

Mission 007: Cold War Provocation

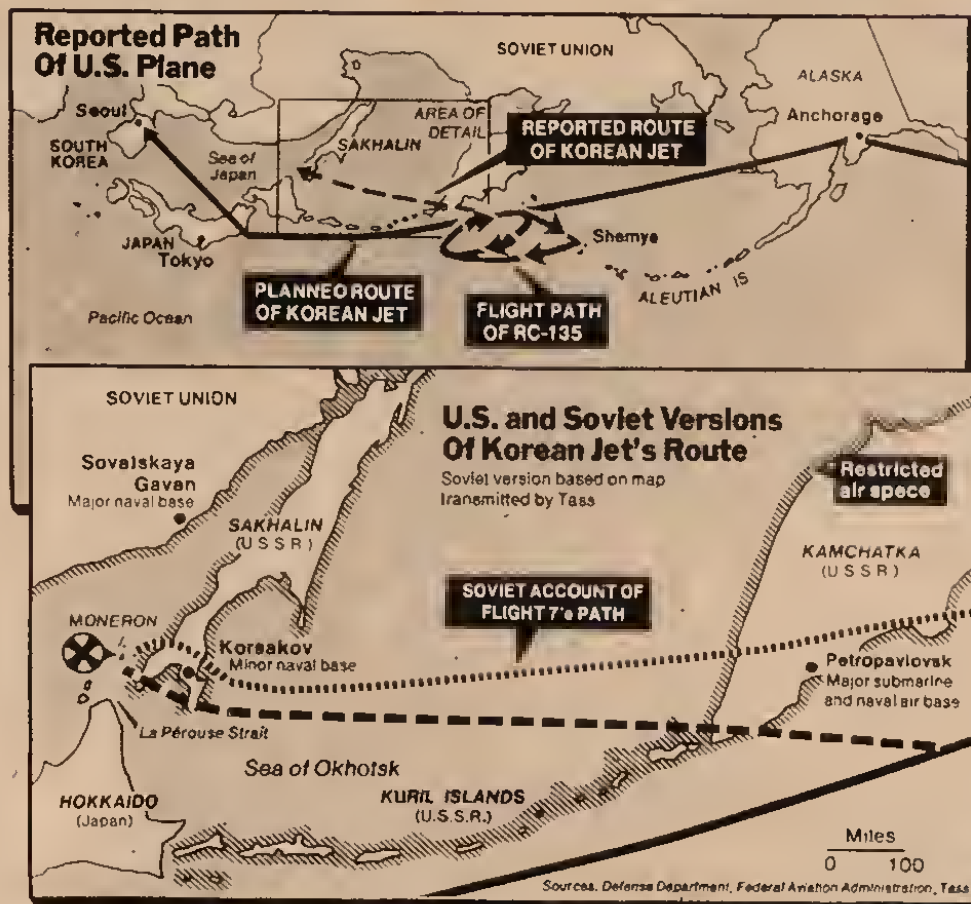


Reagan's Story Stinks!

SEPTEMBER 6—When Korean Air Lines Flight 007 took off after refueling in Anchorage, Alaska in the early morning hours of August 31, it headed southwest down the international corridor known as R-20, the closest of five air lanes to the Soviet peninsula of Kamchatka. Some time after it passed the last American radar checkpoint in the Aleutians, it apparently veered off to the right and thereafter followed a steady course some 300 miles to the west of its assigned path. According to ABC-TV, two hours after takeoff "it passed over one of Russia's most sensitive military installations, the submarine base at Petropavlovsk" on the southern tip of Kamchatka.

In response to this blatant violation of Soviet airspace, KAL Flight 007 was picked up by Soviet radar and pursued by Soviet fighter planes as it crossed the Sea of Okhotsk inside the Kuril Islands chain. Two hours later, shortly after 3:00 a.m. Japanese time, the plane overflew the Soviet island of Sakhalin passing near the Korsakov air and naval base. Continuing its course would have taken the jetliner over the port of Vladivostok, home of the Soviet Pacific fleet. But Western reports say that at 3:38 a.m. the South Korean Boeing 747 jet plunged into the sea just off Sakhalin, taken out by the Soviets.

Now Ronald Reagan accuses the Russians of the "Korean Air Line massacre," an "act of barbarism" by an evil society in which "shooting down a plane... with hundreds of innocent men, women, children and babies, is part of their normal procedure." What shameless hypocrisy! Who took the civilian passengers as hostages on this cold-blooded Cold War provocation in the first place? This criminal game of "chicken" by the Korean military pilots, with the cooperation (at least) of U.S.



What was the sinister mission of Flight 007? Its flight path over the most militarily sensitive areas of the USSR was a deliberate anti-Soviet provocation.

and Japanese authorities who were closely tracking Flight 007, was more heinous than any hijacking. A Soviet TV commentator compared it to the Nazis, pointing out that "when the Hitlerites attacked, they forced women and children in front of them."

It is highly suspicious that the U.S. government seemed immediately to know all about the incident while Moscow was patently still trying to

figure out what the hell *did* happen. (P.S. So are we, and so is the rest of the world, except for the most rabid chauvinists.) The plane certainly didn't "stray off course," it deliberately *changed* course, and not just in any direction but heading straight toward Seoul and passing over a succession of military bases. Flying without navigational lights, KAL 007 refused to follow repeated radio and visual instructions

by Soviet interceptors to land. When challenged over Sakhalin, it engaged in evasive action. Clearly this was a deliberate provocation, and if it wasn't a preplanned spy mission, it might as well have been.

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

What are the Americans up to? As a statement by the Soviet news agency TASS (printed on page 6) put it, it "is necessary to find out the truth on who and for what purposes sent this plane to Soviet airspace." As the Russians have pointed out, Washington badly wanted an incident that would give it an excuse to break off or sidetrack arms control negotiations and undercut demonstrations against the stationing of new U.S. missiles in Europe this fall. Meanwhile, they would like to put the Soviets in a situation like in 1919: no trade, no communication, no transportation, a complete world blockade. This isn't 1919 and it won't work. But that's the meaning of the ban on Aeroflot landings, begun by Reagan's flunky in Canada. This deadly provocation is preparation for imperialist war.

The U.S. evidently needs about a two-year buildup for war with Russia. It's

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REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS TO SL/U.S.

Spartacist League/Lanka
Colombo
8 August 1983

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

The six-year administration of the pro-American, rightist J.R. Jayawardene's UNP [United National Party] government has not solved any problems of the people. Instead, they have

Greetings From Our Comrades Under the Terror in Sri Lanka

become aggravated from bad to worse. The "open economy" and the "free trade zone" theories that the government sought to use as supporting pillars for the crashing economy, are now cracking under the unbearable burdens that rest upon them. By abolishing one by one the rights of the

people and by introducing tough legislation the government keeps away the people from the path of struggle. This cruel government that appeared to brighten up not only the earthly life of the people but even their lives after death, and boasted that it laid the foundation for a "Dharmista" [Bud-

dhist righteousness] society, has now got all its dictators' medals soaked with agony and blood of the Tamil people—the victims of violent suppression during the last weeks. The intellectuals' and students' movements within the judiciary, religious and human rights organisations and also in the other layers of society are filled with unrest. More than at any time before, the poorest sections in the island are now facing brutal military law and the force of thugs.

The government, to keep up with its friends, is using all public media, political platforms and forces to declare a "cold war" against the Soviet

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Under the Terror in Sri Lanka

(continued from page 1)

Union. To serve American and other imperialists' interests, Sri Lanka is invitingly waving its hand to American forces via capitalist trade tactics. It is seeking to join ASEAN [the Association of Southeast Asian Nations] and other counterrevolutionary organisations in an attempt to disgrace the Red victories in Afghanistan, Vietnam and Kampuchea. The government is highly respectful of the Solidarity trade-union movement activities in Poland whilst denying the right of the local workers to demonstrate, picket and strike! The fierce government, having been unable to get out of the capitalist crisis, is now gradually absorbing military juntas into its administration.

As a part of the International, we of the SL/L today join you not only to

fight capitalism, but social democracy, reformism and centrism too. Our part in the world is extremely difficult. Risky. We are devoted, as a propaganda group against all types of reactionaries, to building a party on the lines of Bolshevik traditions.

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

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

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

The seventh national conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. was held in August. International Spartacist tendency (iSt) fraternal delegates and observers were present from seven other countries. Unable to be with us were comrades of our section in Sri Lanka. That small Indian Ocean island nation was being torn apart by Sinhala chauvinist terror against the national/religious minority people, the Tamils, as pogroms instigated and organized by sections of the governing United National Party (UNP) of J.R. Jayewardene ripped the country apart along national lines. The army which has for years terrorized the overwhelmingly Tamil North simply ran wild, while in Colombo and throughout the South Sinhalese mobs carried out wholesale burning of Tamil-owned businesses and wholesale massacres. Tamil men, women and children were incinerated inside buses, thrown from moving trains, beaten and torn to shreds in the streets.

The anti-Tamil terror is severing the economic and geographical interpenetration of Lanka's peoples. The systematic destruction of Tamil-owned factories and stores (incidentally destroying 150,000 jobs) has wiped out formerly important Tamil commercial layers of Colombo and the South (and the government has now seized all damaged property). The orgy of bloodletting is compacting the Tamils into the North as 100,000 or more have fled in

terror for their lives. Among the tens of thousands of homeless refugees still starving in government camps are many "stateless" plantation workers from the uplands. This superexploited plantation labor force (legally disenfranchised in 1948) has been central to the island's economy since British colonial days.

Despite the government's press censorship, the foreign press has documented the wholesale army rampages in the North and the participation of the cops and army in the killing elsewhere. *India Today's* comprehensive story (31 August) on the terror stressed the leading role of the UNP and rightist Buddhist extremist groups, and the organized quality of the terror: e.g., "spontaneous" Sinhalese mobs had voters lists and detailed addresses of Tamil-owned property. Eyewitness accounts in the foreign press have also destroyed the government's claims, absurd on their face, that the massacre of 52 Tamil activists inside Welikada prison was carried out without the connivance of the authorities. Some of the most prominent Tamil spokesmen on the island—Kuttimani, Jeganathan, Rajasunderam—were slaughtered in this atrocity aimed at beheading militant wings of the Tamil nationalist movement.

J.R. responded to the pogroms by refusing to even hypocritically criticize the anti-Tamil terror for weeks, illegalizing advocacy of a separate Tamil state (Eelam), cracking down on three Sinhalese leftist parties (but not the hopelessly discredited reformist shell of the LSSP), and quietly sounding out the possibility of U.S. imperialist or other foreign help against his mutinous army, spinning for such a purpose fantastical tales about "Marxist officers" and a Soviet-planned or JVP-inspired "left-wing" military coup. (Swift protest from India against the prospect of Sri Lanka bringing foreign powers into the region brought denials from Jayewardene and the expulsion of the UPI correspondent who broke the story.)

It has since become a commonplace that the mutinous ringleaders of the anti-Tamil pogroms were rightists, virulently chauvinist forces high up in the UNP and the military. Figures like hard-line chauvinist UNP demagogue Cyril Mathew and the increasingly prominent Douglas Liyanage have emerged as factional powers within the UNP. Meanwhile, with India acting as mediator in negotiations between Jaye-

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SL/Lanka

Sri Lankan army and Sinhalese mobs burn down Tamil shops in Colombo.

Direct from Colombo

Colombo
Friday, July 29th 1983

We are now witnessing the cruelest attack on the Tamil people in Lanka ever recorded in recent history. It all began on the evening of the 24th, when the government wanted to bury some bodies of soldiers, killed by "northern terrorists," secretly in a cemetery in Colombo. Relatives of these dead soldiers wanted the bodies to be taken to their home towns (in Sinhala areas). As a show of protest they began attacking all Tamil shops and commercial establishments around the cemetery area, Borella (Colombo-8). By morning on the 25th the whole area was burned, and people who gathered in the city were agitated by newspapers in bold thick headlines. These people, encouraged by utterances and behaviour of some cabinet ministers and Members of Parliament of the UNP during the last few years, ran amok in the city.

All hell broke loose when mobs, gangs, thugs, private armies armed with knives, crises, iron bars, steel hammers, daggers got on to the streets searching for Tamils. From all the high-rise buildings in the Fort [downtown Colombo] area to the slums in Peliyagoda every Tamil property was set afire, destroyed.

I walked through the city on Monday. Colombo was wrapped in a mist of dark black choking thick smoke. Men, women, little children were running for their lives. Half-naked, drunken thugs were chasing after Tamils who like on any other weekday reported to work. Huge flames of fire were swallowing Tamil kovils (temples), hotels, jewelry and textile shops, and finally spread and gutted the huge factories of Cyntex, KG Plastics, St. Anthony, Consolidated Engineering, Getro, Tata textiles. All this happened in the presence of the police who were by that time deployed on the streets...

I saw a hundred [Sinhalese] chasing a Tamil man running for his life (towards a police post) and several cops, armed, just watching this man fall and then be set upon by the crowd that followed. I saw logs being placed on roads, vehicles stopped and the search for Tamils going on. What happened when an armed patrol passed by? They waved and cheered. But what shook me most was when I saw *workers* on McCullum Road (J.R. Wijewardena Mawatha) defending the government, smashing vehicles and demanding national identity cards. The same men and the guns they stood to defend today will be the death weapon not only of themselves but of the entire labour movement of Lanka...

Arson, looting, murder continued on Tuesday. Burning, charred cars, lorries, coaches still remained on the roads smoking... Wednesday, "officially," curfew was declared the whole day...

Then came the most disgusting news—the very people who we demanded be released were hacked to death in their prison cells. Kuttimani, Jeganathan and others (37 some say, 75 others say), all Tamil political prisoners and suspects, were beaten to death. Believe it [the official account]—these prisoners were in the maximum security section, hard-core terrorists as they were known, transferred from the Army Cantonment at Panagoda—fellow Sinhala prisoners broke open their own cells, pushed aside the guards in a maximum security section (in the largest prison in the island), broke into the cells of the Tamil prisoners and simply crushed them to death! How many shots were fired by the guards?... Then it happens again, the following day, the prison riots repeat and 18 Tamil prisoners are slaughtered. All these prisoners and suspects were held under that act that we demanded be repealed—the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Thursday, and now people begin to feel the impact of the riot. Long queues form opposite government retail stores and distribution centres. The "bread queue" is the longest. Food prices soar, black marketeers and racketeers make the buck. Many who came to their workplaces found them smashed, burnt, looted or closed down.

Friday, the President's and Prime Minister's speeches are already heard and read by everyone... On August 4th legislation will be introduced in parliament to proscribe the call for a separate state. So this is going to be the UNP solution (with the SLFP) to the national question. What legislation cannot the UNP pass in parliament with its 6/7 majority?...

So now we have refugee camps (concentration camps) holding over 40,000 Tamils in Colombo alone. Another attack in the North, and will not the gates of these camps be opened to the communalists, who will simply repeat Shatila and Sahra here in Lanka?...

It appears that all political parties of the left (leave aside the bourgeois Sinhalese and Tamil parties) lack a correct solution to the National Question. Some even say they recognise the right of the Tamils to separation, but none raise the call: Not Sinhalese against Tamils but class against class! Lankan/Indian workers key to the socialist revolution in South Asia! Sinhalese, Tamils, men, women, forward towards a workers and peasants government!

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No. 337 9 September 1983

Attempt to Poison Nicaraguan Foreign Minister

CIA Murder Inc. in Central America

SEPTEMBER 5—Yankee imperialism and its Central American butchers continue to seek a "final solution" to the struggle of the workers and peasants for social justice. Having already unleashed a bloody reign of terror, unprecedented in brutality and scope, Reagan and his henchmen are preparing an all-out assault to annihilate social revolution and restore unquestioned oligarchical domination. In the U.S. Reagan cynically compares his campaign to a "neighborhood watch" while in the *barrios* and *pueblos* of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala U.S.-aided forces are leaving a path of death and destruction.

From American battle fleets off each coast of the isthmus to CIA hit squads in Nicaragua to a U.S.-engineered coup in Guatemala, Reagan is mobilizing his forces for one thing: bloody counterrevolution in the service of an overall strategy of regaining world supremacy. While the ultimate targets of this strategy are the degenerated and deformed workers states of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc, his immediate targets are the struggling masses of Central America. Over 100,000 have been killed and hundreds of thousands more displaced in this U.S.-backed war on the workers and peasants of Central America.

Liberals and not-so-liberals within the American ruling class fear that Reagan's war in Central America will backfire, like the war in Vietnam. They fear that the *contras'* assaults on Nicaragua will only rally the populace behind the radical-nationalist Sandinista government, and force it irreversibly onto the "Cuban road." They also fear that the "9-to-5" army in El Salvador will lose to the leftist insurgents. So the liberals are pushing for a "negotiated solution" to *disarm* the Central American workers and peasants in the face of U.S. imperialism and its local lackeys.

Arming Contras, Training Torturers

Honduras continues to be the major staging area for the counterrevolution. Once a sleepy banana republic, it is being transformed into a major U.S. military staging ground as each new wave of C-130 transport planes ferries in more men and war materiel. A vanguard of 1,500 U.S. troops will soon be in residence to coordinate and supply 3,500 other members of the U.S. Army, Navy, Marines and Air Force. In the strategic Choluteca area in southern Honduras near the borders of both El Salvador and Nicaragua, U.S. troops will outnumber Honduran troops by four-to-one by mid-September.

Under this U.S. "security shield," Honduran artillery and CIA-trained and supported counterrevolutionaries (*contras*) have increased their attacks in recent weeks, attempting to establish control over a part of northern Nicaragua. Along with the smaller Costa Rican-based force of ex-Sandinista turned traitor Edén Pastora, the *contras* aim to overthrow the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and restore Nicaragua to the banana republic wretchedness of the hated Somoza dynasty. While avoiding head-on clashes with FSLN units, the Somozaists have concentrated on sowing terror: kidnapping hundreds of peasants, blowing up day care centers, machine-gunning buses, often leaving their victims with their throats slit after an attack.

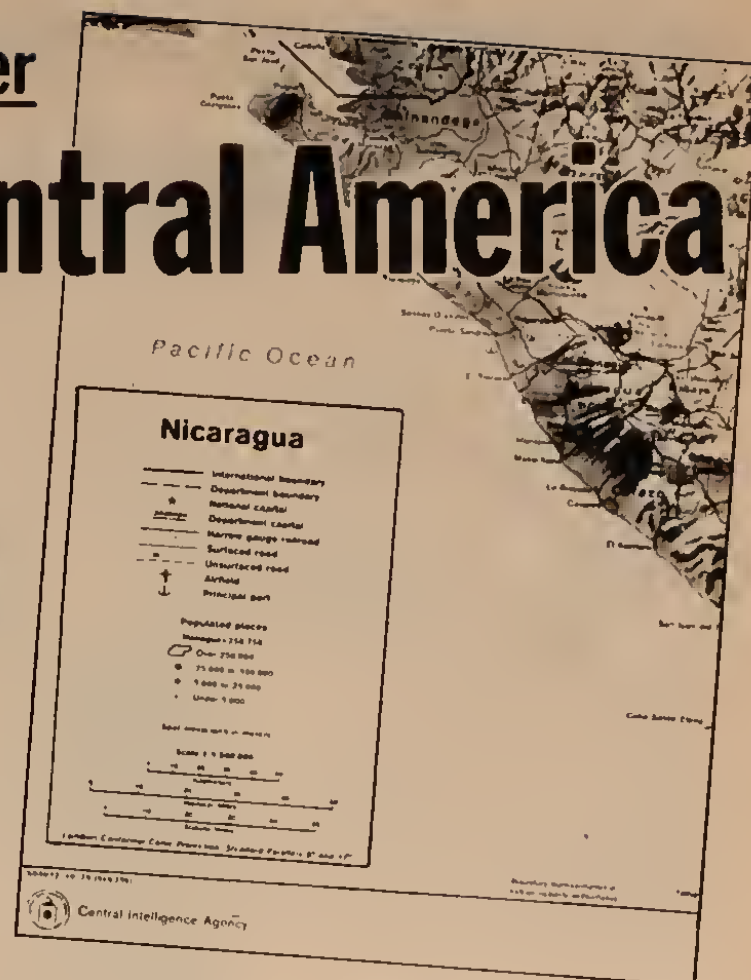
These are the wanton killers Reagan hails as "freedom fighters." A secret

U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency report dated 16 July 1982 makes a more accurate description. The report describes the 15 September Legion, one of the major *contra* organizations, as a "terrorist group" which "has claimed responsibility for the December 1981 bombing of a Nicaraguan civil airlines AERONICA Boeing 727 in Mexico City, the October 1981 hijacking of a Costa Rican SANSA airliner from San José, Costa Rica and the 20 February bomb blast in a suitcase [which killed four] unloaded from a Honduran SANSA aircraft at Sandino Airport in Managua" (*CounterSpy*, September-November 1983).

Working from within Nicaragua are other CIA operatives. On June 6 the Nicaraguan government announced the expulsion of three U.S. spies who had been working out of the American Embassy in Managua. The three, David Grieg, Emilia Rodriguez and Linda Pfeifel, were accused of attempting to assassinate FSLN leaders, manipulating right-wing political parties and labor unions and otherwise plotting to "destabilize" the government. The Sandinistas caught them red-handed, displaying videotapes of Nicaraguan double agents meeting with the embassy officials, and assorted espionage paraphernalia including a bottle of poisoned Benedictine liqueur intended for Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto Brockman. U.S. Embassy first secretary Grieg had been named over a year ago by Philip Agee as CIA station chief in Managua (*Soberania*, June 1982).

To "prevent proliferation of Cuba-model states" in the region, the U.S. government provided a multi-million dollar budget to build up the CIA's "secret" exile army in Honduras and counterrevolutionary operations inside Nicaragua. Such murderous actions, in addition to those already mentioned, included last December's CIA opera-

CIA maps out counter-revolutionary military offensive to overthrow radical nationalist Sandinista government in Nicaragua.



tion, code-named *Navidad Amarga* (Bitter Christmas), involving plastique explosive smuggled into the country in Mickey Mouse lunch packs and designed for sabotage of buses, automobiles and supermarkets.

And these are only the known cases of CIA terrorist actions in Nicaragua. In late April, TV reports on CBS News and CNN, followed up by Raymond Bonner's exposé in the *New York Times* (11 May), "Secret Pentagon Intelligence Unit Disclosed," documented the existence of a top-secret army intelligence unit targeting Nicaragua and El Salvador. Created in 1980, this was the special commando unit which botched the Teheran Embassy job. Now called the Army's Intelligence Support Activity (ISA), it was so secret that even the other intelligence forces didn't know about it. CNN connects it with a secret U.S. base in Arizona, complete with 12,000-foot runway, myriad Spanish translators, spy satellites, as the nerve center for a not-so-future full-scale war

in Central America. In this evermore ominous developing situation it is urgent to *smash the U.S./CIA terror in Central America!*

A chilling glimpse inside the reign of terror in Central America was provided in a June 27 PBS program "Crossfire El Salvador," which included an interview with a death squad member. Speaking fluent English, he described himself as a member of a five-man hit squad, one of 20 such squads terrorizing Usulután province. The interviewer asked him to describe their torture techniques. Replying with the nonchalance of someone relating last Sunday's football game, the terrorist answered:

"Uh, well, the same thing you did in Vietnam. We learned from you. We learned from you the means, like blowtorches in the armpits, shots in the balls. You know that very well. The weak ones we just tell them we're going to kill them and they speak. But the tough ones, I mean, the toughest ones, we have to pop their eyes with a spoon."

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Legal Smokescreen Exposes Cult's Lies

Fight Moonie Libel That Kills

The Moonies are trying to squeeze through a legal loophole in an evident attempt to avoid the charges against them in the Spartacist League (SL) libel suit. But it won't work. The Moonies' *Washington Times* article, "Left-Wing Group Linked to D.C. Riot," is such an obvious pack of lies, the Moonie lawyers are left with no defense. Thus the Moonies' lawyers' first response, on July 20, to the SL libel suit was a "motion to dismiss" based on nothing but a legal technicality, claiming that the SL, as an unincorporated association, doesn't have the right to sue.

The Moonies' *Washington Times* falsely and dangerously branded the SL—initiators and principal organizers of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington on November 27—as would-be cop-killers, criminals and outlaws engaged in "provoking violence" against the police. They made up the most absurd and grotesque claims that the SL was some kind of terroristic, beret-wearing paramilitary outfit. No lie was too vile or too wild for the libelous press of the Moonies: they wrote that on November 27 the SL handed out "heavy metal bolts" and rocks to throw at the police, "even to children."

These libels not only attacked the successful and important mass action against racist terror, they directly threatened the members of the SL and Spartacus Youth League (SYL). So the SL/SYL was forced to sue this dangerous, ultrarightist cult and its publishing arm, the Times-Tribune Corporation, publisher of the *Washington Times*. As we stated on June 14 when we filed the libel suit: "In short, we are being set up to be shot first and questioned later.... These are libels that kill" (see "Moonie Libel That Kills," *WV* No. 332, 17 June).

But now the Moonies don't want to answer for their despicable libels. Instead, they claim the SL and SYL cannot sue them because we are "unincorporated associations" and as such are not "legal entities." Their "motion to dismiss" and its accompanying "memorandum of law" argues that as "unincor-

porated associations, plaintiffs lack capacity to sue and cannot be defamed." The Moonie lawyers had 20 days to respond to our complaint. Their lawyers asked the SL for an extension and received one. Now this is how the Moonies have chosen to make their first response to our libel suit. This, the flimsiest legal smokescreen, is the sole ground for their motion to dismiss. Their total and guilty silence on the

porated associations." But to its discredit the District of Columbia is not one of them.

Of course, the Moonies' legal tactic was anticipated. The Moonies and their lawyers know full well we have other options to pursue in our libel case. They know we can withdraw the suit from the District of Columbia and file it in New York State court where the legal restrictions on "unincorporated associa-



Moon: "Even god lies very often." Bo Hi Pak (right), Moon's right-hand man and publisher of the *Washington Times*.

substance of the issues involved speaks loudly to the fact that the libel charge is incontestable.

Political organizations, religious organizations, labor unions and many other organizations including Moon's Unification Church take the organizational form known legally as "unincorporated associations." In a minority of states and jurisdictions in the U.S. such "unincorporated associations" cannot sue or be sued as organizations. The members are recognized as "legal entities" but the organizations themselves are not. Already most states and jurisdictions have rejected this anachronistic common law holdover and are recognizing the legal rights of "unincor-

tions" do not obtain. Therefore, the Moonies are trying first of all to duck the substantive questions of the libel case and failing that to drive the case as far as possible from the Washington, D.C. area where the Klan was stopped cold.

An impartial observer might think that both sides would want to try the case in Washington. After all that is where the event took place. It is the home of the *Washington Times*, its reporters, editors and, one assumes, its readers. Washington is where the SL wants to try this case. The lawyers for the SL wrote to the Moonies' lawyers on July 26 arguing to keep the issue joined in Washington because of the SL's

"desire to get to the substance of this case." The letter challenges the Moonies pointblank to drop the legal technicality and pursue this case where it happened:

"Since your motion, if successful, cannot dispose of our clients' claims—but merely their ability to bring their claims in Washington—we urge you to consider our suggestion that the case proceed in Washington, D.C. We believe that the alternative is costly and time consuming motion practice which will not resolve the merits of the claim which must ultimately be addressed in an appropriate tribunal."

We want to try this case in Washington because we are telling the truth. We want to put our case before the people who know what happened on that day the KKK was stopped in its tracks on November 27. We would welcome a jury of Washington residents who are close to the events in dispute and who felt the impact of the Labor/Black Mobilization. They know what it would have meant if the KKK had marched in Washington, D.C. for the first time since 1925. They know that it would have meant more black families' homes firebombed and more burning crosses.

No wonder the Moonies want to drive this case as far from the scene of the concrete facts as possible. Maybe Sun Myung Moon will have his lawyers try to find a way to get a change of venue to South Korea where they deal with charges against open Marxists in ways doubtless more to the liking of the Moonie messiah. He thinks he has the divine right to publish any lie about Marxists and others on his widely drawn enemies list. He does not think his holy crusade need answer for its libels in a court of law or anywhere else. The Moonies say: Marxists are "agents of Satan." The Moonies' lawyers say: throw this case out—after all, Marxist organizations do not legally exist. And they invoke this legal technicality against "unincorporated associations" even though the government has used it to go after them (see article below).

The Moonies will not take the issues head on because they have no case. But

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SL Files Amicus Brief in Moonie Tax Case

IRS Case Threatens Left

It must have come as a surprise to the Moonies and their lawyers when the Spartacist League (SL) submitted an *amicus curiae* "friend of the court" brief to the U.S. Court of Appeals against the government's methods in the 1982 conviction of Sun Myung Moon for income tax evasion and fraud. After all, the Moonies had just set up the SL for murder with their libelous article on last year's November 27 anti-Ku Klux Klan protest in Washington, D.C. But the SL was compelled to file both the libel lawsuit against the Moonies' publishing empire and submit this *amicus* brief as urgent matters of self-defense, as partisans of the working class and its right to organize and as partisans of all those concerned for the defense of democratic rights.

The government's trial of Moon has "generated opposition from a broad range of religious groups, who otherwise detest the Moonies. The National Council of Churches and four of its constituent organizations filed an *amicus curiae* brief which explicitly dis-

claims sympathy for Moon or agreement with his doctrine which is described as "not consistent with that of traditional Christian theology as believed through twenty centuries." But if the means by which the government obtained its conviction of Moon are upheld on appeal it will be an attack on the legal foundations upon which many institutions—including religious organizations, political parties and trade unions—are organized in this country. It was to raise these larger questions especially as they affect the democratic rights of "unpopular minority political organizations" that the SL submitted its own *amicus* brief.

In prosecuting Moon, the government did not dispute the Unification Church's claim that it is a religious institution or that Moon is its spiritual leader. But the government denied Moon the exercise of legal precedents granting religious groups the right to establish and control money entrusted to them. Also, the government would not allow Moon to explain the "relig-

ious reasons for and religious meaning of [his] conduct," nor allow the Unification Church authorities to make its own determinations of organizational form and expenditures. Central to the government's claim that Moon committed fraud and tax evasion was the contention by the government that the Unification Church has no legal status, since it is an unincorporated association. Therefore all money received must be simply Moon's personal income. Ironically, the Moonies attempt to exploit the very same legal tactic in attempting to have the SL libel suit dismissed on the grounds that the SL is an unincorporated association (see article above).

The government's case against Moon poses an obvious and immediate threat not only to religious organizations, but especially to "unpopular, minority political organizations." All political organizations are sustained by contributions by members, supporters and friends (sometimes received and held by an individual in trust for the organization and its members). Further, the

normal functions of political organizations include not just running for elected office but publishing newspapers and other literature, organizing demonstrations, purchasing equipment, hiring employees—any of which could be deemed the functions of a "business." In this country, political organizations have historically existed legally as "unincorporated associations"—including the Democratic and Republican Parties. But the two main bourgeois parties do not generally have reason to fear government prying and witchhunting prosecution. Leftist groups, however, have been the target of state assault. Indeed, the one and only exception made by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) regarding the receipts of political groups, which otherwise have not been treated as income, was in the case of the Communist Party U.S.A. The IRS' 13-year persecution of the Communist Party saw the CP's newspaper suppressed, its assets seized and its premises sealed.

The SL brief argues that if the means by which the Moonie conviction was obtained are upheld it will provide the framework for prosecuting political organizations singled out for harassment and victimization.

"Denying minority and unpopular political organizations the right to explain the source and intended use of

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WORKERS VANGUARD

August 27:

Black Democrats Push Liberal Mush

WASHINGTON, D.C.—“Keep on Dreaming (and Vote Democratic)”: this was the message for 300,000 blacks and other protesters gathered at the Lincoln Memorial August 27 to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the 1963 Martin Luther King “March on Washington.” The crowd broiled under the August sun in the name of “jobs, peace and freedom,” but what they got was hour after hour of Walter Fauntroy, Jesse Jackson, Andrew Young, the widow King, etc., preaching their gospel of getting out the vote to dump Reagan... and bring back the Democrats. Yet it was Jimmy (“ethnic purity”) Carter and the Democratic Congress who let the racist mobs kill busing in the streets, who chiseled away at the gains black people won in struggle. As we said in our article for August 27, “both Democrats and Republicans have been steadily dismantling even the token gains of the

civil rights movement.”

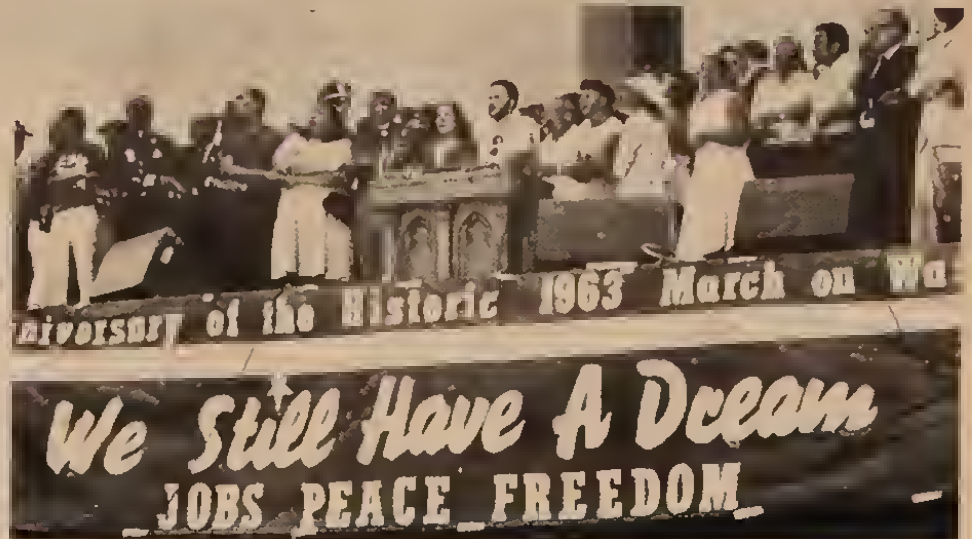
While virtually the entire American left was calling to “fulfill” MLK’s “dream,” in which plantation owners like Senator Eastland would hold hands with the grandchildren of his grandfather’s slaves, the Spartacist League (SL) proclaimed that black liberation will only come about through finishing the Civil War, through socialist revolution. We insisted that:

“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.”

—“Labor, Blacks: Don’t Crawl for the Democrats!” WV No. 336, 12 August

And that’s the way it was. “We are here because we are committed to the elimination of Reaganism from the face of the earth. Reagan no more in ‘84. Reagan no more,” intoned NAACP executive director Benjamin Hooks. The crowd dutifully chanted back, “Reagan no more in ‘84!” Democratic presidential hopefuls Walter Mondale and Alan Cranston oiled their way through the crowd, riddled with liberal capitalist causes like the “nuke freeze” or consumer advocacy. It was the quintessential anti-Reagan popular front. But the politics of the march amounted to such empty platitudes that even Ronald Reagan could send greetings to the rally!

Even the bourgeois press couldn’t miss it. A *Washington Post* (28 August) editorial compared the rally to “time killing sessions at a Democratic National Convention when speaker after speaker jumps up and down on the Republican adversary.” The *New York Times* (29 August) called the event “unfocused except for one aspect: It was almost universally anti-Reagan,” and noted that the “activist left” had now gone over “almost entirely to the



Preachers of defeat. For the black masses, M.L. King’s dream has become a living nightmare.

Democrats.” The *Times* also gloated that “there was no call to radicalism,” and thus it was “a belated vindication of Dr. King’s tactic of nonviolence and reconciliation, which in 1963 was being challenged by a number of black organizations that subsequently splintered and disappeared in the waves of urban riots that swept the cities.”

It sure wasn’t a rally for black freedom. Not once did the black Democratic rally organizers, who’ve been selling out struggles for years by trading on their reputations as old civil rights activists, even mention the fight for busing. What about racist cops murdering black people in their own homes? Or bloody Ku Klux Klan terror on the rise again—the “BEOs” (“black elected officials”) weren’t going to mention that. Because it was the Walter Fauntroy and Marion Barrys up there on the platform who tried to keep blacks and labor off the streets last November 27 when the KKK threatened to march in Washington. In contrast to the vapid rhetoric and politics of defeat, the Spartacist League’s message to August 27 was “We Stopped the Klan!” It was

the SL which spearheaded the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization on November 27 which stopped the Klan from parading in the nation’s capital.

The big event on August 27 was the appearance of the Rev. Jesse Jackson who has been touting himself as a black presidential candidate (in the Democratic primaries, of course). Jackson began with his usual rap, trying to fool black youth into thinking they can make it in the system through individual achievement (and when he repeats “me-me-me,” he also means none other than J.J. himself): “I am somebody! Respect me—protect me—never neglect me! Down with dope! Up with hope!” Jackson made clear that all he was interested in was pushing his drive to amass the black voting bloc that all Democratic Party leaders see as a key to victory in ‘84: “There is a freedom train a-coming! But you got to register to ride!” His rally speech explicitly sold his candidacy to head off the danger of riots and revolution:

“We need not explode through riots, nor implode through drugs. We can use
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“Jesse James” Jackson

November 27 and August 27

Labor/Black Mobilization vs. Democrats’ Voter Registration Rally

By Cliff Carter

On the date of August 27, 1983 a March on Washington took place with a National Director, Walter E. Fauntroy, and seven co-chairpersons which included Jesse Jackson and entertainer Stevie Wonder. This March on Washington, as very clearly stated to the workers of the world, was basically for two major things.

First, it was to honor the 20th anniversary of Martin Luther King’s 1963 March on Washington (MOW), which was nothing but a farce, yes, nothing but farce. Matter of fact it could very well have been the farce of the decade, for it was a comedy with exaggerated situations and ridiculous actions, and, too, it was a failure. It was a failure because the revolution was supposed to have started in 1963, but King along with the other five black House Negroes and white Handkerchief Heads accepted money

and broke bread with the Democratic Party and when they finished with the supposed “revolution” the workers were in the streets “singing instead of swinging.”

What happened in 1963 was nothing but a circus, a sideshow attraction. In the ‘20s or ‘30s it would have been called a “minstrel show.” King read a speech from a piece of paper, now called “I Have a Dream.” I will agree with him there, for in order to have a dream, one must be asleep, and Brother King was very much asleep, then. If King had been awake and not having his dream, he would have taken the money President John F. Kennedy offered and the other five black leaders and thrown it in his face. King should have stayed out of the March initiated by ghetto workers of cities around the country. Second, King, while in his sleep, was trying to love everybody, and you just cannot do this for you cannot love the Ku Klux Klan. This is something for Fauntroy and Mayor

Marion Barry to remember. Third, King wasn’t getting fully involved with the labor unions around August, 1963. Any change to help the workers of the world will have to be done by the workers of the world.

The March on Washington of

August 27, 1983 called for Jobs, Peace and Freedom. Did you read any literature directly connected to the March on Washington, August 27, 1983 with a positive program for Jobs, Peace and Freedom? No, you didn’t, because the initiators weren’t concerned about jobs for the working class, they (the initiators) have themselves a job, they just wanted votes for the Democratic Party. As for peace and freedom, less than a year ago, November 27, 1982, Fauntroy and Marion Barry would have made it possible for the Ku Klux Klan to march down the streets of Washington
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TASS Exposes Flight 007 Provocation

MOSCOW, September 2 (TASS)—As it has already been reported, on the night from August 31 to September 1 this year, an unidentified plane had rudely violated the Soviet state border and intruded deep into the Soviet Union's airspace. The intruder plane had deviated from the existing international route in the direction of the Soviet Union's territory by up to 500 kilometers and spent more than two hours over the Kamchatka Peninsula, the area of the Sea of Okhotsk and the island of Sakhalin.

In violation of international regulations the plane flew without navigation lights, did not react to radio signals of the Soviet dispatcher services and made no attempts to establish such communications contact.

It was natural that during the time the unidentified intruder plane was in the U.S.S.R. airspace Soviet anti-air defense aircraft were ordered aloft, which repeatedly tried to establish contacts with the plane using generally accepted signals and to take it to the nearest airfield in the territory of the Soviet Union. The intruder plane, however, ignored all this. Over the Sakhalin island, a Soviet aircraft fired warning shots and tracer shells along the flying route of the plane.

Soon after this the intruder plane left the limits of Soviet airspace and continued its flight toward the Sea of Japan. For about 10 minutes it was within the observation zone of radio location means, after which

it could be observed no more.

Now a hullabaloo has been raised in the U.S.A. and some other countries around the disappearance of a South Korean plane carrying out a flight from New York to Seoul.

One's attention is drawn to the fact that already in the first report about this reference was made to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Further reports emanating from the United States provide increasingly more grounds to consider that the itinerary and the nature of the flight were not accidental. It is indicative that now, post factum, the American side not only officially admits the fact of that plane's violation of Soviet airspace, but also cites data which indicate that the relevant U.S. services followed the flight throughout its duration in the most attentive manner.

So one may ask that if it were an ordinary flight of a civil aircraft which was under continuous observation, then why were there not taken any steps from the American side to end the gross violation of the airspace of the U.S.S.R. and to get the plane back to an international flight route?

Why the American authorities, which now resort to all kinds of dirty insinuations about the U.S.S.R., did not try to establish contact with the Soviet side and provide it with the necessary data about this flight? Neither was done, although there was more than ample

MOSCOW, September 3 (TASS)—Washington is feverishly covering up traces of the provocation staged against the Soviet Union with the utilization of the South Korean plane, which has flown out of the United States and intruded into the Soviet Union's airspace.

The White House and the Department of State are mounting a worldwide rabid anti-Soviet campaign. The tone is set by the U.S. President. In his statement permeated with frenzied hatred and malice for the Soviet State, for Socialism, using as a cover-up bombastic phrases about "humanism" and "noble feelings," the head of the White House is trying to convince public opinion that the U.S.S.R. allegedly is guilty of loss of life. Issuing forth torrents of vicious abuses, representatives of the U.S. Administration want to avoid answering clear questions: Why did the plane happen to find itself in the airspace of the Soviet Union, deviating by 500 kilometres from the existing international route? Why did the authorities of the U.S. and Japan, whose air traffic controlling services control flights of planes on this route, knowing that the plane had remained for a long time in Soviet airspace, had not taken appropriate measure to put an end to this flagrant violation of the sovereignty of the Soviet Union?

U.S. journalists also have been putting these questions to the U.S. Administration, and each time its representative has been wriggling out of answering them. However, the answer is necessary to find out the truth on who and for what purposes sent this plane to Soviet airspace.

Let us quote a statement on this score, which was made on French television by General Gallois, a specialist of France in strategic issues. He declared: "the Soviet armed forces have two zones which may be considered as being top secret; the area of Murmansk in the Kola Peninsula and the zone of the Sea of Okhotsk, where the Kamchatka Peninsula and the island of Sakhalin are situated." There are, the general said, "a considerable part of the Soviet Navy concentrated and intercontinental ballistic missile testing facilities located there." General Gallois recalled that several years ago the Soviet Air Force in the area of the Kola Peninsula compelled what also was a "South Korean" plane to land. Now an aircraft of the same company emerges in another strategically important area of the U.S.S.R. The scientific commentator of the French television program TF-1 summed up explicitly what had happened: "the Boeing 747 deliberately veered off course with the purpose of performing an intelligence mission."

Professor Stephen Meyer from the Massachusetts Technological Institute said that in the existing

conditions the corresponding Soviet bodies had every reason to suspect that the plane was fulfilling an intelligence mission over a strategically important area.

U.S. officials are striving to prove that all this is "mere coincidence," that the plane "wandered off its flight path," that it "lost communication contact," etc. What "loss of communication contact" can it be, if the U.S. authorities admitted that they had been following the flight throughout its duration? The flimsiness of the attempts of the White House to justify the "appearance of the South Korean plane in the airspace of the Soviet Union by some technical malfunction" is also made obvious by the statements of the former head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Japanese armed forces, at present the military observer of the newspaper "Mainichi Shimbun" G. Takeda. "With 'Boeing' having a computer on board, two pilots and a system of double-triple checking, the deviation of the plane of the South Korean air company looks more than strange," he writes in this newspaper. This is also confirmed by a report published by The New York Times.

Materials, which were made public by the Japanese news agency Kyodo, prove the discourse of U.S. Administration spokesmen about some "technical troubles" on the intruder plane to be wholly untenable. Quoting sources which had been carefully monitoring that flight, the news agency reported that "the South Korean liner's radio communications with Japanese air traffic controller stations had been maintained almost until the very moment of the plane's disappearance." Thus, the Washington version that the plane's radio equipment got out of order and that its crew could not respond to the signals given to it does not correspond to reality. This is confirmed also by the fact, reported by Kyodo, that more than an hour after the Soviet planes' first attempt to establish contact with the Boeing, a telegram was sent from aboard the plane, which said, in particular, "the plane's navigational equipment is operating normally."

According to Australian newspapers, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency followed the plane's flight most closely. A BBC broadcast pointed out that U.S. and Japanese tracking services had been continuously tracking the South Korean plane over the entire length of its route but had not adopted measures to correct its path.

The Western press reported also that the crews of the South Korean liners on this route are made up solely of air force pilots.

The Australian newspaper Sydney Morning Herald pointed out, in its turn, that the South Korean plane could have been taken in the Soviet Union for a U.S.

MOSCOW, September 1 (TASS)—An unidentified plane entered the airspace of the Soviet Union over the Kamchatka Peninsula from the direction of the Pacific Ocean and then for the second time violated the airspace of the U.S.S.R. over Sakhalin Island on the night from Aug. 31 to Sept. 1. The plane did not have navigation lights, did not respond to queries and did not enter into contact with the dispatcher service.

Fighters of the anti-aircraft defense, which were sent aloft towards the intruder plane, tried to give it assistance in directing it to the nearest airfield. But the intruder plane did not react to the signals and warnings from the Soviet fighters and continued its flight in the direction of the Sea of Japan. ■

time for this.

It is appropriate to recall that instances of deliberate violation of the state frontiers of the Soviet Union by American planes, including in the Far East, are far from rare. Protests have repeatedly been lodged with the U.S. Government over that matter.

In the light of these facts the intrusion into the airspace by the mentioned plane cannot be regarded in any other way than a preplanned act. It was obviously thought possible to attain special intelligence aims without hindrance using civilian planes as a cover.

More than that, there is reason to believe that those who organized this provocation had deliberately desired a further aggravation of the international situation striving to smear the Soviet Union, to sow hostility to it and to cast aspersions on the Soviet peace-loving policy.

This is illustrated also by the impudent, slanderous statement in respect of the Soviet Union that was instantly made by President Reagan of the United States.

Tass is authorized to state that in the leading circles of the Soviet Union regret is expressed over the loss of human life and at the same time a resolute condemnation of those who consciously or as a result of criminal disregard have allowed the death of people and are now trying to use this occurrence for unseemly political aims. ■

spy plane since on radars it looked like an intelligence plane of the U.S. Air Force, and that it could also well be mistaken for a U.S. E4B bomber.

All this corroborates the fact that the corresponding U.S. services had a direct relation to this provocation. The conclusion drawn by the New York correspondent of the Australian radio and television network ABC that the C.I.A.'s conduct in that whole affair appeared very suspicious, therefore, looks to have its grounds. Isn't it the involvement of the well-known terrorist center of the United States in the whole affair that caused U.S. State Department spokesman Hughes to sidestep on more than one occasion at a press conference in Washington journalists' questions of why the corresponding U.S. and Japanese services had not warned the plane that it had violated the airspace of the U.S.S.R. and why they had not guided it out of there.

In this connection, it is proper to ask: what the thoroughly hypocritical "sorrow" demonstrated by the White House is based on? Or does Mr. President believe that the very concept of national sovereignty no longer exists and one may intrude with impunity into the airspace of independent states? Or is he viewing the whole world now as a "zone of U.S. vital interests"?

There is one more side to this question. The U.S. President asks: How one can conduct negotiations with a state which is capable of such actions?

This phrase in itself explains a great deal. Why so? Because the U.S. Administration is going out of its way to disrupt the process of the normalization of the situation in the world, to evade solving problems facing the world which are vital to the interests of nations.

The head of the White House is shedding hypocritical tears over what has happened! More than once the world has witnessed the situation when Washington officials speak of "humaneness," while at the same time U.S. marines, acting in concert with Israeli aggressors, commit mass killings in Lebanon, when under the guidance of American instructors bandits perpetrate atrocities in sovereign Nicaragua and make short work of Salvadoran patriots. The world knows the worth of this "sorrow" and "concern for humaneness." Some time ago it brought about the killing of several million people in Indochina.

The purpose of this provocation with the plane is more than obvious. However, the Washington Administration will be unable to put the Soviet Union and its people in a bad light, as it is frantically trying to do these days. Its designs are frustrated by irrefutable facts. It will be impossible to cover up the traces of dirty deeds with the help of vicious abuses. ■

Mission 007...

(continued from page 1)

insane, but then the Reaganites are insane. And to whip up war hysteria, their battle cry will be "Remember the Korean Air Line Massacre," Reagan's version of Teddy Roosevelt's "Remember the Maine." As Trotskyists we unconditionally militarily defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack because it embodies gains of the first workers revolution overthrowing capitalism, despite the bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin and his heirs. While rad-libs and reformists fell prey to Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade over Afghanistan, we hailed the Red Army fighting against Islamic reactionaries. We have exposed Washington's "yellow rain" hoax and the phony "KGB kill pope plot." From the Caribbean to Poland, we have defended the Soviet bloc deformed workers states against counterrevolution, and today vigilance is more necessary than ever in defending the homeland of the October Revolution.

007 Big Lie

We offer below some of the innumerable contradictions in the American story. To begin with: how did the South Korean airliner get over Soviet airspace in the first place? Reagan suggests mistaken information fed into the plane's computer or machine malfunction, "no one will ever know." At least he hopes so. But the KAL 747 carried three state-of-the-art inertial navigational systems made by Litton Industries, which cross-check on each other. According to the *New York Times* (3 September) "the odds against more than one computer malfunctioning are enormous." Before being fed in, the coordinates are supposed to be checked by a second crew member. In addition the plane had a weather radar which can pick up land masses up to 200 miles away, and standard operating procedure along route R-20, because it is so close to Soviet territory, is to point the radar down and scan at every waypoint. Was it possible, Ted Koppel asked on ABC's "Nightline," that you had a problem with the computer, and the lights were out, and the radio wasn't working? "To have them all fail simultaneously or even in close sequence, the odds against it are astronomical," answered Captain Tom Ashwood, vice president of the Airline Pilots Association.

Then there is the course followed by Flight 007 once it left the standard route. "The plane did not veer off suddenly in some completely random direction," said a senior intelligence official, "It was on the wrong path for several hours, never deviating from a line that would have taken it straight to Seoul" (*New York Times*, 4 September). While intentionally flying through Soviet airspace was "unthinkable" to experienced pilots, officials said other explanations like machine malfunction are "even more unlikely." And there can be no doubt that all pilots on the route are aware of the danger. The most widely used navigational map, the Jeppesen, carries a specific warning over Sakhalin Island saying that aircraft flying over Soviet territory "may be fired on without warning" (see illustration). The pilots of Flight 007 knew what they were doing.

This was further demonstrated by the plane's actions after being pursued by Soviet interceptors. According to the U.S., Russian fighters scrambled to chase the plane as soon as it passed over Kamchatka, but at no time in the next 2-1/2 hours did the KAL pilots radio to American or Japanese air controllers that they were in trouble. When approaching Sakhalin Island, the plane radioed its position to Tokyo airport as longitude 147 east, latitude 41 north. The press speculates they may have had the coordinates reversed, but then the

plane swerved directly west across the Korsakov naval-air base. At 3:12 a.m., according to the U.S., Soviet pilots report visual contact with the plane. At 3:15 a.m., again without reporting any problems, Flight 007 requested permission from Tokyo to climb to 35,000 feet, which it did without receiving permission. As a *Philadelphia Inquirer* (4 September) article pointed out,

"...to interceptor pilots, who want to force the intruder to land, that is defiant action... he may have been trying to shake the fighters as [former National Security Agency director and former CIA deputy director Admiral] Inman speculated."

What, then, about the Japanese air controllers, U.S. and Japanese "communications monitors" who were closely tracking the plane? The Americans claim to know precisely when Soviet radar picked up the KAL plane, how many fighters were sent after it, what the pilots said to their ground control. The Japan Defense Agency said its radar showed the plane crossing Sakhalin Island. But, noted the *Washington Post* (2 August), "Despite the monitoring, there are no reports of anybody's warning the flight that it was badly off course. Nor is there any indication that the pilot radioed for help or sounded alarmed." And, as TASS points out, no one bothered to inform Soviet authorities either. So why wasn't there any attempt to notify *anyone*? One only has to recall the imperialist fury against Gary Powers, the U-2 pilot in 1959, for having brought his crippled plane down and lived, rather than dying in a fiery crash—which would have let Washington go on peddling the lie that it was only a "weather flight." These are supposed to be suicide missions if you get caught. The KAL pilot did his job.

Then there is the 22-hour gap between when the airliner went down and when it was reported by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz. Everyone remembers the Rosemary Woods 18-minute gap, of Watergate fame, but this one is of monumental proportions. Especially considering, as the *Washington Post* put it, "somebody's radar knew a great deal about the progress of Flight 007." The U.S. claims it didn't know the KAL jetliner was in trouble until *after* it was downed, and excuses the delay with the difficulties of translating from Russian to Japanese to English. Both of these claims are contradicted in press reports. The *Washington Post* (3 September) reports that "intelligence specialists... listen to air communications as they take place," and that "the information arrived in Washington sooner than has been publicly acknowledged." Besides which, if the evidence is so conclusive, why haven't the unexpurgated tapes been played for public consumption?

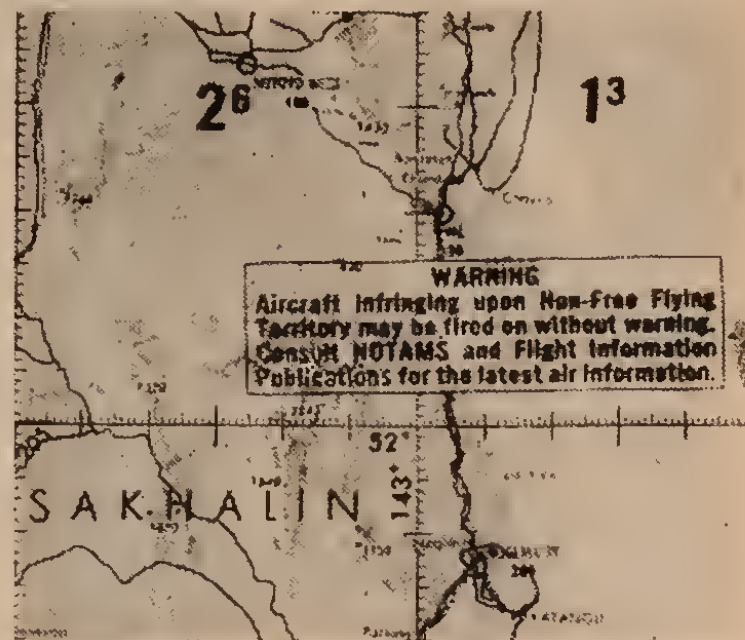
What about the Soviet side? At the United Nations, the American delegate accused the Russians of "wanton, calculated, deliberate murder." The Soviets say that they were not aware that the intruding plane was a commercial airliner. Whom to believe? In the first place, Reagan in his speech last night said "the 747 has a unique and distinctive silhouette... there is no way a pilot could mistake this for anything other than a civilian airliner." Wrong. There is a military plane which has *exactly* the profile of a Boeing 747, namely the E4B. Ronald Reagan is certainly familiar with this, since they are used as command-and-control centers for nuclear warfare. The Soviets have also said that their pilot might have mistaken the 747 for an AWACS radar plane. The AWACS has a bubble on the top; a 747 has a bulge. At 3:30 a.m., a Soviet pilot who probably had never seen a 747 before, since they aren't in the habit of straying into Russian airspace, might well have thought he had an AWACS in his sights, a particularly dangerous aircraft.

And the RC 135, a U.S. spy plane that was admittedly in the area and even crossed the flight path of KAL 007? Washington said nothing about this

until House Democratic leader Jim Wright inadvertently leaked that the Russians at first identified the South Korean airliner as an RC135. Yesterday's *Pravda* reported that the U.S. had seven RC135s flying off the Soviet Far East during this time period, in addition to three American naval vessels. "I'm sorry it was ever mentioned," said Senate Democratic leader Robert Byrd. So, no doubt, is Ronald Reagan. But the fact is that Washington does conduct aerial surveillance of the Soviet Union

intrusions into their airspace. Paranoia, but explicable paranoia. "When the Koreans five years ago went 1,000 miles into Soviet territory, and then have done it again this time, I think that makes them suspicious." And "paranoia" with good reason. What Hitler's Germany did to Soviet Russia was Pearl Harbor on a giant scale, the equivalent of seizing and destroying all of the U.S. east of the Mississippi. Meanwhile, the USSR is besieged by American imperialism in every known malicious way,

Standard navigation map provided for international airliners warns against flying over militarily sensitive Soviet area.



on a 24-hour basis. Spies-in-the-sky are not limited to satellites. Moreover, the United States now concedes that the one RC135 they admit to was tracking the KAL 747. Curiouser and curiouser.

"We Don't Spy and We Don't Lie"—Oh, No?

The 2 September *New York Times* quoted Major General George Keegan, former chief of Air Force intelligence, saying:

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

A Korean predilection for playing with fire, perhaps? There is indeed a precedent of another KAL flight, in April 1978, which belligerently intruded on Soviet airspace and was shot down. On that occasion, the South Korean airliner flew north from London on a polar flight, headed west over Greenland and then doubled back, 1,000 miles off course, flying straight over the strategic naval base at Murmansk on the Kola Peninsula. That time, as well, the South Korean pilot took evasive action... and received a blast of machine-gun fire from Soviet fighters. An "enormous navigation error"?

Washington is pretending that civilian airliners never spy, or at least not for the "free world." Ha! In the first place, there are the "routine reconnaissance" flights of the U-2 or SR71s. Then there are the more than 400 American "listening posts" surrounding the Soviet Union, from Helsinki to Hokkaido. And the use of commercial flights for espionage against the Soviet bloc is hardly novel. John le Carré's novel, *The Looking Glass War*, begins with a scene of a British intelligence agent waiting in Finland for the pilot of a civilian airliner contracted to go off course and photograph sensitive installations in East Germany. Impossible? In the *Philadelphia Inquirer* interview, ex-NSA chief Inman said that the U.S. did not use passenger planes for spy missions, because it had adequate information from satellites. Of course, the U.S. "might at one time have used commercial aircraft for spying, perhaps in the Berlin Corridor"... but that is supposedly ancient history.

On the 1 September program of ABC-TV's "Nightline," former CIA director under Democratic president Jimmy Carter) Stansfield Turner repeatedly referred to Soviet "paranoia" about

forced into a giant arms race, penetrated, damaged, you name it. In fact, a good part of the Western tourists, newsmen, scholars, etc., etc. that do turn up in and around the Soviet Union are spies. Take for example the 1980 salvage operation on the HMS *Edinburgh* related in the book *Stalin's Gold* by Barrie Penrose. Presumably a straight commercial venture, yet a British "scientist" involved attempted to set off underwater charges in order to run tests in the shallow seas just off Murmansk.

And then the 747 is supposed to be the preeminently civilian aircraft. Never mind that it was originally designed as the world's largest military transport with a cargo capacity of 75 tons (almost double any other commercial plane). It's not hard to imagine KAL's Flight 007 with 30 Korean military men down in the freight compartment with various kinds of sensing devices: who would know the difference? And the South Koreans are not novices at this game. Ernest Volkman, "national security editor" of *Defense Science* magazine, said in an interview broadcast by the Canadian CBC network on September 2 the Korean Air Lines, among others, was "notorious" for placing "special sensors and photo equipment" on board their planes. He also noted that "the pilots and crews of Korean planes are all military personnel." In fact, the pilot of KAL Flight 007, Colonel Chung Byung, was the airline's senior 747 skipper, who piloted Korean dictator Chun Do Hwan to Washington when he visited the U.S. in 1981.

But it's not some kind of Korean specialty. The *New York Times* (2 September) noted that "this week's incident came against the backdrop of an aggressive American effort to develop technical intelligence penetration of the Sea of Okhotsk over more than 30 years and after more than a score of such incidents..." The purpose of aircraft penetration would not only be for surveillance but also to test Soviet responses.

In particular, the Pentagon and NATO strategists are concerned to thwart a supposed primeval Russian drive to conquer access to "warm water ports." Located atop the Eurasian land mass, the Soviets can reach the high seas only through four main passages. On the northwest, the Red Banner Fleet based in Murmansk must pass through the narrow passage between Norway's North Cape and the Arctic ice pack. The Baltic Fleet operating out of Leningrad

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The following is an edited presentation on the world economic conjuncture given by comrade Joseph Seymour at the Spartacist League's seventh national conference.

It has become a journalistic commonplace that the world economy is in the worst shape since the Great Depression of the 1930s. In every major capitalist country without exception the level of unemployment is today higher than at any time since the immediate postwar period and in the U.S. since before World War II. Right now there are more people unemployed in North America and West Europe than at the depth of the Great Depression. Since the Great Depression was unique and occurred in a different historic setting, perhaps a better comparison is with the second worst contraction. At the depth of the 1974-75 downturn there were 16 million people unemployed in North America and West Europe. There are today more than twice that many.

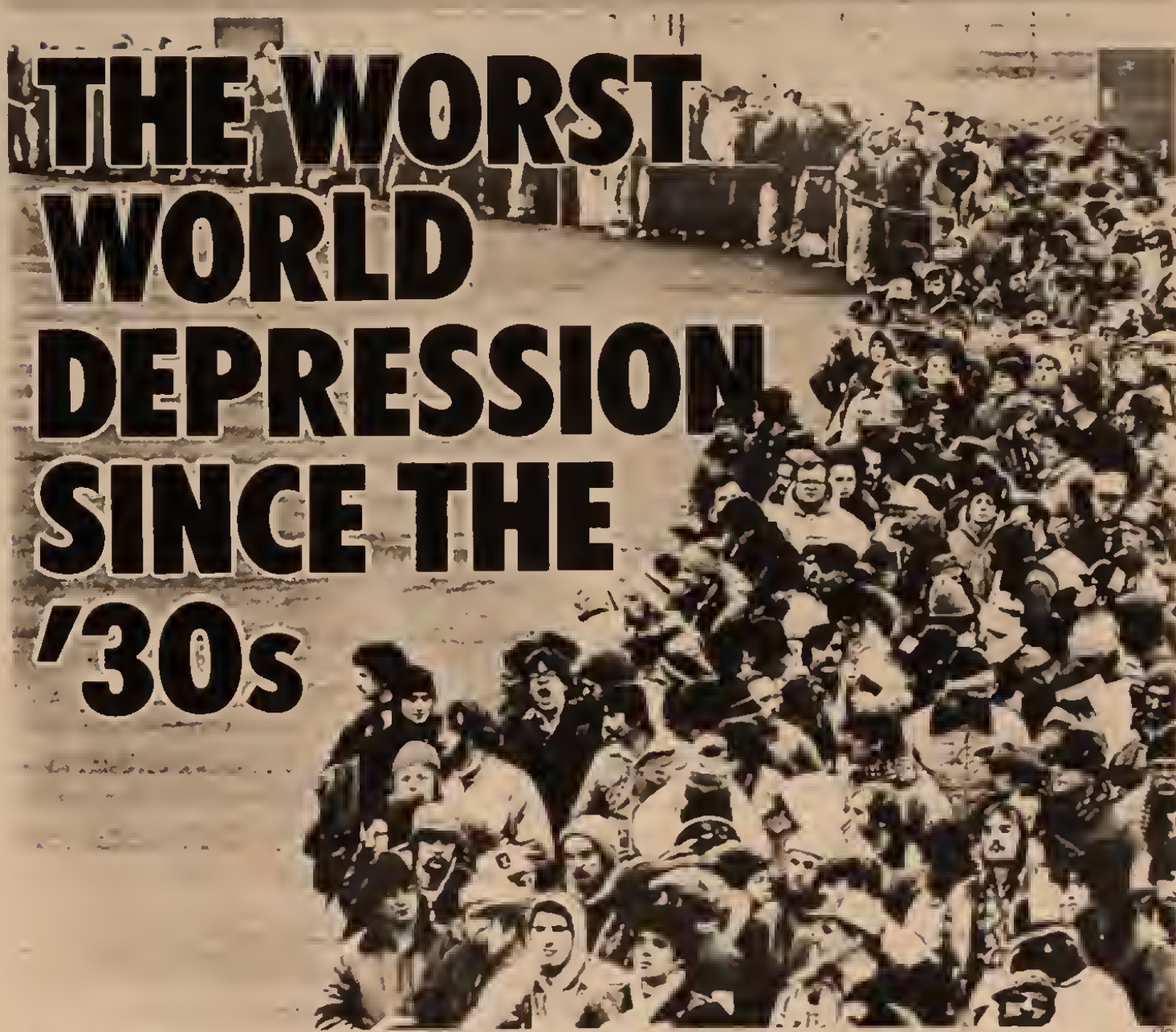
Another interesting measure is how far back do you have to go in time to get a level of industrial production lower than today. For the U.S., you have to go back to '77; for Britain, '72; France and West Germany, '78. Only in Japan is the level of industrial production slightly higher than in the late '70s. And since the population has increased, that means in the past half decade there has been an *absolute* decline in industrial production and also capacity per capita—an absolute decline in world capitalism.

Despite the moderate recovery in the U.S., there is by no means expected any significant improvement. Europe is lagging behind. In France, in particular, things are going to get worse. The official government forecast in France is half a million more unemployed in the next year and a half. And that's not merely a forecast; it corresponds to the *intent* of the Mitterrand government, which is exercising an austerity program to break the inflationary spiral and restore international confidence in the ever-shrinking French franc.

There are three political responses to the economic conjuncture which are particularly important for us. One is the marked—in some ways qualitative—shift to the right within the bourgeoisie with the oncoming of the contraction following a period of inflationary stagnation. This shift to the right in economic policy goes by the rubric of monetarism. Second is the tendency—in the short run irreversible—toward national economic protectionism. And third, there is the well-publicized danger of an international financial collapse triggered by one of the big Latin American or, less likely, East European countries defaulting on its debt. One of the small pleasures of reading the business press (economics really is the dismal science) is all the doomsday

Neither "Socialism in One Country" Nor Keynesianism in One Country But International Workers Revolution

THE WORST WORLD DEPRESSION SINCE THE '30s



Almost a thousand job seekers line up for 30 positions at a Pennsylvania oil refinery.

scenarios. My favorite is from the *Wall Street Journal*, which had the new Argentine government, headed by a minister Thomas Aquinas-Marx, defaulting on its \$55 billion in debt. This came as a particular shock to international bankers, who thought they had only lent Argentina \$40 billion.

Until a few years ago the predominant bourgeois propaganda in the advanced capitalist countries was: Things have never been better. Capitalism is more prosperous than ever before. The Great Depression of the '30s would never, could never happen again. But what we've seen now across the board is a very different kind of bourgeois propaganda: We've been living beyond our means. We can no longer afford the present

level of social security, unemployment insurance, hospitalization, wages, etc.

Beginning in Britain with Thatcher, you not only had a right-wing government displacing Labour—this had happened before—but the most right-wing government in half a century. Then Reagan displaced Carter, again giving us the most right-wing government in half a century. Then the Christian Democrats replaced the Social Democratic-led coalition which had governed West Germany for the previous 13 years. What's significant is not merely that these governments naturally denounced the policies of their predecessors for ruining the economy, but that they denounced the basic economic policies of the *entire* postwar period, contending that decades of Keynesianism or welfare-statism had ruined the economy.

The doctrine known as monetarism has basically two elements. One, to cut back government-supplied social services in the hope of transferring these resources into private profit or, in the case of the United States, into military spending. And two, to use fiscal and especially monetary policy to deliberately induce mass unemployment to break the power of the unions and increase the rate of exploitation, which has been particularly successful in Reagan's America.

The question of protectionism is important for us because in a sense it is the labor bureaucracies' and reformists' answer to monetarism. We do not do much political combat with the advocates of Milton Friedman except occasionally on campuses and usually in a very hostile setting. (*Interjection:* Yeah, they drive cars at us!) It is rather different with the advocates of national economic

protectionism, who not only in the U.S. but also in West Europe are often found on the left wing of the reformist establishment—Benn in Britain, Chevènement and the Stalinists in France. (*Interjection:* Imagine an international conference of the presidents of all the steel unions in all the big producing countries—a bloodbath!)

So this is often sold with a lot of left-wing, populist, anti-capitalist rhetoric. Michael Harrington recently had an op-ed article in the *New York Times* in defense of the UAW's domestic-content bill. He argued: We socialists, we trade unionists have never accepted the free workings of the capitalist market. Why should the multinationals determine the auto trade? Responding to this kind of demagoguery, we say that if anti-Semitism is the socialism of fools then protectionism is the economic planning of fools.

One of the effects of the inflationary conditions of the 1970s, associated with the OPEC oil boom, was to completely distort world financial markets. There were periods when real interest rates were actually negative. Naturally a lot of the tinpot generals in Latin America and some of the stupider Stalinist bureaucrats in East Europe went on a borrowing binge. And hankers, too, believed that inflation was the wave of the future. Particularly after the downturn in the U.S. and West Europe in 1979, bankers concentrated their loans on a few Latin American countries which had oil, meat and other primary products which were still going up in price. And in their own way hankers understand that the East European regimes are planned economies. While they have no faith in the tinpot despots of the Third World, they did believe that the Stalinist bureaucrats would honor their debts. So they were



IMF-imposed austerity pauperizes Mexican workers. Unemployed carpenters, painters, electricians forced to offer their skills in front of Mexico City cathedral.

quite disappointed with the Poles.

Then last year the shit hit the fan. The loans of the top nine banks in the U.S. to Argentina, Brazil and Mexico alone amount to 113 percent of their equity capital. If even one of these countries goes and if there is no U.S. government bailout, then some of these hanks are going to go. It's hard to conceive that the American bourgeois state would not bail them out. But that's not costless. It further distorts financial markets, it drives up real interest rates, it inhibits industrial investment. It's not costless.

It's rather speculative to consider the effect of the financial crisis on the creditor countries, because a lot depends on government policy. What is not speculative is the effect on the debtor countries. The regional synchronization of economic crises is fairly common. But the regional synchronization of political crises is not, because there are different types of governments, different balances of class forces, different national traditions. What one now has in the so-called Southern Cone of Latin America is therefore unusual. There are a number of countries with deeply unpopular military regimes which now have to impose savage austerity openly and nakedly dictated by the IMF [International Monetary Fund] on behalf of the Yankee bankers. It is hard to conceive of a situation more likely to cause social explosions. The imperialist exploitation is so naked and the regimes—Pinochet, the Argentine and Brazilian juntas—so unpopular and shaky even before the present economic crisis.

Reaganomics of World War III

During the 1980 presidential race we pointed out that these elections were defined by a bourgeois consensus extending to both the Democrats and Republicans: (1) to reassert the U.S. role as world policeman, centrally by attempting to reestablish first-strike nuclear capability against the Soviet Union; (2) to break the inflationary spiral, which by early 1980 was spinning up to banana-republic levels; and (3) to reverse the catastrophic decline in industrial productivity relative to its main trading rivals. One of the reasons Reagan got elected was that the American bourgeoisie believed he would be more determined, more aggressive, more ruthless in carrying out these aims than the wishy-washy Carter.

We also pointed out at the time that these aims are mutually contradictory. American imperialism does *not* have the real economic resources to simultaneously modernize its industrial plant and restore conventional and nuclear military superiority over Russia. For the past two decades the net savings rate in the United States—retained corporate profit, trust funds, pension funds, etc.—has been about 7 percent of gross national product. These are the resources available as economic surplus.



Polissy, France, July 21—Predominantly North African auto workers at Peugeot take the lead in resisting austerity program of Mitterrand popular-front government.

At present the federal and state government deficit is about 6 percent of gross national product. This means there is only 1 percent of social product available for modernizing and expanding the civilian industrial sector.

The bourgeoisie is acutely aware of this problem, but it doesn't know what to do about it. No section of the American ruling class is prepared to abandon the ambition to restore the "American century" and adjust the U.S. role to its real and shrinking economic potential. Willy-nilly, they have collectively opted to go for military superiority at the expense of long-term economic health. Maybe they think they can win a nuclear war against Russia and that would solve all their problems.

Reagan's peculiar contribution to this dilemma was to finance this massive military buildup by cutting taxes. Here you have a government which preaches nineteenth-century bourgeois virtues—a penny saved is a penny earned. Yet in the next five years the U.S. government is going to run a deficit *greater* than in the previous 200 years of the history of the American state.

When Reagan first launched this policy, I made a false prognosis. I didn't think he could do it without inflationary finance. I didn't believe he could do it purely through monetary policy nor did I anticipate the extreme depth of the industrial collapse. One of Reagan's more acerbic Wall Street critics, Sam Nakagama, said that attempting to control inflation entirely by monetary policy is the economic equivalent of strategic bombing: it works by leveling the country's industrial plant. Reagan chose to finance the military in a way that had the most immediate, direct and maximal impact on cutting back industrial investment and also depressing the housing industry.

It had another impact. Tight money in a world of open financial flows sucked in a lot of money-capital from other countries. Reagan exported austerity. He financed U.S. military spending in a way that maximally caused

problems for the rest of the capitalist world. Thus, Helmut Schmidt—by no means an anti-American demagogue—exclaimed that real interest rates in Germany were the highest since the time of Jesus Christ.

What about the immediate conjuncture? As Marx wrote in *Capital*—contrary to Gerry Healy—there is no such thing as a contraction which goes on forever. The contraction produces the mechanisms which restore the rate of profit. In this case, there has been an increase in the rate of exploitation—the union givebacks, probably far greater cutbacks in non-union shops—and also a sloughing off of marginal facilities. These factors created conditions around the beginning of the year for some kind of recovery, which, however, remains very narrowly based. In terms of the industrial economy, we are seeing basically an inventory buildup and some recovery in housing. It does *not* extend to capital investment.

Even though the recovery is only a few months old, even though there really isn't much demand to finance capital expansion, already private investors are running up against the huge amount of government borrowing. A few weeks ago the head of the Federal Reserve, Paul Volcker, stated: "As things stand now, the rising private credit demands, a reflection of rising private activity, are beginning to clash with heavy borrowing needs of the government." As a result in the past few months bond issues have fallen, new stock issues have fallen and mortgage loans have fallen as the military sector eats up the available economic surplus. Under these conditions it's hard to foresee a very vigorous economic recovery, which would necessarily have to be based on massive capital renewal, which god knows this country needs.

Spectacular Failure of the Mitterrand Popular Front

In France there have been a number of dramatic changes in the political situation which are a direct product of the world economic conjuncture. This is important, because of all the major imperialist countries France has a post-war history of being the least stable. One thinks of de Gaulle's coup in '58, the pre-revolutionary situation in May '68. Also the Ligue Trotskyiste de France is in a sense the second section of our tendency, so what happens in France has a very considerable effect on our tendency.

The political and economic developments in France have differed from the general pattern in the rest of the advanced capitalist world. Monetarism came to France well in advance of the present world contraction beginning in 1979. The right-wing Giscard/Barre government of the mid-late '70s attempted to increase productivity by modifying the traditional economic policy known as *dirigisme* [government control]. This has a long history in France. At the time they were about to build the palace at Versailles, the Republic of Venice was the world's major producer of glass. The French

monarchy did not want to share its wealth with the Venetians and so set up a state-owned glassworks. This is the origin of the Saint Gobain trust.

The Giscard/Barre government hucked this tradition and dismantled some of the *étatiste* [state-controlled] elements of the French economy. This had two major political effects. When the world downturn hit France in 1979 there was a popular tendency to blame this right-wing government and its "free-market," monetarist policies for the worsening economic conditions. At the same time, a section of the bourgeoisie, concentrated in the Gaullists, opposed these Giscardian policies. They wanted a more nationalistic, more statist economic policy.

Mitterrand came to power in 1981 promising renewed Keynesianism—he promised to create a half a million new jobs, mainly in the public sector—and a policy to "reconquer the domestic market." And these policies had a certain amount of bourgeois support, mainly backhanded support from the Gaullists. Two of the key economic ministries were given to former Gaullists: the ministry of trade to the loudmouth Michel Jobert and the ministry of finance to Jacques Delors.

Mitterrand embarked on a policy which the snotty right-wing London *Economist* called "Keynesianism in one country." The predictable result was record budget deficits, record balance-of-payments deficits and record international indebtedness. In the first year Mitterrand was in power the French government's foreign borrowing more than doubled. France was on its way to becoming the Poland or the Mexico of West Europe.

After Reagan informed him that the U.S. would not subsidize the French social democrats, about a year ago the Mitterrand government did a U-turn and has attempted to impose an austerity program *more severe* than anything Giscard and Barre ever tried. A government which came to power promising to create half a million new jobs is now, two years later, promising half a million more unemployed. A very dramatic shift.

So you now have a government in France which in different ways has alienated all sections of the population. The immediate effect is to demoralize the proletariat, that is, the native French proletariat. The large population of foreign workers, mainly North African, are more combative since they never identified with the Mitterrand popular front to begin with. The petty bourgeoisie, hit by higher taxes and reduced social benefits, is driven into a frenzy of hostility to the government. And the big bourgeoisie is prepared to encourage extra-legal violence against a regime it believes has ruined the economy. Jobert resigned from the government in protest and said that Mitterrand has brought the country to the brink of the economic equivalent of the fall of France in 1940. This is, of course, a crazy exaggeration. But it is indicative of how significant sections of the French bourgeoisie are feeling.

As a result last spring there was a massive right-wing mobilization extending into a section of the police. The group of ultrarightist police symbolically marched on the presidential palace. The working class has been slower to move. There has recently been some resistance to mass layoffs in the auto-maker Peugeot, the largest private firm in France. This resistance is centered on the foreign workers. When the population returns from their August vacation, it looks like France is heading for explosive times.

Andropov's Russia Under the Gun

One hears a lot about the so-called Soviet economic crisis, the Soviet economic collapse from the Reagan

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Battleship New Jersey refitted with cruise missiles. Runaway U.S. military budget eats up available economic surplus.

World Depression...

(continued from page 9)

administration and its supporters. Behind this are a couple of things. One is a tendency to view the Soviet Union through the distorting prism of Polish Solidarność, a belief that what happened in Poland could be extended to Russia. That is nonsense. The other factor is a revival in Washington—not just limited to the Reaganites—of a notion pushed by Nelson Rockefeller in the 1950s. Rockefeller argued that since the Soviet Union had a per capita income about half that of the United States, this was a society which could less afford an all-out arms race. Thus, the arms race was not only to achieve military superiority—which the U.S. had in the '50s—but to force the Soviet leaders to cut standards of living and hopefully therefore create popular discontent. There has been a revival of this doctrine, which is a motivation for the arms race apart from purely military considerations. At one level all this is simply bourgeois false consciousness, that is, wishful thinking. The Soviet economy is *not* going to collapse, and the problems the Soviet Union does have will lead to a very different popular response than the clerical-nationalist, pro-imperialist Solidarność in Poland.

The Soviet Union has, however, suffered a marked *deceleration* of growth—not negative growth as in the West, but a deceleration. Last year the rate of industrial growth was less than 3 percent, the *lowest* rate since World War II. To put the present problems of the Soviet economy in perspective, one should remember that during the first ten years (from 1965 to 1975) of what is now referred to as the Brezhnev era per capita consumption in the Soviet Union increased between 40 to 50 percent. At the same time, in part because the U.S. was bogged down in Vietnam, the Soviet Union was able to achieve rough nuclear parity. And in the early '70s the Soviet Union even had sufficient resources to massively subsidize East Europe, mainly by selling it oil far below galloping world market prices. (This

wasn't such a good idea, since the East Europeans now waste oil.)

During this period the Soviet bureaucracy no doubt thought that the world was basically going its way. This, I believe, accounts for the extreme conservatism, the immobilism, the complacency of the late Brezhnev era. However, in the late '70s things began to unravel for the Soviet leaders. Here I will focus on the worsening domestic economic performance.

There are a number of conjunctural



Reagan wants to wage economic warfare against Russia, but the attempt to sabotage Soviet gas pipeline to West Europe blew up in his face.

reasons why. During much of the '70s the Soviet economy benefited from a highly favorable international situation. Its main exports are oil, natural gas and gold, all of which increased multiply in terms of world market prices. However, in the beginning of the '80s these prices fell.

Abstracting from these kinds of conjunctural factors, the Soviet bureaucracy has run into a more fundamental problem. Historically, the pattern of Soviet economic growth has been what economists call *extensive* growth. Basically this means building new factories and drawing upon a seemingly inexhaustible supply of labor from the peasant population. Historically, the structure of Soviet investment is very different from that in the advanced capitalist countries, a much larger proportion going to constructing new factories, a much smaller propor-

tion going to retooling and modernizing existing factories. By the late '70s the possibilities for this type of extensive growth had pretty much run out. The Soviet Union must have the highest labor force participation rate in the world with the possible exception of East Germany. Furthermore, extensive industrial growth worsens the problems of Soviet agriculture as the labor force on the collective farms becomes older, less efficient.

The bureaucracy recognized that it

would have to turn to *intensive* growth, increasing the productivity of the *existing* labor force. At this point all of the *micro*-economic inefficiencies which have long characterized the system, their weight, their significance, become magnified. The tendency to cheat on the plan, to produce shoddy goods, to produce goods in odd sizes and assortments (the famous mammoth nail in the *Krokodil* cartoon), the conservatism toward innovation—all these factors, which in the past had a relatively smaller drag on the economy, suddenly have a much greater drag.

Andropov campaigned for office, as it were, with the equivalent of John F. Kennedy's slogan in 1960: "Let's get this country moving again." There's been a lot of speculation about big changes in the economy. So far there's only been little changes. Most of the speculation centers around a shift toward a more

market-oriented, decentralized system. This is the so-called "Hungarian model." Andropov has a long association with Kadar's Hungary, which in 1968 decentralized the economy, giving factory managers much greater free play.

Within the framework of Stalinism there is an immanent tendency toward economic decentralization as an *alternative* to *workers democracy*. Since you can't subject managers and workers to the discipline of Soviet democracy, and a return to Stalin's methods is very unlikely, what is the alternative? To subject them to the discipline of the market. Clearly this is an option with which the Soviet bureaucracy is flirting.

But "market socialism" has its own contradictions, its own dangers and also its own points of resistance. Another aspect of the Hungarian experience is that workers resist the discipline of the market. They resist getting laid off if the firm they're working in doesn't happen to make a profit. They resist piece-rate wages. They resist earning 20 percent less for doing the exact same thing as a worker in a neighboring firm. And the Soviet working class has a fairly strong sense of egalitarianism. So market-oriented "reforms" would cause problems for the Soviet bureaucracy with the proletariat.

There must be an increasing sense within Soviet society that the promises and the policies of the bureaucracy have proven false. The Soviet people must know that détente has broken down and that they are faced with a war drive by an American government whose open program is nuclear superiority. They must know that the economy is running down and that, one way or another, the economic situation is likely to get worse. There must exist in the USSR one of the elements which Lenin said defined a potentially revolutionary situation. That is, both the bureaucracy and the working masses, each in their own way, know that things cannot go on as before. If for us in the Spartacist League of the U.S. the defense of the Soviet Union begins in Central America, for the Spartacist League of the USSR to be the defense of the Soviet Union means taking back political power from the usurpers in the Kremlin. ■

Terror in Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 2)

wardene and the bourgeois-nationalist Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF, which formally advocates Eelam), the occupying army continues to rule the North under the murderous "emergency" regulations, round-ups of leftists and others reportedly are continuing, government workers are being forced to undergo loyalty oaths (eschewing advocacy of Eelam), and the whole island is poised for the next outbreak of catastrophic anti-Tamil terror.

Until shortly before the American national conference convened, we had received from Sri Lanka no information on the safety of our comrades, who while a very small group had become known in the course of their work as outspoken and active defenders of Tamil national rights on the island, including by seeking to link up the leftist student movement at Colombo University with the militant Tamil nationalist activism on the Jaffna campus. Over the past several years international protests against the anti-Tamil terror in Lanka, including united fronts between exile Tamil groups and ISL sections, have also received significant publicity on the island.

The main document adopted by the conference, written before the mas-

sive government-inspired pogroms in Lanka, noted "the increasingly ominous backdrop of anti-Tamil terror and state semi-bonapartism." The document further noted:

"Ours are Sinhalese comrades whose main work, in accordance with their Marxist-Leninist propaganda, is necessarily linked to the defense of the Tamil people, which makes them a unique Bolshevik formation on that island. The fight against Lanka's incorporation by U.S. imperialism is intimately linked to opposition to the anti-Tamil terror. The J.R. Jayewardene government, which has been moving

large numbers of Sinhalese into the traditionally Tamil Eastern province where Trincomalee is located, sees the prospect of Trincomalee as a military base for U.S. imperialism as the trade-off to secure access to the U.S. market for the cheap manufactured products produced by the superexploited, mainly female workforce in the Free Trade Zone."

Right before the conference, we received our first word from Sri Lanka, a press release which we published in *WV* No. 336 (12 August). The SL/U.S. national conference adopted a motion

of communist solidarity with the Spartacist League/Lanka comrades. The greetings from the Lanka section published here were not received in time to be presented to the conference. We are also publishing on page 2 another special dispatch from Colombo, which has been excerpted and slightly condensed for reasons of space.

Sometimes heroism is not a matter of doing things, but just of being there and standing fast. Forward to a federated socialist republic of Eelam and Lanka! ■

Asylum for Tamil Refugees!

Nineteen Tamils seeking political asylum from the bloody government-instigated anti-Tamil massacres in Sri Lanka are currently being held in the Brooklyn Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) detention center. Some of those presently detained are among the over 70,000 Tamils from the Colombo area alone who fled their homes in terror only to be driven into the squalid refugee camps where they were held at the mercy of the murderous Sinhalese army without food, water, sanitary facilities or medical aid. Others were among the thousands evacuated by ship to Jaffna in the North.

Fearing for their lives, these Tamils

fled Colombo the last week of August. While en route from Paris to Montreal it was learned that the Canadian government would refuse them admittance. They were hauled off the plane in Boston and interrogated by the INS. In urgently appealing for political asylum in the U.S., the Tamils pointed out that their names and passport numbers had been recorded by security personnel at Colombo's Katunayake Airport. The Tamils were then carted off to the seedy, miserable INS-style concentration camp in Brooklyn where they are treated like prisoners. We demand the Tamils be freed at once and given immediate political asylum! Stop anti-Tamil

massacres in Sri Lanka! Political asylum for all Tamil refugees!

The Eelam Tamils Association of America has taken up this case. They ask that telegrams and letters demanding political asylum for the Tamil refugees be sent to: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Washington Liaison Office, Suite 405, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; and Congressman Mario Biaggi, 2004 Williamsbridge Road, Bronx, New York 10461. Contributions toward legal expenses can be sent to: Eelam Tamils Association of America, 66 Glen Street, Somerville, Massachusetts 02145.

Murder, Inc....

(continued from page 3)

"Interviewer: Pop their eyes with a spoon?"
 "Death squad member: You have to film it to believe it, but boy, they sure sing."

The Only Solution: Workers Revolution

In the face of this brutality and military aggression, the reformists within the Salvadoran opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front/Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN) and the Nicaraguan Sandinistas have sought to meekly conciliate the imperialists. The FDR/FMLN popular front is pursuing dialogue toward a political solution to the civil war, last week meeting with Reagan envoy Richard Stone, a former PR man for the Guatemalan junta. But

a negotiated settlement would necessarily leave the bloody military officer caste, the protectors of exploitative privilege, intact. Neither would it affect the death squads which will exist as long as the wealthy oligarchs who fund them. A negotiated settlement then would only open the way for even a bigger bloodbath. That is why the Spartacist League (SL) calls for military victory to the leftist insurgents.

Here in the U.S. the various Salvadoran and Nicaraguan popular front "solidarity" committees have for the past three years been orienting to the Congressional liberals to oppose only military, not economic aid; to put "human rights" certification riders on appropriations bills, and now most recently to cut funds for "covert" CIA operations in the region. We have warned repeatedly that the liberal Democrats have only tactical differences with the Reaganites, that both

share commitment to the global anti-Soviet war drive in which Central America is currently the front line. On June 7 Democrats in the House Foreign Affairs Committee voted for a massive overt aid budget of \$80 million, using the same pretext as Reagan, to stop the supposed flow of arms from Nicaragua and Cuba to the Salvadoran leftists.

The SL takes a side in the class struggle in Central America and elsewhere, the side of the workers and peasants. That is also why we defend the Soviet and Cuban workers states, despite their bureaucratic misrulers, against imperialist attack. Here in the U.S. we call for labor action in support of Central American workers and peasants, such as the proposal for a 24-hour port shutdown in opposition to military and economic aid for El Salvador, as advanced by class-struggle militants in the West Coast longshoremen's union. Because we insist that

imperialism can be defeated only through implacable class struggle—not by supporting the liberal "doves"—the reformists in the Central America protest movement have sought to exclude our revolutionary politics with violence and the capitalist cops.

To defeat U.S./CIA terror in Central America requires an all-out revolutionary war, completing the Nicaraguan revolution by wiping out the capitalist fifth column and expropriating the bourgeoisie; not a treacherous negotiated sellout in El Salvador, but a fight for military victory for the leftist insurgents to open the door for workers revolution throughout the region and to extend it to the heavy battalions of the Mexican proletariat. The key to this perspective is not the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the Sandinistas or FDR/FMLN, but proletarian internationalism and the creation of Trotskyist parties throughout Central America. ■

Liberal Mush...

(continued from page 5)

that balance to have change through elections, and not through bloody revolutions."

And to cries of "Run, Jesse, Run!" he called out: "From slaveship to championship! From the outhouse to the stonewall to the courthouse to the White House!"

Jackson's "from the outhouse to the White House" rap is his version of the Urban League's "hands that once picked cotton now pick the president" slogan. In the same way, its purpose is to use black people as voting cattle to bring about a new Democratic lash-up. And Jackson's so-called "Rainbow Coalition" is so broad it includes open appeals to racist Dixiecrats. A few months ago Jackson traveled to Alabama for a chat with Governor George ("Mr. Segregation") Wallace about electoral strategy, and declared to the Alabama state legislature, "The South can rise again!" This black traitor who raises the slogan of Dixiecrat racism in the center of the old slavocracy should be reviled by every defender of black freedom.

At the rally everyone noted the presence of many whites and a diversity of interest groups. Unlike '63, however, when there was tension between the blue-workshirted, overall-clad young black Southern civil rights organizers and the preachers on the platform, this time around the various constituencies ranged from union and church groups, T-shirted "no-nukers," middle-aged environmentalists in braids, and so forth. As we have emphasized repeatedly, Ronald Reagan killed sectoralism: welfare mothers, PATCO strikers, Salvadoran peasants—he hates *everybody*. The reformists' answer is a utopian *ultrasectoralism*, trying to pull all the sectors together in one great pop front in the sky, by-and-by. But in the worst capitalist economic depression since the 1930s, the proverbial pie has shrunk drastically; in competing for a piece of it, the most oppressed, particularly blacks, won't even get crumbs. In the face of givebacks for the unions, cutbacks for blacks and send-backs for "illegal" Latinos, what is needed is a struggle for socialist revolution, based on the power of the working class and drawing behind its banners all sectors of the oppressed.

As the *Times* article noted, "Differences that split coalitions in the 1960's and 70's still exist." While the August 27 "Coalition of Conscience" blathered about their wonderful "unity," these guys only backstabbed each other up to the very day of the march. Fauntroy wanted to dump any mention of abortion or homosexual rights, leading to a last-minute gay sit-in in his offices; Zionist organizations screamed hysterically against any black sentiment to criticize Israeli terror against Palestinians (even the mildest criticism of U.S.

policy and calls for "Mideast peace" were dumped from official statements). The Lane Kirkland/Bayard Rustin diehard Cold Warriors of the AFL-CIO found the call for "peace" too much—war against Russia, hot or cold, is more their speed. Though they formally endorsed, the AFL-CIO tops spent most of their efforts building the Labor Day "Solidarity Day III" marches for the following week.

When Malcolm X called the 1963 march the "Farce on Washington," he accused Martin Luther King and the other established leaders of turning the event into "a picnic, a circus." So what was the reaction of the so-called socialist left to Farce on Washington II? They were down there on their hands and knees crawling for the Democrats. The Communist Party banner called to "End the Reagan Nightmare—Make the Dream Come True." *Workers World* printed a banner with portraits of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King together, as if the two were collaborators instead of bitter political opponents. The ultra-reformist Socialist Workers Party did them one better, printing in its *Militant* speeches by both Malcolm and MLK, but *not* Malcolm's scathing attack on the '63 march or King's sugar-coated "dream."

The Communist Workers Party (CWP), however, may be having some trouble over their open support to these black Democratic Party hustlers. CWP leader Jerry Tung has come out for supporting Jackson for president. But at their virtually unattended conference at the University of the District of Columbia on the day before the march, while CWP'er Nelson Johnson (one of the survivors of the 1979 Klan/Nazi Greensboro massacre) lamely tried to defend this line, another black CWP leader, Phil Thompson, told the SL he wasn't voting for Jackson!

Only the Spartacist League provided an alternative to the Democratic Party popular front on August 27. We sold over 2,200 *WVs* with the headline "Lahor, Blacks: Don't Crawl for the Democrats!" and altogether over 3,000 pieces of SL lit that day. Of the 363 new subs to our press, more than one-third came from the D.C./Tidewater area and another 40 from the South. We spoke with many black workers who had participated in the successful action that stopped the Klan in D.C. November 27—their memory and their feeling for this victory runs strong. One young black worker from S.E. Washington compared how much more powerful we were that day, even though there were far fewer people. "We stopped the Klan, and it really *meant* something," he said.

Many sectors of the strategic black proletariat in this country are not blinded by the "dream" talk of the black Democrats and their pseudo-socialist cheerleaders. One bus coming down from Detroit was made up mostly of laid-off Chrysler workers from the Jefferson Avenue plant. An hour or so out of Detroit a local bureaucrat at the

front of the bus tried to get a "toast" to the "great Martin Luther King," but the workers remained silent, and the bureaucrat sat back down. Most of them probably figured they couldn't "eat" eulogies to MLK. Black workers on the buses from Tidewater considered the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization their own. As one told us: "Labor/black mobilizations, yes. But what we really need is socialism." ■

November 27 & August 27...

(continued from page 5)

in full dress, had it not been for the workers that stopped them before they started.

I do not see the workers of America sharing a dream, but I do see a great many workers in a real deep sleep laying in beds made up by the Democratic and Republican Parties and also beds made up by black and white *mis*leaders as was demonstrated at the August 27, 1983 MOW. This was from the interviews and discussions I had with the workers at the 1983 March. These were marchers who believed that Jesse James Jackson and the Horrible Fauntroy will give them "Jobs, Peace and Freedom" by voting for the Democratic Party.

In 1963, with John F. Kennedy as President, the House and Senate controlled by the Democrats, the workers received the same treatment as we are getting now, NOTHING but unemployment and union-busting tactics. What we the workers of the world need is our own Workers Party and with a positive program we can make this country a better place to LIVE.

Just remember that not the first one of these "pro-jobbers," "pro-peacers" and "pro-freedomers" were nowhere near the place we stopped the anti-johhners, anti-peacers and anti-freedomers of the Ku Klux Klan. Since the federal government doesn't intend to stop the Ku Klux Klan in any way, then it is our duty as workers to stop them. The government used to talk about

stopping the Klan, but now they have made it perfectly clear the Klan is one of the federal government's tools.

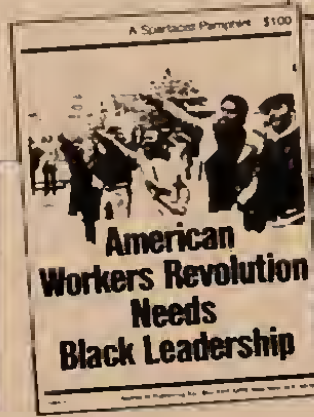
Of all the people that appeared on the Official Celebration Program of the August 27, 1983 Voter Registration Drive for the Democratic Party, not the first one showed their faces on the date of November 27, 1982 to help stop the Klan. I know you do not like me calling this August 27, 1983 thing a Voter Registration Drive for the Democratic Party, but you bring me face to face with Jesse Jackson, Coretta Scott King, Walter E. Fauntroy and all the other phony "JPFers" (jobs, peace and freedomers) and I'll make them eat their words.

Dr. Martin Luther King in 1963 said, "I have a dream." Well, one has to be sleeping and completely out of their minds to even mention obtaining Jobs, Peace and Freedom from a Democratic or Republican government. This is just impossible for a capitalist system to deliver—jobs, peace and freedom—for it is the same as trying to force a Rhode Island Red chicken to lay a duck egg, because the R.I.R.'s system is composed to lay only chicken eggs.

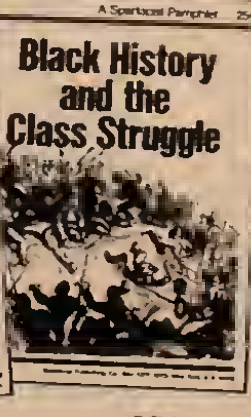
You can have a march 52 Saturdays a year and draw a half million people of all walks of life, make all types of speeches from the Jesse James, the Fauntroys, the Youngs and all kinds of House Negroes and the only thing you will receive is a Sunday morning tired and all worn out.

We, the working people of the world, have to stop depending on the racist-minded rulers to determine who we vote for at the polls. You may think you are electing a government official, but think back a while and you will realize that there are only two parties to select from and they are the Democrats and Republicans. The ruling class picks who they want to run in the elections as far back as the primaries.

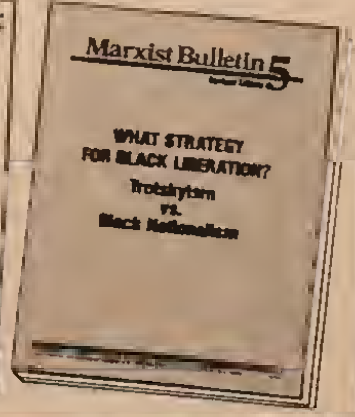
What we need is a workers party for the working class and we can pick whom we want to run the country. Remember November 27, 1982, there wasn't a single elected official with us (they were told by the ruling class to stay away) and we did just fine. ■



\$1.00



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Larry McDonald, All-Purpose Ultra-Rightist

Portrait of a "Real American"

Larry McDonald is no longer among us. One of the nastiest enemies of human progress went down with the 007 Korcan airliner on its mission of Cold War provocation over sensitive military installations in Soviet territory.

The U.S. capitalists cynically weep all over the front page and six o'clock news in mock sorrow for the passengers who were set up on the death-plane provocation against the USSR. But their tears for Larry McDonald are genuine. If those passengers were made hostages and then human sacrifices on the altar of anti-Sovietism, Larry McDonald might have been the only one of them to accept the mission as part of his anti-Communist duty. Indeed, here was a man who truly embodied the sinister purpose and hideous spirit behind that flight: as a focus for mass hysteria in the anti-Soviet war drive.

McDonald's congressional aides declared him the "first casualty of World War III." It is certainly their hope to have apocalypse now. War against the Soviet Union was McDonald's driving ambition, anti-Communism his obsession. Not only McDonald's friends, but his enemies as well—and these included nearly everyone to the left of Hitler—understood that there was something historically appropriate, nearly poetic, about his being shot out of the sky by the Russians.

Larry McDonald's wife—who wants to inherit his witchhunter's seat in the House of Representatives—and the rest of the New Right think they have confirmed their wildest conspiratorial fantasies of Soviet malignancy. They insist the 007 was shot down to get their man. McDonald, who missed his scheduled flight to Seoul by only a few minutes, was one of a gaggle of ultrarightist U.S. politicians on their way to Seoul for a three-day privately funded celebration of the U.S./South Korea military alliance against the Soviet Union. Jesse Helms went as Reagan's representative. The whole gang of them regularly lobby for massive U.S. military and financial support to this "free world democracy" torture capital.

Universally acknowledged as the most right-wing member of Congress, McDonald was the head of the fanatic John Birch Society, a pillar of the New Right (a member of some 30 of their reactionary committees), the most vicious and active witchhunter in Congress using private agents provocateurs and official police agencies to stamp out "The Red Menace" under the beds or anywhere else. He was a racist

who called even the liberal Martin Luther King a Communist "wedded to violence." He opposed everything from abortion to the Panama Canal treaty ("It's ours") to food stamps for the poor. And he supported everything from the sky's-the-limit military expenditures and the use of nuclear weapons against Vietnam to creating a new HUAC and "unleashing" the FBI/CIA. A hater of Jews and homosexuals, he campaigned against the rights of women, minorities and dissenters of every kind, labeling them Communist dupes with an abandon so reckless it would have awed the original McCarthy, whom McDonald lionized as a "real hero."

It isn't surprising that all the right-wing and fascistic elements in the U.S.



In These Times

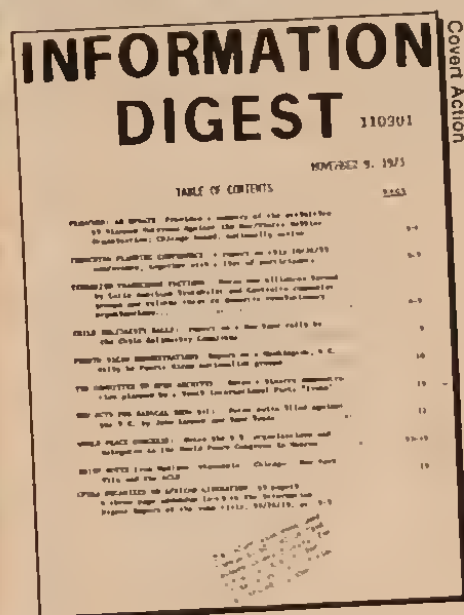
are trying to make McDonald into an instant anti-Soviet martyr. About 100 Ku Klux Klan fascists in their white hoods of racist terror took over Marietta Square in McDonald's home district of Marietta, Georgia on Saturday. Their "memorial" to McDonald is the threat of burning crosses and lynch ropes for blacks. The race terrorists who work the fringes of the Cold War want to make McDonald and the 007 a battering ram in a racist and anti-Communist offensive.

The New Right's godfather and computer-mail fundraiser, Richard A. Viguerie (who helped fund McDonald's electoral campaigns), demanded that the entire month of September be observed as a national month of mourning. He wants all Americans to tie black ribbons around their trees. (For this suburban Wizard of Oz, ownership of a tree is evidence of citizenship.) The Moral Majority's televangelist for nuclear armageddon, Jerry Falwell, is planning a McDonald memorial mobilization in Marietta, Georgia on September 11, while the John Birch Society simultaneously broadcasts a film on "Communist subversion" on Ted Turner's national TV network. The Birch Society has demanded that the U.S. break diplomatic ties to the Soviet Union. And Jhoon Rhee, bigwig in the dangerous ultraright-wing Moonie cult, railed against the Soviets and hoped that through McDonald's death America would be "woken up." McDonald served on a number of committees engaged in keeping the hucks flowing to South Korea's military dictatorship. He was closely connected with the private, tax-exempt outfit founded by two aides of Jesse Helms, the Institute on American Relations, which sponsored McDonald's fateful trip to Korea via Kamchatka. The Klan and the Moonies, the Moral Majority and the Birchites—

all of them have made Larry McDonald a shrine for their wailing chorus of anti-Soviet hatred.

Nut Case in the Cold War Mainstream

It is politically important that Larry McDonald will not only be mourned by Kluxers, Birchers and Moonies, Larry McDonald was a product of the far-right fringe, but the political mainstream has shifted his way. The renewed Cold War launched dramatically by Carter/Mondale and escalated during the Reagan years has given even Larry McDonald some political influence. Of course Jesse Helms is the prime example of yesterday's ultrarightist in the wings



Larry McDonald and his lists.

who is now at the center of political power.

When he died, Lawrence Patton (after General George Patton, he says) McDonald was 48 years old, a fourth-term congressman from the district of Georgia which stretches from Atlanta to Tennessee including some affluent suburbs. He had been a flight surgeon in the navy and was a captain in the naval reserve. He was a veteran member of the House Armed Services Committee, a member of the Special Armed Services Panel, and chairman of the House Special Operations Forces Panel.

An early member of the John Birch Society, McDonald became its chairman last March when founder Robert Welch retired at 83. The Birchers are not much different today than when they labeled President Eisenhower a "com-symp," but they are gaining a wider audience. McDonald spent much of his time in Congress reading the tracts of the John Birch Society into the *Congressional Record* along with the names and supposed activities of leftists "discovered" by his private spy agency. McDonald received awards for Americanism from the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, and was named "the most conservative member of Congress" by Young Americans for Freedom. He even received an award from Chile's hatcher Pinochet.

McDonald was not only a furious right winger—he was a certified crackpot. Like most American right-wing nuts, he had a medical angle. Larry McDonald was a doctor, "the only urologist in Congress," the *New York Times* noted. So he could carry out the program of the John Birch Society to cure the world of cancer through the apricot pit poison known as laetrile. According to the Birchers only the "Communist Conspiracy" (exerted often through that well-known Red Front,

the AMA) prevented the American public from being cured of cancer. McDonald was the legislative representative for laetrile, but also as a practicing physician he prescribed it regularly. In 1978 he was sued by the family of an Alabama postal worker who died under McDonald's laetrile "cure." The family claimed McDonald was engaged in "quackery" when standard medical treatment could have been effective. The court forced McDonald to pay the family \$15,000, but did not find him guilty of "wrongful death" (*New York Times*, 6 February 1978).

McDonald seemed to exhibit the stuff of parody of the right-wing crackpot. According to an article in *CounterSpy* (Spring 1976), he had "some sexual problems centered around his extreme versions of patriotism." The details are left to the imagination, but one is forcefully reminded of the character General Jack D. Ripper in *Doctor Strangelove* who was obsessed with fear that the Communists were sapping his precious bodily fluids.

McDonald had a special hatred (and fear) of homosexuals. And here he had some success in Congress. Every year he offered his amendment to bar the use of Legal Aid funds to "promote, defend, or protect" homosexuality. The 1981 version passed the House overwhelmingly even as the Gay Men's Chorus was performing on the steps of the Capitol Building. More recently McDonald displayed his idea of humor suggesting that homosexuals should be assessed a "users tax" to pay for AIDS research. Then when this disgusting statement met with general revulsion, McDonald must have remembered how well gay-baiting worked for McCarthy as he responded: "Some of us thought it would be appropriate to have a user tax so that we could merely tax the participants of the program to finance it.... But I'm afraid, with the current make-up of Congress, that we couldn't pass that. They (congressmen) would not want to raise taxes for themselves" (*Atlanta Constitution*, June 7).

Witchhunter with a Drawn Gun

McDonald was certainly a right-wing crackpot, but no less dangerous for all that. He was one of the most sinister witchhunters in the United States. When he first arrived in Congress he tried to become a member of the new HUAC, but when it was abandoned, McDonald moved on his own.

As founder and chairman of Western Goals, McDonald had his most ominous project. Western Goals is a private tax-exempt multimillion-dollar high-tech operation to spy on the left and the rest of his political opponents. Western Goals is said to have computerized dossiers on more than a million "subversive" Americans—a computer bank which rivals the FBI's. Western Goals would supply "information" to the police and official U.S. spy agencies. A cozy relationship of exchange seems to have developed. Now there is a grand jury investigation of the relationship between Western Goals and the LAPD's "Red Squad" who, it is charged, gave Western Goals Los Angeles Police Department files.

Providing "research" for Western Goals is John Rees, the husband of Louise Rees, McDonald's Congressional aide. John Rees' (a.k.a. John Seeley) career included FBI and police informant, agent provocateur (along with his wife), and editor of the police informer "newsletter" called *Information Digest*. The *Information Digest*'s secret subscribers include the FBI, CIA and NSA. Immune from prosecution for libel as a Congressman, he could read the charges of *Information Digest* into the *Congressional Record*, and then others interested in blacklisting for instance could pick it up with the "authority" of the *Congressional Record*. Thus he was the central link in this chain of vigilante spying and disruption of the left. McDonald was particularly interested

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— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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Moonie Libel...

(continued from page 4)

they have lots of tricks and of course, what they call "heavenly deception." More importantly, the legal tactics of the Moonies reflect their sinister political motivation to set up Marxists as outlaws without rights. In this regard it is interesting to note the Moonies' choice of lawyers for this case. The Moonies demonstrate a considerable care in the use of expertise. And they have hired experts for this case, but not experts in libel. The Washington-based firm of Schwalb, Donnenfeld, Bray and Silbert is well known for its connections to the government's prosecutorial agencies. Schwalb, Donnenfeld and Silbert all served with the U.S. Justice Department; Earl Silbert, the most noted in the firm, was the U.S. attorney for Washington, D.C. during the Watergate years (1974-1979) and the principal assistant U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia in 1972-73.

Given the connections and experience with the government's witchhunters the Moonies seem less interested in defending against libel as in threatening to aid the government's stepped-up surveillance and disruption of the left. And the Moonies' lawyers seem very well connected to those agencies like the FBI (part of the Justice Department) which look for reasons and excuses to treat Marxist political organizations as if they were terrorists, outlaws and criminals.

But precisely because these are libels that kill, we must continue the political and legal fight. The Moonies will try to avoid the issues in this case with legal technicalities, but as we said in our statement at the time of filing the suit: "The working class and the workers party have the right to organize.

Socialists have a right to speak and to organize for their views without being set up as cop-killers, terrorists and criminals by the Moonies or anyone else. In particular, we Marxists must have the right to organize the power of labor to defeat fascist terror on the streets. If the Moon cult prevails in their libel of us, any group or individual in the lead of struggle against fascist terror will be marked for destruction." ■

Amicus Brief...

(continued from page 4)

its assets or the political purpose of ostensible 'business' functions converts the financial conduct of political organizations into behavior which is suspect. Holding an unincorporated structure to be the equivalent of a fraudulent existence or of non-existence is to relegate political organizations to outlaw status. The application of the prosecution's formulation of the issues below and the court's rulings to unpopular, minority political organizations will have disastrous consequences, serving to criminalize heretofore established and lawful practices."

Even though the U.S. Court of Appeals is still considering Moon's appeal which was heard on March 23, the court rejected the SL amicus as "untimely." Further, Moon's lead attorney, Harvard professor Lawrence H. Tribe, wrote SL general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein on July 7 opposing the SL amicus because: "it can only confuse the issue and injure the purpose you may have had in mind in writing it..." Constitutional lawyer Tribe knows full well the broader First Amendment issues raised in the Moon conviction. But his opposition to a "friend of the court" brief by a Marxist political organization, on behalf of his client who is trying to set up that organization for

You Can't Fight the Moonies Without the Money

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—it gives the cops a reason and excuse to shoot on sight.

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*. 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.

We have the truth on our side, but it will take more than the truth to win against the Moonies. The cult 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, 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. Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

murder, is hardly surprising.

At issue in Moon's 1982 tax fraud conviction are the fundamental democratic principles of separation of church and state and freedom of association. Yet the Moonie doctrine, especially its goal of theocracy with Moon as messiah and autocrat, is antithetical to these very democratic rights. These values were established not in the courtroom but in the mighty social revolutions of the

sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. In defense of these values, as well as its own self-defense, the SL has launched its libel suit against the Moonies' murderous frameup and an amicus against the government's repression of the Moonies. The all-sided defense of democratic rights is indeed left to Marxists for whom socialism is the means to free man once and for all from every form of social oppression. ■

in the broad appeal of the 1976 campaign to save the Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz organized by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and supported by the Spartacist League. "The PDC's list of endorsers of the Muñoz campaign is very interesting and revealing," he said as he read pages of names into the *Congressional Record* in a lying attempt to connect them with "international terrorism."

Although McDonald liked the techniques of Joseph McCarthy, he was clearly engaged in the new style of witchhunting which falsely cites the left as "terrorist" in order to be able to blow them away. This is what happened to the Black Panthers. McDonald stood for and helped to pioneer the new McCarthyism with a drawn gun.

McDonald had formed his private spy agency to counter what he considered the Watergate exposures' "crippling" effect on illegal U.S. secret police spying. While the liberals were threatening to curb CIA/FBI "abuses," McDonald supplied one of the ways to keep it all going. What an example of government cooperation with private enterprise. Now with the new FBI guidelines providing for stepped-up infiltration of the left on the basis that political opposition is equivalent to terrorism, McDonald will be sorely missed by the secret police.

There is little question that if a fascist movement began to make its bid in America, Larry McDonald would have been part of it. We know that there will be other "Seven Days in May" types to take his place as the Congressional voice of anti-Communist police-state terror. Until the victorious workers revolution, the decaying capitalist system will continue to turn out its Larry McDonalds. A few years ago they were embarrassed by such types. Today their embarrassment is mixed with admiration—tomorrow in fear of a mobilized working class they could well turn to them. But for now one can only say that there is one less. ■

Mission 007...

(continued from page 7)

must traverse the shallow Oresund between Denmark and Sweden. To the south, the Soviet navy operating out of Odessa in the Black Sea is bottled in by the Dardenelles. And in the Far East, ships leaving Vladivostok must either go through the La Pérouse Strait between the Soviet island of Sakhalin and the Japanese island of Hokkaido or pass the Tsushima Strait between Korea and Japan. In the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, the tsar's Far Eastern fleet was destroyed at Tsushima. Today the imperialists seek to close off these strategic routes of access.

The Americans would like to repeat Britain's (successful) tactics against the German navy during World War II, when they destroyed the U-boats as they came out of their pens, from Hamburg to the Bay of Biscay. This military-strategic calculation underscores the importance of the Soviet naval base at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam (and explains Washington's obsession with it). Likewise, it highlights the importance of opposing the U.S. imperialists' attempts to forge a string of anti-Soviet naval bases from the Cape of Good Hope through Diego Garcia, Trincomalee (Sri Lanka) and Singapore to Japan.

A recent critical study, "Pacific Command: The Structure and Strategy of the U.S. Military," notes that:

"...the homewaters of the Soviet Pacific fleet is the almost landlocked Sea of Japan. By building up its forces in the Northwest Pacific the U.S. Navy hopes to 'cramp' the Soviets in their prime base of operations, thus depriving them of the maneuvering space provided by the high seas. As the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff put it in their recent annual 'Defense Posture,' a major U.S. advantage 'is the ability of American forces—including those in Japan and Korea—to bottle up the Soviets' Pacific Fleet at Vladivostok.'

"This strategy of high confrontation is, of course, accompanied by war plans to

insure preparedness if an 'incident' occurs....

"To prepare for the possibility of such a swift knock-out punch in the Sea of Japan, a massive deployment of forces is currently taking place in the area.... "This naval buildup in the Northwest Pacific has been accompanied by U.S. saber-rattling. Current Pacific command chief Admiral Robert Long, for instance, told an astonished Japanese correspondent, 'This region [the Pacific], I believe, is most probably where we shall witness a confrontation with the Soviet Union'."

—Walden Bello, Peter Hayes and Lyuba Zarsky, "Preparing for War in the Pacific," *CounterSpy*, September-November 1983

South Korea: Launching Pad for World War III?

The Koreans have acquired a pretty bad odor in Washington, what with the stench of corruption over "Koreagate" and the issue of maintaining U.S. troops at a cost of a few hundred million dollars a year or more. Moreover, Reagan is due to meet President Chun in November (on his Asian tour which includes a visit to murderous Philippines dictator Marcos). Perhaps the provocation-minded quislings in Seoul decided they could hand their American godfathers a present. Engineered by the KCIA, seconded by the CIA, no doubt they could bring in the Japanese as accomplices—after all, it would take place over the Kurils and southern Sakhalin, both claimed by Tokyo.

The South Koreans evidently aspire to play the role of Israel in the Far East. KAL pilots, like those of El Al, are on military service, whether openly or "in reserve." Such local allies of U.S. imperialism can play an explosive role. The Israelis, for example, are said to be "only a screwdriver turn away" from having an atomic bomb. They have local delivery systems, but not long-range rockets. If they wanted to try to hit Russia, they would have to drop it off a plane with a 5,000-mile radius. So some

of those El Al 747s may well be fitted with bomb bays. They're subsonic, and it's a very primitive system requiring a lot of luck. But they're probably better performers than the American B52s. If an Israeli 747 approached the Soviets' southern perimeter, you can bet they'd try to interdict it. And who's to say a KAL jetliner couldn't serve the same purpose against the USSR's most strategic Far Eastern installations?

As the *New York Times* (3 September) noted in passing, "The airliner incident could hardly have come at a worse moment for Soviet efforts to generate support for the Western antinuclear movement and the campaign to halt American missile deployments in Western Europe this year. This fact alone makes any Soviet motivation for the incident inexplicable...." In contrast, Reagan's interest in generating an "incident" to show that the "godless Communists" lie, cheat and steal is self-evident.

Reagan's efforts to use the shooting down of KAL flight 007 to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria have encountered increasing skepticism, especially outside the United States. If Reagan is holding back from major new economic sanctions against the USSR, it is because he knows that the West Europeans and Japanese won't go along. But whether or not the Korean plane provocation succeeds in further inflaming anti-Soviet sentiment here and abroad, the rulers of U.S. imperialism are on a headlong war drive against the Soviet Union. They have in their hands the means to destroy civilization and they will not be restrained by the universal horror of nuclear war. Only socialist revolution—by disarming the capitalist class—can prevent imperialism from unleashing its awesome technology of death.

Meanwhile, over 200 innocent civilian travelers are dead, not the first and, surely, not the last in this mad game on the road to the threatened nuclear holocaust engulfing us all. ■

Steelworker Militant Anwar Defends Picket Line

Bosses' Court Says "Thou Shalt Scab"

We reprint below a leaflet issued 5 September 1983 by Keith Anwar, a steel worker fired four years ago by Inland Steel for respecting the picket lines of a fellow United Steelworkers (USWA) local.

The fight to establish our right to honor picket lines was set back by a recent ruling of the U.S. Appeals Court in Chicago. As many District 31 steel workers know, I am a member of Local 1010. I was fired by Inland in 1979 when I refused to cross picket lines set up by USWA Local 8180, which was on strike. The federal court took a big swipe at one of our most crucial weapons—picket line solidarity—by overturning a Labor Board decision that ordered Inland to put me back to work. This ruling was a direct slap at the thousands of District 31 steel workers who have supported the picket line case. Earlier this summer the same court backed U.S. Steel, which had slammed a 38-day suspension on Gene Goldenfeld of Local 1014, another union brother who honored picket lines. The effect of these rulings is to outlaw honoring picket lines under most union contracts in this country.

This anti-labor "justice" must be overturned! For over four years these giant steel companies have mobilized an army of lawyers to squash picket line solidarity. But steel workers throughout the Chicago-Gary area readily backed the Keith Anwar picket line fight. Our District 31 conference in 1979 unanimously passed a resolution demanding my reinstatement. Local 1010 held a rally to defend the right to honor picket lines. Union members donated thousands of dollars to help the legal

expenses. Now the steel bosses are forcing me to appeal to the Supreme Court, and the case will need active support and financial backing like never before. Steel workers must fight to get the USWA behind this case. We need a fighting labor movement based on the principle that *picket lines mean don't cross!*

These rulings are more than a vicious blow against the Steelworkers union; they tighten the no-strike straitjacket on all of the labor movement by extending the no-strike clause in most contracts to prohibit respecting of picket lines. The judges who made these rulings have rewritten not just the law but hundreds of collective bargaining contracts as well. This is an assault against union independence from the government! In their own words, the judges' main concern was to achieve "uninterrupted plant operations," i.e. profits. The importance of these rulings was noted by the capitalist *Wall Street Journal* (August 2), which had a front page article gloating that "no-strike clauses get more teeth."

The bosses are going after our right to honor picket lines because they know that labor solidarity makes us stronger. The companies want to see more labor defeats like the PATCO strike, where the AFL-CIO brass refused to shut down the airports in solidarity, allowing Reagan to fire 12,000 workers and giving a big boost to every company to attack unions. Had the Machinists, Teamsters, Pilots and other unions backed the air traffic controllers, we could have stopped Reagan cold.

Strong picket lines can smash the "divide and rule" tactics of the bosses.

Back in 1978 the Inland bricklayers showed how it's done: with one day of mass picketing they shut down construction of Inland's No. 11 coke battery and forced the company to meet their demands. I was there on the picket lines with the brothers of Bricklayers Local 6. They showed that workers solidarity isn't just a phrase—it's a *weapon*.

The USWA urgently needs this class-struggle weapon and many others, to turn back the steel companies' attacks of recent years. We need sit-down strikes to halt the layoffs that have decimated the USWA in District 31. We need labor/black mobilizations to stop the race-haters like the Klan and Nazis who want to march into our communities with their genocidal program. We need industry-wide strike action to reverse the \$4 billion concessions, and we need to back up our strikes with mass picket lines that no one dares to cross.

But at the time when we need these weapons most, our "leaders" are giving them away! As part of the give-back contract last March, [USWA International president] Lloyd McBride wrote a "letter of understanding" to the steel companies that supported the arbitrators' awards which upheld my firing and Goldenfeld's suspension. The letter said, "The Union deems itself bound by those awards, in particular the rulings that the broad language of the no-strike clause barred work stoppages... by individual employees for purposes of expressing sympathy with other unions..." The company and USWA officials felt compelled to *rewrite the contract* in order to prevent our union from exercising the weapon of labor solidarity, which was a hard-won gain of past

struggles in the CIO. This was a real stab in the back to my case and the union as a whole.

But McBride isn't the only USWA leader to betray the thousands of steel workers who have fought for this case. Former district director Jim Balanoff stalled on taking the case to arbitration for a year, and after it lost there, he refused to pursue it further. And the president of Local 1010, Bill Andrews, went to the *Daily Calumet* (October 12, 1982) to say that a victory in my case would "cause problems at Inland and all over." Sure, labor victories always "cause problems" for the bosses. First they gave up our right to strike, then our right to honor picket lines—these days many steel workers have even been robbed of their right to a job! This retreat must stop!

We've got to turn this union around and get it fighting to defend the elementary traditions of labor struggle. We can't rely on the Supreme Court or any other agency of the bosses' government to do it for us. Look at the Appeals Court: it views the picket line case as an excuse to shackle us and millions of other workers with a stroke of the pen. From the striking coal miners in 1978 to USWA copper miners in Arizona today, the government uses anti-union injunctions and armed strikebreakers in an effort to smash labor struggle.

The only real way we can win back our picket line rights is through mass labor struggle—building picket lines, not crossing them! Mobilizing the USWA to defend my job is part of that battle. Let's get the union behind the fight for picket line solidarity—let's get the union off its knees! ■

Framed Up...

(continued from page 16)

Recent negotiations, Mcchan tried to pull employees of his unit out of the union on the grounds that when he had to prosecute unions, there would be a "conflict of interest"!

PT&T is so insane with hatred of union members that it called *four cop cars* to SLDA on September 1 when Lauren and Ray stopped outside before their court appearance to talk to a friend. This outrageous violation of basic democratic rights, intended to intimidate the SLDA employees, who stand behind Lauren and Ray, raises the question: Where are we,

Urgent!

The frameup of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero must be stopped! Lauren and Ray have been fired by Pacific Telephone, and if convicted on several pending felony counts face several years in jail. The bosses and their government not only want to put away Lauren and Ray, but make an example of any good union member who believes in building and defending picket lines. A Phone Strikers Defense Committee has been formed with the demands that: Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero be reinstated at their jobs with full back pay; amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers; all charges against Lauren Mozee, Ray Palmiero and all other phone strikers be dropped! Contact and send contributions to:

Phone Strikers Defense Committee
c/o Box 24951
Oakland, CA 94623

in South Africa?

The violence in this strike has come from the other side: the company, its scabs, the cops. CWA members have been systematically struck with vehicles, beaten, threatened with guns, harassed and arrested. Supervisor Joe Flores hit a woman picketer with his car on August 17 at Doolittle Drive. She has a blood clot in her leg as a result. The cops' response to this murderous hit-and-run assault was to threaten the *victim* that filing "false" charges is a felony! In LA 18 CWA members—the whole picket line—were arrested at Madison frame. There are numerous additional examples (see MAC leaflet "Full Amnesty for All Strikers!"). Nor is company violence limited to strike time: earlier this year at Bancroft CO in Berkeley, a racist supervisor assaulted black workers on two occasions. This scum is still on the job, while our co-workers had to go on disability. Bancroft should have been shut down by the CWA until the thug boss was tossed out. Restitution must be given to the victims. But PT&T stands by its cowardly thugs.

Lauren and Ray are widely respected by their co-workers and symbolize the kind of union member we need more of. Lauren Mozee, 36, is the mother of two children, aged 17 and 13. She comes from a strong union family of auto workers, originally from Missouri, and was once fired by Freight Line Trucking for trying to organize office workers into a union. Lauren is well known as a long-time fighter for black rights. She has worked as an installer at the 21st Avenue garage in Oakland for four and a half years, and was active in the fight against forced overtime there. She is a member of the Militant Action Caucus.

Raimondo (Ray) Palmiero, 30, also a MAC member, worked as a Directory Assistance Operator in San Leandro for four years. Immediately before the strike he was transferred to a repair tech

Vote Down Phone Sellout!

The settlement ending the three-week nationwide phone strike did nothing to beat back the company's job-slashing attack on the unions. The bosses were unsuccessful in humiliating the unions, but the contract accepts the dismantling of national bargaining, and its "job security" provisions are a farce that won't prevent a single layoff or forced downgrade or transfer. There's nothing to prevent subcontracting to scab firms. Outrageously, the union tops sent the ranks back to work with felony counts and company disciplines hanging over the heads of numerous militants. Phone workers must demand union action to insure no retaliation against any striker. Vote "no" on this rotten deal and prepare to fight!

There's an old saying that "there's more education in the end of a policeman's nightstick than there is in four years of college." The strike gave the lie to the no-fight line of the pro-company, CIA-loving Glenn Watts bureaucracy of the CWA. *Strikes are necessary*, and you need militant class-struggle tactics to win. Picket lines mean don't cross—

job in San Francisco. The son of Italian immigrants (a laborer and a seamstress), he was briefly a member of the Steelworkers and postal unions, and during a stay in Italy was fired from a department store for respecting a regional general strike. He has been active in the struggle against Klan and Nazi racist terror.

From Haymarket to the Molly Maguires, to Sacco and Vanzetti, Mother Jones, Tom Mooney, and Big Bill Haywood, to Flint and Little Steel, to the 1978 miners' strike, the very existence of unions in this country has been won and defended only by hard-

keep out management and the rest of the scabs and shut the bosses' operations down tight. To beat Ma Bell, phone workers need mass building occupations, backed up by the power of the labor movement, to smash government strikebreaking.

Phone workers need to replace the treacherous Watts gang with a new, militant leadership. The only grouping in the CWA with a class-struggle program is the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), which called for building mass picket lines, and fought to defend and build the existing picket lines in this strike. In a leaflet issued August 24, MAC summed up its fighting perspective:

"The only strike strategy worth a damn starts from the understanding that the partnership of labor and capital is a lie; that our interests are in irreconcilable conflict with those of the companies; and that the outcome of the struggle in each case is decided by the relative strength of each side at the given time. Our allies are the workers and oppressed; our enemies are the capitalists with their president Reagan and their Democratic mayors who unleash cops on striking workers." ■

fought struggles against frameups, gun thugs and strikebreaking cops and courts; and by the defense of self-sacrificing and courageous union militants like Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. So are you *company* or are you *union*? As the song asks, "Which side are you on?" "Don't scab for the bosses, don't listen to their lies; we workers haven't got a chance unless we organize."

Today that means organizing to defend Lauren and Ray and all other victims of phone company union-busting! ■



Striking phone workers arrested for stopping scab delivery truck (right).



Local bureaucrats linked on union militants who fought to keep out company scabs.

L.A. CWA Militants...

(continued from page 16)

and a stroke tally that everyone took part in as the trucks were turned away.

"That afternoon the cops singled out MACer Manuel Delgadillo for arrest. The cops approached Manuel by name after a conversation with [local president] Janice Wood. Actually, he was detained by the labor squad from the LAPD—these guys are incredible, they have three-piece suits, they look like business executives. One of these guys went up to the picket line and said, 'Manuel, you're coming with us.' And they'd never been formally introduced before! When he was detained in the squad car, they kept him there for about half an hour right next to the picket line, so a few of us started chanting, and the whole picket line picked up the chants 'Picket lines mean don't cross' and 'Free Delgadillo!' over and over again, and they eventually let him go, right there.

"So the next morning at 7:30 a truck tried to get in, and at the peak we probably had about 40 people on the picket line. And of course there were no union bureaucrats to be seen this day. What happened was the cops showed up in force. The labor squad guys first came, told us to disperse, and then the cops showed up—I think about ten cars and a paddy wagon. I guess there were about 25 to 30 cops as well as the paddy wagon. The cops then started arresting people. The first person was being choked when a MACer intervened to prevent a choke hold. Manuel was then arrested, then the rest of the picket line, for a total of 18—14 men and 4 women. As the paddy wagon drove off, you could hear the chant 'Picket lines mean don't cross' coming in a muffled roar out of the wagon. So we were taken in and booked for 'obstructing the sidewalk,' a misdemeanor, and one of the cops inside the station was surprised that we weren't let out on 'OR' [own recognizance] fairly quickly. But the labor squad made sure, they wanted a hundred dollars bail on each person and they only accepted bail bondsmen. So they wanted to keep us there for a while. And they really went after the women, kept them in Sybil Brand [women's prison] for 18 hours and separated one of the women—I think they stripped her and put her in prison garb and kept her in a cell. So it's really outrageous.

"As soon as we got into the prison, after being booked, we started calling immediately the union hall. And we got responses like, 'Don't bother us, we're working on it, stop calling all the time, our lawyer's office is handling it.' So we called the lawyer's office, and he said, 'Well, Janice Wood did call at 8:00 this morning and told us that there might be some problems today but we haven't heard a thing since.' A lot of union members are really pissed off at the bureaucrats, that they were sitting on their thumbs while union brothers and

sisters were rotting in jail.

"So as we came out, when the men were released at 2:30 p.m. there was an explosion of lights as every TV station in Los Angeles was there with their main reporters, and the first question we get is, 'The union has disavowed all your actions, what do you have to say about that?' Manuel responded, 'The union leadership has differences, I'm sure. But they called the strike and what we were doing was striking. We had the picket lines up and we walked the picket lines every day and that's what the picket line means, it means you do not cross. That is the only way you are going to win the strike.'"

While the bosses' media tried to whip up hysteria against the jailed strike militants, the union bureaucrats had contributed their own stab-in-the-back by going on TV to denounce and red bait the picketers. One typical report on local Channel 2 news went as follows:

"Captain Charles LaBrow (LAPD): They are experiencing some problems with dissident members of the union who are not obeying the commands of the leadership, and this occurrence this morning is essentially that..."

"Albert Gribell (member of executive board, Local 11502): I know that there are several Trotsky-oriented organizations based here in Los Angeles and you gentlemen in the media are probably well aware, and they would like to capitalize on labor strife, I'm sure. We have close to, I would say maybe a 4,500-member local and I am aware that we have maybe 15 or 20 members that I personally know of that show up to membership meetings who belong to other organizations outside the labor movement."

But the union ranks were not taken in by the media hysteria or the officials' red-baiting. Rank-and-file pressure helped get official action to get the militants out of jail. MAC spokesman Bull reported:

"We got back to the picket line and one of these bureaucrats, a picket captain on the Madison line, said 'Oh, the women are out, they were just here picketing a few minutes ago.' Yet they were in jail for another 12 hours after that! The membership is really pissed off about this.

"So we started making calls again, to the union office. Their line was that the computer system in the county went down and so Sybil Brand was saying no one was going in and no one was going out of the jail, they cut out visiting hours, etc. But that wasn't good enough. We had to get those women out. At midnight Manuel Delgadillo calls up Janice Wood at home, our local president, and said, 'You get those people out of there, now.' And at 3:00 in the morning who shows up in a three-piece suit but Bill Demers, district vice president; Jim Wood from the AFL-CIO County Federation of Labor, Janice's husband; Jerry Morris, local bureaucrat, and Ray Mendoza from the district office. Now it seems the district office is not pleased with the way the local handled it. When the husband of one of the women called the union office, they said, 'Now, what is this about the news reports, about disavowing any actions?' Thereafter the official

union position became we were good union members doing our job on the picket line.

"They really wanted to intimidate these women. As soon as they got out, we had some exchanges with Bill Demers. And one of them was that we were banned officially from that side of the picket any more. Any arrested members of 11502 were not to return to that picket site, according to the local bureaucracy. But those women who got out of prison were pissed off at that.

"And then the next day at the picket line the bureaucrats are running around saying, now you've demoralized the strike, you know, people aren't gonna come out to the picket lines. I said, 'Bullshit! Look around here, there are seven people that have been arrested the day before that are on the lines the next morning at 9:00!' And that was independently of MACers, who were out there arguing with the bureaucrats. None of them bought this stuff on demoralization at all. One guy came up to me, a black frame attendant, and said, 'Well, you guys are the Trotskyists, right—the communists?' He said, 'You know, I'm proud of what we did yesterday. And all this shit Gribell's talking about is pure bullshit.'"

"I think you probably get the flavor. It was a real victory. Oh, another thing on the picket lines. There are homemade signs on our picket lines from CWA members, saying 'Picket lines mean don't cross,' that the people are making and bringing in."

The exemplary class-struggle action led by the MAC contrasted sharply with the treacherous policies of the other so-called "left" groups in the union. Supporters of Progressive Labor/InCAR, following their idiot line which simply equates the union with the company, put out a leaflet which backhandedly argued against a strike: "...there won't be a strike for our benefit. If it benefits the company there

might be a strike. Not otherwise." When the strike actually occurred, these fake militants abstained from the militant picket lines. And at the August 18 union meeting where MAC was fighting for a motion for mass picketing, PL/InCAR said nothing except that they "understood the plight of scabs with no money and three children!"

In addition to finking on militants to the state, the local bureaucrats in the recent past have made use of racist thugs to physically attack MAC. At the July strike meeting, when a MACer attempted to present a motion in defense of Delois Young, a black woman who lost her unborn child by a police bullet, an all-white racist goon squad assaulted him several times while Wood stood ten feet away—"These thugs were overheard joking about Delois Young's shooting by the racist cops, and remarked how she had asked for it!" reported a July 25 MAC leaflet. In a subsequent union newsletter, Wood denounces an unnamed member who was "removed from the meeting" and, while conveniently omitting any mention of the Delois Young case which he had tried to raise, suggests he is an "agent" of the company.

What outrageous slander and hypocrisy! Considering the recent track record of Wood & Co.—open defense of the "right" to scab, public denunciation of strike militants even while they are in jail, lining up with Klan-type racists to physically assault union members who want to defend black people, launching a vicious redbaiting campaign with the help of dubious union elements in order to get the local militants, etc.—in any decent union these backstabbing bureaucrats would have been driven out long ago. If the CWA is to lose its stench of being only a hair's breadth away from a "company union," if it is ever going to fight to win a strike, it will take the kind of class-struggle leadership offered by the MAC. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Drop the Charges, Rehire Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero!

Bay Area CWA Strikers Framed Up

We reprint below a leaflet, dated September 5, by the San Francisco Bay Area Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in the Communications Workers of America (CWA).

To all union members:

On August 30, Pacific Telephone fired CWA Local 9415 member Lauren Mozee and Local 9410 member Ray Palmiero for "violating S.I. 24" during the strike. Now the company is trying to send them to prison. On September 1 Lauren and Ray had to appear in Hayward Municipal Court for the beginning of their company-rigged frame-up trial on felony assault charges. The company also charges Lauren and Ray with assault with a deadly weapon—another calculated, vicious lie! Their next court date is September 13.

The ranting district attorney, the union-busting company and their pet media are working overtime to whip up a lynch-style frenzy against these two exemplary union members. The stench of racism and union-busting pours out of company headquarters at 140 New Montgomery. If we union members are not to be picked off one by one, we must stand together with our brother and sister Ray and Lauren. They are being victimized for defending us; now we must defend them! Demand: Drop the charges now! Reinstatc Lauren and Ray now with full back pay!

Make no mistake: these firings are not just aimed at Lauren and Ray. They are

Phone worker militants Ray Palmiero (left) and Lauren Mozee (center) defended picket line in San Leandro, California.



aimed at you. And they are aimed at the right of our union to go on strike. If these firings succeed, others will follow. In defending Lauren and Ray, you will be defending your rights, your union and yourself.

The company's trumped-up charges are a cover-up for its own violent

strikebreaking. PT&T has fabricated a wild story about Lauren and Ray because of their defense of the picket line at San Leandro Directory Assistance (SLDA) against an attack by a manager/scab who struck Lauren. The company, with its spy-cameras, agents, city cops and rent-a-cops, was enraged

at the spirited picket line built by operators—mainly women, largely black and Latin—who had the courage and dedication to take a strong stand for unionism.

So PT&T had the cops randomly grab a woman operator on false charges of egg-throwing. On two occasions men drove by and menaced SLDA pickets with guns. Ma Bell says operators should "stay in their place" and be humble, obedient peons—or else. The company was also infuriated by the efforts of nearby Doolittle Drive pickets to stop scab trucks. Behind the riot-clad cops who manhandled Doolittle pickets was a veritable fleet of paddy wagons and an arsenal of riot gear on stand-by to be brought in for stepped-up strikebreaking.

In an attempt to intimidate strikers, PT&T aired wild stories about Lauren and Ray on the network news, complete with "mug shot" type photographs of these supposedly wild desperados. Stepping to the phone company's tune, Alameda County D.A. Jack Meehan slapped heavy, multiple felony charges on Lauren and Ray, including absurd and false charges of assault with a deadly weapon. If convicted, Lauren and Ray face seven and eight year prison terms respectively. (Meehan's 1982 campaign was heavily bankrolled by outgoing D.A. Lowell Jensen, who left office to work for Reagan. An SEIU official told a MAC supporter that in

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18 Arrested in Phone Strike

L.A. Militants: No Scabs Pass Here!

LOS ANGELES—From the beginning, the nationwide Communications Workers of America (CWA) strike against the phone company was sabotaged by the absolute refusal of the union tops to enforce the picket lines and stop the scabbing. But in Los Angeles, determined strikers led by the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) fought to turn the bureaucrats' "informational" picket lines into genuine picket lines that scabs could not cross.

The picket line militants got no help from the Local 11502 union bureaucrats, who actively *opposed* any strike militancy. The official "Rules for Picket Captains" made it explicit that local president Janice Wood & Co. actually *defended scabbing*—the very first rule told picket captains, "Explain to striking employee what they can and cannot do, particularly the rights of anyone to pass through a picket line if they desire"! The so-called "rules" also told picket captains to remove "agitators" from the lines and launched a redhailing smear against all picket line defenders: "Subversive groups and militants are trying

to infiltrate unions and may cause problems or do something to embarrass the Union." For these bureaucrats, stopping scabs is an "embarrassment" because it disrupts their maneuvering for "cooperation" with company management and their cozy relationship with the bosses' Democratic Party.

The MAC fought to reestablish the basic picket line tradition which built the industrial unions but which the CWA has always failed to carry out: "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!" (And a manager scab is a scab too!) MAC spokesman Steve Bull told WV what happened:

"We had been picketing at the Madison location down in Los Angeles, which is the major location, a complex of about three buildings. So during the week members of MAC and other phone workers from that location had been picketing and turning away trucks. On Wednesday [August 10] we turned away seven trucks and we went out and got some chalk and on the front of the building we had 'trucks turned away'

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August 11: "Labor squad" cops arrested entire picket line of phone workers at Madison complex, main site in Los Angeles.