

U.S. Hands Off the World!

Reagan Is War Crazy!



UPI



NATO

The destructive frenzy of dying capitalism: 16-inch guns of battleship New Jersey bombard Syrian forces in Lebanon; Pershing 2 missiles deployed in West Germany are six to eight minutes flying time from major Soviet cities.

JANUARY 3—Millions around the world are wondering whether there will be a New Year's, 1985. On December 30 a high official in West Germany's foreign ministry declared, "The first American battery of nine Pershing 2 rockets is ready for action in West Germany." For action? So much for the claim that the U.S. nuclear arsenal is for "deterrence." The new NATO missiles in West Europe, the Marines in Lebanon, the rape of the tiny black West Indian island of Grenada, these are not the whims of one man, Ronald Reagan, but the destructive frenzy of a dying capitalist world order.

Reagan came to office promising to restore the "American century" of the 1950s. He was going to achieve military "superiority" over the Soviet Union and wipe out the "Vietnam syndrome" in America. But he can't. There will be no return to the world before the Vietnam War either in the minds of the American people or in the real balance of military and economic forces. However many billions are showered on the Pentagon, there will be no return to the time of the 1962 Cuba missile crisis when the U.S. had over 2,000 strategic nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union only about 70. Today, as Soviet chief of staff marshal

Nikolai Ogarkov warned, "retaliation will be certain in all cases." And he can deliver. The U.S. imperialists can no longer practice effective nuclear blackmail. They cannot police the world, they cannot dominate it. The only thing they can do is blow it up.

And they're now acting just crazy enough to do it, like Hitler in his bunker (but Hitler by then was militarily toothless). From the Pentagon to the White House the American rulers have gone absolutely gaga over the "international terrorist threat." They're muttering about the "truck-bomb gap" with Syria and Iran. First Reagan surrounds the White House with dump trucks filled with sand, then concrete barriers. One half expects he'll bring in tanks next, as Washington comes to look more and more like some damn banana republic. Of course, there is no terrorist threat to the U.S. rulers. The real terrorists of the world—from Hiroshima to Vietnam to Central America—are the men in the White House and Pentagon.

World Policemen Who Can't Shoot Straight

The would-be policemen of the Near East are behaving more like the Key-

stone Cops. On October 23 one man in a Mercedes truck filled with explosives drove right into the central lobby of the Marine headquarters at Beirut airport and blew it up, killing 241 U.S. servicemen. Not only can't the U.S. forces in Lebanon protect themselves, they can't even carry out a simple bombing raid. The "retaliatory" air raid against Syria in early December was itself a mini-disaster. Of the 28 relatively slow-flying planes sent on the mission, two were shot down by Soviet-supplied antiaircraft missiles. One pilot was killed and his navigator (who is black) was captured by the Syrians and held as a prisoner of war, the first since Vietnam. Syrian strongman Assad was smart enough to release him to black Democratic politico Jesse Jackson just to rub Reagan's face in it.

Even the Pentagon brass want out of the bloody mess in Lebanon. The official Long commission report on the October 23 bombing actually criticizes Reagan's policies for jeopardizing the Marines—an unheard-of thing. Reagan is in trouble over Lebanon. Right after the Marine headquarters bombing we raised the call "U.S. Marines Out of Lebanon. Now. Alive!" seeking to intersect the popular feeling that it was

Reagan's senseless criminal policies which killed those 241 young men. Especially after the Pentagon report, the pressure is building in this country to pull out of Lebanon. Democratic front-runner Walter Mondale has just flip-flopped and is calling for a phased withdrawal. So if Reagan cannot win the elections as the Teddy Roosevelt of Grenada, he may try an Adolf Hitler ploy and charge the Democrats with a "stab in the back" over the Near East.

If U.S. imperialism is caught in a bloody quagmire in Lebanon, it's getting creamed in Central America too. When the Reagan gang took office, they targeted El Salvador as the place to wipe out the "Vietnam syndrome." Here was going to be a Vietnam in reverse, and on the cheap. Although the Soviet Union and Cuba gave little if any military aid to the leftist guerrillas, the Reaganites declared El Salvador the forward point of Soviet "expansionism," the front line of Cold War II. But while Washington's puppet army and rightist death squads kill tens of thousands of defenseless people, the leftist guerrillas are winning the civil war. Repeatedly now, entire army companies have deserted en masse. Last week the guerrillas captured

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Socialist Action's Debut

Ex-SWPers Goon for S.F. Labor Fakers

The San Francisco Bay Area was the scene of some of the most militant strike action against the Greyhound hosses and their attempt to bust the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU). This explosive potential was shown in a December 3 demonstration when 1,500-2,000 militant workers, after listening to over an hour of windy bureaucrats' speeches, took off to the Greyhound terminal to try and shut it down. The fighting mood of the workers here, as in Philadelphia and Boston, showed that a national transport strike to bring Greyhound to its knees was possible. Greyhound bosses clearly recognized this—the company has announced the firing of at least 100 militant strikers, 34 of them in the Bay Area alone.

While AFL-CIO bureaucrats mouthed empty talk of "solidarity," just as in the PATCO strike they stabbed the isolated Greyhound strikers in the back by refusing to mobilize their ranks and opposing any real solidarity action. In the Bay Area these sellouts got a little help from some ex-members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who recently formed "Socialist Action" and are advertising themselves as the best friends of Polish Solidarność, the only "union" Ronald Reagan loves. At the maiden forum to introduce Socialist Action, held in San Francisco on December 16, these laborite reformists cynically bragged about setting up a "workers defense guard" (really a goon squad) to help the union misleaders protect Greyhound against "crazies"—the militants who wanted to stop the scab buses from rolling!

The Greyhound strike was a real test for the left. The Spartacist League and class-struggle unionists from long-shore/warehouse and telephone were present at the December 3 SF rally, calling for "Trucking, Rail, Transit, AFSCME Workers—All Out to Stop Union Busting!" Our slogans and chants were picked up by the strikers: we saw "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!" and "No More PATCOs!" hand-scrawled on the back of official ATU signs; and as

the crowd was marching down Market Street they were enthusiastically chanting "On strike—Shut it down!" and "No scab buses!" At Seventh Street near Market the demonstrators surged toward the Greyhound terminal. At this point labor bureaucrats rushed to the front of the building with the cops. Walter Johnson of the Retail Clerks, perennial leader of every phony "solidarity" coalition, and ILWU chief Jimmy Herman pleaded with the crowd to disperse. But demonstrators continued to block Seventh Street for another two hours. No buses moved. The union misleaders were terrified.

Immediately a whisper campaign was begun by the bureaucrats saying that "the Sparts" were causing all the trouble, we were the "rabble-rousers." In reality, the most militant layer of Bay Area labor came out to shut down Greyhound, and our class-struggle slogans were eagerly taken up by the crowd in this spontaneous mass action. Next time, the bureaucrats vowed to be "prepared." At a December 5 strike support meeting, Seymour Kramer, an official in the UTU, called for more "monitors" to police the pickets at the upcoming rally. And on December 10 when militant workers again defied the sellout bureaucrats and set up picket lines at terminal entrances to stop the buses, a line of bureaucrats, painters union heavies, and "socialist" goons appeared. When the police commander told the picket captain to disperse the crowd, he dutifully announced "the rally's over." And standing right next to him telling everyone to go home was one Jeff Mackler, co-national chairman of Socialist Action and a former teachers union official.

At its December 16 public debut, Mackler spoke along with Socialist Action's Maximum Leader Nat Weinstein (the Solidarność-lover who made even the SWP puke). Mackler noted that at the Greyhound rally their strategy was "to have a little march, a nice peaceful march" while assailing "ultralefts"—that is, the militants (of

whom there were hundreds) who wanted to stop the scab buses—for supposed-ly seeking a bash with the cops. Reflecting the bureaucrats' panic, Mackler went on:

"We had to organize a workers defense guard so the next week the crazies wouldn't run the demonstration. We had a spectacle of a tiny sect of 20 people leading the chants to workers of 2,000. We needed a little proletarian discipline."

At this point another pseudo-Trotskyist reformist, Steve Zeltzer, pointed a finger at the two Spartacist supporters in the audience. Mackler agreed—"You're pointing to the culprits

black question—which is really the American question—like the plague. Which is a revealing omission in a country where blacks are in the forefront of labor militancy and the struggle against fascism—things which I don't think you want to have much to do with, except to stop. And I think the real problem that you face in this country is that the role you want, which is laborite social democracy, is already taken up by Michael Harrington. That is your real problem. You have very little relationship to Trotskyism and anybody in this room who is interested in Trotskyism should look to the Spartacist League which does represent that continuity, and certainly not to you, who are if anything a right-wing split from the Socialist Workers Party."

WV Photo



San Francisco, 3 December 1983: Mass militant efforts to shut down bus terminals terrified Bay Area labor bureaucrats.

right there"—and launched into a frenzy of "outside agitator" hating worthy of the worst Meanyite piecard: "No one in the socialist movement has the right to go to a striking group of 2,000 workers and take over that picket line, lead the slogans, organize the chants and march the workers around." Socialist Action, on the other hand, claims the right to organize an SWP-style "peaceful, legal" parade for the bureaucrats so that the angry workers can blow off steam while lecturing them that "we couldn't close down the thing for the whole day." In fact it was perfectly obvious that the workers could have and would have shut it down except that the bureaucrats and their waterboys acted as Greyhound's first line of defense.

Spartacist spokesman Diana Coleman took the floor to respond:

"I want to talk about the Greyhound strike a little bit. I think that you see [SWP national chairman] Barnes' somewhat eccentric positions as a barrier to ending what you call the SWP's 'self-imposed isolation' which I think means that you want to be more effective at becoming the waterboys for the trade-union bureaucracy in this country."

"And yes, I did see what happened at Greyhound as a test of your organization when I saw, this last Saturday, Jeff Mackler standing up there shoulder-to-shoulder not only with trade-union bureaucrats but the San Francisco police department defending the Greyhound bus station lest angry workers should get out of hand and do something 'outrageous' like shut down Greyhound or stop the buses. Yes, I thought that really did show what side you were on."

"And I am flattered by these somewhat oblique references, if people think that the Spartacist League mobilized every kind of militant action that has happened around Greyhound. But let me assure you that there are in fact militant workers in this area who do want to see the buses stopped and Greyhound shut down...."

"The other point which I would make about your paper is that you avoid the

The Bay Area has the most vital tradition of militant labor struggle in this country outside of the miners. So every couple of years or so the pro-company, pro-Democratic Party union hacks have a job for pseudo-socialist finks and goons in order to keep the lid on. During the 1981 PATCO strike, Zeltzer played this role when he helped the bureaucrats try to corral militant workers who were surging into the streets blocking traffic to the SF airport. Mackler's talk of a "workers defense guard" against militant workers is of a piece with the obscene act of the UAW bureaucracy hack in 1973 when they broke a sit-down strike at Detroit's Mack Avenue plant by mobilizing a 1,000-man goon squad. Playing on UAW tradition, they cynically tried to pass this off as a "flying squad."

Groveling before the bureaucrats, the first issue of *Socialist Action* (whose masthead imitates the Solidarność logo and which does not have a union bug) assiduously refused to take a position on the sellout contract which the ATU tops shoved down the Greyhound strikers' throats. This puts them to the right of the ATU local president in San Francisco, who blasted the sellout. And they rail against "ultraleft" workers just as Greyhound management is rounding up the militants for firing and maybe worse! These small-time social democrats look back to the big-time social-traitors like Gustav Noske who, in order to head off red revolution in Germany in 1918-1919, was responsible for the murder of Communist leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. "Somebody has to be the bloodhound," was Noske's infamous remark. In less than a month of existence as a public tendency these little Noskes of "Socialist Action" have made it perfectly clear where they stand—with the bureaucrats, the bosses, the cops and the company against the workers' struggle. ■



TROTSKY

The Trotskyists Remained Faithful to October

Leopold Trepper was the heroic Soviet spy who created the "Red Orchestra" that smuggled invaluable intelligence out of occupied Europe and Nazi Germany during World War II. In his memoirs Trepper recalled the heroism of the Trotskyists during the time of Stalin's great purges in the 1930s. We reprint below an excerpt from his account of that period.



LENIN

The glow of October was being extinguished in the shadows of underground chambers. The revolution had degenerated into a system of terror and horror; the ideals of socialism were ridiculed in the name of a fossilized dogma which the executioners still had the effrontery to call Marxism.

And yet we went along, sick at heart, but passive, caught up in machinery we had set in motion with our own hands. Mere cogs in the apparatus, terrorized to the point of madness, we became the instruments of our own subjugation. All those who did not rise up against the Stalinist machine are responsible, collectively responsible. I am no exception to this verdict.

But who did protest at that time? Who rose up to voice his outrage?

The Trotskyites can lay claim to this honor. Following the example of their leader, who was rewarded for his

obstinance with the end of an ice-axe, they fought Stalinism to the death, and they were the only ones who did. By the time of the great purges, they could only shout their rebellion in the freezing wastelands where they had been dragged in order to be exterminated. In the camps, their conduct was admirable. But their voices were lost in the tundra.

Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not "confess," for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism.

—Leopold Trepper,
The Great Game (1977)

Over 1,000 Votes for Kartsen in TWU Elections

Militant Opposition Forged in NYC Transit

Class-struggle fighters won a significant breakthrough in elections in New York's transit union (TWU Local 100). Running as the only opponent to incumbent president John Lawe, Ed Kartsen of the Committee for a Fighting TWU received over 1,000 votes (7.6 percent of the total). This impressive showing came in a context in which many TWUers (almost two-thirds of the membership) showed their disgust for the leadership's policies by not voting at all. In not only rejecting Lawe, but also the vicious red-baiting of prominent ex-oppositionist Arnold Cherry, the workers who backed Committee candidates Kartsen, Dave Brewer and Jim Smith made a conscious choice for a hard class-struggle program.

Kartsen's vote total is a several-fold increase from what he received in the 1981 elections. The Committee has emerged as the recognized opposition in the TWU with a hearing and following among key militants. Kartsen did particularly well in the transportation section of the union, which has a high percentage of black workers. The TWU is a strategic union with enormous social power—American capitalism can't run without New York's subways—and represents a key intersection of NYC's labor and blacks. With a class-struggle leadership the TWU could spearhead the city's unions and minorities, with potential national impact, in class struggle against the bosses and bankers. The advances made by the Committee are vital and warmly welcomed.

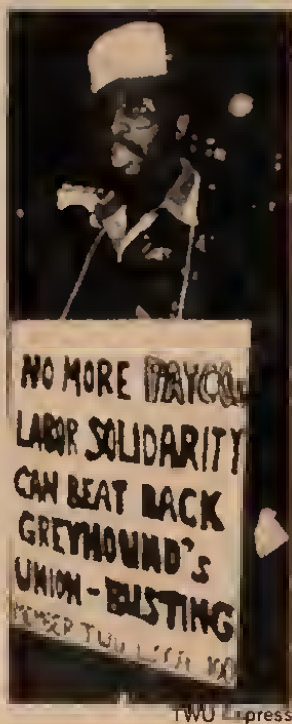
The Committee won authority as the only group in the union to organize against race terror. When black transit worker Willie Turks was beaten to death by a racist lynch mob in Brooklyn, the militants fought to mobilize union forces in flatbed trucks to establish safety and order against the race killers. They helped organize and lead the only union protest against the acquittal of the murderers of Turks.

"Dissident" Local 100 bureaucrat Arnold Cherry and his ally Mike Scott (politically supported by the Communist Party) took their reformist politics to their logical conclusion by giving backhanded support to Lawe. In sharply exposing this maneuver, the Commit-

tee showed Cherry's slicker brand of reformism to be no better than Lawe's conservative business unionism. In several instances confrontations between former Cherry supporters and the Cherry gang were quite dramatic, with unionists angrily waving Committee leaflets in the faces of Cherry's lieutenants. Both Cherry and Scott were defeated for divisional offices.

The campaign leaflets for Kartsen, Brewer and Smith stressed that the attacks on the jobs and conditions of transit workers are part of a general capitalist offensive against the unions and minorities that can only be fought with a class-struggle program that points toward the abolition of the

Photo run in TWU paper shows Local 100 presidential candidate Ed Kartsen at 23 Nov. 1983 labor rally for Greyhound strikers in New York.



TWU Express

profit system and its replacement with a workers government:

"The money is there to rebuild transit, our schools and hospitals. But it's going to the banks that have run this city into the ground and to the bosses' war drive that pours trillions into a fanatical campaign to wage nuclear war against the Soviet Union. We need TWU leaders with an anti-capitalist program who will mobilize black and white in this city to smash the Reagan/Koch cuts. Tear out the token machines—for free, safe, rapid transit for the people of New York! Cancel the debt—expropriate the banks! Jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay!"

TWUer David Brewer at Spartacist Forum:

How Labor Can Smash the Racists

We reprint below remarks by a New York transit militant during the discussion period at an NYC public meeting December 9 titled, "The Class Struggle and the Spartacist League."

I'm David Brewer from the Committee for a Fighting Transport Workers Union Local 100. If anyone is not familiar with any of the literature we put out, I've got some copies here, hopefully one of the other brothers in the Committee has got some of the Greyhound leaflets because I handed out all of mine at the picket line the other night.

Now the Spartacist League calls for political revolution in the deformed and

degenerated workers states. In a sense we are for political revolution within the unions in this country because they have a rotten sellout leadership and we have to get rid of it.

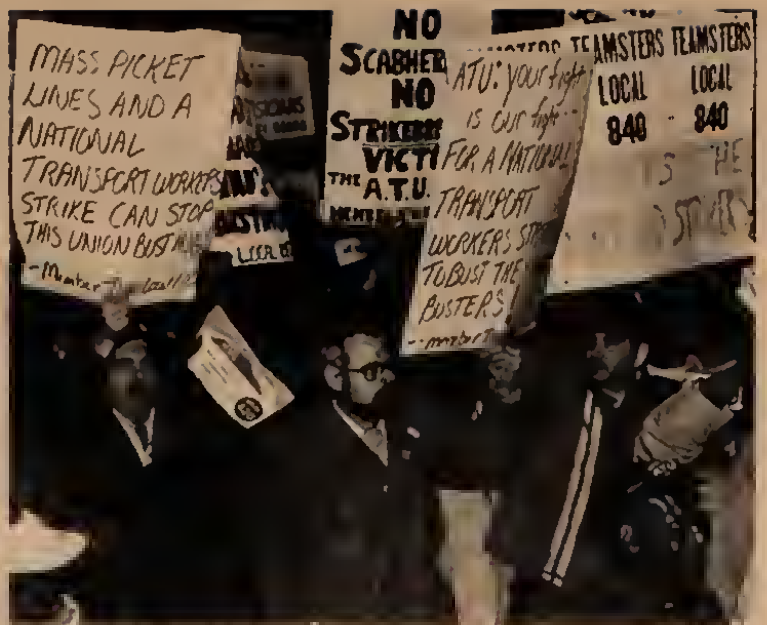
Unfortunately we were not a factor in the 1980 [NYC transit] strike. The 1980 strike was a unique situation in this union, where you had a majority so-called "dissident" executive board, the union out on strike, but there was no class-struggle opposition among these so-called dissidents to warn the membership and prepare the membership and lead the membership out of the sellout situation which was going to

happen and was clear was going to happen.

The dissidents, Arnold Cherry in particular, had the attitude—you get this a lot from guys—they had the attitude, well, the worse the better. The more unemployment the better. When their bellybutton starts hitting their spinal cords, then they'll begin to wake up. We don't believe that. Because defeat breeds defeat.

Muhammad Ali endorsed the Ray and Lauren case. And he knows as a boxer if you go in the ring and you get your head busted around a little bit

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TWU Photo
TWU militants at New York's Port Authority rally last November 23 for Greyhound strikers, calling for national transport strike against the union-busters.

We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Committee for a Fighting TWU following the elections:

The Fight Continues

The Local 100 elections are over and the Lawe leadership has won another two year term in office. But over one thousand members voted for candidates of the Committee for a Fighting TWU: 1,017 voted for Kartsen for president, 74 voted for Brewer for Exec. Board in Car Maintenance, and 72 voted for Smith for Exec. Board in United Motormen's Division. We acknowledge the election proceedings were run fairly. The shattered Cherry opposition ran nobody for president and instead campaigned against Kartsen who was Lawe's only opponent in the presidential race. The Cherry slate was defeated for every office. The fact that a significant core of the membership cast their votes for candidates running on a program for militant class struggle indicates the basis for building a new, fighting leadership in this union.

Our union continues to crumble and in the next two years we must be prepared to selectively answer the increasingly sharper attacks by management. Those TWU members who supported the Committee for a Fighting TWU in the elections are the most conscious militants in the struggle to defend the TWU against Kiley/Koch/Reagan's war on the unions. We said the issues facing this union would not be settled by an election but by struggle. We need a whole new breed of labor leaders. What was needed to win the battle with Greyhound was militant mass picketing to stop the buses and concrete acts of labor solidarity by other unions. That's what we fought for—a national transport workers strike to bust the union busters. The Committee also circulated petitions and collected money for Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, two phone strikers on the

West Coast who face years in prison because of a vicious racist anti-labor frame-up. Ed Kartsen spoke at a mass rally to demand "Freedom and Jobs Back" for Lauren and Ray in Oakland October 29. Those who voted for us realize that the larger issues—restoring the tradition of militant labor solidarity, defending the picket line as the battle front of the working class, fighting for black, Hispanic and white workers to mobilize to crush lynch mob terror and stop Reagan's mad-dog drive for war with the Soviets—are the critical issues facing the labor movement. It's going to take mass labor action and our own workers party fighting for a workers government to get rid of capitalism which is the root of the problem. What we need is a hard core of committed people that are determined to make the kind of anti-capitalist program that we ran on the action program of this union. Join the Committee and help make that program an organized force.

Lawe's sellout policies are running this union into the ground. His big thing is the dues checkoff. It was his sellout of the 1980 strike that enabled the courts and the TA management to attack the checkoff in the first place. And in order to get it back he's let our wages and conditions go to hell. The dues checkoff has helped to keep the Lawe leadership lazy and dependent on management. This leadership should have to prove to the membership why they should pay their dues each month. The bosses' offensive against the unions must be smashed. For the unions it's fight or die!

The TWU must get off its knees! To hell with binding arbitration! No more PATCOs! No more sellouts! Bust the union busters! An injury to one is an injury to all! Picket lines mean you better not cross! Break with the Democrats! Build a workers party to fight for a workers government!

—Kartsen, Brewer, Smith and the Committee for a Fighting TWU
29 December 1983

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U.S. imperialism's trip wires for World War III extend from one end of the globe to the other. Reagan is now engaged in three wars—in Lebanon, El Salvador and Nicaragua—and in the Caribbean the U.S. troops are finishing off the rape of Grenada. American Pershing 2 nuclear missiles have been deployed in Europe, aimed directly at Moscow—at six to eight minutes striking distance. Decaying capitalism is readying to plunge humanity once again into global war, and lurching toward a nuclear holocaust which threatens the extinction of life on this planet.

Revulsion and opposition to the mass slaughter which is endemic to the imperialists' class rule is a central part of the Marxist vision of and struggle for a classless, stateless society. The hideous threat of World War III and the bellicose policies of Washington today engender justified fears and inchoate pacifistic sentiments among the world's masses, both in the Soviet bloc and the capitalist countries, sentiments which can be turned against the imperialist war-makers. The carnage of World War I gave birth to the Russian workers revolution of 1917—because the Bolshevik Party won the workers, peasants and soldiers to revolutionary opposition to their "own" government, and ended Russia's participation in the inter-imperialist slaughter by replacing the exploiters' state with a government of the working people.

When over 240 U.S. Marines were blown to pieces at the Beirut airport compound in October, the largest number of American troops killed in a single day since the height of the Tet offensive in Vietnam, the American public reacted with outrage. There were elements of pacifism, isolationism and patriotism, and there was a broad grasp that the Lebanon intervention was senseless. The outrage was mainly directed at the imperialist commander in chief (who immediately launched the racist bully-boy invasion of tiny Grenada for an easy "victory" to distract attention from the debacle in Beirut). To intersect this conjunctural anti-government sentiment evocatively, the Spartacist League raised the slogans "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!" and "U.S. Out of Grenada, Dead or Alive!" There were those among our readership who—objecting particularly to the word "alive"—denounced our Lebanon slogan as a "social-patriotic" capitulation to American chauvinism, counterposing the supposedly radical sentiment: "the only good one is a dead one." But far from radical, this vicarious bloodthirstiness (reminiscent of some of the more dim and despicable elements of the old New Left—draft-dodgers turned accountants) challenges a fundamental attitude of Marxism as well as undercutting the central Leninist proletarian strategy to fight against imperialist war. Our critics have nonetheless served a purpose in prompting us to restate some basic Marxist truths, beginning with the

Marxism and Bloodthirstiness



Dougherty/Camera 5

October 23 bombing of Marine headquarters in Beirut killed 241 U.S. servicemen. Spartacist slogan "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!" intersected widespread outrage against Reagan's criminal and senseless policy.

fact that Marxists are not bloodthirsty.

We are for the victory of just causes. Necessarily and above all, the centrality of just causes is the shattering of the exploiting and oppressing classes and the victory of socialism. We are socialists not least because we are passionately opposed to war, the gathering together of large numbers of young workingmen to be slaughtered in the interests of the rulers. In this savagely class-divided world, dominated by the mass murderers of My Lai, the struggle for the victory of just causes will have a big physical component. We must stand therefore for the maximum assembling of effective force on the just side, hopefully to demoralize and deter the forces of reaction so that the actual casualties are minimized.

But in Lebanon at the moment, there is little evidence of justice on any side. At bottom, the present fighting there is a continuation of the centuries-old communal/sectarian conflicts between Muslims and Christians, Sunnis and Shi'ites, Druze and others. There is no known force fighting against the U.S. imperialists—they are all jockeying for position with the imperialists. Those whose cause is clearest—the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)—in fact requested the intervention of the

imperialist troops (a suicidal demand supported by virtually the entire reformist left in this country, and sharply opposed of course by us revolutionists). Now the U.S. is there, having disarmed the PLO and prepared the way for the Israeli/Phalange massacres at Sabra and Shatila. Arafat's organization has split into bloody rivalry, dispersed and evacuated (under the UN flag and Israeli shells). The Israelis precipitously withdrew from Beirut, leaving the Americans to take the casualties. The warring Lebanese communal militias can't tell the difference between the Americans and the Russians and couldn't care less. Where is the just, anti-imperialist side in Lebanon today?

What about the allies of Arafat's organization? In Tripoli where he was besieged by Syrian-backed PLO dissidents, Arafat allied with the Islamic Unity Movement of Sheikh Shaaban, which last October massacred some 50 members of the Lebanese Communist Party. What about the Shi'ites, who are at the bottom of the social scale in Lebanon, totally deprived of political power although they are the largest group in the country? Shortly before the Israeli invasion of June 1982, the Shi'ite Amal carried out murderous attacks against the PLO in Beirut and southern

Lebanon. As for the Syrians, who vaunt their rejection of any negotiations with the Zionists, they made a separate ceasefire with the Israelis early in the 1982 invasion, leaving the Palestinians to fight alone.

To be sure, our Lebanon slogan was highly conjunctural: the situation in the Near East is changing rapidly. The U.S. is already drifting in the direction of a direct conflict with Syria, thanks in good part to the Reaganites' irrational notions of "Soviet surrogateship." Should the U.S. go to war against Syria, a complete reevaluation would be indicated, not least because such a war could become a de facto U.S./USSR conflict in which Marxists would defend the Soviet side.

Lebanon is a quagmire for U.S. imperialism—and this is a good thing. But we do not gloat over those 240 aluminum caskets, those dead young men many of whom were considered expendable in the first place because they were black. We can only despise those who call for the death of American soldiers for the crimes of their rulers. For Marxists there is all the difference between the men in the field and those who sent them there to die. We are not *per se* interested in the annihilation of everyone who is executing Washington's global bloodthirsty policies. Lebanon has aroused strong opposition in the U.S. population; sending in the Marines was a stupid act which could backfire on the U.S. ruling class.

A very different situation obtains in Grenada, Reagan's diversion from the Lebanon disaster. We viewed the U.S. invasion of Grenada in terms comparable to the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon: racist atrocities against another nationality. We had a side in 1982: the defense of the Palestinians against the attempt to wipe them out. And we had a side in Grenada: with the 700 Cuban construction workers who resisted the Yankee invaders. It took 6,000 U.S. troops to "take" Grenada in the face of the Cubans' heroic self-defense, and most of the Cubans were over 40 years old! The same issue of *Workers Vanguard* which our critics believe marks our decisive capitulation to "social-patriotism" hailed the Cuban fighters who—unlike anyone in Lebanon today—fought the main enemy, U.S. imperialism. In Grenada, we had a side, and our call was "U.S. Out, Dead or Alive!"

And in Vietnam! The side of justice there was unambiguously that of the National Liberation Front (NLF)/North Vietnamese forces against U.S. imperialism. At stake were the national rights of the Vietnamese people and the social revolution whose victory was the only way to definitively drive out colonialism. Our call for "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution!" was not bloodmindedness but a recognition of what was necessary to bring peace to Vietnam after three decades of imperialist war. In Lebanon, it is precisely the



Derek McKendry

We are for the victory of just causes. Left: liberation of Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) by the North Vietnamese army in 1975 was a historic victory for world revolution. Right: during Reagan's rape of Grenada, we said, "U.S. Out, Dead or Alive!"



Sygma

Teheran Embassy Revisited

U.S. postmaster general William Bolger is calling on true-blue Americans to refuse to accept letters posted with a new Iranian postage stamp because it is "repulsive, a vicious distortion of a criminal act by Iran, and an insult to all Americans." The stamp depicts the Iranian seizure of the U.S. embassy in Teheran on 4 November 1979 with the caption, "The Takeover of the U.S. Spy Den." During the 1980 presidential elections Reagan promised to wipe out the "humiliation of Teheran" by reasserting American militarism around the world, primarily directed at the Soviet Union. And now that Reagan's in trouble domestically over the bloody Lebanese mess, he would no doubt like to rekindle the chauvinist war fever produced in America when the Khomeiniite Islamic fanatics seized the Teheran embassy.

Certainly the American embassy in Teheran was a preeminent symbol of American imperialism—the home of the CIA station which masterminded the overthrow of the nationalist Mossadeq regime in 1953 and guided the shah's bloody police state. Papers seized by the Iranian "students" (and later published in book form in Iran but barred from entering the U.S.) documented the extensive contacts between the American embassy and the hated SAVAK secret police. In short, there could be enormous justification for the seizure of the Teheran embassy.

But there's another overriding aspect to this which was totally ignored by the rad-lib supporters of Khomeiniite fanaticism who never have to think about the question of state power. In the present-day world, divided as it is among nation-states, the basis for any international relations is the diplomatic convention of "extraterritoriality" for embassies. Diplomats are, in any case, nothing but certified spies in any and all cases. Nonetheless, as we wrote at the time of the Teheran embassy seizure:

"Diplomatic immunity and territorial sovereignty of embassies are seldom violated even by nations at war, though every diplomatic office conducts its share of spying and intelligence gathering. These diplomatic rules of the game are necessary to maintain international relations between nation-states, until the nation-state itself has disappeared in a socialist world."

—"Iran Embassy Crisis," *WV*
No. 244, 23 November 1979

At the same time, we called for the extradition of the criminal shah, whose presence in the U.S. provoked the embassy seizure, and we of course opposed any U.S. imperialist attack on Iran in the name of "releasing the hostages."

To be sure, certain attacks on imperialist embassies are clearly supportable: during the Tet offensive in Vietnam in 1968, for instance, where the U.S. embassy had become the command headquarters for the half-million-strong imperialist army in the

war, the NLF commando attack on the embassy was a revolutionary act. Indeed, that single act broke the omnipotent image of American imperialism worldwide, and that was a very good thing.

But that had nothing in common with the Iranian seizure, which was a diversion designed to enhance Khomeini's reactionary hold on the masses—let them eat "anti-imperialist" rhetoric. The Iranian leftists, who had enthusiastically backed the rise and consolidation of the mullahs' rule, mainly hailed the embassy seizure; within weeks many of them were themselves the target of the same Khomeiniite fanatics.

The Soviet Union, the world's first workers state, had to struggle for many years against diplomatic quarantine before its embassies were recognized by the imperialist powers. The refusal to recognize a foreign government is the diplomatic posture of war. Indeed, the barbarous treatment of Soviet diplomatic personnel of late is an index of the Reagan administration's drive to smash Soviet state power: e.g., (1) the invasion of the Soviet diplomatic retreat on Long Island during the KAL 007 hysteria by a mob led by the Moonie cult with the connivance of local authorities; (2) the outrageously illegal denial of landing rights for Soviet foreign minister Gromyko, who was scheduled to address a UN session; (3) the humiliating prisoner-of-war treatment of Soviet embassy personnel



New Iranian stamp commemorates 1979 seizure of U.S. embassy.

on Grenada during the recent U.S. pirate invasion, wherein the Soviet staff was held for hours and searched with their hands behind their heads. Wars have been started by lesser provocations.

The Soviet leaders understand that violence against embassies is not to be taken lightly. In the Teheran embassy crisis the Soviets, while pointing out that "this act cannot be taken out of the overall context of American-Iranian relations," stated correctly that the seizure was "not in keeping with the international convention on respect of diplomatic privileges and immunity" (*New York Times*, 6 December 1979). We necessarily share this view, as must any state power or aspirant to state power, such as the international Spartacist tendency.

question of social revolution, or even national liberation, that is missing.

The flip side of the dimwitted New Left bloodlust exemplified by the SDS Weathermen was the Socialist Workers Party's Vietnam slogan, "Bring Our Boys Home Now!" Tailored to appeal to liberal defeatism within sections of the bourgeoisie, the slogan was a class betrayal precisely because the international proletariat had a side in Vietnam—"our" boys were the NLF/North Vietnamese. There were two ways the Americans could come home: withdrawal or in body bags. A common thread runs through the SWP's social-democratic slogan and the New Leftist calls for exterminating the Yankee pigs—both despair of mobilizing the proletariat to wage class struggle against imperialist war, and both renounce appealing to the ranks of the army along class lines.

Imperialism's hemorrhaging in Vietnam and the consequences of its defeat—the profound demoralization of the U.S. armed forces, the convulsions throughout American society, the fear of "another Vietnam" which has stayed the hand of imperialism—were good things from the standpoint of the world's toiling masses. The "Vietnam syndrome" here at home provided a breathing space for national liberation struggles such as those in the former Portuguese colonies of southern Africa, tending to prevent a direct American intervention into Angola in 1975-76. It has inhibited Reagan thus far from trying a wholesale assault with U.S. troops against the Nicaraguan regime and the Salvadoran leftist insurgents. But we do not gloat over the deaths of rank-and-file U.S. soldiers. Among the GIs and Marines who were sent to Vietnam were to be found, as the losing war dragged on, some of the angriest, most bitter and most important opponents of the government's war. Unlike the New Left radicals who went, without blinking an eye, from counseling draft-dodgers and giving GIs flowers to glorifying their being blown to bits, we sought to do Marxist propaganda work among the American troops. We said that antiwar youth if drafted should seek to

educate their class brothers in the army about the imperialist character of the war and their own interest in opposing it.

The global conflict between the antiquated imperialist order and the emancipation of the proletariat does not reduce itself to a division between "good" and "bad" peoples. In battles between just and unjust causes, Marxists have a side but nevertheless do not propose as our program the extermination of all those sent to fight for the wrong side (a program which, if carried out, would long ago have done away with the proletariat of most of the Western capitalist nations). In wars where no side represents an advance for elementary justice, we stand for revolutionary defeatism on both sides. Consider, in addition to Lebanon, the Iran-Iraq war. Is it "social-patriotic" to advise the Iranian and Iraqi troops not to slaughter each other for their respective regimes, to turn the guns around and go home? The squalid Falklands/Malvinas war was another such case. Neither the Argentine nor the British working masses had anything to gain from the victory of their "own" murderous rulers in the Falklands; they only stood to lose their lives. (In fact, Argentina's defeat led straight to the downfall of the military regime; Britain's victory led to the re-election of Margaret Thatcher.) Those who want bloodthirstiness must look to Thatcher, who ordered the gratuitous sinking of the Argentine cruiser *Belgrano*, taking the lives of more than 320 young men in the icy waters of the South Atlantic.

From Verdun to Hiroshima, the imperialists wage their barbaric, cyclical wars for profit, turning entire generations into cannon fodder. Bukharin wrote about the hideous carnage of the First World War:

"The leading characteristic of the war was that it was murderous to an unparalleled degree. The levying of troops advanced with giant strides. The proletariat was positively decimated on the battlefields. The reports show that down to March, 1917, the number of dead, wounded, and missing totalled 25 millions; by 1 January, 1918, the number of the killed had been approxi-

mately 8 millions. If we assume the average weight of a soldier to [be] 150 lb., this means that between 1 August 1914, and 1 January 1918, the capitalists had brought to market twelve hundred million pounds of putrid human flesh."

—*The ABC of Communism*

Or as Rosa Luxemburg put it in her *Junius Pamphlet* (1916):

"Dividends are rising—proletarians falling; and with each one there sinks a fighter of the future, a soldier of the revolution, a savior of humanity from the yoke of capitalism, into the grave."

An end to this slaughter is the goal of Marxist revolutionists. And we hope to put an end to the bourgeoisie's rule with as little bloodshed as possible. We wish we could be pacifists, but we can't—the old social order does not give way to the new in a peaceful and orderly fashion. Isaac Deutscher noted that, "In embracing the vision of a nonviolent society, Marxism... has gone further and deeper than any pacifist preachers of nonviolence have ever done. Why? Because Marxism laid bare the roots of violence in our society, which the others have not done" ("Marxism and Non-violence," 1966).

Certainly, the Russian Revolution was a nearly bloodless event, carried out, Deutscher writes, "in such a way that, according to all the hostile eyewitnesses (such as the Western ambassa-

dors who were then in Petrograd), the total number of victims on all sides was ten." It was when the tsarist generals backed by 13 imperialist armies began the Civil War that the killing really began. In sheer arms, the Bolsheviks were infinitely inferior to the imperialist powers who intervened to crush the revolution along with the *contras* of the day, the White Army. The Bolsheviks emerged victorious; Deutscher wrote: "They agitated, they appealed to the consciousness of the soldiers, of the workers in uniform in those interventionist armies. The French navy, sent to suppress the revolution, rose in mutiny in Odessa and refused to fight against the Bolsheviks..."

While the bourgeoisie can only maintain its rule over the laboring majority through the massive use of intimidation, force and violence, for Marxists violence is a necessary *evil*—one imposed upon the defense of the struggle for socialism by the bloody-mindedness of the exploiting class in power. After the Cuban people defeated the CIA's Bay of Pigs invaders, the Castro regime traded the captured *gusanos* for needed medical supplies. In El Salvador, the leftist insurgents have followed a policy of turning captured

continued on page 9

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Spartacist League Press Release

Moonie God Apologizes to Marxist "Satan"

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Monday, 26 December 1983

Sun Myung Moon's Washington, D.C. daily newspaper, the *Washington Times*, was forced today to retract its libelous attack on two Marxist organizations, the Spartacist League (SL) and its youth affiliate, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL).

Attorneys for the SL/SYL had brought a libel suit on June 14, 1983 against Moon's Times-Tribune Corp., owner of the *Washington Times*. The suit filed by attorneys Jonathan W. Lubell of Cohn, Glickstein, Lurie, Ostrin, Lubell & Lubell and Rachel H. Wolkenstein, General Counsel for the SL, charged that the *Washington Times*' November 30, 1982 article "Left wing group linked to D.C. riot" had maliciously and falsely libeled the SL/SYL as criminal provocateurs, as "provoking violence" against the police during the November 27, 1982 anti-Klan protests in Washington, D.C.

Today, December 26, the *Washington Times*, in a settlement won by the SL/SYL, published a letter by the SL/SYL detailing the activities of the SL-initiated "Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C. November 27," along with its own introduction, including the key statement: "We no longer charge that the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League provoked violence on that day."

Spartacist League spokesman Walt Senterfitt commented on the settlement: "This victory has helped spike the sinister, ultraright Moonies' bid for respectability and influence in America. The *Washington Times* is the Moonie

Unification Church's attempt to give a respectable, conservative cover to Moon's plans for theocratic dictatorship—in the name of fighting 'the Great Satan' of Marxism, of course. But the Moonie 'Lord of the Second Advent' had to apologize to his most hated 'Satan,' revolutionary Marxism."

"Our successful fight against the Moonies' libel is an important victory for all those who hailed the Labor/Black Mobilization's stopping the terrorist Klan march on November 27," said SL counsel Wolkenstein, "This was a libel that kills. In falsely targeting the SL/SYL as would-be cop-killers, the Moonies were trying to set up the organization's members and supporters to be shot first and questioned later. We took up the suit in self-defense, to protect not only our good name, but the right of anyone to organize against

Klan/Nazi terror without being subject to vicious frame-ups."

Jonathan Lubell stated, "This settlement is extremely significant in light of the fact that the media will not generally settle cases of this nature. The *Washington Times*' libels against the SL/SYL were dangerous as well as false. This settlement is recognition of the essential fact that the SL/SYL were not involved in provoking violence." Lubell is a nationally known libel lawyer who successfully took the case of *Herbert v. Lando* to the Supreme Court.

The SL/SYL has overwhelming evidence exposing the Moonies' libel, including a statement submitted by FBI director William Webster to the 1983 FBI Oversight Hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism. Webster's March 10 submission included the statement that though "a

group known as the *Spartacist League (SPL)* was alleged to have been involved in the violent portion of the anti-Klan demonstration," in fact, "investigation by the Washington Metropolitan Police Department and the United States Capitol Police has not uncovered any indication that the aforementioned group did more than urge participation in the anti-Klan demonstration by residents of the District of Columbia, who were and are unsupportive of the Klan's goals."

Wolkenstein noted that the letter printed today by the *Washington Times* was a resubmission by the SL/SYL. The original letter included the SL's fundamental Marxist position that: "We believe, and we believe that history shows, that the liberation of the mass of the working people and other oppressed comes only through the conscious mass education and organization of the workers. Therefore, any attempts at substituting 'heroes' or any 'desperate deeds' of such heroes (actually despairing individuals in most cases) derails the valid and necessary path of social liberation. Naturally enemies of such liberation are wont to falsely project Marxists as violent crazies, bomb throwers and surrogates for sinister alien forces."

SL spokesman Walt Senterfitt additionally stated: "It's no accident that it is we Marxists who have ended up defending the liberties we all cherish against the Moonies' attempts to subvert them. We've defended those liberties in a small way via this lawsuit, but in a larger way through our consistent defense of the right of the working class to organize, and to fight against race-terror." ■



27 November 1982: Moon's press saw Satanic horror in thousands of black youth, unionists and revolutionary Marxists triumphantly marching the route the Klan had vowed to take.

Moonies Retract Deadly Libel...

(continued from page 12)

lawyers knew our record of successfully fighting against such dangerous set-up defamations. They knew that in 1981, we sued California Attorney General (now governor) George Deukmejian for including the Spartacist League on a list of "terrorists" with which "law enforcement would have to deal." As a result of the suit and campaign, the Attorney General's office was forced to retract and send the retraction to police agencies around the country.

And they knew of the successful lawsuit in the case of Jane Margolis, a supporter of the SL and an elected delegate to the Communications Workers of America (CWA) 1979 convention, who was pulled off the convention floor and held incommunicado by the Secret Service when Jimmy Carter addressed the union. This outrage was meant to brand her as someone too dangerous to be in the same room with the president. The lawsuit forced the Secret Service to officially apologize and hand over \$3,500 which Margolis donated to the CWA Defense Fund.

The Spartacist League didn't ask for this case. We took it on to defend our party and its supporters from a set-up libel that kills. As we said on 14 June 1983 when we filed the suit: "We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims who can, with impunity, be blown away in the dead of night." We fought to win. And we did win, against the most vicious, anti-Communist, and vindictively litigious outfit in the world. ■

Moonie Libel That Kills

The Moonie press framed up the Labor/Black Mobilization in an article on 30 November 1982, accusing its organizers of provoking violence against the police. The *Washington Times* charged the SL/SYL had "carried containers of heavy metal bolts and other missiles to be handed out in the crowd for throwing." They claimed, "The Spartacists were handing projectiles to anyone who wanted them, even children..." The article portrayed us as some kind of paramilitary outfit whose members wear "blue, black or red herets according to their rank." The *Washington Times* claimed we refused to hand

—30 November
1982



out political posters to non-members, handing them rocks instead. This pack of lies was indeed libel that kills. In its supreme arrogance the Moonie press assumed the most grotesque libels could

be published about the Spartacist League in preparation for anything to be done to us. But now the press of the Moonie god has been forced to apologize to the Marxist "Satan."

SUPERIOR COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE
41 Warren Street
New York, New York 10007

and

THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE
41 Warren Street
New York, New York 10007

Plaintiffs,

- against -

NEWS WORLD COMMUNICATIONS, INC.
401 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

and

ISAIAH J. POOLE,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION NO.

COMPLAINT

PLAINTIFFS DEMAND A
JURY TRIAL BY 12 PERSONS

COMPLAINT FOR DAMAGES IN THE AMOUNT
OF NOT LESS THAN \$20,005,000

Plaintiffs, the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS
YOUTH LEAGUE, by and through
JONATHAN W. LUBELL, COUNSEL, and
RACHEL H. WOLKENSTEIN, COUNSEL,

Only six months after we filed the complaint on June 14, we got a retraction from the *Washington Times*.



Legal team brings case to successful conclusion: Jonathan Lubell (right) and Spartacist League general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein.

What the Moonies Refused to Print

We reprint below our statement of political purpose on the successful anti-Klan action on 27 November 1982, refuting the libelous charges that the SL/SYL provoked violence against the police. Submitted as a letter to be published with the Washington Times' retraction/introduction, this statement was rejected by the Moonie press.

To The Editor:

The Spartacist League (SL) and the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) submit this letter to the *Washington Times* in settlement of our libel lawsuit against the Times-Tribune Corporation for publishing an article on the anti-Klan demonstrations in Washington, D.C., November 27, 1982 accusing the SL and the SYL of provoking violence against the police. We here describe the SL and SYL initiated Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK, summarized from our public press, *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus*, written immediately after this demonstration. Our description of the events is a full and accurate accounting of the SL and SYL initiated demonstrations. Moreover, our description is verified by the widely shown videotape of that demonstration.

The Labor/Black Mobilization was built through the participation of organized labor—over 70 union locals, officials and executive boards endorsed. A permit for the rally at Constitution and First Avenues, near the Capitol Building and the beginning of the Klan's route of march, was secured from the appropriate police authorities on November 22. During the next four days, the SL and SYL posted thousands of placards and distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets announcing the Labor/Black Mobilization rally.

The Labor/Black Mobilization rally began at about 9:30 AM on November 27 and continued until about 12:40 PM, engaging the participation of 5,000, predominantly black and trade unionist, who listened to speeches and took part in militant chanting, favorites being "KKK—Ain't no way! You ain't gonna march today!" and "1,2,3,4—Time to finish the Civil War! 5,6,7,8—Forward to a workers state!"

For approximately one and one half hours, the demonstrators were face to face with the police who had lined the Constitution Avenue side of the rally site. At 12:40 it was learned that the Klan would not march and, as the police withdrew, the demonstrators spontaneously entered Constitution Avenue, proclaiming, "We stopped the Klan! We stopped the Klan!" Protesters rushed to the top of Capitol Hill and then wheeled around and headed toward Pennsylvania Avenue to Lafayette Park, the Klan's intended destination. Thousands streamed up what was to have been the KKK march route, stopped traffic, and exchanged victory salutes with drivers.

Prior to and at the time the Labor/Black Mobilization demonstrators entered Lafayette Park, on the opposite side of the Park, a police riot, including the use of tear gas, was in progress against others who had assembled near Lafayette Park. The Labor/Black Mobilization demonstrators were directed by our monitors to the center of Lafayette Park, away from police charges and tear gassing. A brief rally was held to assert the absence of the Klan. After this spirited rally, the crowd was dispersed quickly and peacefully; monitors led the demonstrators away from the police and tear gassing and out of the park, without incident. Many hundreds of protesters then attended a victory party at the Bellvue Hotel in the Capitol area.

The SL chant "1,2,3,4—Time to finish the Civil War! 5,6,7,8—Forward to a workers state!" caught the spirit of the day. Black chattel slaves were emancipated by that great war only to be stripped of political rights and economically subjugated. Blacks were integrated into American economy but sequestered at the bottom. That is why it is going to take the working-class conquest of power, a socialist revolution, to lay the basis for black freedom. While the liberal-led civil rights movement held out the promise of black equality, black people continue to be ground up by unemployment and poverty, and kicked in the face by the Klan's preferred candidate in the White House. Furthermore, Washington, D.C. is not simply 75 percent black, it's a Southern black town. Feelings ran deep

that day because many of the participants had first hand experience of racist terror of the KKK nightriders. That's why so many people turned out and why our chant was so popular.

The SL and SYL initiated Labor/Black Mobilization rally near the Capitol and spontaneous march to Lafayette Park were controlled, orderly and passed without any incidence of violence. A monitors squad had been formed, including several members each from the Laborers, AFSCME, Teamsters and Transit unions, as well as ten International Longshoremen Associa-

Black Mobilization, there were several smaller demonstrations, the largest of these the rally called by the All Peoples Congress (APC), of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP) which took place at McPherson Square. There, the young blacks who had been mobilized and promised anti-Klan action were frustrated by the political reformism of that rally and lack of proper outlet for their rage against the Klan.

Having stopped the Klan by its mere militant presence, neither the SL, the SYL, nor any other component of our



Our slogan "Finish the Civil War—Forward to a Workers State!" caught the militant spirit of November 27.

tion members from Norfolk and union supporters of the SL. It is a credit to the monitors and participants in that demonstration that there were no incidents of provocation or violence directed at the police.

Nevertheless, the media—with the notable exception of the black press—portrayed the anti-Klan demonstration as widespread violence and looting. In fact, there was a minimum amount of disorder and it was provoked by the police. What happened on November 27 was that the Klan was stopped. But it was only the *Washington Times* that named the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League as provocateurs or the source of looting and violence against the police.

Many of the victims of the police riot had been at other anti-Klan demonstrations that day. Aside from the Labor/

mass Labor/Black Mobilization demonstration sought, participated in or condoned any violence against policemen or any other persons. This attitude and kind of activity flows from the Marxist belief which separates us from any species of terrorist or anarchist. We believe, and we believe that history shows, that the liberation of the mass of the working people and other oppressed comes only through the conscious mass education and organization of the workers. Therefore, any attempts at substituting "heroes" or any "desperate deeds" of such heroes (actually despairing individuals in most cases) derails the valid and necessary path of social liberation. Naturally enemies of such liberation are wont to falsely project Marxists as violent crazies, bomb throwers and surrogates for sinister alien forces. ■

FBI Director's Testimony Exposes Moonie Libel

We reprint here excerpts from FBI director Webster's recently publicly released testimony and submission before the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism.



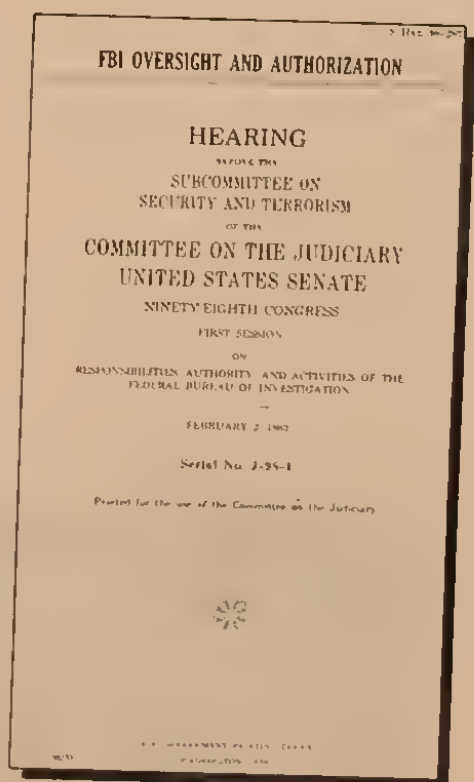
27 November 1982: Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the Klan! WV Photo

Mr. Chairman, it is my understanding that the violence which occurred on November 27, 1982, has not been tracked to any group or organization. I believe that all of those arrested for

engaging in violent activity were found to be residents of the District of Columbia; whereas, the groups that were petitioning for parade rights were from outside the District of Columbia. I cannot say at this point that there was no manipulation of the District of Columbia residents at that time, nor can I say with certainty that there was manipulation. It is the current consensus of all law enforcement agencies that the violence which occurred was spontaneous and a reflection of outrage that the Ku Klux Klan people were not going to march, were not going to be exposed to whatever form of protest these organizations intended to register, whether it was simply to boo or chant or actually throw rocks, stones, or shoes. (p. 38)

A group known as the *Spartacist League (SPL)* was alleged to have been involved in the violent portion of the anti-Klan demonstration....

Investigation by the Washington Metropolitan Police Department and the United States Capitol Police has



not uncovered any indication that the aforementioned group did more than urge participation in the anti-Klan demonstration by residents of the District of Columbia, who were and are unsupportive of the Klan's goals. The *SPL* is not the subject of a FBI investigation.... (p. 68)

An Unusual and Gratifying Victory

Our victory against the Moonie press is certainly unusual and gratifying. It is also a little perplexing to have secured this apology from a group which has declared revolutionary Marxism the root of all evil, indeed "Satan"

himself. At bottom we knew the *Washington Times* libel would be patently obvious to jurors of nearly any political persuasion or social composition. But we also knew truth was not enough to give us victory. Finally, we cannot

know for certain why they did it. All we can say is that we are damn glad it's over. But we will do it all over again if we have to—as an act of self-defense. We have a remarkable record of success in beating back the attempts to label

us as "terrorists." Once again we declare: "A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!" And we will continue to use every resource at our disposal to protect the party and program of the future proletarian revolution.

Fear of Discovery?

SUPERIOR COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE,
Plaintiffs,
vs.
NEWS WORLD COMMUNICATIONS, INC., and
JEREMY POOLE,
Defendants.

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE THAT, pursuant to Rule 20 of the Superior Court Rules - Civil, previously the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE shall take the deposition upon oral examination of defendant NEWS WORLD COMMUNICATIONS, INC., by its employee, the editor who supervised the preparation, writing and/or editing of the newspaper articles published in *The Washington Times* on November 20, 1982, under the heading "Left-wing group linked to D.C. riot", on the 10th day of August, 1983, commencing at 10:00 A.M., before a master public or other person authorized by the court to administer oaths, at the office of Tipton and Wallace, 3302 18th Street, N.W., Suite 402, Washington, D.C. 20036, and that said depositions are requested to produce as said deposition the documents set forth in the schedule attached hereto.

Dated: New York, New York
July 15, 1983

VERA & BILFORD
1302 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-331-4500

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AND
RACHEL H. WOLKOWITZ
299 Broadway
New York, New York 10007
212-733-1888

Address for 3302 18th Street

Subpoenas were served on the *Washington Times*; the pre-trial discovery process was started in July, before the Moonies answered our legal complaint. The *Washington Times* editors and reporters who prepared, wrote and edited the article were served with a Notice to Take Deposition and Demand for Production of Documents on the preparation, investigation and decision-making process preceding the publication of the article. The *Washington Times* faced legal and public scrutiny and disclosure of its editorial and publishing standards, guidelines and procedures. Attorney for the SL Jonathan Luhell stated: "We felt that through our own extensive investigation and the anticipated results of pre-trial discovery, we would be able to uncover sufficient information concerning the manner in which their article had been put together that we could establish the required fault by the *Washington Times* in publishing the article." The *Washington Times* chose to retract and publish the SL/SYL letter.



The Moonies have plenty to hide. Our press, WV and Young Spartacus, exposed the sinister designs and connections of this ultraright-wing cult.

"Moonies Against Our Children"

The deadly threat behind the Moonie *Washington Times* libel against our organization generated widespread concern and anger among many parents, relatives and friends of SL/SYL supporters and members. We print below a draft letter, intended for publication in the *New York Times*, worked on by parents and close relatives of members.

Beyond expressing obvious concern for their children's safety in the face of this ominous Moonie set-up attempt, this draft parents' letter also makes a broader and fundamental point: that unlike Moon's cult of the "great God Father," the SL/SYL finds repugnant such cults' attempts to forcibly break members' deep personal connections with their families. For us, the person-

al relations of children and their parents are solely a matter for the individuals involved. Our organization is based on a political program: whether or not you agree with it, at least with us you can have rational political discourse. In fact some parents thought the letter's comment that they "do not necessarily like or approve of" their children's participation in the SL/SYL was too categorical, noting they found that commitment admirable.

Parents and relatives from widely varying backgrounds—including working-class families, former Communist Party supporters, businessmen, former government employees, and conservatives—expressed willingness to sign and publish such a letter.

We were preparing to proceed with publication—while seeking to suitably take into account protection for signatories from the Moonies' well-

known vindictiveness toward individuals opposing them—when the successful settlement was reached. We would like here to express our thanks to all the parents and relatives involved in working on this letter for their thoughtful comments and suggestions.

Draft Statement

Our children are political supporters and in many cases active members of the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL).

The cult of Sun Myung Moon, known as the Moonies, has criminally libeled the SL/SYL in its newspaper, the *Washington Times* (30 November 1982). The Moonies charge the Spartacists with "provoking violence" against the police at a protest against the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982. The Moonies have thus set up our children for police harassment and repression.

We do not necessarily like or approve of our children's participation in these Marxist Trotskyist organizations. But whatever our differences with our children, we know that the SL and SYL are not violent, criminal or terrorist organizations. They do not provoke attacks on the police.

Sun Myung Moon is a self-appointed "new messiah" from a South Korean munitions plant who demands absolute worship of himself as god. Additionally, Moon himself and his senior followers have long been deeply involved, internationally and domestically, in sinister financial chicanery. The Moonies threaten our cultural values whatever our ethnic or

religious origin. The Moon-cult breaks its young members from their most deeply felt values, family loyalties and cultural heritage. We have seen the results in the glassy-eyed stares of flower-selling children and the mass marriages arranged by Moon himself.

Marxism does not lead our children to break personal ties with their families. The Spartacist League does not rob parents of their children.

Our children do not engage in deception in their political work: they are clear about what they stand for. We can agree with U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan who remarked during a Harvard speech when he was U.N. Ambassador, that the Spartacists "sail under their own colors." He read from a Spartacist leaflet which stated the intention "to build a socialist youth organization which can intervene in all social struggles with a revolutionary program based on the politics of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky." And he added: "It is doubtless perverse to do so, but I happen to find that an honorable statement of purpose" (*Commentary*, December 1972).

As parents of SL/SYL members and supporters, we endorse the legal fight of the SL/SYL against the Moonie frameup and criminal defamation.



Moonie mass marriage in Madison Square Garden. The "True Parent" designates the couples, who consummate the act only at the behest of Unification Church authorities.

Victories Cost Money

The successful conclusion of the libel suit against the Moonies' *Washington Times* newspaper is not only a tremendous success for the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. It is a victory for the more than 5,000 black citizens of Washington, D.C., Norfolk shipyard workers, New York City transit workers and other unionists who joined with us in the Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan on 27 November 1982.

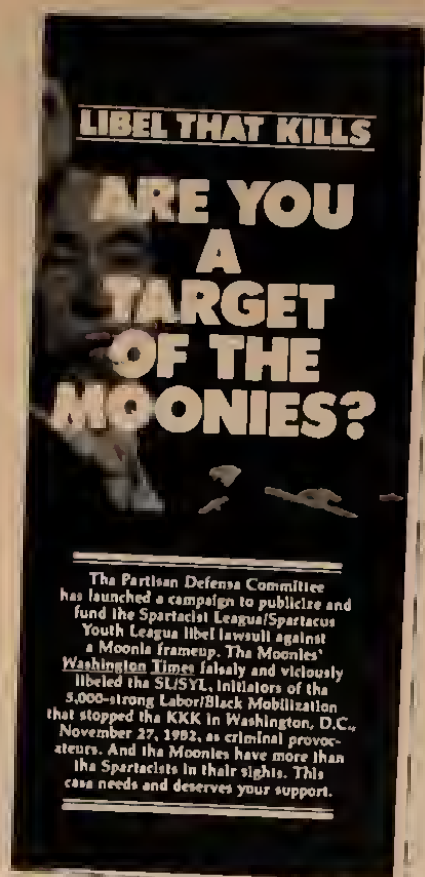
This victory also belongs to all who have opposed the fanatical ultra-right Moon empire and its "respectable" mouthpiece for Central American death squads, South African apartheid butchers, Argentine and Uruguayan military torturers, Japanese fascists, South Korean spies and the anti-Soviet lynch mobs staged by the Moonies.

Many have been afraid to openly take on the Moonies, with their vast billions, prestigious lawyers, influential and sinister connections. We have shown they can be fought, and can be defeated. But this victory did not come cheap. Legal fees alone were over \$24,000, investigative costs over \$4,000. Total costs for this lawsuit,

including legal and printing, publicity and other expenses, have amounted to over \$30,000. Only a fraction of this has been raised so far. We need your generous contributions to pay for today's victory, preparing the way to win tomorrow's battles.

It's 1984 in Reagan's racist, capitalist America. And the Partisan Defense Committee needs your help. Money is urgently needed to defend Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, phone strikers fired and framed up on felony charges for defending their union picket line against a racist scab assault. Our successful lawsuit against the Moonie "libel that kills" helps to undercut the concerted attempt to set up as "terrorists" leftists and other perceived political opponents of the government. Now the PDC is backing the SL legal suit against the new FBI Guidelines which mean increased witchhunting of groups and individuals labeled as "terrorist" and "violent."

Celebrate this victory against the Moonie press with a contribution to the PDC. Send your checks to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.



Our successful suit is a victory for the democratic and cultural values prized by many Americans, values which the sinister Moonie cult seeks to destroy.

Marxism...

(continued from page 5)

enemy soldiers over to the Red Cross unharmed—an effective incentive to mass desertion from the junta's army. Contrast this with the fascistic death squads who operate against the populace under the principle of "the only good one is a dead one." The principal weapon in the proletariat's arsenal is not force *per se*, but the ability to undermine the capitalist regiments by appealing to common class interests. Even in defense of just causes, Marxists are guided by a rational calculus and not by bloodlust.

There are situations in which insufficient force used initially leads to greater bloodshed ultimately. Had the Nicaraguan Sandinistas beheaded the counterrevolutionary pro-Somocista organizations, e.g., by trials of Somoza's torturers by revolutionary tribunals, the Nicaraguan masses today would not be forced to fight and die against the *contra* invaders. We raise the slogan "Kill the Invaders!" not because we want to see a lot of dead bodies lying around, but because if every little band the CIA sends over is wiped out, and the counterrevolutionary capitalist "fifth column" in Nicaragua is expropriated as a class and its power broken, bloodshed will be minimized, while conciliation strengthens the hand of the U.S.-backed *contras* who aim to drown in blood the possibility of socialist revolutionary development in Nicaragua.

Or consider the U.S.' Korean Air Lines Flight 007 Cold War provocation against the Soviet Union last summer, a grotesque example of the ruling class's willingness to cynically squander human life. The Soviet military took the only course of defensive action possible, under the circumstances—i.e., given the refusal of the jet to communicate, the Russians were unable to identify it while at the same time a U.S. spy plane was clearly in contact with it. But we do not "hail" the shooting down of 200-plus innocent civilians; we solidarize with the TASS statement of 2 September 1983:

"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."

Marxists do not support nor advocate

the killing of innocent civilians—be it on board KAL 007, an Israeli bus in Jerusalem, a pub in Northern Ireland. With KAL, the fact is that the Soviets did not knowingly down a civilian passenger jet. Had they done so, we said, it would have been worse than a barbaric atrocity, it would have been an idiocy worthy of the Israelis. This seemingly uncontentious position against wanton bloodshed provoked charges of "softness" from critics whose vicarious bloodthirstiness tends to be directly proportional to the distance from their own appetites. From a safe distance, the petty-bourgeois radicals embrace the "good" peoples (if necessary first inventing them, as in Lebanon today) and for the "bad," well, the only good one is a dead one. Reactionary in itself, such an attitude—completely divorced as it is from Marxist class analysis—necessarily gives way to anti-communist public opinion. Thus we see many of yesterday's "radicals" joining up ideologically with U.S. imperialism over the plight of "poor little Afghanistan" and the crushing of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność. (In Afghanistan, the "freedom fighters" are fanatical Islamic defenders of the bride price, while the "evil superpower" defends the rights of the Afghan people to emerge from the ninth century, including the right of women to learn to read. In Poland, "underdog" Lech Walesa and Solidarność represent the Vatican, Western bankers and the CIA in league against the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy, threatening a bloody return to capitalist "democracy," i.e., wage slavery and NATO missiles.)

On another level, there is the conflict between the nationalist/Stalinist and the Trotskyist approaches to the anti-Nazi resistance during World War II. The policy of the French Resistance was to attack lone German privates standing out on lonely streets at night trying to pick up girls; a typical "tactic" was to cut off their genitals and stuff them in their mouths. Predictably, this didn't lead to too many German recruits to the cause of the Resistance. The French Trotskyists sought to appeal to the class consciousness of the German soldiers (many of whose parents were Communists and Social Democrats), carrying out at great cost a policy of fraternization. Around the publication of *Arbeiter und Soldat* ("Worker and Soldier"), a clandestine newspaper for German class-conscious soldiers, they formed a

Trotskyist secret cell within the German navy at Brest.

Today there are a half a million young men in the Bundeswehr (West German army) and, as in the past, they are likely to be sent off to fight for unjust causes. We would work for their defeat, but that does not mean that we propose the extermination of every German worker in uniform. We seek rather the bursting asunder *from within*, i.e., from below, of the imperialist armed forces as part of the struggle to realize comrade Lenin's profoundly humanist view of the "socialist system of society, which, by abolishing the division of mankind into classes, by abolishing all exploitation of man by man, and of one nation by other nations, will inevitably abolish all possibility of war." ■

TWU...

(continued from page 3)

you'll be less likely to come out looking for the knockout punch the next round because defeat breeds defeat and victory breeds victory.

So Reagan is looking for a victory. He got it in Grenada. But we had a victory in Washington, D.C. [on 27 November 1982]—a very important victory, a sense that you *can* win something. The Spartacist League and its supporters are coming to be seen as the major force in anti-fascist work in this country, increasingly drawing in the labor movement. Now you hear this term "labor/black defense." Now, what does that mean? The labor movement is black people's best ally in this country. Increasingly through these anti-fascist actions the labor movement has come in more and more to play an active role, including what we saw in Washington—where heavily black unions endorsed, mobilized and brought their members out to stop the Klan.

Now Arnold Cherry doesn't see things this way. He has no intention of mobilizing the ranks of the union. It's a basic difference we have with him. He relies on other forces: the Democratic Party, the courts, the arbitration proceedings which he has now denounced after he had initially supported them. But mobilize the rank and file? No way, no way. Because he's got a job to do for the capitalists. He's the Jesse Jackson of our union.

If Willie Turks [black NYC transit worker murdered by a racist lynch mob] had had a gun he might still be alive. The

gut reaction of the union leadership, in that shop, that next morning, when they found out that one of their members had been murdered by the racists up the hill, should have been to call everybody out. Out on the sidewalk. We're going up there and we're going to tell these people that you're not going to get away with this stuff anymore.

That's the kind of strategy that Arnold Cherry and the [TWU Local 100 president] John Lawes don't want to hear. But that's *our* strategy. Our strategy is to mobilize the rank and file of this union and through that mobilization to forge a leadership which can take power in this union. If we had been a significant factor during the 1980 strike we would have been fighting like crazy for strike committees in each location—terminal, barn, depot—to decide what we're going to do. We're going to go back to work? Let's see what the conditions are. Let's read it, do what the coal miners do—you read it out word for word and discuss it. If you don't like it you take it outside and burn it. Then you go back to work if you do like it. But you don't go back unless you know what you're going to go back for.

I asked one of Cherry's main supporters, Roger Nichols, "Well, if you guys had tried to keep out guys after the sellout came down, how much do you think you could have kept out?" He said, "Oh, I think only about half of the transportation system." I said, "Roger, half of the transportation system not going back to work? Now listen, first of all even before, during the strike, you'd have to get the strike committees, you'd have to get guys in carpools going to other unions, newsletters, a strike bulletin—from the rank and file, from the opposition, knowing that there is a sellout coming down the line. Warning the workers, telling them what is going on, sending delegations to the Long Island Rail Road, Metro-North, Staten Island railroad, PATH, trying to shut these places down." And he said, "Half the subways." I said, "You stupid fool, you might have had to make a fast retreat, but if you had kept out half of the subways you may have been able to turn it around and bring out the rest of the system." They think that defeat is good because everyone will vote for us the next time around. But no, John Lawe got an overwhelming vote because people got conservative. They didn't want to fight anymore. Because they had gotten beat so bad.

So you've had a lot of defeats. November 27th was a victory. The policies that the Spartacist League calls for, and supporters in the unions fight for, can lead to victory. And of course a lot of guys say, "Well, we agree with 75 percent, but when you start talking about Russia people say 'oh, shit.'" But that was a victory. So we have to talk about Russia. Because, like Karl Marx said, the working person has no country. And so we are internationalists, we're working class and we're revolutionary. ■

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Greyhound Strikers Were Sold Out!

Every ingredient necessary for victory in the Greyhound strike was there except one: a leadership determined to win. After the labor tops had pushed through their sellout and the strike was over, the leader of the ATU Council of Greyhound Local Unions, Harry Rosenblum, admitted: "It was a game of hardball and they played harder ball than we did" (*New York Times*, 20 December). Certainly no one can fault the ranks. In the face of the company's announced intention to replace them with scabs, they went on strike. They took hundreds of arrests and one militant picketers' leader, Ray Phillips, was murdered, crushed to death under the wheels of a scab-driven bus. There was wide sentiment throughout the ranks of labor to fight alongside Greyhound workers to smash the union-busting. But the ATU and AFL-CIO tops did everything to quash strike militancy. They acceded to injunctions limiting picketing, and in many cases volunteered to limit the picketing. The Lane Kirkland gang refused to call other sections of the working class out on strike, instead pushing the same impotent consumer boycott that led to defeat at PATCO.

Only a few days after Greyhound workers rejected the company's latest surrender terms by a 96 percent margin, union leaders in connivance with federal mediators cooked up a virtually identical deal to shove down their throats. In the end, strikers voted to return to work because they felt there was no way to win with the leadership they had. The settlement was a massive sellout: wage and benefit cuts averaging at least \$13,000 per striker over three years, and a new two-tier pay structure that drastically slashes wages for new hires

even more. The 1,500 scabs hired during the strike have all been retained on the payroll, while some 100 strikers have been fired! The bureaucrats sacrificed the strike militants, among the best union fighters, in order to ram through the sellout. This criminal betrayal reflects the commonality of interest between union tops and the company.

The Spartacist League called for mobilizing the broad power of labor to beat back the scabherding and government strikebreaking: for mass, militant picket lines to stop the buses and a nationwide transport workers strike of Teamsters, rail and airline workers, longshoremen and transit workers. The bureaucrats instead preached reliance on the capitalist Democratic Party politicians, petitioning Mayor Feinstein in San Francisco, Governor Cuomo in New York and others to "ban" scabbing—and all the while the Democratic city bosses were launching cop assaults on the pickets. The labor bureaucracy's alliance with the Democrats is a knife in the back for the workers. With the class struggle heating up in a presidential election year, the union tops' job is to prevent labor struggle from embarrassing their buddies, the Democratic Party "friends of labor."

The fake-leftists share this perspective of a Democrat-led "progressive alliance." So they glorified the AFL-CIO rallies designed to do anything *except* stop the buses. In San Francisco members of Socialist Action offered their services as goons against militants (see article on page 2). The Marcyite Workers World Party, which was up to its neck in the phony support committees, failed to call for a "no" vote on the settlement and now claim, incredibly,

that "there are unfortunately some damaging features in the proposed contract which cloud and obscure [!!!] what would otherwise be a full-scale victory" (*Workers World*, 15 December). The Communist Party, too, had praise for the Lane Kirkland gang: "But the labor movement deserves congratulations [in] progressive quarters for its solidarity with the Greyhound workers. It is a far cry from the attitude shown by organized labor during the PATCO struggle..." (*Daily World*, 24 December).

In apologizing for the bureaucrats, the reformist left was far to the *right* of some ATU officials who forthrightly blasted the sellout. One such example was David Mix, president of ATU Local Division 1225 in San Francisco. Though Mix' call for a proxy fight among Greyhound shareholders was a dead end, at least he knew a rat when he smelled one, and wanted to fight. In a leaflet issued December 7 to his members, Mix wrote:

"It appears to be a repeat of the Chrysler and UAW situation. Approximately 3-1/2 years ago they gave concessions to save jobs. That was just the beginning: they have made concession after concession and today they have less than 50% of their employees. So much for concessions to save jobs....
"It is not time to retreat—retreat at this time will be devastating and we will not be given the opportunity to return to the battlefield...."

But despite the Greyhound defeat, the prospects are for sharper class struggle. With an upturn in the economy, the morale of the working class has improved. The companies are still seeking to exact the same massive concessions, thereby setting the stage for sharp conflict. Workers are more willing to

fight back against the fake bankruptcy scams and open union-busting of the bosses. The government's own figures show that strike activity is up 50 percent from a year ago. But the labor leaders who yesterday falsely claimed that "you can't strike during a depression" are still sabotaging the strikes.

The powerful labor upsurge of the '30s that smashed the open shop in basic industry depended on the intersection of increased combativity of workers with the presence of tested militants to lead the battles. The initial onset of the Depression enabled the employers to extract massive wage cuts. In the first period most of the strikes—essentially desperate rearguard battles—were defeated. But with a slight economic recovery in 1933-34, hundreds of thousands of workers flocked to the AFL. Yet the AFL leaders refused to fight.

The bureaucracy and reformists today claim that Roosevelt saved the day by then passing legislation enabling the unions to organize. Far from it! The industrial unions were built by great "illegal" strike struggles that beat back government strikebreaking by Roosevelt liberals. In 1934 three crucial battles were won: at Toledo Auto-Lite, the Minneapolis Teamsters and San Francisco General Strike. All were led by revolutionaries or professed revolutionaries and were successful despite the sabotage of AFL officials. The crucial lesson of the great class battles of the 1930's, which forged industrial unionism in this country, was that mere militancy is not enough. Necessary is a class-struggle leadership based on a program of class independence from the strikebreaking capitalist state and its parties. ■

War Crazy...

(continued from page 1)

the country's most modern army base and held it for 12 hours. And today by blowing up the last major bridge over the Lempa, the insurgents have effectively cut the country in half. This could be the beginning of the end for the U.S. puppet regime.

With things going badly in El Salvador, early last year the CIA stepped up its *contra* terrorist warfare against the radical nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. In May CIA chief William Casey told Congressmen that his Nicaraguan *contras* would be in Managua by New Year's. Well, time's up. Nicaragua has become a roach motel for the CIA's terrorists: they check in but they don't check out.

The immediate danger for the revolutionary masses is that the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders in both Nicara-

gua and El Salvador are anxious to conciliate U.S. imperialism. The Sandinistas are making more and more concessions to the bourgeois fifth column, the *contras* from within, and the State Department. The Salvadoran FDR wants a "negotiated solution" with the kill-crazy U.S. puppet rulers. But Reagan isn't letting them sell out. He wants them dead.

To overthrow the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and suppress the leftist insurgents in El Salvador, Reagan is faced with sending in tens of thousands of U.S. combat troops. This would risk a popular explosion within the United States where memories of Vietnam—a long, losing, dirty war in some far-off land—remain very much alive. But that doesn't mean the U.S. imperialists won't go in anyway.

Dr. Strangelove's First-Strike Plans

Reagan campaigned for the presidency on a program to restore military "superiority" over the Soviet Union, a codeword for first-strike capability. This aim is openly stated by Colin Gray, now an "arms control" adviser to the Pentagon and State Department, in a notorious article entitled, "Victory Is Possible" (*Foreign Policy*, Summer 1980). Gray and his fellow Pentagon strategists are planning to decapitate the Soviet leadership:

"Thus, the United States should be able to destroy key leadership cadres, their means of communication, and some of the instruments of domestic control.... If the Moscow bureaucracy could be eliminated, damaged, or isolated, the USSR might disintegrate into anarchy...."

Hitler, too, believed that the Soviet Union would collapse at the first blow...and remember what happened to him. Facing almost total isolation from the rest of the country, the people of Leningrad held out for three years

against the Nazi siege. And some of the survivors marched into Berlin as the Führer committed suicide in his bunker.

The world of Reagan's first-strike strategists is the world of Dr. Strangelove and General Jack D. Ripper. All these plans assume pinpoint accuracy for ICBMs travelling thousands of miles while leaving and re-entering the earth's atmosphere. Yet they have never been tested over the North Pole, the course they would have to take to reach the USSR. The notion of a surgical first-strike is insane. If Reagan really wants to wipe out the Soviet Union, he might put all his \$1-trillion-plus missiles in Iowa and explode them, because in three or four days Moscow and Leningrad would be gone from the aftereffects.

The only thing preventing U.S. imperialism from carrying out its mad first-strike plans is fear of the Soviet second strike. The peoples of the world

should be very thankful for those SS18s and SS20s. At the same time, the Kremlin Stalinists disarm the world working class politically by preaching the illusion of "détente" and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialist militarism. The Soviet bureaucrats hope that if only Reagan is replaced by Mondale or some other Democrat, détente will bloom again. But anti-Sovietism has been a *bipartisan* policy for U.S. imperialism ever since 1917. Remember Harry Truman who A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki to intimidate the Soviet Union. And John F. Kennedy who was ready to destroy the world during the Cuba missile crisis. And Jimmy Carter who first declared Cold War II when the Red Army intervened against the Islamic feudalists in Afghanistan. It's not the man, it's the class. The world working class must take power from the war-crazy capitalists before it's too late—and time is running out. ■

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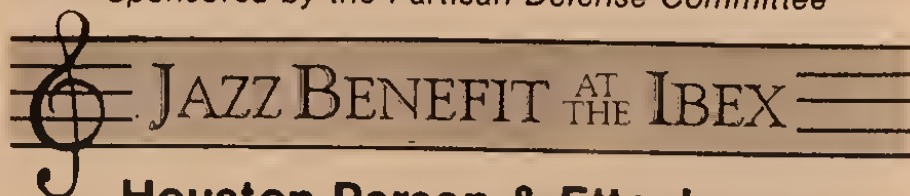
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WASHINGTON, D.C.

Soviets Mop Up CIA's Afghan Cutthroats

We reprint at right an article from the 26 December 1983 *New York Times* where the *Times*' military writer and dimwit Drew Middleton publicly admits what has been known in the corridors of the Pentagon for some time: the Soviet Army has won in Afghanistan, effectively mopping up or isolating the CIA-backed trihalist bands. In an earlier article (*New York Times*, 4 December 1983) Middleton reported that American and British intelligence sources believe "the Russians, with the Afghan Army's help, can police the country with one division, about 10,000 men." The remaining 90 percent of the Soviet forces are reputedly "being trained"! This is a bitter pill for the U.S. imperialists to swallow, after several years of funneling millions of dollars of machine guns and antiaircraft missiles to Afghan mullahs via Washington's Egyptian, Pakistani and "Red" Chinese allies.

For the last four years the Western press has been inundated with the most blatant lies on Afghanistan fabricated in the disinformation mills of Langley, Virginia. Bloodthirsty tribesmen who skin Communist teachers alive for the "crime" of teaching little girls to read and write are passed off as "freedom fighters." Reams of copy are produced on alleged Soviet "yellow rain" chemical warfare for which there is not the slightest shred of scientific evidence. Meanwhile, there has been barely a mention of the fact that the Afghan-Pakistani border areas where the American-financed and armed guerrillas operate have since 1980 become "the biggest supplier of heroin to the United States and the rest of the world" (*New York Times*, 30 June 1983). Previously the main source of heroin was the so-

called "golden triangle" in Southeast Asia, until victorious revolution in Indochina drove the CIA's private army of drug-trafficking Meo tribesmen out of Laos and into Merced, California.

For four years we have been reading dispatches from New Delhi quoting "well-informed sources" reporting thousands of Soviet soldiers killed. Now the most authoritative imperialist mouthpiece reveals that these were a pack of lies. So what is their conclusion? A *Times* (1 January) editorial on "Big Brother's War" calls on the U.S. to provide more sophisticated weapons to their ineffective mercenaries, raising the provocative (and desperate) suggestion of airdrops inside Afghanistan. The Pentagon points to Soviet air bases in Afghanistan to justify a naval adventure in the Persian Gulf.

Four years ago, most of the left (including many who fraudulently claimed to be Trotskyists) joined the imperialist chorus against the "Soviet invasion" of "poor little Afghanistan." The international Spartacist tendency, however, greeted Soviet intervention against the imperialist-backed feudal reactionaries with the headline "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" At the height of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" hysteria we demanded: "Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, even though undertaken for defensive purposes, has meant land for peasants, education for youth, a chance for women to emerge from the centuries-old oppression and enforced exclusion from social life symbolized by the veil. Decidedly, as we wrote four years ago, "the liberation of the Afghan masses has begun!"



Soviet forces at Kabul airport, December 1979. Spartacists hailed Red Army intervention against Islamic fanatic counterrevolutionaries.

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The New York Times

Monday, 26 December 1983

4 Years of Afghan Battle: No Vietnam for Moscow

By DREW MIDDLETON

Four years ago this week two Soviet motorized rifle divisions crossed from Soviet Central Asia into northern Afghanistan. Kabul, the capital, had already been seized by an airborne division. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan had begun.

Military Analysis Western correspondents are barred from Afghanistan. A balance sheet at the end of four years must rely on the reports of European and other intelligence services, the claims of the rebels fighting the Soviet-backed Government and occasional admissions in Soviet military publications.

The most significant conclusion that can be drawn from these sources is that, whatever else it is, Afghanistan is not the Russians' Vietnam. The Soviet Union faces many military and political problems in the country, but none are of a magnitude to suggest that the Russians face military defeat or political turbulence.

Militarily, the Soviet Union has made what intelligence analysts in the United States and in NATO capitals regard as important strategic gains.

As Henry Bradsher says in "Afghanistan and the Soviet Union," a publication of Duke University, the threat, real or imaginary, of the establishment of an anti-Communist, Islamic country on the borders of the Soviet Union's Moslem republics in Soviet Central Asia made the Russians move. The result, analysts say, is an important strategic and political gain for Moscow.

A Soviet Eye on the Gulf

From the military standpoint, Soviet gains are even more impressive, military and diplomatic analysts agree. The Soviet Air Force has taken over and expanded the military air bases at Kandahar, Shindand, Farah, Kabul, Bagram, Jalalabad and Herat. Soviet reconnaissance aircraft and bombers, consequently, can fly over the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea at will and monitor American and other Western naval operations in those areas.

A senior NATO officer said he regarded this "expansion of the Soviet air reach" as Moscow's most important military gain. In a crisis, he said, Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf countries might make air bases available to Western air power but, he emphasized, "the Russians are there now." Only Oman, he predicted, would have the courage to provide bases in a crisis.

Analysts think that from the Kremlin's viewpoint the most important result of the occupation may be the closing of Wakhan, the panhandle of northeast Afghanistan that borders on China. Not only has the frontier been closed and heavily fortified, but the indigenous inhabitants of the valley have also been moved and settlers from Soviet Central Asia have moved in to take over their lands.

Sign of Rebel Weakness

Symptomatic of the extent of Soviet control is that neither the expansion of the air bases nor the clearance of the Wakhan corridor has encountered the bitter resistance that insurgent statements issued in Islamabad and New Delhi might lead analysts to expect.

In fact, one insurgent leader acknowledged in an interview that an attack on the Kandahar base, which he had scouted, was well beyond the resources of any one of the insurgent groups or, in the unlikely event that they acted in concert, "all of them."

Soviet ground and air strength in Afghanistan is estimated at 110,000 to 120,000 troops. Army units are rotated every six months. The units now deployed are mainly from the Russian and Baltic republics. Earlier in the occupation, the Soviet high command had what analysts describe as disciplinary problems with Moslem troops brought from the Soviet Union's Islamic republics into an Islamic country.

Western analysts agree that only about 12,000 to 15,000 Soviet troops are fighting Afghan resistance and that of these only 500 to 700 are involved in daily operations. This minimal use of Soviet military power can be attributed to the ubiquity and effectiveness of air power in the form of fighter-bombers and helicopter gunships and to the willingness of the reconstituted Afghan Army to carry out ground operations against the insurgents.

That army has suffered from casualties and defections. But, analysts report, it is still in being, stiffened by officers and noncommissioned officers trained by the Russians and provided with modern weapons.

The Soviet Unit That Fights

The most active Soviet force is the 201st Motor Rifle Division, which has brigades at Jalalabad, Bagram and Kandahar and independent companies at Ghazni, Kunduz and Faizabad. The Jalalabad brigade was called out recently to liquidate an insurgent force that had taken but could not hold a post at Torkham in the Khyber Pass.

What are described by insurgents as major Soviet operations seldom involve more than 5,000 to 6,000 troops of the 201st.

Western analysts put Soviet losses at about 1,000 a year from all causes, ranging from enemy fire through disease to poisoning from the local moonshine.

The failure of promised Western arms and equipment to reach the insurgents through Pakistan is one reason for the insurgents' weakness. A second is the failure of the movements to unite in battle. Some of the movements are Islamic fundamentalists who look to Teheran and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini for leadership. Others depend on the West for political and military support.

These differences are worsened by longstanding tribal feuds.

An American expert on the country and the Soviet occupation took a pessimistic view of prospects for the rebels.

The insurgents, he said, do not now have, and have little prospect of receiving, the sort of weapons, antiaircraft and antitank missiles, that they need to curb Russian aircraft and armor. But, he added, "even if they get them, the Soviets will increase their efforts and their numbers."

"We got tired of Vietnam," he said. "The Russians are not going to get tired of Afghanistan. It's too close to them and too close to the Indian Ocean. They'll stay."

WORKERS VANGUARD

SL/SYL Vindicated

Moonies Forced to Retract Deadly Libel

Being god is supposed to mean never having to say you're sorry. So it is rare indeed when a self-appointed messiah like "Lord of the Second Advent" Sun Myung Moon makes a public apology to the very forces he has identified as "Satan." Yet with the simple statement, "We no longer charge that the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League provoked violence on that day," the Moonies' *Washington Times* (26 December 1983) was forced to eat its libelous words against the SL and the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan on 27 November 1982 (see SL press release on page 6). The

Washington Times retraction is not only a victory for the Spartacist League, but for all the participants of the powerful mass mobilization of 5,000 which put a stop to the Klan's plans to march in the nation's capital.

The Moonie libel fits the pattern of falsely branding socialists and other political opponents of government policy as violent terrorists ("Moonie Libel That Kills," *WV* No. 332, 17 June 1983). The Reaganites recognize only two categories of opposition: wimpy college professors who write an occasional letter to the *New York Times*, or... terrorists. Our victory cuts across this mo-

du operandi of the witchhunters of Cold War II. In the forefront of this fight against the new McCarthyism with a drawn gun, the SL has also initiated a suit against the FBI's ominous new Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines.

In reaching a settlement agreement, our bottom line in the negotiations between the lawyers was that the *Washington Times* publicly retract its charge that the SL/SYL provoked violence on November 27. They rejected our initial letter for publication which sets out the political context: key statements on Marxism vs. terrorism and on the cop riot on November 27



Lane/Newsweek

Sun Myung Moon: "I will conquer and subjugate the world."

near the reformist diversion rally (see "What the Moonies Refused to Print," page 7).

We secured this important victory against a group widely known and feared for its vindictive use of lawsuits against its opponents. With Moon's seemingly bottomless reservoir of money, multinational corporate interests, batteries of lawyers and connections in high places, the Moonies have become infamous, and regarded as making the courts a battlefield of harassment and intimidation in their holy war.

Why did the Moonie god apologize to the Marxist "Satan"? First of all, their article was a pack of lies. The thousands who were there on the spot knew it. Nearly all of black Washington knew what happened on November 27. That is why the Moonie lawyers used an archaic law to force the case out of Washington, D.C. to New York City. Even the cops have said that the SL did not provoke violence (see "FBI Director's Testimony Exposes Moonie Libel," page 7).

We knew we had the truth on our side. But we also knew how little the truth can matter in court, especially in libel cases. Our legal counsel was Jonathan Lubell, Spartacist League general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, and the firm of Tigar and Buffone as local counsel in Washington, D.C. Lubell is one of the most experienced lawyers in the country in dealing with libel suits. Our lawyers understood the importance of fighting this dangerous libel when the press is used to set up political opponents of the government. As Jonathan Lubell said, "I am particularly pleased that we were able to correct a falsehood which involves political issues and governmental activities, which are the core concerns of the First Amendment."

The Moonies understood that, if they pursued this case, they were in for a hell of a fight. We had top legal counsel and private investigators. Our lawyers had begun the process of "discovery," to subpoena the documents and those responsible for putting the libelous article together. We hit them where they live—in their attempt to gain respectability and political influence through the *Washington Times*. Our own press was exposing the Moonies' sinister operation, and they have a lot to hide. And we had launched a broad-based campaign that was reaching out to a wide spectrum of Moon's many enemies, including parents (see "Moonies Against Our Children," page 8).

Importantly, the Moonies and their
continued on page 6

Moonie Press's Retraction

Letters



The Washington Times

—26 December 1983

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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The Labor-Black Mobilization march story

Editor's note: On Nov. 30, 1982, The Washington Times ran a story on the Nov. 27, 1982 anti-KKK demonstration in Washington, D.C. The letter published below describes the activities and position of the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League in regard to its demonstration. We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day.

The Spartacist League (SL) and the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) initiated the Labor-Black Mobilization to "Stop the KKK" in Washington, D.C. on Nov. 27, 1982. The Labor-Black Mobilization was built through the participation of organized labor — over 70 union locals, officials, and executive boards endorsed. A permit for the rally at Constitution and First Avenues, near the Capitol Building and the beginning of the Klan's route of the march, was secured from the appropriate police authorities on Nov. 22. During the next four days, the SL and the SYL posted thousands of placards and distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets announcing the Labor-Black Mobilization rally.

The Labor-Black Mobilization rally began at about 9:30 a.m. on Nov. 27 and continued until about 12:40 p.m., engaging the participation of 5,000, predominantly blacks

and trade unionists, who listened to speeches and took part in militant chanting. A monitor squad, including several members each from the Laborers, AFSCME, Teamsters, and Transit Unions, as well as 10 International Longshoremen Association members from Norfolk and union supporters of the SL, had been formed to maintain an orderly and controlled demonstration.

For approximately one-and-one-half hours, the demonstrators were face to face with the police who had lined the Constitution Ave. side of the rally site. At 12:40 it was learned that the Klan would not march and, as the police withdrew, the demonstrators spontaneously entered Constitution Ave. proclaiming, "We stopped the Klan!" Protesters rushed to the top of Capitol Hill and then wheeled around and headed toward Pennsylvania Ave. and Lafayette Park, the Klan's intended destination. Thousands streamed up what was to have been the KKK march route, stopped traffic, and exchanged victory salutes with drivers.

Prior to and at the time the Labor-Black Mobilization demonstrators entered Lafayette Park, on the opposite side of the Park police operations were in progress with police using tear gas against others who had assembled near Lafayette Park. The Labor-Black Mobilization dem-

onstrators were directed by our monitors to the center of Lafayette Park. A brief rally was held to assert the absence of the Klan. After this rally the monitors successfully, peacefully, and in an orderly manner led the demonstrators away from the police and tear gassing and out of the park, without incident. Many hundreds of protestors then attended a victory party at the Bellvue Hotel in the Capitol area.

What happened on Nov. 27 was that the Klan did not march. The media — with the notable exception of the black press — portrayed the anti-Klan demonstration as widespread violence and looting. But it was only *The Washington Times* that named the SL and the SYL as provocateurs of violence against the police.

We believe that through the militant presence of the Labor-Black Mobilization the Klan was stopped. Neither the SL, the SYL nor any other component of our mass Labor-Black Mobilization demonstration sought, participated in, or condoned any violence against police.

JAMES M. ROBERTSON
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Washington