

Young Spartacus

NUMBER 104

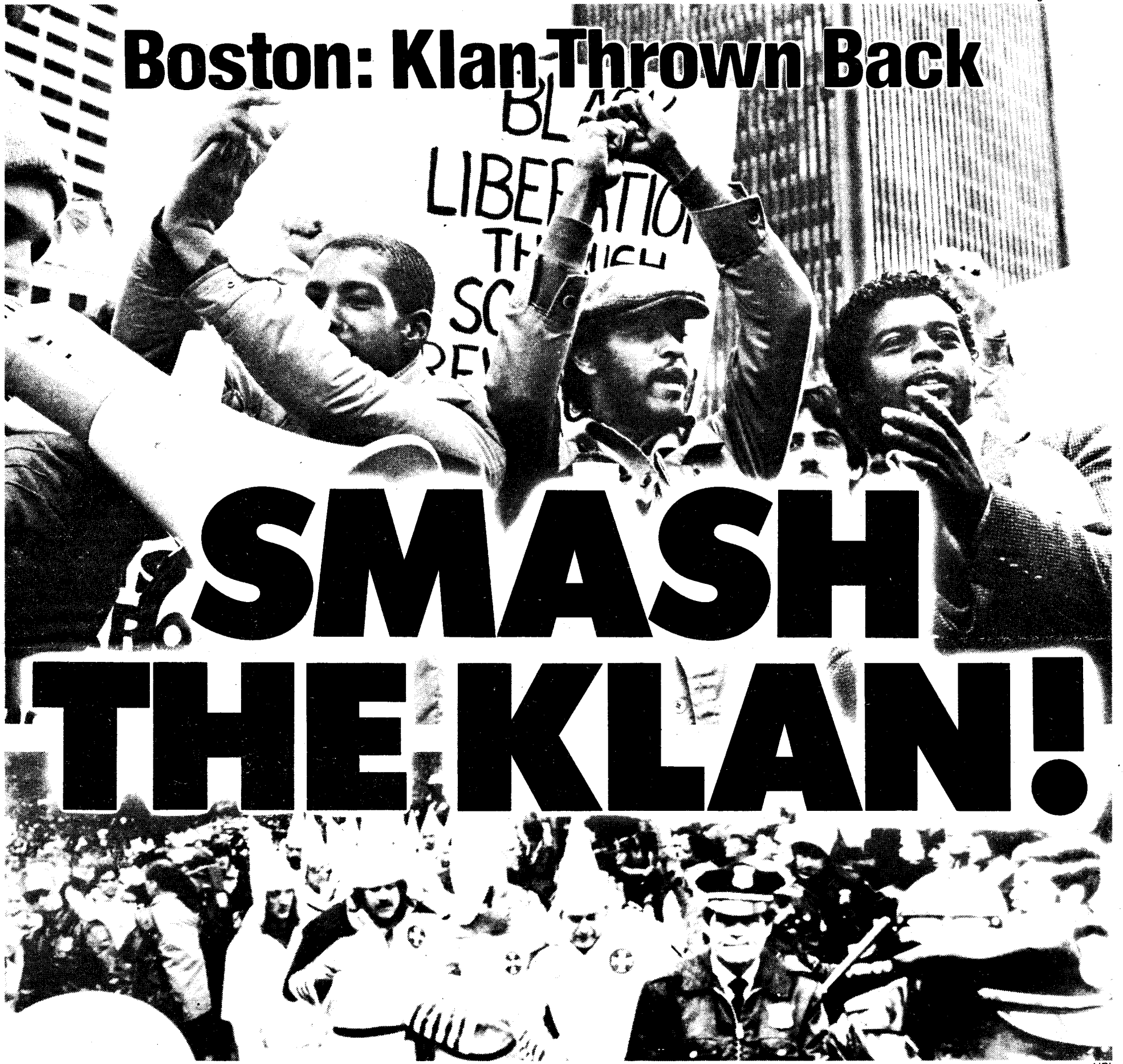
25 CENTS

X-523

NOVEMBER 1982

Workers Vanguard Photo

Boston: Klan Thrown Back



SMASH THE KLAN!

Cops Riot Against Anti-Klan Protesters

Hooded and white-sheeted Ku Klux Klansmen, surrounded by an angry jeering crowd of 1,500, were pelted with eggs, tomatoes and, scared out of their wits, were run off the streets of Boston October 16. On national TV KKKers were seen clutching at their robes and clinging to each other—trembling, humiliated and defeated. Only the cops prevented the crowd from getting at the fascists. The racists in blue uniforms provided "protective custody" for the racists in white by ushering the Klan

into paddy wagons, escorting them to safety, and then brutally attacking the anti-fascist demonstrators. But not even a full-scale cop riot could deter the crowd's determination to sweep the KKK scum off the streets. After years of racist terror in Boston, the racists themselves suffered a stunning setback. Why Boston? Boston was the northern battleground for school desegregation—the place where busing, as even a minimal tool for integration, was defeated by the racist mobs in the

streets and the liberals and their fake-left hangers-on, who preached reliance on the capitalist cops, courts and troops to "protect" black schoolchildren. But the cops, who protect the Klan and gun down black youth with impunity, their political bosses in the Democratic and Republican parties and the courts which freed the Greensboro killers *are not friends of the working class and the oppressed!*

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) was the only left tendency which consistently fought for militant defense of busing against the racists. We fought for its extension into the suburbs instead of for concentrating black youth in the depressed Irish ghettos of South Boston. We called for labor/black defense guards to crush the marauding racist mobs. And it was

the liberal-led defeat of busing at the racists' hands which engendered widespread despair among Boston blacks. This is reflected in a recent Boston Globe poll in which 79 percent of black parents surveyed favored an end to court-ordered busing even though 73 percent of them recognized this as a setback for civil rights.

So it's not surprising that the fascist KKK thought Boston would be the perfect cesspool for them to march in—but they were mistaken. The Klan doesn't just hate blacks, Jews, unionists, gays and socialists: they've got Catholics on their hit list too. And whatever else the Irish and Italian population of Boston may think, they are certainly not willing to see a giant cross burned on the steps of City Hall. So when the KKK

continued on page 9

For Labor/Black Mobilization to Smash Racist Terror!

Free Sasway, Eller, Schmucker!

The University as Military Fink

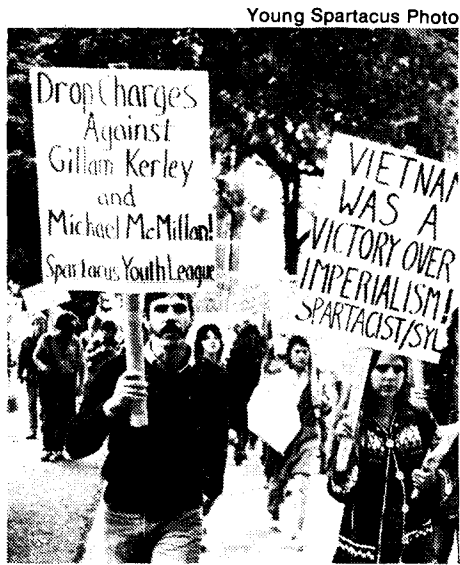
The new bill recently signed into law by Ronald Reagan denying federal educational benefits to young men who fail to register for the draft adds insult to injury. As if it weren't hard enough to scrape together the necessary funds to get even a mediocre college education, now the universities are to function as police agencies for the Selective Service. Of course, if you're from a rich family, no problem—"resist" to your heart's content. But, if like most students, you apply for some form of financial aid, this law requires that all recipients of funds covered by Title IV of the Higher Education Act file a statement with their school certifying compliance with registration. This outrageously anti-working-class, anti-black, anti-poor law should be wiped off the books along with the anti-Soviet draft registration law it serves. While under no misapprehension that the universities are somehow "neutral" institutions, not tied by a thousand threads to the bourgeois state, we oppose their use as instruments of class rule and class discrimination. Therefore, we struggle to drive and keep ROTC off campus, organize against all military/spy agency recruitment, and in this case oppose the use of the university as virtual finks for the military.

The law, which takes effect July 1, 1983, is the government's latest attempt to bludgeon students and youth into registering; it includes provisions for universities to hand over to the state the

lists of those who have submitted statements of compliance, thus aiding the prosecution of non-registrants. For various reasons, ranging from pacifist "social conscience," religious beliefs and liberal opposition to "interventionist" wars to the simple desire to avoid the rigors of military life, over 700,000 of those eligible to register have not done so. Meanwhile, the courts continue to convict "public" non-registrants (i.e., those who have in some way made known their refusal to register) such as Ben Sasway, who was just sentenced to two and a half years at a federal work camp. Two others have been convicted and another ten indicted. We demand: Overturn the convictions! Drop the charges against non-registrants!

As Marxists, we reject individual draft resistance as a strategy to oppose imperialist war. Our opposition to the draft is integrally linked to our opposition to *any form* of imperialist militarism and our unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and all the states where capitalism has been overturned against the bellicose U.S. rulers. The reformist enthusiasts of draft resistance duck the question of the existing "volunteer" army, among whose conscripts are those driven into the armed forces by economic desperation and the hopelessness of life in the ghetto.

Everybody is "equal" under capitalism: the wealthy are equally as free to sign up as starving jobless black youth; those



SYL at Madison anti-draft demo, September 15.

who receive federal or state financial aid are equally free to attend college—as long as *their* papers are in order. "My mother works in a Chinatown sweatshop for \$5,000 a year. They now want us to go out and fight for White suburbia," was the response of one City College of New York (CCNY) student interviewed in the CCNY *Campus* newspaper. Another CCNY student commented, "This is forced patriotism. People will find a way to get out of it, even if they have to make up social security numbers," and another, "Reagan's a pain in the ass to poor people."

But whether it's Reagan or a Kennedy boy in office, the capitalists are agreed on massive military spending as part of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war consensus. Remember which side the Democrats are on: they engineered the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and led the dirty genocidal war against the people of Vietnam. They dropped the A-bomb on Nagasaki and Hiroshima. The capitalists of both parties also share the determination that their sons and daughters may be exempted from the

carnage of imperialist war; it is working-class youth who make up the vast majority of any army, conscript or "volunteer." Likewise, draft or no draft, the function of the U.S. armed forces is precisely the same: the smashing of struggles against social oppression from one end of the globe to the other in order to maintain and expand imperialist "order."

Reformist/pacifist opposition to the current U.S. war drive fundamentally differs only as to the best tactics for "national defense" (draft vs. volunteer army, Reagan's Star Wars nuclear buildup vs. a "freeze" and the buildup of "conventional" forces). As opponents of every penny, every man that goes to the army of the class enemy, we demand an end to registration and oppose the draft. Given a draft, we demand an end to class, sex or race privilege: no to student deferments, no discrimination against women or homosexuals. In the event of a draft, revolutionists would go into the armed forces if drafted, along with the mass of the working-class youth of our generation, and seek to educate the GIs as to the nature of the imperialist war.

As we wrote in *Young Spartacus* No. 100:

"As the history of this century has shown, world imperialism has no *rational solution* to war, it is endemic to decaying capitalism. (The only kind of capitalist disarmament possible is that taking place right now in the Falklands, as the British and Argentines reduce the size of each other's navies.) We, however, do have a solution, the only one that has ever worked. The carnage of World War I was ended for the toiling masses of Russia by the Bolshevik Revolution. At the same time the winning of the proletariat to the understanding that the main enemy is at home and workers of all countries are class brothers paved the way for the successful revolution. We are for peace and for disarmament—peace which can only be won through class war and the disarming of world imperialism by proletarian revolution." ■



Workers Vanguard Photo

Workers Vanguard, Young Spartacus Subscription Drive Success

Congratulations to all comrades on the successful completion of the 1982 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. The five-week drive reached 121 percent of the national quota, bringing *WV* subscriptions (U.S. and overseas) to nearly 3,000. The drive also netted 948 *Young Spartacus* and 610 *Women and Revolution* subs.

This year's drive took place in the midst of considerable political activity—emergency Spartacist demonstrations against Zionist genocide in West Beirut, auto workers' and teachers' walkouts in Detroit and elsewhere, the Coleman/Bradley election campaign in San Francisco. Immediately after the sub drive, the Boston local played an active role in the militant mobilization which successfully confronted the Ku Klux Klan on October 16.

In keeping with the observation that American workers are presently more class-conscious than the students are radical, our aim was to expand readership among workers and blacks as well as on the campuses. Summing up the effort, the Los Angeles sub drive director, comrade Cesar, reported: "We met our quota... but most important was the quality of the points obtained... Most exciting and satisfying was the large percentage of black subscribers." In Los Angeles, 43 points were sold to phone workers and 59 in black housing projects adjacent to locations where *WV* is sold on a regular basis. Of the 52 points sold at UCLA, nearly half were to black and Latino students.

Especially given the current vacuum of black leadership, the Spartacist League's active work in opposing the

provocations of the racist terrorists was key to winning new subscribers. As one black man in Chicago told us, "It's about time somebody did something about the Klan and Nazis." In Chicago, where last June 27 the SL organized 3,000 protesters against the Nazis' attempt to rally against Gay Pride Day, an impressive 178 points were sold door-to-door in black and working-class neighborhoods (129 on the South Side).

Detroit sold 57 points to unionists, mainly auto workers, and 21 points door-to-door. U. of Michigan (Ann Arbor) led the campus sub sales with 105 points and Michigan State was second with 67. Cleveland sold 32 points in Pittsburgh and 18 in Oberlin; 16 points were sold door-to-door.

In Boston, 51 points were sold in the predominantly black Mattapan neighborhood; following the anti-Klan mobilization, over 1,600 *WV* supplements were distributed in the same area. In the Boston area, where campus work remains a primary focus, it was particularly gratifying that 95 points were sold at Harvard, where the Spartacus Youth League has been subjected to a concerted and repetitive

campaign of arrogant administration witchhunting. At U. Mass. Amherst 79 points were sold, and 66 at Tufts.

The New York City comrades sold 29 points to transit workers. The local relied heavily on regional campuses to make its quota: notably Cornell (111 points), Rutgers (108) and Yale (85). Particular interest was noted from foreign students.

The two Bay Area locals sold 58 points to phone workers and 56 to longshore/warehouse workers. An estimated 42 percent of Berkeley/Oakland subs were to black and Latino readers, including several new subscribers from the Richmond area which has recently been the scene of protests against the racist killer cops. The campus fraction at U.C. Berkeley sold 63 points, while regional sub trips brought in 154 points at U.C. Santa Cruz and 194 from a tour to Oregon and Washington State.

The individual winner was comrade Peter A. from Berkeley with 101 points; congratulations also to Tom D. (Boston, 85 points), Gloria N. (Chicago, 72) and Fred H. (New York, 69). ■

—reprinted from *Workers Vanguard*, No. 316, 29 October

FINAL TOTALS				FINAL TOTALS			
Local	Quota (in points)	Total	%	Local	Quota (in points)	Total	%
Berkeley/Oakland	550	606	110	Los Angeles	400	440	110
Boston	430	514	120	Madison	100	124	124
Chicago	450	468	104	New York	850	1,064	125
Cleveland	250	207	83	San Francisco	450	525	117
Detroit	280	322	115	At-large	—	278	—
				National Total	3,760	4,548	121

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

Name _____

Address _____

Phone (____) _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____ YSp 104

\$2/9 issues of *Young Spartacus*

Make payable/mail to:

Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10008

\$5/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard*

(Includes *Spartacist*)

New Renewal

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

\$2/10 introductory

issues of *Workers Vanguard*

(Includes *Spartacist*)

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

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

SYL Fights McCarthyism at Chicago Loop College

On October 1 at Chicago's Loop College, three student supporters of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) were subjected to a redbaiting, McCarthyite barrage when they appeared at a hearing on recognition of the campus Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) called by the administration's "Student Services Committee." The witchhunt was led by the administration's appointed flunkie, unelected "Student Government President" Derek Shelton who, in an interview with the Loop newspaper the *Banner* threatened to "line up against the wall," "hang" and turn over to the murderous FBI the names of student supporters of the SYC. The SYL has launched a campaign against this outrageous witchhunt against our organization, which successfully mobilized over 3,000 to stop the Nazis in Chicago on June 27. We reprint below the opening leaflet of this campaign.

The administration, with Shelton's aid, runs Loop like a cross between a reform school and apartheid South Africa. Routine political censorship of the *Banner*, draconian ID checks and attempted intimidation of all student groups are the order of the day. The already despised Shelton has outraged the largely black student body with his threat to act as informer for the FBI—the killers of Fred Hampton and other Black Panther Party militants.

To date, some 200 signatures have been collected on the petition demanding Shelton's ouster and the immediate recognition of the SYC. As we go to press, the administration has escalated its campaign of harassment—this time with the use of police brutality. A scheduled public forum to discuss the anti-Nazi program of the SYL as well as the administration's repression was suddenly "cancelled" by Loop Provost Mark Warden. Campus cops then blocked students' entrance to the forum and physically dragged several female SYL supporters from the room. We set up a picket line to protest this latest attack on the democratic rights of Loop students to hear whoever and read and think whatever they want! We will not be silenced. OUST SHELTON! COPS OFF CAMPUS! ADMINISTRATION HANDS OFF STUDENT ACTIVITIES AND PUBLICATIONS!

* * * * *

In the name of the "American Way" the Loop College administration and its appointee and cohort Derek Shelton

<p>"McCarthyism Visits Loop" See Editorial on Page 3</p>	<p>Loop COLLEGE 64 E. Lake St. Chicago, IL 60611 THE BANNER</p>	<p>Review of "Little Murders" By Mike Logan on Page 6</p>
--	---	---

Student President Vows To Report Club Supporters to FBI

by Patrice Harris

Student Government President Derek Shelton has promised to turn over to the FBI the names of any student who signs a petition which would enable a left-wing student club, the Spartacist Youth League, to be established on the Loop College Campus.

Shelton's threat, an apparent violation of the Loop student body's rights to freedom of speech, was only part of his stated determination to "do everything in my power to stop the Spartacist League."

Shelton equated acceptance of the club by Loop College to agreement with communism. In order to be a recognized student club on Loop College, a group must present a petition for approval containing at least 15 names to the Student Services Committee which is made up of staff, faculty and students. Late this September the Spartacist League presented such a petition but had a number of its signers disqualified.

For practically as long as anyone can recall there have been people passing out literature in front of



Student Government President Derek Shelton: "I'll do everything in my power to see that they do not get a club here."

Students Blast Financial Aid Office

by Daniel F. Pascho II

In a *Banner* survey of students applying for financial aid, the performance of the Financial Aid Department was sharply criticized. Ninety per cent of students polled complained of rudeness, incompetency, and excessive delays. Of fifteen people interviewed, only one had been satisfied by the experience. "They've been very nice, informative, and considerate in their use of time," one respondent said. Other students surveyed, however, sounded discouraged and bitter. "They're not informative," said Dimitra Ogleby. "They have nasty attitudes towards students. They're not considerate about how

Loop College paper denounces student "president" Derek Shelton/ administration McCarthyite witchhunt against SYL.

Oust Derek Shelton!

have undertaken a campaign of political censorship backed up by threats and intimidation. The immediate target of this campaign: the rights of revolutionary socialists and fighters for black liberation to conduct political work on this campus. But it is the elementary democratic rights of the student body—already severely restricted—which are confronted with a clear and present danger.

On October 1, three students—all of whom are members or supporters of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL)—appeared before something called the "Student Services Council" in order to submit a request for official recognition as a student club. The immediate response of this administration body was to slap a gag order on our designated student spokesman. Dean of Students Amour Andrews, Director of Student Services Dan Negrone and—right up front like the front-man he is—unelected SG President Derek Shelton indulged in an hour-long redbaiting, star-chamber "hearing" that would have greatly pleased the late unlamented J. Edgar Hoover.

The self-appointed thought police of

the SSC, which is neither run by the students nor provides any discernible "service" to us, concluded their mini-HUAC by taking no action on our request. Shelton had already gone on record in a 29 September interview with the *Banner* that such would be the outcome of the phony hearing. Asked how he would stop us, Shelton replied, "Well, for starters we are going to line them up against the cafeteria wall. We might hang them." And as for the student signatures that appear on the petition for recognition, Shelton said, "I would give the names to the FBI myself."

Shelton's invoking of the FBI is a deadly serious threat. The Chicago Red Squad and FBI have a filthy history of repression, infiltration and spying—including here at Loop. Those Black Panther members who both survived the government's extermination campaign against them and have not hopelessly sold out would take it seriously as well, but Chicago Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark did not survive. They were murdered by the FBI and Chicago police while they slept in the pre-dawn of 4 December

1969. Hampton and Clark were two victims of many who died at the hands of G-men; what George Jackson, before he too was set up and murdered in California, called "natural selection in reverse."

The SYL is being targeted for administration harassment not only because of our political program, but all the more so because we put that program into action this summer when 3,000 were organized by the Spartacist League and SYL to stop the Nazis from marching on Gay Pride Day in Lincoln Park. The integrated, labor-centered mobilization on June 27 powerfully demonstrated that only by relying on our own strength can the working class and oppressed defend themselves from the race terrorists. Black people came to Lincoln Park from the South Side because they knew what the Nazis stand for: black genocide. And the Nazis were stopped! On June 27 a breach was made in the wall of fear engendered by the racist front that stretches from the Klan/Nazis to the White House. Only the Chicago PD stood between the fascist band and the wrath of 3,000 workers, youth, blacks, Jews, socialists, gay and student demonstrators.

The June 27 rally has not made us very popular with the city machine which loathes the sight of workers and blacks mobilized independently of Jane Byrne and her Democrats. The politi-

UPI



Fred Hampton, Black Panther leader murdered by FBI, Chicago cops in 1969.

cians told everyone to "ignore the Nazis," stay home. One suspects perhaps more than the usual pressure has been put on the school administration to crack down on socialist students and "outside agitators" in the aftermath of the anti-Nazi protest.

Thus, a climate of anti-red witchhunting is being promoted by the administration, dovetailing with pre-existing repression such as the routine censorship of the *Banner*. To their credit, the *Banner* editors have stood up in the face of this clear campaign of intimidation against all who would associate themselves with our views or defend our right to make those views known. In an editorial we understand has been submitted for publication in the upcoming issue, the *Banner* comes out in defense of the SYL's right to organize at Loop, noting that "Derek Shelton could use a lesson in the First Amendment."

"I'm an American and I'm a capitalist," Shelton proclaimed in one of his

continued on page 10

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.

Editorial Board: Bonnie Brodie, J. Marlow (editor), Steve Mitchell, Emily Tanner
Production manager: Dorie Reed
Circulation manager: Irene Gardner

Nine issues yearly; published monthly except December/January and June/July/August, by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7867 (Editorial, Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. Domestic subscriptions: \$2.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 104 November 1982



Chicago, June 27—SL/SYL labor/minority mobilization of 3,000 stopped Nazi provocation. We stopped the Nazis; now Loop administration wants to stop us.

"Rent-an-Ex-Black-Militant" Eldridge Cleaver Shouted Down No Reprisals Against Madison Anti-Moonie Demonstrators!

On October 25 over 300 outraged students at the University of Wisconsin Madison prevented ex-Black Panther Eldridge "I Love Imperialism" Cleaver from delivering a talk on behalf of the crazed, anti-communist Moonie cult. To our knowledge Madison is the only campus at which militant students have shouted down the repulsive Cleaver, now on national tour for the Moonies. The University administration arrested eight of the protesters, and now threatens further reprisals. We reprint below the Madison SYL leaflet protesting the administration witchhunt.

The right-wing provocateurs of the Moonie cult received a resounding political humiliation last Monday night when hundreds of students drove rent-an-ex-black-militant Eldridge Cleaver from the stage at UW (Madison) 3650 Humanities when they couldn't stomach his grovelling speech in defense of racist U.S. imperialism. The UW administration and its cops, compelled to defend their fervent Moonie friends and quash student protest, arrested and brutally abused eight of the anti-Moonie protesters on the spot, charging at least one of them on a felony count and the rest with misdemeanors. The administration threatened to suspend all of the arrested students and targeted Progressive Labor/International Committee Against Racism (PL/InCAR), five of whose supporters were arrested, for organizational reprisals. This is an outrageous attack on the right of student protest and a threat to every opponent of right-wing reaction on this campus. It is the duty of every student, campus worker and faculty member to demand: Drop All Charges Against the Anti-Moonie Protesters! No Administration Reprisals! Hands Off PL/InCAR!

The UW administration and the Moonies are prating now about "free speech." Who do they think they are kidding? Both the UW administration and the Moonies are hard-core enemies

of free speech! From the brutal repression against the '60s antiwar protesters to the smashing of the 1980 TAA strike, to the arrest last April of two PLers for distributing their literature in the Memorial Union, the UW administration has pursued a vendetta against left and labor organizations on this campus. The administration of course opens its arms and legs wide to the Moonies, who have a track record a mile long of provocation against leftist demonstrators around the country. Just last spring the Moonies attacked Abid Kuieshi, an InCAR supporter on campus, and broke his kneecap. On March 13, the

Lawrence Fried/The Image Bank



Anti-communist cult leader Sun Myung Moon (left). Moonie front man Cleaver (right) was humiliated in Madison October 25.

Moonies staged a pro-junta counter-demonstration at a demonstration to protest U.S. aid to El Salvador, and pulled the plug on the CISPES sound system.

As for Eldridge Cleaver, the spectacle of this ex-Black Panther Party militant touring the country as a spokesman for the Moonie advocates of anti-communist terror from South Korea to El Salvador to South Africa is enough to turn anyone's stomach. Cleaver's cynical sucking up to racist U.S. imperialism is a slap in the face to the

masses of blacks in this country who confront cop terror and racist mob violence. Cleaver bought his "day in court" by spitting on ex-Panther militants like Geronimo Pratt who rot in prison hell-holes, frame-up victims of the racist, capitalist "justice" which Cleaver now embraces. Last Monday, Cleaver and the Sun Myung Moon anti-communist mass cult got the response they deserve: outrage! The Spartacus Youth League solidarizes with the protesters who shouted down Cleaver and the Moonies.

The reformist "Ad Hoc Coalition to Expose Cleaver and the Moonies"

UPI



strators. "I don't know, and don't care," was the flat response of a coalition marshal when asked about the arrests. Most organizations of the Ad Hoc Coalition solidarize with Ronald Reagan, the International Monetary Fund, the Kennedy boys and the Moonies on Poland: they love the counterrevolutionary Solidarność. Well, the administration's reprisals against the anti-Moonie protesters is but a taste of the kind of "free speech" the Polish workers could expect given the victory of Solidarność' CIA-inspired, Western bank-supported counterrevolution! The SYL defends the Russian Red Army's throwing the Nazis out of Poland: and freedom from oppressive Stalinist bureaucratic rule can only come about through a political revolution that establishes workers democracy. The throngs of Solidarność supporters who yearn to emigrate to South Africa make it quite clear what kind of society they envisage.

The mentally challenged Progressive Labor, which mouths anti-Sovietism as does the Ad Hoc Coalition and the Moonies, is not always bound by reformist consistency. While we have many deep political differences with the Stalinists without a country of Progressive Labor (not the least of which is our principled defense of workers democracy against PL's Stalinist gangsterism against its opponents on the left), when they shout down right-wing provocateurs and political scum like the Moonies and Eldridge Cleaver we defend them against reprisal.

If the UW administration gets away with these reprisals against the left in Madison, it opens the door to future, more vicious attacks and emboldens the already brazen Moonie provocateurs. What is needed now is a deep-going united front defense to demand: Drop the Charges Against the Anti-Moonie Protesters! No Administration Reprisals! Administration Hands Off PL/InCAR!

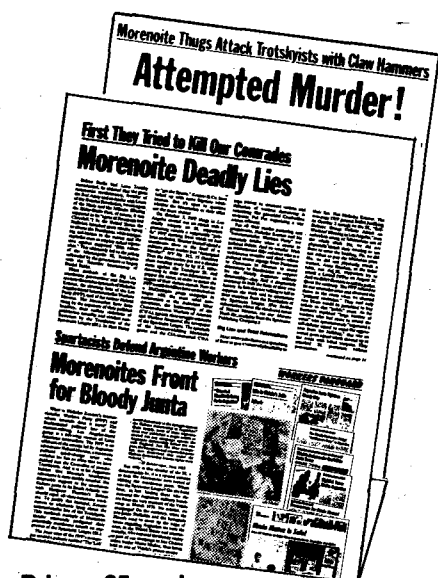
October 29, 1982

Morenoite Gangster Attack! Get the Facts!

75¢



- Moreno in Argentina I: From Left Peronism to Social Democracy
- Moreno in Argentina II: Back to Peronism
- Moreno's Left Face: Portugal, Angola, Eurocommunism
- Opportunist Chameleon Sul Generis
- Moreno the Swindler



Price: .25 each

Workers Vanguard No. 315
(15 October 1982), No. 316
(29 October 1982)

Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., P.O. Box 1377 G.P.O., New York, NY 10116

Spartacus Youth League Class Series

BERKELEY
Basic Marxism Study Class
Thursdays, 7:00 p.m.
November 4, 11
34 Dwinelle Hall
University of California/Berkeley
For more information: (415) 835-1535

BOSTON
Basic Marxism
Harvard University
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 3, 17, December 1
Philips Brooks House

UMass Boston
Alternate Wednesdays, 2:30 p.m.
November 3, 17, December 1
Harbor Campus 2-1-415
For more information: (617) 492-3928

NEW YORK CITY
The ABCs of Marxism
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 4, 18, December 2
41 Warren Street
For more information: (212) 267-1025

OBERLIN
The Fight for Socialism
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 4, 18, December 2
Oberlin College
For more information: (216) 621-5138



"Soviet Imperialism" is the Pentagon/CIA's Line

RCP: Left Fringe of Reagan's Cold War Drive

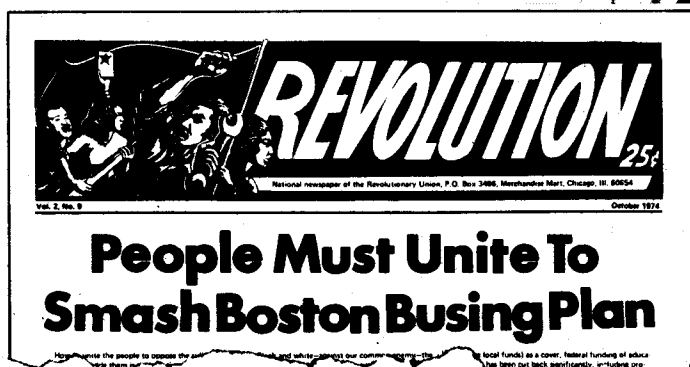
"All over the world the Soviet Union is interfering in the affairs of other nations: sometimes through clandestine activities aimed at bringing pro-Soviet cliques to power, other times through economic blackmail. Soviet troops still stationed in Czechoslovakia serve as a constant reminder of the willingness of the USSR to resort to naked aggression."

It's not the latest pronouncement from the White House, the Pentagon or Radio Free Europe—the quotation above is from *Red Papers 7 (RP7)*, "How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union," the 1974 position paper of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP, formerly Revolutionary Union). In 1978, the RCP underwent a wrenching split over China (following Mao's death and the purge of the "gang of four") and then, while facing charges of assault and rioting after a crazed stunt at the Chinese embassy, its cult leader Bob Avakian fled to Paris. Meanwhile, American Maoism has undergone a spectacular disintegration. Klonsky's slavishly Peking-loyal Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML) went from the Chinese franchise to total liquidation and the Communist Workers Party, Communist Labor Party and Silberite Line of March are all heading back to Moscow. So, now the RCP, feeling isolated and very much on the defensive, has announced itself eager for further discussion on the Russian Question.

To this end, the RCP has been circulating since May an open debate challenge on "The Nature of the Soviet Union—An Urgent and Decisive Question." We don't pretend to fathom the inner workings which have produced this thirst for political debate and sweet reasonableness from the macho, gangsterist Cultural Revolution Maoist/New Leftist RCP. Its increasing isolation from what's left of the "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought" milieu, the unenviable and inevitable disorientation reserved for Stalinists-without-a-country and the Cold War II political reality no doubt are factors. Since the question of defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism is indeed an urgent and decisive question and since the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) are the only genuine defenders of the USSR, we are compelled to take up the eccentric, much-compromised RCP on its challenge.

It is necessary to note here just how compromised the RCP is. Uniquely on the left, the RCP actually sided openly with white racists during the 1974-76 anti-busing mobilizations. The October 1974 headline of its newspaper *Revolution* proclaimed "People Must Unite to

Smash Boston Busing Plan" and its Committee for a Decent Education in Boston adopted the racists' insignia (a hexagonal stop sign which read "Stop Busing" used by ROAR) on its own leaflets. During the 1975 busing crisis in Louisville, the RCP hailed the "spontaneous fightback"—by forces led by the Ku Klux Klan! Avakian's Jim Crow Maoism similarly manifested itself when the RCP toed Peking's line in



Angola and sided with apartheid South Africa against the Cuban-led MPLA forces which repulsed the South Africans' invasion, a line repugnant to almost every black in this country. Due to both its prostration before China's reactionary alliance with U.S. imperialism (against the "main danger" in Russia, of course) and its own brand of embracing the most backward elements of the American working class, the RCP has a line that literally stinks on the key question of the American revolution: the black question. Given such a track record, any subjective revolutionist among the RCP's ranks must examine these betrayals and break with Mao/Stalinism.

RCP: Left Wing of Cold War Drive

An example of how the RCP's anti-Sovietism (in Mao babble: "anti-revisionism") translates in the real world was the RCP's "contribution" to the October 16 anti-Klan demonstration in Boston where it constituted the pole of attraction for anti-communist white punks (see article this issue). In response to the SL/SYL's speeches stressing the connection between racist reaction at home and Reagan's global anti-Soviet war drive, RCPers began dutifully mouthing-off about Soviet "social-imperialism" and collected an unsavory audience of like-minded Russia-haters. We explained to curious anti-Klan militants that this was also the organization which scandalously had refused to defend busing; RCP spokesmen could only stammer that "that was the wrong position."

Young Spartacus Photo



RCP cult leader Bob Avakian. Maoists united with racists to defeat busing (left).

The contradiction facing these self-styled Red Guards, replete with bullet necklaces, red flags in back pockets and "up-against-the-wall-mothahfuckah" rhetoric, is that their line on the Soviet Union puts them objectively in a bloc with bourgeois Cold Warriors in a political climate where anti-Sovietism necessarily equals anti-communism, union-busting, racist terror, and general social conservatism. Thus when the RCP goes into foam-flecked diatribes against the Soviet "superpower threat" in Central America, it's rubbing elbows with the Reaganites and the Klan. When it enthuses over the company union for the CIA and Western bankers, Polish Solidarność, it's in league with the Vatican, the White House and "State Department socialists" like Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America. And while it issues verbal denunciations of the U.S./Zionist massacres of Palestinians in West Beirut, the RCP's line on the Russian Question must ultimately lead it to oppose Soviet aid to the embattled PLO as it does in the case of the leftist insurgents waging civil war against the Salvadoran junta. As the debate challenge puts it:

"... even as the junta totters a Pandora's box of unsolved questions opens and defines the struggle of the future.... "A look at the Cuban road, at a revolution that has traveled toward an unmistakable version of neo-colonial dependency and economic lopsidedness—and for those who dream of more than formal independence and who dream of real emancipation, the question bounces back, 'Is it possible to imagine real liberation with such an alliance to the Soviets?'"

This is nothing more nor less than backhanded support to U.S. imperialism—and not always so backhanded. The debate challenge reads like a speech by Al Haig when it refers to the "stench" from Afghanistan; the "deep and powerful revulsion at the thought of embracing the Soviets, even to defeat the U.S." Unable to justify such a reactionary bloc with Reagan & Co., many of the RCP's erstwhile fellow Maoists have begun the "Long Slouch" back to pro-Moscow Stalinism—a simple reversal in most cases of these organizations' initial breaks with the CP in the direction of what seemed at the time a more radical, anti-imperialist variant of Stalinism in

China. The Avakianites either willfully live in a time warp or have consciously chosen the blood-soaked U.S. imperialists as a "lesser" evil, a continuation of their program when they defended Mao's hard turn toward the U.S.

The debate challenge betrays part of the crisis facing these "last of the true Maoists" in 1982. It is defensive in the extreme, raising some rather well-formulated counter-arguments to the RCP's line and explicitly refusing to answer them. For instance:

"How is it possible for capitalist relations of production to exist within a state-owned and planned economy?... How could a counter-revolution happen relatively peacefully without an armed uprising, without the forcible dismantling of the institutions created by the socialist revolution?... How can new relations of production and all-round restoration emerge from changes in political and ideological line, within a ruling party.... Isn't this in its very essence... a denial of materialism and an idealist revision of Marxism?... Wasn't in fact the theory of capitalist restoration the first step for the Chinese Communist Party to the reactionary three-worldist conclusions that the Soviet Union was the main (and basically the *only*) reactionary force in the world, and that capitulation to the U.S. was required?"

The RCP's "answer": "there is no room here to sketch out even the outlines of our answers. We simply want to say that it is a fact that the Soviet base operates as capital—it is provable and we will prove it." Lots of luck! We cannot help but note that most of the questions are not drawn from the arsenal of pro-Moscow revisionism but bear a distinct similarity to the arguments raised by the Trotskyist SL/SYL in our pamphlet "Why the USSR is Not Capitalist" and other publications.

Revisionists Are Revisionists And Must Not Be Supported...

While all state capitalist "theories" necessarily embrace anti-Marxist categories, the Maoist dogma of "social-imperialism" corners the market, so to speak. Its subjectivist, idealist perversions of the traditional Marxist definitions of the state, capitalism and imperialism represent only a fraction of the violence done to Marxism-Leninism, not to mention a simple grasp of reality. Unlike everybody else in the world, the Maoists maintain that the class nature of the Soviet Union fundamentally changed in the transition between J.V. Stalin and Khrushchev. And—get this—such a world historic event as the restoration of capitalism in the USSR occurred so smoothly and peacefully that it was virtually unnoticed, including by the "Great Helmsman" and "shining sun" himself—Mao Tse-tung. How did this happen? Khrushchev made a speech criticizing Stalin; this was a signal to the existing "capitalists" hiding "in the woodwork" that they could emerge—and voila! The USSR went from socialism to capitalism!

Like all Stalinists, the RCP maintains an absolute identification of the interests of the international proletariat with the policies of the bureaucracy. Thus their claim in *RP7* that "the main focus of the class struggle under socialism is within the Party itself, particularly in its top ranks." Taken to its logical absurdity, which naturally the RCP does, this

continued on page 11

ORDER NOW!

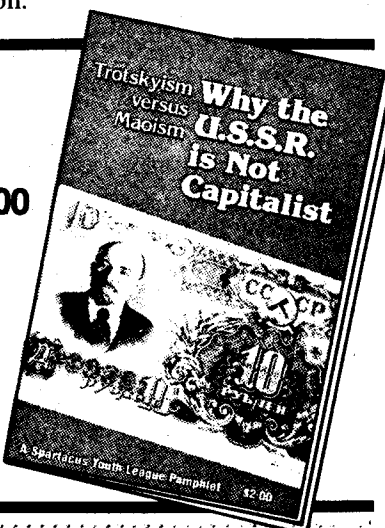
A must for Maoists...

Includes:

\$2.00

- The Poverty of Maoist Economics
- How Maoists "Restore Capitalism" in the USSR
- Red Papers 7: Maoist Idealism Run Amok

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co. Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008



The American Nightmare: 13 million people unemployed, whole plants idled or demolished. Givebacks and concessions combined with massive layoffs are the bosses' "cure" for decaying American capitalism. Reagan says recovery can't "be achieved without some pain," as he slashes food stamps, welfare, Medicaid, etc. On the eve of the mid-term elections, Republicans and Democrats have been blaming each other for the economic mess they've created while both are pumping billions into the military buildup for the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive.

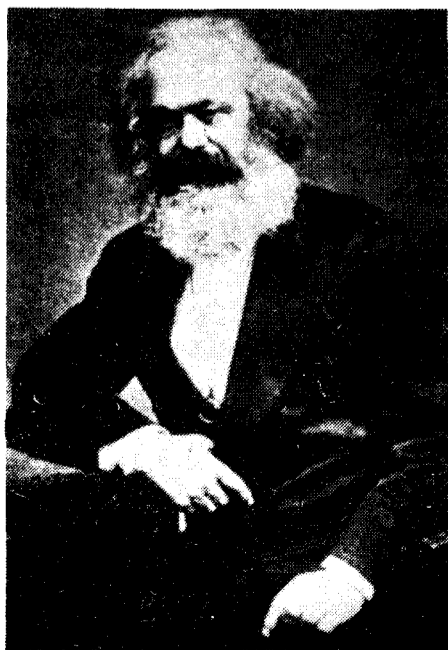
But none of the nostrums of the twin parties of capital, be it Keynesian "fine-tuning" or "supply-side" nonsense can alter the long-term downside of the American economy. Below, we print an edited transcript of a class on basic Marxist economics given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour. In his presentation, comrade Seymour shows how the crisis of capitalism is inherent in the profit system, as first analyzed by Karl Marx a century ago. In defense of their irrational and decaying system the bourgeoisie is quite willing to risk—and is preparing for—a thermonuclear showdown with the USSR. The only solution is proletarian revolution to disarm the capitalists, expropriate industry and establish a planned economy.

The capitalist world is now suffering the worst economic conditions since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Industrial production in the U.S. today is 10 percent less than it was a year ago. Yet the hundreds of idled factories are just as productive physically as they were a year ago. The millions of unemployed workers would gladly work for their old wages or even less. At the same time, the situation is not at all to the liking of the capitalists either. Profits are way down, bankruptcies are at the highest level since the early 1930s. Capitalists would like to expand production, to hire and exploit more labor. But they can't.

So the capitalist system is uncontrollable not only by the workers but also by the capitalists whether taken as individuals or collectively as a government. Neither the head of General Motors nor Reagan nor Teddy Kennedy can halt and reverse the slide in production. They too are powerless before the laws of the capitalist system.

The core question which Marxist economics addresses is *why* this happens, *why* this economic system blocks its own growth. As Marx put it:

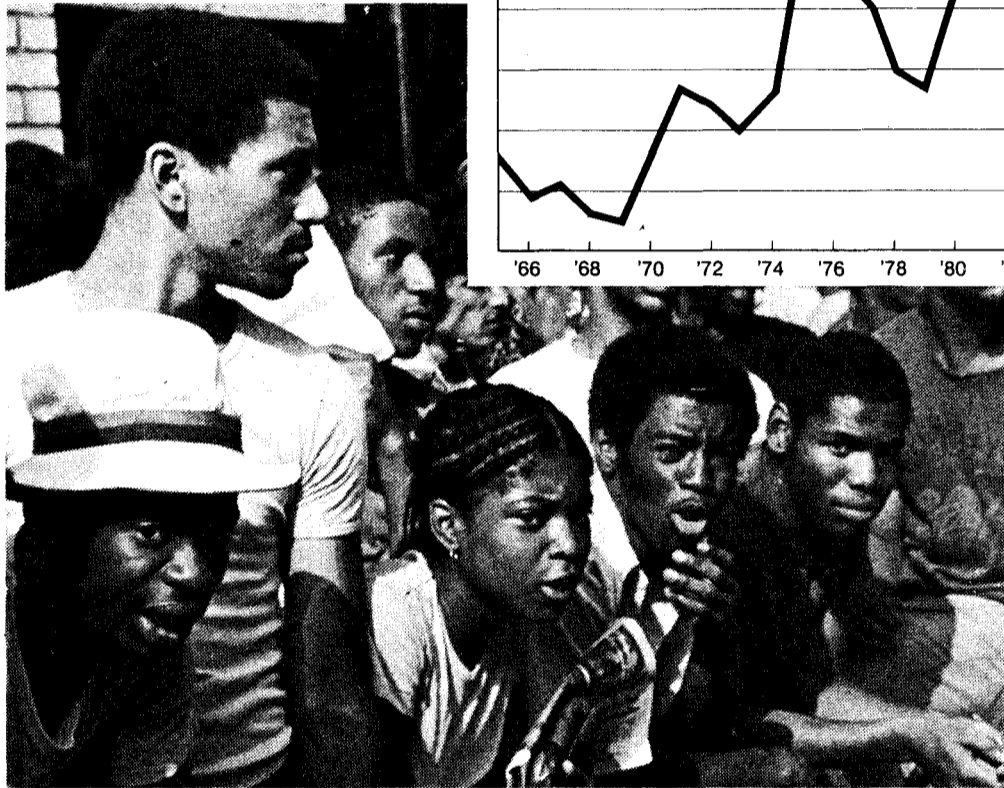
“...the expansion or contraction of production is determined...by profit and by the proportion of this profit to the employed capital, thus by a definite rate of profit, rather than the relation of production to social requirements, i.e., to the requirements of socially developed human beings. It is for this reason that the capitalist mode of production meets with barriers at a certain expanded stage of production which, from the other point of view, would be altogether inadequate. It comes to a standstill at a point determined by the production and realization of profit,



Karl Marx

Root Cause of the Depression EXPLOITATION CAPITALIST C

Unemployment

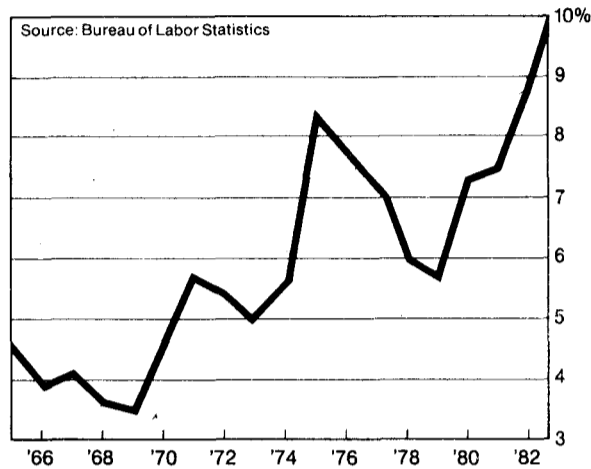
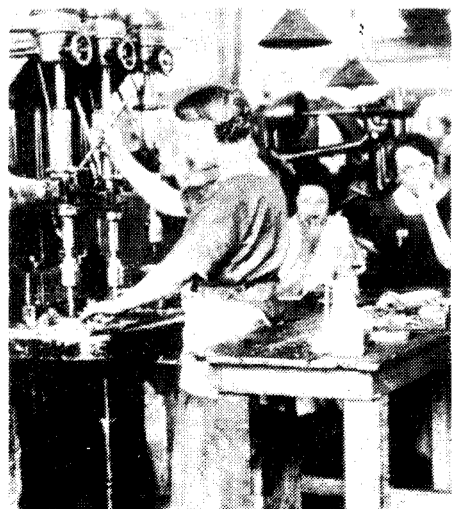


not by the satisfaction of social needs.”
—Capital, Vol. III

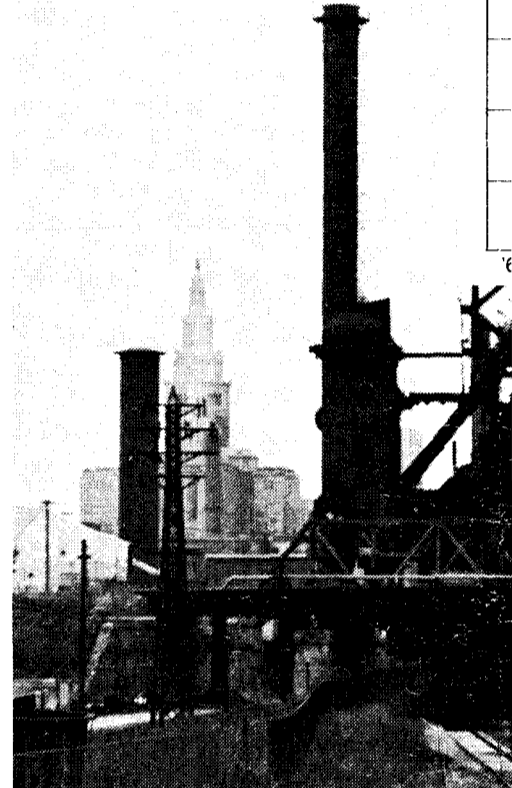
It is important to emphasize that the Marxist opposition to capitalism is *not* primarily based on the inequality and unfairness of distribution. One does not have to be a Marxist or even a socialist to see that many people work hard and are still frightfully poor, while other people do nothing are filthy rich. From the very beginnings of industrial capitalism there have always been reformers who wanted to redistribute income, usually through some kind of taxation and government spending schemes. The Marxist opposition to capitalism, by contrast, is based centrally on its incapacity to expand production.

Moreover, you cannot—contrary to

Women factory workers in World War I (below). Women easily find industrial employment in periods of imperialist war—then it's back to the kitchen. Bread line during the Great Depression (right).



Idle Factories



social reformers—separate the distribution of income from the expansion of production. If you decrease profits—assuming this is politically possible—in order to expand social welfare programs, the capitalists will retaliate (not necessarily consciously) by cutting back on productive investment.

Compare Britain with Japan since World War II. In the 1950s Britain with its socialized medicine and the like was often held up as a model of “welfare-state” capitalism. Now after decades of economic stagnation living standards in Britain are utterly wretched, the worst in West Europe. In the 1950s living standards in Japan were far lower than in Britain. But today, because of a far higher rate of industrial investment over the years, Japanese wages have risen far above the British.

Exploitation and Surplus Value

All class societies are based on the extraction of surplus labor from the direct producers by the ruling class. Different forms of class society are distinguished from one another by the particular way in which this surplus labor is appropriated. In a slave society the propertied class owns the slaves. The

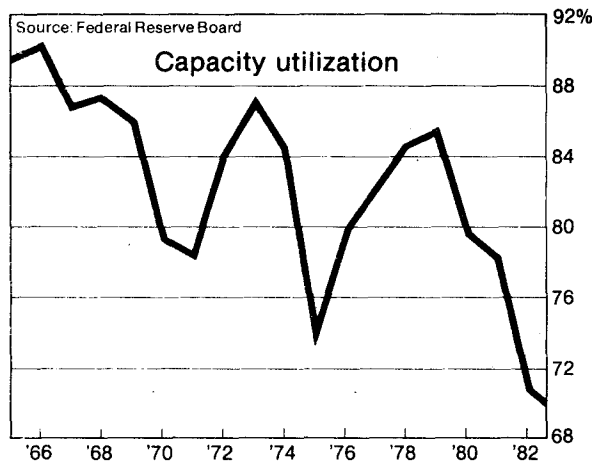
slave consumes exactly what his owner gives him and everything he produces by his labor automatically belongs to his owner. And if a slave refuses to work or doesn't work hard enough, he is starved, beaten or, in the last resort, killed.

In a feudal society too a serf is obliged by physical force to give up part of his labor to the ruling class. In the early feudal epoch the serf had to work two or three days a week on his lord's manor. Later on this direct labor obligation was transformed into payment in product or money. But the mechanism of extraction was still simply brute force. If a serf refused to pay rent to his lord, a bunch of guys on horses rode up and cut off his ears or his nose.

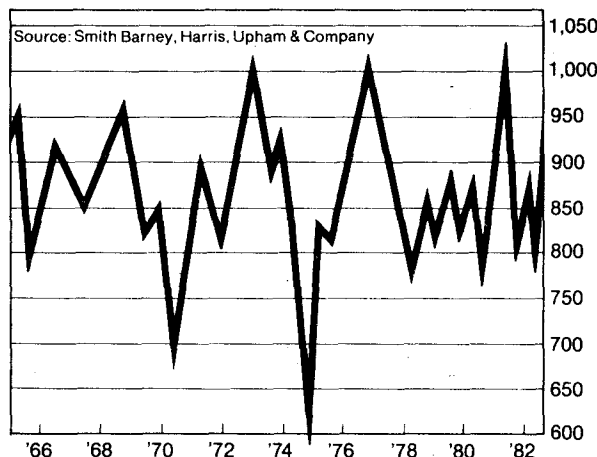
It would occur to no slaveowner or feudal lord to deny that they extracted surplus labor from their slaves or serfs. They might justify it in some way—as part of the “divine order,” for example—but they could scarcely deny it. The capitalist mode of appropriation is much more complex. It involves wages, prices, different kinds of markets. And capitalists very strenuously deny that any exploitation is involved. As least in the United States, where the working class lacks even a reformist socialist con-



IN, PROFIT AND CRISIS



Wall Street Frenzy



sciousness, many workers too do not see that they are being exploited.

The particular mode of exploitation is the wage bargain which superficially appears to be a free and equal exchange. The worker agrees that for a certain amount of money he will work a certain number of hours for the capitalist. In reality, this is *not* an equal exchange for just as in a slave or a feudal society the worker produces *more* than he consumes. In Marx's terms, the value of labor power is *less* than the product of labor.

This might be easier to see if we look at the system as a whole. It is obvious that there are many workers who produce goods and services which are *not* consumed by other workers. Take, for example, a construction worker on an office building or a chauffeur for a corporate executive. To pay this type of

worker the capitalists have to appropriate a portion of consumer goods from the workers who produce them and invest this in office buildings in the one case and in hiring chauffeurs in the other.

One might ask, if workers are not physically coerced into working for capitalists, why don't they just work for themselves? From an historic point of view, this is not at all a stupid question. Two hundred years ago at the time of the American Revolution the items you see in this room—chairs, tables, glassware—were produced by independent artisans working with a few helpers. These artisans owned their own small shops and tools, and their helpers and apprentices could realistically expect to save up enough money to some day become their own masters.

But with the development of

industrial capitalism the means of production became so technically advanced and so expensive it was inconceivable for workers to save up enough money to go into business for themselves. Why doesn't a skilled textile worker buy an old handloom for a few hundred dollars and make and sell his own textiles? Because he would starve to death. Although he would get to keep 100 percent of the product of his labor, this would be but a small fraction of the wage he would receive in a modern textile mill.

So the basis of capitalist class exploitation is the historically acquired *monopoly* of the means of production. This is a very important point. The capacity of capitalists to exploit labor and the amount of labor they can exploit is *quantitatively* related to the amount and type of the means of production which

Workers Vanguard Photo

Workers battle cops during successful Trotskyist-led Teamsters strike, Minneapolis, 1934.



SL/SYL fought for strike action to stop plant closings, July 1979.

they own.

In any given capitalist society at a given time there is a normal work day and also a normal standard of living for workers. So there is a definite quantitative relationship between the amount of time that workers work for their own consumption and the amount of surplus labor which is appropriated by the capitalist. Marx called the amount of money capital which capitalists lay out to hire labor "variable capital" (v). Variable capital is equal to the labor time necessary to sustain and reproduce the typical working-class family. Marx termed the difference between variable capital and the total hours worked "surplus value" (s).

Let's say that in a given capitalist society it requires four hours of labor on average to produce the items consumed by the typical working-class family every day. And the average work day is eight hours. In this case what Marx called the "rate of surplus value" (s/v) is one. For every hour a worker works for himself, so to speak, he must work an hour for the capitalist. And if he does not, then the capitalist will not hire him.

Needless to say, capitalists are very desirous of increasing the rate of surplus value. There are basically three ways they can go about this. One, they can try to decrease variable capital by depressing real wages, making the workers take a cut in their living standard. One sees this today under conditions of mass unemployment. But depressing wages is a relatively *limited* means of increasing the rate of surplus value. First, workers resist large wage cuts through economic and political struggle. Secondly, beyond a certain point cuts in real wages have a negative effect on the capacity of people to work. Millions of American workers *need* their cars to commute to work, for example.

In Marx's day it was common for employers to maintain the same wages but force workers to work longer hours. Remember when Marx wrote *Capital* the labor movement (even in Britain) was very weak. Today in advanced capitalist countries it is not possible to increase the rate of surplus value in quite this naked a way. But there's a similar way called speed-up as comrade Darlene (an ex-auto worker) can tell you. Workers are thus forced to do as much work in eight hours as they previously did in nine or ten. But speed-up too has relatively narrow limits. There is the physical incapacity of the workers as well as their capacity for resistance.

In terms of the *historic* development of capitalism—leaving aside year to year fluctuations—the main way in which the rate of surplus value is increased is by increasing the productivity of labor through new technology and new equipment. *If new technology were costless*, there is no reason that as a system of production capitalism would be less productive than socialism. It would still be less egalitarian and democratic, but not necessarily less productive. But in point of fact—and here we come to the heart of the capitalist contradiction—it is *not costless to increase productivity*. Technological progress is not costless for capitalists.

As a rule if you buy equipment which allows a higher labor productivity, you pay more for it. If you want a self-correcting electric typewriter, it's more expensive than an old manual clunker that I had when I was in high school. This is a universal law of capitalism. So there is a contradiction between increasing labor productivity on the one hand and increasing capital expenditure on the other. To understand this better we have to introduce another important relationship.

The Organic Composition of Capital

Let's take as an example a dress factory. Since the owner is interested in

continued on page 8

Capitalist Crisis...

(continued from page 7)

exploiting labor, why doesn't he just hire more and more labor? Because two people working on one sewing machine produce *no more* than one person on a sewing machine. The example of a sewing machine is a particularly rigid technology. When I was in college I worked in a United Parcel Service warehouse. And during the busy season they did hire more labor and speeded up their conveyor belts. But this kind of expansion has narrow limits.

In general there is a *technically* determined relationship between a given means of production and the amount of labor it is profitable to employ. You cannot hire more and more labor with a given plant, because productivity per worker will fall steadily and you will lose money. As Marx put it:

"A definite number of laborers corresponds to a definite quantity of means of production, so that a definite quantity of living labor corresponds to a definite quantity of labor already objectified in the means of production."
—Capital, Vol. III

Marx called this relationship "the organic composition of capital": the value of the means of production (C) over the worker (or workday). The workday, remember, consists of two parts: variable capital (v) plus surplus value (s). Let us say that the average sewing machine requires 100 manhours to produce. In this case, the organic composition of capital in a typical dress factory would be 100/8 (C/v+s).

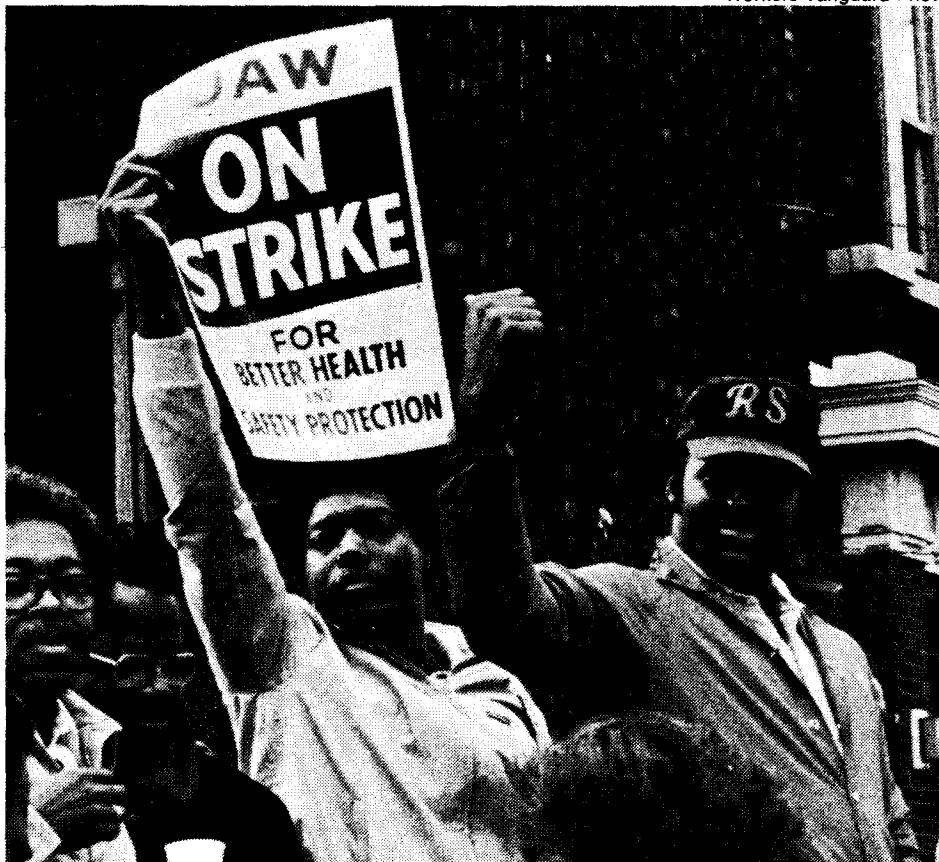
Now you may ask, why doesn't he buy an old sewing machine requiring only 50 manhours of labor. Because the old sewing machine will produce less than half of the new standard model. In the opposite case, an ultra-fancy sewing machine might require 150 manhours of labor, but would not be 50 percent more productive in this product line. So the *average* organic composition of capital in this industry is 100/8.

The Falling Rate of Profit

Capitalists are not interested in maximizing physical output. They are not interested in maximizing the number of workers they employ. They are not even interested in maximizing the rate of surplus value. They are interested in maximizing the rate of profit, the *return* on the money that they invest. Thus, a business which is earning a 7 percent rate of profit when the average rate for all businesses is 10 percent may well close down. The owners could figure that they will get a higher return if they reinvest their profits in some other business.

What is the rate of profit (p)? It is surplus value (s) over the capital invested in the means of production (C). (The capitalists also consider the money-capital used to pay the wage bill, but this amount is so small relative to the value of the means of production, we will ignore it.) It is therefore the ratio of surplus value per worker (or workday) over capital per worker (or workday): $p=s/C$. What is the rate of profit in our dress factory example? The surplus value per workday is four hours and each worker uses a sewing machine the value of which is 100 manhours. The rate of profit is therefore $s/C=4/100$ or 4 percent a day. (This is wildly unrealistic—even loan sharks don't get this much—it's just a simple arithmetic example.)

There is a tendency to equalize the rate of profit throughout a capitalist economy. If some industry has a profit rate much below average, it will tend to contract, leaving only the most profitable firms which perhaps raise the price of their products as competition declines. Conversely, if an industry is enjoying a profit rate well above average, new competitors will flood in



Militant Chrysler workers during September walkout. Elected strike committees key to taking back the givebacks.

and so drive down prices. Thus, it's meaningful to speak of an average profit rate for the economy as a whole.

The rate of profit is the basic motor force of capitalist production. In particular, changes in the profit rate determine the level of investment in new plant and equipment, and therefore changes in the overall rate of labor productivity. In Marx's words: "The rate of profit, i.e., the relative increment of capital, is above all important for all new offshoots of capital seeking an independent location" (Capital, Vol. III). The historic tendency for the rate of profit to fall is therefore the fundamental barrier to capitalist production and the basic cause of its periodic crises.

Why does the rate of profit fall in the long run? In order to increase the rate of surplus value, capitalists are driven to invest in more technically advanced means of production, which allow a higher level of labor productivity. But these more advanced means of production are more costly than the old means of production. In our previous example the rate of profit was 4/100 or 4 percent. If the value of a new sewing machine increases to 200, the new rate of profit will fall to 4/200 or 2 percent.

Ah, but you will no doubt respond, the capitalist invests in the new sewing machines because with them workers can produce *more* dresses per hour than before. So can't the increase in the rate of surplus value *offset* the additional cost of the means of production? In certain periods for certain capitalists: yes. In a broad historic sense: no. Why not?

For two reasons. One, historically real wages have not been held constant, so that the entire fruit of increased labor productivity has *not* been appropriated by the capitalists as surplus value. Through economic and political struggle the working class has resisted a sharp increase in the rate of surplus value.

The second reason is more fundamental. You might think that if the value of the new means of production increased at the same rate as labor productivity, then the rate of profit would remain unchanged. This is not, however, the case. To see this, let's look at our old dress factory example. Let's assume that a new more advanced sewing machine requires 200 manhours to produce, but it is twice as productive as the old model. Let's further assume that real wages remain unchanged.

The previous rate of surplus value was one; workers worked four hours a day to support their consumption needs and produced four hours of surplus value for the capitalist. If labor productivity now doubles while consumption levels remain the same, variable capital will now

be equal to two hours a day and surplus value will be six hours. The new rate of surplus value will be 6/2, or three. The new rate of profit is 6/200 or 3 percent.

That is, the rate of profit has *still* fallen even though labor productivity increased at the same rate as the value of capital and the real wage was frozen. The underlying logic is this. The rate of profit consists of two parts: surplus value per worker over capital per worker. Surplus value per worker has an upper limit, namely, the working day. Even if workers could live on air and did not get paid at all, they can produce no more than eight hours of surplus value per day. Capital per worker, by contrast, has no upper limit, and in a truly automated economy would approach infinity. The reason capitalists do not use all of the labor-saving technology which is available is that this would produce such a flood of cheap commodities it would wipe out the rate of profit. It is therefore often more profitable to use *less* productive methods.

Capitalist Crises Are Unavoidable

The effect of the falling rate of profit is to produce periodic crises—recessions, depressions—as we can clearly see at present. Capitalists can expand production basically in one of two ways. They can hire more labor and invest in more equipment of the *same* type. Marx called this expansion with a constant organic composition of capital.

The contradiction in this method of expansion is that sooner or later it produces a labor shortage as the reserve

army of the unemployed is run down. Take a small industrial city in which a capitalist intends to open up a new factory employing 5,000 workers. If there are 10,000 workers who are unemployed and have the skill to work in this particular factory, the capitalist can hire them for the going rate or even less. But if only 3,000 workers are unemployed, the capitalist must attract some workers already employed in other factories. He will then bid up the wage rate. As a capitalist economy expands the reserve army of the unemployed is gradually exhausted and capitalists begin competing with one another for labor. As the wage rate rises, the rate of surplus value falls, depressing the rate of profit.

The capitalists may respond to this situation by investing heavily in labor-saving technology. In this case, the organic composition of capital rises. Capitalists save money on labor, but only at the cost of purchasing expensive, highly sophisticated equipment. In either case, at a certain point in the expansion the capitalists suffer a sharp and sudden fall in the rate of profit which produces crisis and collapse.

Depressions, mass unemployment, bankruptcies are the *necessary* mechanisms by which the capitalist system more or less restores the old rate of profit. On the one hand, workers are now willing to take a cut in wages in order to keep their jobs or, if they're unemployed, to get rehired. Inefficient businesses go bankrupt, marginally profitable operations are closed down. At the same time, there is a sharp fall in the value of capital which may encourage investment. Our dress manufacturer who would not buy a new sewing machine at \$200 might buy one if the price is cut to \$150.

Marx explains why the destruction of productive capacity and of the lives of workers is an inevitable part of the capitalist system:

"The equilibrium would be restored under all circumstances through the withdrawal or even the destruction of more or less capital. This would extend partly to the material substance of capital...."

"The principal work of destruction would show its most dire effects in a slaughtering of the *values* of capitals...."

"But at the same time still other agencies would have been at work. The stagnation of production would have laid off a part of the working class and thereby placed the employed part in a situation where it would have to submit to a reduction in wages even below the average." [emphasis in original]
—Capital, Vol. III

Although Marx wrote these words well over a hundred years ago, it would be hard to find a better capsule analysis for an America of 10 million unemployed, unions negotiating "giveback" contracts and savage attacks on blacks, the poor and the aged. And there will be no way out short of a workers revolution to usher in socialist economic planning. ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

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

Berkeley/Oakland: SYL, Box 273, Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (415) 835-1535

Boston: SYL, Box 188, M.I.T. Station, Cambridge, MA 02139, or call (617) 492-3928

Champaign-Urbana: SYL, P.O. Box 2009, Champaign-Urbana, IL 61820

Chicago: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 427-0003

Cleveland: SYL, Box 6642, Cleveland, OH 44101, or call (216) 621-5138

Detroit: SYL, Box 32028, Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 961-1680

Houston: SYL, c/o SL, Box 26474, Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 663-1216 or 1217

Madison: SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 251-3398

New York: SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 267-1025

San Francisco: SYL, Box 11685, San Francisco, CA 94101, or call (415) 863-6963

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8, or call (416) 593-4138

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8, or call (604) 681-2422

Smash the Klan!...

(continued from page 1)

said they would rally, protesters mobilized by a variety of left groups came from all over the city. Italians from East Boston and Irish from Southie joined blacks from Roxbury, students, unionists, leftists and others to prevent the racist provocation.

Once the Klan was driven out of City Hall Plaza, the cops launched what was obviously a planned attack against the demonstrators. Mounted cops charged into protesters, riot police swung their clubs and blackjacks and ruthlessly maced anyone they could get their hands on. A row of motorcycle cops flew toward one of the Spartacist banners as if it were the finishing line tape at a race. Our comrades just barely escaped serious injury. The cops went after everyone: middle-aged women, reporters and photographers, people in wheelchairs. Twelve of the injured required medical treatment and there were two arrests. The Klan and the cops, of course, went scot-free. For many, the cop riot provided a brutal lesson in the nature of the capitalist state—not “neutral arbitrators,” but armed bodies of men who forcibly uphold the racist status quo. This fundamental truth was literally beaten into protesters' heads.

The cops were unable to disperse a good part of the crowd, however. As the attack subsided, over a hundred protesters—those who had braved the police onslaught and knew that our side had won—gathered around the SL/SYL banners for a soapbox rally. Union militants from Detroit auto, Chicago steel and New York maritime as well as Spartacist spokesmen explained that labor/black mobilizations are the key to crushing fascism in the egg. It is the organized, integrated industrial working class which has the power to keep society running—and when labor flexes its muscle, the fascists scurry back to their rat holes. Uniquely on the American left, the SL/SYL have shown the difference between victories and defeats. Unlike the sectarian adventurists of Progressive Labor/International Committee Against Racism (PL/InCAR) who reject the possibility of massive mobilizations and repeatedly send handfuls of their members to “confront” the deadly fascists and the cops, the SL/SYL have led the way in organizing all intended victims of fascism behind the power of the labor movement:

- Detroit, November 1979—500, many of them black auto workers, were mobilized by Spartacist supporters to stop the Klan from “celebrating” the Greensboro massacre;
- San Francisco, April 1980—1,200 unionists, minorities and socialists responded to a Spartacist united-front call and prevented the Nazis from

“celebrating” Hitler's birthday;

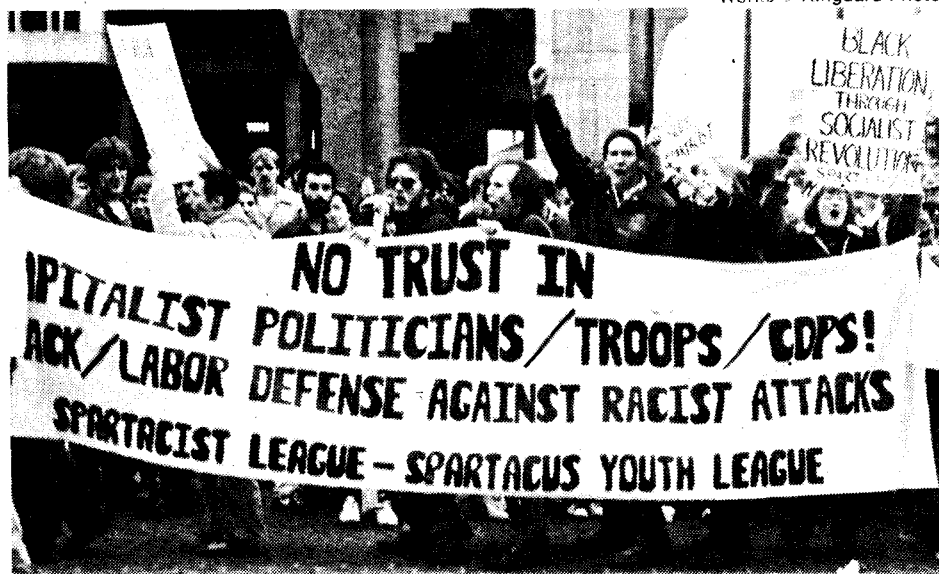
- Ann Arbor, March 1982—2,000 were mobilized by a Spartacist call to “Stop the Nazis,” and the Hitler-lovers were run out of Ann Arbor;
- Chicago, June 1982—3,000 demonstrators, many of them blacks and unionists from the South Side came to a Spartacist-initiated demonstration and stopped a Nazi provocation against a gay pride march.

In Boston October 16, the Klan was run out of town, but contingents of organized labor which would have gone a long way toward nullifying the police presence were absent. Had they been there, the capitalist politicians would have thought twice about ordering a cop assault. They rely on the workers to run the city, and organized labor also has the power to stop the city cold—no transportation, no communications, no production and no profit.

Spartacist supporters also drove home the point that it is the bipartisan war drive against the Soviet Union which fuels the growth of its fascist fringe, the KKK and Nazis. The Democrats and Republicans arm for war against the Soviet degenerated workers state by waging war against labor and minorities here at home. As demonstrators, including many blacks, cheered our speakers, the few isolated racists in the crowd were frightened into silence. Scandalously, the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) then emboldened some racist punks by screaming anti-Soviet slogans. When SL comrades pointed out to black militants in the crowd that the RCP was the same outfit that joined with ROAR racists in opposing busing in 1974, the RCP stammered, “That was a wrong position.” These “Jim Crow socialists” may say they've changed their line on busing, but they're still in bed with Ronald Reagan and the KKK on Russia.

The threat of a fascist provocation in Boston arose when, on October 14, “imperial wizard” Bill Wilkinson appeared on a local television talk show—part of the attempts by the terrorist KKK to gain “respectability.” Supporters of PL/InCAR in the studio audience began throwing eggs at Wilkinson while one Pler ran up to the stage and tried to punch him. The next day, the Klan announced they would rally Saturday on City Hall Plaza in retaliation. PL/InCAR announced a counterdemonstration and the All-Peoples Congress (APC), front group for Workers World Party (WWP), issued a leaflet for an “emergency demonstration to stop the Klan.”

The news of the anti-Klan protest spread quickly. By early evening the Boston NAACP had received over a hundred calls from people who wanted to stop the Klan provocation. Criminality but predictably, the NAACP leadership refused to even issue a statement against the Klan and ordered its staff to



Boston, October 16—SL/SYL contingent at successful anti-Klan action.

shut the office and stay home. At an SL/SYL forum held Friday evening on “Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution,” an announcement was made of the anti-Klan protest and the discussion period was turned into an organizing session for the demonstration as participants made placards and contacted their friends. At Harvard, SYLers stopped by at parties on campus to urge students to come to City Hall Plaza to help stop the Klan, and contacted representatives of campus organizations. The president of the Black Students Association (BSA) was awakened by us at 11:30 p.m. and encouraged to bring out his membership. But the BSA did nothing, and later, when asked why he didn't show up, the BSA president cynically responded, “I wasn't there and I don't regret it.”

At the time of the demonstration, the SL/SYL contingent was the largest on City Hall Plaza, and WWP, which frequently resorts to thug attacks to exclude Spartacist politics from its reformist shindigs, actually requested that we join their picket line. But it soon became very clear that all statements to the contrary, WWP/APC had no intention of stopping the Klan, and in fact tried to stop the demonstrators from stopping the Klan! At 2 p.m., as the scheduled hour of the Klan's appearance neared, protesters were nervously looking at their watches and waiting for some word from the rally organizers. At that moment WWP put a black preacher on the sound system to sing hymns and lead prayers! As the Klan, with their police entourage, appeared at the far edge of the plaza, the Spartacist contingent and hundreds of protesters surged forward, leaving WWP appealing to the demonstrators to “Stay where you are, keep the picket line going.” The same fake leftists who timidly “fight” Reagan with Democrats want to answer fascist terror with hymns!

Other left groups were noticed mostly for their absence. The Socialist Workers Party, which politely debates these genocidal murderers, sent a few pathetic salesmen to the rally, as did the International Socialist Organization. Not surprisingly, Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) was invisible—the DSA is in the Democratic Party along with California Klansman Metzger. And the Communist Party, which appeals to the racist capitalist state to “ban the Klan,” stayed home. Later, the CP felt constrained to protest the cop assault—but, scandalously, on the grounds there wasn't enough “trouble” “to warrant the wholesale clubbing of the large numbers of protesters who neither provoked nor participated in the incident” (*Daily World*, 20 October). Presumably, if there were, the cops would be justified in rioting against demonstrators!

October 16 was the first solid anti-racist stand taken in Boston in a long time. While the bourgeois media portrayed the anti-Klan protest as simply a brawl between the police and protesters, we knew it was important to get the word out on the success in running the

Klan out of town. So we put out a special supplement to *Workers Vanguard*, “KKK Run Out!” and in the first two days distributed almost 13,000, mostly at union work sites and in black neighborhoods. An additional 27,000 were distributed by comrades across the country. The reaction we got, particularly among blacks, verified that many knew a victory was won. Bus drivers encouraged us to leave stacks of papers on their buses and token collectors took bundles to hand out to fellow workers. Hundreds of supplements were distributed during rush hour at T stops in black sections of town; on the Orange Line one young black man approached the comrade handing out the paper to ask if he could help. By the second day of distribution, many people in the shopping centers, laundromats and bars in Mattapan, Dorchester and Roxbury told us they received the supplement the day before, and almost 70 copies of the new *Workers Vanguard* were sold in one afternoon the following week in Mattapan Square.

After years of constant defeats, blacks in Boston have gotten a taste of victory—which both inspires the struggle for further success and poses starkly the question of who are the friends and enemies of the working class and oppressed. What we saw on Boston City Hall Plaza was a battle in the class struggle. Only the SL/SYL has consistently made it clear that victories cannot be won by relying on our enemies: the cops, the courts and the capitalist politicians. Nothing has ever been won without a struggle; even the most minimal gains won through the courts are now being stripped away. What is needed is a fight against the capitalist order which breeds racist reaction. And that means building a workers party, armed with the program of revolutionary integrationism, to fight for a workers government free of capitalist exploitation and racist terror. The SYL seeks to recruit youth to this struggle, to join us in partisanship with the working class in the fight for a socialist future. For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

- Title of Publication: *Young Spartacus*.
- Publication No.: 01622692
- Date of filing: 1 October 1982
- Frequency of Issue: Monthly (except December/January & June/July/August).
- No. of Issues Published Annually: 9
- Annual Subscription Price: \$2.00
- Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007.
- Complete mailing address of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007.
- Full names and complete mailing address of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher—Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007; Editor—J. Marlow, 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007; Managing Editor—None.
- Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.): unincorporated association; Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007.
- Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or

more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities. (If there are none, so state.): None.

9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates.

10. Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total no. copies printed (net press run): 10,994; B. Paid Circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 6,844; (2) Mail subscriptions: 1,227; C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 8,071; D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 39; E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 8,520; F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 2,884; (2) Return from news agents: 0; G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2 should equal net press run shown in A): 10,994.

Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: A. Total no. copies printed (net press run): 10,750; B. Paid circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 7,189; (2) Mail subscriptions: 1,331; C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 8,520; D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 39; E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 8,559; F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 2,191; (2) Returns from news agents: 0; G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 10,750.

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed) J. Marlow, (editor)

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1.00

**American
Workers Revolution
Needs
Black Leadership**

Spartacist Publishing Co. Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116

\$1.00

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

Black Leadership...

(continued from page 12)

whole idea of the complex, which Henry Ford prided himself on, was to have raw steel going in one end of the plant and out the other side comes a finished automobile.

Well, you move assembly out and guess what happens to the complex. Henry Ford II has announced that it probably will close some time in the future because, after all, all good things have to come to an end! Of course, you can't stand in the way of progress. And progress for *him* is moving the facilities to a new place and screwing all the workers who used to work there.

Democratic Party—Pillar of Racist Capitalist America

The bulk of the population that works inside Rouge is from Detroit and is around 60 to 65 percent black. Black people are integrated into industrial production but segregated at the worst jobs—especially the low-paying jobs. So the Rouge complex, which is 65 percent black, has a skilled trades unit which is 90 percent white. You see, in skilled trades, you don't have to follow the car and aren't chained to the production line. And you have mostly white skilled tradesmen and black production workers on the line. That's how America works—the institutionalized racism is drummed into you every minute that you live.

Recently there has been a series of pipe bombings, fire bombings against blacks, in areas that are sort of white enclaves in Detroit. And from the black Democratic Party mayor Coleman Young, the union and the NAACP there's been no response. This is from a mayor who got elected based on the slogan, "move Detroit forward." He's got commercials on TV trying to convince people that somehow the city is a nice place to live! But when the city workers went out on strike in 1980, Young told them to eat beans and strike 'til hell freezes over. He broke the strike so that Ronald Reagan could have a party and get nominated to be president. That's what this kind of "black representation" means, and what the Democratic Party means.

Coleman Young is not about American workers revolution. He's about General Motors, Ford, the Republican Party and the Democratic Party—and *that's* why this kind of stuff goes on in Detroit. When two foremen put on Klan hoods and walked through the plant, the UAW [United Auto Workers] leadership said, well, we can't tell Ford who they can hire and fire. Coleman Young had nothing to say about it. We had—the Rouge Militant Caucus] organized 1,000 people to sign a petition, got it circulated and raised so much heat that the company was forced



SL's Workers Vanguard class-struggle program struck chord among Detroit auto workers: this photo appeared in New York Times, Newsweek.

to transfer these guys, telling us that they were fired.

Of course, *after* we ran them out, everybody was willing to take credit for it. The local president got on TV and said, yeah, we got rid of them. What *that* is is misleadership: hold people back, and if workers get ahead of you, try to jump on the bandwagon.

Class Struggle: Only Road to Black Liberation

The racist oppression of black people is historically central to the American capitalist system. It's the old divide-and-conquer routine, but it's not just simply that. It's not going to be a matter of encounter sessions with white workers, saying, oh, racism is really bad. The way workers are going to learn who their friends are and who their enemies are is in actual combat. So, in terms of running out those two foremen and also organizing auto workers to stop the Klan from marching in downtown Detroit to celebrate Greensboro [in November 1979, after the KKK/Nazis shot down five anti-fascist protesters], a lot of white workers work with these black workers in the plants and the question becomes posed: we want to stop the damn Klan—which side are you on? When we stopped the Klan from marching in Detroit, people learned concrete things. Our black Democratic Party mayor Coleman Young threatened to arrest us. So much for him being our friend.

The Spartacist League has a slogan, "Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution." And the key to that is the concept of revolutionary integrationism. That is, not this liberal pacifist stuff that Martin Luther King talked about, or Jesse Jackson's "black capitalism." Revolutionary integrationism is key to actually breaking open an American revolution because you cannot have a workers revolution in this country without black liberation being fought for. The black question in this country, from slavery on up to today, is not only the thing that divides people, but actually is the oil that makes the American machine run.

Sit-Down Strikes Pose Question of Workers Power

How did it get from the '30s with sit-down strikes, union organizing, to today where the unions are talking about not *giving up* too much? It's the Democratic Party. You had the CIO movement which organized sit-down strikes in Flint and Detroit, which posed the question to the capitalists that they were going to lose their whole piece of pie unless they bought the workers off. So they wrote legislation saying, yes, yes, unions are fine. That's the payoff: we'll give you unions if you support us. And the leadership of the unions bought that and basically it's been like that ever since.

They've been wedded to the Democratic Party for so damn long that they can't see any other way out. So plants close and they say, oh no, sit-down strikes—that won't work. That's utopian. You'll get people fired, you'll lose your job. You've got to write letters to Congressmen, to get them to pass laws

against plant closings. So what works and what doesn't work? Well, sit-down strikes haven't been tried yet against these plant closings, but writing to your Congressmen, voting for this, voting for that, *that* hasn't worked.

Sit-down strikes were the key to organizing unions in the '30s. It's the key because it poses the question of workers power—when workers organize and occupy those plants, the bosses are going to sing a different tune because they don't know what you're going to do with that equipment. Any plant that they close down, like Dodge Main, they take that equipment and sell it to somebody, they sell the land. So that stuff is really valuable to them, but further than that, it poses the question concretely of *who needs who* in the plant.

Workers get a real sense of the power they have when they kick the foreman out, kick out the supervisors, kick out labor relations and security, and keep the place spotlessly clean—which happened in '37 in Flint and Detroit. They get a sense of how we can actually organize and run society better. And *that's* why the Democratic Party has its teeth into the labor bureaucracy, people like Doug Fraser.

Black Leadership: Key to American Workers Revolution

To briefly give you an idea of what's going on in Detroit, the Jefferson Avenue assembly plant voted overwhelmingly: down with concessions. Before they had the vote, they had a three-day walkout which nobody organized. The leadership was trying to get back to work and the guys didn't want to go because they've had it up to here. Most of the guys are saying that if Chrysler cannot make a buck then let it close down. They've had it with concessions.

But what's going to happen to your job? What do we do about the industry and all the jobs that should be there? How do we fight for that? So a Marxist program for a planned economy run by the workers, run by a workers government—*that* has to be the answer that a lot of these workers grapple with. When Fraser comes back with his sellout, or maybe even before, you can expect a lot of heat in those Chrysler plants and probably some walkouts, unorganized, unfortunately.

The punch line on black leadership is how the race question is cut across—the way whites start looking at another picture when it's a question of their lives and their jobs. The Windsor assembly plant is a trim and parts plant in Canada, a country with a tradition of the stiff upper lip, better than "darker" people, etc. These Windsor workers walked out last week because they did not want to wait 'til November before they actually had negotiations.

Our caucus people went up there and talked to some of these folks. They wanted Jefferson assembly, which is an 80 percent black plant, to do something. They know that Jefferson is the key to Chrysler's empire. Anything they're going to have to fight for, it's not going to win without Jefferson going out with them.

So they're asking us, "What's Jefferson going to do? They walked out two weeks ago, are they going to walk out again?" They're really looking to Jefferson, to black workers there, to bring the situation to a head and win some concrete gains. The racism that exists in North America was basically cut across without any conscious intervention of people like the Rouge Militant Caucus. These guys realized that they're not going to take any more concessions—and where to look for the backup and the real powerhouse. The race question becomes not subordinated, but put in a proper perspective.

Dump the Bureaucrats! For Workers Action to Bring Down Reagan!

What's going to bring the situation to a head is organizing joint Chrysler/Ford action against the bosses, against the concessions drive at Chrysler and against the projected plant closing at the Rouge. People know that something is going to happen. They're talking about '67, that is, a black rebellion, maybe a race riot. But it doesn't have to happen that way. If we can pull together a general strike or mobilization of labor in Detroit, particularly the UAW, then all that anger and frustration—from the kids that can't get a job, to the welfare mothers who can't get welfare, to the guys laid off when plants closed, to the guys still working and taking it in the gut with concessions—it can bust the city wide open. And the whole country will be watching Detroit.

What happens there will largely shape and mold what happens in America. And the key thing is to push black leaders who are based on a class-struggle program, who understand that through organizing the class struggle in Detroit, and a workers revolution, we can wipe that goddamn smile off that cowboy's face in the White House and take his finger off the nuclear button. ■

Loop...

(continued from page 3)

speeches during the SSC interrogation of the SYL. Particularly our defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism obsessed Shelton throughout much of the meeting. The anti-Soviet war drive necessarily means "rollback" not only of Communism abroad but every gain won by the union and black movements at home. The Klan and Nazis are the fringe products of this Cold War drive whose domestic implications are well represented by the Greensboro massacre. We unconditionally defend the gains of the Russian Revolution in 1917 which abolished tsarism and capitalism in Russia, freed the workers from wage slavery, returned land to the peasants, liberated the oppressed nationalities subjugated by Great Russian chauvinism and women from their prison of illiteracy and servitude. Despite the degeneration of the revolution under the pressure of imperialism's counterrevolutionary offensive against the USSR ever since 1917 and the resulting massive bureaucratic deformations in the USSR, the fundamental anti-capitalist gains of the revolution remain. They must be defended staunchly against the current U.S. war drive.

If Shelton wants to defend this sick, racist society against all opposition, that's his right (and problem). Maybe he'll get himself elected to public office one day, but he wasn't elected here. His fondness for the Loop administration and for the hired guns of the secret police responsible for murdering some of the best young black leaders proves him unfit for office. Shelton's ability to trample our rights from a position of abusive authority must be stopped: Impeach him! Administration hands off student activities and publications! Stop the witchhunt against the Spartacus Youth League! Immediate recognition of the SYL Club! ■

Spartacist League Forums

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Speaker: **Don Andrews**,
SL Central Committee; candidate for Detroit City Council 1981; organizer of Detroit rally to stop the Klan, November 1979; organizer, Committee to Stop the Nazis, June 27, 1982

Sunday, November 7, 7:30 p.m.
Lounge, Third World Dorm (Price)

OBERLIN

Tuesday, November 9, 7:30 p.m.
Cuyahoga Community College,
Metro Campus
Room 100,
Science and Technology Building

CLEVELAND

For more information call (216) 621-5138

Spartacist Candidates...

(continued from page 12)

ployment for minority youth in this country? 60 percent? 70 percent? We say there is something wrong with a country that cannot offer jobs, that cannot offer employment and that cannot offer a future for the talented youth of this country."

Students walking through the plaza literally stopped in their tracks as Coleman and fellow candidate Richard Bradley spoke. One SYL comrade observed that "even the (normally disruptive) jocks listened to Richie and Diana." The two socialist union militants presented a class-struggle program to bring Reagan down through militant labor struggle. They stressed that the Democrats are no alternative—Democratic mayors like San Francisco's Dianne Feinstein and Detroit's Coleman Young were busting strikes and slashing social services before Reagan was elected.

Bradley, who formerly worked in auto and who fought for sit-down strikes to stop plant closings, related his own experience with Democratic Party "friends of labor":

"I worked in an auto plant in Mahwah, New Jersey for ten years. I saw that whole plant close down.... Some guys there with 30-something years seniority had nowhere to go, but to the unemployment lines.

"The labor bureaucrats told us we should write our congressmen, petition the governor of the state of New Jersey. Well, the Democratic Party didn't lift a finger to defend the workers there at Mahwah. The Democratic Party also includes Tom Metzger, a known Klansman from Southern California. And the Democratic Party also is responsible for using Taft-Hartley against the miners."

Smash Klan/Nazi Terror!

Ronald Reagan got elected on a program which Klan leader David Duke said "could have been written by a Klansman." True enough. Coleman noted that Reagan wants "sweatshops for white people and back to the plantation for the black people." The whole racist climate fostered by the

White House has encouraged and emboldened the fascists. As Coleman pointed out, "I was active in the civil rights movement in 1965. I went down to Mississippi. I never saw as much of the Klan in Mississippi in 1965 as I have in Northern California here today."

The nightriders in white sheets and their allies in brown shirts must be stopped! It won't happen by appealing to the bourgeois state, as the Communist Party (CP) does with its calls to "ban the Klan." Whatever "anti-extremist laws" are passed are used against the left, not the fascists who are protected and defended by the racist cops. That's one reason the Spartacist campaign opposes gun control, a Democratic Party scheme which would leave blacks and other minorities defenseless in the face of race terror.

Bradley explained how the Hitler-lovers' recent attempt to mobilize in San Francisco was brought to a halt:

"In San Francisco, we got a small taste of what kind of class struggle is needed in this country. The Nazis and Klan planned a march in San Francisco in April 1980 to celebrate Hitler's birthday. And the fake left, like the Communist Party, and the rest of the reformist left went to the Board of Supervisors to petition [them] to stop the Klan and Nazis from marching. What the Spartacist League did was to organize a united-front demonstration of workers, unions, socialists, blacks, gays and Latins to stop the Nazis and Klan in San Francisco. It worked. It was a victory. The Nazis and Klan haven't been seen in this city ever since then."

And where was prominent CP leader and SF State professor Angela Davis during this anti-fascist mobilization? Nowhere to be seen.

Stop Reagan's War Drive—Defend the Soviet Union!

Coleman emphasized the connection between Reagan's budget slashing—OK'd by Congressional Democrats—and U.S. imperialism's global anti-communist offensive:

"There have been bipartisan budget cuts and there have been bipartisan tax hikes, and it's all going to pay for the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive from El Salvador to Poland. We say military victory to the leftists in El Salvador.... They may not have a job for you, but they've got something in mind for the

American young man. And that is, you can be in the military. You can go and fight every one of imperialism's dirty wars from Vietnam to El Salvador.... And you can look at the things like the infantry and see that it's a high percentage minority. Because they want you to do the dirty work. They don't draft the white students from Harvard to do that....

"American workers and minority people had better oppose this imperialist war drive because you're going to wind up doing the fighting for it. We'd better oppose Ronald Reagan and his drive for nuclear war, because we're all going to be blown up if he gets his way. You know, the 'limited nuclear war'—limited to what?..."

"We oppose the anti-Soviet war drive. We say there was a Russian Revolution in 1917 and that those gains still remain, although bureaucratically deformed. We call for defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and we call for proletarian political revolution by the workers of those countries to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucrats who run those countries."

Reagan's war drive has been accompanied by the worst economic conditions since the 1930s, and what the government describes as a "recession" means a depression for blacks. Even a college degree is no guarantee of a job today. These concerns were reflected in the lively discussion during a Black Studies Department class which Coleman addressed before the noon rally. Several of the 30 black students focused on the campaign brochure's demand: "Jobs for all! 30 hours work at 40 hours pay!" Coleman repeatedly emphasized that there is no solution under capitalism, and that it is necessary to fight for a socialist society. As she noted:

"So how did people get down to the 40 hour week when they once worked 60 hours? They went on strike. They fought for it. They had class battles for it. Nobody gave it to them on a platter."

Later in the day, at a post-rally open house, students got a chance to talk informally with the candidates. Many of those who attended signed up to help campaign for Bradley and Coleman.

Democrats Try "Dirty Tricks"

The Coleman/Bradley campaign made a special effort to reach workers and blacks. We brought our class-struggle program to phone workers, longshoremen, transit drivers and work-

ers fighting to get their jobs back at the Bethlehem Shipyards. We bullhorned in the predominantly Latin Mission District and distributed thousands of brochures and *Workers Vanguard* supplements at the AFL-CIO's October 23 labor march, called by the labor tops to hustle votes for the Democrats in the November elections. One of our major points was that the Democrats, no less than the Republicans, are enemies of labor and minorities. And, in an act of political censorship, SF Registrar of Voters Jay Patterson mailed out political statements of the various candidates in which all of Bradley and Coleman's references to the Democrats were deleted and the word "socialist" was disappeared from the ballot designations. In Bradley's case, it was particularly slanderous: deletion of "Democrats" from his statement "Democrats—enemies of labor/minorities" made it sound like this ten-year black union militant was calling himself an anti-labor racist!

Coleman and Bradley sued Patterson, who claimed it was a "typo." But we had evidence indicating otherwise, including a proof sheet of the ballot designation with the undoctored words "socialist union militants." On October 20, the City Attorney's office stipulated in Superior Court that the Registrar of Voters would send out the correct ballot designations and political statements to all voters, correct the ballots in the city's 4,000 voting machines and take out ads in the three major papers to notify the public of the changes.

We will use every legal means to defend our democratic rights, and the settlement is a victory against an outrageous attempt to knock the political guts out of the Spartacist campaign. But we don't look to the bourgeois state to "reform" itself, as do the fake leftists peddling utopian "tax-the-rich" schemes. As the Coleman/Bradley campaign brochure stated:

"Workers need their own party to fight for a workers government which will smash the bosses' state, expropriate major industry and institute a planned economy in the interests of all working people. A vote for Bradley and Coleman is a vote for forging a mass workers party to lead the fight for a successful socialist revolution." ■

RCP...

(continued from page 5)

means that both China and the Soviet Union can be "socialist" one day and "fascist" the next simply on the basis of the Party faction in power. But, as we explain in "Why the USSR is Not Capitalist":

"For Marxists and in reality the state is a historically given, objective relationship between the dominant economic system (i.e., property relations) and the military apparatus which defends that system. That is why the class nature of

the state cannot be changed through a mere shuffling of personnel within the governing apparatus, but only through its shattering."

Capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union would necessitate a bloody social counterrevolution, particularly since the Soviet proletariat would not likely passively accept the reintroduction of imperialist domination and wage slavery—just as they heroically fought the invading imperialists and Whites during the Civil War and the Nazis in World War II. Furthermore, this is a strange return to capitalism, indeed, for there was no attempt at imperialist intervention or manipulation of domestic pro-capitalist elements such as one sees in Poland. Quite the contrary, during "capitalist roader" Khrushchev's ascendancy, the Cold War was raging at a white hot pitch. Society cannot peacefully slide from capitalism to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the reverse is true. To postulate a peaceful change back to capitalism is, as Trotsky noted, to "run the film of reformism in reverse." The logical conclusion for the RCP would be to enter West Point and the Republican Party, organize a secret "socialist-roader" faction and establish socialism in the U.S. through a palace coup in Washington.

Economically, the Soviet Union bears no resemblance to the capitalist countries with their endemic cyclical crises and inevitable contractions of production. This is fundamental to the Marxist analysis of capitalism. Thus, while the capitalist world reeled during the Great Depression, the USSR maintained expanding production; during the more

recent 1974-75 depression in which production dropped in every major industrial capitalist nation, Soviet economic performance increased by 18 percent. Again quoting from "Why the USSR is Not Capitalist":

"Those who maintain that the USSR is 'state capitalist' or 'bureaucratic collectivist' are asserting that the state bureaucracy can successfully overcome the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production and administer the rapid, steady expansion of productive forces. This profoundly revisionist conception calls into question the progressive character and historical necessity for proletarian revolution and class rule."

The RCP's "scientific" analysis: "Who could embrace this 'socialism' where the highest goal is to produce more to get more, and who would defend the Soviets' Swan Lake ballets in tu-tus, or their generals caked in medals?" Maoism truly rots the brain. Your fervent devotion to the "Cultural Revolution" to the contrary, comrades, the wearing of tu-tus in a ballet is not a Marxist criterion of the class nature of any society. More to the point, who could defend as "socialism" Mao's China which embraced the Shah of Iran, the apartheid butchers of South Africa, the Chilean junta, the Ceylonese regime responsible for the massacre of pro-Maoist JVP youth? The China which took Mao's anti-Sovietism to its conclusion and invaded Vietnam, promising to teach the heroic Vietnamese "a bloody lesson"? Answer: Stalinist sycophants.

The real problem faced by the RCP is that the Soviet Union is neither socialist nor capitalist, it is neither an "ally" of world revolution nor "one more imperi-

alist power to be fought, overthrown and destroyed." It is *contradictory*: on the one hand the Soviets can function as the military/industrial powerhouse of the non-capitalist world, the only thing standing between U.S. imperialism and the annihilation of, for instance, the Cuban revolution. On the other, in its quest for "détente" and "peaceful coexistence" the USSR is capable of gross betrayal of revolution, consummating alliances every bit as reactionary as Mao's. It is a degenerated workers state, a country where capitalism was overthrown by the October Revolution and where the proletarian property forms established by that revolution remain—but where a bloody *political* counterrevolution ripped political control from the proletariat and established iron bureaucratic rule by Stalin and his gang. This political counterrevolution is, unlike the RCP's imaginary "restoration" thesis, quite verifiable—as was the battle waged against it by Leon Trotsky, the Left Opposition and the Fourth International.

Those who genuinely repudiate both the reactionary alliance of China with U.S. imperialism and the tepid liberalism and "peaceful coexistence" dogma of Moscow have but one alternative: revolutionary Leninism as embodied in Trotskyism. The cornerstone of our movement, as it has always been, is the defense and extension of the gains of the Russian Revolution, the struggle for worldwide proletarian revolution and for political revolution in the deformed and degenerated workers states against the bureaucratic usurpers of our party and our revolution. ■

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

Young Spartacus

Spartacist Candidates Bring Class-Struggle Campaign to S.F. State

FLASH—Results in the SF Supervisor race as we go to press: Diana Coleman received 8,572 and Richard Bradley 6,253 votes with 100 percent of the precinct totals in. In other California election news, the pro-gun control Prop. 13 was defeated statewide.

At a noon rally on October 19, the Spartacist candidates for San Francisco Board of Supervisors addressed students at SF State. Diana Coleman started off:

"We say you can't fight Reagan with Democrats. I see a guy out here with a

poster, it says: 'Fight Ronald Reagan—Vote Democrat!' But who is the alternative to Ronald Reagan? We have Jimmy Carter, Southern racist. We have Teddy Kennedy, spoiled rich kid son-of-the-millionaire who has never done anything for working people and minorities. [Applause]... "Brothers and sisters, you'd better look around this country. There is not much out there for working-class youth and minority youth. You can come to San Francisco State and get an education, you can be real smart, but where is it going to get you when there's no job out there for you after you graduate?... What is the unem-

continued on page 11



Workers Vanguard Photo



Above, Diana Coleman at October 19 rally. Below right, Richard Bradley being interviewed by campus paper reporter.

Young Spartacus Photo

**You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats—
For Mass Strike Action to Bring Down Reagan!
Build a Workers Party!**

Detroit Auto Militant at Boston Forum: Black Leadership Is Key

On Friday, October 14, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) held a forum at Harvard on "Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution," with guest speaker Charles DuBois, a militant auto worker from Detroit's giant River Rouge complex. Last month, Chrysler workers overwhelmingly voted down UAW president Doug Fraser's sellout contract. The ranks, sick and tired of concessions, clearly wanted to fight—spontaneous walkouts occurred in the U.S. and Canada. In a desperate bid to keep the lid on, Fraser called an anti-strike referendum on October 26. Fearing that the pro-company bureaucrats would "lead" any strike to sure defeat, a majority of Chrysler workers voted to extend negotiations to the end

of the year.

But things will have only gotten worse by New Year's. Chrysler workers must fight: there is no other way. Key is the formation of elected strike committees with authority to launch mass picketing and to spread the strike, particularly to Rouge workers about to be scrapped by Henry Ford II. A militant leadership with a class-struggle program must be forged—Fraser will likely try to give his fellow members of the Chrysler Board of Directors a Christmas present at the ranks' expense. Above all, it requires a break with the Democrats and Republicans—workers need their own party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. Below, we print excerpts from DuBois' speech,



Workers Vanguard Photo

Auto worker militant Charles DuBois speaking in Boston's City Hall Plaza after Klan was run out by angry protesters, October 16.

focusing on the centrality of black workers to class struggle in Detroit. Under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard, black militants will be in the forefront of the fight to sweep away Democratic Party flunkies like Fraser and open the way for the North American workers revolution.

Detroit is a predominantly black city and has been that way for the last 20 years. It had, as of recently, a large industrial population. In fact, most people's jobs are in auto or tied to auto, and people in the city either know, have a cousin, older brother or

father who works in an auto plant. That still remains today *except* for the fact that they know somebody who used to work in an auto plant, who's laid off, etc.

So, the Rouge plant where I work is projected to close. There's this unit called the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) which puts out Mustangs and Capris, and they're talking about moving it. It's about 60 years old—one of the first facilities in the Rouge area. Rouge is sort of like a small city. At its peak, it used to employ about 120,000 workers; now it's down to 15,000. The

continued on page 10