

# Young Spartacus

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FEBRUARY 1983

## U.S. Strangeloves Plan Nuclear First Strike



...an intelligent U.S. offensive strategy, wedded to homeland defenses, should reduce U.S. casualties to approximately 20 million, which should render U.S. strategic threats more credible."

—Colin Gray, Reagan "arms control" adviser



Der Spiegel

"I'm not saying we wouldn't get our hair mussed. I am saying only ten to twenty million people killed, tops, depending on the breaks."

—from the movie *Dr. Strangelove*

The Dr. Strangeloves in the Reagan administration have made it official: what used to be "unthinkable" is now the declared policy of the U.S. Last May, the "Defense" Department laid out in words what had previously been implied: war secretary Caspar Weinberger's plans for a thermonuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. Besides laying out U.S. imperialism's plans for "protracted" nuclear war, Weinberger made clear what his "Defense Guidelines" meant when they referred to "military victory" and "termination of hostilities on terms favorable to the United States." As Weinberger put it: "You show me a Secretary of Defense who's not planning to prevail and I'll show you a Secretary of Defense who ought to be impeached" (*New York Times*, 10 August 1982).

What a January 16 UPI dispatch described as a "chilling Defense Department blueprint" is exactly that. But it's not new. The imperialists' hostility and concomitant designs to eradicate Soviet Russia date back over 60 years, when one-sixth of the globe was ripped from the capitalist market. Ever since 1917, the state which issued from the October Revolution has stood as the main obstacle to the imperialists' drive for world domination. Despite the subsequent degeneration of the first successful workers revolution, the fundamental economic gains—nationalized property and a planned economy—remain and must be defended.

The U.S. rulers are more than willing to destroy human civilization in the attempt to recapture the Soviet bloc. Were it not for the fact that the Soviets have nuclear weapons (and rough parity), not only Moscow—but Havana, Hanoi and Peking—would

have long ago been reduced to rubble. The Cuban, Vietnamese and Chinese revolutions would have been smashed and millions slaughtered. Whatever "policy" Washington pursues, the Soviet Union's existence is threatened as long as imperialism exists. There is only one answer: the world working class must take power—before it's too late.

The bipartisan war drive against the Soviet Union is also and necessarily a class war domestically against the workers, blacks and other minorities, the aged and all sections of the oppressed. The other side of the massive military buildup is depression-level unemployment, union givebacks, cutbacks in food stamps, Medicaid, school lunches, Social Security—the list is endless. But the desperate conditions produced by rampant militarism drive the working masses and poor into struggle. A revolutionary party can and must intervene in these struggles to direct them politically

against the Dr. Strangeloves in the White House and Pentagon and their masters on Wall Street, and toward a workers government.

### "With Enough Shovels"

If anyone still has any doubts that virtual Dr. Strangeloves are in fact running the U.S. government, Robert Scheer's book *With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War* should put an end to them. Scheer quotes one T.K. Jones, the administration's deputy undersecretary of defense for research and engineering, strategic nuclear forces. This is the man whose statement, "If there are enough shovels to go around everybody's going to make it," gave Scheer the title for his book. Jones is quoted as saying that (without shovels) recovery time after a nuclear war

"... would take a couple of generations, probably more. You'd lose half the people in the country. With protection of people only your recovery time to pre-war GNP levels would probably be six or eight years."

To anyone who knows anything about nuclear weapons, this is horrifying nonsense, but it's typical of the Reagan/Weinberger mind-set. These guys are talking about "prevailing" in a nuclear war, as if the notion of "victory" had any human meaning in the face of nuclear fire storms and radiation poisoning. Even well-known rabid hawk Eugene Rostow is "too soft" for the Reagan gang. In January he was summarily canned as head of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and replaced by one Kenneth

*continued on page 10*

## Defend the Soviet Union Against Imperialism!

## Presence of Malice?

# Daily Cal Retracts Violence-Baiting Slander

November 27, 1982 will be remembered by thousands of black and working-class militants as the day when the Ku Klux Klan was run out of Washington, D.C. by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization. In the aftermath of this successful mobilization, the bourgeois press seized upon police violence against anti-Klan militants, some two miles from where the Klan was stopped, to conjure up racist images of "rioting" black youth. We have responded to this racist violence-baiting in *Workers Vanguard* No. 320 ("Why They Lie," 31 December 1982). A particularly filthy smear job appeared in the University of California's Berkeley campus newspaper, the *Daily Californian*, a paper which in times past has been known to defend those fighting for free speech, racial equality and such against McCarthyites and cops. In a 7 December column by one George Leventhal titled "For What It's Worth," demonstrably false criminal charges were leveled against us:

"He [Randall Williams, director of the Klanwatch Project] said it is 'standard' for groups like the Spartacus League [sic]—which received publicity recently when members attacked police officers guarding Klansmen demonstrating in Washington, D.C.—to protest the Klan."

Leventhal places his fabrication in such a way as to make it seem to be a quote from Williams—which it isn't. As far as we know, the only thing Williams actually said in this passage was the word "standard."

On 25 December the SL/SYL submitted to the *Daily Californian* a letter demanding retraction of this nasty lie. The *Daily Cal* has thus far refused to print our letter, but its 21 January issue contained the following:

"The Dec. 7, 1982 'For what it's worth' column incorrectly reported that members of the Spartacist League attacked police officer[s] guarding Ku Klux Klansmen demonstrating in Washington, D.C. The *Daily Californian* does not know of any attacks upon police officers by Spartacist League members, nor of any resulting arrests in the course of anti-Klan demonstrations which they have initiated, or in which they have participated, not least that in Washington, D.C. on Nov. 27, 1982. We regret the error."

To get even this retraction of plain and simple libel against our organization required quite a fight. When first confronted with the truth, *Daily Cal* editor-in-chief Dan Woo and city editor David Lazarus

stonewalled. Lazarus then claimed that the article was "wrongly worded." What Leventhal meant to say, he explained, was that "members of the Spartacist League's demonstration were alleged to have attacked police." Who alleged? From what source did Leventhal glean this lie? After much hesitation, Lazarus blurted out, "the *Washington Post*." However, when confronted with copies of the *Post's* coverage which contains no such allegations, Lazarus was forced to back down. So, the lid was blown off the *Daily Cal* article. Several days later, Woo claimed that Leventhal "still stands by his story." Which one? The one published originally on 7 December or his later fabrication conveyed to the editors?

Leventhal's motivations for lying so outrageously

campus and its 10-23 December issue carried strikingly similar poison to that in the *Daily Cal*:

"Then, suddenly, the police started to push and beat people. The Spartacists began throwing rocks, and the confrontation quickly escalated and spread."

We do know the purpose served by slanders such as Leventhal's: to set up our organization for the worst sort of state persecution. Indeed, people labeled as having "confrontationist" intentions toward the cops tend often to be gunned down in the street without benefit of trial. We know, too, that it required threats of appropriate legal action to wrench from the *Daily Cal* its retraction. But, we will oppose with all our strength either ourselves or those we mobilize in the struggle against the race-terror of Klan/Nazi criminals

### THE DAILY CALIFORNIAN

force, people weren't at all in it.

He said it is "standard" for groups like the Spartacus League—which received publicity recently when members attacked police officers guarding Klansmen demonstrating in Washington D.C.,—to protest the Klan. "The Klan is just an excuse for some of these people to organize. It becomes part of their rhetoric," Williams said.

Klanwatch is evidence of the fact that extreme, or "sectarian"

December 7, 1982

The slander they printed (above); the retraction they were forced to print (right).

### Correction

The Dec. 7, 1982 "For what it's worth" column incorrectly reported that members of the Spartacist League attacked police officer guarding Ku Klux Klansmen demonstrating in Washington, D.C. The *Daily Californian* does not know of any attacks upon police by Spartacist League members, nor of any resulting arrests in the course of anti-Klan demonstrations which they have initiated, or in which they have participated, not least that in Washington D.C. on Nov. 27, 1982. We regret the error.

January 21, 1983

are not known to us. Perhaps he is some kind of junior Joe McCarthy, livid over hearing that 5,000 blacks and reds stopped the Klan cold. Or he could be friends with a variety of so-called "left" organizations—the slanders of "violence" against the Labor/Black Mobilization have poured fast and thick from the reformists as well as the extreme right wing. For instance, there is the publication, *Unity*, of the Peking-loyal League of Revolutionary Struggle—a group with Reagan's line on the Soviet Union and the Spartacist League. *Unity* is frequently distributed on the Berkeley

becoming targets for repression due to the lies of the press—big time, campus or other. As we stated in "Why They Lie":

"Reaganites, liberals and reformists are all united in fear of this powerful example [November 27]. As is often the case with important political events, the fight over what happened in Washington is a class question."

We print below the letter submitted to the *Daily Cal* by Richard Bucci, an SYLer at Berkeley, and James Robertson, member of the Spartacist League Central Committee.

## The Letter the Daily Cal Refused to Print...

25 December 1982

Peter Maass  
Editorial Page Editor  
The Daily Californian  
46 Shattuck Square  
Berkeley, CA 94704

Independent Berkeley Student Publishing Co., Inc.  
46 Shattuck Square  
Berkeley, CA 94704

Editor and Publisher:

In an article on the Ku Klux Klan which was printed on page 4 in the December 7, 1982 issue of the *Daily Californian* the following paragraph appears:

"He said it is 'standard' for groups like the Spartacus League—which received publicity recently when members attacked police officers guarding Klansmen demonstrating in Washington D.C.—to protest the Klan." (our emphasis)

## Young Spartacus

*Young Spartacus* (ISSN 0162-2692) is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, is a socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

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The emphasized portion, sir, is a demonstrable lie and therefore a false accusation of committing criminal action. Moreover, although more implicitly, the paragraph as a whole implies that such violence is "standard."

Let us deal just with the last three years in which the KKK/Nazis have become particularly active in staging events in major urban centers to invoke terror among blacks, Jews, militant trade unionists, gays, socialists and many others. In that time members of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League have participated in dozens of anti-fascist demonstrations. Not one of our members has been arrested for violence against the police.

In that same period the SL/SYL initiated five such anti-fascist demonstrations:

1. in Detroit, 10 Nov. 1979—against the Klan Greensboro killings
2. in San Francisco, 19 April 1980—against the Nazi celebration of Hitler's birthday
3. in Ann Arbor, 20 March 1982—against the Nazi demonstration
4. in Chicago, 27 June 1982—against the Nazi anti-gay pride demonstration
5. Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982—against the Klan attempt to march in the nation's capital.

In each and every one of these demonstrations in which the SL/SYL had major responsibility, necessary permits were obtained, police authorities were consulted with and they resulted in *no* violence against the police and *no* arrest of any SL/SYL member. Why? Because we know that for anti-fascists to clash with police is to protect and embolden the Klansmen and Nazis.

All of the five above listed mass demonstrations dealt fascism a real blow. The Nazis have not been seen in San Francisco since. The Klan did not march to terrorize the black majority of Washington, D.C. Mass black/labor anti-fascist mobilizations do stop the KKK/Nazis, demoralize and weaken them and drive them back into their rat holes. This is more than can be said for either whining liberals (who like the "good Germans" under Hitler could and mainly did adapt to fascism) or provocateurs trying to combat the police (who seem unable to exist within bourgeois democracy). We Marxists know that fascism means our

physical destruction and that capitalist democracy, complete with capitalist police, offers interludes of struggle to organize the working people for the socialist cause.

Needless to say we do not believe in the impartiality of the police, but we know that only great mass labor upsurges such as took place in the 1930's can in general effectively deal with that problem and in the meantime we seek to avoid martyrdom such as was visited so terribly upon the Black Panthers, then the most promising black movement in America. To print what you did sets us up for something similar.

The 1979 "Report on Organized Crime in California," issued by the State Attorney General George Deukmejian, characterized us as "terrorists" and a "dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal." We won a written retraction which was sent by the Attorney General's office to all relevant police agencies, and the case and retraction were widely reported in the press, particularly in California.

We ask from your newspaper a similar outcome, and for substantially identical reasons as set forth above, as we eventually received from the hands of now Governor Deukmejian.

Since you did print material criminally defamatory of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, we believe that in addition to printing this letter it would be decent, and we are compelled to demand, that your newspaper publicly acknowledge that it *does not* in fact know of any attacks upon police by SL/SYL members, nor of any resulting arrests, in the course of anti-KKK/Nazi demonstrations which we have participated in, or, more importantly, have initiated, not least that in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982.

We ask these two things of you although we are well aware that publications are generally very reluctant to admit injurious error. We do hope that your staff and anyone connected with the press has viewed and pondered the film "Absence of Malice."

Richard Bucci  
UC Berkeley  
For the Spartacus Youth League

James Robertson  
UC Berkeley '50 dropout  
For the Spartacist League

# Spartacist Mobilization Stops Klan; PL "Self-Criticizes"

# Why PL/InCAR Can't Fight Fascism

We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Spartacus Youth League in Chicago, first distributed on January 25.

\* \* \* \* \*

Over 5,000 protesters, overwhelmingly black workers and youth from Washington, D.C. and points south, stopped the Ku Klux Klan on November 27 in response to the call by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL)-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization. The Klan believed it could march through the streets of D.C. for the first time since 1925 and Reagan intended to shove this racist provocation down the throats of black Washington. Instead, an impressive showing of black working-class power against the race-terrorists and their White House backers sent the Klan packing. The cops, who had threatened the Labor/Black Mobilization with gestapo-style tactics were forced to cancel the Klan march and retreat. Thousands of anti-Klan militants poured onto the street chanting: "We stopped the Klan!" On November 27, the streets belonged to the *opponents* of the Klan's sick racist terror; we *marched* the route the KKK had bragged it would march, we *occupied* their threatened rally site at Lafayette Park despite repeated police charges, tear gas and violence against the anti-Klan protesters.

Such a victory was possible because a revolutionary Marxist party, the Spartacist League, provided the necessary

fact enrages the reformist Progressive Labor/International Committee Against Racism (PL/InCAR). It has joined the chorus of so-called "left" groups (who were irrelevant or treacherous on November 27), chalking the whole thing up to "spontaneous" mass action. "Spontaneously" over 70 trade union leaders, exec boards and entire locals endorsed and circulated the same call to action, over 200,000 leaflets were "spontaneously" distributed throughout the black neighborhoods and key work locations of the city, "spontaneously" a permit was secured for the site where the threatened Klan march was to have begun. Perhaps PL believes that the stork brings babies, too.

PL/InCAR was in Washington on November 27. It showed up in proximity to the Labor/Black Mobilization and, with a hundred or so supporters, picketed by itself. As soon as the crowd surged on to the streets, PL left. Stung by its evident irrelevance on November 27, PL has begun to squirm. The 22 December 1982 issue of *Challenge* (PL's newspaper) states no less than four times that PL had "no base" among the thousands who turned out to stop the Klan in Washington and worries that PL has become a group of "Klan chasers with little relation to either the main aspects of fascism in the life of the working class, or to the masses of workers...who do turn out." But beware Stalinist "self-criticism." PL says not a word about its *boycott* last June of the 3,000-strong anti-Nazi

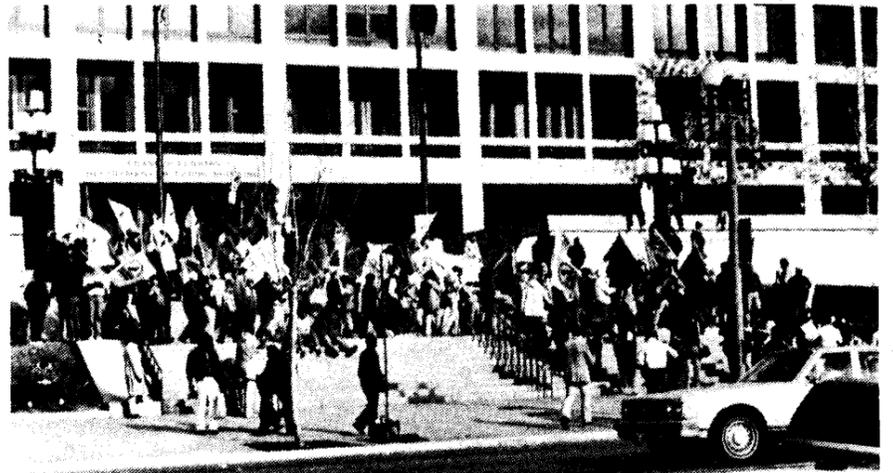
Workers Vanguard Photo



5,000-strong SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization: "We Stopped the Klan!"

political and organizational leadership, translating into organized action the deep-going sentiment of thousands of black workers and youth. This simple

demonstration here called by the SL/SYL to stop the Nazis' threatened provocation against Gay Pride Day. To date, PL has "excused" this betrayal



Workers Vanguard Photo

PL "Klan chasers" on November 27: "little relation...to the masses of workers..." (*Challenge*, 22 December 1982)

with the reactionary/Moral Majority position that gays and Nazis are "two sides of the same coin."

What alternative does PL envision to its mentally-challenged adventurism, the kamikaze-style confrontations pitting PL's own small forces against the KKK/cops for which it has become infamous? *Challenge* provides no explicit answer, but PL/InCAR's history of zigzags between sectarian adventurism and groveling reformism gives a clue: the Democratic Party. As "E.B.," a Chicago supporter of *Challenge*, writes (22 December 1982): "InCAR should run major campaigns in Democratic primaries at national and selected local levels putting forth its anti-racist, anti-state capitalist politics..."

Shades of 1972—when PL's bluster about "fighting racism" reduced itself to crawling to the Democratic Party convention in hopes that George McGovern would adopt PL's "Anti-Racism Bill" in his platform. Despairing of the revolutionary potential of the working class mobilized independently of the twin parties of capital, PL either goes it alone or "unites" with a section of the ruling class. Thus, at the same time *Challenge* denounces Democrat Harold Washington as a "social fascist" (a label it uses as lavishly as it does stupidly)—InCAR activists at a November 24 meeting for Washington's mayoral campaign passed out an open letter to the "Honorable Harold Washington" asking his support to their program to fight unemployment. Lately, PL/InCAR has been circulating a sub-reformist "petition for the rights of the unemployed" which demands everything from child care facilities to full employment to "no use of cops, National Guard, Army against striking workers." But the fight for jobs for all will only be won on the battle lines of the class struggle—through strike action, plant seizures, militant mobilizations of the labor movement and oppressed against all wings of the capitalist class. The armed forces will not cease to be employed as strikebreakers until the class nature of the state changes, i.e., until workers revolution has smashed the capitalist state apparatus.

This is ABC for those who call themselves Marxists. But PL's thoroughgoing repudiation of all that Marx and Lenin said about the state is clear enough: witness their shameless recruitment efforts for the volunteer army or the call by their Madison comrades that the government "ban the Klan."

PL talks a lot about fighting the bosses and smashing the Klan and occasionally even gets in a few good punches. But when you get right down to it, PL can't mobilize its way out of a

paper bag for a genuine anti-fascist victory by the working class. Despite PL's "hard commie" posturing, its eclectic reformist program combines the worst backward consciousness of the class (e.g., anti-homosexual bigotry), liberal idealism on the black question (e.g., "fight racism" by banning "racist textbooks") and anti-Soviet Stalinism.

If PL/InCAR is (again) on a course toward class-collaboration as "left" tails of the Democrats, one problem it won't face is the Russian question. PL denounces the Soviet Union as (you guessed it) "social fascist." Despite the political counterrevolution in the USSR which resulted in massive bureaucratic deformations and the destruction of a revolutionary internationalist foreign policy, the fundamental gains of the workers revolution in 1917 remain and must be defended unconditionally against the Cold War drive. The rise of fascist terror groups in the U.S.—who feed on the virulent anti-communism and economic conditions spawned by the military buildup—is a domestic reflection of the anti-Soviet war drive. PL's refusal to combat this Cold War drive is one among the many reasons for its demonstrable bankruptcy in the fight against fascism.

For those among PL/InCAR supporters who don't relish a plunge to the right as the antidote for political isolation—there is an alternative: the revolutionary Trotskyist program of the SL/SYL. That we have been responsible for organizing every major labor-centered anti-fascist demonstration from 1979 to the recent victory in Washington is no accident, but rather the direct result of our commitment to the building of a revolutionary multi-national workers party capable of leading the desperately necessary fight for socialism. ■

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## Report from the YSA Convention

# Race-Baiting and Anti-Trotskyism in Barnestown

The recent national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA, youth group of the Socialist Workers Party [SWP]) held in Chicago over New Year's weekend did have its moments. The most interesting of these was the public speech by SWP head Jack Barnes denouncing Trotskyism. The central purpose of Barnes' two and a half hour speech on "Their Trotsky and Ours" was to proclaim what we have known for two decades: the SWP is not the Trotskyist party in this country.

The subsequent account of the convention by Doug Jenness in the 21

only in order to proclaim that the SWP would no longer pay lip service to Trotskyism. Said Barnes: "80 percent of those on a world scale who call themselves Trotskyists... are hopeless, irreformable sectarians." And:

"Trotskyism, that term itself, I predict, none of us will call ourselves before this decade's out. In fact, if I'm right that what Trotskyism originated as was a fake term by the Stalinists... Trotskyism as such doesn't have much value as a term."

For a fuller account of Barnes' attacks on the "serious sectarian errors" of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolu-

revisionist contributions on the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship." Now Barnes has dotted the i's and crossed the t's.

The point of it all is to feed Barnes' fantasy that the SWP is about to "fuse" with the "revolutionary movements" of Central America and the Caribbean, which means the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, the Salvadoran and Cuban Communist Parties, the New Jewel Movement of Grenada. But while Barnes has now brought the SWP's formal ideology closer to that of the left-nationalists and Stalinists he hopes to "fuse" with, Barnes' party is far from the only American reformist group to offer itself up as an opportunist cheerleader for these forces. What can the SWP do for them that the Communist Party or Marcyites can't do better? The SWP doesn't have the kind of contacts in the Democratic Party and trade-union bureaucracy that would make Castro or the Sandinistas look twice. And long gone are the days when the SWP could claim to be the "best builders" of liberal antiwar mobilizations; today the biggest "mass movement" the SWP can claim is the mass movement of SWP members quitting the party, both disgruntled right-wing oppositionists and demoralized majorityites.

The morbid state of Barnes' party was reflected in the response to a Spartacist sales team at the YSA convention. There were the familiar SWP "watchers" out in full force to keep an eye on their own members. But what stands out is the despicable race-baiting of black Spartacist supporters by black SWPers, escalating the loathsome tradition established at last August's SWP convention. We won't repeat here the litany of vile racist epithets used by well-known SWP supporters like Thabo Ntweng and Eli Green. Suffice it to say that any member of the SL/SYL who uttered such filth would be speedily expelled.

The increase in self-humiliating race-baiting by black SWPers is logical from an outfit which abstains virtually on principle from anti-fascist struggles and publicly debates Klansmen. Not surprisingly, the proportion of black members at the convention was low: about 40 or less out of over 800.

The SWP apparently commissioned a few wits to stay up all night dreaming up answers to its non-presence at the militant November 27 anti-Klan demonstration initiated by the SL/SYL in Washington, D.C. They finally came up with the unoriginal lie that we had nothing to do with the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the Klan from marching. But the Spartacist sales team had come to the convention with a videotape of that successful anti-Klan mobilization, and regular showings were held for interested YSAers and their "watchers."

Convention participants were also noticeably defensive about SWP congressional candidate Mark Friedman having debated KKK "grand dragon" Tom Metzger in San Diego. After more than one *Militant* article had bragged about this "extensive debate," we were told that the whole thing was an "accident." Problem was, the SWPers couldn't get their stories straight: some said Metzger was there by accident, others said Friedman was.

Despite the intimidating "watchers," 107 copies of *WV* No. 320 were sold featuring "Barnestown, U.S.A.," a lengthy analysis of the recent factional struggles and purges in the SWP. Our sales team also distributed some 800 copies of the *Young Spartacus* supplement reprinted below, entitled "Will the Klan Have Observer Status at the YSA Convention? Q: How Does the SWP/YSA Fight Fascism? A: It Doesn't!" According to figures published in the *Militant*, we outsold them in periodicals, a trend not limited to YSA conventions.



Workers Vanguard Photo

### Barnestown's illustrious chairman.

January *Militant* passes over Barnes' speech in two paragraphs subheaded "Advancing Revolutionary Continuity." Jenness' account of Barnes' remarks is an excellent example of SWP-talk, a special form of discourse for acknowledging something so that insiders will understand while giving nothing away to the uninitiated. Thus Jenness tells us that Barnes emphasized the SWP's "programmatic continuity to the early years of the Communist International." But Barnes paid lip service to Lenin

tion, we refer our readers to "Barnes Denounces Trotskyism," *Workers Vanguard* No. 321, 14 January.

We have a hard time understanding why Jenness' article is so coy about the SWP's new, explicitly anti-Trotsky line. The SWP long ago renounced Trotskyism in all but name, though some residual sentimentality is to be expected from dimwits who just didn't "get it" until now. But not from Doug Jenness. Recently Jenness helped gear the SWP up for its change of labels with his own

YSA conventions have a well-earned reputation as sure cures for chronic insomnia. Certainly the excerpts from the NEC resolution hold promise that such will be the case once again. This convention takes place in the aftermath of the rout of the Ku Klux Klan on November 27 in Washington, D.C. by black working-class power. But YSAers can count on the fact that this successful labor-centered anti-fascist mobilization will not be on the agenda of their conference. The SWP/YSA is on record for the defense of the so-called "rights" of Klan/Nazi scum to "free speech."

The 5,000 black and white workers and youth who stopped the Klan were organized by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization. The call to action was endorsed by some 70 trade-union leaders, executive boards and locals throughout the country; labor participation from the D.C. and Norfolk/Newport News area was significant. That demonstration was a vindication of the Spartacist strategy which has been repetitively denounced by the SWP/YSA as "ultraleft," "unrealistic" and "sectarian." Furthermore, it provides additional evidence—if any were

needed—of the increasing irrelevance of the SWP/YSA to the genuine concerns of the working-class and black struggle against Reagan's Cold War offensive.

Departing from its usual practice of studied, mute ignorance of any and all militant anti-fascist protests (particularly those organized by the SL/SYL, which is to say most of them), the *Militant* was forced to report that something took place in Washington on November 27. Its two articles on the anti-Klan victory "omit" certain facts. Among these are: that the Klan was stopped by the Labor/Black Mobiliza-

tion and that it was stopped right where we said we would stop them, at their Capitol assembly point; that the Klan was unable to march its intended route along Pennsylvania Avenue, instead the victorious anti-Klan militants marched that route; that while we were sending the KKK packing, the SWP along with assorted reformists and liberals were elsewhere. The SWP/YSA was in fact at the "All-Peoples Congress" rally several miles away, at the end of the KKK's threatened march route. That rally, organized by the APC (creature of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party), was a

reformist diversion; the APC had no intention of stopping the Klan, no perspective of mobilizing the power of the labor movement in alliance with the outraged black community to do so. It sought the endorsement of black elected officials and Democratic Party politicians and at that was only marginally successful. Notably absent from the *Militant's* coverage is any mention of the role of the SWP/YSA on November 27—a wise omission. It had nothing whatsoever to do with stopping the KKK. Any recognition of the anti-Klan action by the SWP is only so much window-dressing after the fact. In advance, SWPers' advice to co-workers could be succinctly summarized: "If you have to go to Washington, at least go to the respectable rally."

It would have been consistent with the SWP/YSA's stated opposition to "placing qualifications on democratic rights in the case of fascists" and its shabby record of abstention from anti-fascist actions had the *Militant* denounced us for stopping the Klan. It certainly wouldn't be the first time: when a demonstration called by the SYL at San Francisco State succeeded in running some Nazis off the campus in

**Workers Vanguard**

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1975, the YSA rushed into print condemning the rally as "unfortunate," "counterproductive" and a "disruption." Then-YSA national secretary (now SWP PC member) Steve Clark explained in a meeting with Farrell Dobbs and Jack Barnes that:

"In dealing with the question of how to fight the Nazis at San Francisco State, for instance, we had the problem of differentiating ourselves from the Spartacus Youth League without appearing to be siding just a little bit with the Nazis, without appearing to be soft."

—Education for Socialists, *Countermobilization: A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks*

This dangerous preoccupation with appearing to side "just a little bit" with fascists was corrected by the SWP leadership. "The problem," Barnes explained, "is ultra-leftism." Should prospective black recruits to the YSA choke on this liberal cretinism toward race-terrorists, Barnes reminded his pupils that "the ultralefts in the Black student movement don't know the time of day any more than the Spartacists."

Who but the YSA would exhort black students at the University of Houston to remain quiet for the "speech" of Klan Imperial Wizard Scott Nelson that same year, pouting to the campus newspaper that:

"The YSA, on the other hand, was with the overwhelming majority of the students present telling these 'radicals' to be quiet so we could hear."

Who but an SWP candidate would politely debate Klan "Grand Dragon" Tom Metzger on television after calmly viewing film clips of the Klan's vicious attack on anti-fascist protesters with clubs and dogs? SWPer Mark Friedman did just that in September 1980, referring to Metzger as his "Democratic Party opponent." The Republican candidate couldn't bring himself to share the platform with the Klan swine, but Friedman aided the Klan's campaign for bourgeois "respectability."

To believe, even from the standpoint of elementary self-preservation, that you can debate the fascists out of existence betrays a touching faith in the forces of capitalist "law and order." SWP headquarters have on more than one occasion been the objects of violent fascist attacks. The firebomb, the lynch rope, the automatic rifle are the methods of "debate," fascist-style. How sincerely must the SWP/YSA embrace the myth that they will receive "equal protection" from the state. "All working people have a stake in demanding that the government enforce the laws against the violent racist actions of the Klan," wrote the D.C. YSA in its leaflet for November 27. Dead wrong. The government belongs to the bosses, it is their apparatus backed up by their armed forces to protect their interests against those of the working class. As the acquittal by an all-white jury of the Klan/Nazi hitmen who murdered five Communist Workers Party members in Greensboro, North Carolina reconfirmed, no reliance can be placed on the state. While the SWP/YSA tends to treat the ominous growth of the Klan/Nazis in Reagan's America as some "ultraleft" fantasy, the fact is they are growing and encouraged by a section of the U.S. bourgeoisie. That's why they thought they could parade in their white sheets in the middle of black Washington on November 27, why they attempted a march in the capital for the first time since 1925, and why it took the militant Labor/Black Mobilization to stop them.

**From Boston to Louisville: YSA Organizes Defeat**

According to Craig Honts' and Bob Quigley's "The Battle Against the Ku Klux Klan in Louisville" (*YSA Discussion Bulletin* Vol. XXVI No. 2, November 1982), the YSA participated in a campaign "which tried to prevent the Ku Klux Klan from holding a rally at the local high school." Sectarian deviations in Louisville? Not on your life:

**1939: Then-Trotskyist SWP Mobilized 50,000 Against Nazis in Madison Square Garden.**



Militant

"Through press conferences, petitioning campaigns and a court suit, the Coalition was able to gather overwhelming majority opinion against the Klan..."

"Some people in the Coalition wanted to have a picket line at the Klan rally. We argued against having such a confrontational action. We agreed with Ann Braden, a nationally prominent civil rights leader who's active in the Louisville Coalition. She said that her thinking had changed, that three years ago she thought that anywhere the Klan raised its ugly head, we had to be there, but that now she felt that instead of having a picket line at the Klan rally, we should have a broad protest meeting somewhere in the Black community. She felt that this would allow us to involve people who weren't interested in a direct physical confrontation with the Klan."

"Braden didn't want the media to portray us as two battling extremist groups, and she wanted to put pressure on the government to take action. She said that we want to show that we are the vast majority and that the Klan is a tiny minority. We in the YSA agreed with this and we were able to win the rest of the Coalition to this important perspective. The stage was now set for the Coalition to swing into action."

The fruits of this "important perspective": "Seven hundred people showed up to hear Bill Wilkinson, Grand Wizard of the Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan... Since their rally, the Klan has become increasingly bold and open." The "nonconfrontational" rally drew "about 400 people." Furthermore, the document corrects an assertion made in the NEC resolution that the labor movement was mobilized: "What was particularly noticeable was the lack of participation by the Louisville labor movement" (emphasis in original). How Honts/Quigley conclude from this that they gathered an "overwhelming majority opinion against the Klan" is anybody's guess. The score in Louisville was worse than Klan: 700, anti-Klan: 400, since every time these scum are allowed a platform from which to organize, they recruit to their terrorist ranks.

The last SWP/YSA-backed "mass mobilizations" ended with the defeat of busing in Boston. Along with the NAACP and some Democrats, the SWP proposed to "fight" the racist anti-busing forces by begging for federal troops to "protect" black schoolchildren and enforce desegregation. It is ABC for Marxists that U.S. troops are the enemies of workers and the oppressed not only in Vietnam and El Salvador, but at home as well. The cops, National Guard, army are used to suppress ghetto uprisings (e.g., Watts, Detroit, Harlem), to crush strikes, to gun down protesting students; they are also called in to maintain the racist status quo and prevent the organization of self-defense by the black population (e.g., Little Rock). By 1976, the violent racist mobs had in good part won the battle on the streets—the SWP et al. were forced to cancel a demonstration to pressure the cops and troops to defend black people, due to the refusal of these same cops to guarantee "protection" of the demonstration itself.

Seven years later, the *Young Socialist*

**1982: Trotskyist SL Organizes 5,000 to Drive KKK from Washington, D.C.**



Workers Vanguard Photo

**"Eighty percent of those on a world scale who call themselves Trotskyists...are hopeless, irreformable sectarians."**

—Jack Barnes

**So how does the SWP fight the KKK?**

**It doesn't. It debates them!**

(From the *Militant*, 19 September 1980.)

**Socialist vs. Klan-Democrat**

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in California's Forty-Third District, Mark Friedman, confronted his Democratic Party opponent, Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon Thomas Metzger, on NBC's "Speak Up America" show September 5. The program included film clips of a helmeted Metzger leading a pack of club-swinging Klansmen in an attack on a peaceful demonstration.

is still pleading with the government:

"Judge Garrity should not withdraw from the case [Boston busing] but should remain in charge until the federal government has met its obligation to complete, consolidate and institutionalize equal education for Black students totally free from fear of harassment, intimidation and discriminatory treatment."

—*Young Socialist*, November-December 1982

But the fight for black liberation is the "obligation" of the working class and its Marxist vanguard, it is in fact a strategic necessity if there is to be a proletarian revolution in the United States. Even the fight for basic equality and democratic rights for black people necessitates a class struggle against the racist, capitalist system, as was succinctly put in the popular Spartacist chant on November 27: "1,2,3,4—Time to Finish the Civil War! 5,6,7,8—Forward to a Workers State!"

The fact is the YSA has no program for black liberation. As former YSA member and now leading Spartacist spokesman Don Andrews explained:

"The ugly reality of racism in America is treated by the SWP like some sort of bad congressional bill which only needs a mass movement to repeal it... Its 'program' for blacks [has been shown] to be sterile liberalism covered with a thin coat of black nationalism bordering on paternalism."

—"From the YSA to Trotskyism," *Young Spartacus* No. 78, December 1979-January 1980

Why should black militants join a party which advocates the separate organization of blacks in any case? In the space of two decades, the SWP/YSA has alternately tailed the liberal-led civil rights movement, black nationalism (excluding the most subjectively revolutionary expression of black nationalism—the Panthers—which the SWP dismissed as "ultraleft"), community control, the NAACP and the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). Any serious fighter for black liberation must break with the defeatist tailism of the SWP/YSA.

**SWP/YSA On the Road to Nowhere**

For those who worship the bitch goddess of success, the YSA is not the

place to be these days. During the anti-war movement, when the YSA was rightly despised by radical youth as the extreme right-wing, respectable "best builders" of pro-Democratic Party peace crawls, it explained away every class betrayal with the argument that "we get people out on the streets." We were only half joking at this summer's Oberlin convention when we suggested that the 30-man goon squad of "Spartawatchers" was the biggest "mass mobilization" we'd seen from the Barnesites in years.

The problem for the thoroughly opportunist SWP/YSA is ultimately one of political identity. The U.S. left has moved rightward in frightened flight toward the Democrats and a hoped-for anti-Reagan popular front. There are plenty of contenders for the niche the SWP/YSA once occupied. The Marcyite WWP has outmobilized the SWP/YSA on behalf of the Democratic Party, and at demonstrations protesting U.S. involvement in El Salvador the WWP plays virtually the same role the SWP played during Vietnam. For its part, the SWP/YSA incompetently missed out completely on the first such Salvador rally, May 3 in Washington. The next year, however, on March 27 Barnesites were able to worm their way onto the Marcyite goon squad and participated in an attempt to seal off the SL/SYL's contingent demanding "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!" and "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!" What the WWP/SWP goons were not able to accomplish, the cops did—the communist contingent was cordoned off by mounted cops, motorcycle cops, cops on foot.

Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) currently occupies the social-democratic niche with consistent reformist politics, Cold War credentials that would bring tears to Judge Griesa's eyes and real friends and influence in the trade-union bureaucracy. While the SWP is certainly social-democratic and its appetites to be the political waterboys for a section of the labor bureaucracy would logically lead to a DSA-type organization, it is anything but consistent. We've noted before that the SWP/YSA cannot

*continued on page 9*

## WL and RWL: Anti-Anti-Klan

# Why Do They Sound Like Racists?

The Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization brought out thousands determined to stop the Ku Klux Klan from parading through Washington, D.C. They did stop the Klan and it was an important victory against resurgent racist terror. The anti-Klan demonstration polarized the city sharply along class lines. On one side: the Klan, their White House backers, the Democratic and largely black city administration and police; on the other: significant sections of the trade-union movement, the black population and the communists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL). On November 27 the Klan was stopped and the liberals' and tame radicals' attempt to put together a class-collaborationist "anti-Reagan" bloc between the black politicians and the Democratic Party to suck in the black masses was seriously disrupted. The successful anti-Klan action was a powerful refutation of the reformists who have debased the cause of workers struggle in search of a "fighting" Democrat. The attempted popular-front diversion organized by Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/All-Peoples Congress (WWP/APC) was pushed to the sidelines; the showdown between the opponents of Klan terror and the fascists' defenders took place under the banners of a labor/black/red united front.

In the aftermath, the reformists have sought to deny, slander or dissociate themselves from the mobilization which has earned us no small amount of enmity from the powers that be. And the remnants of centrism in the U.S. (i.e., groups who place themselves between the reformist left and the SL) saw their strategy to "make the popular front fight" fail miserably. They are green with envy, beside themselves with anti-Spartacist hatred. Examining their response requires a descent to look at their little cesspools, but combating the slanders of even tiny pretenders to Trotskyism is a necessary measure of political hygiene.

One such organization is the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) of Peter Sollenberger, a Harvard-derived, Ann Arbor-based sect. The RWL got a bitter taste of its virtual political irrelevance on November 27; while the Sollenbergerites listened to liberal speeches, two miles away thou-

sands of black workers and youth were, along with the Spartacist League/SYL, stopping the Klan. The next issue of the RWL's *Workers Struggle* carried a small article on "November 25" [sic] and neglected to mention the RWL's presence at the APC rally. But its real response has appeared recently at Wayne State University in Detroit—a leaflet entitled "Carpetbaggers on the Prowl." "Carpetbaggers"—that racist designation for whites who went South to fight for black rights after the Civil War, for "outside agitators" and "troublemakers"—has no place in the vocabulary of the workers movement other than for historical reference to post-bellum Southern reaction. But the ostensible Marxists of the RWL have slid into the use of overt racist imagery to smear the organizers of an anti-Klan victory!

The RWL's leaflet is filled with anti-Spartacist invective, but it never informs the reader that *the Klan was stopped in Washington*. "... Washington, D.C. '82.... [was] organized by united fronts not including the SL" is the sole reference to November 27. Instead, the leaflet purports to "reveal the truth about these 'Fantasy Island Fascist Fighters'":

"... they grab a spot close to the demo of the united front committee. Then, with some tricky camera angles, they are able to make it appear that they are speaking to their mass mobilization, instead of someone else's!"

But, to what "united-front" demo does the RWL here refer? The APC gabfest two miles from where the Klan was stopped? That would take a very "tricky" camera and wouldn't make much sense given that the APC rally was several thousand people smaller than the SL-initiated one.

Even bourgeois newspapers bent on discrediting the SL recognized our

central role in organizing the anti-Klan action. In smearing the demonstration as "violent" they hoped to obscure the fact that the Klan was defeated at the hands of black working-class action, as well as to set us up for state repression. (See "Daily Cal Retracts Violence-Baiting Slander," this issue.) This is rational from the ruling class' standpoint. But there is no such rationality in the RWL response—the lies are too

### CARPETBAGGERS ON THE PROWL

#### WHAT IS THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE?

The Spartacist League is a small, white, middle class group with a lot of money. In its nearly twenty years of existence, it has failed to accomplish the two main tasks of a socialist organization:

- 1) building a class struggle wing in the unions and
- 2) linking up the working class organization with other oppressed groups.

strators not to leave McPherson Square to confront the Klan, because 'It's a police trap.' Soon the wave of demonstrators from Constitution Avenue gravitated to the Square. As these oppressed youth fought the cops 100 yards from the speakers platform (!) bourgeois speakers grotesquely droned on about the need to ask Reagan for an end to the cutbacks."

No wonder the RWL hasn't said anything about its presence in Washington. So green with envy that it is rotten with gangrene, the RWL is incapable of dealing with or acknowledging the largest Trotskyist-led anti-fascist mobilization since 1939 at Madison Square Garden. Instead, it tries to write us out of existence.

The RWL's "polemics" consist of horrific tales of "gangsterism" and "trickery" on the part of a "small, white, middle class group with a lot of money"—a description that could fit a number of groups from the Klan



Labor/Black Mobilization shook Washington and stopped the Klan. Bourgeois politicians

mammoth and indefensible. That coupled with offensive racist language gives the "Carpetbaggers" leaflet an extra-terrestrial character.

The account of November 27 printed in *Internationalist Worker* (January 1983)—the publication of the Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist) (RCL[I])—is useful to quote in contrast. Since the RCL(I) is currently attempting to gain admission into *Workers World* and is critical of the SL on a variety of questions, including our anti-fascist work, it has no good reason to tilt its report in our direction. It is, however, one of the few accounts of what happened at the APC's McPherson Square rally, attended by the RWL:

"The Left organization that played a crucial role in actually stopping the Klan from marching was the Spartacist League (SL). This is because it energetically mobilized for where the Klan were actually scheduled to begin their march on Constitution Avenue and 1st Street NW. The SL has an uneven record in fighting fascism....

"Fully expecting to become a member of WWP, and committed to demonstrating at McPherson Square, I was frankly struck by how on Nov. 27 the emphasis on building cross-class coalitions worked at the expense of the anti-capitalist struggle and of the building of the Party. As late as 1:00 pm disoriented All Peoples Congress (APC) security guards could be heard telling demon-

leadership to the Harvard Faculty Club, but not the SL. It strikes us as particularly inappropriate coming from the RWL, given its tiny size and origins. We noted in *Workers Vanguard* No. 322 ("RWL Gone With the Wind," 28 January 1983), "A mouse may note that a cat is small, but it does so at its own peril." As for the RWL's obsession with our money, this surely indicates its own soft Menshevik organizational practices; regular financial contributions from its membership must be very low. Our employed comrades pay a lot—struggle is not cheap.

If the RWL is attempting to imply that we are paid agents of somebody, it is a particularly rotten and vindictive lie in view of the government's evident desire to find some sinister "communist conspiracy" behind the Washington demonstration.

The "Carpetbaggers" leaflet concludes with a plug for "the Spart Truth Kit," published by the RWL's British affiliate. This "kit" opens with the call that "the Spartacists should be exposed, hounded, and driven out of each and every working class arena where they show their heads." To our knowledge, the sole use that has been made of this document is by witchhunting local bureaucrats in the Communications

continued on page 8



1925: Klan scum in triumphal march, 40,000-strong, Washington, D.C. Never again!

## "Unity" With Democrats Against Anti-Klan Demo

# Where Was the Communist Party November 27?

"We must be on guard against government efforts to use phoney-Left outfits to force us in a narrow, sectarian corner. Already in some areas the Spartacus Youth League has gleefully accepted this provocateur's role. Such groups will attack the organizing drive not for founding the youth organization of socialism in this country but for having broad, mass tactics, for endeavoring to work with broad democratic forces in struggle for partial gains (including members of the Democratic Party). But the provocateurs single out not the leadership of the Democratic Party which wants to compromise with the Administration but rather the Congressional Black Caucus or other outstanding defenders of labor's interests that consistently offer constructive alternatives to Reaganism's economic ruin and military build-up."

That's the Communist Party's (CP) long-time youth leader, James Steele, speaking to a recent national leadership conference of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL). The con-

anything but "outstanding defenders of labor's interests."

As for the "constructive alternatives" of the Congressional Black Caucus, to Reagan's \$240 billion war budget it counterposes a \$200 billion war budget. To deal with unemployment, it proposes a \$5 billion "revitalization bank" to prop up failing companies. To deal with the racist violence of the Ku Klux Klan—the extreme expression of the capitalist drive toward war and depression—the black Democrats divert, sabotage and oppose all militant action.

The other problem for the Kremlin-loyal CP/YCL is that the Democrats are no less committed to the U.S. anti-Soviet war offensive than the Republi-

Workers Vanguard Photo



ans and media, reformists slandered it; centrists spit on it. Revolutionaries led it.

ference voted to dissolve the YWLL and organize for a founding conference of the "Young Communist League" (YCL) next May.

Steele simultaneously slanders the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) as playing the role of provocateur while he pays tribute to our well-known opposition to class collaboration. The Stalinist slander is the CP's standard method of "answering" criticism from the left. (Leon Trotsky, a leader of the Russian Revolution and the commander of the Red Army during the Civil War, was variously slandered by Steele's forerunners as an agent of Hitler and the Mikado, or of Chamberlain and Roosevelt.) But it's not every day that the CP singles us out as its perceived left threat.

There is good reason for the CP to worry. While it is committed to supporting Democrats as the "lesser evil" there is widespread understanding among workers and youth that there is no basic difference between the Democrats and Republicans. This may be all the more the case with those wanting to join an avowedly "communist" organization. And, at the same time Steele singles us out, the CP has remained as silent as the grave about the SL/SYL-initiated November 27 anti-Klan demonstration which exposed its beloved black Democrats as "enemies of the people" and

cans. Aiming for a "front against war and fascism" with "liberal" politicians is therefore a rather doomed proposition. To be sure, the CP does not call for defense of the USSR against imperialism, only "peaceful coexistence." It is left to the Trotskyist SYL to fight the Cold War drive head-on from Afghanistan to Poland to Central America, just as it is uniquely the SL/SYL which advocate—and implement—genuine anti-fascist struggle. Hence, Steele's concern to discredit the class-struggle politics of the SYL.

### Where Were They November 27?

When the KKK threatened to march through Washington, D.C. last November, we organized the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK, secured the backing of scores of trade unionists and black organizations and mobilized over 5,000 people—overwhelmingly black workers and youth—who prevented the Klan from marching.

And what were the CP's valiant black Democrats doing that day? Black Caucus member Walter Fauntroy, Washington, D.C.'s Congressional representative, was on the other side of town hosting a "community unity" meeting as an unsuccessful attempted diversion from the Labor/Black Mobilization. Afterwards, Fauntroy red-baited the SL

as "Tarzan Trotskyites" for daring to mobilize against racist terror. "They had people going through black neighborhoods with leaflets, putting [them] on every car and door possible," he complained. "They had loudspeaker systems, driving through black neighborhoods...." In other words, if it were up to Fauntroy the KKK would have marched through 85-percent-black Washington, D.C.! Washington, D.C. mayor Marion Barry, another CP favorite, flew away to sunny Los Angeles November 27, "far from the madding crowd." So we know where the CP's heroes were on November 27; our question is: *where was the CP?*

Speaking at Washington, D.C.'s Howard University November 20, exactly *one week before* the threatened Klan provocation, CP Central Committee member Angela Davis devoted most of her time to urging blacks to participate in the "nuclear freeze" movement—a movement for a *conventional* weapons buildup—and talking about how Democrats are welcome in the CP's National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, which she heads. With an audience of *hundreds*, Davis uttered *not one word* about the Klan's threat to march there the following weekend! The CP's *Daily World* has been mum about November 27, although it was front-page news from coast to coast. Surely the CP would have commented if the Klan *had* marched—why the silence after they were *stopped*?

### "Ban the Klan": Scabbing on the Anti-Fascist Struggle

The CP is in fact *hostile* to labor/black anti-fascist mobilizations. It calls on the racist U.S. government to "ban the Klan." When in November 1979 the Klan threatened to celebrate the Greensboro massacre in downtown Detroit, the SL/SYL organized a demonstration of 500 people, largely black, which occupied the site of the KKK's proposed rally. CP-backed black Detroit mayor Coleman Young initially threatened to arrest anyone who showed up to stop the Klan, but soon decided that this would not be politic in Klan-hating black Detroit. Young was rather more hospitable to Reagan's Republican convention the following year, bankrolling billboards which proclaimed "Welcome Republicans! Detroit Loves a Party," and telling black municipal employees that they would "live to regret it" when they went out on strike.

Back in 1939, when the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) organized a 50,000-strong mobilization against the fascist Gerald L.K. Smith, the CP condemned it and instructed its members not to attend. But so great was the pressure that many members of the CP and the Young Communist League showed up anyway. The March 1939 *Challenge of Youth*, the Trotskyist youth newspaper of that time, related the story:

"One organized contingent of some forty or fifty Young Communists came down in a group and attempted to march behind a huge American flag. As they approached the police lines the mounted cops charged and tore the flag to shreds in an attempt to capture it. The Y.C.L.ers reformed their ranks and marched off singing the 'Star Spangled

Banner' (!) and shouting 'Down with fascism, up with democracy' (!!) while feeling the democratic bumps on their heads...."

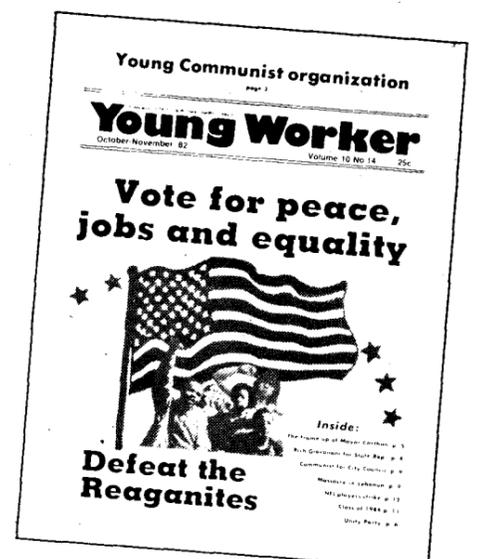
The CP retains the same suicidal faith in bourgeois "democracy" to this day. The CP's call to "ban the Klan" will be picked up by the state to *ban the left*. The CP hailed the "anti-extremist" Smith Act when it was used to jail 14 leaders of the SWP for their internationalist opposition to the second imperialist world war; after the war it was used to jail CPers. At no time was the Smith Act used against right wingers or fascists.

Instead, the government *encourages* the fascists to carry out acts of racist terror against blacks—from Birmingham in 1961, where government agents were complicit with the Klansmen who beat civil rights Freedom Riders, to Greensboro in 1979, where the government cooperated fully with the Klan/Nazi terrorists in planning the murder of five anti-Klan protesters and then let the killers go scot-free. The police departments which would presumably enforce the CP's hoped-for Klan-banning legislation are themselves fertile breeding grounds for KKK scum. There is no way around the Leninist axiom that the capitalist state must be *smashed*.

### CP's "Independent Politics" for the Democrats

According to James Steele's report to the November YWLL leadership conference, the "urgent task" of the "new" Young Communist League will be "to ensure the taking shape of a counterpart (in the broadest sense of the word [naturally]) of the anti-Reagan electoral coalition of labor and its allies, of the basic forces of the all-people's front within the House and Senate," i.e., to build a youth group for liberal Democrats. And not just them—"progressive" Republicans also come in for praise. In other words, the CP youth group's decision to go public with its alleged "communism" is merely a tactical shift.

Militant youth are so disgusted with the twin parties of imperialist war and racism that the CP must change (again) the name of their youth group to keep them marching behind the Democrats. The permanence of this name change will not be proportional to the warmth with which professional red-baiters and strikebreakers like Coleman Young welcome "Young Communists." Our task is to see to it that militant youth are not squandered for class collaboration but are won to the international proletarian revolution. ■



YWLL/YCL: Red, white, blue and pro-Democrat.

# WL and RWL...

(continued from page 6)

Workers (CWA) union, currently conducting a purge trial against a militant steward known to be in political solidarity with the SL. The CWA officials received the document courtesy of the RWL. (See *Workers Vanguard* No. 322, "CWA Witchhunters Get Burned.") We suspect the RWL's recent leaflet will serve about the same purpose.

Symmetrical, albeit different, denunciations have been leveled at us from the dubious *Bulletin*, newspaper of the veteran anti-Spartacist, Qaddafi-loving Workers League (WL). (A word on the WL: it's the American satellite organization of Gerry Healy's British Workers Revolutionary Party [WRP]. Even before it had one foot out of the workers movement, having subordinated itself to squalid anti-working-class Near Eastern military and religious dictatorships, the WL was an unsavory group of political bandits. Its former leader Tim Wohlforth was known to say: "the working class hates faggots, women's libbers and hippies and so do we" some years before he defected to the Socialist Workers Party, from which he has now quit.) In its three articles, the *Bulletin* doesn't deny the leading role of the SL on November 27, but simply denounces the action. An article entitled "Provocation in Washington" (30 November) takes note of the cop rampage against anti-Klan militants and then gets down to business:

"But the political responsibility for leading workers and youth into the police trap rests entirely with the bankrupt middle-class radical sects who organized the anti-Klan protests....

"The middle class demagogues of Spartacist and Workers World leave Washington and return safely to Manhattan and Cambridge.

"But the workers and youth of Washington have no place to go following Saturday's events. They have to face the stepped-up police repression

## SYL Public Events for Black History Month

### Labor/Black Mobilization Shakes Washington

## "We Stopped the Klan!"

Eyewitness Accounts • Video Showing

#### ANN ARBOR

Wednesday, February 9, 8:00 p.m.  
Baits Dormitory, Coman Lounge  
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For more information: (313) 662-2339

#### DETROIT

Wednesday, February 9, 10:40 a.m.  
Classroom Showing  
"Contemporary Black Social and Political Thought: Theory and Practice"  
171 Old Main, Wayne State University  
For more information: (313) 961-1680

#### MADISON

Saturday, February 12, 2 p.m.—4:30 p.m.  
Beefeaters Room, Memorial Union  
University of Wisconsin  
Wednesday, February 23, 7:30 p.m.  
2001 Taft Street  
For more information: (608) 251-3398

#### SAN DIEGO

Tuesday, February 8, 7:00 p.m.  
North Conference Room  
Student Center Complex  
U.C. San Diego  
For more information: (213) 663-1216 or 1217

that will follow from the radicals' political adventure."

As for our flight to the Northeast, we'll simply note the addition of a Spartacist branch in Washington, D.C. to our directory since last November. The Wohlforthites (pardon us, Wohlforth was the WL's supreme leader for so many years, it's hard to break the habit of calling them "Wohlforthites") toady to the violence-mongering mainstream bourgeois media and draw the same conclusion: black Washington—from the union movement to the students and unemployed youth—should have stayed home on November 27.

The WL's repetitive references to "middle-class radicals" who "write off the working class" really means that the Labor/Black Mobilization lacked an AFL-CIO endorsement, which is certainly the case. Where the RWL wants to "make the popular front fight," the Wohlforthites (excuse us...) want to make AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland fight (he does—for the CIA!). The *Bulletin* takes great exception to a

Spartacist statement on November 27, which they quote a lot:

"The fascists are growing. They can poll hundreds of thousands of votes now. In a depression economy, desperate sections of the white working class and unemployed can be whipped up against scapegoats."

This is a just, factual statement, but the *Bulletin* has to justify its denunciation of November 27 as a "police trap" and "publicity stunt" by minimizing the threat posed by the growth of fascist groups and the rise in racist terror. So, it tells us that, "Fascist groups such as the KKK are not the immediate danger" (*Bulletin*, 30 November 1982) and Reagan is. Well, there is a relationship between fighting Reagan and fighting the fascists that are incubating under him. In "Revisionist Frenzy Over Klan" (*Bulletin*, 7 December 1982), Wohlforth's successor trips up a bit:

"For the Spartacists, the issue in America is race, not class. They openly reject a class analysis and demand Black leadership while denouncing the white working class as the source of fascism. The grotesque fixation with the issue of

race plays an utterly reactionary role and the Klan undoubtedly sees it as an assist for its own recruitment campaign."

Positively dialectical! The WL idiotically says: by stopping the Klan cold we few (and 5,000 others, mainly black workers and youth) have "assisted" the Klan's recruitment campaign. But, if the WL admits that such a campaign exists—why don't they see it as a threat? A *Bulletin* salesman in Detroit recently had the opportunity to defend his party's line in answer to questions by a black worker; we overheard the exchange which ended in the worker's final question: "Are you people out of your mother-fucking minds?"

### What Was at Stake in Washington

The bottom line for the RWL and WL, coming from different angles to be sure, is that the black working-class action that stopped the Klan could only be a Spartacist hoax or a Spartacist police trap. In this, they reveal that their "revolutionary Marxism" is a fig leaf that is badly shriveling: they recognize none of the class-struggle potential demonstrated in Washington that day. They share none of the triumph felt by 5,000 when the Klan march was stopped, the police retreated and the fascist march route taken over by the protesters. They also do not comprehend the *defeat* for the workers movement that would have been represented by a successful Klan march, a conscious re-enactment of 1925.

The 1925 Klan march in Washington was 40,000 strong; a horrifying march of triumph and celebration for victorious reaction in post-World War I America. Calvin Coolidge was in the White House, keeping government hands off Big Business, and Italian-born workers Sacco and Vanzetti were on death row. Henry Ford's anti-union policies and personal anti-Semitism symbolized the reaction, the rout of the reds and the unions—a popular slogan of the day

# Spartacist Labor-Centered Mobilizations Stop Fascist Provocations!

## Endorsers, Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK November 27

"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black demonstration against the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) planned November 27th march in Washington, D.C.—an insult to blacks and most other Americans. Stop the Klan!"

- Keith Anwar, member, USWA Local 1010, East Chicago, IN
- William E. Bancroft, Secretary-Treasurer, ILWU Local 10, San Francisco, CA
- Willie L. Bell, Recording Secretary and Chairman, Civil Rights Committee, IAM-AW Local Lodge 739, Oakland, CA
- Vincent S. Benson, Local Chairman, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 1906, Washington, D.C.
- Frank Billeci, President, ILWU Local 34, San Francisco, CA
- Spurgeon L. Boone, President, IBEW Local 2280, Portsmouth, VA
- Roy R. Bowling, President and Assistant Business Agent, Brewery and Beverage Drivers, Inside Workers, Vending Machine Servicemen and Helpers, Local 67, Washington and Vicinity
- Sidney L. Brooks, President, American Postal Workers Union, Nation's Capital Area Local, Washington, D.C.
- W.W. Brown, Jr., Chief Steward, IAM Local 441, Portsmouth, VA
- Milton Burton, Jr., Steward, IBEW Local 734, Portsmouth, VA
- John Carr, President, ILWU Local 10, San Francisco, CA
- Phil Carroll, member, AFSCME Local 2733, Ann Arbor, MI
- Richard Cavalli, Vice President, ILWU Local 34, San Francisco, CA
- Jackie Clark, General Executive Board, ILWU Local 6, San Francisco, CA
- I.P. Cordeiro, Financial Secretary/Treasurer, Amalgamated Transit Union, Local 192, Oakland, CA
- Department of Black Studies, City College of New York, and Leonard Jeffries, Jr., Professor
- Nannien Dukes, Steward, AFSCME Local 23, Detroit, MI
- Robert Edwards, President, ILWU Local 2, San Francisco, CA
- Executive Board, Building Laborers Local 74, Washington, D.C.
- Marvin Foreman, Business Rep., Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Local 23, Norfolk, VA
- Benjamin J. Foster, Chairman, Track and Power Distribution Division, TWU Local 100, New York, NY
- Richard Fraser, Historic American Trotskyist and member, Democratic Socialists of America, Los Angeles, CA
- Arthur T. Freeman, President and Business Manager, Metropolitan Public Service Workers, Laborers International Union, Local 52, Norfolk, VA
- Alvin F. Gant, General President, National Post Office Mailhandlers Union Local 302, San Francisco, CA
- Richard D. Garland, Former Black Advocate and Representative, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI
- Thomas W. Gleason, President, ILA
- Willie Golphin, Staff Representative, Community & Social Agency Employees Union, District Council 1707, AFSCME, New York, NY
- Edward Gorman, Recording Secretary, USWA Local 2609, Sparrows Point, MD
- Stanley Gow, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10, San Francisco, CA
- Carole A. Graves, President, Newark Teachers Union, Local 4Q1, AFT/AFL-CIO, Newark, NJ
- Roy Greer, Local 959, Ann Arbor, MI
- Fernando Guerrero, President, OCAW Local 1-1978, Richmond, CA
- Ethan Gums, Chair, Legislative Committee, Chief Steward, IAM-AW Local Lodge 739, Oakland, CA
- Jean Haskett, Secretary, IBEW Local 2280, Portsmouth, VA
- Cleophas C. Hawkins, Steward, IBEW Local 2280, Portsmouth, VA
- Robert Hefner, Professor, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI
- Gene Heron for the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the National Maritime Union
- Garry E. Hunter, Vice President and Chief Steward, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, Local 57, Portsmouth, VA
- Norman Huntaman, President, IAM Local Lodge 739, Oakland, CA

STOP THE NAZIS CELEBRATING HITLER'S BIRTHDAY!  
—April 19 Committee Against Nazis

Partial List of Endorsers, April 19 Committee Against Nazis

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT: A.N.C.A.N., c/o Box 6273, San Francisco, CA 94161

PARTIAL LIST OF ENDORSERS

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT: A.N.C.A.N., c/o Box 6273, San Francisco, CA 94161

List of Endorsers, June 27 Committee to Stop the Nazis

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT: A.N.C.A.N., c/o Box 6273, San Francisco, CA 94161

### San Francisco April 19, 1980

- IAM Local Lodge 1327, South San Francisco, CA
- Kathy Ikegami, Executive Board, CWA Local 9410, San Francisco, CA
- ILA Local 1248, Norfolk, VA
- ILA Local 1458, Norfolk, VA
- International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, Local 684, Norfolk, VA and T.L. Fields, President
- Willie T. Jenkins, Business Manager, Laborers International Union, Local 334, Detroit, MI
- Arnold J. Johnson, Steward, USWA Local 2610, Sparrows Point, MD
- Ed Kartsen, member, TWU Local 100, New York, NY
- Mike Kaslan, General Executive Board, ILWU Local 6, San Francisco, CA
- Josephus King, President, AFSCME Local 23, Detroit, and President, City of Detroit AFSCME Presidents
- Francis Laroque, Asst. Professor, Department of Black Studies, City College of New York, New York, NY
- Jackie Eugene Lee, Vice President, National Post Office Mailhandlers Union Local 302, San Francisco, CA
- Jack Lieblin, Alternate Steward, CWA Local 1150, New York, NY
- Longshore Executive Board, ILA Local 333, Baltimore, MD
- Conrad Lynn, Civil Rights Attorney, New York, NY
- Milton M. Mapp, President, Oakland American Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO, Oakland, CA
- Ed Patrick Martin, member, UAW Local 600, Dearborn, MI
- Cliff Mezo, Vice President, USWA Local 1010, East Chicago, IN
- David W. Moore, Retired UAW International Representative, Participant in 1932 Ford Hunger March, Detroit, MI
- Kenneth B. Nesbitt, Executive Board, United Motormen Division, TWU Local 100, New York, NY
- Partisan Defense Committee
- Gaith Phelps, Business Manager, Laborers International Union, Local 1165, Grand Rapids, MI
- Everett Riehl, President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1555, Oakland, CA
- Georgia Roberts, Executive Secretary, NAACP, Norfolk, VA

### Chicago June 27, 1982

### Ann Arbor March 20, 1982

- Rouge Militant Caucus in UAW Local 600, Dearborn, MI
- Rudy Schneider, Griever, USWA Local 1010, East Chicago, IN
- SEIU Local 87, San Francisco, CA
- Agnes Shepperson, Steward, CWA Local 5050, Chicago, IL
- Ron Simmons, Steward, IBEW Local 2280, Portsmouth, VA
- William H. Simons, President, AFT Local 6, Washington, D.C.
- Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League
- Shelton Tappes, Retired UAW member, Detroit, MI
- Carter A. Tyler, Steward, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, Local 57, Portsmouth, VA
- Ronald A. Tyree, Steward, CWA Local 1150, New York, NY
- UAW Local 595, Linden, NJ
- UAW Local 919, Norfolk, VA and Jimmy Volivia, President and Building Chairman United Motormen Division of UAW Local 100, meeting (17 Nov.), New York, NY
- USWA Local 1010, East Chicago, IN
- Johnny Vawters, Past President, Dearborn Assembly Plant, UAW Local 600, Dearborn, MI
- L.P. Watson, President, NAACP, Norfolk, VA
- Ronald Welsen, President, USWA Local 1397, Homestead, PA
- Alfonso Wells, Chairman of the Retirees, UAW Local 1776, Willow Run, Ypsilanti, MI
- Shirley A. Whetstone, President, AFSCME Local 2477, Washington, D.C.
- Robert F. Williams, Editor, *Crusader*
- Henry Hank Wilson, President, Dearborn Assembly Plant, UAW Local 600, Dearborn, MI
- Lynn Yaeger, Chief Shop Steward, *Village Voice*, UAW District 65, New York, NY

\*Organization listed for identification purposes only.  
We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the views expressed by the initiators of this mobilization.

**Spartacus Youth League Directory**

SYL National Office, Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008  
 Ann Arbor, MI 48107 or call (513) 462-2339  
 Berkeley/Oakland, SYL, Box 273, Cleveland Station, Oakland, CA 94612 or call (415) 835-1535  
 Boston, SYL, Box 188, MIT Station, Cambridge, MA 02139 or call (617) 492-9126  
 Chicago, SYL, Box 44, Chicago, IL 60603 or call (312) 442-1000  
 Cleveland, SYL, Box 100, Cleveland, OH 44115 or call (216) 431-1000  
 Madison, SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701 or call (608) 251-3198  
 New York, SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 or call (212) 267-1025  
 Norfolk, P.O. Box 1972, Main P.O., Norfolk, VA 23501 or call (804) 541-4382  
 San Francisco, SYL, Box 11885, San Francisco, CA 94101 or call (415) 863-6963  
 Washington, D.C.: 210 7th St. S.E., Suite E12, Washington, D.C. 20003, or call (202) 636-3537

**Trotskyist League of Canada**

**WL claims SL/SYL returned to "Manhattan and Cambridge." See for yourself, Wohlforthite liars!**

was "Not Marx, But Ford!" Membership figures for both the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and Communist Party (CP) had dropped precipitously since the immediate post-war radicalization in 1919. William Green, Gompers' successor to the AFL presidency, declared strikes outmoded. In this climate, the KKK grew steadily in membership and genuine political influence, and it celebrated all of this in 1925. While unquestionably anti-red, anti-union, anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic, the KKK was and is primarily an organization to terrorize the black population. And history shows consistently and with a vengeance that if blacks are terrorized, so is the entire workers movement.

Veteran Communist and leader of American Trotskyism, James P. Cannon wrote of the CP's situation:

"The trade union successes, which had piled up so impressively in the preceding period, were turned into a series of defeats which became a virtual rout, while the Gompers 'red hunt' rode triumphantly from one end of the labor movement to the other. The poor showing of the party in the presidential election of 1924 testified most convincingly to the party's isolation.... And the worst was yet to come."

—*First Ten Years of American Communism*

"It was," Cannon wrote, "difficult to be a working revolutionist in America in those days, to sustain the agitation that brought no response, to repeat the slogans which found no echo."

A victorious Klan march in Washington in 1982, encouraged by the Coolidgeesque Administration, would have represented the furthering of a reactionary crystallization. But the agitation against the Klan brought forth a response and our slogans found an echo. What stopped the Klan from celebrating its resurgence in Reagan's America that day was a common military action between a section of the black working class who forced some of

their leaders into it behind them and the SL. The existence of a serious, organized opposition—including a significant trade-union component—is in part responsible for the dismal number of Klansmen who showed up for their abortive march.

We proposed to unions in the area a bloc for action, based on the sole aim of stopping the Klan. We didn't force our politics on those who endorsed and we didn't submerge our politics for them. There is no basis for a political bloc between, for instance, International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) head Gleason and the Trotskyist SL. But the ILA, particularly in the Southeast, is a heavily black union whose ranks understand well the need to combat Klan terror; too many of them have had first-hand experience with the Klan. Gleason endorsed, as did a large number of officials and business agents, executive boards and entire union locals. Using the Leninist tactic of the united front, we were able to wrench a good chunk of the labor movement from passivity and defeat into a fighting stance.

Marxists understand that the organized working class has the social power necessary to defeat fascism and fight for the rights and needs of all the oppressed. To our proletarian strategy, the RWL counterposes "the unity of mass workers organizations with black, Arab, gay and women's groups will be necessary to stop fascism if it grows into a mass movement." In practice, this New Leftover sectoralism means pulling together little clots claiming to represent "x liberation," adopting a common "radical" program and grooving on invariably short-lived "unity." Even the infamously corrupt ILA leadership—under pressure from its black locals—would and did unite with known reds in action against the Klan. But try getting the ILA to embrace some 10-point "anti-Reagan people's platform"! The RWL's sectoralist strategy is about as effective as spray painting slogans on government buildings.

On November 27 the centrist RWL had two choices. It could either be part of a militant bloc united on only the one vital issue—stop the Klan—or it could be on the outer fringe of the popular front. It chose the latter course, conforming to Trotsky's observation that between opportunism and Marxism, a centrist "kowtows before the first and has contempt for the second" (*Writings, 1933-34*). The RWL was rewarded for its choice with wretched irrelevance in the Washington showdown.

There is a similar problem in the

**ANTI-KLAN BENEFIT A BIG SUCCESS!**  
 A special blues benefit for the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization raised over \$1,500 as nearly 250 black and white workers and students jammed Eli's Mile High Club in Oakland January 24. The audience enthusiastically greeted blues performers Monica DuPont, Troyce Key and the Eddy Rey Blues Band and applauded Spartacist League/SYL spokesmen.

Young Spartacus Photo



Wohlforthites' (we mean WL) slogan for a labor party as a panacea to fight Reagan reaction. While we certainly agree that the key task for revolutionists is the political organization of the working class, the WL makes no distinction between a workers party and the British Labour Party (in which the WL's British masters are deeply buried). Because of the existence of the *sellout* Labour Party for decade after decade, Britain today has one of the most effective and largest fascist movements in the world. American workers need their own party, but it remains to be seen what form that will take. Nowhere is it written that the volatile, multiracial American proletariat must necessarily break from the Democrats toward a revolutionary workers party via a middle "stage," i.e., a reformist labor party controlled by the conservative trade-union tops. In a period of massive class battles and social upheaval, even a relatively small revolutionary party could make a leap akin to that of the Bolsheviks in 1917. "It would be a great mistake, however, to speak of a prospective labor party as the solution to the problem of fascism," Cannon wrote in 1954.

"If the slogan of a labor party based on the trade unions is the most correct and necessary general slogan of agitation at the present time, the simultaneous explanation of the inescapable trend of developments toward a revolutionary showdown, and the building of a party of conscious revolutionists based on this perspective, cannot be put aside in the meantime."

—James P. Cannon, *Notebook of An Agitator*

The RWL uses racist language to smear us and sneers at our slogan "Finish the Civil War—Forward to a

Workers State!", the WL dismisses our determination to build black leadership as "obsession with race." They betray a lot about their respective claims to being Marxist organizations serious about constructing a revolutionary workers party. That the American black proletariat is strategic and central to a successful fight for workers power is hardly some newfangled Spartacist contribution. As early as 1886, pioneer fighter for the rights of labor and the black population William H. Sylvius described the potential of a racially-united working-class movement: "If we can succeed in convincing these people to make common cause with us...we will have a power...that will shake Wall Street out of its boots." Mobilizing militant sections of the labor movement in alliance with the black population to stop fascist terror in the major urban areas is an urgent and realizable task of all those who claim to be revolutionists. Our slogan "No More Greensboros!" means we need to pick and choose our targets. As we noted in our reply to the *Daily Californian* (25 December 1982):

"Needless to say, we do not believe in the impartiality of the police, but we do know that only great mass labor upsurges such as took place in the 1930s can in general effectively deal with that problem and in the meantime we seek to avoid martyrdom such as was visited so terribly upon the Black Panthers."

Successful mobilizations such as that on November 27 not only frustrate the immediate threat of racist terror and growth of the fascists, but point the way forward to the necessary class-struggle actions to bring down this rotting, racist system. If November 27 is any indication—and it is—the RWL and WL won't be around to see it happen. ■

**YSA...**

(continued from page 5)

simultaneously pose as Castroists and anti-Soviet social democrats for the simple reason that Castro and the Kremlin are of one mind on all known questions. Thus, the supposedly gung-ho Fidelistas of the SWP are literally on the opposite side of the barricades from Cuba in both Afghanistan and Poland. The pronounced anti-Sovietism of the SWP evidenced itself during the 1975 civil war in Angola when it took a position of pro-imperialist "neutrality" between the CIA/South African invasion on one side and the Soviet/Cuban/MPLA forces on the other. Six months after the war was over, they changed their line. Today, the YSA raises the utopian demand for U.S. "unilateral disarmament" but Barnes & Co. have gone on record demanding *Soviet disarmament*. Joseph Hansen wrote in a 1977 exchange with another SWPer:

"If we now place within this political context the Kremlin's policy of haggling with Carter over relatively insignificant details in the arms race, it is clear that *Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to*

*seize the initiative on disarmament...."* [emphasis ours]

—reprinted in *International Socialist Review*, May 1982

Barnes took this one better in the SWP *IIDB* No. 4, 1980: he suggested Brezhnev "go on television and announce that the USSR is destroying a big part of its nuclear arsenal and propose to Washington a schedule to destroy the rest at short intervals." Stranger yet, the SWP/YSA clings to the belief that the U.S. nuclear arsenal is aimed centrally at the Caribbean and Central America, rather than at Moscow—a truly unique worldview!

Successful or unsuccessful (and much indicates the latter) the SWP of today is a social-democratic party of defeat and betrayal, a roadblock to revolution. It has betrayed every principle of Trotskyism—from the urgent necessity of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against bellicose imperialism to the mobilization of workers defense guards to crush the fascist threat. When in 1939 the then-revolutionary SWP's call for a militant counterdemonstration to break up a fascist rally in Madison Square Garden brought out 50,000 and sent the civil libertarians into a frenzy,

the SWP responded with the article, "Should Fascists Be Allowed the Right of Free Speech?" (*Socialist Appeal*, 3 March 1939), which concluded:

"The wailing and weeping about the Nazis' 'rights' can safely be left to the prissy Liberals and the phony Democrats. The self-preservation of the working class demands that it cut through all abstract chatter and smash the fascist gangs by decisive and relentless action."

We can only imagine what theoretical violence will be done to revolutionary Marxism in Barnes' "Their Trotsky and Ours" presentation but it's ultimately insignificant since the SWP/YSA long ago renounced the revolutionary heritage of Cannon's SWP and Trotsky's Fourth International. That heritage and program belong to the SL/SYL. That we organized the November 27 anti-Klan victory was no accident but the application today of the exemplary anti-fascist organizing carried out by the American Trotskyists in the 1930s. We will continue to struggle for the construction of a revolutionary workers party with a strong black leadership component to smash racist capitalism.

If you share these goals, the SWP/YSA is the *wrong* organization—join the SL/SYL! ■

**Spartacist League/  
 Spartacus Youth League  
 Public Offices**

**Bay Area**

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

**Chicago**

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

**New York City**

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

**Trotskyist League  
 of Canada**

**Toronto**

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

# First Strike...

(continued from page 1)

Adelman who, like Rostow, is a member of the "Committee on the Present Danger." According to *Newsweek* (24 January) Adelman, in 1981, "expressed his enthusiasm for 'newer and better offensive nuclear weapons'."

## MX: First Strike

The Reagan Neanderthals couple their plans to "prevail" with a lot of talk of how the Russians, in fact, have nuclear "superiority." Reagan has also embarked on an anti-communist propaganda offensive, complete with "the ten commandments of Nikolai Lenin" and a lot of quotes from *Readers Digest*. Over the years there have been "bomber gaps," "missile gaps," "ABM gaps," and now there is the "window of vulnerability." This is the kind of cover under which the bourgeoisie *always* sells massive rearmament.

The MX is a multiple-warhead ICBM with the pinpoint accuracy and explosive power to destroy Soviet land-based missiles. For public consumption Reagan claims that the U.S. needs the MX because land-based Minuteman missiles are vulnerable to a Soviet first strike. Land-based missiles are vulnerable—especially when based close together as Reagan has proposed with dense pack. The only possible rationale for MX is as a *first-strike weapon*. Reagan isn't worried about "vulnerability" because the MXs will be *long gone out of their silos*. Though the "dense pack" basing scheme was scuttled by the House last winter, Reagan got \$2.5 billion for continued research and development. They are just trying to find a more effective way to put the weapon in place.

Even if the Russians could solve the technical problems involved in wiping out every single one of the 1,052 American land-based missiles, the truth is it doesn't matter. The U.S. has 4,750 deliverable warheads on essentially invulnerable submarines and 356 long-range bombers some of which are armed and in the air at all times. A single Poseidon submarine carries 160 independently targetable warheads—enough to wipe out as many Soviet cities, annihilate tens of millions of Russians and obliterate the USSR's industrial base. There is little dispute about the silo-busting Trident D-5 development. Everyone in the U.S.

government agrees that the D-5, based on nuclear-powered Ohio-class submarines, will be invulnerable to Soviet attack. Then there's the cruise missile. These are cheap (about \$1 million each), can carry conventional and nuclear warheads and, as eminent physicist Hans Bethe stated before a Senate committee in May 1982: "No defense system against it exists. The elaborate and costly Russian air defense system has been made obsolete by the cruise missile, 3,000 of which are to be installed on our bombers" (*New York Review of Books*, 10 June 1982). According to Bethe, "If anyone has a window of vulnerability, it is the Soviet Union...."

## Only Eight Minutes Away ...

In late 1983 the U.S. is scheduled to deploy 108 Pershing missile launchers and 464 cruise missiles in Europe. When the Pershing 2s are in place in Europe only *eight minutes* will separate major Soviet cities from nuclear destruction. Seen from the Soviet side, this is an incredible provocation, akin to a declaration of first use intent in Europe.

In 1962, faced with Russian missiles placed in Cuba for defensive purposes, Kennedy threatened nuclear holocaust. According to figures issued by the Union of Concerned Scientists, the U.S. had 600 long-range bombers and about 6,000 strategic warheads by 1962; John Prados (*New York Times*, 7 June 1982) cited U.S. plans for 1,100 ICBMs at the same time. Prados also cites American estimates of Soviet ICBMs in 1962 as 75; a former chief of the Defense Intelligence Agency later put the figure at *four!* One month after the Cuban Missile Crisis, Robert McNamara of current "no first use" fame wrote the following in a memo to President Kennedy:

"The Air Force has rather supported the development of forces which provide the United States a first-strike capability credible to the Soviet Union by virtue of our ability to limit damage to the United States and our allies to levels acceptable in light of the circumstances and alternatives available."

The Russians backed down in 1962; *they have nuclear parity today*. They achieved this while McNamara & Co. were trying to bomb the Vietnamese workers and peasants back to the stone age and today the Soviets have a totally credible *second strike* capability. The present Strangelovian crew in Washington has prompted the Soviet bureaucracy into reasserting that the Pentagon will not "prevail." In one of his last

major speeches, Brezhnev reassured top Soviet military leaders that:

"It is necessary to be able to operate with due account of the latest achievements of science and art of war.... Competition in military technology has sharply intensified, often acquiring a fundamentally new character. A lag in this competition is inadmissible."

—*New York Times*,  
28 October 1982

Over 20 million Soviet citizens died in World War II, defending their state against Hitler's invading armies. And, like the Europeans, the Soviet population knows what war really means as well as the price paid for inadequate defenses. The American psychology, however, is shaped by the absence of any war on U.S. land since the Civil War. As depicted in *Dr. Strangelove* and as practiced in the dirty war in Vietnam, "war" is hopping into your bomber, flying over a defenseless village, dropping the bombs and heading back for a steak dinner and martinis. But that isn't how World War III will look.

## "A Tactical Battlefield Nuclear Weapon Is One That Blows Up in Germany"

"During the Cuban missile crisis," wrote a Soviet commentator recently, "would Washington have agreed to leave 10 Soviet missiles in Cuba? Or even two? No, it would not." Yet Reagan is demanding, with his "zero option," that the Russians either live with U.S. missiles eight minutes from Moscow, or agree to dismantle *all* of their SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5 missiles.

There is no chance that the Soviets will agree to zero option, and the European bourgeoisies know it. Even Margaret Thatcher, one of Reagan's staunchest anti-Soviet supporters, views zero option as an unrealistic proposal.

Moreover, Reagan's talk of "limited" nuclear war has the European population scared that he means "limited" to them. West Germany has more nuclear weapons per square inch than any other country on earth, and Reagan wants to deploy all of the Pershing 2s there. That, as Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko pointedly stressed during his recent trip to Bonn, is tantamount to declaring Germany as ground zero. Fear of a nuclear war triggered by U.S. bellicosity is so strong in West Germany that the American ruling class risks losing all chance of deploying the Pershing 2s. Therefore, they are now making noises about a more "flexible" negotiating position.

## Détente: Imperialist Tactic, Stalinist Pipedream

The deadly dangerous brinkmanship of Reagan & Co.'s Cold War "peace talks" was presaged by Democrat Jimmy Carter who initiated the anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign, beat

the war drums over Afghanistan and reinstated draft registration, and developed the MX missile. Those who believe that the short life of "détente" was ended by Reagan's inauguration should think again. In any case, détente was never more than a breathing space for the U.S. imperialists who were reeling from their humiliating defeat in Vietnam and domestic upheaval. Henry Kissinger, Nixon's "détente statesman," explained this plainly:

"We froze a disparity which we inherited in order to gain time to reverse the situation. And we did. We stopped no programme; we accelerated several.... If there had been no agreement, we could have done no more: and we would have been worse off because the Soviets were in a position to add numbers immediately and we were not."

—*Economist*, 3 February 1979

In Europe, the bourgeoisies—especially that of West Germany—have their own and somewhat different version of détente: economic penetration of Eastern Europe, further corrupting the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states, and encouraging internal counterrevolutionary forces such as erupted in Poland in and around Solidarność.

Nonetheless, the Kremlin Stalinists remain as ever dedicated to "détente" and "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist powers. "No, the policy of détente is not a past stage at all," Andropov stated, "the future belongs to it." Fearing international proletarian revolution as a threat to their privileged bureaucratic rule, the Stalinists must opt for a "deal" with imperialism, although such "deals" are at best temporary and invariably at the Soviets' expense. The commitment to détente on the one hand, and gross economic mismanagement by the Stalinists on the other, gravely endanger the workers states by encouraging both internal threats (e.g., Solidarność) and further imperialist encroachments. To genuinely defend the gains of October and all those states where capitalism has been overthrown requires both proletarian social revolutions in the West and proletarian political revolutions in the deformed workers states to oust the nationalist bureaucracies and replace them with revolutionary internationalist leaderships.

## "Rationally" Fighting World War III?

Sections of the U.S. ruling class have become increasingly troubled by Reagan's nuclear strategy, and not simply because of the effects of the huge budget deficits on the ailing U.S. economy. For instance, George Kennan, McGeorge Bundy, Robert McNamara and Gerard Smith—the four authors of the infamous "no first use" article in *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1982) have emerged as "saner" voices. McNamara et al. advocate the maintenance of a sufficient

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"deterrent" nuclear force, a declaration of "no first use" in Europe and a build-up of NATO's conventional military forces. Concerned about options limited to nukes in the face of Soviet conventional forces, they argue for a usable conventional military presence in Europe. McNamara and Bundy dropped the equivalent of two Hiroshimas a day on the workers and peasants of Vietnam and know all about "conventional" warfare.

A declaration of "no first use" in Europe from the U.S. imperialists is about as useless as the paper it's written on. A "limited" "conventional" war in Europe is not going to happen, just like a nuclear war limited to Europe won't happen. It's also useless to hope, as some Europeans do, that the Americans and Soviets will "nuke it out" entirely with intercontinental missiles, leaving Europe unscathed.

World War III necessarily means global nuclear holocaust. World imperialism was not deterred by the "irrationality" of the First and Second World Wars. Billions are not spent on nuclear mega-death weaponry just for show, either. Those things are meant to be used and the question is not "will they do it?" but "when will they do it again?" The U.S., and only the U.S., already has used them—on innocent civilian populations in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and that was just to prove to the Soviets that they had the bomb. To threaten the destruction of human civilization is indeed an "irrational" act, but, according to the Brookings Institution, the U.S. threatened in earnest to use nuclear weapons *nineteen times* between 1949 and 1975. Reagan & Co. are just as committed as Hitler was to reverse the gains of the Russian Revolution; they will go to war unless stopped by victorious workers revolution.

**Democrats: U.S. Party of War**

The nuclear "freeze" movement, whose leading lights include Vietnam war criminals like McNamara, is obscene and dangerous. Under its umbrella, much of the petty bourgeoisie—realizing that their A-frame houses in New Hampshire do not make them immune from the effects of long-term radiation poisoning—are being mobilized. Many are under the illusion that significant sections of the bourgeoisie (i.e., the Democrats) are opposed to war. But the Democratic Party is historically the preferred party of war since it can more effectively mobilize the population. Every war of this century was initiated by a *Democratic* president. The fake left has jumped on the "freeze" bandwagon, too, with the reformist slogan, "Money for Jobs, Not for War." But they are going to be sorely disappointed if they believe the military budget will be cut in order to spend more on social services. All wings of the bourgeoisie are committed to a military buildup; the question is how much and how to spend the money.

The most telling point about the "freeze" movement is the fact that the "freezers" refuse to take a stand against the U.S. war drive in the areas of the world where the Cold War rages hottest—Afghanistan and Central America. In Afghanistan reactionary mullahs and feudal landlords are fighting the Soviet Red Army and its left-nationalist allies to keep Afghan women bound to the seventh century, bought and sold like goats. The CIA is arming the fanatical Islamic "freedom fighters" to the hilt, jumping on the chance to kill *real* Soviet soldiers, not supposed "surrogates" like the Vietnamese and Cubans. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan on the side of a left-nationalist government which at least wants women to be able to learn to read and write is one of the very few genuinely progressive actions that the Soviets have engaged in in a long time. Only the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) say "Hail Red Army in Afghani-

stan! Extend the Gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan Peoples!"

In Central America, CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries have launched *three* invasion-force attacks against the left-nationalist regime in Nicaragua since the beginning of December, and the U.S. military has ominously re-scheduled joint exercises with the Honduran military for February 1. In El Salvador the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) fights against the bloody military dictatorship which is armed to the teeth by U.S. imperialism. Reagan wants to "roll back Communism" from El Salvador to Nicaragua to Cuba—and then to the Soviet Union itself. Only the SL/SYL has taken a clear side where the U.S. bourgeoisie is waging a *real* war. Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador! Defense of the USSR and Cuba Begins in Central America!

**There Are No "Peace-Loving" Imperialists**

The pro-Moscow Stalinists of the Communist Party, USA (CP) have, predictably, hailed the "freeze" campaign as a movement for "peace." Since its strikebreaking alliance with FDR begun in the 1930s, the CP has dreamt of recreating those halcyon days of the "anti-fascist people's front." But that's not about to happen. During World War II, the U.S. was in a temporary military bloc with the Soviet Union and the CP's then considerable influence among the working class was useful in mobilizing for war, in "disciplining" the labor movement. However, the U.S. emerged from World War II as the gendarme of world imperialism and—as every school child knows—the No. 1 enemy of the "Russkies." The bourgeoisie has a "united front"—around anti-Communist aggression.

The Stalinists' record on "peace-loving progressives" has been a shabby one of betrayal of the elementary defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states against the U.S. The CP supported John F. Kennedy as the "lesser evil"—Kennedy didn't see it that way and went right on invading Cuba in the Bay of Pigs fiasco, his CIA buddies continued their assassination schemes against Fidel Castro and he escalated the filthy war in Vietnam. The same occurred with the next CP-supported "lesser evil," LBJ, of "how many kids did you kill today" fame. Having sacrificed any vestige of class principle to its fantasy of "unity" with the "peace-loving" bourgeoisie, the CP is unable to mount any opposition to the U.S. Strangeloves. Quite the contrary, with barely a detente liberal in sight, the CP tails certified war criminals like McNamara and Bundy.

Nuclear weapons in the hands of the Soviet bureaucracy have bought the world proletariat a little more time to resolve the question of socialism or nuclear annihilation. But time is running out. Revolutionaries in the United States have a special responsibility to face this question squarely. Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive means attacks on the living standards, union rights, social services and elementary democratic rights of much of the population. It has encouraged the growth of fascist race-terror groups like the Klan and the Nazis. At the same time, a revolutionary party capable of mobilizing class opposition to the war drive and in defense of the rights of workers and the oppressed, for a break with the Democrats and Republicans and for a workers party to fight for a workers government, can lead the desperately necessary struggle to smash the war drive. We are dedicated to forging such a leadership and through victorious workers revolution in this, the most powerful imperialist power on earth, ending the threat of nuclear annihilation. There are no other answers to the inexorable drive toward war by the irrational rulers of a dying system. ■

**Merritt SYL Demo:**

**No Tuition! Defend Ethnic Studies!**

On January 18 about 30 people, mainly students and faculty, held a demonstration outside the Peralta Community College District Office in downtown Oakland before a meeting of the Board of Trustees. This united-front demonstration was initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) in response to recent budget cuts and layoffs and the continued attacks on the already devastated ethnic studies programs. Speakers at the rally included members of the SYL from Merritt College and UC Berkeley, Associated Students of Merritt College president Twilver Earle, Laney College Ethnic Studies Department chairman Doctor Henry A. Bryant and Peter Woolston, a member of the General Executive Board of ILWU Local 6 and the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the union. The rally's demands of "No Fees Or Tuition!", "Defend Ethnic Studies!" and "No Hiring Freeze!" struck a responsive chord at the predominantly working-class community colleges of the Peralta district and were endorsed by members of the Merritt Black Students Union, Merritt La Raza (a Chicano organization) and the California State Employees Association (CSEA). Hundreds of leaflets for the demonstration were distributed by BSU members at Merritt while a CSEA job steward helped to build for the rally at the College of Alameda.

Opposition to the cuts was stiffened by the arrogant and underhanded behavior of the Administration. The junior Reagans of the California Community College Board passed a resolution at their December 10 meeting which outlined a plan for the imposition of "fees" after hypocritically passing another resolution which said that they "opposed tuition." The campus community was outraged upon learning that—adding insult to injury—the Board members had voted themselves huge lifetime benefits in closed session.

Inside the Board meeting itself three students from the Merritt SYL

demanded that the cuts in ethnic studies be rescinded and pointed out that the root cause of these cuts is the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive.

In contrast, various other left organizations either abstained or merely tried to lobby the trustees. Oba Tshaka, a member of the Pan-African People's Association at San Francisco State University, pleaded with the trustees for preferential

Young Spartacus Photo



layoffs of faculty to preserve ethnic studies at the expense of other departments.

The pro-NATO League of Revolutionary Struggle was nowhere to be seen during the recent fight against the cutbacks and fee threats. Prominent Socialist Workers Party hack Jeff Mackler's name was on the speaking list but he failed to show up. (A small team of *Militant* salesmen did arrive an hour after the meeting began and just in time to miss the agenda point on the ethnic studies cuts.)

Although relatively new to Merritt College, the SYL has already established itself as the only group on campus with a strategy of militant struggle in the interests of poor and working-class students. Over 40 copies of *Young Spartacus* were sold during the campaign and about 50 students at Merritt College have attended video showings of recent SL/SYL anti-fascist actions. Down With the Budget Cuts! Down With the Anti-Soviet War Drive! Build a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government! Join Us!

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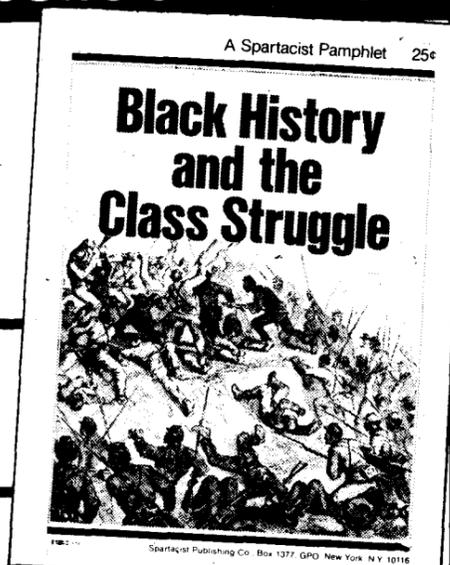
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# Young Spartacus

## Reagan's Black Front Men Wield the Ax in Washington, D.C.

# Defend the UDC 3,876!

WASHINGTON—Last month, the University of the District of Columbia (UDC) announced the suspension of 876 students and placed another 3,000 on probation. UDC is 95 percent black and virtually the only relatively inexpensive four-year college in the entire District. Now, in a school of 14,000—well over 25 percent of the student body is under, or has already gotten, the ax! This gross economic purge means obliterating the chance of hundreds, if not thousands, of black youth to a decent education. Once thrown out on the streets, the ex-students can look forward to scrounging for non-existent jobs. Unemployment is well over 50 percent in the District and nationally climbing to 70 percent for black youth. For UDC students, this attack poses the stark alternatives facing black America: fight or starve!

UDC president Benjamin Alexander, along with the *Washington Post*, cynically present this vicious "austerity" offensive as a step towards academic excellence, rendering the UDC diploma more "valuable" for the left. Alexander complains that too many students' grades are too low and now threatens to slash campus advisory and remedial services. "We have open admissions at UDC," Alexander sneers, "but not open graduation" (*Washington Post*, 6 January).

Maybe UDC and the city think that black and working-class youth will take anything that's dished out. But only two months ago, thousands of black workers and youth ran the Ku Klux Klan right off the streets of Washington, responding to the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK. It wasn't hat-in-hand appeals to the likes of D.C. mayor Marion Barry or representative Walter Fauntroy which ran the hooded fascists out of Washington, either. These Democratic Party front men opposed the Labor/Black Mobilization down the line and now they've OK'd the attack on black students at UDC. As the Black Panther Party used to say, "they're part of the problem."

For those who manage to stay in school, the UDC president has embarked on a full-blown campaign of intimidation and harassment against the student body. Participants in the November 27 anti-fascist mobilization have been threatened and harassed by the administration and a libelous, violence-baiting letter was printed in *The Flight Path*, the campus paper, alleging that demonstration organizers attempted to instigate assaults on police. Blacks who rallied against the Klan were slandered as communist dupes. Sinister lies such as these can only be regarded as a setup for repression.

More recently, *The Flight Path's* funds were cut off, thereby preventing publication for several weeks. The UPI teletype was taken away from the campus radio station and its speakers in university buildings were taken out. Tuition has doubled in the last year and is expected to double again next year. But the school spent \$421,000 to buy a

**Reagan Cuts, Killer Cops, No Jobs: Black Youth Fight for Survival. Thousands Rallied to Stop KKK in D.C.**



Workers Vanguard Photo

It's fight or starve: November 27 anti-Klan mobilization (above), NYC summer jobs line, 1977 (left).

home for its president in the posh Chevy Chase district. Adding a Reaganite touch, Alexander and his first lady are requesting \$10,000 for silver, china and additional furnishings (*Washington Post*, 21 January).

Oust Alexander and his administration! Defend open admissions with a fight for free tuition and a state-paid stipend for all! The fight for quality education, however, cannot be waged apart from the broader class struggle against capitalism. And in such a fight, UDC students can have plenty of allies.

Like some neo-colonial puppets, Barry, Fauntroy and Alexander have dealt blow after blow to Washington's working-class citizens. Long gone is Barry's promise of a seven percent pay raise for city employees. On the heels of the mayor's black tie inaugural came a

new budget with layoffs, cuts in unemployment benefits, a 20 percent reduction in the summer jobs for youth program, cutbacks or elimination of aid to the homeless, the disabled and drug addicts, new taxes and no raises. Barry even proposed that D.C. residents start paying for public lighting.

Marion Barry blames the Reagan administration for the city's financial trouble. Sure, in Reagan's America there is no future for blacks but it was Barry's own Democrats, the party of Jimmy Carter and George Wallace, which paved the way for Reagan by gutting the cities, burying busing and slashing social services, all to pay for the capitalists' intended war on Russia.

It will take a fight to bring down Reagan and his henchmen in Congress and the District Building but the forces

needed to win are waiting in the factories and ghettos. The Washington area's most militant blacks and workers must not forget the sense of their own social power in chasing the KKK out of town. Blacks have nothing to gain from reactionary "back to Africa" pipe-dreams as peddled by the All-African People's Revolutionary Party nor from so-called "community control" schemes in the decaying ghettos. Militants must fight for revolutionary integration. Open the elite schools, like Georgetown and Washington University to all working-class youth—nationalize the private universities!

The programs of Reagan, Carter and their black front men are all the same. In the service of capitalism what they offer black youth is: no school, no jobs, no hope. The SYL is a revolutionary youth organization which struggles against racist terror, austerity cutbacks and imperialist war. We say it is desperately necessary to fight! Join the SYL and help us build the multiracial revolutionary workers party necessary to put an end to the racist, capitalist system once and for all. ■