides the fact that after riots erupted on July 24, when 13 soldiers were ambushed and killed by Tamil terrorists in Jaffna, a sizeable number of Sri Lanka's 13,000 troops were in a state of mutiny for four days as they wreaked vengeance against the country's Tamil population...."

"Despite vigorous official denials, independent sources confirm that the government did try last week to obtain troops and equipment from Bangladesh, Pakistan, Britain and the US as a back-up force while it undertook a cleansing operation. It was as much the lukewarm response from those countries as the strong opposition from Sri Lanka's own armed forces that led to the plan being abandoned."

Playing the role of the bonaparte in the classic sense, J.R. has shown himself to be a master of the imperialist-derived methods of divide-and-rule. He sets the Sinhalese against the Tamils, the Tamils against the Sinhalese left, and so on while jailing, killing or driving from their homes each oppressed sector. Now blood flows in the streets.

The despicable deep-seated chauvinism and popular frontism of the Sinhalese left, subordinate to the SLFP of Mr. Bandaranaike and later Mrs. Bandaranaike, has given the bourgeois nationalists a firm grip on the Tamil people. The lefts' penchant for coalitions with the SLFP, a capitalist party built on the basis of chauvinist "Sinhala only" policies, has made them anathema to militant Tamil youth. It was under the rule of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike following independence that another social group—the Burghers, descendants of the intermarriage of Europeans with the Sinhalese—were driven out because they had previously occupied the highest positions in the officer caste and civil service under the British. The reformist parties supported the SLFP coalition government of Mrs. Bandaranaike that massacred thousands of embittered JVP-led leftist rural Sinhalese youth in 1971. In response to the current crackdown against the left, Mrs. B has bragged that her own government had locked up the JVP leaders, and that "when he [J.R.] took over, he let them out" (*Times* [London], 1 August).

On August 4, Parliament, with the main opposition party MPs of the Tamil United Liberation Front still in hiding in the North and with a declared TULF boycott, voted a complete ban on separatist politics. The mere advocacy of Tamil Eelam, the formation of a separate Tamil state, now brands one officially an outlaw, threatened with loss of civil rights, life imprisonment or the death penalty! Like the ex-shah of Iran, J.R. has threatened to crush any opposition at home or among the more than 500,000 Tamils living abroad. Prime Minister Premadasa says, "Those advocating any division of the country will not be able to talk about it even in a foreign land because we would punish them upon their return to Sri Lanka" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 3 August). *For the right of Tamil Eelam!*

The TULF, a bourgeois nationalist formation like the early Kuomintang, has been widely discredited particularly among militant Tamil youth for their attempted compromises with the J.R. government. Now with their fundamental principle of separatism plus legalism outlawed, they have reached a dead end. The wretched SLFP not only supported the ban of the TULF, they proposed an

amendment to declare advocating separatism an act of treason! The Communist Party, whose own members are being hunted and jailed, supported the ban on the TULF fully. After making this clear, however, the CP MP walked out of Parliament to protest only the outlawing of his own party!

No Faith In Indira Gandhi!

In desperation the leaders of Sri Lanka's Tamil community and many Tamil exiles have appealed to India's Indira Gandhi to intervene on their behalf. Gandhi draws significant electoral support from the tens of millions of Tamils in southern India. For six days, the state of Tamil Nadu was virtually shut down with strikes and demonstrations. Militant, daily demonstrations have been held in front of the Sri Lankan embassy in New Delhi. A 14-hour, 45-million-strong protest strike paralyzed Tamil Nadu on August 2. Angry demonstrators marched through the streets of different cities and towns with human skulls atop poles burning effigies of Sri Lankan president Jayewardene and shouting "Death to Jayewardene!" and slogans urging Mrs. Gandhi to send the Indian army to Sri Lanka. Several hundred students vowed in a memorandum to the prime minister to sail 50 small boats across the narrow Palk Straits and join the Tamil Tigers if she refused to act. Five thousand volunteers from different parts of Tamil Nadu took a blood oath to undertake a "pilgrimage of sacrifice to Eelam" which will march 92 miles to the coast, then cross the straits in small boats hewn out of tree trunks. J.R. has stepped up security including armed patrols of the beaches at Rameshawaram to prevent the proclaimed army of political workers from reaching their destination.

In fact Mrs. Gandhi declared, "We are against any secessionist movement in any sovereign country" (*Asian Monitor*, 29 July). Gandhi said she "is willing to send troops to Sri Lanka to reinforce the island republic's army" (*Daily Telegraph*, 1 August)! This should come as no surprise to those who recall that the Indian government sent helicopters and troops to help suppress the JVP-led popular insurrection in 1971. Last week she sent an elephant—the symbol of J.R.'s hated UNP—as a gift from the Indian government for the famous Buddhist holy shrine of the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy aboard a ship that was to transport Tamil refugees! The fate of Lanka's Tamil masses must not be left in the hands of Indira Gandhi, the brutal oppressor of her own national, ethnic and religious minorities in India! She orchestrated the communal bloodletting in Assam, where untold thousands died and a quarter of a million were left homeless earlier this year. When Gandhi went to war with Pakistan in 1971, using the just Bengali struggle for self-determination as a pretext, the Indian army established an iron grip on the East Bengalis, and disarmed and slaughtered the guerrillaist Mukti Bahini which had thrown itself at the mercy of the Indian bourgeoisie. The young Tamil liberation fighters and leftist defenders of the Tamil people—Sinhala and Tamil alike—could certainly meet the same fate.

Today Ceylon experiences the bitter fruit of decades of betrayal and defeat in the class struggle. It is necessary to begin again in the light of all experience since the British left in 1948. But history does not repeat itself. The bloody communal struggle argues that even with proletarian revolution in Ceylon and South Asia generally, a *federated* socialist republic in Ceylon will be necessary to achieve the unity of Tamil and Sinhalese people on the basis of justice and equality (and to not ignore the Sinhalese people's fears of the immense majority of Tamils in south India).

Tamil militants who look to the United Nations must recall the horrible fate of the PLO and Palestinian masses in the hands of these imperialist "peace-

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After 1971 youth uprising thousands were butchered by Mrs. B's pop front regime. Above, body of young rebel floats seaward.

Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 13)

keepers"! Disarmed, dispersed and humiliated, the PLO abandoned thousands of civilians to a bloody end at the hands of Zionist/Phalange terror. U.S. troops and those of its NATO allies not only did nothing to stop the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, but set up the massacre at Shatila and Shabra. *No confidence in Indira Gandhi! No to UN troops!*

An Indian invasion would surely result in a brutal reversal of the terms of oppression between Lanka's nationalities, as did the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus. When the Turkish army invaded, the previously oppressed Cypriot Turks turned the tables and perpetrated great atrocities against the Greeks. As Marxists, we are not in the business of revenge of one people (the prior oppressed) over another (the prior oppressor). Rather we believe the eradication of national oppression and true social progress will require a socialist revolution. As Marx wrote in "The Future Results of British Rule in India":

"When a great social revolution shall have mastered the results of the bourgeois epoch, the market of the world and the modern powers of production, and subjected them to the common control of the most advanced peoples, then only will human progress cease to resemble that hideous pagan idol, who would not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain."

The Lankan economy, already ravaged by the starvation austerity measures dictated by the IMF, inflation and unemployment, is now hopelessly in ruins. A critical shortage of staples has in one week jacked up prices 400 percent! This has been exacerbated by the fact that the food commissioner and his deputy, both Tamils, have fled the capital. The Tamil people are, or were, the merchant/professional class in that country, a legacy of British imperialist policy which had incorporated many Tamils in the mechanisms of the British colonial administration. But since independence in 1948 the Sinhalese have overwhelmingly displaced them in government service and higher educational access and the Tamils have become a savagely oppressed minority. The nationalist "Sinhala only" agitation of the mid-1950s, endorsed by the popular-front left as anti-British colonialism, codified anti-Tamil communalism as official state policy.

But if the army-battered North is overwhelmingly Tamil and neither the government nor the "left" sheds any tears over the brutal exploitation of the plantation Tamils who are called "Indian Tamils" and deprived of basic citizenship rights in their native Lanka, elsewhere and especially in Colombo itself, which had no Sinhala majority, Sinhalese and Tamils and other ethnic groupings have historically been economically interpenetrated peoples. In Colombo, Tamil merchants and traders ran fully 70 percent of the retail and wholesale trade, including the crucial food distribution businesses. The gutting of 17 major Tamil-owned factories, mostly textile operations making ready-to-wear garments for export, spells the loss of over 150,000 jobs. The massive scale of the carnage has badly damaged prospects for attracting foreign investment and the formerly fast-growing tourist trade. And just what is supposed to happen to the tea plantations, the mainstay of Sri Lanka's agricultural export economy, which accounts for

most of the island's hard-currency earnings, after the Indian Tamil plantation workers are burnt out, thrown in refugee camps or shipped back to India? The Sinhalese peasant smallholders won't work under the grueling slave-labor conditions that the superexploited stateless Tamil plantation workers have been forced to endure.

The Sinhalese ruling class has always sought to manipulate the communalist antagonisms on the island. A recent issue of *Le Monde* (4 August) graphically describes the deep ethnic hatred which has been fueled to a fever pitch by the bourgeois:

"This time we gave them a good lesson, and they should keep their heads down. It couldn't go on like that. In fact, the government should have reacted immediately when Tamil terror first began in the North. Enough is enough. The Tamils are privileged already.... We couldn't let them walk all over us. They came from abroad. They can live abroad. We only have one country, our country. Anything that leads toward independence is unacceptable. Would you allow your country to be sliced up like that?... Of course, our reaction will doubtless have short-term negative effects on the economy, but it was justified."

The international Spartacist tendency has consistently upheld the right of the minority Tamils to form their own state if they so choose. In the wake of the government's anti-Tamil pogrom the bitterness and hostility between the Tamils and the Sinhalese has evidently become insurmountable at least in the short run. J.R. is carrying out the decimation and compaction of the surviving Tamils in the North. A plebiscite on an independent state is merely a necessary democratic measure.

While Marxists unconditionally defend the Tamils' right to form a separate state, we are less than enthusiastic about the prospects for an independent Tamil Eelam in the barren North with the inevitable concomitant economic dependence on India. With or without independence the North alone is economically unviable. With little industry and poor, arid land the region is ill-prepared to absorb the influx of another million or more Tamil refugees. And what is to become of the horribly downtrodden remnants of the Indian Tamil plantation workers in the uplands after the separation?

The formation of an independent state in the North out of the ashes of J.R.'s holocaust would neither ensure survival nor bring national justice for the masses of oppressed Tamils. What is needed is a socialist revolution on the island and its extension throughout South Asia. We have in the past counseled against separation, understanding that a revolutionary policy for Tamil emancipation must include the Tamil estate proletariat, who are integrated into key aspects of the economy. These workers are not only central to our perspective of united struggle by the Sinhala and Tamil working people to destroy capitalism and establish a workers and peasants government in Sri Lanka, they also represent the basis to forge the living revolutionary link with southern India by showing the 60 million Tamils and the dozens of other oppressed nationalities of capitalist India that our internationalist proletarian state has nothing in common with the ultimately genocidal "democratic socialism" of J.R./Mrs. B.

What is desperately needed is the building of an internationalist Trotskyist party in Sri Lanka, necessarily substantially based among the exploited Tamil masses. The struggle against the hideous national oppression of the Tamils and communalism is central to forging such a party. Colvin de Silva, a founder of the Trotskyist movement in Ceylon, said at the time of the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi:

"Let us remember: communalism is wrong because it subserves the interests of the exploiters and oppressors by enabling them to divert the exploited from their proper struggle and proper objective to a false struggle and a false

objective. It turns the minds of the exploited away from the necessity to overthrow the system of exploitation. It plunges them into internecine conflict which lays them prostrate before their common exploiters and oppressors."

The Bolshevik-Leninists of India was a party of both India and Ceylon to which we look as the best of the original Ceylonese subjectively revolutionary formations. An internationalist party, they opposed the imperialist Second World War which many spent in India or in jail and continued the struggle for independence from the British. They organized strikes among the plantation workers and in Jaffna and Trincomalee, winning the respect of a considerable layer of the Tamil intelligentsia and workers. The continuators of this tradition today are we Trotskyists who champion the rights of the Tamils and link the Tamil struggle to the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism. Lasting national and class justice for the Tamils will only be secured through permanent revolution—rule by the workers and peasants—and a socialist federation of South Asia. ■

Protest Anti-Tamil Terror...

(continued from page 1)

Los Angeles, San Francisco, Canberra, Sydney and Bonn. In the course of the campaign, thousands of copies of *Workers Vanguard* and of the Tamil-language *Illangei Spartacist* and other iSt publications have been sold.

Militant unionists in Canada and the U.S. have raised the call for an international labor boycott of all Sri Lankan goods. In Australia, SL/ANZ leaflets have called on Melbourne dock workers to boycott Sri Lankan cargo on the Indian ship *Vishva Kaumudi* (see box).

Everywhere, both in Spartacist-called demonstrations and in united-front actions with Tamil exile groups, the Trotskyists of the iSt have fought for proletarian internationalist defense of the Tamil people. On several occasions bourgeois elements have attempted to break Tamil militants away from cooperation with the communists. But significant numbers of Tamil youth are rejecting these intimidation efforts, and speaking out against the criminal attempts to divide the protest against Sri Lankan strongman J.R. Jayewardene's Cold War terror.

In addition, there have been a number of incidents of chauvinist retaliation against Tamils in the West. At a demonstration of 200 Tamils in New York July 29, a Sinhala "photographer" set upon a Tamil protester. In Los Angeles on August 6, a Spartacist League spokesman received anonymous phone calls threatening bloody revenge if we dared to demonstrate, and a handful of Jayewardene supporters attempted to disrupt the protest. In France, at least one Tamil has been killed by Sinhala thugs who operate with no apparent fear of deportation (and two Sinhalese have also been killed). The Sinhala gang terror on an international scale is reminiscent of the Iranian SAVAK network under the shah.

New York

"Down with state terror! For the right of Tamil self-determination!" chanted 100 demonstrators outside the Sri Lankan Mission to the United Nations July 28. Among the protesters were two dozen Lankan Tamils, supporters of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Council. At the rally, the SL/US emphasized the connection between the massacre in Sri Lanka and Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. Signs read, "J.R. Terror Paves the Way for the Bloody USA" and "Hands Off Diego Garcia and Trincomalee!" An SL spokesman said:

"The terror launched against the Tamils is not just an outbreak of mass chauvin-

ism but a pogrom organized by the J.R. government for a strategic purpose linked to the counterrevolutionary perspectives of the American imperialists on a global scale. Under British colonialism, Trincomalee (in the historically Tamil Eastern Province) was headquarters for the British fleet—now the U.S. wants it as a stepping stone in the Indian Ocean to encircle the USSR. Just as the U.S. wants to turn the Caribbean into an American lake, they want to turn the Indian Ocean into an armed U.S. bastion from which to control the Indian subcontinent, Iran and the oil sheikdoms. We oppose all U.S. intervention in the area! For military defense of the Soviet Union and Vietnam against imperialist attack!"

A spokesman for the Tamil Eelam Liberation Council (TELC) called for a United Nations peacekeeping force to stop the terror. But the SL warned that only a year ago these same imperialist armies set up the massacre of the Palestinian people in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon. "No to UN peacekeeping force! U.S. out of the Indian Ocean!" the demonstrators chanted.

London

On July 30 in London, in the largest single protest in the West, 4,000 people paraded past Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's office at No. 10 Downing Street to County Hall. More than 100 militants, largely Tamils, marched behind the Spartacist League/Britain banner, "Halt Anti-Tamil Pogrom in Lanka! Down with Bonapartist JR Regime!" The crowd picked up our chants, "Thatcher arms Lankan butchers—Trade unions: stop it now!" "For Tamil right to separate—Lanka



Spartacist Britain

4,000 mainly Lankan and Indian Tamils march in London, July 30. Crowd picked up Spartacist chant, "Thatcher Arms Lankan Butchers—Trade Unions: Stop It Now!"

needs a workers state!" "Defend Tamil areas—Imperialist hands off Trincomalee!" A theme repeatedly expressed by Tamil demonstrators was an appeal for protection from the Indira Gandhi regime. One sign captured the spirit, "Mother India Save Us!" In contrast Spartacist placards called for "No Faith in Indira Gandhi—Remember the Fate of the Mukti Bahini," referring to the guerrilla fighters of Bangladesh slaughtered with Gandhi's blessings. While the SL calls for "patriation to the North of Tamils now in Sinhala areas, under protection of the Indian army," we warn against any faith in the bourgeois nationalist regime of Indira Gandhi which presides over its own prison house of peoples, from Assam to Kerala.

The question of Indian intervention

WORKERS VANGUARD

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips an issue in August.

Our next issue will be dated September 9.

BOYCOTT SRI LANKAN CARGO!

MELBOURNE, August 8—Reprinted below are excerpts from a leaflet distributed by the Spartacist League/Australia and New Zealand (dated August 5) entitled "Stop Anti-Tamil Genocide in Sri Lanka! Black [hot cargo] Sri Lankan Cargo!" This call for labor action was warmly received, in particular by Indian seamen manning the *Vishva Kaumudi*, an Indian ship carrying Lankan cargo loaded in Fremantle, Western Australia. The following morning the ship's Tamil captain called a meeting of seamen to report an urgent directive from the Indian government that Indian ships stop carrying Lankan cargo and that Lankan goods already on board be unloaded at Bombay, bypassing Indonesia and Colombo.

Seaman and maritime workers must not rely on the manoeuvres of Indian head of state Indira Gandhi! What's necessary is militant labor action, blacking [hot cargoing] goods to Sri Lanka in ports around the world. A Dutch ship carrying Lankan cargo is already reported to be arriving in Melbourne in the next week. Such labor action would also greatly aid the defence of Tamils in Australia and elsewhere now under the gun by Sinhalese rightists, as well as the fight for asylum for Tamil refugees.

...The international working class must act now to save the Tamil people from J.R. Jayewardene's "final solution."

Australian wharfies [dock workers] have a perfect opportunity to score a blow against the butcher J.R. On August 7 at Berth 24 Victoria Dock and days later in Sydney an Indian ship, *Vishva Kaumudi*, will be off-loading and taking on Sri Lankan cargo. Waterside workers together with the ship's Indian seamen should see that the cargo on the dock stays there. And it would be a splendid act of working class solidarity if the Sri Lankan cargo now on board stays right where it is until it finds a resting place at the bottom of the Pacific. Australian maritime unions have a long history of such action from the Black Armada of 1945-48 [when Australian dockers refused to handle Dutch shipping to Indonesia during

the independence struggle] to strike action in solidarity with the workers and peasants of Vietnam during U.S. and Australian imperialisms' dirty losing war in Indochina. Organised labour must again use its power! Don't let J.R. Jayewardene destroy the Tamil people! Black all cargo to and from Sri Lanka!...

Reliance on the Hawke Labor government to act in defence of the Tamils is a sure way to seal their fate. Hawke knows who his friends are and Reagan's anti-Soviet despot Jayewardene is one of them. Hawke's anti-union government reneged on its promise to resume economic aid to Vietnam but gives at least \$12 million annual financial aid to subsidise Jayewardene's genocide. Now Hawke has just thrown in an extra \$100,000 bonus! Waterside workers: it's up to you to take action to save the Tamil people. You've got the power—use it! Don't load the *Vishva Kaumudi*!

came up again at an SL/B forum in London July 27 when a spokesman from the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) said, "With regard to the call for help from India.... We are massacred, we are killed there, no food, no medicine.... We can only go to our next-door neighbor and ask for help." SL/B spokesman David Strachan focused on a strategy to "seek to win not the Indian bourgeoisie, but the Indian masses" in powerful workers' action to stay the hand of the Lankan butchers:

"For instance, this general strike which was called in Madras by the opposition parties—that's something you genuinely want to look to, as something to build on. And international working-class support elsewhere; trade-union bans on military goods, for instance, in this country, because the British imperialists have had a role in training the [Lankan] commandos...."

Middle Eastern Spartacist comrades at the meeting spoke powerfully of the experiences of communalist terror and retribution in Cyprus and Armenia.

Germany

In West Germany the anti-Tamil massacre in Sri Lanka has been brought to the fore by actions of the government in deporting a number of Tamils to certain death at the hands of the Sinhala chauvinists. Last week in Berlin five Tamils were deported. On August 4, the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands demonstrated outside the detention center in West Berlin's Kruppstrasse protesting this "Deportation to Death." A TLD leaflet denounced the West German government for sending millions of D-marks to the butcher Jayewardene while denying political asylum to Tamil refugees from the massacre. The TLD demanded "No Deportations of Tamils!" as well as the release of Cemal Kemal Altun, a Turkish left-wing prisoner in Germany.

On August 4, supporters of the TELC invited and welcomed a TLD contingent at a demonstration in Grevcnbroich. But in Bonn the next day, Tamil bourgeois leaders mounted a crude attempt to exclude us, even calling on the capitalist cops. As the demonstration began the TLD, the only German organization present, began to chant, "Arms to the Tamil people!" "U.S. Imperialism—Hands off Trincomalee!" and "Defend Vietnam and Soviet Union!" A TELC leader arrived with a police officer and demanded that our sign, "No Trust in Indira Gandhi, Butcher of Assam and Mukti Bahini" be taken down, threatening to confiscate it. The TLD, under protest, dissolved the contingent and then distributed a leaflet to the demonstrators, informing them of the cowardly betrayal by their leadership and calling on them to protest.

Tamil demonstrators were outraged at the anti-communist exclusion by their leadership. This polarization was made especially clear at the beginning of the

demonstration when the TELC leaflet was distributed by young Tamils only in "censored" form. A sentence assuring the imperialists that the Tamils were not infiltrated by communists was obliterated on every single leaflet before it was handed out! The TLD has been the only German organization to take up the cause of the Tamil people, a fact that even the anti-communist leadership has had to recognize. On the back of their leaflet, they had reprinted excerpts from the TLD's leaflet.

In West Berlin on August 7, the TLD held a united-front rally which drew 150, about half Tamils mobilized by the TLD and the Tamil Eelam Welfare Association. A call for the action was endorsed by an impressive list of leftists and defense organizations, individual trade unionists, political and cultural figures.

For International Protest Against Anti-Tamil Terror

From Bangladesh to Assam to Sri Lanka—the cycle of intercommunalist

terror is the legacy of the divide-and-rule policies of British imperialism carried out today by the "independent" capitalist leaders. This is reflected in some elements of the Tamil emigré leadership whose hostility to united-front action with socialist groups grows out of an appetite to make themselves "acceptable" not only to the Indian bourgeoisie, but as quislings for Jayewardene himself and his American imperialist sponsors. For Tamil militants, the question is now posed: nationalist isolation or a revolutionary internationalist perspective. As the statement of the German TLD read:

"So what disturbs the TELC leaders about our militant working-class defense of the Tamils? Bala [TELC official] wants no red flags, no calls for the defense of the Soviet Union, no criticism of imperialism and the Kohl government and does not even want to mention the Tamils facing deportation in West German prisons. This cynical answer is true to the politics of this popular frontist in exile following in the tracks of bloody Mrs. B who paved the way for Jayewardene."

Even should a Tamil Eelam state

come about, it can only be an isolated bantustan on the barren north coast of Ceylon, dependent for its existence on the overlordship of the Indian army. The fate of the Tamil people will depend on a struggle for a socialist federation of South Asia, which can liberate all the many oppressed peoples of the region, including the almost 60 million Tamils in India. This perspective was raised in Paris July 29 at the demonstration organized by the Ligue Trotskyiste de France joined by 400 supporters of the TELC and the Tamil People's Liberation Organization. The LTF spokesman concluded:

"Comrades and friends, we want to end the demonstration with the singing of the Internationale. Tsarist Russia was another country which suffered bloody pogroms. What put an end once and for all to these tsarist pogroms was when the Russian working class led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party took power. This is the same perspective we want to bring you today. For the socialist revolution, for the socialist federation of South Asia!" ■

In Paris, July 29, 400 Tamils joined protest initiated by Ligue Trotskyiste de France.



Le Bolchevick



WV Photo

200 Tamils march in New York City, July 29 (left).

Australian Spartacist League campaigns for an international labor boycott of Sri Lanka to save Tamils. Protest in Sydney on July 23 (right).



Australasian Spartacist

Massacre in Sri Lanka



In Colombo, Jayewardene's army and Sinhalese mobs unleash hideous terror against Tamil minority. Body of Tamil victim lies burning in street (right). AP Photos

Arms to the Tamil People! U.S. Out of the Indian Ocean!

AUGUST 9—Would-be strongman President J.R. Jayewardene found himself at the head of mass, bloody, burning butchery of Tamil families, youth, defenseless prisoners and pathetic plantation laborers as his "strength through Third World capitalism" schemes fell apart last week. J.R.'s dictatorship sought to rest on (1) the hostility and bitter disappointment among the Sinhala masses in the miserable experience of Mrs. B's former

popular front of left Sinhalese nationalists with the revisionist Communist Party and LSSP; (2) the attempt to placate the oppressed Tamil masses with too little, too late and lying promises; and (3) his real base politically among the Sinhalese upper classes, militarily based upon the Sinhalese officer corps, soldiers and police, and upon foreign imperialist economic penetration together with collaboration with the aims of U.S. foreign policy. All this was to

make him President for Life.

The outcome was the gruesome picture above of a body burning in the street, which only gives a glimpse of the bloody massacres incited and executed by the government. A returning Norwegian tourist reported that she and her daughter witnessed a Sinhalese mob halt a bus in front of them on the road, block all exits, pour gasoline over it and set it aflame while "hundreds of spectators" stood watching the twenty Tamils inside incinerate. "Hundreds, maybe thousands must have been killed already.... Women, children and old people were slaughtered. Police and soldiers did nothing to stop the genocide" she reported (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 29 July). On July 28 a Tamil was beaten and chased naked from carriage

to carriage of a speeding train between Colombo and Kandy until he dropped dead. His mutilated body was tossed from the train. ABC correspondent John Mills reported, "I was told that Tamils in shops or houses during the riots were given the choice of burning to death inside or coming out and being beaten or axed to death. Most, I'm told, chose to burn to death inside." Tamil houses were systematically marked for arson attack by men carrying voters lists in their hands (*Hindustan Times*, 30 July). Over 100,000 have fled their burned-out homes in desperate fear and are still huddling in concentration camps. In the upland interior, a *Times* (London) reporter told of "gangs of young men [stopping] vehicles in every

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Emergency Demonstrations Protest Anti-Tamil Terror

As the smoke rises over burning Colombo, as the Tamil people are murdered and driven into concentration camps, and now with the mass roundup of leftists, the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has mounted an emergency campaign of protest to "Stop Anti-Tamil Massacre in Sri Lanka!" For the past two weeks there have been more than a score of such demonstrations in six countries.

In Melbourne, July 27, the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) and some 60 supporters of the Tamil Association of Victoria demonstrated outside the Ceylon Tea Centre. In New York, July 28, 100 protesters came out to the call of the

Spartacist League/U.S. (SL/U.S.) to picket the Sri Lankan Mission to the UN. In Paris on July 29, 400 Tamils joined a demonstration initiated by the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF); on the same day in Toronto over 100 answered the call of the Trotskyist League of Canada. In London, July 30, a contingent from the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) participated in a mass march of some 4,000, mainly Lankan and Indian Tamils. And in Berlin on August 7, 150 militants came out to the call of the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD). Other demonstrations sponsored by or with contingents from the iSt have been held in Boston,

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New York City, July 28—Demonstrators in protest called by SL/U.S. at Sri Lankan mission to UN, part of an international campaign. WV Photo