

Young Spartacus

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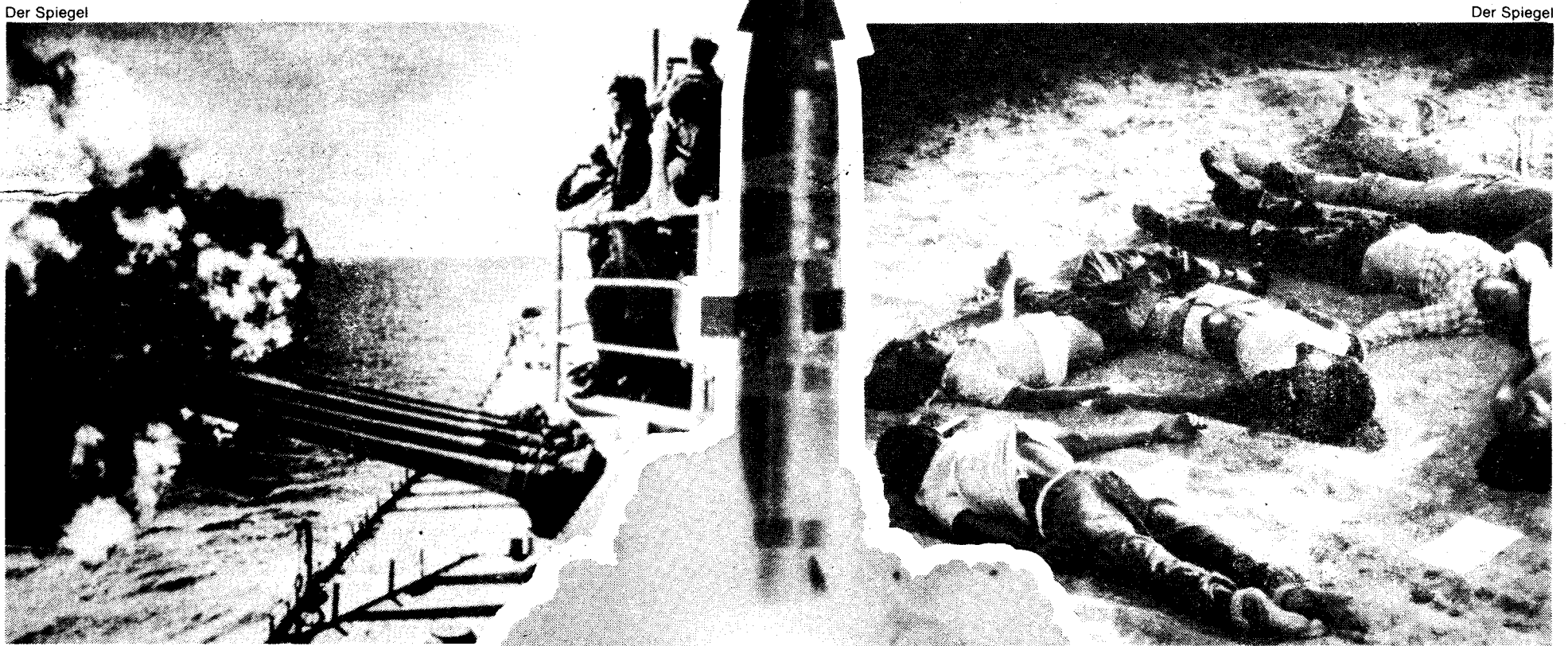
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DECEMBER 1983/JANUARY 1984

Defend the Soviet Union!

1984:

Reagan Wants War!



LEBANON

EL SALVADOR

U.S. Hands Off the World!

The madmen running this country make Orwell's vision of 1984 look downright optimistic. And "Newspeak" is the official language of Washington. The MX missile, a recognized first-strike weapon, is called the "peacekeeper." In Lebanon, the Marines are on a "peacekeeping mission" and the rape of the tiny black West Indian island of Grenada was to restore "democracy." Concurrent with the television broadcast of "The Day After," NATO deployed its new Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany—six to eight minutes' striking distance from Moscow. The Dr. Strangeloves comprising Reagan's nuclear advisers don't use the Orwellian "peace through strength" code words for first strike against the Soviet Union simply for public consumption. They fully believe their own schemes for

"winnable" nuclear war and "prevailing" over the Soviet "evil empire."

It's undoubtedly a good thing that "The Day After" was able to scare millions of Americans about the prospect of nuclear war, perhaps convincing some that the white middle class won't be spared. But this film is a very sanitized version of the real effects of nuclear war, set in a particularly poignant episode of "Love Boat." As well-known scientist Carl Sagan has explained, the probable effect of even a "limited" thermonuclear war would be to produce so much dust and soot in the upper atmosphere that sunlight would be blocked out. Temperatures would plummet to arctic levels and plant life would die. Those who were not vaporized, burned or crushed by the initial effects of the attack would face freezing

as well as starving to death in the "nuclear winter." Who knows exactly what myriad horrors are likely to occur if the U.S. rulers push the button. We do know that the peoples of the world should be very thankful for the Soviet nuclear arsenal which has thus far stayed the hands of the nuclear madmen in Washington.

And mad they are. In the wake of the disastrous bombing of Marine headquarters in Beirut, the American rulers have gone bananas over the "international terrorist threat." They're muttering about the "truck-bomb gap" with Syria and Iran and surrounding the White House with dump trucks filled with sand. Even *New York Times* military "analyst" and professional dimwit Drew Middleton noted, "American and Atlantic alliance sources appear

surprised that the President and the Pentagon consider terrorism to be a new form of warfare" (*New York Times*, 29 December 1983). Aren't we all?

This is pure, murderous hypocrisy coming from those who have organized systematic terrorism on a world scale, including the constant threat to engulf us all in a nuclear holocaust. They dropped atomic bombs on defenseless civilian populations in Hiroshima and Nagasaki; they dropped napalm on Indochinese women and children; they are the inventors of carpet-bombing, free-fire zones and other genuinely terrorist implements of "counterinsurgency." Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has threatened to use nuclear weapons *more than 20 times!* During the Korean War the Pentagon

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Exchange With the RCL-(I)

Trotskyism vs. "True" Marcyism

November 7, 1983

Bonnie Brodie & Editors
Young Spartacus
 Box 3118 Church Street Station
 New York, NY 10007

Comrades,

We read with some interest the box in the Oct. '83 *Young Spartacus* criticizing the RCL-(I) ("On 'Unconditional Military Defense'").

To dispose of one criticism quickly: Spartacist comrades make much of the fact that RCL-(I) members were at McPherson Square and not on Constitution Avenue November 27, 1982. But there is a simple reason for this. At that time, as Cde. Samuels knows or should know, RCL-(I) members had applied to join Workers World Party (WWP). We had committed ourselves to abide by WWP discipline. This general-consideration, aimed towards developing Leninist unity, supersedes tactical ones. When it became clear in December 1982 that our application for membership had been rejected by the National Committee of WWP and would not be reconsidered, the RCL-(I) was reconstituted. One of our first acts was to publish an analysis of the events of November 27 ("Lessons of McPherson Square," *Internationalist Worker*, January 1983). We gave credit to the Spartacist League for stopping the Klan that day, and we made what we believe to be correct criticisms of WWP's, as well as of Spartacist's, strategy in the struggle against the Klan. In fact, "one half of the dialectic" presented in that article has been quoted at length in *Workers Vanguard* (June 17, 1983).

There are several mistaken attributions in the description preceding Cde. Reuben Samuels' comments. First and foremost, our call is not and has never been simply "For critical but unconditional support" period. We have always called "For critical but unconditional defense or support of someone or something against someone or something." And the difference is essential. Spartacist leaders also claim we have called for "support to bourgeois 'progressives'." In an article dealing with "critical but unconditional support" shouldn't you have maintained the word "critical" before the word "support" to give a more accurate picture? Even more accurate would have been reference to the type of support the GCW [Global Class War] tendency proposed be extended to Henry Wallace—as a rope

supports a hanged man. We have made this correction before (RCL-(I) letter of 6/21/83) and must assume that Cde. Samuels deliberately renewed this falsification or cannot comprehend the distinction. Such slick "mistakes" are unnecessary and out of place; they do nothing to gain political clarification or resolution.

Now I will try to accurately summarize the "substance" of Samuels' remarks.

1. Critical support is a sort of political support, for a candidate, for instance.

2. Unconditional defense has to do with military support.

3. The two are mutually exclusive (not to say that both can't be given to the same person or organization, just that they are two separate, distinct things).

You gave the example of a strike. Defense of a picket line is unconditional. True, in most instances. Let's take a strike against the bosses. If the bureaucrats put the picket line in the wrong place, perhaps leaving scabs easy access to the factory, we would be liberals and worse not to be critical of the picket line's positioning, while still unconditionally defending the picket line against the bosses' and boss inspired attacks. And I believe the SYL agrees with that, maybe disagreeing only with calling such defense critical and unconditional. Surely you would not argue for an uncritical stance?

Our defense of the Soviet workers state against imperialist attacks in the KAL affair was unconditional. So was yours. We did not demand that the Soviet state or its leaders take any

certain position before we defended the USSR. Our defense was also critical. It was undertaken, in the final analysis, from the point of view of the interests of the world revolution. Militarily, our questions reflected the fact that the airliner was destroyed by a missile because Soviet interceptors for over two hours were unable to precisely locate it and safely force it down. The KAL jet was only caught just before it would have left Soviet airspace. They had a necessary right to get it, especially since it was an unknown. But ultimately the Soviet bureaucracy's incompetence in organization of military defense was at fault.

Politically, our criticisms centered on the Soviet bureaucracy justifying the downing on the basis of the U.N. Charter instead of the class war; and on their failure to speak the truth promptly and completely to the workers of the world. Trotsky, the best defender of the USSR after Lenin's death, couldn't help himself from criticisms of Soviet military and foreign policy, before and into WWII.

By way of contrast, the SL leadership "prove" their "fitness" as defenders of the USSR by lending the bureaucratic actions an uncritical defense. "Uncritical support or no support at all" seems to be the SL leadership's expression of their desire to be disinterested observers. During the Chinese Cultural Revolution, during the civil war in Lebanon, during this year's Chicago mayoral election, no one deserved uncritical support or defense, so Spartacist did not give any support or defense. The SL leadership could not comment on the

left-right contradictions emerging in the Soviet bureaucracy during the KAL affair; to do so it would have had to be critical of at least a segment of the bureaucracy. The leaderships of Workers World Party, the Communist Party and Line Of March also lent the Soviet bureaucracy uncritical and undifferentiated defense.

What is the demarcation between military and political spheres? As Von Clausewitz said (and as I hate to repeat because we promised not to) war is the continuation of politics by other means. (This writer thinks Von Clausewitz had it backwards.) Would a Soviet invasion of Poland in November '80 have been a military act? Massing troops on the Polish border? Moving troops toward the Polish border? Freeing up the transport system in order to facilitate the movement of troops? Was shooting down 007 a military act? Intercepting 007? Starting the fighters' engines? Reaching the pilots to fly? What do you call fighting scabs on a picket line? Setting up a picket line? Voting to go on strike? Conducting a strike vote? Signing a union card?

Finally, it is necessary to comment on just one more remark. Cde. Samuels said "we, who are not defenders of the Stalinist bureaucracy..." The RCL-(I) has defended, defends and will continue to defend, critically but unconditionally, the Stalinist bureaucracy against attacks from the right. This is entirely in the genuine Trotskyist (Marxist) tradition. The post-WWII failure of the majority leadership of the SWP to defend Stalinists in the trade unions against pro-Democratic Party Reutherites was a catalyst in the formation of the Global Class War tendency. Not all sections of the international Spartacist tendency seem to stick by "non-defenders" positions. In a late self-criticism, the British section correctly reversed its policy of abstaining from the Benn-Foot-Healey fight in the Labor Party, to critically support Mr. Benn (the most leftward of these three social-democrats).

We thank *Young Spartacus* for raising these points and hope that you will continue to raise such points in trying to clarify positions and work out differences.

Comradely,

John Palmieri

for the Revolutionary Communist League-(Internationalist)

Trapped in McPherson Square: Marcyite front All-Peoples Congress holds back anti-Klan youth at reformist diversion rally, miles away from where the KKK was stopped by SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization.



Readers of *Young Spartacus* may wonder why we take up at such length the arguments of the minuscule Revolutionary Communist League-(Internationalist). While the RCL-(I) is not a large group, we find some of their ideas interesting and thought-provoking and it is, for revolutionary Marxists, the character of the ideas rather than simply the size of the group that ultimately determines our attention to them.

Young Spartacus Replies:

Dear Comrades:

Your formula "critical but unconditional support" amalgamates and confuses two distinct demands whose revolutionary application requires very different criteria: "unconditional defense" and "critical support." "Unconditional defense" means that we defend a just struggle without placing any conditions upon its political leadership.

Trotskyists gave unconditional defense to Stalin's Russia against Nazi Germany and to Haile Selassie's Ethiopia against Italian imperialism without giving one iota of political support, no matter how critical, to the Generalissimo, and needless to say, to the Negus. "Critical support" pertains to elections with their clash of parties and programs. Therefore participation in elections, whether through running one's own candidates or giving "critical support," has as its precondition the political independence of the working class. Critical support can only expose as false the pretenses of those who at least claim to represent that independence. For exactly that reason Lenin advised the small and newly formed British Communist Party to support the Labour Party, which ran in elections as the mass party of the proletariat against the bourgeois parties, as "a rope supports a hanged man." Your formula either serves to exploit political differences to deny defense to

just struggles in sectarian fashion, or as is more frequently the case, subordinates the independence of the working class in order to give political support to alien class forces.

A grotesque example of this sectarianism in the service of opportunism is provided by your objection to our slogan, "Sandinistas Need MIGs." "This is effectively a call on the Soviet officials to arm the bourgeois Nicaraguan state without conditions," you protest (*Internationalist Worker*, December 1983, emphasis in original). And what kind of conditions do you propose? "We would call for integration of a Nicaraguan workers' state into the Warsaw Pact"! First, the Sandinistas, having destroyed the old bourgeois order, have yet to consolidate a new state power—either bourgeois or proletarian. Their petty-bourgeois regime is akin to Castro's before the fall of 1960. But we do call upon the Soviet Union to

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Young Spartacus

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No. 114 Dec. 1983/Jan. 1984

Down with Harvard's Nuclear Family K-School Think Tank for WWIII Must Go!

As America's foremost private school, Harvard University is a bastion of class and race privilege and snotty elitism, a virtual bordello of aspiring intellectual prostitutes; as a think tank for U.S. military policy and breeding ground for war criminals (Henry Kissinger, McGeorge Bundy and Caspar Weinberger, to name but a few), Harvard is up to its ivied walls in blood. At the same time, Reagan's insane warmongering from Central America to the Near East has produced widespread nervousness among large sections of American society and a resurgence of vocal opposition to U.S. militarism on the campuses, even Harvard. When War Secretary Caspar Weinberger '38 returned to his alma mater 17 November 1983 more than half of the 1,200 people in attendance at his lecture greeted his lies about "peace with freedom" and the "rescue" of Grenada with loud boos and hisses, cries of "war criminal!", "murderer!", "South Africa!" and "50,000 dead!" Weinberger was interrupted after virtually every sentence. The SYL banner—"U.S.: Get Your Bloody Hands Off the World!"—aptly expressed the anti-militarist sentiment of the opposition to Weinberger.

In the aftermath Dean Archie Epps called Harvard SYLers into his office to threaten recriminations, while the editors of the *Crimson* (23 November 1983) bemoaned students' "extreme discourtesy." "What would these people do to their opposition if they found themselves in power? Would they permit free speech?" But a dissenting editorial (entitled "Shouting Down the World") cut through this hypocrisy, pointing out that Weinberger "has virtually unlimited

access to all the major media, a 'freedom of speech' not available to most Americans.... Weinberger, through the power of his office, can effectively shout down his critics 365 days a year." The SYL protests Weinberger and his kind not for their thoroughly reactionary views but for their deeds—Weinberger's arena is not the "marketplace of ideas" but the planning rooms of the Pentagon, where orders are given which result in the murder of workers, peasants, leftists and simple liberals in every corner of the globe. As a Harvard SYLer stated in a letter to the *Crimson* (16 December 1983):

"Our aim as socialists is to fight for a better world, where every baby born has a right to live a life free from the murder and destruction perpetrated by Weinberger and his ilk in the service of capitalism. Justice would be served when war criminals like Weinberger are extradited to a liberated zone of El Salvador to be tried by a jury of his victims!"

While having no illusions that the universities can be turned into "ivory towers," the SYL seeks to obstruct them from acting as direct agencies of imperialist militarism. At Harvard, the SYL is fighting to mobilize students to shut down the Kennedy School of Government. Named for the president of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, the K-School is where senior officers of the armed forces, CIA, NSA and like-minded Harvard professors hash out contingencies for promoting counter-revolution throughout the world. And not in the form of academic games, but as questions of *policy* for U.S. imperialism. The head of the K-School's



Ex-dean Bundy (left) braintrusted 1965 U.S. invasion of Dominican Republic (below).

Pictorial Parade



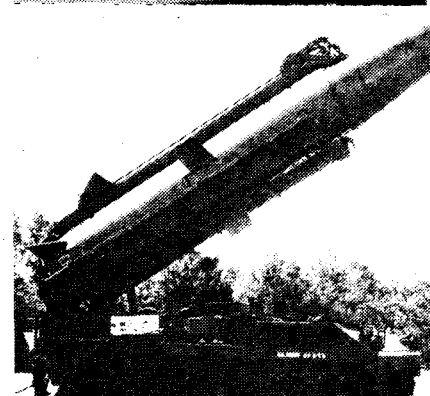
Kissinger '50 (left), architect of Vietnam genocide (below). Napalm was invented by Harvard professor Fieser.

Alan Reiminger/Pledge

AP

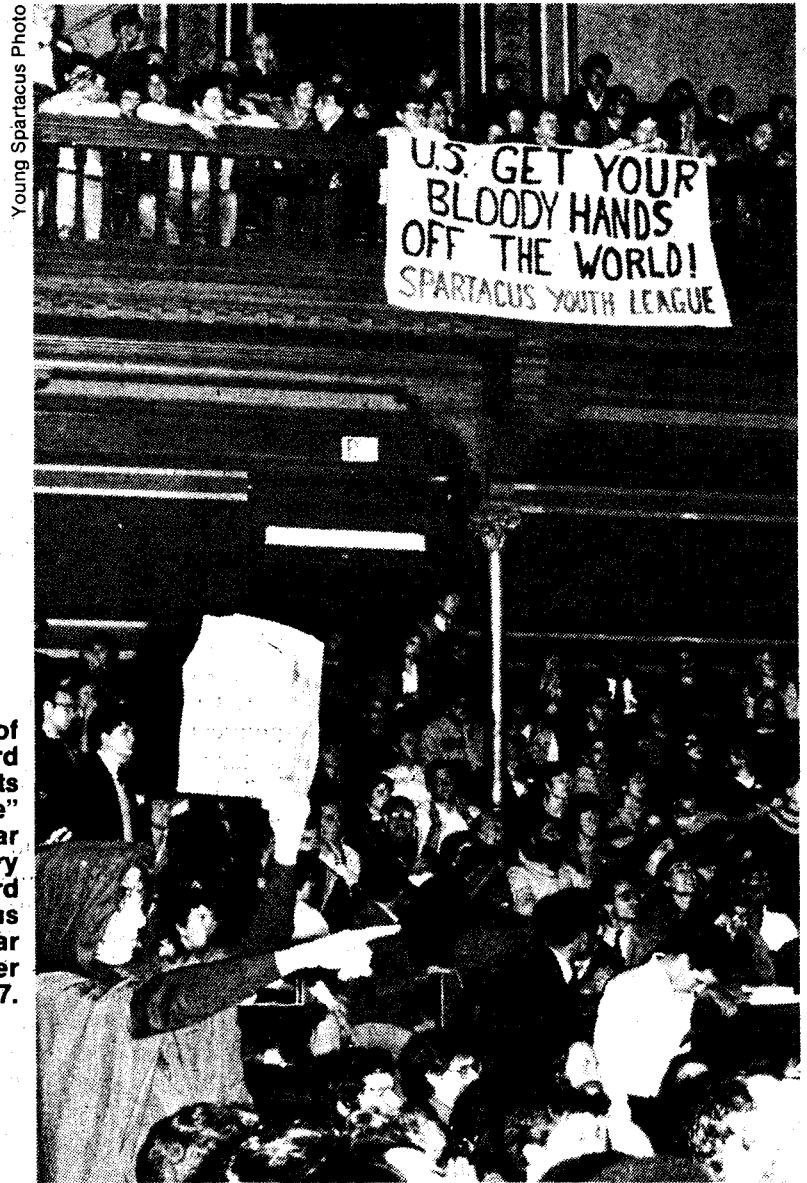


Boston Globe



UPI

Left: Pershing missile and Weinberger '38—planning to "prevail" in a nuclear war.



Young Spartacus Photo

Hundreds of Harvard students "welcome" War Secretary and Harvard alumnus Caspar Weinberger last Nov. 17.

"National Security Program," for instance, one Robert Murray, was commissioned by Weinberger to sit on the panel ostensibly investigating "accountability" of American military personnel in the blowing up of the 241 Marines in Beirut. Murray is one of the five members of the Long Commission (so named for its chairman, Admiral Long), whose purpose was to review U.S. policy in the Near East in the context of the overall interests of the anti-Soviet war drive. While proposing as stopgap measures the relocation of the Marine contingent to the hills overlooking Beirut and/or its replacement by an Army unit better trained in "static operations," the commission urged "a more vigorous and demanding approach to diplomatic alternatives." This call, which has been taken up insistently in Congress, reflects the bourgeoisie's desire to get out of the bloody Lebanese quagmire, all the more urgently with the onset of the election year. As explained by dimwitted military analyst Drew Middleton of the *New York Times* (29 December 1983):

"Talks with senior officers re-emphasize one overriding concern in their planning. This is their recognition that all the services are spread thinly across the world and that any diversion of reinforcements to one area such as Lebanon could weaken the United States military and political position in another area now quiet but likely to become important."

To the American ruling class, the whole world is in the "sphere of vital U.S. interests" and hence eligible for subversion, terrorism, invasion and "diplomatic alternatives" on the road to the imperialists' "final solution" of destroying the problem at its "source"—through nuclear war against the USSR. As always, Harvard is there to help. The analogue to Harvard's class-conscious "social elite" is its intimate connection to and ability to serve the needs of the U.S. ruling class at any given point. In its report the Long Commission noted the insufficiency of "human intelligence"—i.e., spies—as one reason for the vulnerability of the U.S. forces in Lebanon and more generally as a handicap in combatting "terrorism"; but as a veteran CIA recruiter put it during a 1981 visit to the K-School, "We always do well at Harvard." As a direct extension of the U.S. military establishment, the K-

School could just as well be housed in the Pentagon basement. This "schooling" in imperialist machinations must stop! The physical structure of the K-School should be used for some humanitarian purpose—as a shelter for pregnant Cliffies, perhaps.

The sinister and utterly un-"academic" character of the K-School is widely understood among Harvard students. A *Crimson* (3 January) humorist, looking into 1984, painted a picture which hilariously combines a snapshot of the "Hahvahd" mentality with a recognition of the ominous nature of the K-School. In this scenario Harvard president Derek Bok turns the "Vietnam syndrome" to the advantage of the "free world," over the head of the U.S. government itself! On September 4, "The K-School erects temporary housing and announces yet another scholarly initiative for its 'Defeat is Victory' program, this time aimed at Central America. Any dictator defeated by a military coup may study in Cambridge for six months." On September 28, "Unexpected military coups in Guatemala and Honduras give the K-School its first applicants to the new phase of their program." Progress in the endeavor thus continues apace until, on December 31:

"Bok rises at dawn and creeps down Kennedy St., where the innumerable visiting dignitaries and failed politicians are carefully accounted for in the new barracks. Checking over a computer-typed list, he nods to himself and walks back up toward the Yard, into his Mass. Hall office. There he presses a small gray button and a recorded message is

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SYL Class Series

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Fight Against Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up Continues

Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!



As we go to press, *Young Spartacus* has received news of the latest hearing in Lauren and Ray's case, which took place January 6. The Hayward Municipal courtroom was once again filled with some 50 supporters of the two union militants. Among them were several Greyhound workers, including Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1225 president Dave Mix. Some members of that union are also facing felony charges for defending their picket line during the bitter Greyhound strike. Also present was Father William O'Donnell, who spoke at the October 29 march and rally. During the hearing, the new prosecuting attorney for the D.A.'s office (the former having backed out of the case) gave only a brief and weak oral argument in opposition to the defense motion for discovery. The next hearing will be on January 17 and the D.A. can expect to be met with another impressive show of opposition to this racist, anti-labor frame-up.

The heat is on against the Alameda County District Attorney and Pacific Telephone's (PT&T) racist, anti-labor frame-up of phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. Because Lauren and Ray did their elementary duty as unionists on the picket line during last summer's national phone strike, the two were fired from their jobs and brought up on felony assault charges carrying up to seven-and-one-half years in prison. Lauren was called "black nigger bitch" and struck in the face by a racist PT&T manager/scab, one Michelle Rose Hansen, on August 10. Hansen's attack took place at the Directory Assistance facility located in the Klan-infested suburb of San Leandro—scene of numerous incidents of physical harassment and intimidation against the largely female and minority workforce. Lauren defended herself while her companion and fellow unionist Ray came to her aid. Ma Bell and the D.A.'s office unleashed a racist vendetta against Lauren and Ray—because Lauren was a founding and ten-year member of the Black Panther Party, because she and Ray are an interracial couple, because both are avowed socialists and active members of the Militant Action Caucus in the Communications Workers of America (CWA) union.

This outrageous example of politicized racism in the service of union-busting has been widely opposed by trade unions and individual union officials: Willie Lee Bell from IAM Local 739; Tom Sullivan, President, United Steelworkers Local 1304; Frank Tanner from CWA Local 9410; by prominent politicians such as Congressman Ron Dellums, Alameda County supervisor John George, Berkeley mayor Gus Newport; minority student organizations, civil rights groups and community activists. As regular readers of *Young Spartacus* know, over 400 predominantly black demonstrators, many of them unionists with compelling personal political reasons to fight for "Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray," turned out last October 29 to protest the racist railroad. The day before the protest, the District Attorney announced that his office would drop the "great bodily injury" clause which carries up to three years. While the

D.A.'s climbing down can be rightly viewed as a partial legal victory for Lauren and Ray—the militants still face felony charges which could put them behind bars for four years each. The class-struggle defense effort will not rest until *all the charges have been dropped!*

On December 1, over 50 friends and supporters of Lauren and Ray packed the Hayward Municipal Court. Those

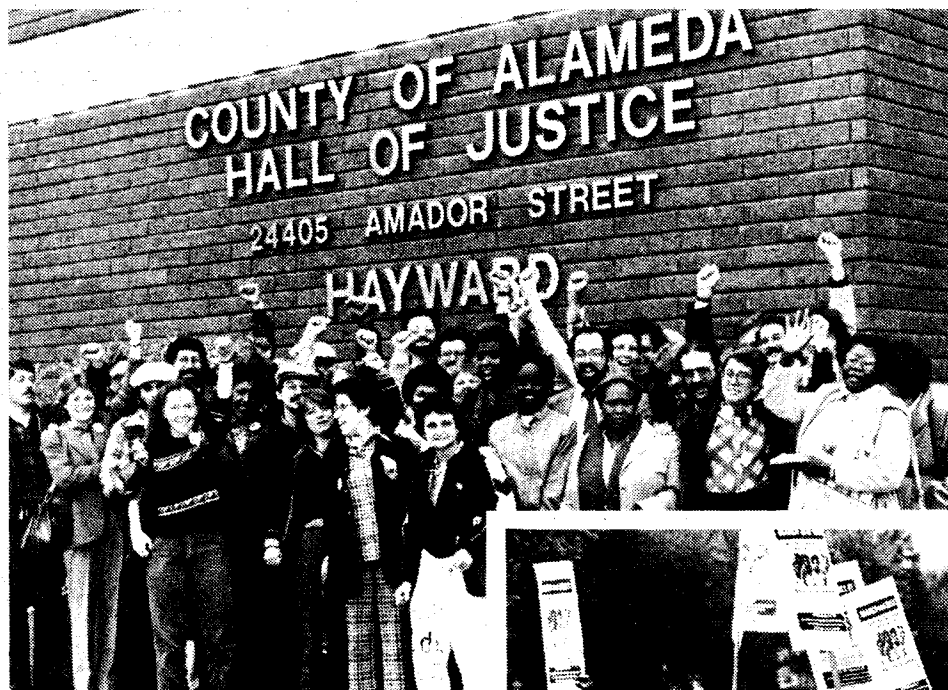
court costs. Funds continue to be raised—and are urgently requested—by the Phone Strikers Defense Committee and the Partisan Defense Committee in order to provide the most effective legal defense possible.

In an impressive display of working-class solidarity, striking Los Angeles Greyhound workers—who themselves hadn't seen a paycheck in over a

Reagan & Co.'s offensive against the workers, blacks, youth and just about any sector of society you can name outside of the Fortune 500 must be defeated through hard class struggle. The defense of Lauren and Ray against this racist frame-up means the defense of the picket line. For black Oakland, a victory in this case means a blow struck for the right to self-defense against racist attack. This South Africa-style "justice" must be stopped!

The deeply felt conviction among black and white working people here that if it could happen to Lauren and Ray, it could happen to any of us, has drawn many new members to the Labor Black League for Social Defense. A number of people joined after the October 29 march and rally, after seeing in action the program of labor/black struggle. In the continuing effort to build support for Lauren and Ray's defense, the SYL in particular has worked closely with LBL members attending various community colleges. Students in their late 20s and 30s, often

Workers Vanguard Photos



Outside the courthouse last December 15...

who turned out included phone workers, members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), a striking Greyhound worker, students from UC Berkeley, Laney College and Contra Costa College as well as members of the Labor Black League for Social Defense (LBL), Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League. Defense motions for discovery and dismissal of charges were scheduled to be heard, but the original prosecuting attorney for the D.A.'s office backed out of the case and the hearing was postponed. While we can only speculate about the reasons behind all this, we do note that both members of the prosecution team and the racist scab herself were overheard whispering to each other, "they're everywhere"—referring to Lauren and Ray's supporters. That is exactly where we must be—everywhere, keeping the pressure on.

Meanwhile, scab Michelle Rose Hansen has been transferred from San Leandro to the Folsom Street phone location in San Francisco. She (and the phone company, one assumes) may have hoped that Hansen would thus escape the hatred of phone workers at her old work location. But, no such luck. About 15 phone workers are wearing buttons demanding "Stop the Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up!" at Hansen's new office in San Francisco. Supervisors there have been in an uproar as *Workers Vanguard* supplements on the case and the October 29 rally are eagerly read and circulated throughout the building.

It's gratifying that Hansen has her troubles. But she's also got her job. Lauren and Ray have not only been fired, but they have been denied unemployment benefits and are being dragged through the bosses' courts at a staggering cost. Somehow, they must support three children. The CWA retained legal counsel and paid initial



...at 29 October 1983 march and rally in Oakland. Lauren and Ray's supporters are everywhere!

month—donated \$459.45 to the Defense Committee on December 6. These unionists were angry and embittered at their misleadership for its defeatism in the face of Greyhound's union-busting, for urging the ranks to accept the 14 percent takeaway contract. And they gave generously to the defense effort for Lauren and Ray.

Perhaps these Greyhound workers were outraged by the murder just the day before of their fellow worker Ray Phillips, a Cleveland picket captain who was crushed to death under a scab-driven bus. And what kind of "justice" did the bosses' courts dish out to Ray Phillips and his bereaved family? The killer scab got off without so much as a slapped wrist.

The bosses are waging class war. As Lauren explained to a mass meeting of Greyhound strikers from San Francisco's ATU Local 1225 last November 16:

"Reagan is exercising that trickle down effect—you know, starting with PATCO, United Auto Workers in Fremont, that plant is closed. Phelps Dodge in Arizona—I remember the pictures on the news when they had 750 National Guardsmen escorting scabs into that plant in Arizona. And I understand that's what they plan on doing to you guys tomorrow...."

"And they are starting to fire our union members that supported me and my comrade during the strike. They fired me outright.... But now they're starting that little trickle down effect, they're firing one right behind the other, that same old thing."

holding down jobs and attending to family responsibilities as well, these LBL comrades' political energy and determination to win this case are an inspiration and example to our younger student members. Genuine social struggle is the best school for young communists.

We hope soon to be able to report total victory in the fight for Lauren and Ray. We urge our readers to donate generously to the defense effort *now*: send checks/make payable to:

Phone Strikers Defense Committee
P.O. Box 24152
Oakland, California 94623. ■

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LOS ANGELES

Down with "Separate and Unequal"!

Cheek Tries the Iron Fist at Howard

Howard president Cheek & Co. have gone off the deep end. They think that running Howard is roughly equivalent to administering a colonial regime, some version of Sir Paul Scoon's "Governor-Generalship" of Grenada. They have launched a campaign of intimidation and harassment aimed at the whole campus community, and are attempting to squelch any dissension with an iron fist. Last year, Cheek expelled and fired the editor of the campus newspaper, Janice McKnight, when she exposed discriminatory practices on the part of the administration. His high-handed tactic sparked weeks of massive student protests. This year, campus security police have been given the carte blanche to beat up, detain, threaten, harass and "check-up" on any student or citizen—off campus or on—that the Cheek administration doesn't like. But Cheek is widely hated, isolated and on the defensive right now. He has lost several lawsuits claiming discrimination. Top administrators have resigned or retired under pressure, and Janice McKnight has filed a \$100,000 lawsuit against Howard. Even the *Washington Post* (2 January) names Cheek as one of D.C.'s 1983 "losers."

Down With the Cop/Cheek Rampage!

For months, the Spartacus Youth League has been a target of the administration's venom. The administration has refused to act on the Friends of the Spartacus Youth League's (FOSYL) request for campus recognition. In October, Cheek's cops arrested and issued South Africa-style "barring" notices against six SYL supporters for protesting the U.S. intervention in Lebanon and invasion of Grenada. In December, some ten security cops—in uniform, in plainclothes, on motorcycle—descended on three SYL supporters off campus, i.e., outside of their supposed jurisdiction. And to top it off, when a delegation of students from the FOSYL and concerned individuals attempted to protest this outrage to the administration, they were met with police state-style harassment and cop brutality.

When the delegation went to the Administration Building, they were "greeted" by Lt. Goodwine of campus security and eight cops. Goodwine ran I.D. checks and took down the names of all students present, threatened them with "barring" notices for being "accomplices" of the SYL, and generally treated them like prisoners on their own campus. Two SYL supporters were physically ejected from the building. Goodwine did not stop there. Six cops ambushed SYL adviser—veteran civil rights and socialist activist Rev. Walt Senterfitt—in the Blackburn Student Center. They grabbed him, pummeled him and handcuffed him so tightly that he sustained temporary nerve damage in three fingers and required medical attention. A "barring" notice was issued against Senterfitt. The police released Senterfitt immediately, showing there was no legal basis for the arrest.

Cheek and his toadies have targeted the SYL in particular because we have proven in action that we can and will mobilize black youth and workers, white and black together, to fight in their own interests and win! A year ago, the Spartacist League/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 people, including a number of Howard students, drove the cross-burning, lynching race-terrorists of the KKK off the streets of Washington. And when

the Moonies' *Washington Times* viciously slandered the demonstration, the SL/SYL slapped a libel suit on them which was successfully concluded with a settlement and retraction in December, vindicating the good names of all those who stopped the Klan (see article this issue). The SYL at Howard has also mobilized scores of students in defense of two framed-up phone workers from the West Coast, Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, and initiated the only demon-

American government which would rather see young blacks sweating and bleeding behind some sandbags in Lebanon than as educated and articulate leaders. They are administered by a notoriously venal and malignant bunch of Uncle Toms whose stock-in-trade is kowtowing to whatever racist boss is holding the purse strings.

Howard is the flagship black university in America. It attracts the cream of the black "talented tenth." The

education is the *right* of all people, including blacks and the poor. *The Hilltop* (4 November 1983), now the house organ of the Howard administration, warns in its memorable editorials—"America: Love It or Leave It" and "Creeping Communism"—that students who oppose U.S. policy must not "bite the hand that feeds" lest they be purged from Howard altogether. However, the government is *preventing* blacks from getting a decent education.

Cowardly Marines "subdue" Cuban worker on Grenada. Howard U. president Cheek arrested SYLers protesting racist invasion of Grenada last November.



stration on the campus protesting U.S. Marines in Lebanon and the racist invasion of black Grenada. The SYL program for integrated class struggle and its exemplary implementation—the only road forward for workers and blacks—is what infuriates Cheek and his boss in the White House.

In Reagan's America, black youth get the shaft. For most, there is a choice between going into the armed forces and clawing for survival in urban ghettos where it is a lot easier to get shot or stabbed than it is to get a job. For the

Darryl B. Fields/The Hilltop



Reagan's Cheek

select few, a miserably small number, there is the chance to go to college. For many of the graduates of the prison-like inner-city high schools, the only college that will accept them is one of the Southern black colleges. These institutions, in the worst American tradition of separate and unequal, are poorly financed, poorly staffed, and do a lousy job of educating black youth. Most black colleges were founded immediately following the Civil War to perpetuate segregation and inferiority, and that's what they do today. But who's surprised? Many receive funds from the

Howard administration is running the place like a slave plantation because they know that they've got a considerable explosive potential there. In the Reagan years, the expectation that all graduates are going to make \$40,000 per year and wear nice suits is precipitously declining. A Howard I.D. is not immunization from the realities of ghetto life. In December, just a few blocks from Howard a young black man, Darryl Rhones, was brutally beaten as his 11-year-old sister looked on and then taken to police headquarters and strangled to death in a choke hold. These are the same murderers in blue who work in conjunction with the Howard cops to "protect" Howard students from socialists and other supposed threats.

Down with Separate and Unequal Education! For Revolutionary Integration!

At Howard—the most respected and well-funded of the black institutions—President James Cheek, loyal lap dog of Ronald Reagan, begs, whines and wags his tail to get 55 percent of Howard's operating expenses from the government. It's enough to finance Howard's image that it is one step above the rest of the black colleges—there is a little construction going on on campus and the library is good. But it's still not enough to cover huge budget deficits. Cheek recently used the deficits as an excuse to shove a wage freeze down the throats of the campus workers, and then had the gall to ask them to contribute to a fund to bail out financially strapped Fisk University (*Washington Afro-American*, 13 December 1983)! For months Cheek's been threatening to eliminate university programs and departments—including the Afro-American Studies Department! Threats such as these are tied to the administration's attempt to purge the faculty of any dissent.

In capitalist America, where segregation has been key to the maintenance of blacks as an oppressed race-color caste, there will *never* be any such thing as a "separate but equal" educational system. Even the racist American courts recognized that 30 years ago. A good

A fight must be waged to nationalize all schools, from Howard to Harvard; to have open admissions, free tuition and a state-paid stipend for all. The pernicious college administrations must be abolished and replaced with worker/student/faculty control.

At issue at Howard are basic civil rights, including the elementary right of Howard students to form political associations as they see fit, whether Cheek smiles upon them or not. The "barring" notices, I.D. checks, police harassment and brutality read like something from South Africa's segregated Fort Hare University. But Howard is not in South Africa, or even Mississippi! It's in black Washington, where black workers and youth stopped the KKK. And Howard is a school, not a concentration camp, where people have some rights whether Cheek likes it or not.

Cheek's campaign of political repression is obviously broad-gauge and it is in the interest of all faculty, students and staff to join with the SYL in fighting back. Cheek's intended victims range from campus workers seeking higher wages to faculty protesting censorship to students simply speaking their minds. After the October arrests of the SYL, 150 students endorsed the SYL's petition demanding: U.S. Troops Out of Lebanon! Bring Them Home Now, Alive! U.S. Troops Out of Grenada! Drop the Charges Against the SYL! Down with Cheek's Political Censorship! Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael) and the head of the Howard chapter of Carmichael's All-African People's Revolutionary Party also endorsed the petition. Joint action along these lines, despite well-known substantial political differences, is the kind of action that groups and individuals must organize. Cheek wants to run Howard like massa Reagan's plantation, but he can be stopped! Down with Reagan and his stooge in the Administration Building! Forward to an integrated revolutionary youth movement which, in alliance with a class-struggle workers party, will fight and smash this racist, warmongering capitalist system once and for all! ■

Moonie Libel Targeted November 27 Anti-Klan V

(continued from page 12)

Congress" demonstrators were tear-gassed and beaten by the cops. The "All-Peoples Congress" reformists had intended to stage a pallid diversion miles away from the KKK's assembly site, but they managed to draw some hundreds of black youth who wanted to confront the Klan. Despite the pleading of the APC organizers, groups of frustrated militants broke out to look for the Klan and were set upon by the cops who roamed the streets looking for victims. One clip from the TV news showed the cops throwing a black man through a plate glass window.

In his quest to become theocratic dictator of the world, Moon and his followers have spent millions of dollars to make their *Washington Times* pass for a "respectable," "objective" daily newspaper, as a step toward greater political influence in the American "mainstream." Lies are among Moon's key weapons (he calls them "heavenly deception"). The *Washington Times* libels were straight out of the ultra-right's lurid anti-communist fantasies: the Moonies claimed our members wear "blue, black or red berets according to rank" and charged that we handed out



"We Stopped the Klan!" 27 November 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000, mainly black workers and youth, stopped the KKK

"heavy metal bolts" for "even children" to throw at the police and refused to give out political posters to non-members. This overtly grotesque garbage was exposed even by the testimony of FBI director William Webster to Senate hearings last March, where Webster admitted that investigations had re-

vealed *no* indication that the SL "did more than urge participation in the anti-Klan demonstration by residents of the District of Columbia, who were and are unsupportive of the Klan's goals."

The Moonies' deadly libel fit right in with the ominous new witchhunting pattern which seeks to brand political

opponents of the government as "terrorist" criminals. The FBI's new "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines" recognize only two categories of political opposition: a wimpy college professor who writes an occasional erudite letter to the *New York Times* and... "terrorists." By forcing the Moonies to back down from portraying our Marxist organization and those who followed our leadership in Washington as criminals and crazies, we have struck a significant blow at this new witchhunting strategy, which we've termed "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." The SL/SYL has also initiated a suit against the new FBI Guidelines. As we wrote in our original statement submitted to the *Washington Times* (which they refused to print):

"We believe, and we believe that history shows, that the liberation of the mass of the working people and other oppressed comes only through the conscious mass education and organization of the workers. Therefore, any attempts at substituting 'heroes' or any 'desperate deeds' of such heroes (actually despairing individuals in most cases) derails the valid and necessary path of social liberation. Naturally enemies of such liberation are wont to falsely project Marxists as violent crazies, bomb throwers and surrogates for sinister alien forces."

Our party has aggressively and successfully beaten down every attempt to brand us as some sort of "outlaws." In a report released in 1980, California attorney general Deukmejian included our party in a list of so-called "terrorist" organizations "with whom law enforcement will have to deal." We filed a lawsuit and made Deukmejian retract

A Record of Victories for Workers' Rights

Deukmejian Retracts "Terrorist" Smear



SL/SYL suit against California attorney general (now Governor) Deukmejian was successfully concluded when Deukmejian sent out retraction (above right) to law enforcement agencies. He had smeared us as a "dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal" in his "organized crime" report.



State of California
Department of Justice
George Deukmejian
(PRONOUNCED DUKE-MAY-JIN)
Attorney General

P.O. BOX 13357
SACRAMENTO 95813
(916) 322-2430

December 14, 1981

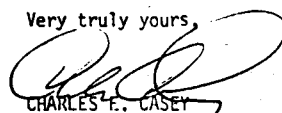
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Pennsylvania Avenue between 9th & 10th NW
Washington, D.C. 20535

Subject: Correction of Department of Justice's Publication

Dear Sir or Madam:

This is to inform you that the inclusion of the Spartacist League and of the Spartacus Youth League on page 11 of the Department of Justice's publication, "Organized Crime in California . . . 1979, Annual Report to the California Legislature, Part 2 Terrorism," was in error.

Very truly yours,


CHARLES E. CASEY
Chief, Bureau of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence

Secret Service Apologizes to Jane Margolis

Trade-union militant Jane Margolis (below) was seized by the Secret Service at the 1979 Communications Workers of America convention on the lying pretext that she was a "threat" to President Jimmy Carter, a convention guest invited by the CWA bureaucracy. Lawsuit and campaign by the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment won an apology (left) and \$3,500, which Margolis gave to the CWA defense fund.



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20223

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

Ms. Jane Margolis
475 Alvarado Street, #3
San Francisco, California 94114

Re: Alleged False Arrest/Jane Margolis/CWA Convention
Detroit, Michigan; July 16, 1979

Dear Ms. Margolis:

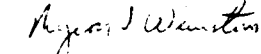
Please be advised that in response to the above referenced matter the Secret Service Office of Inspections was directed to look into this claim to determine, as accurately as possible, what did in fact occur at the time of the original incident. Based upon this inquiry it is the opinion of this Service that a misunderstanding between a Secret Service agent and a Detroit police officer resulted in your being removed from the convention floor.

The Secret Service's involvement in this misunderstanding

The Secret Service, of course, regrets that this incident occurred. Obviously, due to the extreme complexity of supplying protection to the President and others, and the sensitive and sometimes conflicting interests that come into play, the Secret Service cannot be absolutely certain that other misunderstandings will never occur. You can be assured, however, that every effort will continue to be made to assure that errors of this nature are kept to a minimum.

Again, the Secret Service regrets that this misunderstanding has caused you distress.

Sincerely yours,


Myron I. Weinstein
Deputy Director



Jon P. Fishback

Junior League of Lib

THE DAILY
CALIFORNIAN

January 21, 1983

Correction

The Dec. 7, 1982 "For worth" column incorrectly reported that members of the Spartacist League attacked police officer guard Klux Klansmen demonstration Washington, D.C. The Daily Californian does not know of any upon police by Spartacist members, nor of any resulting in the course of anti-Klan demonstrations which they have initiated which they have participated least that in Washington D.C. 27, 1982. We regret the error.

Echoing lies of Moonies' *Washington Times*, University of California at Berkeley *Daily Californian* charged that Spartacists "attacked police officers" at November 27 anti-Klan demonstration. But we forced them to retract too.

University of the D
Columbia Flight Path
make smears sti

Victory—But We Won!



Workers Vanguard Photo

and took over its intended parade route.

this charge and send the retraction to police agencies throughout the country. Earlier, we forced the Secret Service to apologize and hand over \$3,500 to our supporter Jane Margolis, an elected delegate to the 1979 union convention of the Communications Workers of America, who was dragged from the convention floor in handcuffs and held incommunicado when President Jimmy Carter addressed the union—an outrage meant to brand her as someone too dangerous to be in the same room with the president. Now the Moonies, despite their financial empire and their influential connections, their reputation for making the courts a battlefield of harassment and intimidation in their unholy “holy war,” have been forced to back down as well. This is an impressive record for a small Marxist organization.

We didn't ask for this case. We took it on to defend our party, those who followed our leadership on November 27 and all those who oppose Klan terror and racist violence. As we said on 14 June 1983 when we filed our suit: “We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims who can, with impunity, be blown away in the dead of night.” We say “A workers party has the right to organize”—and we know that this right, like any other in this decaying capitalist society, must be fought for. We fought to win—and we did win.

That we did win is gratifying, and more than a little perplexing. Why did the Moonie god apologize to the Marxist “Satan”? Certainly we can't say for certain; we can only suggest some

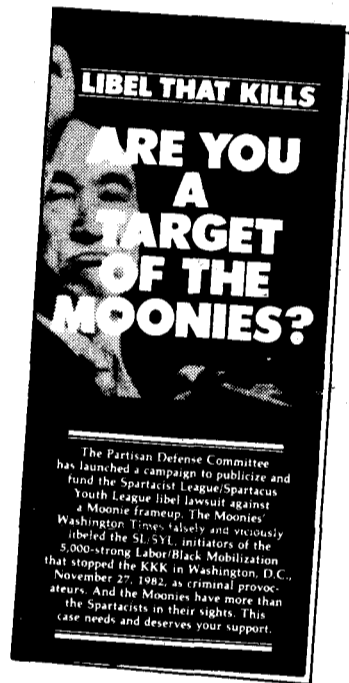
continued on page 8

It Takes Big Bucks to Beat the Moonies

Reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. 345, 6 January 1984

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

This victory also belongs to all who have opposed the fanatical ultraright Moon empire and its “respectable” mouthpiece for Central American death squads, South African apartheid butchers, Argentine and Uruguayan military torturers, Japanese fascists, South



Korean spies and the anti-Soviet lynch mobs staged by the Moonies.

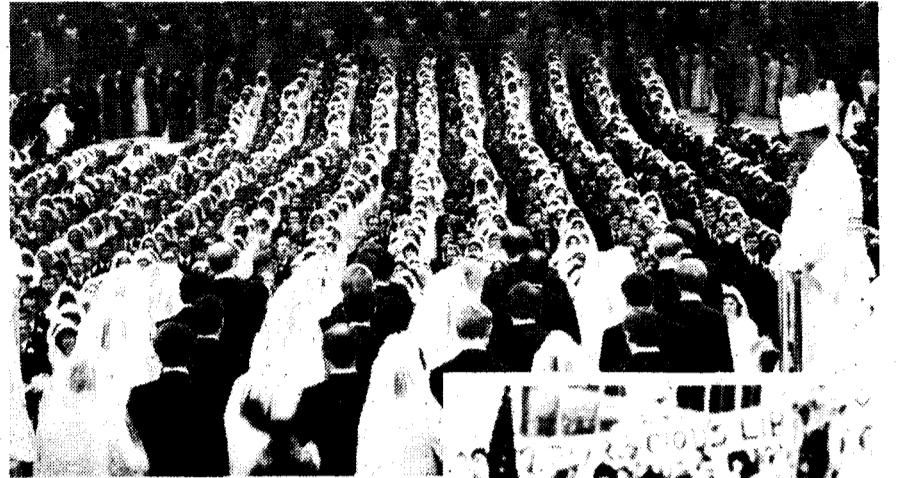
Many have been afraid to openly take on the Moonies, with their vast billions, prestigious lawyers, influential and sinister connections. We have shown they can be fought, and can be defeated. But this victory did not come cheap. Legal fees alone were over \$24,000, investigative costs over \$4,000. Total costs for this lawsuit, including legal and printing, publicity and other expenses, have amounted to over \$30,000. Only a fraction of this has been raised so far. We need your generous contributions to pay for today's victory, preparing the way to win tomorrow's battles.

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

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

“Moonies Against Our Children”

UPI Photos



Moon officiates Madison Square Garden mass marriage (above). Cultist Moonie rally (right).

Reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. 345, 6 January 1984

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

Beyond expressing obvious concern for their children's safety in the face of this ominous Moonie set-up attempt, this draft parents' letter also makes a broader and fundamental point: that unlike Moon's cult of the “great God Father,” the SL/SYL finds repugnant such cults' attempts to forcibly break members' deep personal connections with their families. For us, the personal relations of children and their parents are solely a matter for the individuals involved. Our organization is based on a political program: whether or not you agree with it, at least with us you can have rational political discourse. In fact some parents thought the letter's comment that they “do not necessarily like or approve of” their children's par-



ticipation in the SL/SYL was too categorical, noting they found that commitment admirable.

Parents and relatives from widely varying backgrounds—including working-class families, former Communist Party supporters, businessmen, former government employees, and conservatives—expressed willingness to sign and publish such a letter. We were preparing to proceed with publication—while seeking to suitably take into account protection for signatories from the Moonies' well-known vindictiveness toward individuals opposing them—when the successful settlement was reached. We would like here to express our thanks to all the parents and relatives involved in working on this letter for their thoughtful comments and suggestions.

Draft Statement

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

El Backed Down, Too

Y
SLY

Flight Path

February 11, 1983

The *Flight Path* published in Volume 1, No. 10 December 16, 1982 a signed letter by Steven A. Cole which included the following sentence.

“We must not fall pray to the strategies of such groups as the Spartacist [sic] Youth League, which took pleasure in provoking violence at the rally even to the point of handing out objects to be hurled at the police.”

The *Flight Path* does not know of any provocation of violence or handing out objects for purposes of attacks on police by the Spartacus Youth League. We regret the error. All parties may accept this statement as public acknowledgement of our error.

hat it's reported League King Ku ting in Califor- attacks League arrests ionstrad, or in ed, not on Nov.

istrict of couldn't ck either.

Moonies...

(continued from page 7)

possible factors. First of all, the thousands of people who were there on the spot on November 27 knew the Moonies' article was a pack of lies. Nearly all of black Washington had heard about what happened on November 27. That's why the Moonie lawyers used an archaic law to force the case out of Washington, D.C. to New York City. Even the FBI acknowledged that the SL/SYL did not "provoke violence" on November 27.

And the Moonies understood that they were in for a hell of a fight. We had top legal counsel, including Jonathan Lubell, one of the most experienced libel lawyers in the country, and we had private investigators. Our lawyers had begun the process of "discovery," to subpoena the documents and those responsible for putting the libelous article together. We hit them where they live—in their attempt to gain influence

through the *Washington Times*. Our own press was exposing the Moonies' sinister international operation—and they have plenty to hide! We had launched a broad campaign that was winning support from a wide spectrum of Moon's many enemies, including parents (see "Moonies Against Our Children," page 7). And the Moonies knew that we had not allowed the California attorney general or the Secret Service to get away with portraying us as "terrorists."

It is particularly satisfying that it is the revolutionary Trotskyists of the SL/SYL, known above all for our intransigent defense of the Soviet Union against the nuclear war drive of the imperialist ruling class, who have struck the most successful blow so far against the Moonies' dirty disinformation mouthpiece, the *Washington Times*, which brags it is "the paper Moscow hates." Being god is supposed to mean never having to say you're sorry. Well, Mr. Moon, the score is "Satan: 1, god: 0." ■

Harvard...

(continued from page 3)

boomed over Cambridge. By 9 a.m., all local inhabitants have been informed that Harvard, having slowly accrued nine-tenths of the world's trained political leadership through its K-School programs, is poised for world hegemony. If the governments of the United States, Soviet Union, People's Republic of China and several strategically placed others do not surrender, Bok will make good his threat to set off the large nuclear warhead concealed within the tower of Memorial Church or the innumerable small ones inside the kiosk-disguised silos in the Yard.

"At 5 p.m., after hasty discussion, the superpowers and their major allies tender their unconditional capitulations, and Bok, relieved, checks his watch. 'Wouldn't it have been a pity,' he says to Watt, 'if it hadn't worked and we'd had to wait till 1985?'"

- U.S. Hands Off the World!
- Dismantle the K-School!

Below we reprint a leaflet issued by the Harvard SYL December 13.

Reagan vowed that "those responsible for the Beirut bombing will pay." Now "payment" in the form of World War III is being planned at Harvard. The *New York Times* (11 December) reports that Caspar Weinberger '38 has appointed a commission of high ranking armed forces commanders and Harvard's own Robert J. Murray (Director of National and International Security Studies at the Kennedy School of Government) to assess responsibility for the Beirut bombing and report to the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Weinberger for "review and possible action." The *New York Times* speculates that "accountability" could lead to court-martial proceedings, but there's a lot more than

a few military careers at stake. Weinberger, Reagan and Harvard's Murray want blood, and last week's air strikes over Syria were just a taste of what's to come. Remember Pearl Harbor—a couple of commanders were forced into early retirement, but who the U.S. held "accountable" was the entire Japanese people, tens of thousands of whom were blown off the face of the earth when the U.S. dropped the A-bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki!

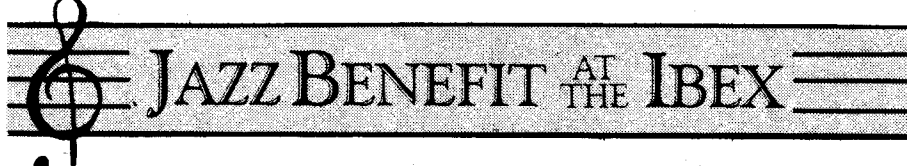
Reagan is war crazy! The U.S. takes over black Grenada and suddenly America's rulers think they're the masters of the world. The U.S. is currently involved in four wars (Nicaragua, El Salvador, Grenada, Lebanon), threatening a fifth at the Straits of Hormuz, and stationing nuclear weapons throughout Western Europe which at the push of a button will hit Moscow in six to eight minutes! The Dr. Strangeloves in power have the military arsenal, the desire and the loose marbles to blow up the world in their fevered drive to wipe out the Soviet Union.

Opposition to American nuclear brinkmanship and solidarity with the victims of U.S. imperialism was no doubt what motivated hundreds of students to protest War Secretary Caspar Weinberger when he appeared at Harvard last month. Harvard's connection to U.S.-sponsored genocide is of course not limited to afternoon forums hosting the war criminals chiefly responsible for international carnage. As America's foremost bourgeois think tank Harvard trains the future war criminals and serves those in power in various nefarious ways: from releasing "Professor" Kissinger '50 from his "scholarly" duties for a secret mission to South Vietnam in '66, to lending Robert Murray to War Secretary Weinberger for a Middle East mop-up operation today.

In 1969 leftist student opponents of the Vietnam War protested the direct use of the university for military training and succeeded in driving ROTC off campus. Of course the university's ties to the military, State Department and CIA remained intact through the bonafide anti-Soviet nukeniks and warmongers cum "scholars" like Samuel Huntington and Richard Pipes on Harvard's faculty. But it is the Kennedy School of Imperialist Chicanery that is the direct adjunct to Washington's mad bombers. The Kennedy School effectively serves as an antechamber to the Pentagon's war room. Indeed the K-School makes little pretense to academic pursuits and glories in its role as a laboratory for government policy—from slashing food stamps to planning first strikes.

Robert J. Murray, director of the K-School's National and International Security Studies, is the former director of the Center for Naval Warfare Studies and a former undersecretary of the

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee



Houston Person & Etta Jones

Wednesday, February 1, 8 p.m. to 2 a.m.
5832 Georgia Avenue, N.W.

- Celebrate the victory against the Moonies' *Washington Times* libel of the November 27, 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK.
- Defend Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero—victims of racist union-busting frame-up! Lauren and Ray must not go to jail!

Tickets (\$5) available at:

The Ibox 5832 Georgia Ave., N.W.	Pyramid Book Store 2849 Georgia Ave., N.W.	Common Concerns 1347 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
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Proceeds to the Partisan Defense Committee. For more information: (202) 636-3537.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Navy. The program he directs was developed in 1977 explicitly to serve the needs of the military and espionage elite. The curriculum of war games and studies in counterrevolution are not even open to students but restricted to Flag and General rank officers from the armed services and "civilians of comparable rank"—the top brass of the CIA, NSA, Defense Dept., World Bank, etc. These "students" have their tuition, room and board paid for by the government. The faculty is headed by the K-School's neanderthal Ernest May who doubles as a consultant to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary of Defense and the National Security Council. There is nary a professor at the Kennedy School who has not been or is not now directly associated with plotting, advising, or administering the terror and destruction by which U.S. imperialism has become known worldwide.

In April '84 Robert Murray will host an eight-week seminar for the Defense Department and armed services. Cloaked in civilian garb, these G-men and military lifers will hustle through the plush corridors of the K-School to fine tune their deadly anti-Soviet war plans. They will read K-School "case studies" with titles like "The Bay of Pigs and JFK," "Eisenhower and Dien Bien Phu," "The Myth of Martin Luther King's National Constituency," "Vietnam—Hypothetical," "A Marxist-Leninist Primer"—case studies which are mysteriously "restricted" from public circulation in the library—to improve and analyze U.S. techniques in terror and genocide. "Playing War at Harvard" (*Boston Magazine*, November 1980) provides a frightening sample of a typical classroom exercise at the K-School. "In a session on East Asian

security led by Professor William Nacht, the class was asked to face the hypothetical problem of another North Korean invasion of South Korea." A civilian official attending the class bluntly answered: "The United States cannot let South Korea be overrun. Nor can we afford another war that would have marginal public support. So we just tell them: Look we're going to use tactical nuclear weapons against you if you don't go back. Screw the UN to the wall with it and everybody else."

A sleek National Security Studies brochure quotes a Congressional staff member: "At the risk of sounding melodramatic, I believe that the work you in the Kennedy School are doing is essential to the continuation of our form of government." From the K-School's dimmer lights like Robert Klitgaard (noted for his recommendation that blacks should attend "lesser institutions than Harvard" to "achieve a greater perceived sense of equality") to former K-School affiliate and budget axe wielder David "let 'em eat ketchup" Stockman, to the big guns like Robert "Battleship" Murray and Cap the Knife Weinberger, continuing the K-School "form of government" means plunging the world into a nuclear holocaust.

Behind the facade of the "Hahvahd mystique" the K-School reeks with the stench of mass graves in Sabra and Shatila, of Salvadoran death squads and CIA *contra* scum. Now is the time for student anti-militarists to take a stand against U.S. imperialism, right here on the Harvard campus! Disaffiliate the K-School! No direct use of the university for military training! The Main Enemy is at Home!

Spartacus Youth League
13 December 1983 ■

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Epps Kills the Dead

The ambitions of Harvard University Dean of Students Archie Epps know no bounds. We always wondered how he could be content with having the obviously unsatisfying occupation of harassing student groups, particularly supporters of the SYL, about literature table permits and room reservations. Now, it turns out that the Ayatollah of Hahvahd Yahd has decided to expand his horizons. From his self-appointed role as chief political thought-cop, Epps is venturing into the field of arts "criticism." He's been practicing for a while on the amateurs of the Harvard Band by routinely censoring their football game half time skits. But now he's going after the pros: on December 15, Epps announced that he was cancelling the Undergraduate Council's plans to hold a Grateful Dead concert in Harvard Stadium. In typical Epps fashion (if it's popular, get rid of it), the Dean dumped the Dead just one day after a campus-wide referendum

showed strong student support for the concert.

One of Epps' excuses for the concert cancellation centered on his ostensible worry that the Council might lose money on the venture. Such touching concern—even Harvard Business School flunkouts couldn't help but make a profit-in a concert starring this extremely popular rock group! Anyway, the \$100,000 that the Dead charges isn't even a drop in the bucket for a school with a cash-in-stash billion dollar-plus endowment. Epps also reportedly decided to kill the Dead because Athletic Director John Rardon felt that "to use our facility for commercial purposes raises all types of problems" (*Crimson*, 16 December 1983). No problems, though, for Harvard's "commercial purposes" like inventing napalm. And there is always plenty of money available for all the right-wing madmen, deposed dictators and war criminals whom the adminis-

tration welcomes with open arms. Harvard University itself is one big, dirty business and, as we've headlined before, there are many "strange things under Harvard's rocks." Plenty of scum accumulate behind those venerable gates, but what gets banned is what the administration considers "strange rock."

We could speculate for hours on end as to what's really behind Epps' forbidding the Dead to appear on campus. Has Ayatollah Archie been thinking that he works at Teheran U.? Or maybe someone clued him in on the fact that Jerry Garcia really didn't graduate from Harvard and that none of the Dead could produce Harvard I.D.s—after all, Epps hates "outsiders" even more than he hates students. Then again, perhaps Epps longs for the return to Harvard Stadium of Ernst "Putzi" Hanfstaengl '09, Hitler's favorite piano player who adapted the Harvard football fight song into a Nazi march. True, there's no accounting for taste, but Archie Epps doesn't seem to know the meaning of the word. To him, the band's use of Shakespeare is "vulgar," doesn't "com-

municate across generations" and must be censored. But anyone who would insist that the *Macbeth* line "by the pricking of my thumbs" be changed to "by the twitching of my thumbs" either has deeply hidden sexual fantasies which we can only begin to imagine, or is so stuffy that we can't fathom it at all. (And with Epps, it's probably the latter.)

Most likely, though, Epps isn't so profound. Quite simply, he really enjoys playing Scrooge; he *despises* the thought of students having a good time! As one band member complained, "It's hard enough to be funny without Epps breathing down our necks" (*Crimson*, 11 October 1983). But that's Epps' purpose at Harvard and if he didn't exist, Harvard president Bok would have to invent him in order to stifle any activity or even thought that could remotely be construed as "conduct unbecoming a Harvard student." At least Dickens created in Ebenezer Scrooge a character who ended up having some redeeming social qualities. We'll never be able to say the same of Archie Epps. ■

RCL-(I)...

(continued from page 2)

provide Nicaragua with urgently needed weapons, including MIGs, against the U.S.-backed *contras*, for the same reason Trotsky demanded military aid for the feudal dictator Haile Selassie against Mussolini without demanding that Ethiopia first become a workers state.

It is not because Nicaragua has not become a workers state that the Kremlin deprives the Sandinistas of desperately needed military aid (while Castro preaches compromise with imperialism and domestic reaction to Managua and tries to cut a deal with Pastora). On the contrary, Moscow and Havana fear a decisive military victory by the Sandinistas over the *contras* and by the Salvadoran rebels over the bloody junta will engulf the region in insurgency and social revolution and disrupt their counterrevolutionary schemes for "détente" with Yankee imperialism. By giving "conditional defense" to Nicaragua you provide a "left" cover, i.e., *political support*, to the criminal policies of the Russian and Cuban Stalinists.

Regarding the 1948 presidential campaign of Henry Wallace referred to in your letter, your formula of "critical but unconditional support" is shorn of even the pretense of "left" sectarianism. You protest that we falsify your position and that of your mentor, Sam Marcy, by not referring to your support and his to Wallace as "critical." But support, no matter how critical, to a bourgeois candidate crosses the class line.

Illustrative here is Trotsky's attitude toward "critical support" to the Communist Party presidential campaigns in 1936 and 1940. In 1936, when the CP candidate Browder ran as the left tail to Roosevelt under the aegis of the Popular Front, Trotsky adamantly opposed critical support to Browder. But in 1940 under the dictates of the Hitler-Stalin pact the CP temporarily broke with Roosevelt and Browder ran for president on that basis; Trotsky recommended that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) support Browder, a tactic that "would be very short and very critical."

Marcy gave as his justification, which you repeat, for giving "critical support" to Wallace his desire to reach the Stalinist-led workers. Do you think Trotsky was any less desirous than Marcy to reach the Stalinist workers? But Trotsky had a novel approach: telling the truth.

Henry Wallace was not Earl Browder, the leader of a reformist workers party who criminally served as a stalking horse for the Roosevelt gang of imperi-

alist politicians. Wallace was one of the most prominent members of that gang, serving in every Roosevelt cabinet from 1936 and during World War II he was vice president! Wallace as much as Roosevelt was responsible for the Republic Steel massacre, launching the U.S. into an imperialist bloodbath, the detention of Japanese-Americans in concentration camps, the Smith Act jailing of Trotskyist leaders, Jim Crow in the armed services, etc.; Wallace broke with Truman and the Democrats to form the Progressive Party to uphold the "enlightened" imperialist policies of the "New Deal" and "Four Freedoms."

Over the Wallace issue Marcyism originated as a distinct political current within the SWP, becoming the "Global Class War" (GCW) tendency. Despite its radical sound the GCW was an impressionistic and *defeatist* response to the isolation and weakness of the Fourth International after World War II, the failure of the proletariat to avenge the imperialist bloodletting through the conquest of power, the stabilization of capitalism in Western Europe and the expansion of Stalinism in Eastern Europe, the upheavals in the colonial countries led by non-proletarian forces, and the onset of the Cold War. So, the independent class struggle is subordinated to the struggle of "camps." The "revolutionary" party becomes a cheering squad for non-proletarian leaderships (Stalinist versus imperialist, colonial versus colonialist, "progressive" versus "reactionary," "left" versus "right," etc.).

Of course Henry Wallace understood the exigencies of the "Global Class War," breaking with the Progressive Party to support the Korean War, ending up as an Eisenhower Republican.

Your attempt to reduce political reality to a series of "left-right" contradictions is equally unfortunate. Who was "left" in the Chinese Cultural Revolution: the Mao/Lin Piao faction which preached "self-reliance" to the Vietnamese besieged by U.S. imperialism while Red Guards disrupted the transport of Soviet military equipment to Hanoi? Mao and the "Gang of Four" who cemented the U.S./China alliance against the Soviet Union and Vietnam? The prominent "Liuists" who have been restored to power only to deepen that counterrevolutionary alliance? In the Harold Washington campaign you gave him "critical" support in the primaries when there was nothing to distinguish him politically from the other bourgeois candidates. We gave no support to the candidate, but when Washington's election engendered a racist backlash, we defended the right of the black elected official to take office with all prerogatives.

Your letter does not reflect your full

position of "critical but unconditional support" to the Soviet Union regarding the KAL 007 provocation as is found in the September 1983 *Internationalist Worker*. There you attack Soviet government statements which appeal to international conventions and norms of behavior as "bourgeois morality." In fact, these norms and conventions predate the rise of the bourgeoisie and have governed intercourse between the peoples since the dawn of civilization and they will continue to do so until the nation-state is abolished. Of course, for Marxists such conventions as "the sovereign right of every state to protect its borders" do not stand above the interests of world proletarian emancipation **but especially as applied to workers states they are no mere matters of "bourgeois morality"**—as Hitler discovered.

But it is bourgeois "morality" and blood-drenched bourgeois hypocrisy that imbue many of your criticisms of the Soviet handling of the KAL provocation. On the one hand, you whine along with the bourgeois press: "Was everything possible first done to force the Korean airliner to land on a Soviet airstrip?" At the same time you (along with many bourgeois military "specialists") indict the USSR for a military failure in taking so long to intercept and down the aircraft. Finally, we note that the bourgeois hypocrisy which afflicts your "critical support" to the Soviet bureaucracy was subjected to a devastating critique in the statements of that same bureaucracy: "The world knows the worth of this 'sorrow' and 'concern for humaneness.' Some time ago it brought about the killing of several million people in Indochina." We support those measures and only those measures which the bureaucracy takes to defend the workers state (from which it reaps its privileges) against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution. We do not defend the Soviet bureaucracy *per se*.

I made the point that to be able to

organize and politically lead the 5,000-strong mobilization that stopped the Klan in Washington on that day "you have to be able to address the anti-Soviet-war drive which has fueled and emboldened the fascists in this country." And where were you? At the McPherson Square rally, haunted by the ghost of Henry Wallace—in your own words "building cross-class coalitions... at the expense of the anti-capitalist struggle."

Of course you were not "uniting together against the class enemy" against the ominous threat of a Klan march through that predominantly black city and the nation's capital. You were busy seeking unity with the WWP. But on November 27, Leninist unity was what occurred at First and Constitution (site of the Labor/Black Mobilization). What occurred at McPherson Square was the very anti-Leninist unity of class-collaborationist coalitions and unprincipled combinations.

We understand your plight in trying to both join WWP and retain your integrity and capacity to think. The Marcyites are not merely reformist, they are—despite all their "mass" rhetoric—both a sect and a cult. (We have heard that the WWP membership does not even get to vote on the organization's line in meetings on the grounds that "voting intimidates women and Third World people"—perhaps you could tell us if this is true?) In the sharply class-polarized atmosphere of the Reagan years such organizations as the WWP, the thoroughly reformist SWP (not to mention groups like PL, RSL, etc.) have moved frantically to the right. Marcyism has fulfilled its aspiration to be waterboys for the ossified CP. The true "Marcyism" you profess is irrelevant. The fundamental currents of the workers movement have been shaped by great historic events: the social democrats and Stalinists (and their satellites) on the one hand and revolutionary Trotskyism on the other.

—Reuben Samuels for the
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1984...

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worked out specific plans to use nuclear weapons against North Korea, China and the Soviet Union. In 1953 secretary of state and Cold War fanatic John Foster Dulles complained about "the moral problem and the inhibitions on the use of the A-bomb, and Soviet success to date in setting atomic weapons apart from all other weapons as being in a special category." He urged Eisenhower to "break down this false distinction" (quoted in *CounterSpy*, July-August 1982). The following year the U.S. offered atomic weapons to save the French colonial army trapped at Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam (the French demurred, worried about the effect on their own troops). Of course, there was October 1962 when liberal "hero" John F. Kennedy threatened to blow up the world during the Cuba missile crisis. For the American ruling class, the Cuba crisis remains the historical model for successful nuclear blackmail.

But since 1962 the Soviet Union has achieved rough nuclear parity. The Soviets were aided in large part by the heroic revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, which both bled and encumbered the Pentagon war machine for a decade, allowing the USSR to catch up. The Soviet degenerated workers state is not about to be nuked off the planet without payment in kind. "Retaliation will be certain in all cases," Soviet chief of staff marshal Nikolai Ogarkov recently stated. Yuri Andropov also warned against imperialist arrogance:

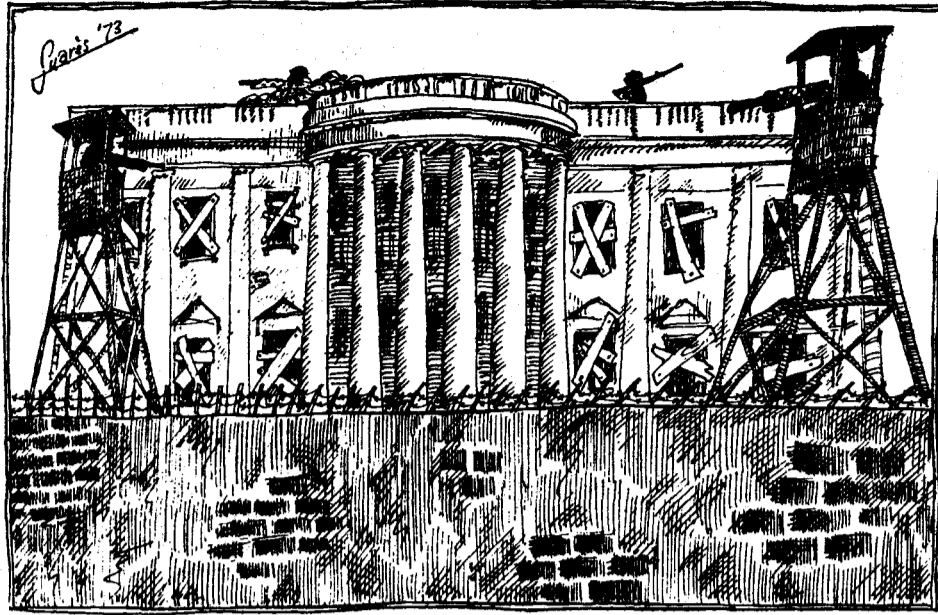
"The Soviet state has successfully overcome many trials, including crucial ones, during the six and a half decades of its existence. Those who encroached on the integrity of our state, its independence and our system found themselves on the garbage heap of history."

—*New York Times*,
29 September 1983

At the same time, the immense military pressure on the USSR from U.S. imperialism necessarily further deforms the economy and exacts great sacrifices from the Soviet masses. If you believe in the tooth fairy and if the imperialists were rational rulers of a rational system, it would be possible to undertake some sort of mutual disarmament along the lines advocated by Draper, Kennan, et al. The mechanics and underlying causes of two world wars in this century, accurately characterized by the Marxists as "the epoch of imperialist decline" powerfully shows that "rationality" runs a distant third and the nuclear freezers are not the least of all those made objectively irrational. They are merely more powerless and correspondingly more fearful. And then there is possibly the most pathetic, the rational advisers to the irrational, that thin segment of capitalists and publicists such as George F. Kennan, Theodore Draper, W. Averell Harriman, and perhaps the now-retired Admiral Hyman Rickover, who could profitably be contributors to a think tank advising a workers state facing the menace. But these gentlemen stand hopelessly impotent in attempting to advise the menace itself.

The U.S. ruling class is not simply crazy—it is also calculating and knows full well the toll exacted on the Soviet economy and people from the hideously absurd arms race. Indeed, for U.S. imperialism the aim of the arms race is both to achieve first-strike capability and to overstrain the Soviet economy. It has long been a right-wing article of faith that the U.S. could better afford an all-out arms race. In his spy novel, *The Billion Dollar Brain*, Len Deighton has the Texas millionaire, anti-Communist loony General Midwinter declaim:

"...we spend ten percent of our gross national product at present [on the military]. We could double that without suffering; but the USSR already spends twenty percent of her gross national



"Peace through Strength"

product. If she doubles that, boy she will crack. Get me—she'll crack."

When this novel came out in 1965 *Midwinter* was presented as and regarded as a certifiable nut case. But today, he would be considered a "moderate" within the framework of the Reagan administration.

The notion that the Soviet Union can be destroyed through an all-out arms race is just as crazy as the Pentagon's first-strike strategy. Liberal historian of the Cold War John Lewis Gaddis recently pointed out:

"...there seems to prevail in the higher circles of this Administration the belief that if only we 'stay the course' on defense spending, we can ultimately force the Russians to bankrupt their economy in the effort to keep up. If the historical record is any guide, we should be wary of this vulture-like argument: predictions of a Soviet economic collapse have been circulating since 1917 and it has not happened yet...."

—"The Rise, Fall, and Future of Détente," *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1983/84

The working people of the Soviet Union will make the sacrifices necessary to defend the social gains of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

Debunking the Great Prevaricator

While Reagan & Co. think they have a chance to launch a first strike against the Soviet Union and live to tell about it, they simultaneously lie through the teeth about the U.S.' supposed "window of vulnerability." Crisis-mongering about non-existent "Soviet superiority," the Committee-on-the-Present-Danger types who fill many of Reagan's arms policy posts have the following view, succinctly put by Reagan advisor/Harvard prof Richard Pipes: "Soviet leaders would have to choose between peacefully changing their Communist system...or going to war" (quoted in Robert Scheer, *With Enough Shovels* [1982]). Other luminaries in the Reagan entourage include:

- Colin S. Gray, member of the General Advisory Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament, author of the notorious "Victory Is Possible" article (*Foreign Policy*, Summer 1980). He advocates "strategic nuclear use for coercive, though politically defensive, purposes" and "war aims that in the last resort would contemplate the destruction of Soviet political authority and the emergence of a postwar world order compatible with Western values." (U.S. losses to be kept to "approximately 20 million.")

- T.K. Jones, Under Secretary of Defense for Strategic and Theatre Nuclear Forces and author of the Reaganite "civil defense plan": "Dig a hole, cover it up with a couple of doors and then throw three feet of dirt on top. It's the dirt that does it.... Everybody's going to make it if there are enough shovels to go around" (*New York Times*, 19 March 1982).

- Caspar Weinberger, our Secretary of "Defense": "You show me a Secretary of Defense who's not planning to prevail and I'll show you a Secretary of Defense

who ought to be impeached" (*New York Times*, 10 August 1982).

In an effort to defend the insane drive toward anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust, the Reaganites have to invent "threats" and "gaps." Take a recent article by one Mark Helprin in the *New York Times Magazine* (4 December 1983) which defends the deployment of NATO first-strike Pershing 2 missiles and also cruise missiles. Helprin claims that the Soviet deployment of the triple-warhead SS20 missiles is some kind of escalation in "intermediate range" nuclear forces in Europe. Bullshit! To begin with, the Soviet Union has had similar missiles for two decades in response to the submarine-launched missiles deployed by NATO. Second, as Randall Forsberg pointed out in *Scientific American* (November 1982):

"The new SS-20's actually reduce the nuclear threat to Western Europe compared with the old SS-4's and SS-5's they are replacing. The older missiles carried bigger warheads.... The SS-4's, which constituted 80 percent of the original force, are above-ground missiles with nonstorable liquid fuel; they were 'sitting ducks' for a pre-emptive attack. The U.S.S.R. has thus replaced a destabilizing 'first strike' force, which would have had to be used first if it were not to be destroyed, with a less vulnerable force that can be held back and launched on warning of attack."

Helprin's article was simply a smokescreen for the Reagan administration's real aim: to decapitate the Soviet leadership, the "command and control system." As one U.S. expert, John Steinbruner noted, the introduction of the Pershing 2s "significantly reduces the reaction time available to the Russian command system" (*Scientific American*, January 1984).

The Reaganites also make much of the supposed Soviet "superiority" in ICBMs. However, the U.S. has consistently upgraded its bombers and particularly its nuclear submarines whereas the USSR depends overwhelmingly on increasingly vulnerable land-based ICBMs. Eminent physicist Hans Bethe, who helped develop both the A-bomb and H-bomb, has stated:

"The elaborate and costly Russian air defense system has been made obsolete by the cruise missile...."

"We should maintain the emphasis on submarine and bomber forces; this makes our forces largely invulnerable, and thereby superior to those of the Soviets. If anyone has a window of vulnerability, it is the Soviet Union."

—*New York Review of Books*,
10 June 1982

The U.S. has overwhelming superiority in the number of *deliverable warheads* in its submarine forces. The U.S. has 2,400 submarine-launched warheads capable of incinerating the Soviet Union even if every single U.S. land-based Minuteman silo was destroyed. First strike is the *only* logic of the MX. It is intended to take out a good chunk of Soviet strategic forces, leaving the potent submarine-based weapons in reserve.

But the Pentagon's first-strike planners are living in the world of Dr. Strangelove. They assume pinpoint accuracy for ICBMs traveling thou-

sands of miles while leaving and reentering the earth's atmosphere. Yet these missiles have *never* been tested over the North Pole, the course they would have to take to hit the USSR. They've only been tested, generally over shorter distances, along an east-west axis. The gravitational effects over the pole are quite different, and this and other effects can cause the warheads to veer well off course. Then there is the so-called "fratricide" effect. When a warhead explodes, it creates an enormous dust cloud likely to seriously affect the accuracy—or even survival—of incoming warheads aimed at the same target. If Reagan really wants to wipe out the Soviet Union, he might put all his \$1 trillion plus missiles in Iowa and explode them, because in three or four days Moscow and Leningrad would be gone from the aftereffects.

Defend the Soviet Union!

Former arms negotiator Paul Warnke observed:

"I've dealt with the Russians...and although you might say a lot of other things about them, they are not crazy. And they have a very healthy respect for nuclear weapons, and they have a far greater appreciation than any American of the ravages that even conventional war can inflict upon a country. You know, since the last Civil War musket hit a tree in Pennsylvania, we haven't had war in this country."

—quoted in Robert Scheer,
op. cit.

The U.S. view of war is sitting in a nice, big bomber and dropping bombs on defenseless civilians. Not so for the Russians. The Soviet Union lost 20 million people in World War II. That's 80 casualties for every American killed in the war. The Soviet citizenry certainly do not need ABC TV to tell them about the horrors of war. As a Moscow correspondent for the *New York Times* reported:

"The effect of the fear of nuclear war can be striking for Americans moving around the Soviet Union. They can expect a tap on the shoulder in a vegetable market, a movie theater foyer or a train, followed by the question: 'Why does your President want to start a nuclear war? Why does he want to destroy us all?'"

—*New York Times*,
11 December 1982

Why? Because in its death agony capitalist imperialism has no solution other than war. The rulers of a dying system will take desperate measures against any threat to their rule—i.e., all movements of the working masses and oppressed, all those countries where capitalism has been overthrown, and national imperialist rivals. That the U.S. imperialists see the hand of "Soviet aggression" behind every struggle of workers and the oppressed, every movement for social progress on the planet, is an unintended acknowledgement of the continuing force of the Bolshevik Revolution. Since 1917, when the Russian proletariat seized power from the capitalists and landlords, one-sixth of the globe has been ripped from the clutches of imperialist exploitation. Soviet military and economic power stands as the major obstacle to U.S. imperialist domination of the world—were it not for the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal the U.S. would have reduced Havana, Hanoi and Peking as well as Moscow to irradiated rubble.

The fundamental social gains of the Russian Revolution—the planned, collectivized economy—continue to exist despite the Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet state. Particularly with U.S. nukes only six minutes from Moscow, it is more urgent than ever that revolutionaries stand solidly for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. At the same time, we Trotskyists understand that this defense is inextricably linked to the program of proletarian political revolution against the Soviet bureaucracy.

For the Kremlin Stalinists disarm the world working class politically (and militarily!) by preaching the illusion of

"State-Supported Terrorism": Made in the U.S.A.

The recent bourgeois outcry against "state-supported terrorism"—including Reagan's ridiculous statement that this is a "fundamentally new phenomenon"—is the moral equivalent of Hitler condemning Al Capone for brutality. In the aftermath of the October bombing of Marine headquarters in Beirut—killing 241—the bourgeois press has undertaken a made-to-order propaganda campaign on a supposed "terrorist threat." Responsibility for the deaths in Lebanon—the largest number of U.S. soldiers to be killed in a single day since the height of the 1968 Tet offensive in Vietnam—obviously rests with the U.S.' senseless policy of intervention. There is also plenty of evidence of military incompetence (as usual). So, Reagan & Co. have seized on the terrorism question to deflect public outrage. Just where this "threat" comes from is left intentionally vague; nor is there any understandable explanation for the "securitizing" of Washington, D.C. Nonetheless, the press dutifully carries such nonsensical articles as "Most U.S. Cities Are Taking No Special Measures to Curb Terrorism" (*New York Times*, 27 December 1983) and "Shadow of Terrorism Falls Across the U.S." (*New York Times*, 18 December 1983). The latter contains an absurd, if humorous, retailing of the "psychological toll on Government officials"—"State Department officials, who once coveted offices that faced the street, now discuss the chances of their getting injured if a truck jumped a barricade and exploded on the side of the building." Give us a break!

Perhaps the paranoia over at "State" stems from their misapprehension that everyone is as bloodminded and filthy as they are. Because when it comes to "state-supported terrorism," the U.S. has no competition worthy of the name. They'll use anybody for their dirty work—Nazis, the Mafia, international drug rings, anti-Castro Cuban *gusanos*. As if to underline how thoroughly cynical and hypocritical this "terrorism" gambit is—coming from the biggest international terrorist outfit on the planet, the U.S. government—yet another revelation of the Cold War Nazi spy ring used by American intelligence

has come to light. The case of one Robert Jan Verbelen—Belgian SS officer—follows last summer's exposure of similar use by U.S. "counterintelligence" of Klaus Barbie, the Gestapo chief known as "the butcher of Lyons." From the CIA plots to assassinate Fidel Castro to the carpet-bombing and napalming of Indochinese women and children; from the death squad regimes in Central America to the cop/FBI campaign of extermination against the Black Panther Party, state-supported terrorism is "Made in the U.S.A."

The assorted assassins, professional torturers, architects of mass murder and *coups d'état* working for the U.S. government have behind them the most powerful state apparatus in the world. Contrast the *USS New Jersey* to a Mercedes truck loaded with explosives. The terrorism of the imperialists is a given, i.e., the normal, day-in, day-out function of the state (with the inevitable "excesses" necessary to maintain their rule). The weaker forces employ violence—on an infinitely smaller scale—using the element of surprise and surreptitiousness. The bourgeois state labels as "terrorism" the use of violence in the service of causes of which they disapprove and/or violence which takes place outside their monopoly on the use of force.

At this particular juncture, there is also a domestic utility for the "terrorism" scare, namely creating the climate conducive to witchhunting and repression of political opponents of the government. The new FBI guidelines seek to do away with any distinction between "violent outlaws" and those who would lawfully exercise their right to organize protest and struggle against the current system. As an FBI spokesman put it: "With the new guidelines we look at people not just directly involved in the violence, but at peripheral groups providing support for it. We can cross organizational lines, without regard to what a group calls itself" (*New York Times*, 27 December 1983).

For Marxists, terrorism in the service of just causes may be defensible against bourgeois state repression, but is at utter variance with our strategy and methods

of struggle. As we stated in *Spartacist* No. 17-18 (August-September 1970):

"In its essence it [terrorism] constitutes a denial of Leninism, which is a projection of *the road to power* for the working class, a programmatic guide to action whose purpose is not to embody subjective satisfactions but to rip capitalist society up by the roots and substitute workers' control of a new social order."

And there is the question of the target: from the standpoint of the struggle of the international proletariat, the Marine HQ in Beirut was an appropriate target (the problem being that no one knows who did it). The blowing up of a civilian bus in Jerusalem was *not*. In the same vein, the struggle for the liberation of Ireland from the yoke of British imperialism is manifestly a just cause. But the Provisional IRA's methods of struggle are, as often as not, totally indefensible for Marxists. When the IRA *did* choose an appropriate target—that epitome of British imperialism, Earl Mountbatten of Burma in August, 1979—we explained:

"...while criticizing such individual terrorism as a misguided, ineffective act of despair, we defend against state repression those who were responsible for the death of the Earl. Likewise with those who ambushed the [British] paratroopers at Warrenpoint. Yet these actions stand in sharp contrast to the criminal *indiscriminate* terror which the IRA has also willingly engaged in over the past decade, including attacks on innocent Irish Protestant workers and British civilians.

"Even when the IRA confines its military targets to prominent symbols and representatives of imperialism like Mountbatten and the British army, revolutionaries still forthrightly oppose the strategy of individual terror which both leaves the working masses standing aside as passive spectators and provides the bourgeois state with excuses to shore up its repressive arsenal."

—"Mountbatten of Burma Blown Away," *Workers Vanguard* No. 239, 14 September 1979

The foundation of the Provos'—and the PLO's—false strategy and tactics is their respective *nationalist* programs, posing the struggle against national oppression as one between "good" and

"bad" peoples. But, in fact, it requires a united, working-class struggle against the imperialist oppressors as well as one's "own" national bourgeoisie to put an end to the national/ethnic oppression endemic to imperialism. An equitable world order can only be based on the abolition of exploitation—the rule of the capitalists—which is the basis of the nation-state.

The more any particular struggle passes into the hands of the conscious proletariat, the tendency, correspondingly, is to fight more directly and centrally against the *real* enemies of progressive social development. Christmas shoppers at a British department store, customers of a Protestant working-class pub, passengers in a Jerusalem bus: these are not the enemies of the just causes of either the Irish or Palestinian people. It is a view more appropriate to the fascistic death squads of El Salvador, who operate under the premise that "the only good one is a dead one." The Salvadoran leftist insurgents, on the other hand, who turn over government soldiers to the Red Cross unharmed have provided an effective incentive to mass desertion from the junta forces. The main weapon in the arsenal of the fight for socialism is not force *per se*, but the appeal to common class interests capable of splitting the ranks of the capitalist armed forces and of crossing national lines. Thus, the Bolsheviks' agitation within the Tsarist Russian army in World War I—and their policy of fraternization with the German rank-and-file soldiers, was key to the victory of the nearly bloodless October Revolution in 1917.

Comrade Trotsky wrote, in his *Terrorism and Communism*:

"Methods of compulsion and terrorisation down to the physical extirpation of its opponents have up to now advantaged, and continue to advantage in an infinitely higher degree the cause of reaction, as represented by the outworn exploiting classes, than they do the cause of historical progress, as represented by the proletariat. The jury of moralists who condemn 'terrorism' of whatever kind have their gaze fixed really on the revolutionary deeds of the persecuted who are seeking to set themselves free."

Certainly, Reagan's recent "discovery" of "state-supported terrorism" is a piece of imperialist hypocrisy whose purpose is to justify and maintain his own most powerful international terrorist conspiracy. ■

"peaceful coexistence" and "détente" with imperialism. They hope to salvage "détente" if only a Democrat would replace Reagan in the White House. But it's not the man, it's the class. Anti-Sovietism has been a *bipartisan* policy for U.S. imperialism ever since 1917. And so is Cold War II, declared by Democrat Jimmy Carter when the Red Army intervened against the Islamic feudal counterrevolutionaries in Afghanistan. Jesse Jackson—who supposedly represents the "left wing" of the Democratic Party—calls for "freezing," not even reducing, Reagan's present military budget, the largest in U.S. peacetime history. The bipartisan drive toward anti-Soviet World War III can only be stopped through workers revolution.

Disarm the Imperialists Through Workers Revolution!

U.S. imperialism is now engaged in three wars—Lebanon, Nicaragua and El Salvador—and all are going badly for the U.S. In Lebanon, U.S. forces find themselves in a bloody quagmire of communalist civil war and even the Pentagon brass want out of this no-win situation. Leftist insurgents are making mincemeat out of the U.S.-backed junta butchers in El Salvador. The Kissinger Commission report admits that without some drastic action "a sudden collapse is not inconceivable" (*New York Times*, 8 January).



Soviet marshal Nikolai Ogarkov.

Reagan's losing foreign adventures, from Central America to the Near East, open up opportunities to fight imperialist militarism from within what Che Guevara called the belly of the beast. This struggle is a *class* struggle, pitting the vast majority of the working class and oppressed—who have no interest in their masters' drive toward war—against the imperialist militarists. During the Vietnam War, we called for labor strikes against the war as well as for military victory to the National Liberation Front/North Vietnamese forces fighting U.S. imperialism. Today, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League campaign in the trade unions for

a labor boycott of all U.S. aid to the junta butchers, for hot-cargoing (refusing to handle) all military goods bound for El Salvador. We also demand "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftist Insurgents!" and "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!" With all wings of the bourgeoisie on a Cold War offensive at home and abroad, a key struggle is for the construction of an integrated, multi-racial workers party which will fight for the rights of the workers and all the oppressed against the capitalists and their twin parties—the Republicans and Democrats. The Tet Offensive put the last nail in Johnson's presidency during Vietnam. Today, U.S. imperialism's defeats abroad linked with class struggle against union-busting, capitalist austerity and racist terror at home can bring down Reagan and his nuclear madmen.

In the absence of a class-struggle perspective, popular reaction against Reagan's unrestrained militarism and warmongering will be exploited by the "liberal" wing of U.S. imperialism, the political heirs of Harry Truman of Hiroshima and John F. Kennedy of the Bay of Pigs and Vietnam.

Playing upon popular fear of nuclear war, many of these "liberal" imperialists (e.g., Mondale, Cranston) are now talking about a mutual "freeze" on more missiles. At best the "freeze" is meaningless. But for an influential section of the American ruling class, the "freeze" is intended to free up more Pentagon

money, which is not unlimited, for conventional weapons. These "liberal" Democratic Party reformers want a leaner, meaner military. Remember that the Democrats, using the CIA and "Alliance for Progress," turned Latin America into a wall-to-wall military dictatorship. It is no accident that two of the leading advocates of the "freeze" and "no first use" of nuclear weapons—Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy—were principal architects of and certifiable war criminals in the Vietnam War. Today their main push is to beef up NATO's conventional forces in Europe. But any plans based on the idea that a U.S.-Soviet confrontation in Europe—i.e., World War III—would not involve nuclear weapons is military utopianism.

The freezers argue that since a nuclear war will destroy mankind, the technology of war stands above the politics of war. In other words, since a nuclear war hurts everybody it is possible to build a classless disarmament movement. Ask any Vietnamese or Salvadoran worker whether they believe the Reagans, Kennedys and Rockefellers will give up their nuclear weapons—the ultimate means by which they intend to defend their oilfields and factories, yachts and gambling casinos. It is the American working class and its allies among the oppressed which has the power and the historical responsibility to disarm these international terrorists once and for all—Q.E.D.: revolution from within! ■

Young Spartacus

SL/SYL Win Retraction of Deadly Libel

We Beat the Moonies!

We stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C.—and now we've stopped the vicious attempt by the sinister Sun Myung Moon ultrarightist cult to set us up for cop terror in the wake of that anti-racist victory. Self-styled "Messiah" Moon thinks revolutionary Marxists are "the Great Satan" but we forced his mouthpiece *Washington Times* to retract its murderous libel against the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. This is a victory not only for the SL/SYL but equally for all the 5,000 participants in the militant Labor/Black

Mobilization which put a stop to the KKK's plans to march in the nation's capital on 27 November 1982.

On 14 June 1983 we brought a libel suit against Moon's Times-Tribune Corp., owner of the daily *Washington*

Times. The suit charged that the *Washington Times*'s 30 November 1982 article, headlined "Left-wing group linked to D.C. riot," had maliciously and falsely libeled the SL/SYL as "provoking violence" against the police

Burton Berinsky/Newsweek

during the anti-Klan protest. As a result of our lawsuit, the Moonie paper was forced to acknowledge: "We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day." This key statement of retraction appeared in the *Washington Times* on 26 December 1983 as part of the paper's introduction to a letter submitted by us to set the record straight on the facts of the anti-KKK demonstration (see reprint below). (The Moonie paper rejected our initial letter, which had set out the political context of the Washington demonstration, including key statements on Marxism vs. terrorism, key slogans like "Finish the Civil War" and a description of the cop riot against participants in a separate, smaller, reformist rally held the same day by another "anti-Klan" group.)

The Moonies' libel against the Labor/Black Mobilization and its SL/SYL organizers had targeted us for the kind of murderous treatment that destroyed the Black Panther Party, viewed in an earlier period as the vanguard of militant struggle for black people's rights, in a hail of police bullets. "This was a libel that kills," SL general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein noted in announcing the settlement: "In falsely targeting the SL/SYL as would-be cop-killers, the Moonies were trying to set up the organization's members and supporters to be shot first and questioned later. We took up the suit in self-defense, to protect not only our good name, but the right of anyone to organize against Klan/Nazi terror without being subject to vicious frame-ups."

What happened in Washington on November 27 was that the Klan was stopped by thousands of black people, trade unionists, leftists and others who knew, often from first-hand experience, what deadly racist terror the KKK nightriders intend for them. With the "mainstream" bourgeois political terrain having shifted far to the right in a period of anti-Communist war drive and racist "rollback," the KKK had figured the time was ripe for a Klan victory parade in the nation's capital, for the first time since 1925. And Reagan had pledged enough police "protection" to shove this provocation down the throats of black D.C. residents. But the size of the anti-Klan mobilization and the determination of its participants to "Stop the Klan!" prevailed over the hooded cross-burners and their backhanded patron in the White House. It was the sight of thousands of militant blacks, led by communists, triumphantly marching the route the Klan had intended to march that sent the Moonie ultrarightists into a frenzy.

The only "violence" in Washington on November 27 was provoked by the police. The size, discipline and impressive labor backing of the Labor/Black Mobilization kept the cops on their good behavior, but at the smaller rally held that day by the "All-Peoples

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"Satan": 1
"God": 0

Letters

The Washington Times

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The Labor-Black Mobilization march story

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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