

# Young Spartacus

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MARCH 1983

## For Workers Revolution in El Salvador!

### Vietnam Was A Victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats For U.S. Imperialism!

The leftist rebels are advancing in El Salvador! The rebel offensive which began last October culminated in the seizure of Berlin, a city of 40,000 in the coffee-rich uplands of Usulután, in late January. Having blocked off the coastal highway and bombed bridges over the Lempa River, the rebel forces have nearly succeeded in cutting the country in half and have tightened their stranglehold over the transport of cotton and sugar. The guerrillas' military gains have demoralized the Salvadoran army, and in Washington the U.S. architects of "counterinsurgency" gloomily recall their humiliating defeat in Vietnam. We say, Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism! The sadistic, U.S.-backed butchers are on the run—and so is their good friend Jeane Kirkpatrick, Reagan's ambassador to the U.N. Kirkpatrick returned from a visit to El Salvador to give a lecture at Berkeley February 15, where she was driven off the stage by outraged students. Kirkpatrick cancelled a lecture she was scheduled to give at Berkeley the following day, and now she has backed out of speaking at her own alma mater, Smith College, after the college announced it "could not assure her security against possible demonstrations" (*New York Times*, 1 March). Kirkpatrick is among the loudest defenders of the murderous Salvadoran government, which has slaughtered or "disappeared" some 50,000 since 1979. Keep Kirkpatrick on the run! The U.S. has poured military hardware, "advisers," and millions of dollars into El Salvador in order to "draw the line against Communism." But *our* side—the side of the worker and peasant masses—is in the strongest military position thus far. Military victory to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador! Forward to San Salvador—No negotiations!

In response to the recent FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front) offensive, imperialist "doves" and hardline "hawks" share the same

### No Negotiated Sellout!



### Leftist Rebels Must Win the War!

concern: *their* side is losing. "It should be clear to anyone who reads the newspapers that our side is not winning this war," Congressional Democrat Michael Barnes complained (*Washington Post*, 5 February). And Defense Secretary Weinberger, in his announcement that another \$60 million in "emergency military assistance" would be rushed to El Salvador, admitted "I wouldn't describe the situation as going

well at all," adding that El Salvador "can be easily lost militarily" (*Los Angeles Times*, 23 February). The differences between Reaganites like Secretary of State George "they can't shoot their way into the government" Shultz and Jeane Kirkpatrick on the one hand, and on the other the "doves" who urgently seek to head off a guerrilla victory through negotiations, are purely tactical. Noting that the "opposition is

not monolithic or wholly Leninist," the *New York Times* (6 February) complained that "offering the opposition a share of political power is the card that no one seems to be playing."

But the guerrillas' political leadership in the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) and FMLN have made it clear they are eager and willing for such a card to be "played." The FDR/FMLN has repeatedly said that they are fighting only to force a recalcitrant adversary to the bargaining table. That means that military action will have to be moderated, to put pressure on the government army but *not* to destroy it. At the height of the successful January offensive, FDR spokesman Rubén Zamora confirmed this counterrevolutionary perspective at a press conference in the U.S. The pro-FDR rad-lib *Guardian* newspaper reported his views:

"To win in a military sense could mean 'to lose in the end.' One purpose of

*continued on page 9*

**Black History Month**  
**SYL Fights for Class-Struggle Road to Black Liberation ...6**



## San Francisco State

# SYL Rally Ruffles Phoenix Feathers

We reprint below the response of the San Francisco State Spartacus Youth League (SYL) to a red-baiting article which appeared in the San Francisco State newspaper, the Phoenix, on February 17. This "news analysis" by one Tim Donohue of a recent SYL rally against fee hikes headlines our "sinister" communist demand for free education and concludes that "'Militant action' to bring down student fees is insane, immoral and won't work"! The SFSU rally occurred simultaneously with a 4,000-strong demonstration against the hikes at U.C. Berkeley and a similar action at Merritt Community College the same day. As SYL spokesman Paula

Young Spartacus Photo



SYLer Regina Gabrielle speaking at Feb. 16 rally against SFSU fee hikes.

Dell put it at the SFSU rally: "Not lobbying, not letter-writing, not licking the feet of the Democrats, but a genuine militant struggle...build a militant youth auxiliary to a revolutionary working-class party!" Our reply was submitted to the Phoenix on February 27.

\* \* \* \* \*

February 27, 1983

San Francisco State Phoenix  
1600 Holloway Avenue  
San Francisco, CA 94132

Editor,

On February 16 the Spartacus Youth League organized a successful demonstration opposing Reagan/Deukmejian's fee hikes attended by 150 students. The following day one Tim Donohue published a front-page anti-SYL diatribe in the *Phoenix*, worthy of a pint-sized, aspiring Joe McCarthy.

Donohue noted that "many of the students listening to the SYL speakers were sympathetic to the struggles of El Salvador, against human rights violations and opposed to the fee hikes." Reading this line, which comes at the end of the article, makes it clear what Donohue is sulking about: that the SYL's advocacy of forging a Leninist party to lead the struggle for a workers government is getting a sympathetic hearing. In Reagan's America it's occurring to autoworkers in Fremont, blacks faced with Klan violence, young women who can't get birth control, and students getting fee-hiked out of an education that maybe reform just isn't

## A dialectic cure for CSU fee hikes

Communists demand free education at noontime rally

By Tim Donohue

Speakers advocated communism as a key to preventing California State University fee hikes at a noontime rally held yesterday in front of the Student Union.

The Spartacus Youth League, a pro-Soviet communist organization, sponsored speakers who supported the

### News Analysis

buildup, U.S. involvement in Salvador and called for "militant" action against U.S. imperialism.

rule and Russian exports of military weapons to Vietnam.

SYL speaker Paula Dell called Gov. George Deukmejian a racist. Jimmy Carter "a racist peanut farmer" and Sen. Ted Kennedy "a millionaire."

"The U.S. government can spend billions on the MX missile system, but not a dime on housing."

Coleman failed to mention the Soviet Union's free housing plan for many of its citizens in Siberia.

many of the SYL speakers struggles of El rights viola-

**PHOENIX**

Anti-communist "news analysis" from February 17 issue of SF State paper.

viable, and Donohue is worried.

Donohue sneers that the SYL failed to mention its position on Afghanistan, Poland and Soviet Jews. Well, he must not have spoken to anyone who's ever discussed politics with the SYL or taken a look at our newspapers, *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus*. We are very well known for our stands on these issues. We invite all students (even Donohue) to come hear Diana Coleman, Spartacist candidate for SF Board of Supervisors in 1982, at the International Women's Day Debate on campus on March 9. She'll go into detail on just those questions.

In closing, Donohue heartily recommends to the SF State students and all the oppressed not the revolutionary Marxism of the SYL but the pacifism of Gandhi. However the rest of Donohue's diatribe makes it perfectly clear that he is not a pacifist but squarely behind the bipartisan nuclear war drive against the Soviet Union. Likewise, his article clearly incites the bourgeois state and various right-wing organizations to

violence against us.

But then this has always been the morality of the bourgeoisie for whom the highest good is that their slaves meekly accept oppression and exploitation with humble gratitude.

Although we doubt Mr. Donohue is capable of understanding it, we'd like to point out that we are Trotskyists who stand for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. At the same time we are for the Soviet workers ousting their anti-revolutionary bureaucracy which stands in the way of that defense and tramples on workers democracy.

The SYL, youth section of the Spartacist League, is looking for young militants who want to fight to change the world. We see, as does Mr. Donohue, albeit from a reactionary standpoint, that as in the 1930s the students who really believe in a just society increasingly want to be reds.

Charles Overbeck  
For the Spartacus Youth League

## Norfolk State Paper on Anti-Klan Demo

# The Echo of Media Lies

31 January 1983

Editor  
Spartan Echo  
Norfolk State University  
Norfolk, Va. 23504

To The Editor:

The *Spartan Echo* (6 December 1982) carried a purported "news account" and editorial about the mobilization of thousands of black workers and youth, initiated and organized by the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League, which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from staging a racist provocation

### Anti-klan group incensed

## 'Justifiable rage' erupts in riot

By Sharon R. Butts  
Echo News Editor  
Anti-klan demonstrators called the violence that erupted last week in the nation's capital "justifiable rage" unrelated to their peaceful rally.

Speakers of the anti-black and Semitic Marxist-oriented Spartacist League, who organized the Labor/Black Mobilization Stop the Klan, said the

leashing of frustrations" brought about by oppression and economic blight.

An estimated 5,000 blacks, Hispanics and labor organizers rallied in Washington, D.C. to oppose a march planned by the anti-black and Semitic Marxist-oriented Spartacist League, who organized the Labor/Black Mobilization Stop the Klan, said the

of 200 rebed

Organizers of the anti-Klan coalition believed that their success was downplayed because of media coverage which highlighted youths hurling bricks and bottles at policemen and looting stores.

"We feel the rally was successful," said Lonnie Graham of the Spartacist Youth League dur-

ing a visit to Norfolk State.

It will discourage people from joining the Ku Klux Klan and it will discourage racists from being bold."

Rena Herson, another league member, said: "We cannot be responsible for breed that sort of despair. The regular media wants to link that to our demonstration."

## SPARTAN ECHO

Vol. 97, No. 18 Norfolk State University Norfolk, Virginia 23504

**Spartan Echo (6 December 1982) coverage of November 27 anti-Klan demo. Subsequently the Echo printed an "edited" version of our reply.**

in the nation's capital. The *Echo's* article is an offense to the dedicated trade unionists and others in Norfolk who worked diligently for weeks and travelled to Washington to stop the racist Klan filth.

Although informed in advance of the threatened Klan march, the *Echo* never covered the event. Then the *Echo*—which supposedly serves the student body of a predominantly black Southern university—parroted the lying violence-baiting of the racist, capitalist-controlled newspapers and TV.

We first came to your office on November 19 to urge coverage of and participation in the anti-Klan action. We returned on November 30 to report a victory of a militant and spirited, orderly and disciplined mobilization which prevented the racist violence which a successful Klan march would necessarily have given rise to. We offered to provide the *Echo* with names of eyewitnesses and participants from the Norfolk area including labor leaders and at least one NSU student, an accurate *Journal and Guide* story and

contact with its editor—all of which was refused by your staff.

We never "justified violence" as the *Echo* contended. The word "violence" can only be applied to the actions of the police on November 27; it was the cops who charged demonstrators, tear gassed, clubbed them and—as graphically demonstrated in an oft-published AP photo—threw them through plate glass windows. But the issue of alleged "violence" by the victims of the D.C. police (and the intended victims of the KKK) is what captured the *Echo's* journalistic attention. We are reminded of the response of the press to the murders by the Klan/Nazi hitmen of the five anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina. Despite the fact that this massacre was carried out in broad daylight and televised, the media insisted on referring to it as a "shoot-out" between fascists and anti-fascists.

The U.S. government vowed that the KKK would march but the Labor/Black Mobilization stopped them. That's where the cop riot and "violence" lies came from. The media wishes to bury

under slanders the news of an independent working-class, largely black action led by socialists that the government could neither stop nor co-opt. The November 27 action proved that the working class and oppressed have the power to combat the ominous growth of the KKK/Nazi provocations.

While the nation's black newspapers tended to accurately report the anti-Klan victory on November 27, the *Spartan Echo* has criminally lent its services to the "enemy camp." We urge NSU students to read the article in *Workers Vanguard* No. 320, "Why They Lie"; better yet, contact us (call: 543-4300) to see the video of the demonstration for yourself.

Lonnie Graham  
and Rena Herson  
for the Spartacus Youth League

### 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

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

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No. 107

March 1983

# For a Mass Mobilization of Labor, Minorities and Students Stop Race-Terror In Madison!

We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Madison SYL on February 28. We have initiated a united-front protest for Saturday, March 5 (see ad below). Endorsers of the united-front action so far include the Madison NAACP and the Latino American Student Association.

Racist swine calling themselves "Concerned White Citizens" are trying to terrorize Madison's black population. They want to turn this city and university into a lily-white, Klan-infested hell-hole. On January 21, they began phoning death threats to minority staff working in the university's Academic Advancement Program (AAP). Less than a week later the racist vermin sent a letter to Chancellor Shain, whose tuition hikes and "academic standards" have reduced already low minority enrollment and emboldened the fascists. The "Concerned White Citizens" reportedly congratulated Shain on his efforts, though partial, to remove blacks and other "undesirables" from campus. If Shain doesn't purge UW Madison of all minorities, the fascist scum threaten to finish the job. Shain and the administration tried to keep this fascist, race-hate campaign secret. The white-power creeps escalated their terror with a bomb scare at the AAP offices on February 8. Blacks are at the top of their hit list, but all of us are targeted: leftists, unionists, Latinos, foreign students, minorities, Jews, gays, every decent person. We say: Mobilize against racist terror now! Don't let these scum get their first victim!

The administration, cops and FBI won't stop them: they're all on the same side. Calls on the government and its killers in blue to "ban the Klan" and "fight racism" are dangerous and won't work, nor will a Progressive Labor-style small group confrontation with the cops. We need a large, powerful, militant demonstration in defense of all minorities in this city that puts these racist punks on notice: Madison is not a Posse town, not a Klan town!

The Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27 shows how to fight racist

terror. A massive outpouring of labor and blacks drove the Klan out of the city. Initiated by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), this anti-fascist mobilization was built with the active support of the powerful D.C./Tidewater Area labor movement. Like ourselves, these trade unionists, along with thousands of black youth, were determined that the Klan would not ride on November 27. No white sheets were seen on November 27 or have been seen in D.C. since. Successful labor/black mobilizations have also prevented the Klan and Nazis from parading in other northern cities, from Detroit in November 1979 to San Francisco, April 1980. In Chicago on June 27, 1982, we mobilized over 3,000 demonstrators to stop a Nazi provocation against the Gay Pride Parade. Even in a campus town like Ann Arbor, Michigan, over 2,000 protesters ran out the Hitler-loving "SS Action Group." And just last Sunday in the southern university town of Austin, Texas nearly 1,500 people mobilized in the streets against the KKK. If they can do it, so can we. But if we don't, blacks and minorities will pay with their lives!

If it were up to Reagan, the Democrats, the cops and the likes of Irving Shain, the fascists would successfully stage their vicious provocations and terror. Here in Madison, the administration tells us to let the FBI "investigate" these racist attacks. We say: Remember Greensboro! It was "former" paid FBI informer Edward Dawson and Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agent Bernard Butkovich who planned the daylight KKK/Nazi assassination of five trade-union civil rights activists, members of the Communist Workers Party, in Greensboro, North Carolina. And it was the FBI's paid killer, Gary Rowe, who was responsible for "most major incidents of Klan terrorism that occurred in Alabama while he was on the Bureau's payroll"—from the grisly church bombing in Birmingham that left four black Sunday School children dead to the cold-blooded murder of civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo (*New York Times*, 17 July 1978). For all we know,

"Concerned White Citizens" could be the Madison branch of the FBI!

There have already been many whitewash "investigations" of racist violence within the UW system. Sani Tela, a Nigerian student at UW Stout was murdered last summer by racist thugs outside a Menomonie tavern. No one has been arrested—they don't even call it murder! Four other Nigerian students at UW Stevens Point were also brutally beaten at a local bar. Only two

want to fight even the most naked expression of capitalist insanity. It's not only the administration telling students to ignore the fascist threat. Stokely Carmichael recently denounced the SYL for stopping the Klan in D.C.—he advised us to "study the Klan." Well, the masses of blacks, Hispanics and workers can't all hide from the Klan in some library. And neither can Madison's black and minority students. It is necessary to mobilize labor, blacks,

Workers Vanguard Photo



**Ann Arbor, Michigan, March 1982: 2,000 responded to SL/SYL's call for a united-front demonstration against the Nazis and ran them out of town!**

men were charged; the first received a token sentence of 21 days in jail. And now Madison.

Enough! We must not only stop these deadly threats against the AAP and black faculty and students, but we need to break down the race and class privilege at the university through open admissions, free tuition and active minority recruitment. Like everything else, this will take a struggle. There is plenty of money for Reagan and the Democrats' war budget. For the rest of us, there is cutbacks, unemployment and racist attacks. The increase in fascist terror is part and parcel of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. War against Communism abroad means war against workers and minorities at home. In order to effectively fight the fascists, you need a strategy to fight against the capitalist system.

But there are too many leftists and self-styled "revolutionaries" who don't

minorities, students against this deadly white-power terror campaign. If these racist attacks are not met with militant protest, there will soon be white-hooded killers openly marching up State Street. Don't let it happen here! No reliance on the administration/cops/FBI! Defend AAP and minorities against racist attack! Smash racist terror—no more Greensboros! ■

## DEMONSTRATE!

### Stop Race-Terror!

For a Mass Mobilization of Labor, Minorities and Students!

- Defend the AAP and Minorities Against Racist Attacks!
- Smash Racist Terror—No More Greensboros!

**Saturday, March 5, 12 noon**  
State Street Mall

**MADISON**

For more information: (608) 251-3398

## Debate

### Marxism, Socialism and Feminism—Which Strategy for Women?

Speakers:  
**Diana Coleman**, Spartacist candidate for SF Board of Supervisors, 1982  
**Deirdre English**, Editor, *Mother Jones Magazine*

**Merle Woo**, Freedom Socialist Party/Radical Women  
**Sally Gearhart**, Chairperson, Dept. of Speech and Communications, SF State

**Wednesday, March 9, 2-4:30 p.m.**  
San Francisco State Student Union  
Barbary Coast Room

### Workshops

Featuring SL/SYL Speakers

### History of International Women's Day

**Tuesday, March 8, 12:30-1:30 p.m.**  
SF State Student Union  
Conference Room A-E

### Women and the Russian Revolution

**Friday, March 11, 11 a.m.-12 noon**  
SF State Student Union  
Conference Room A-E

Sponsored by San Francisco State Women's Center

## Women and Revolution



International Women's Day issue \$.50  
Subscription \$2/4 issues

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

### International Women's Day: A Proletarian Holiday

Speaker: Rosalind Garcia,  
SL Central Committee

**Wednesday, March 9, 7:30 p.m.**

Harvard University  
Phillips Brooks House

**CAMBRIDGE**

For more information: (617) 492-3928

## International Women's Day Spartacist Forums

### Trotskyism: The Revolutionary Answer to the Triple Oppression of Black Women

Speaker: Dora Apel, SL

**Monday, March 7, 7:30 p.m.**

Wayne State University  
Hilberry A

**DETROIT**

For more information: (313) 961-1680

### Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Speaker: Martha Phillips,  
Spartacist candidate for  
Oakland City Council

**Tuesday, March 8, 7:30 p.m.**

UC Berkeley  
Tilden Room (5th floor)  
Student Union

**BERKELEY**

For more information: (415) 835-1535

### Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Speaker: Marty Farrell, SL

**Tuesday, March 8, 7:30 p.m.**

University of Michigan  
Michigan Union, Conference Rms. 4 and 5

**ANN ARBOR**

For more information: (313) 622-2339

### Black Women and the Fight Against Triple Oppression

Speaker: Topaz DuBois,  
SYL National Committee

**Wednesday, March 9, 12 noon**

Merritt College  
Student Lounge, R Building

**OAKLAND**

For more information: (415) 835-1535

**Thursday, March 10, 12 noon**

San Francisco State  
Student Union, Room B114

**SAN FRANCISCO**

For more information: (415) 863-6963

# How to Fight the Nazis/KKK

Fifty years ago, Hitler's Nazi Party took power virtually without resistance by the most powerful and best-organized working class in Europe. The barbaric consequences of fascism's triumph in Germany will never be forgotten. While this 50th "anniversary" has been the occasion for a spate of media coverage on the history of German fascism, the lessons of 1933 are far from academic for the workers movement here. Today, the worsening economic crisis and the racist and bellicose anti-Soviet policies of the U.S. bourgeoisie are fueling the rapid growth of domestic fascism, the capitalists' future shock troops for imperialist wars abroad and for class war against the workers' organizations and race war against blacks and minorities.

Hitler's triumph in Germany represented a political counterrevolution against parliamentary rule. Under the impact of cataclysmic economic and political crisis, terrified of the powerful German working class, the ruling class which owned the means of production

in Germany (and still does) handed power to Hitler. And after the war, the U.S. bourgeoisie enlisted numerous Nazi war criminals in its global anti-Soviet war drive. The recent extradition of infamous Gestapo boss Klaus Barbie—the "butcher of Lyons"—revealed again the extent of U.S. protection for such scum. Responsible for murdering more than 4,000 people, shipping 8,000 to the death camps and arresting and torturing thousands more, Barbie was protected and paid by U.S. military intelligence agents in 1948, as part of the wholesale recruitment of the Nazis' anti-Soviet spy network—through its chief, Wehrmacht General Reinhard Gehlen—to the CIA.

American fascism today is not yet a mass movement like those which conquered much of Europe in the 1930s. One of the lessons of Germany is that it is a life-or-death matter for the proletariat and its leadership to see to it that the fascists are not allowed to flourish; they must be crushed in the egg. And it must be understood that the fight against

fascism is ultimately a *class* battle which can only be decisively resolved by the victory of capital or of the workers.

It is precisely for such an eventual showdown that the Ku Klux Klan and American Nazis are kept in reserve by the U.S. ruling class. An ominous signal of the bourgeoisie's willingness to more than tolerate the fascists right now—as a means of intimidating the desperate, restless black population targeted by Reagan reaction—was the green light given to the Klan to march in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982 (for the first time since 1925!). That provocation was stopped cold by a united action of blacks, trade unionists and the communists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League.

*Young Spartacus* reprints below an excerpted version of Leon Trotsky's "For a Workers United Front Against Fascism!" written in 1931 and directed particularly at the German Communist Party (KPD). This article is one of many in comrade Trotsky's fight for the Leninist tactic of the united front as a

means to unite the mass of German workers in action against Hitler's bands and to wrench the social-democratic workers from their conservative, pro-capitalist leadership.

Following the consolidation of Stalin's political counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, Trotsky's International Left Opposition had seen itself as an external faction of the Communist International, whose parties were then characterized by "bureaucratic centrism"—wild zig-zags between reformism and pseudo-leftist sectarianism. In the early 1930s right up to the time Hitler seized power, the CPs internationally were pursuing the policies of the so-called "Third Period." This line included spurning work in the established trade unions (counterposing "red unions") and the sectarian refusal to offer the Social Democratic leaders—who still held the allegiance of many times more workers than the KPD—a practical bloc for *action* against the fascists. A KPD offensive for the united front would have forced the Social

**G**ermany is now passing through one of those great historic hours upon which the fate of the German people, the fate of Europe, and in significant measure the fate of all humanity, will depend for decades. If you place a ball on top of a pyramid, the slightest impact can cause it to roll down either to the left or to the right. That is the situation approaching with every hour in Germany today. There are forces which would like the ball to roll down towards the right and break the back of the working class. There are forces which would like the ball to remain at the top. That is a utopia. The ball cannot remain at the top of the pyramid. The Communists want the ball to roll down toward the left and break the back of capitalism. But it is not enough to want; one must know how. Let us calmly reflect once more: is the policy carried on at present by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany correct or incorrect?

## What Does Hitler Want?

The fascists are growing very rapidly. The Communists are also growing but much more slowly. The growth at the extreme poles shows that the ball cannot maintain itself at the top of the pyramid. The rapid growth of the fascists signifies the danger that the ball *may* roll down toward the right. Therein lies an enormous danger.

Hitler emphasizes that he is against a coup d'etat. In order to strangle democracy once and for all, he wants to come to power by no other route than the democratic road. Can we seriously believe this?

Of course, if the fascists could figure on obtaining an absolute majority of the votes at the next elections in a peaceful way, then they would perhaps even prefer this road. In reality, however, this road is unthinkable for them. It is stupid to believe that the Nazis would grow uninterruptedly, as they do now, for an unlimited period of time. Sooner or later they will drain their social reservoir. Fascism has introduced into its own ranks such terrific contradictions, that the moment must come in which the flow ceases to replace the ebb. This moment can arrive long before the fascists have united about them even half of the votes. They will not be able to halt, for they will have nothing more to look for here. They will be forced to resort to an overturn.

But even apart from all this, the fascists are cut off from the democratic road. The immense growth of the political contradictions in the country,



## For a Workers' United Front Against Fascism

by Leon Trotsky

the stark brigands' agitation of the fascists, will inevitably lead to a situation in which the closer the fascists approach a majority, the more heated the atmosphere will become and the more extensive the unfolding of the conflicts and struggles will be. With this perspective, civil war is absolutely inevitable. Consequently, the question of the seizure of power by the fascists will not be decided by vote, but by civil war, which the fascists are preparing and provoking.

Can we assume even for one minute that Hitler and his counselors do not realize and foresee this? That would mean to consider them blockheads. There is no greater crime in politics than that of hoping for stupidities on the part of a strong enemy. But if Hitler is not unaware that the road to power leads through the most gruesome civil war, then it means that his speeches about the peaceful democratic road are only a cloak, that is, a stratagem. In that case, it is all the more necessary to keep one's eyes open.

## What Is Concealed Behind Hitler's Stratagem?

His calculations are quite simple and obvious: he wants to lull his antagonists with the long-run perspective of the parliamentary growth of the Nazis in order to catch them napping and to deal them a deathblow at the right moment. It is quite possible that Hitler's courtesies to democratic parliamentarism may, moreover, help to set up some sort of coalition in the immediate future in which the fascists will obtain the most important posts and employ them in turn for their coup d'etat. For it is entirely clear that the coalition, let us

assume, between the Center and the fascists will not be a stage in the "democratic" solution of the question, but a step closer to the coup d'etat under conditions most favorable to the fascists.

## We Must Plan According to the Shorter Perspective

All this means that, even independently of the desires of the fascist general staff, the solution can intervene in the course of the next few months, if not weeks. This circumstance is of tremendous importance in elaborating a correct policy. If we allow the fascists to seize power in two or three months, then the struggle against them next year will be much harder than in this. All revolutionary plans laid out for two, three, or five years in advance will prove to be only wretched and disgraceful twaddle, if the working class allows the fascists to gain power in the course of the next two, three, or five months. In the polity of revolutionary crises, the calculation of time is of just as decisive importance as it is in war operations.

Yes, should the fascists really conquer power, that would mean not only the physical destruction of the Communist Party, but veritable political bankruptcy for it. An ignominious defeat in a struggle against bands of human rubbish—would never be forgiven the Communist International and its German section by the many-millioned German proletariat. The seizure of power by the fascists would therefore most probably signify the necessity of creating a new revolutionary party, and in all likelihood also a new International. That would be a frightful historical catastrophe. But to assume today that

all this is *unavoidable* can be done only by genuine liquidators, those who under the mantle of hollow phrases are really hastening to capitulate like cravens in the face of the struggle and *without* a struggle. With this conception we Bolshevik-Leninists, who are called "Trotskyists" by the Stalinists, have nothing in common.

We are unshakably convinced that the victory over the fascists is possible—not after their coming to power, not after five, ten, or twenty years of their rule, but now, under the given conditions, in the coming months and weeks.

## Thaelmann<sup>1</sup> Considers the Victory of Fascism Inevitable

A correct policy is necessary in order to achieve victory. That is, we need a policy appropriate to the present situation, to the present relationship of forces, and not to the situation that may develop in one, two, or three years, when the question of power will already have been decided for a long time.

In fact, in the appeal for the "Red United Front" published on November 29, 1931, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany proceeds from the idea that it is impossible to defeat fascism without first defeating the Social Democracy. The same idea is repeated in all possible shades in Thaelmann's article. Is this idea correct? On the historical scale it is unconditionally correct. But that does not at all mean that with its aid, that is, by simple repetition, one can solve the *questions of the day*. An idea, correct from the point of view of revolutionary *strategy* as a whole, is converted into a lie and at that into a reactionary lie, if it is not translated into the language of *tactics*. Is it correct that in order to destroy unemployment and misery it is first necessary to destroy capitalism? It is correct. But only the biggest blockhead can conclude from all this, that we do not have to fight this very day, with all of our forces, against the measures with whose aid capitalism is increasing the misery of the workers.

Can we expect that in the course of the next few months the Communist Party will defeat both the Social Democracy and fascism? No normal-thinking person who can read and calculate would risk such a contention. Politically, the question stands like this: Can we successfully repel fascism now, in the course of the next few months, that is, with the existence of a greatly weakened, but still (unfortunately) very strong Social Democracy? The Central Committee replies in the negative. In

Workers Vanguard Photo



**November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK was a united-front action of trade unions, black militants and socialists.**

Democratic leaders to act against Hitler and his stormtroopers or stand exposed before their ranks as passive capitulators to the fascist menace.

Beneath the KPD's "left"-sounding rhetoric was a profoundly pessimistic perspective, captured in the statement of one KPD leader, "After Hitler—Us," which accepted in advance the Nazi

victory and seemed not to know that "after" Hitler there would be no "us." There was nothing inevitable about Hitler's triumph. It was the consequence of the criminal inaction of the parties of the German working class, a working class which was overwhelmingly pro-socialist and had attempted insurrection against the capitalist order only ten

years before, and four years before that. The Nazi victory was the ultimate, horrible consequence of the crisis of proletarian leadership.

The KPD had shown itself no less bankrupt than the reformist Social Democracy: it no less than the Social Democrats had allowed Hitler to come to power without a shot being fired. When this disaster for the international proletariat provoked no factional battles or splits in the Stalinized Comintern, Trotsky drew the appropriate conclusions and raised the call for a new, revolutionary International. As for the Stalinists, they rapidly abandoned the "Third Period" in favor of a sharp right turn to the "Popular Front." This fundamental perversion of the united front (which is intended to unite the working class in concrete actions against its enemies) embraced "anti-fascist" capitalists in ongoing political and governmental alliances. In other words, the popular front policy meant the subordination of the independent struggle of the working class, the *disciplining* of the workers to appease bourgeois "allies." In Spain, for example, the popular front meant the conscious beheading of workers revolution and Franco's victory in the civil war.

The united front is a key weapon in

the arsenal of Bolshevik tactics. Its application in the U.S. today may be found in the Spartacist League's demonstrably successful call for "Labor/Black Mobilization Against KKK/Nazi Terror!" It was the SL which undertook to mobilize significant sections of the labor movement and black community on the burning issue of stopping the Klan in Washington on November 27. Meanwhile, reformists like the Workers World Party saw in the Klan march an opportunity to "unite" a few Democrats on the explicit basis of doing *nothing* to actually *stop* the fascist provocation. The Communist Party USA abstains from the whole business, preferring the illusion that the fascists' bourgeois patrons can be convinced to "outlaw" their hirelings in white sheets and brown shirts. A couple of the smaller groups mimic the idiotic policies of the "Third Period," with predictable results. Only the Spartacist League's perspective of labor/black-led mass mobilizations to crush the fascist menace, as a crucial part of the fight for workers revolution, offers anti-fascist militants a way forward. In this virulently racist country, ruled by a rapacious imperialist bourgeoisie, the nightmare of Germany 1933 "can happen here." It is our task to make sure it doesn't.

other words, Thaelmann considers the victory of fascism inevitable.

**Once Again:  
The Russian Experience**

In order to express my thought as clearly and as concretely as possible I will come back once more to the experience with the Kornilov uprising. On August 26 (old style), 1917, General Kornilov led his Cossack corps and one irregular division against Petrograd. At the helm of power stood Kerensky, lackey of the bourgeoisie and three-quarters a confederate of Kornilov.<sup>2</sup> Lenin was still in hiding because of the accusation that he was in the service of the Hohenzollerns.<sup>3</sup> For the same accusation, I was at that time incarcerated in solitary confinement in Kresty Prison. How did the Bolsheviks proceed in this question? They also had a right to say: "In order to defeat the Korniloviad—we must first defeat the Kerenskiad." But that was entirely inadequate for offering resistance to Kornilov on August 26, and on the days that followed, and for preventing him from butchering the Petrograd proletariat. That is why the Bolsheviks did not content themselves with a general appeal to the workers and soldiers to break with the conciliators and to support the red united front of the Bolsheviks. No, the Bolsheviks proposed the united front struggle to the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries and created together with them joint organizations of struggle. Was this correct or incorrect?

**It Is Not a Question of the Workers Who Have Already Left the Social Democracy, But of Those Who Still Remain With It**

The thousands upon thousands of Noskes, Welses and Hilferdings<sup>4</sup> prefer, in the *last analysis*, fascism to Communism. But for that they must once and for all tear themselves loose from the workers. Today this is not yet the case. Today the Social Democracy as a whole, with all its internal antagonisms, is forced into sharp conflict with the fascists. It is our task to take advantage of this conflict and not to unite the antagonists against us.

The front must now be directed against fascism. And this common front of direct struggle against fascism, embracing the entire proletariat, must be utilized in the struggle against the Social Democracy, directed as a flank attack, but no less effective for all that. It is necessary to show by deeds a

complete readiness to make a bloc with the Social Democrats against the fascists in all cases in which they will accept a bloc. To say to the Social Democratic workers: "Cast your leaders aside and join our 'nonparty' united front," means to add just one more hollow phrase to a thousand others. We must understand how to tear the workers away from their leaders in reality. But reality today is—the struggle against fascism. There are and doubtless will be Social Democratic workers who are prepared to fight hand in hand with the Communist workers against the fascists, regardless of the desires or even against the desires of the

there are many frightened opportunists. They have heard that opportunism consists of a love for blocs, and that is why they are against blocs. They do not understand the difference between, let us say, a parliamentary agreement and an ever-so-modest agreement for struggle in a strike or in defense of workers' printshops against fascist bands.

Election agreements, parliamentary compromises concluded between the revolutionary party and the Social Democracy serve, as a rule, to the advantage of the Social Democracy. Practical agreements for mass action, for purposes of struggle, are always

Markisches Museum Berlin



**Nazi stormtroopers marching on German Communist Party headquarters.**

Social Democratic organizations. With such progressive elements it is obviously necessary to establish the closest possible contact. At the present time, however, they are not great in number. The German worker has been raised in the spirit of organization and of discipline. This has its strong as well as its weak sides. The overwhelming majority of the Social Democratic workers will fight against the fascists, but—for the present at least—only together with their organizations. This stage cannot be skipped. We must help the Social Democratic workers in action—in this new and extraordinary situation—to test the value of their organizations and leaders at this time, when it is a matter of life and death for the working class.

**We Must Force the Social Democracy Into a Bloc Against the Fascists**

The trouble is that in the Central Committee of the Communist Party

useful to the revolutionary party. The Anglo-Russian Committee<sup>5</sup> was an impermissible type of bloc of two leaderships on one common political platform, vague, deceptive, binding no one to any action at all. The maintenance of this bloc at the time of the British General Strike, when the General Council assumed the role of strike-breaker, signified, on the part of the Stalinists, a policy of betrayal.

No common platform with the Social Democracy, or with the leaders of the German trade unions, no common publications, banners, placards! March separately, but strike together! Agree only how to strike, whom to strike, and when to strike! Such an agreement can be concluded even with the devil himself, with his grandmother, and even with Noske and Grzesinsky.<sup>6</sup> On one condition, not to bind one's hands.

It is necessary, without any delay, finally to elaborate a practical system of

measures—not with the aim of merely "exposing" the Social Democracy (before the Communists), but with the aim of actual struggle against fascism. The question of factory defense organizations, of unhampered activity on the part of the factory councils, the inviolability of the workers' organizations and institutions, the question of arsenals that may be seized by the fascists, the question of measures in the case of an emergency, that is, of the coordination of the actions of the Communist and the Social Democratic divisions in the struggle, etc., etc., must be dealt with in this program.

In the struggle against fascism, the factory councils occupy a tremendously important position. Here a particularly precise program of action is necessary. Every factory must become an antifascist bulwark, with its own commandants and its own battalions. It is necessary to have a map of the fascist barracks and all other fascist strongholds, in every city and in every district. The fascists are attempting to encircle the revolutionary strongholds. The encirclers must be encircled. On this basis, an agreement with the Social Democratic and trade-union organizations is not only permissible, but a duty. To reject this for reasons of "principle" (in reality because of bureaucratic stupidity, or what is still worse, because of cowardice) is to give direct and immediate aid to fascism.

Complete independence of the Communist organization and press, complete freedom of Communist criticism, the same for the Social Democracy and the trade unions. Only contemptible opportunists can allow the freedom of the Communist Party to be limited (for example, as in the entrance into the

*continued on page 11*

<sup>1</sup>Ernst Thaelmann was the principal leader of the German Communist Party.

<sup>2</sup>In August 1917 the Cossack general Lavr Kornilov led an attempted counterrevolutionary coup against Alexander Kerensky, who was the liberal-populist head of the Russian provisional government following the February 1917 revolution.

<sup>3</sup>The Hohenzollerns were the ruling dynasty of imperial Germany.

<sup>4</sup>Gustav Noske, Otto Wels and Rudolf Hilferding were leaders of the German Social Democracy.

<sup>5</sup>The Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee was a bloc formed in 1925 between the Stalin/Bukharin leadership of the Soviet Union and the British trade-union bureaucracy. It lasted until 1927 when the British pulled out.

<sup>6</sup>Albert Grzesinsky was the Social Democratic police chief of Berlin.

**Black  
History Month**

# SYL Fights for Class-Struggle

Throughout Black History Month Spartacus Youth League (SYL) branches sponsored video showings of the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization, which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C., at campus open houses and black studies classes. During a recent Southern tour by Spartacist League and SYL comrades, video showings and discussions were also held at the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill campus and at North Carolina Central University. Sales of the newly issued Spartacist pamphlet "Black History and the Class Struggle" have been brisk, with over 1,750 sold nationally to date. From the radical abolitionists to Malcolm X, the history of struggle for black rights in this racist, capitalist society is rich with lessons. But the most fitting tribute to

the heroes of the fight for black liberation is to organize a class-struggle fight today against resurgent racist terror, staggering unemployment and cutbacks—the domestic reflection of Cold War II. This necessarily means a political struggle against the Democratic Party front men—black and white—for capitalist austerity as well as against the reformists and nationalist misleaders. At video showings on Chicago's Loop and University of Illinois Circle campuses, for instance, lively discussion centered on the recent mayoral nomination of black machine Democrat Harold Washington, and why it represents no victory for black people. From California to Madison to Boston, the SYL is leading students in fights against the bipartisan offensive against black and working-class youth. Join us!

## Wayne State SYL Video Showing

### The Klan Doesn't Ride in Moscow!

On February 9, 35 black students in a class at Wayne State University enthusiastically viewed a Spartacus Youth League (SYL) presentation of the videotape of our successful November 27 anti-Klan mobilization in Washington, D.C. The video, presented in a class on "Contemporary Black Social and Political Thought" met with cheers from the students as they listened to speeches by Spartacist spokesmen and trade-union militants. Following the video, a lively discussion took place for over an hour, centered largely on the class nature of the Soviet Union and what the gains of the Russian Revolution mean for blacks in this country.

An SYL supporter explained the Trotskyist position of defending the Soviet Union against imperialism, stating, "We want to defend the gains that mean you've got employment in the Soviet Union and the Klan does not ride in Moscow.... At the same time we want to get rid of those bureaucrats that are crippling those gains, that are holding those gains back." Then auto-worker Frank Hicks of the Rouge Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition within United Auto Workers Local 600 explained further:

"The Russian workers built a party called the Bolsheviks, and in 1917 they

seized power.... They reorganized the society on a planned basis, on a collectivized basis. That's why there's no unemployment, that's why 50 percent of the doctors in the Soviet Union are women and medical care is a right which every citizen in that society has. You sure can't say that in Detroit. Now the bureaucracy has mismanaged the hell out of that economy. Okay, so yes, people wait in meat lines in Poland, but they wait in cheese lines in this city, brothers and sisters!"

In Detroit, which is a vivid example of the grotesque irrationality of capitalism, these comments made immediate sense to the students in the class, many of whom then spoke to interject their own observations. An African student pointed out that "In the Soviet Union, where everybody basically has the physical necessities of life and just a handful of people maybe do not have a job, I do not think that's a very big issue, because back here almost everybody is unemployed. Not everybody is even in a cheese line, many people are begging on the streets." Another black student, who had visited Eastern Europe informed the class that "there's no such thing as people living on the street. That's absolutely out of the question. No one lives on the street. No one!"

*continued on page 8*



## Join the SYL

**November 27: 5,000 Stop the Klan—  
CP Nowhere in Sight**

**SYL Confronts Angela Davis**

Angela Davis—probably the most well-known American "communist"—has recently made a number of public appearances on the East Coast, speaking on "Women, Race and Class." But anyone who came out to hear Davis expecting even vaguely militant, let alone genuinely communist politics must have left her talks in New York and Boston sorely disappointed. Davis' appearances presented the Spartacus Youth League with an opportunity to ask this Communist Party Central Committee member about her organization's deafening silence on the 5,000-

strong Labor/Black Mobilization which successfully drove the Ku Klux Klan off the streets of Washington, D.C. on November 27. While the SL/SYL-initiated anti-Klan mobilization received prominent coverage from virtually all the U.S. press (bourgeois and "left") and was noted from as far away as Moscow and East Germany—the CP's *Daily World* has not printed a single word on the important victory against resurgent racist terror.

Davis spoke in Boston to a crowd of 1,500, most of them middle-class white feminists. Her presentation consisted

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**Black History  
and the  
Class Struggle**



# Struggle Road to Black Liberation



largely of a sociological treatise on the failure of the white, middle-class movements for women's rights—from the fight for suffrage to the "women's lib" movement of the late sixties/early seventies—to address the needs of black and minority women. Operationally, she advised the audience to "get involved" and plugged the liberal campaigns of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) of which she is a leading member. (Davis noted that the NAARPR was something "everyone" could join—from Communists like herself to Democrats.) Disturbing the liberal haze which filled the meeting, the SYL brought up the question of fighting fascist terror.

**Davis:** "The struggles are there, you see. It's that oftentimes we have a tendency to just sit back and wait. You know, you hear of a strike that is going on. Go around to the picket line and ask if you can be of any help. A plant is shutting

down. Get involved in that."

**SYL:** "What about 5,000 people stopping the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C. on November 27?"

**Davis:** "We must try to get involved in the fight to insure that the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party are forever outlawed."

When we objected that Davis had still not answered the question put to her, she replied that the question be put in writing. "It is in writing," we responded and after a whispered consultation on the podium, our question was read: "What do you think of this class-struggle action to stop the Klan? Why did the CP abstain from this? Why is the *Daily World* the only paper which refused comment on it?" Davis' "answer": "Well, I would actually prefer to speak about the strategy that the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression has developed on the question..." and proceeded to again call for banning the Klan. Davis even went so far as to say that "model legislation" was in the works and has been effective in some places. Where, comrade Davis? And when thousands of black workers and youth—distrusting for good reason that the same government which gave the Klan the green light to march in D.C. for the first time since 1925 will "ban" them—take matters into their own hands, why no comment from the CP?

Davis repeated her performance for an overwhelmingly black audience at Bronx Community College in New York. In the burned-out hellhole of the South Bronx—eloquent testimony to the reality of rotting capitalism—the CP's liberal/Stalinist line was all the more visibly bankrupt. An SYL spokesman pointed out that black history was made on November 27 and again pressed Davis for an explanation on the CP's silence and abstention. CP "security" surrounded our comrade, as Davis attempted to cut her off. But, the SYL spokesman persisted and again Davis refused to answer, dredging up the "ban the Klan" line.

To call upon the capitalist state to "ban the Klan" is not only illusory, it is positively dangerous. All laws against political "extremists" will be used not against the right—who could believe that in Reagan's America?—but against reds, black militants, labor agitators, radicals of all kinds.

Davis handled other questions no better; a student asked about the anti-Soviet campaign of the U.S. media—did that make it more difficult to be a Communist? Davis answered that the U.S. press lied a lot, citing as an example that, contrary to popular opinion, rock music was played in Moscow. After the event, *Young Spartacus* salesmen were surrounded by interested students wanting newspapers, pamphlets, more information on how the Klan was stopped in Washington.

Davis offers not even the pretense of militant struggle—against racist terror or anything else. Her message, and that of the Communist Party, to black youth: plead to the same cops, courts, politicians who ruthlessly repressed the best young black militants and routinely murder black youth in ghettos like the South Bronx. The real communists of the SYL propose to build an integrated revolutionary party which will mobilize the power of the labor movement and its allies in the ghettos and barrios to crush the Klan/Nazi scum, stop the anti-Soviet war drive, defeat the attacks on the working class and poor and move forward to the final destruction of racist capitalism through socialist revolution. ■

## Ronald Reagan's Cheek

### Howard Students: 1 Administration: 0

Young Spartacus Photo



Howard students demand ouster of Reaganite university president James Cheek.

For nearly three weeks, widespread student protests rocked Howard University. Hundreds of students marched, rallied, and even occupied the administration building demanding the ouster of despised Howard president James Cheek and the reinstatement of expelled student Janice McKnight. McKnight, editor of the campus newspaper, the *Hilltop*, was booted out of school on February 1—on the pretext that she falsified her admissions application in 1979—after refusing to stop publishing a series of articles on a sex discrimination suit filed against the university. Cheek and his administration tried their hardest to kill any publicity around the suit, even ordering the *Hilltop* to "submit to counsel [bought and paid for by the administration] prior to publication any article that could conceivably contain defamatory material" (*Hilltop*, 3 December). But McKnight would not be silenced, so she was expelled—reinstated by Cheek only after weeks of almost daily demonstrations and in the face of a \$100,000 lawsuit filed by McKnight. McKnight's back at Howard, but Cheek never left. Oust Cheek! Stop administration censorship!

When news of McKnight's expulsion spread with the publication of the February 4 *Hilltop*, 800 students marched on the administration building demanding her reinstatement and the ouster of Cheek. The following Monday, hundreds rallied again and succeeded in confronting Cheek on the main campus yard. After telling the protesters that he would not resign his position, Cheek was subjected to thunderous chants of "Fire Cheek!" The protests culminated on February 17 when over 100 students occupied the administration building for 30 hours while protesters outside the A-building burned Cheek in effigy. By the following week, the administration had turned the A-building into a fortress, installing a metal detector and searching everyone entering the building. But the demonstrations against Cheek continued, until on February 24, Cheek was finally forced "in the interests of all concerned" to reinstate McKnight.

Students at Howard have long

been fed up with Cheek, a notorious Reagan supporter, and the censorship of the *Hilltop* and subsequent expulsion of McKnight was the last straw. As one student put it, "The Pandora's box was opened" (*Hilltop*, 18 February). Cheek has attacked the faculty by purging politically active professors and censoring publications critical of Reagan. He's censored the radio station and newspaper, is attempting to eliminate the deferred payment of tuition and is trying to force students to register for the draft before being eligible for student loans.

Cheek is a Reagan man all the way. In 1981, amidst student protests, he conferred an honorary degree on ex-CIA director, now vice president Bush. And just recently, Cheek got his own "reward" for his fervent support for Reagan. While hundreds of students have been demanding his firing, on February 23 Reagan presented Cheek the "Medal of Freedom" citation, commending Cheek for his contributions toward a "better life for black Americans and a better country for us all." Everyone knows what kind of "better life" Ronald Reagan has in mind for blacks in this country. Under his administration, unemployment has skyrocketed, social services have been slashed, and there have been widespread attacks on education. He also has encouraged the growth of race-hate terror—for example, it was his administration that gave the green light for the Klan's attempted march in D.C. last November 27, which was stopped by the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 protesters. And receiving a medal of "freedom" from the Klan's man in the White House speaks volumes for Cheek. A "better life" at Howard University apparently means censorship, firings and expulsions, all at the whim of the administration. Cheek must go—abolish the administration! Nationalize Howard! For worker/student/faculty control of the university!

Cheek and his administration lost out in their effort to expel McKnight, undoubtedly due to the protests in her defense. But although the protests have been militant, the student

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**Black  
History Month**

## SYL Fights for Class-Struggle Road to Black Liberation

### Stop the Deportation of Dennis Brutus!

## Anti-Apartheid Activist Denounces Polish Solidarność

In the interests of his anti-Soviet military alliance with South Africa, Ronald Reagan wants to offer the head of black South African poet and anti-apartheid activist Dennis Brutus to the white supremacist butchers of Pretoria. Brutus was a tenured professor at Northwestern University when the State Department declared him "deportable" in the fall of 1981. Reagan says South Africa is part of the "free world"—a place where voicing opposition to the brutal racism of apartheid is reason enough to be shot down in the streets by the secret police. Stop the deportation of Dennis Brutus!

At a recent lecture given by Brutus at Cleveland State University, entitled "Oppression in South Africa: the Washington-Pretoria Connection," the SYL was alone among the left in stressing our defense of Brutus and respect for his courage in the face of brutal capitalist repression. During the discussion period, an SYL member pointed out that Reagan embraced the counterrevolutionary Solidarność movement, which seeks to restore capitalism in Poland, and that the South African government has welcomed Solidarność refugees. At this point the cowardly bully boys of the International Socialist Organization, joined by members of the Revolutionary Communist

Party and Socialist Workers Party, erupted in an outburst of catcalls and jeers. But these Solidarność-lovers sat in stunned silence when Brutus acknowledged the reactionary nature of Solidarność, citing the apartheid government's airlift of thousands of Solidarność members from Vienna to take skilled jobs in South Africa. "This may not make you or me very popular," Brutus said, but "I have to question the commitment to freedom and democracy of any group which can so easily become part of a racist ruling class." This

brought applause from SYL supporters and some black independents in the audience. The anti-Soviet fake-left came to hear Brutus speak about the liberal divestment movement, but were shocked when he clearly stated that the basis of the Washington/Pretoria axis is their common hatred of communism, and that the Reagan/Botha program is to "prevail" over the USSR.

The irony of Brutus' victimization is that politically he poses no threat to the racist American bourgeoisie. In the U.S., Brutus has become known as a

Majofra/Contact



1977: Defiant black youth at funeral of Steven Biko, leader of "black consciousness" movement assassinated by South African police.

leading proponent of the liberal campaign for university and corporate divestment of holdings in South Africa—a moralistic movement which appeals to U.S. imperialism to exercise economic "pressure" on its apartheid ally. To appeal to the racist U.S. ruling class—which metes out its "justice" for blacks with dum-dum bullets, chokeholds and jail cell lynchings—to "act morally" is suicidal. As the world's foremost imperialist power, the U.S. does not and will not act in the interests of social progress *anywhere*. The reformist advocates of divestment are some of the same people who supported the sending of the "peacekeeping" U.S. Marines to Lebanon, where the "progressive" role of U.S. imperialism was hideously demonstrated in the disarming of the PLO and resulting slaughter of defenseless Palestinian refugees at Shatila and Sabra. It is the multi-millioned black proletariat of South Africa, the key to socialist revolution throughout the continent, which has the power to smash apartheid!

When SYLers at Harvard on February 19 pointed to the need for concrete acts of international working-class solidarity with the black workers of South Africa (e.g., hot-carguing South African goods), Brutus replied that this is an excellent strategy which he "wholeheartedly endorses," but "not a strategy for students who don't work in factories." The SYL does not believe that students should be sentenced to carry out reactionary utopian politics like divestment simply because they don't have social power. Join the SYL and link up with the class struggle through a revolutionary Trotskyist party to fight for a workers government here and in Pretoria! ■

## SYL vs. AAPRP

### Stokely Sees Red

When the KKK threatened to march through Washington, D.C. November 27, over 5,000 trade unionists and youth, overwhelmingly black, responded to the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization's call to stop them... *and we did*. Around the country, this victory has captured the interest of the black college students whom the petty-bourgeois All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) regards as *its own* constituency. At the City College of New York (CCNY) for example, AAPRPs challenged the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) to a debate in early February. We accepted, but the AAPRP leadership is sitting on the proposal. The AAPRP reacts with *hostility* to racially united labor action in defense of black rights because its Pan-Africanist ideology is based on the premise that the situation of blacks in the U.S. is *hopeless*. Its "solution": go "back to Africa"! While fantasies about the "African homeland" may offer relatively privileged black college students intellectual solace and a fantastic escape from the painful realities of racist America, the example of November 27

holds out the possibility of integrated working-class struggle to *smash* racist American capitalism. There is no place in such a struggle for the do-nothing AAPRP. Thus, at three recent speaking engagements on college campuses, AAPRP leader and cult figure Stokely Carmichael denounced the November 27 demonstration in the most demagogic and hysterical terms.

Speaking at the University of Wisconsin-Madison February 15, Carmichael said nothing about the death threats by racist scum against minorities working in the university's Academic Advancement Program (see article, page 3), while denouncing the November 27 demonstration as a "useless" and "social-democratic" diversion. Of course, the social democrats' line on the Klan is identical to Carmichael's: ignore them. And at the University of the District of Columbia (UDC) February 28, Carmichael claimed the demonstration was "undisciplined," "reformist," and a "waste of time." When he spoke later in the day at Howard University, Carmichael proclaimed the "useless" demonstration "a good thing" simply in an effort to silence SYLers who denounced the AAPRP's capitulation to Klan terror. His real position was revealed later in the discussion, when he told a white SYLer to "infiltrate the Klan."

Carmichael's talk at Howard was largely given over to religion: god, the Bible, and "African Christianity." "We don't know what color Jesus Christ was," said Carmichael, "but we know the one color he wasn't was white"! It is quite fitting that Carmichael pushes religion: for a few black intellectuals, the escapist fantasizing that goes by the name of Pan-Africanism serves the

same function as the Christian heaven for the mass of black oppressed. In the meantime, Carmichael engages in the most disgusting race- and agent-baiting against communists who struggle for liberation in the *real* world. At UDC, Carmichael called one SYL comrade a "little white girl"; at Howard, he called a black SYLer "ashamed of his race" and warned him to "stay away from white women."

Carmichael attacks the "white left," but reserves most of his spleen *for blacks!* Blacks are "even below animal level," he said at UDC, "even animals are organized—they run together as a flock." This after his repulsive comment at San Francisco State University in December: "I know my people. If you give them some fried chicken they go to sleep." The AAPRP has nothing but contempt for the black masses. When an

SYLer at CCNY asked an AAPRP'er, "What do you have to say to a striking black worker?" he replied, "We're against strikes here"! They're against strikes in Africa too: Carmichael's mentor, Kwame Nkrumah, crushed the 1961 general strike in Ghana.

Carmichael's Pan-Africanism is not the militant black nationalism of Malcolm X or the Panthers which (however misguided) involved a commitment to anti-racist struggle, but an escapist ideology which can only flourish in academia side by side with Reaganite bourgeois reaction and the absence to date of significant black struggle against it. A labor/black fight against the racist capitalist system, the only road to black liberation, will seal the fate of do-nothing cults like the AAPRP. That is why Carmichael hates and fears the example of November 27. ■

## Wayne State...

(continued from page 6)

In sharp contrast to the students in the class, professor Pat Coleman-Burns, a member of the peculiar sub-reformist National Organization for an American Revolution (NOAR), explicitly wrote off the fight for socialism and dismissed any lessons that the Russian Revolution holds for the American working class. As a spokesman for NOAR (which holds the position that blacks and labor are simply self-interest groups concerned only with what benefits themselves), Coleman-Burns stated that "the union is the most backward institution in this country," and complained, "We have before us a technological overdevelopment [!] which is very different than anything that has ever been faced in any country."

Responding to this bizarre claptrap, Frank Hicks set the record straight: "I cannot believe that anyone who wants to talk about liberation can tell me the problem is not scarcity. The problem is scarcity for the masses of Detroit and of

every city in this country. And don't tell me about technological development... the ghettos are hellholes. People are imprisoned in them. There ain't no jobs. That's called scarcity... I'll tell you that the Russian Revolution, and this brother said it very well, is a blueprint in the sense of what we must struggle for... But don't tell me that the problem is beyond imperialism. And boy, Detroit 1983 looks a lot like Petrograd 1917!"

At this point, Coleman-Burns cut off discussion and quickly attempted to herd the class out of the room. Despite her efforts, nearly half the class signed our mailing list and we sold ten copies of our pamphlet, "Black History and the Class Struggle." The class made it clear that black youth are not buying the NOAR line or the Reaganite line that the problem is our own greed. There is a world out there that our labor power has created and it is the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League which is leading the fight for that world to be ours! For full employment, free education and a world free from KKK/Nazi race-terror, through socialist revolution! ■

#### SYL Video Showing

**Labor/Black Mobilization  
Shakes Washington**

**"We Stopped  
the Klan!"**

**Wednesday, March 16, 12 noon**  
West Los Angeles Junior College  
LSC Building

**LOS ANGELES**

For more information: (213) 663-1216



## El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

military pressure is to insure that the U.S. administration eventually will accept a negotiated solution that gives the rebel forces a share of the power."

"Guillermo Ungo [FDR leader] doesn't belong in the bush with Cayetano Carpio and Schafik Handal," Assistant Secretary of State Abrams put it bluntly, "He belongs in San Salvador, running for office" (*New York Times Magazine*, 20 February). But Ungo has already been in office in San Salvador: specifically as a member of the U.S.-installed "human rights junta" in late 1979 which began its regime with the massacre of striking workers. For that matter, Schafik Handal's Communist Party held the labor ministry in that same "reform" junta. Then as now, the guerrillaist/Stalinist misleaders of the Salvadoran workers and peasants subordinate the fight against the junta butchers in an attempt to form a coalition with "democratic-minded" capitalists. Following the overthrow of Nicaraguan dictator Somoza in July 1979 there was a wave of militant strikes and demonstrations which provoked the U.S. and Salvadoran army officers to oust president General Romero. The time was ripe for mass insurrection—but the reformists either supported or did not oppose the U.S.-installed Duarte junta. Within hours after Jimmy Carter's "human rights" butchers took power, the armed forces embarked on an orgy of killing that has continued to this day.

Now, with battlefield victories for the insurgents threatening to destroy the government army, the call for a negotiated settlement means a repetition—on a larger and more lethal scale—of the tragic experience of "Bloody October" 1979. The Salvadoran workers and guerrilla fighters have shed their blood fighting to liberate themselves from the rule of the "14 families" and their imperialist backers—they have died in the thousands, not so Ungo & Co. can again "share power" in San Salvador but to remove from their backs the jackboot of capitalist oppression, grind-

ing poverty and death squad terror. The oligarchy, which slaughtered 30,000 peasant insurgents in 1932 (the "peace of 30,000 dead") will never negotiate away its murderous rule. The junta's army must be *defeated*, its state apparatus smashed, its land and industry ripped from its hands by a victorious workers revolution.

The reformist U.S. "left" is in full solidarity with the proposal for a negotiated sellout. In the FDR's popular front they correctly see a kindred spirit to their own grovelling before "democratic" imperialist politicians. Groups like the Communist Party USA, Workers World Party and the Socialist Workers Party do not call for rebel victory in the civil war in El Salvador and attempt to funnel opposition to the U.S. role there into the Democratic Party's "political solution" swindle. Eloquent testimony to this faith in imperialist "doves" is the slogan "No More Vietnams"—an explicitly *anti-revolutionary* slogan. Vietnam was a defeat for U.S. imperialism, a victory for the workers of the world. The Democrats no more want to see a rebel victory in El Salvador than Reagan & Co. It was the Democrats who carried out the dirty imperialist war against the Vietnamese, it was the Democrats who plotted the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, it was the Democrats under Carter who installed the bloody Salvadoran junta in 1979. They are no less concerned to curb "Soviet influence" in Central America and the Caribbean—and no less ready to use everything from CIA-backed coups and invasions to massive U.S. aid to temporary "deals" in order to keep Central America "safe" for imperialist rape. So wedded to the tactic of "pressure" on the Democrats are the reformists that none of these groups bothered to mobilize support for the guerrilla forces when they were winning. What Democratic Party "dove" would speak at such a rally? And conversely, to raise a plea for "negotiations" at the height of a successful offensive by the FMLN would expose this call for what it is: a betrayal of the Salvadoran workers and peasants.

Reagan et al. seek to avenge the Vietnam defeat and Central America is for them the front line in the drive to

"roll back Communism"—a war drive aimed at El Salvador, Nicaragua and Cuba and ultimately at the Soviet Union. Thus in January the State Department "certified" that the Salvadoran government has made a "concerted and significant" effort to stop indiscriminately murdering the populace. Also last month, U.S. and Honduran troops conducted "war games" along the Nicaraguan border, a clear provocation against the petty-bourgeois radical Sandinista regime. In this connection, the counterrevolutionary pope Wojtyla is scheduled to visit Central America in March. The pope's visit will certainly be the occasion for a mobilization of the domestic bourgeoisie in Nicaragua,



Salvadoran guerrilla fighter

whom the Sandinistas have conciliated in their doomed effort to steer the non-existent "middle road" between capitalism and the expropriation of capitalist property.

The Soviet Union and Cuba are unfortunately telling the truth when they deny supplying aid to the Salvadoran insurgents. The Sandinistas, in an effort to conciliate Washington, have cut what flow of arms existed to El Salvador. Such treachery is carried out in the name of "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism and at the expense of the workers and peasants throughout Central America. As revolutionary internationalists and intransigent opponents of our "own" bourgeoisie, we in the Spartacus Youth League eagerly look forward to "another

## Howard University...

(continued from page 7)

leadership has been mired in a parochialism born of attending the country's most elite black university. One of the main chants at the demonstrations has been "We need Howard U. to produce the black mind," and the only time the

Coalition to Save Howard University (CSHU) has even proposed venturing off the Howard campus was when it considered asking black Democrat and D.C. delegate Fauntroy for support. But in Reagan's America, black minds are unwanted. Unless, of course they belong to Reagan's black front men like Cheek, Fauntroy and D.C. mayor Barry. On November 27, Barry threatened to cordon off the anti-Klan mobilization with a massive display of police force

while Fauntroy violence-baited and denounced the 5,000 demonstrators who stopped the fascists from marching. The Pan-Africanists of Stokely Carmichael's All-African People's Revolutionary Party, who do have some influence at Howard, likewise stayed away from the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Klan, except for a few dissident individuals.

The CSHU constantly recalls the civil rights struggle of the '60s, but has not learned the lessons. The civil rights movement never broke out of the confines of relying on the Democratic Party and fighting simply for legalistic reforms, some of which amounted to little more than tokenism. While gains were won, they are now being chopped away. Even the blacks at prestigious Howard University, who are unlikely to face the grinding poverty and despair of the mass of American blacks, now find themselves under attack, facing a descending racist ceiling on their aspirations.

In order to "produce the black mind," Howard students must take up the Spartacus Youth League demand for open admissions and free tuition for all those who want to attend Howard. The black youth in the teeming ghettos surrounding Howard have a right to a decent education! But the way to win their demands is for Howard students to link their struggles to the struggles of the integrated working class. That's where the real power to change society lies. It is only through socialist revolution, led by an integrated workers party, that black liberation will be achieved. ■

### 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

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

Norfolk: P.O. Box 1972, Main P.O., Norfolk, VA 23501, or call (804) 543-4300

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

Washington, D.C.: 210 7th St. S.E., Suite E12, Washington, D.C. 20003, or call (202) 636-3537

### Trotskyist League of Canada

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

Vietnam"-style defeat of the U.S. and its junta allies. A rebel victory would open the road to workers revolution.

A workers revolution in El Salvador is impossible without military victory of the leftist insurgents. Any "solution" which leaves even sections of the present kill-crazed capitalist state apparatus in place threatens the masses with a repeat of the 1932 *matanza*, when 30,000 were executed in the wake of a failed uprising. And the only guarantee of military victory is the mobilization of the exploited masses for their own class interests. Their revolutionary fervor will be the most powerful weapon against the better armed conscript army and mercenary security forces. But having defeated the military forces of their capitalist oppressors, the workers and peasants would not be satisfied with a few reforms. The most basic demands of the Salvadoran working people—for land, for emancipation from the imperialist yoke, for jobs and economic development—cannot be met without expropriating the bourgeoisie and the establishment of socialist planned economy in an international framework.

Should the FMLN forces find themselves compelled to betray their program for "negotiations," smash the government army and consolidate power based on the petty-bourgeois guerrilla/Stalinist rebel leadership, it could result in a deformed workers state such as issued from the Castro-led revolution in Cuba. While this would be a tremendous step forward for the Salvadoran workers, the experience of Cuba shows that when such a movement comes to power it develops into a bonapartist, nationalist bureaucracy which suppresses workers democracy and opposes the spread of revolution beyond its borders. What is urgently needed in El Salvador is a Trotskyist party which fights to mobilize the working class for power under its own banner—independently of all wings of the bourgeoisie and their imperialist overlords. Such parties could lead the entire Central American proletariat against the hated military dictatorships, the landlords and capitalists and spread the struggle to Mexico—the industrial powerhouse of Latin America and the link to the North American colossus.

It is just this spectre of revolution in the U.S. "backyard" which has the imperialist "doves" mobilizing for a deal with sections of the FDR/FMLN. Since the first protests erupted against U.S. support to the Salvadoran junta, it has been the task of the SL/SYL to fight for partisanship with the rebel fighters. Our contingents, demanding "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!" and "Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in El Salvador!" have earned the wrath of the reformist left, who have sunk to physical huggery, slander and calling the cops against our communist intervention. Today, military victory is a genuine possibility. It will not only open the road to workers revolution throughout Central America, but significantly set back the U.S. anti-Soviet war drive. In the most immediate sense, it will be a victory for *our* side. Join us! ■

### SL/SYL Forum

## El Salvador Aflame!

**U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua!  
Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!  
For Workers Revolution,  
Not Popular-Front Betrayal!**

Speaker: **Jan Norden**  
Editor, *Workers Vanguard*  
SL Central Committee

**Sunday, March 13, 7:30 p.m.**  
Harvard University,  
Harvard Hall, Room 102

**BOSTON**

For more information: (617) 492-3928

# Kirkpatrick Run Out; 4,000 Rally Against Fee Hikes

## Student Protest Hits Berkeley

BERKELEY, February 16—The University of California (UC) at Berkeley was rocked by the largest student protest in years. Upwards of 4,000 rallied on the steps of Sproul Hall, the historic site of the "free speech" movement and anti-Vietnam war protests of the 1960s, in opposition to fee hikes of \$100 this year and \$150 next year. The rally capped a one-day class boycott against the fee increases. Both the rally and the boycott were organized primarily by Students Against Fee Extortion (SAFE).

"Student Strike, Shut It Down!" and "Students on Strike Against Fee Hikes!" rang through the Berkeley campus as 1,500 student militants marched through campus after the rally. At Building T-6, where Martin Marietta Corporation, the builders of Reagan's first-strike MX missiles, was recruiting, the Cal cops went on a rampage. Wading into the front of the crowd, they ruthlessly clubbed demonstrators. SAFE organizer Roy Werbel was beaten and knocked over a ten-foot drop point. One hour later the cops grabbed Werbel and arrested him. The lying, frame-up charge? A felony: assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer. Werbel was *banned* from campus—except to attend classes. Drop the charges against Roy Werbel—Stop the ban! Cops off campus!

### War Criminal Kirkpatrick Run Off

The administration took their revenge on student protesters February 16, but it was not the student activism of the SAFE crowd that had the administration fuming. The administration sent their cossacks to beat up and arrest striking students because of the reception that 150 outraged students gave the noxious United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, when she tried to speak on campus February 15. Kirkpatrick, just back from a Latin American tour designed to shore up Reagan's butcher juntas, planned to use Wheeler Auditorium as a platform to defend the murder of 50,000 workers and peasants in El Salvador. Kirkpatrick is a war criminal, a leading member of Reagan's cabal of anti-Soviet warmakers, and she bears direct responsibility for the murder of tens of thousands of Latin American workers and peasants. She got the reception she deserved when she was heckled off stage by Students Against Intervention in El Salvador (SAINTES). This militant action, hailed by the Spartacus Youth

### Keep the War Criminal On the Run!



Imperialist running dog Jeane Kirkpatrick was run off Berkeley February 15. Next she cancelled an appearance at her alma mater, Smith College. The administration couldn't "assure her security."



4,000 Berkeley students rally against fee hikes, February 16.

League (SYL), caused Kirkpatrick to cancel a second scheduled appearance on campus February 16 while the administration railed against the "Children" (!) who had dared to run the imperialist operator off campus with her tail between her legs.

### Drive Racist Thugs Out!

The 4,000 students who protested against fee hikes at Berkeley hate Ronald Reagan, and outrage over the rise in race terror fueled by the KKK-endorsed president in the White House ran high. Berkeley is the elite school in the University of California system, and Chicano enrollment is under 500 out of a total student population of 30,000. On January 8, 20 members of a notoriously racist and sexist fraternity, Beta Theta Pi, murderously assaulted four Chicanos at Berkeley, hospitalizing one. The Cal administration, which encourages racist violence with budget-slashing attacks on ethnic studies and minority student enrollment, "investigated" the racist assault for over a month and has taken no action to date against the racist scum in Beta Theta Pi. The SYL participated in a militant march of over 400 February 3 to protest the attack and subsequent whitewash of it by the administration and the Inter-Fraternity Council. The racist frat punks should be driven off campus and jailed!

### SYL Builds Boycott

The SYL actively participated in building the boycott at Berkeley, and we were instrumental in building a solidarity boycott and rally the same day at Merritt College in Oakland, and a solidarity rally at San Francisco State University.

At Merritt, a school with an overwhelmingly black and Latino enrollment, over 150 students held a militant rally on the day of the boycott. SYL activists, building on the success of the SYL-initiated united-front demonstration against cuts in ethnic studies on January 18, were key in mobilizing support. Chanting "1, 2, 3, 4—What the hell are we fighting for? No tuition!" militants gathered around the SYL and marched from an outdoor assembly point to an indoor rally. SYL spokesman Carmen Franke addressed the crowd three times. She stressed the need for students to organize behind the working class, which has the power to bring Reagan down through socialist revolution. In her words, "The SYL is a fighting revolutionary youth organization. We want to recruit militant students to join us in the fight against the capitalist system."

After the Merritt rally, 20 militants attended an SYL video showing of

the Spartacist League/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. on November 27. A lively discussion centered on the need to build an integrated revolutionary party. The SYL at Merritt has won a great deal of respect and authority for revolutionary activism, program and determination. This authority was very important in our work around the Berkeley boycott.

At San Francisco State University (SFSU) the SYL held a successful rally of 150 students in solidarity with the class boycott at Berkeley and against SFSU's fee hikes. SFSU has the highest minority enrollment of any California State University (almost 40 percent) and has been hit hardest by the fee hikes and budget cuts. Fees have gone up the last three semesters in a row. Out of a student body of 24,000 nearly 5,000 have not been able to pay the latest hike. Students at the SFSU rally listened with interest to a number of SYL speakers who pointed out the need to fight for free higher education and exposed the reformists' "Sacramento Shuffle" strategy of traveling to the state capital every semester to beg and pressure the Democrats.

### You Can't Fight Reagan With Democrats

The February 16 strike was a symbolic gesture: student protests such as the one at Berkeley will not fundamentally change Reagan's America. But in the midst of the politicization that occurs during a student strike it is urgent that militants be won to a revolutionary perspective.

At the Berkeley rally students were mad—mad at California Governor Deukmejian, mad at the racist frat attack, mad at the imperialist Ronald Reagan. Tuition is being raised, fees imposed. Minority enrollment programs and ethnic studies have been cut. Faculty and campus workers face layoffs, union-busting, wage and hiring freezes. Race-terror is on the rise. Imperialist war criminals come to campus to defend the slaughter of tens of thousands of workers and peasants in Latin America and around the world. And behind these attacks is the anti-Soviet war drive, which is supported by both the twin parties of capitalism, the Democrats just as much as Reagan's Republicans. You can't fight Reagan with Democrats! The only solution is workers revolution! This was stressed in an SYL leaflet, 2,000 copies of which were distributed on the day of the boycott, and by Rick Bucci, one of the SYL's spokesmen at the rally:

"So the question is, how do we win? Reagan, Deukmejian and the Democrats are on an unprecedented military

buildup against the Soviet Union which is a workers state, albeit deformed by Stalinism, which we Trotskyists defend against imperialism. The anti-Soviet war drive is why these budget cuts are going on.

"Now the way to win against the bourgeoisie is not schemes like tax the rich because the rich, the bourgeoisie, have state power and they never tax themselves. The strategy to win is not to beg the Democrats. The strategy to win is for all sectors of the oppressed to unite behind the working class and to go forward for a socialist revolution against the capitalist system which is the source of these budget cuts."

### SAFE... For the Democrats

From day one SAFE concentrated its efforts on channeling student militancy into the Democratic Party of war and racism. And they got a lot of help from the Progressive Student Organization (PSO), which takes its lead from a cynical Stalinist grouping called the League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS). The LRS takes its line from Peking and embraces the Chinese bureaucrats' bloc with the U.S. bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union. They support the anti-Soviet war drive, and the title of their newspaper, *Unity*, means only one thing... unity with the Democrats.

The role of the Democratic Party lackeys in the PSO and SAFE in the February 16 action should be a lesson to militant students everywhere. Every step of the way they attempted to quash militant action. They were against picket lines on the day of the strike (the PSO actually *opposed* the strike to begin with). The PSO and SAFE lobbied for *tax hikes* (such as the one Berkeley Democratic Mayor Gus Newport is trying to slap on campus workers) as an alternative to fee hikes. When PSO leader Joe Lambert found himself at the head of 1,500 militant students shouting "Let's go in!" in front of California Hall during the march, he actually crossed himself(!)... and diverted the march away from the building. When the PSO had finished dissipating student militancy during the march, they tried to lead students to the

### DEMONSTRATE!

- Drive Marine Recruiters Off Campus!
- Military Victory to Salvadoran Rebels!
- Forward to San Salvador—No Sellouts!
- Defend Cuba and the USSR!

Friday, March 11, 12 noon  
The Steps of Widener Library

### HARVARD

For more information: (617) 492-3928

only event they had worked hard to build during the whole anti-fee hike campaign, a talkfest in Pauley Ballroom featuring SAFE hero Gus Newport. Only 150-200 students showed up for this reformist confab.

It was left to the SYL to be the prime organizer of the rally outside Sproul Hall police headquarters to protest Roy Werbel's arrest. Werbel, who earlier in the day attempted to pull SYL speaker Rick Bucci off the platform when he spoke against the Democrats, certainly didn't get much in return for his prostration before the Democratic Party. Gus Newport was hanging around campus hustling votes all afternoon. He told the students protesting Werbel's arrest to go home! Werbel was finally released, on his own recognizance, after four hours.

Our defense rally took place over the crazed opposition of a bunch of burned-out peaceniks who joined the Democratic politicians in appealing to the crowd to sit down. They were successful for a while and what followed was a freaky display of Berkeley eco-politics. A "facilitator" came forward to take a speakers list. "Peace" songs were sung. If anyone agreed with anything anybody else said, he was not supposed to say so, but instead gently wiggle his fingers in the air! The whole thing looked like something out of "Mr. Rogers' Neighborhood!"

In the face of administration repression, SAFE refused to call for extending the strike, and a February 17 rally to protest Werbel's arrest and the racist frat assault drew only 400 students. The SYL participated in this protest and distributed 1,200 copies of a leaflet entitled, "Outrage—Shut It Down!"

**Defend SAINTES!**

The UC administration, not content with their punitive arrest of Werbel, has

been threatening a witchhunt against SAINTES for daring to run the bloody Kirkpatrick off campus. The administration lined up their lackey, Kathy Read of the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC) Senate, to do the hatchet job of revoking SAINTES organizational status, all of course in the name of "freedom of speech"! Over 50 students, including a contingent from the SYL, protested in defense of SAINTES at the ASUC meeting on February 23. The motion to revoke SAINTES' status failed, as did a motion to write a letter of apology (!) to Kirkpatrick.

Imperialist war criminals like Kirkpatrick should be driven off every campus in the country, and we are very pleased to note that Kirkpatrick has cancelled her scheduled appearance at Smith College commencement after her experience at Berkeley. The SAINTES militants who heckled Kirkpatrick off stage deserve to be commended, not simply defended. But SAINTES activity in general seeks to pressure the U.S. imperialists into a "better" foreign policy, and supports the treacherous call for a negotiated settlement in El Salvador. Militant students who genuinely desire to see imperialism wiped off the face of the earth must confront the reality of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. As we said in our leaflet "Outrage—Shut It Down!":

"So to fight the effects you have to fight the cause. The anti-Soviet war drive of a capitalism deep in crisis is the cause of the fee hikes, the racist attacks, the increasing misery of the working class, minorities and poor. The alternative to Reagan's plan is for students to take a side in the class war. To side with military victory to the Salvadoran leftists, to smash Kirkpatrick's junta butchers. To join in building the future American workers revolution—Join the SYL!" ■

**Workers' United Front...**

(continued from page 5)

Kuomintang). We are not of their number.

No retraction of our criticism of the Social Democracy. No forgetting of all that has been. The whole historical reckoning, including the reckoning for Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg,<sup>7</sup> will be presented at the proper time, just as the Russian Bolsheviks finally presented a general reckoning to the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries for the baiting, calumny, imprisonment, and murder of workers, soldiers, and peasants.

But we presented our general reckoning to them two months after we had utilized the partial reckoning between Kerensky and Kornilov, between the "democrats" and the fascists—in order to drive back the fascists all the more certainly. Only thanks to this circumstance were we victorious.

The differentiation within the Social Democracy will proceed at an increased pace. The fascists will soon feel that their task does not at all consist merely of defeating Bruening, Braun,<sup>8</sup> and Wels, but of taking up the open struggle against the whole working class. On this plane, a profound differentiation will inevitably be produced within fascism. Only by this road is victory possible.

But it is necessary to desire this victory. In the meantime, there are among the Communist officials not a few cowardly careerists and fakers whose little posts, whose incomes, and more than that, whose hides, are dear to them. These creatures are very much inclined to spout ultraradical phrases beneath which is concealed a wretched and contemptible fatalism. "Without a victory over the Social Democracy, we cannot battle against fascism!" say such terrible revolutionists, and for this

**UMass...**

(continued from page 12)

nationalized and open to any working-class youth from Roxbury or Dorchester to obtain a quality education now reserved for the sons and daughters of the ruling class whose inherited wealth, not SAT scores, secures them an education.

With black youth unemployment soaring toward 70 percent nationally, would-be students shut out of the universities will likely not be tracked into jobs, but into boot camps. Already student financial aid is offered only at the point of bayonet with Reagan insisting that first students must register for the anti-Soviet draft. Both the Republicans and Democrats are hell-bent on a massive military buildup aimed at "rolling back Communism"—not only in El Salvador or Southern Africa—but principally in the Soviet Union, the military and industrial powerhouse for all states that have overthrown capitalist rule, from Viet-

reason... they get their passports ready.

Worker-Communists, you are hundreds of thousands, millions; you cannot leave for anyplace; there are not enough passports for you. Should fascism come to power, it will ride over your skulls and spines like a terrific tank. Your salvation lies in merciless struggle. And only a fighting unity with the Social Democratic workers can bring victory. Make haste, worker-Communists, you have very little time left! ■

<sup>7</sup>Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were revolutionary leaders of the German working class, who were murdered at the instigation of the Social Democratic government in 1919.

<sup>8</sup>Heinrich Bruening, a leader of the Catholic Centre Party, was the German chancellor. Otto Braun was the Social Democratic prime minister of Prussia.

**Spartacist Candidate on the Ballot  
Martha Phillips for  
Oakland City Council!**

Martha Phillips will be the Spartacist candidate for council member at large in the Oakland City Council elections scheduled for April 19. Phillips, a member of the International Typographical Union, will appear on the ballot with the designation "Socialist Union Militant." We reprint below her 150-word statement,

which will be mailed to all Oakland registered voters before the election. Those willing to assist the campaign and/or make contributions should contact the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee at 408 13th Street, Suite 260, Oakland, California 94612, or call (415) 835-1536.

Without socialist revolution catastrophe threatens mankind. Reagan, with Democratic support, prepares war against the Soviet Union. The bosses and their government attack workers, minorities, youth, the aged. Feeding on reaction, the KKK/Nazis boldly attempt a campaign of racist terror.

I am a Trotskyist and helped organize the Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization that stopped the KKK's November 27 Washington D.C. march. We need an integrated workers party whose aim is a workers government that will

take the productive wealth of this country, including the idle factories, from the hands of the capitalists and establish a socialist planned economy.

Oppose anti-Soviet war preparations! Military victory to Salvadoran leftists! Israeli/imperialist troops out of Lebanon! No gun control! For labor/black defense against Klan/Nazi terror! For massive public works under union control! Jobs for all, decent housing, free transit, medical, childcare, education, abortion! Stop INS raids—citizenship rights for undocumented workers!

**Spartacist candidate Martha Phillips protesting the arrest of student activist Roy Werbel at Berkeley, February 16.**



nam to Cuba.

The SYL unconditionally defends the Soviet Union from imperialist attack. Despite the political degeneration of the Russian Revolution under Stalin, the fundamental economic gains—nationalized property and a planned economy (not to mention free higher education and jobs for all)—remain and must be defended. The bipartisan drive for war against the Soviet Union is also a domestic class war: every hard-won gain by minorities and the labor movement is being ripped back by the capitalists to finance the war budget. Thus even the fight for quality education cannot be waged apart from the broader class struggle. In such a fight UMass students can have plenty of allies.

United-front actions like the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. November 27 point the way forward. The Labor/Black Mobilization gave organized expression to the deeply-felt sentiments of thousands, uniting all potential victims of Klan terror behind the power of the labor movement and the leadership of a

Trotskyist party to defeat our enemies and defend ourselves.

The attacks leveled by the Regents at minority and working-class youth at UMass must also be met with militant united-front protest action. The united front is a critical means by which to unite a broad spectrum of organizations for a concrete action in defense of the working class. But it is equally critical that all participating organizations retain the right to voice their political views in their own name to elaborate a strategy to defeat the Regents' attack. Every student at UMass, every high school student in Boston, and every working-class parent in this city already knows the Regents' proposal is a serious attack on the right to an education. It is not simply a question of a one-day protest, but ultimately a question of power: the struggle to break the power of the bosses' system which offers youth no jobs, no schools, rising race-terror, and an irradiated no-future. Join the SYL and build the multiracial workers party necessary to put an end to this racist, capitalist system once and for all! ■

**SYL Class Series**

- ANN ARBOR**  
**Revolutionary Marxism Today**  
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.  
March 17, 31  
Michigan Union, Conference Rm. 4  
University of Michigan  
For more information: (313) 622-2339
- BOSTON**  
**The Fight for Socialism**  
Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.  
March 2, 9, 23, April 4  
Phillips Brooks House  
Harvard University  
For more information: (617) 492-3928
- CHICAGO**  
**Marxism and World Revolution**  
Saturdays, 3:30 p.m.  
March 5, 12, 19, 26  
523 S. Plymouth Ct., 3rd Floor  
For more information: (312) 427-0003

**DETROIT**  
**Revolutionary Marxism Today**  
Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.  
March 22, April 5  
Student Center Building, Rm. 583  
Wayne State University  
For more information: (313) 961-1680

**LOS ANGELES**  
**Trotskyism:**  
**Revolutionary Marxism Today**  
Alternate Tuesdays, 6:30 p.m.  
March 8, 22  
Student/Faculty Lounge  
Los Angeles City College  
For more information: (213) 663-1216

**OAKLAND**  
**Trotskyism:**  
**The Revolutionary Marxism Of Our Time**  
Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.  
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor  
For more information: (415) 835-1535

# Young Spartacus

## No Jim Crow at UMass Boston!

# Stop the Regents' Racist Rollback!

We reprint below the SYL's March 3 call to action against the Board of Regents' attempts to keep minority and working-class youth out of UMass Boston. We have initiated a united-front demonstration for March 7.

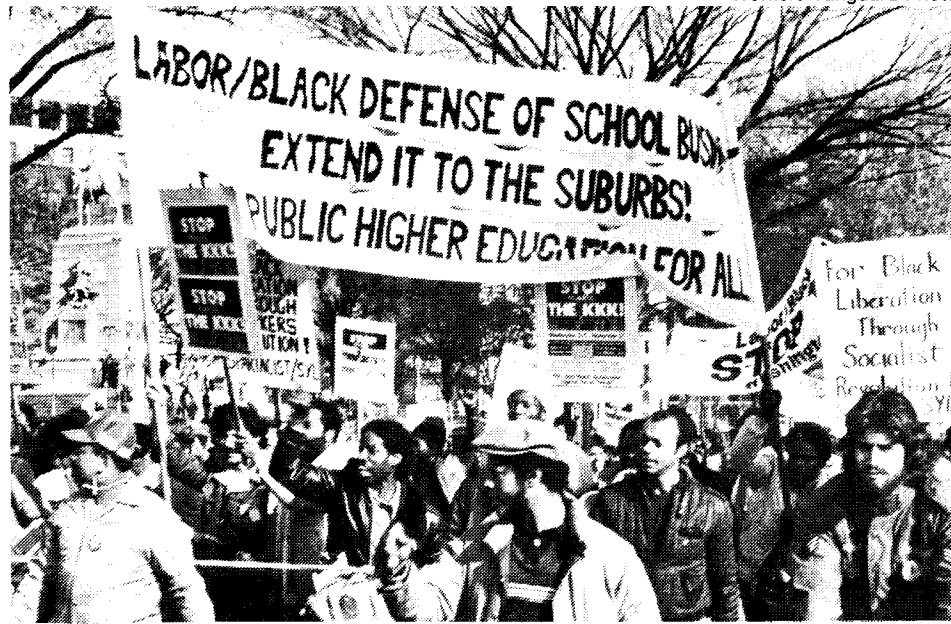
The Massachusetts Board of Regents has declared the majority of black and working-class youth "unfit" for education at UMass. They propose to "increase the quality of education" by counterrevolutionizing admissions, accepting only those who achieve a minimum combined SAT score of 800, while the average combined SAT score in the urban high schools is 600! Perhaps Regents members such as the Wang Corporation think they can turn the only public four-year college in Boston into an elite training ground for weird computer creeps to run their high-tech/low morals union-busting industry. We say all working-class youth who want it must have access to education at the state university. The Regents aim to punish students for their "crime" of being victims of a lousy education in the city high schools. But as racist mobs rampaged in the streets and attacked school busing in Boston, it was the state's fat cats and Democratic Party liberal politicians who looked on and refused to extend busing to their lily-white suburbs where the decent schools are, thereby denying working-class

youth a quality education.

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) insists that education should be a right, not a privilege! While other leftists like the aggressively dimwitted Progressive Labor Party (PLP) avow "all knowledge serves the ruling class"(!) and have boycotted the Ad Hoc Committee to Defeat the Regents' Proposal initiated by the SYL, we say this gross race and

class purge must be protested. How many hundreds of UMass students try to educate themselves while working low-wage jobs and supporting their families? This is the time to fight for open admissions and free tuition with a state-paid stipend for all! Free 24-hour childcare! Defend busing—Extend it to the suburbs! Rally Monday, March 7, 11:30 a.m. outside the Administration

Workers Vanguard Photo



Labor/black struggle against capitalist austerity can beat back the attacks on our right to education. Washington, D.C. Labor/Black Mobilization, pictured above, shows the way forward.

Building! Picket the Board of Regents Tuesday, March 8, 9:30 a.m.! Defeat the Regents' proposal for 800 SAT score admissions! Fight for open admissions!

The Regents' decision last year to merge UMass with Boston State resulted in the firing of dozens of faculty and stripped the Black Studies department to the bone. Now the Regents with their SAT proposal intend to wipe out black students, and consequently the Black Studies department altogether. Defend Black Studies!

The Regents' proposal is not an isolated attack but part of a nationwide onslaught from UC Berkeley where 4,000 rallied against a fee hike to the University of the District of Columbia (UDC)—a 95 percent black public college—where 3,876 students have been suspended or placed on probation, thousands of predominantly black working-class youth are being denied the right to an education. Administrations across the country are turning the clocks back to slavery, when blacks were forbidden to learn how to read or write, and anyone who educated slaves was guilty of an "insurrectionary act." Finish the Civil War! Break the bourgeoisie's monopoly on quality education! To really undercut the race and class bias in higher education, private universities like Harvard should be

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# Screw the "Squeal Rule"!

Ronald Reagan wants to stop sex among young people. They're supposed to wait until they're grown up and married, like the Moral Majority. That's the purpose of the new "squeal rule," which requires federally-funded family planning clinics to notify the parents of young women under 18 when they receive prescription contraceptives (and to use the full family income as the basis for determining whether they are qualified to receive free birth control). The squeal rule simply means more teen-age pregnancies; several studies show that a large percentage of teens would rather risk pregnancy than tell their parents. So, in the name of "respect for human life," the rule will mean more kids at the mercy of back-alley butcher abortionists and the rusty coathanger. Reagan's concern for the "sanctity of human life" is about as sincere as Hitler's often-professed concern for peace: the funds Reagan is taking from abortion and contraception he is adding to the trillions being spent on the massive weapons buildup for the anti-Soviet war drive.

The squeal rule would be ludicrous if its consequences were not so tragic. Even Reagan can't stop youth from screwing. But now there will be an enormous toll in human suffering: maternal and infant death rates, venereal disease and even the welfare rolls will rise with the squeal rule. According to the American Public Health Association, pregnancy and childbirth are five

times riskier for teens than taking the pill, and the maternal death rate for women under age 15 is more than double that of women age 20 to 24. Chalk up another anti-life stance for the "right-to-life" gang, who are generally among America's most ardent advocates of the death penalty.

This new commandment developed out of a 1981 controversy in which Moral Majorityites like Senator Jeremiah Denton, the Ayatollah from Alabama, failed in their efforts to cut off federal funding for clinics providing abortion referrals. Instead, as a compromise measure, Congress passed an amendment to the Public Health Service Act which "to the extent practical ... encourage[s] family participation" in teenagers' birth control decisions. Then the Reagan administration "clarified" the amendment by issuing the squeal rule, which is so punitively puritanical that already there have been two successful suits against it, one brought by health care professionals in the state of Washington, and the other by the State of New York itself. On March 2 a Federal judge issued a permanent injunction against the squeal rule. But these legal victories are reversible and subject to further appeal.

The Reaganite anti-sex league has set itself up as moral arbiter of the nation and is busy making rules for what Americans can and can't do in their own bedrooms. Homosexual rights are under concerted attack. Ten years after

*Roe vs. Wade*, the democratic right to abortion is being threatened by rabid right-to-life reactionaries both in the streets and in the courts and legislatures. In January 26,000 foes of abortion demonstrated in Washington, D.C. In Chicago, Archbishop Bernardin addressed 135,000 school children over closed-circuit TV, propagandizing that life begins at conception, while right-to-life picketers tried to intimidate women going into abortion clinics with color photographs of aborted fetuses. Last August in Granite City, Illinois, Dr. Hector Zevallos, an abortion clinic operator, and his wife were abducted by the "Army of God," anti-abortion fanatics. For eight days they were kept handcuffed on a concrete floor and threatened with death until the doctor promised to stop performing abortions.

Despite great progress in the safety of the procedure, in the past decade many financial and legal restrictions have been put on access to abortion. In Akron, Ohio a 1978 ordinance requires minors under 15 to obtain parental or judicial consent to abortion—and requires a doctor to tell his patient that life begins at conception! Since 1978, Henry J. Hyde has sponsored riders on Congressional appropriations bills banning the use of federal money for abortions. Now Hyde has introduced a "Respect Human Life Act" which would permanently ban use of federal funds for abortion, as well as coverage for abortion under government health

insurance plans. Reagan wholeheartedly endorsed the bill, just as Democrat Jimmy Carter had dismissed protest against the Hyde Amendment with the remark, "There are many things in life that are not fair."

Anti-abortion nuts have also managed to kill funding for the magazine *Family Planning* because of two articles which promoted abortion and mentioned for example that "abortion in the first trimester of pregnancy was made legal in 1973." "My point isn't that it's not true," explained Richard R. Miller, chairman of the Agency for International Development's publication review board. "My point is whether or not the federal government wants to pay to have that information disseminated" (*Washington Post*, 22 January).

The Moral Majority and their pals in the government dream of throwing this society back to the dark ages. Their efforts to force women, particularly young and poor ones, back to the back-alley butchers must be stopped! The squeal rule is a particularly nasty attempt to regulate the sexual practices of young people. The Spartacus Youth League demands that abortion and health care, including birth control information and devices, should be entirely free and available on demand, a matter between a patient and her (or his) doctor. No government meddling in people's private lives! As we commented in "Is There Sex After Reagan?" (*YSp* No. 94, October 1981), "People have the right to write, paint and film what they want, read and watch what they want and sleep with whomever and whatever they want, provided the other one(s) agree." Government out of the bedroom! Abolish all "age-of-consent" laws! Screw the squeal rule! ■