

# Young Spartacus

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## Reagan Reaction Targets Blacks, Unions, USSR

The "Reagan years" of racist reaction are underway. A certified right-winger and his administration—perhaps less personally crazy than the Nixon "team" but further to the right socially and politically—are assuming the top posts of American imperialism. The candidate who said Jimmy ("MX missile") Carter was soft on Communism now has his finger on the nuclear trigger. The hero of the "Moral Majority" repressive puritans now occupies the "bully pulpit" in the White House. The man the Ku Klux Klan enthusiastically endorsed is now poised to swing his budget-slashing ax at the few remaining government social programs and what's left of the legacy of the civil rights movement, to bury busing for good and to call a final armistice in the Democrats' mostly-forgotten "war on poverty."

Black Americans know what the Reagan candidacy means: they are big targets—along with the labor movement—of the new president. Reagan said that he would have signed the anti-busing amendment Carter threatened to veto. His ex-Dixiecrat ally Strom Thurmond talks about reversing the Voting Rights Act and resurrecting the "states' rights" rhetoric of old-fashioned Jim Crow racism. Reagan's urban affairs advisers call for eliminating rent control, food stamps and the minimum wage—attacks which directly target the black ghettos. Reagan's only "solution" to massive black unemployment (a black college graduate is more likely to be jobless than a white high school dropout) is a "sub-minimum" wage for inner-city teenagers.

The Reagan years might be said to have begun on November 17 in Greensboro, when an all-white jury acquitted the KKK/Nazi killers who murdered five leftists and trade unionists in broad daylight (see accompanying article). The Greensboro verdict, a virtual "license to kill" for the Klan and Nazis, was completely in the spirit of the right-wing political shift indicated by Reagan's victory.

Not only on the fascist fringe is the sinister profile of the Reagan presidency being defined. In his most sinister cabinet appointment to date, Reagan named General Alexander Haig secretary of state. The liberals are wailing about his stonewalling as Nixon's chief-of-staff during the final days of the Watergate White House. Haig's real crimes, however, were committed as Kissinger's number one "national security" aide: the Christmas bombing of Hanoi in 1972, the CIA "destabilization" of Allende's Chile and, most of all, the genocidal terror bombing of Cambodia, a "secret" war which produced 600,000 casualties and 3.4 million refugees and from which the population

of that country never recovered.

Haig demonstrates Reagan's commitment to a heightened Cold War drive, begun by Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. As we pointed out at the time, Carter's "human rights" hot air was a transient bourgeois hypocrisy, aimed at morally and militarily rearming the U.S. for military interventions abroad and targeting the

Pope John Wojtyla to aid capitalist restorationist forces in Poland, dragging their somewhat reluctant NATO allies along. William Safire, ex-Nixon speech writer turned columnist, pursued the logic of Reaganite foreign policy with an open threat to the USSR: "The last time anybody invaded Poland, a World War began." If the Soviets invade Poland, Safire wrote, the U.S.

he will surely do with bipartisan support. But carrying through on his contradictory campaign promises for the economy will be impossible. In reality there's no way in the world he can slash taxes, drastically boost the military budget and get away with it without giving inflation such a massive push upward that consumers will have to take shopping bags filled with dollar bills to buy groceries.

Nobody voted for depression, inflation and unemployment on November 4. In fact, most people gave those as the reasons they voted against Carter. The *New York Times* recently noted that the Democrats can now enjoy the advantages of being the party in opposition: they do not have to take any responsibility for anything and get to blame the continued decline of American capitalism on the incumbent. So Kennedy, despite the liberals' present state of defeat and disarray, is trying to rebuild the shattered New Deal coalition of blacks, labor and ethnic Catholics.

Kennedy is aided by the reformist left in his attempt to resuscitate the bourgeois party of "the lesser evil." Spouting the tired old "fight the right" slogans, Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee is doing its best to revive the traditional Democratic alliance. The Communist Party is likewise engaged, still pushing the dangerous illusion of "détente"—definitively proved a Stalinist pipe-dream by the saber rattling of the Carter regime over Afghanistan—and rendered ludicrous by the election of warmongering Reagan. Black "leaders" like Jesse Jackson and the SCLC's Joseph Lowery are also in there pitching for black support to the Democrats, while Ralph Abernathy and Hosea Williams actually backed Reagan.

Jimmy Carter and the Democrats paved the way for the Reagan reaction with their own anti-labor, anti-black, warmongering policies. It was a Democratic Congress that killed off most of the poverty programs, passed anti-labor legislation, cut back social spending and upped the arms budget. It was Carter himself, with his phony "human rights" crusade, who began the latest round of Cold War anti-Sovietism. It was Carter who "discovered" the "Soviet combat brigade" in Cuba and who called the Olympic boycott over Afghanistan.

The anti-Soviet drive of U.S. imperialism has nothing to do with "human rights" for Soviet workers or national self-determination for "captive nations." It is the ideological and military expression of the world's most powerful bourgeoisie's fear of the

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### For Labor/Black Mobilizations to SMASH THE KLAN!

#### Hundreds of Students Protest Greensboro Verdict

Last month an all-white jury in Greensboro, North Carolina acquitted the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi killers who on 3 November 1979 shot to death five anti-Klan demonstrators in broad daylight, as horrified spectators and TV cameras looked on. The verdict is a license for fascist terrorists to intimi-

Soviet Union in particular. No more "human rights" rhetoric now—Reagan's boys on the "transition team" practically suggested that the El Salvadoran junta gun down the leaders of the leftist-moderate opposition. Even if it contains no brash Russia-hating Polish-nationalist Pilsudskiites, the Reagan gang of right-wingers will be no less fervent than Brzezinski in joining with

date and murder.

The victims of the Greensboro massacre, supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP), were targeted because they were "reds," anti-racist militants and union organizers. Every socialist, every black, every trade unionist should have understood the Klan/Nazi's escalating race-terror as a deadly danger to us all.

Immediately following the shooting, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), working with militant auto workers, initiated a

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should blockade Cuba. "The possibility of a Soviet Berlin blockade must be considered. This is heavy stuff; it could all get out of hand" (*New York Times*, 11 December).

#### Carter, Liberals Paved the Way

Ronald Reagan promised to build up imperialism's deadly arsenal. And that

**Oust South End Apologists for Klan/Nazi Terror! see p.6**

## EDITORIAL NOTES

# Drop All Charges Against Bernardine Dohrn!

Bernardine Dohrn and Bill Ayers, among the last of the well-known Weathermen sought for years by the FBI, turned themselves in to Cook County officials in Chicago December 3, voluntarily ending their eleven-year stretch underground. Weatherman, a former faction of SDS, decided to go underground at a "wargasm" conference in Flint over Christmas 1969—not to escape a host of riot charges, as the bourgeois press claims—but to better carry out their plan of smashing the state through "armed struggle now," mainly via symbolic bombings. As they sang to the tune "White Christmas," "I'm dreaming of a white riot... May you learn to struggle and fight/or the world will off you 'cause you're white."

Many were rich white kids (Ayers' father was chairman of the board of Consolidated Edison) and the Weathermen turned to terrorism in a frenzy of guilt-tripping and idiotic adventurism. In the end, the only people they actually killed were themselves, in the accidental explosion of their basement bomb factory in a Greenwich Village townhouse. They believed that revolts in the "Third World" and by "Third World" people in the U.S. would smash imperialism, writing off the working class and whites generally as "bought off," as did

many other New Leftists. (Dohrn at one point even went so far as to ecstatically hail the crazed Charles Manson "family" for killing Sharon Tate and her friends, a despicable act she later repudiated.)

The Spartacus Youth League's (SYL) predecessor, the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus (then a faction in SDS), strongly opposed Weatherman's petty-bourgeois tactics of despair, but at the same time defended them against the bourgeois state's repression—unlike most of the left, which out of either petty factional hatred or a yearning for bourgeois respectability condemned them out of hand as simply police provocateurs. But in spite of their bizarre brand of anarchism which bordered at times on a sick and nihilistic worship of violence for its own sake, the Weathermen were bitter enemies of imperialism. They thought they were "building communism," and although they were very wrong, they were part of the left.

Weatherman was by no means the only group engaging in "revolutionary violence" in that period—even the most conservative estimates state that across campuses in 1970 at least one bombing occurred *every day*—mainly of ROTC, Selective Service induction centers, and also at hated symbols of imperialist

America: banks, corporate headquarters, and so on. It was a period of mass unrest and protest as Nixon invaded Cambodia, escalating the Vietnam War, and the state turned its guns on its own children. The National Guard and police slaughtered ten students in 1970 alone: four at Kent State in May; two at Jackson State in Mississippi; two at Kansas University, Lawrence; one at the University of Wisconsin and one at Santa Barbara—besides murdering Black Panther Fred Hampton in his bed in 1969.

Today Bernardine Dohrn is 39, the mother of two children, and faces charges carrying up to five years in prison (all charges against Ayers were dropped years ago). No doubt Dohrn hopes to get her case through before Reagan comes to power and the winds of reaction hit full force. But unlike other aging New Leftists coming in from the cold, Dohrn has not knuckled under. "I regret not at all our efforts to side with the forces of liberation. The nature of the system has not changed," she said at a news conference after her arraignment. In October, former fugitive Weatherwoman Cathy Wilkerson similarly maintained principle and was given three years in prison. No, the bloody imperialist system has not



Breakout  
Bernardine Dohrn, 1967

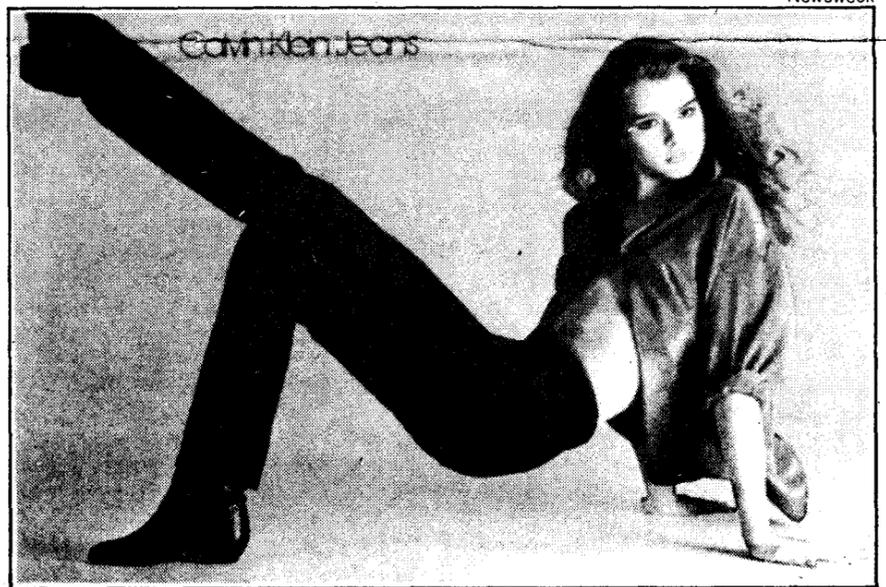
changed. One week after Dohrn and Ayers turned themselves in, the *New York Times* approvingly reported that former acting FBI director L. Patrick Grey, under indictment for "dirty tricks" against the Weathermen, their alleged supporters and personal friends and family, had all charges dropped against him—and yesteryear's imperialist mass murderers are again on the march. Abolish the FBI! Drop the charges against Bernardine Dohrn and the Weathermen! Free Cathy Wilkerson! ■

## "Progressive" Student Conference: Left Wing of the Moral Majority?

The November 14-16 "Progressive Student Conference" at Kent State University had been billed as a step toward a "Progressive Student Network" to unify the nation's campus movements, featuring such people as the ubiquitous Dave Dellinger to conjure up the protest spirit of the 1960s. But even a vintage 1960s' radical activist would be repelled by the anti-communism which characterized the conference.

First, there was a witchhunt—the political controversy of the conference. The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) was excluded from the conference by a motion and a goon squad. Why? For being "disruptive"—i.e., for arguing for our own political viewpoint embodied

in slogans like "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan." This exclusion contrasted sharply with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). In order for SDS to become the mass radical student movement of the 1960s it had to break with Cold War social democracy represented by Michael Harrington and drop its anti-communist exclusion clause, inviting all left groups to join. Today, Harrington with his Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) is still witchhunting the communists. Now he is aided by the Peking sycophants of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) (CP-ML). They are following the Peking/Washington axis to its ominous conclusion by supporting the



Newsweek  
Spoiled maybe, but "ruined"?

new Cold War witchhunt to fight "Soviet social-imperialism."

The rest of the conference was a parade of burnt-out New Leftists and

aspiring student-government hacks. Former SDS leader and current CP-ML honcho Carl Davidson told the workshop on "The New Right" that "it is progressive to worry about the breakup of the family and pornography." Perhaps they might recruit Anita Bryant or Nancy Reagan?! Sounding like right-wing Baptist demagogue Jerry Falwell, ex-SDSer Nick Unger denounced actress/model Brooke Shields' sexually suggestive commercials for designer jeans. He railed that 15-year-old Shields is "ruined" and stated that he is "appalled" that "a ruined teenager... is being held up as a model for American youth." But in fact the only thing appalling about these commercials is that they have been censored by the networks!

The conference made clear its disdain for the working class by defeating a motion to allow campus workers to join its newly-founded "progressive" network. In addition the conference deleted the *entire* resolution of the minorities workshop because it contained the phrase "anti-capitalist." Let there be no mistake—there were *no* anti-capitalists there! ■

## From Bra-Burning to Book-Burning

MADISON—On November 20, 250 feminists chanting "Pornography is the theory, rape is the practice" and "two, four, six, eight, we won't help you masturbate" picketed "The Pub," a local bar giving out free beer as a promotion for *Oui* magazine. That this stupid feminist moralism should flourish in Madison's petty-bourgeois college community isn't surprising, but it is disgusting—and dangerous. On October 9 Madison's Women Against Pornography group held a rally of 1,500 to "take back the night," at which a lynch mob atmosphere was whipped up by reading a description of a rapist who had struck the week before (tall, clean-shaven, black) and taking a collection for a bounty reward to capture

him!

Rape is a horribly frightening and violent crime, and women must have the right to defend themselves against the violence unleashed by sick individuals. But vigilante campaigns and this \$1,500 license to hunt black men isn't going to stop it. Instead, given the pervasively racist nature of American society, such vigilantism can only degenerate into lynch mobs.

Further, pornography is *not* the source of violence against women, as D.L. Reissner, a member of the editorial board of *Women and Revolution*, explained at a forum sponsored by the Spartacus Youth League here December 6. The forum's title, "From Bra-Burning to Book-Burning: Feminists Join the 'Moral

Majority's' Anti-Pornography Crusade," created a sensation, provoking a guest editorial in the campus *Daily Cardinal* which attacked the SYL as "wishy-washy moderates" who have moved rightward. But as Reissner pointed out, it is the petty-bourgeois feminists who have swung hard to the right in this reactionary anti-porn campaign.

Some Madison feminists are now even embracing Anita Bryant. Poor Anita is just an "emotionally battered wife" and we must "reach out to her now, and make her path easier" wrote Sarah Dick of the *Feminist Connection* (October 1980). What will the anti-porn feminists do next—burn adulteresses and "loose" women at the stake?

## SWP Tails Grenada Nationalists

# Socialism on One Isle?

Is the *Militant* now being ghostwritten by the *National Lampoon*? Are the leaders of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) trying to set up an offshore bank? Do Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters and Andrew Pulley want a Caribbean hideaway to escape to, Robert Vesco style, if things get too tough? We don't know, but we have noticed the SWP's curious fascination of late with "revolutionary Grenada." An SWP Political Committee report was entitled, "Grenada: A Workers and Farmers Government with a Revolutionary Proletarian Leadership" ([SWP] *International Internal Information Bulletin*, September 1980). Grenada is a tiny West Indian island, the smallest independent territory in the Western Hemisphere, where the local dictator was overthrown in March 1979 by a left-wing nationalist outfit calling itself the New Jewel Movement (NJM). Okay, but why all the hubbub about a revolutionary trinity of Cuba, Nicaragua... and Grenada?

We are expected to believe that this miniscule island thrown up by an unassuming Caribbean volcano, the nutmeg capital of the world, is now the flashpoint of world socialist revolution. The *Militant* is even trying to compete with the *Guardian* as a chic radical travel broker:

"Picture this: beaches with pure white sand, a sea so clear and blue you can see the bottom fifteen feet below. Think of swimming next to exotic fish you've only seen in an aquarium. Look at your houseplants and imagine they've grown into bushes—flowering bushes—that cover the mountains.  
"That's Grenada."

A Club Med ad? No, it's SWPer Diane Wang writing on "A Beautiful Island, A Liberated People." Trotskyism it ain't.

### Coca-Cola "Socialism"

On 13 March 1979, 46 armed NJM cadres seized the Grenadian army barracks and the radio station while prime minister Sir Eric Gairy was out of the country. A revolution "for work, for food, for decent housing and health services" was proclaimed, and undoubtedly widely supported by the population. Gairy was notorious throughout the region for corruption and gangsterism, typified by his personal praetorian guard—known variously as the "Volunteers of Human Rights," "Night Ambush Squad" and "Mongoose Gang"—which was largely recruited from petty thugs in Grenada's jails. He was one more "Papa Doc" of the type installed by Britain throughout the Caribbean as its island dominions

were granted formal "independence."

A 1950s trade-union leader, Gairy gained popularity by leading strikes to secure better wages and working conditions for agricultural workers. But he soon proved his usefulness to the British colonialists in controlling the discontent of the population, and for his services he was knighted by the British crown. After independence (in 1974), Gairy was liked well enough by the Nixon administration and the Chilean junta, who gave him military aid.

So who are the new "proletarian revolutionaries" being hailed by the SWP? At first glance, the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) of Grenada has a fairly radical-looking veneer—it rescinded Gairy's anti-labor legislation, is encouraging union organizing, is seeking to boost agricultural production and extend educational and health services. It has held mass rallies at which luminaries from Cuba and Nicaragua have appeared, denounced U.S. imperialism at various times and received aid from Cuba and the USSR. In praising "revolutionary Grenada" the SWP writes: "The Grenadians are seeking to achieve what the Bolsheviks taught..." ([SWP] *III B*, September 1980).

Who are they kidding? In addition to propagating the fantastic illusion that proletarian revolution is even possible within the confines of this rural islet, the SWP takes the most left-wing statements by NJM leaders at face value.

It is the same refrain sung by every other "Third World" "progressive" petty-bourgeois (and even bourgeois) nationalist or Stalinist misleader—they all want socialism... later (i.e., never). And the NJM has given ample evidence that in the meantime it will discipline the workers: in what must have been a major class battle for Grenada, the PRG stepped in to arbitrate a strike last year at the Coca-Cola bottling plant. NJM leader, Selwyn Strachan, comments:

"It was not a question of us taking over full control of the factory. It was a question of trying to get a settlement and up to now, although the factory has been run by the government, the ownership still remains in the hands of W.E. Julian and Company. All that we are concerned about is getting the industrial matter settled. Once that is settled, they can continue running the factory."

—*Intercontinental Press*,  
19 November

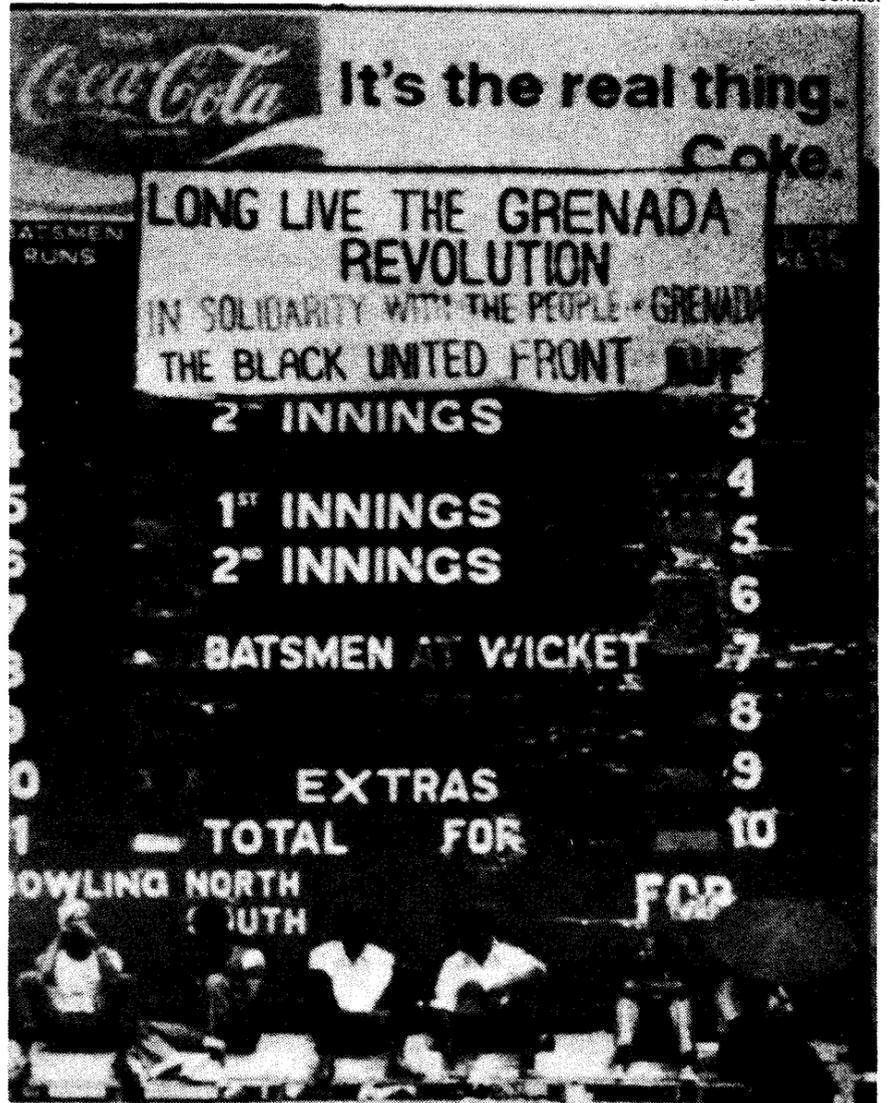
This is how capitalist development is bypassed in "revolutionary Grenada"!

The *Washington Post* (10 August), hardly known for glossing over real or imagined assaults on private property, noted in an article titled, "Grenada, At Home Fails to Follow Up Its Leftist Rhetoric":

"Few of the usual signposts of leftist transformation are in evidence. There has been no expropriation of private business or land by the state.

"As far as the leftist militancy of the government, 'there is a definite contradiction' between what Grenada's leaders say to the world and what they do at home, acknowledged Maurice Bishop, 36, the prime minister. 'It would be childish to deny.'"

As if to rebuke the SWP's claim that they are proletarian revolutionaries, the NJM has applied for membership in the Second International of Helmut Schmidt and Michael Harrington. In reality the NJM is not even a reformist working-class tendency like the social democrats. They are petty-bourgeois nationalists who look to Michael Manley's Jamaican People's National Party or the Dominican Revolutionary Party, both bourgeois populist parties



Grenada: is this "the real thing"?

that are linked to the Second International.

### Club Med "Trotskyism"

So why is the SWP so enamored of "revolutionary Grenada"? This bizarre "Grenada high" is mainly a by-product of the SWP's adulation of Fidel Castro, who wholeheartedly backs Bishop's "revolution" just as he did Manley's Jamaica. This shameless support for Cuban Stalinist foreign policy (including apologizing for Havana's aid to Ethiopian dictator Mengistu while he was massacring Eritrean independence fighters) is supposedly a little radical veneer on its otherwise deadly dull social-democratic reformism. Besides, even some American liberals figure that Washington could make a deal with Castro. Didn't Andrew Young call Cuban troops in Africa a "factor for stability"?

Meanwhile, the SWP rejects the Trotskyists' unconditional defense of the USSR against imperialism. "Sure we defend a workers state," a bright-eyed YSAer will say. "We support Cuba 100 percent, and now Nicaragua and Grenada, too." Significantly, about the only place where the SWP differs with Cuban policy is in tailing social-democratic opinion and anti-Soviet dissidents in Poland.

And they leave you with the impression that the MX missiles are aimed at Havana, not Moscow. Thus, the SWP's May resolution on "The Coming Showdown in the Caribbean" doesn't once mention the USSR's role as economic and military guarantor of the Cuban deformed workers state against Yankee imperialism. Yet when Reagan threatened to blockade Cuba last year it was over Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, not over Grenada. Of course, this is not to deny that U.S. imperialism might attempt another Caribbean mili-

tary adventure like its invasion of Guatemala in 1953 and the Dominican Republic in 1965. In that case, Marxists would be for unconditional military defense of the semi-colonial territory under attack.

A while back we noted the SWP/YSA dreams of becoming the U.S.-Cuban Friendship Society. But for that plum they have to compete with everyone from the Communist Party to the remnants of the Venceremos Brigade. Now they've gone at least part way. Recent reports by Andrew Pulley indicate that the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society is substantially run out of SWP offices in New York!

### Proletarian Revolution and the Caribbean

On the travel posters, the romantic islets of the Lesser Antilles look idyllic, but life for the black populations of Grenada and other West Indian tourist "paradises" bears little resemblance to this picture. There may be an abundance of palm trees and tropical scenery, but there isn't much in the way of jobs. In Jamaica, which has a little bauxite to augment its agricultural exports, unemployment has never fallen below 20 percent in the last decade; in Grenada fully half the population was jobless when Gairy fell. This economic dead end is reflected in the fact that twice as many Grenadians live abroad, mostly in New York City and Trinidad, as remain on the island. And Grenada has a booming economy compared to unfortunate island "nations" like Dominica which lack even beaches to attract Yankee tourists.

Without the economic basis to coalesce even the illusion of a viable economy, the result has been a massive "lumpenproletarianization" of the West Indian population. This tendency can be

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## Young Spartacus

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# Protest Racist Justice in Greensboro!



## Smash The Klan!...

(continued from page 1)

protest rally in downtown Detroit. On 10 November 1979, 500 black and white workers and leftists defied Detroit's black mayor, who had threatened to arrest any demonstrators, to say: "Detroit is a Labor/Black Town, Not a Klan/Nazi Town."

Faced with a media campaign which sought to portray the Greensboro victims as "extremist" participants in a "shootout," the rest of the left criminally abstained. The CWP protested the murder of its comrades, but pursued a policy of active, physical hostility to other efforts to publicize and protest the fascist murder spree.

The announcement a year later of the acquittal of the killers was again a challenge that could not be ignored. On campuses across the country, the SYL took an active role in united-front protests, in order to demonstrate our outrage and explain to students our labor/black-centered strategy to defeat fascism. While the liberals accepted the Greensboro verdict more in sorrow than in anger, the SYL called for militant protest action against Jim Crow "justice" which had granted an official seal of approval to racist murder. And this year—with Klan terror visibly on the rise throughout the country, with black students anxiously debating what the election of Reagan portends for them—we found a broader response among students and leftists.

The united-front demonstrations initiated by the SYL at San Francisco Bay Area campuses were the largest, reflecting the SL/SYL's work in organizing last spring's rally of 1,200 which stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday at the SF Civic Center on April 19. The SYL's call to "Demonstrate Against Killer Klan/Nazi Acquittal—Protest Racist 'Justice' in Greensboro" mobilized over 300 at the University of California (Berkeley) and nearly 200 at SF State.

Building on the success of the April 19 demonstration—a powerful show of labor solidarity against the fascist menace endorsed by officials of 28 Bay Area unions—the SYL obtained support from numerous campus and city unionists for the campus protests against the Greensboro verdict. Among the endorsers were five union local presidents from postal, public employees and machinists, other local officials from transit, longshore and electrical, and rank-and-file caucuses from telephone and longshore/warehouse. Also endorsing were two black newspaper editors, Robert Allen (*Black Scholar*) and Carlton Godlett (*Sun Reporter*).

The endorsement of Communist Party luminary Angela Davis, a professor in Black Studies at SF State, was also fallout from the April demonstration, as the CP had to take a lot of flak from its periphery for its sectarian

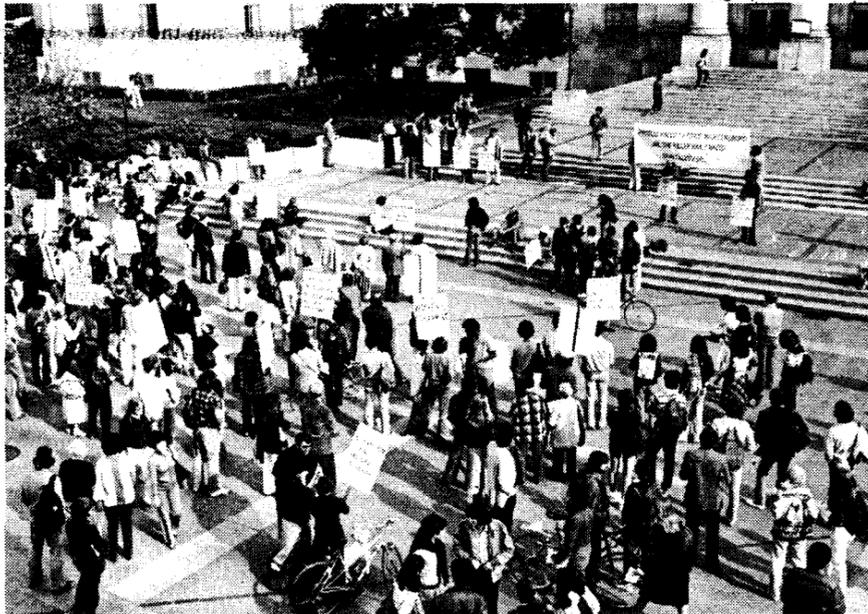
abstention from that action. Davis probably had to endorse, but she didn't have to like it; indeed, far from mobilizing her students in protest against the Greensboro verdict, Davis did not even attend the rally herself!

Other endorsers at SF State included the Women's Center and the American Indian, Chicano, Asian and gay/lesbian groups. Given this broad support only a handful of anti-communist sectarians stood aside, including Stokely Carmichael's AAPRP. The local anti-draft group, which doesn't take sides in imperialism's war drive against the USSR, couldn't bring itself to take a stand against the Klan/Nazis either. Casting about for excuses, one of its

SYL proposed five slogans for the demonstration: "Protest racist 'justice' in Greensboro!" "Jail the killer Klan/Nazis!" "Drop the charges against Greensboro anti-fascist demonstrators!" "Mass labor/black/Latino action to smash Klan/Nazi terror!" "For the right of armed self-defense against racist terror!" The National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee (NAROC) objected to the slogan for mass labor/minority action, while the CWP opposed the demand for self-defense, on the grounds that the black preachers they were contacting would never agree to it.

The SL/SYL expressed willingness to work for a demonstration called on the basis of the remaining three demands. But the CWP insisted on adding the slogan, "Stop racist attacks on Bay Area minorities." Even aside from its

Young Spartacus Photo



SYL-initiated anti-Klan protest in Berkeley, 20 November.

leaders even claimed the SYL called the protest "only so the FBI could take pictures of leftists."

The Berkeley rally was endorsed by the African Student Association, the campus Chicano group, a B'nai Brith officer, the Oakland-Alameda Gray Panthers and Alameda County Supervisor John George. The CWP, having backed away from the idiot sectarianism which underlined its isolation in the aftermath of the Greensboro massacre, sent a speaker. Not so the Young Socialist Alliance, which did finally endorse at the very last minute.

Unintentional contrast was provided by a subsequent CWP-initiated demonstration in Oakland. In numerous planning meetings, the CWP showed that its gangsterist sectarianism and its present "unity" kick are only the two sides of the classic Stalinist coin. With its talk of "uniting everyone," the CWP's fundamental orientation is to unite with the supposedly "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie on a popular-front program acceptable to the latter. In the planning meetings, the SL/

ludicrous parochialism, the slogan begs the question of *who* is supposed to stop the attacks. It soon became clear that the slogan's purpose was precisely its implicit appeal to the capitalist state to "stop" the fascists by "banning the Klan." Thus the CWP appeals to the SF Board of Supervisors to ban the fascists, while the NAROC thinks a Justice Department investigation of Greensboro will stop racist attacks. The SL/SYL then declined to endorse.

The demonstration itself, held December 6 after three weeks of "planning," brought out at most 125 people. Fully a third had been mobilized by the SL/SYL. The invited Democrat didn't show. Not even a black preacher. The SL/SYL, which had the largest contingent, declined as simply an insult the offer of one minute (!) speaking time.

The SYL-initiated demonstration at the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) drew 150 participants. In addition to a half-dozen professors and a former editor of the *Johannesburg Post*, the endorsers included the Black Student Union and the local chapters of the

National Lawyers Guild, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and YAWF. Speakers included an auto worker from UAW Local 600, a representative of Science for the People and a Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG) spokesman. The latter's lengthy remarks were mostly an attack on the SL/SYL. According to him, the slogan "Jail the Killer Klan/Nazis" is really a veiled appeal to the state to ban the fascists and the call for armed self-defense is unimportant "at a time when gun control is the exception." His main point was the claim that:

"The SL has recently tried to present the view that right now is the point of ultimate confrontation with the fascists. That is a classic cheap trick for trying to scare people into joining a left organization.

This is not the first time the RWG has belittled the danger of Klan/Nazi violence. In fact, even many liberals have become alarmed at the way the fascist groups are mushrooming, at their increasing boldness. As we have insisted, the Klan and Nazis are the fascistic fringe of increasingly overt capitalist official policy: anti-Communist militarism abroad, racism and union-busting at home. The line that the fascists need not be taken seriously while they are still small is the classic excuse for inaction.

Two professors brought their classes to the SYL-organized protest at the University of Illinois (Circle Campus). Endorsers included the Women's Studies Program and the Union for Puerto Rican Students, two lecturers in Afro-American Studies, SEIU officials and Bill Hampton, brother of the Black Panther leader murdered by the Chicago cops/FBI. About 150 students heard a steel worker call for militant labor/black mobilizations against the paramilitary right-wing groups whose "program" is extermination for blacks and other minorities, unionists and leftists. Finley Campbell, a prominent spokesman for Progressive Labor's anti-racism front group, addressed the rally and commended the SL/SYL for organizing it, neglecting to motivate or even mention his group's refusal to endorse.

The Black Student Organization for Communication (BSOC) followed up its refusal to endorse the protest by a slanderous letter to the campus paper claiming the SYL "made up" the name of a BSOC member to endorse the rally and made "erroneous usage" of the names of black professors who endorsed. The BSOC letter

"questioned why as Black Students, we would be asked to endorse a rally against the Klan/Nazis when White people start getting shot, when white students have not had rallies denouncing the 50 million Africans who died in slave trade..." (*Illini*, 24 November)

An SYL leaflet issued in response pointed out that we had secured written endorsements which we had offered to show the BSOC. We even offered them a speaker at the rally so they could state their position but they declined, evidently recognizing it would be political

# CWP Greensboro Anti-Klan Conference

## Labor/Black Defense vs. Pop Front "Unity"

GREENSBORO, North Carolina, 6 December—On the heels of an all-white jury's infamous "not guilty" verdict which freed five KKK and Nazi members, the executioners of the Greensboro massacre a year ago, approximately 300 anti-fascist activists assembled here this weekend for "an Educational and Organizing Conference" on "Government Repression of Human Rights and the Rise of the Klan."

Attendance by organizationally unaffiliated militants, even from the Greensboro area, was small, with the vast majority of the participants belonging to various leftist, anti-fascist, anti-racist, student and religious organizations and committees. Of the 1,000 demonstrators, largely black North Carolina A&T students, who marched in protest right after the acquittal, not one came to this conference. But for those who hoped that the conference would hammer out a militant program for fighting fascist terror, the disappointment was not in the turnout but in the adoption of a class-collaborationist "strategy" which cannot stop the KKK and Nazis.

The overwhelming majority of the participants voted to form an ongoing "national anti-fascist type people's organization," and called for a march on Washington on January 20, Ronald Reagan's inauguration day. The group voted to "work to unite the broadest forces to focus our collective will and strength in the struggle against fascism." But by "broadest forces" however, the coalition explicitly means to include the class enemy. The Communist Workers Party (CWP), whose members were the victims of the Greensboro massacre, played the leading role in forming the Anti-Klan Conference Coalition. The coalition was endorsed by Parren J.

Mitchell, Democratic Party congressman, and by Baltimore City Jail Warden Calvin Lightfoot, thereby precluding the endorsement of any organization genuinely committed to the proletarian class struggle. Moreover, the coalition's newly-elected Task Force includes a

always a strategy for defeat (witness the Spanish Civil War and Chile, 1973), for the CWP to turn to this strategy now is what might be called inopportune opportunism.

The political terrain in the U.S. has shifted to the right: the Democrats, the

quick to abandon their black and labor constituencies as the ruling class has made it clear that the few gains of blacks and the working class must be sacrificed to its drive for economic austerity and the rearmament of U.S. imperialism. Liberals do not see that the CWP's adventurist talk and tactics are in the service of an opportunist strategy. While liberals deplore the Greensboro massacre, they are the perpetrators of the slander that it was a "shoot-out between extremists." Blacks are not going to find this small potatoes 1980s version of the failed liberal/black alliance of the '60s very attractive either.

What the CWP was willing to sell out in order to consummate its popular front became apparent when the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) held its workshop on mobilizing labor to stop the fascists, attended by some 50 people including about two dozen CWP supporters. The CWP was so eager to disappear the class struggle that the SL/SYL and its supporters were the only people at the conference to initiate such a workshop, which featured panelists Ritchie Bradley, a laid-off auto worker with ten years seniority and a member of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 (Mahwah, New Jersey); Leo Harris, a "coalition" supporter and candidate for president of Miami Teamsters Local 769; and Mark Lance of the National Maritime Union.

The SL/SYL workshop put forward a motion calling for the mobilization of the trade-union movement, blacks and other minorities against the fascists; for no reliance on the capitalist government in fighting the Klan/Nazis; and for the right of armed self-defense against racist terror (see box this issue). The CWP opposed the motion affirming the basic democratic right of armed self-defense (included in the Bill of Rights), arguing that this was a "personal," not a political, matter! And this after the Greensboro massacre in which the cops conspired with the fascists, and the anti-fascist demonstrators were left defenseless. The CWP's message to the liberal bourgeois forces with which it wants to ally is clear: we will oppose the measures necessary to defeat the fascist terrorists and will help keep blacks and labor disarmed, disorganized and under the thumb of the ruling class, all in the name of classless "unity."

The CWP was no doubt disturbed by

*continued on page 9*

### Resolution to the Anti-Klan Conference

**Whereas:**

The KKK and Nazis have demonstrated in action in Greensboro and Chattanooga and in countless other bloody attacks across the country that they are the mortal enemies of blacks, all minorities, labor and the left.

**And whereas:**

The capitalists' cops and courts consistently defended and covered up for the fascist killers while victimizing anti-fascist militants.

**And whereas:**

Small group confrontations with the KKK and Nazis are easily defeated by the combined forces of the fascists and their inevitable defenders—the police.

**And whereas:**

In contrast, two mass mobilizations of trade unionists, blacks and other minorities, in Detroit in November, 1979 and in San Francisco in April, 1980, prevented the fascists from rallying to organize racist terror in these cities. These victories show that organized labor, acting in concert with blacks and other minorities, has the social power to smash the fascists.

**And whereas:**

The Republican and Democratic parties,

implementing ever-more savage economic austerity programs, have targeted for destruction even the minimal gains of the civil rights and labor movements such as busing and the minimum wage.

**And whereas:**

The fascist resurgence is the domestic corollary of Carter/Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive which seeks to militarily and morally gear up U.S. imperialism for a counterrevolutionary war to restore capitalism in the USSR and which must be opposed by the workers movement and its allies:

**Therefore be it resolved:**

1. That this conference calls for militant, mass mobilizations of labor, black and minority organizations in response to the Klan and Nazi provocations as the necessary strategy to smash the fascists.
2. That this conference repudiates any reliance on the capitalist courts, cops and politicians as exemplified by calling on the government to "ban the Klan."
3. That this conference endorses the right of armed self-defense against right-wing racist terror.

—submitted by the Spartacist League, 6 December 1980

board member of the Duke University College Republicans.

While the class-collaborationist popular front, which subordinates the working class to the ruling class, is

traditional bloc partners in popular front alliances in the U.S., paved the way for the victory of the right-wing Republicans. "Liberal" Democrats are as scarce as hens' teeth and have been

suicide to denounce an anti-Klan rally in front of the black students who took part. The SYL leaflet went on:

"BSOC's claim that the SYL is 'white' and that BSOC represents all black students' is false and a racist insult to the black members of the SYL. We are an integrated communist youth organization which fights for the rights of all the oppressed through a strategy of mobilizing the labor movement, black and white, to overthrow capitalism and institute a socialist society. In the past, the SYL has organized many protests at Circle, including a protest against the brutal beating and arrest of a black auto worker, Bennie Lenard, by Melrose

Park Police, and we initiated a demonstration against the racist Selective Index aimed at cutting out minority enrollment. For all BSOC's talk of concern for black students, they were nowhere to be seen at these events."

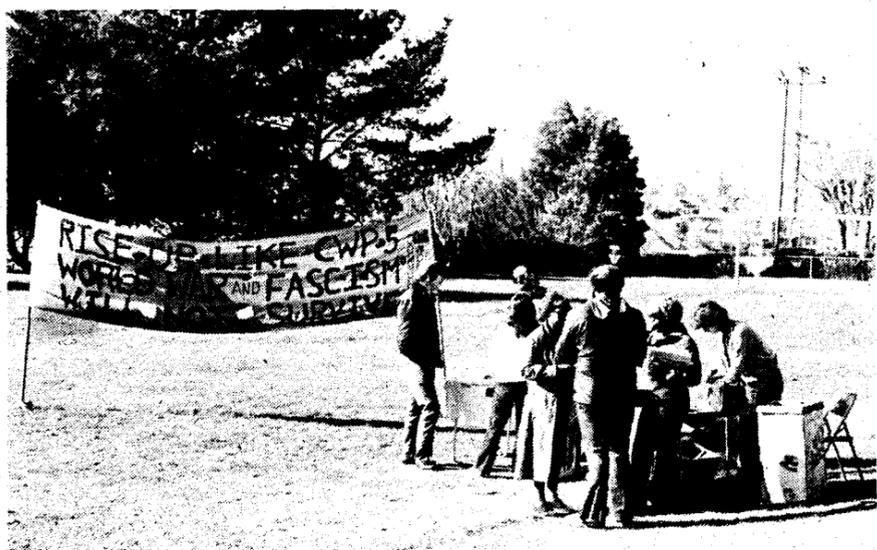
Students, at Old Westbury, an experimental college of mostly minority students in New York's state university system, had to fight the administration for the right to protest the Greensboro verdict. Administration Vice-President Robert Matthew, a former NYC cop, seized an SYL "outside agitator" who was organizing for the demonstration,

called by the SYL and the Afrikan People's Organization and endorsed by the Student Union. The SYLer was detained by campus cops and threatened with arrest if he refused to leave. But the determined intervention of the Old Westbury students stopped further harassment of the comrade, who received a warm reception when he arrived to address the rally of 150 students.

At Berkeley and UCLA, at Ann Arbor and Wayne State, at Madison and Oberlin, the SYL worked actively for united fronts on the broadest basis.

And we sought to bring to the students the understanding that the social power to defeat fascism lies outside the campus, in the potential power of the organized working class. Neither the suicidal perspective of begging the government to "ban the Klan" nor the hopeless substitutionism of leftists who oppose their own small forces to the fascists and their cop protectors can stop right-wing terror. Only a conscious labor movement mobilized on a clear class program in defense of all the oppressed can deal with the marauding fascists once and for all. ■

Young Spartacus Photos



"Rise Up Like CWP 5" vs. our Trotskyist strategy to fight fascism

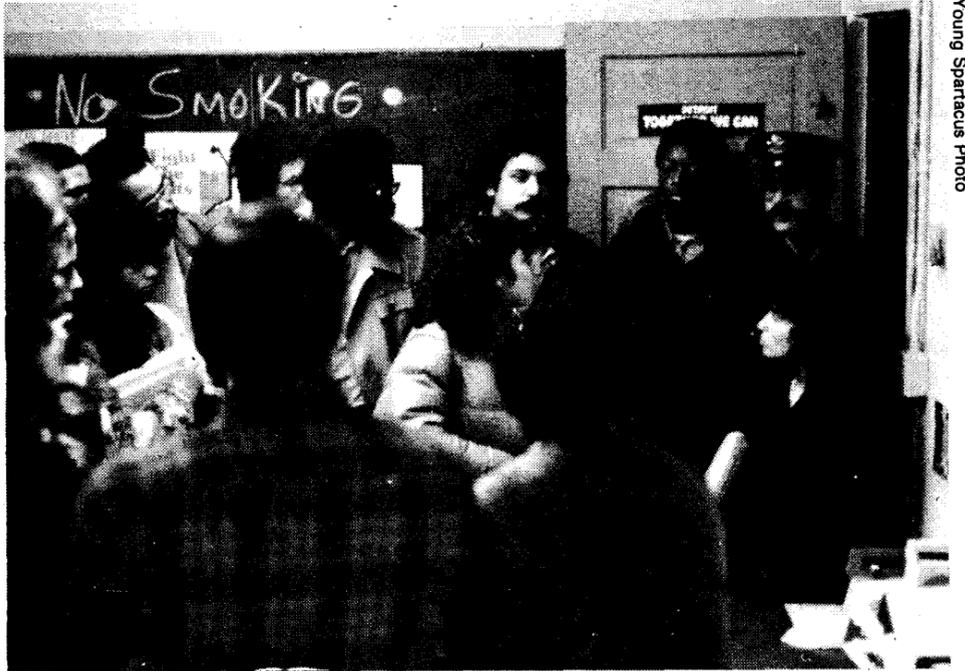


We reprint below the preamble to a petition circulated at Wayne State University demanding the removal from their posts of those responsible for a South End editorial apologizing for the Greensboro Klan/Nazi killers. The accompanying article on page 7, "The South End vs. Wayne State Students," tells the story of the students' fight to regain control of their newspaper.

# 1,200 Students Say:

# Oust South End Apologists for

# Klan/Nazi Terror!



South End editor Burnett calls cops on Ad Hoc Committee activists.

Young Spartacus Photo

## Remove the Apologists for Racist Murder From the South End!

An all-white jury acquitted five Klan/Nazi members who shot to death five anti-Klan protesters and supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) in broad daylight, in front of television cameras and scores of spectators in Greensboro, North Carolina. Cold-blooded racist murderers have been given a license to hunt by the November 17 verdict. "It's a victory for white America," gloated Harold Covington, head of the Nazi Party.

For those of us who are the intended victims of Klan/Nazi terror—blacks, trade unionists, Jews, socialists, civil rights activists—the North Carolina acquittals are an outrage, a threat and a clear case of racist injustice.

The *South End*, however, in its 25 November editorial by Mike Nuttle, "Leftists Hinder Justice at Greensboro Trial," apologizes for the acquittals and alibis for racist murder. This "journalistic" service to Jim Crow "justice" would be cause for widespread protest action on any campus unfortunate enough to have Nuttle and his ilk making editorial policy for its newspaper. It is particularly worthy of strong action at Wayne State—a school with a black and working-class student population in a predominantly black city.

In order to apologize for what is a racist and rigged verdict, Nuttle's editorial carefully suppresses many of the central facts of the trial. It fails to mention that the KKK/Nazi attack was televised and witnessed by millions of viewers. It omits the fact that the jury selection was by any criteria a sham,

excluding black jurors on the grounds of "preconceived prejudices against the Klan." It omits the fact that the FBI gave the decisive testimony supporting defense allegations that the fascists shot in "self-defense." Nor does it report that a "former" FBI informer was in the lead vehicle of the KKK/Nazi caravan.

According to Nuttle, the "question was, merely, who shot first?" The anti-Klan rally took place in the black neighborhood of Morningside Heights. Having learned the precise location of the rally from the Greensboro police, KKK/Nazis drove as far as 100 miles to get there. They did not do this to shoot

in "self-defense"! The fascists calmly unloaded their semi-automatic rifles from their car trunks and opened fire on the demonstration, slaughtering five protesters. The cops were conspicuously absent. Some of the CWP supporters drew and ineffectually fired pistols, useless against the fascists' rifles. The KKK/Nazis left the scene unscratched. "Who shot first" is not the question. The question is: Why are five Klan/Nazi assassins alive and well and acquitted in North Carolina while five CWP supporters lie in their graves? The answer is racist "justice."

The Greensboro acquittals are hardly

a unique instance of racist outrage in United States courts. There's the famous Scottsboro Boys case, nine black youths framed-up for rape in Alabama in 1931. The only known surviving "Scottsboro Boy" was pardoned in the fall of 1976 after 45 years of unrelenting state persecution. Another landmark of racist "justice" is the "Kissing Case" in which a seven-year-old and a nine-year-old were given 14 and 12 years respectively for "attempted rape" in Monroe, North Carolina in 1959. Their "crime" was having been kissed by a white playmate. In the 1960s, many Black Panthers never made it to court. The

## Campus Newspapers Condemn Racist "Justice" in North Carolina...

### KILLER KLANSMEN SET FREE

by Lee Brotherton and Jody Arise

On November 17, trial of four Ku Klux Klan members on charges of murdering five anti-Klan protesters was held in Greensboro, North Carolina. The all-white jury found the Klan members legal as they were not guilty.

## EXPOSURE

### The Hilltop

'Voice of the Howard Community'

## 'Brace Yourself for Battle'

This past Monday evening a chilling October 28 debate with President Jimmy Carter was delivered to Black people. Carter stressed the issue of "letting the states

## The Daily Cardinal

Justice? What justice?

### Racism rears its ugly head in Greensboro

While some of the citizenry deluded itself into thinking that civil rights problems were solved by the reforms of the late 1960s, those changes are being threatened. From these actions we can assume that human rights apply only to those who see the "American way" as the "way of life."

### THE STANFORD DAILY

## OPINIONS

Don Willenburg

### Only justice suffered at Greensboro

### The Campus Echo

Durham, NC

### The politics of racism

Racism and bigotry are re-emerging into the mainstream of American political and social life in a manner not seen in its history.

## PHOENIX

and five Ku Klux Klan members accused of murdering five Communist Party members in Greensboro, North Carolina last year, other in the state and numerous public statements point

## NOT GUILTY!!

ucla daily bruin

JURY

### 'Mockery of justice' Greensboro verdict stuns NCCU campus

Students reportedly rioted last night in protest of the verdict. The Greensboro trial was a mockery of justice.

cops simply murdered them, as they did Fred Hampton.

Nuttle perversely accused the CWP of staging its own execution: "Perhaps they needed martyrs for an issue that would rekindle the flickering fire of racial animosity." "Flickering"? The newspapers have recounted a few of the more grisly and recent examples of racist terror: the shooting death of a 15-year-old black girl in Youngstown by three white youths; six blacks murdered in Buffalo (two of them with their hearts cut out); four black women wounded by Klansmen in Chattanooga (resulting in the acquittal of two of three Klansmen standing trial). Recently in Detroit, two Klansmen pleaded guilty to plotting the murder of a black man, another to trying to burn down the home of a black couple in the predominantly white suburb of Romulus.

Just as those who deny or try to minimize the reality of the holocaust are rightly taken as Nazi sympathizers despite pious disavowals, so the *South End's* attempt to pass off racist terror as a little "racial animosity" only made worse by those who protested against it, indicts the *South End* as a gross apologist for Klan/Nazi murder.

The targets of Nuttle's editorial are those who protested at Wayne State against the Greensboro verdict and the surviving CWP members. Sounding like J. Edgar Hoover incarnate, Nuttle amalgamates CWP and Wayne State protesters who, he speculates, are engaged in "a cruelly manipulative game whose intentions are to possibly set the scenario for even greater attempts at mass manipulation." He sees no "manipulation" by the state in securing the acquittals of five known murderers. As Nuttle knows, but does not mention, the Wayne State students, faculty and workers who protested the Greensboro

*continued on page 8*

### The South End vs. Wayne State Students

When an all-white jury in Greensboro, North Carolina acquitted five Klan/Nazi murderers November 17, student newspapers nationwide published outraged editorials, anti-Klan

## Petition the South End Refused to Print

To: Student Newspaper Publications Board;  
The Student Faculty Council (Publications Committee);  
The Wayne State University Board of Governors:

We, the undersigned, demand the *South End* editor-in-chief John Burnett and managing editor Mike Nuttle as well as all those responsible for the vile apology for racist murder which appeared in the 25 November editorial "Leftists Hinder Justice at Greensboro Trial" be removed immediately. The present editorial policy of the *South End* as exemplified by Nuttle's deeply reactionary defense of Klan/Nazi murder is an affront to the student body as well as to the black and white working people who constitute the majority of the city of Detroit. That the students at Wayne State reassert control over what is nominally a forum for our diverse opinions and views is long overdue.

Over 1,200 students, faculty and campus workers of the Wayne State University community, as well as concerned activists across the country have endorsed the petition including:

Region 1-A, UAW  
Detroit NAACP  
Honorable Claudia Morcom  
Senator Jackie Vaughn, III, Michigan Legislature  
Obie Matthews, Coalition of East Side Ministers  
Reverend James Wadsworth, Inter-denominational Ministerial Alliance  
Ron Aronson, Professor Wayne State University, member New American Movement

Mildred Smith, Past Chairman, University City A Citizens District Council;  
President, Research Park Non-Profit Housing  
Dan Bremer, Board of Directors, Flint ACLU  
H. Samuel Kemp, Student Publications Board member, Wayne State University  
Reverend Edwin A. Rowe, Director, Wesley Foundation, Wayne State University  
Effie Ambler, Professor, Wayne State University  
Reverend Dave Kidd, Central Methodist Church  
Kathy Callahan, President AFSCME Local 1640  
Spartacus Youth League  
Chris Alston, Founding member UAW

Rouge Militant Caucus, UAW Local 600  
Robert Katz, Chairman, Civil Rights Committee, Detroit Bar Association  
Willie Jenkins, Laborers Local 334  
Brian Taylor, Former *South End* writer  
Nelson Johnson, Survivor of Greensboro massacre  
Chuck Green, Former Bargaining Committeeman, UAW Region 1-B  
James Lafferty, Attorney  
Nathan Head, WSU Institute for Labor and Industrial Relations  
Rohlann Callender, Administrator, University City A District Council  
Ned Smokler, Attorney  
Sheldon Tappes, Former International Executive Board member, UAW  
Jimmie Terrell, District Committeeman, UAW Local 900  
Jack Splane, Urban Alliance  
Wayne State News and Letters  
Bob Fittrakis, Wayne State DSOC  
Harold Stack, WSU Weekend College  
Bev Scott, Attorney  
Hugh Davis, Attorney  
Dave Cohen, WSU Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations  
Geri Hill, WSU Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations  
George Corsetti, Attorney  
Eric Bockstael, WSU Weekend College  
Gary Benjamin, Attorney  
Mark Magidson, Attorney  
Gene Brooks, WSU Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations  
Rudolph Jones, Student representative to the Academic Affairs Committee of the Board of Governors  
*(Organizational affiliation listed for purposes of identification only)*

cartoons and reports of protests against the racist verdict. But, in the heart of black and working-class Detroit, the official Wayne State University newspaper, the *South End*, saluted the acquittals, apologized for the racist murder and placed the blame on the anti-Klan demonstrators for their own slaughter. Disgusted by this 25 November editorial entitled "Leftists Hinder Justice at Greensboro Trial" by Mike Nuttle, Wayne State students began a fight to regain control over their newspaper and to remove those responsible for the vile apology for Klan/Nazi murder. Many students were fed up with the *South End's* consistently reactionary editorial policy as well as by the paper's arrogant refusal to publish letters to the editor for some months.

The WSU Spartacus Youth League (SYL) joined other outraged students to form the Ad Hoc Committee to Oust *South End* Apologists for Klan/Nazi Murder and circulated the petition reprinted above. Over 450 students signed within the first two days of the petition campaign. Many helped circulate it among their friends and in their classes. Some students first read the Nuttle editorial at the Ad Hoc Committee literature table; so revolted were they by its current editorial policy that a section of the student population had simply ignored the paper.

### 1,200 Say "Oust Burnett/Nuttle"

But this gross apology for racist terror could be neither ignored nor tolerated! The Ad Hoc Committee announced its

first public meeting for December 4. On December 3, the *South End* "responded" to the petition by printing "Shove It—SYL!" on its masthead. When a Committee spokesman brought a copy of the petition and an announcement of the public meeting to his office, editor John Burnett crumpled up the material and threw it in her face. The next day, 50 students crowded into the room where the Ad Hoc Committee held its meeting. Representatives of the black fraternity Phi Beta Sigma, the International Committee Against Racism, the SYL and many outraged individual students attended. So did a little pack of *South End* apologists who tried unsuccessfully to defend Nuttle's editorial: "... the *South End* is not 'pro-

*continued on page 8*

## ... South End Apologizes for Fascist Murderers!



### Leftists hinder justice at Greensboro trial

"A jury Monday found four Ku Klux Klansmen and two Nazis innocent of murder and riot in the deaths of five communists at a 'Death to The Klan' rally last fall.

The protestors were killed during a confrontation at a march sponsored by the Communists Workers' Party.

Protestors who survived the shooting labelled the trial a sham and refused to testify for the prosecution."

This is a partial account of the outcome of the Greensboro trial by Associated Press and United Press International compiled and printed by the Detroit Free Press.

The following is another account of the trial's outcome, as it appeared in a leaflet distributed at a demonstration to "Protest Racist 'Justice' in Greensboro."

"Monday an all-white jury in Greensboro, North Carolina let six Nazi/Klan murderers go free! This amounts to a KKK license to kill Blacks, other minorities, unionists and leftists. Meanwhile the victims of last November's Greensboro massacre are still up on charges for 'inciting to riot.' This is justice in Carter's/Reagan's racist America. Come to the demonstration to protest this racial outrage! All individuals who agree with the slogans

are urged to participate, bringing their own slogans and banners. The time to act is now! All out!"

"Racist justice?"

How can this trial be labelled "Racist justice" when witnesses against the accused klansmen refused to testify for the prosecution? One can't protest "Racist justice" after hindering the execution of that justice.

' One can't label a trial a 'sham' and then retort to the trial's outcome by accusing President Carter and President-Elect Reagan of fostering a "racist America."

One can't attack the judicial system as being unfair to minorities after failing to aid that same system in prosecuting those accused of committing atrocities against minorities.

It reeks of hypocrisy.

It is impossible to say whether or not testimony from members of the Communist Workers' Party would have convicted the klansmen. However, attorneys for the klansmen contended that the klansmen had killed the communists in self-defense because the communists fired first.

Apparently, there was not enough evidence to prove the klansmen wrong.

Also, one must remember that the ideologies of the Ku Klux Klan and the Communist Workers' Party were not on trial. If they could be prosecuted for their beliefs they

would have been incarcerated already. The question was merely who shot first?.

Why would the CWP members refuse to testify and then make a big issue of "Racist Justice?"

One can only speculate.

Perhaps they needed martyrs for an issue that would rekindle the flickering fire of racial animosity.

Perhaps it was a manipulative tactic. Most people already hate the Ku Klux Klan and its racist philosophies. But this may have been a tactic to try to equate the klan with the courts, or at least imply that the courts favor the klansmen and their racist beliefs. Hence, we arrive at "Carter's/Reagan's racist America" as the villains in the flyer distributed to announce the protest of "Racist justice."

Perhaps it's a cruelly manipulative game, whose intentions are to possibly set the scenario for even greater attempts at mass manipulation.

One can only speculate when motives are at question. However, one thing is undoubtedly true.

Five people are dead.

But who shot first? And why were they foolish enough to shoot in the first place?

Mike Nuttle

# Statement to the Board of Governors

I speak on behalf of over 1,200 signatories of the petition submitted to you, including the support of the local NAACP chapter and United Auto Workers Region 1-A and State Senator Jackie Vaughn. There is a new addition to our list of supporters which does not appear on that endorser list, Mr. Rudolph Jones, student rep to the Academic Affairs Committee of the Board of Governors. We are compelled to demand that the Wayne State Board of Governors take immediate action to remove from their posts *South End* editor-in-chief John Burnett and managing editor Mike Nuttle and all those responsible for the 25 November editorial "Leftists Hinder Justice at Greensboro Trial." The editorial authored by Nuttle, is a vile apology for racist murder. Joining the Klan and Nazis, the editorial embraces as "justice" the acquittals of the Klan/Nazi hitmen by an all-white jury. For this criminal terrorist act, the editorial seeks to blame the victims, the anti-fascist protesters, five of whom were slain last November 3.

Attempting to create a climate for racist terrorists to act with impunity, the editorial is an offense and a threat to the students and staff of Wayne State and the Detroit black and working-class population. Just as those who deny or try to minimize the reality of the Holocaust are rightly taken as Nazi sympathizers despite pious disavowals, so the *South End's* attempt to pass off racist terror as a little "racial animosity" inflamed by those who protest against it cannot be tolerated by defenders of the civil liberties of minorities, unionists or socialists.

The *South End* editorial is uniquely reactionary among campus newspapers. American students are in the main



Ad Hoc Committee spokesman Gloria Howse addresses Board of Governors.

shocked and angered by the North Carolina acquittals and we have with us editorials from campus newspapers around the country which cry out against the racist injustice in Greensboro. As documented in the preamble to our petition, the Nuttle editorial is associated with a long-standing editorial policy of the *South End*. To call that policy insensitive to the rights and needs of black people would be a terrible understatement. In language even J. Edgar Hoover would shrink from using publicly, the *South End* consistently portrays blacks, socialists and unionists as conspirators to "rekindle racial animosity," foment "racial tensions," "manipulate" and "deceive." To add insult to injury, the *South End* has, in an arbitrary and dictatorial fashion, suppressed the views of the student population. Letters from at least 100 groups and individuals protesting the gag rule on letters to the editor have poured into the *South End* in recent months; the students are tired of having our newspa-

per run as if it were the personal property of Burnett, Nuttle & Co. The recent example of their arrogant disregard for the students the *South End* ostensibly serves was its refusal to print this widely-supported petition. Instead, the *South End* saw fit to print "Shove it—SYL!" on the paper's masthead, a provocative reference to a socialist youth group which was among the initiators of the petition drive. On December 4, Burnett threw the petitions in the faces of the delegation for the Ad Hoc Committee to Oust *South End* Apologists for Klan/Nazi Murder and called the police to remove the 20 students in that delegation from the *South End's* offices. The *South End's* response to us appeared in the last issue of the semester. It includes a "mock" interview with a white-hooded murderer which can only be described as partisan to the Klan in the guise of rabid anti-communism.

We have taken our petition to the relevant student bodies designated by

the Board of Governors to oversee publication of the *South End*, the Student-Faculty Council and the Student Newspaper Publications Board. From these bodies, our spokesmen got nothing but bureaucratic and rude treatment. But the fact is that the Board of Governors has ultimate authority here and promulgated the rules for those student bodies, keeping them subordinate and devoid of real authority. We have appended to our statement the charter which spells this out. In 1969, the university president suspended publication of the *South End* and removed editor John Watson for explicitly political reasons. The power of the Board was proven when publication of the *South End* resumed only after the Board of Governors created the Student [Newspaper] Publications Board as its agent to publish the newspaper. It is entirely possible that a majority of the Board is appalled by the editorial end product of 11 years of undemocratic management of the *South End*, exemplified by the Nuttle editorial.

Hence, the petition to you, the Board of Governors, that you not pass the buck, that you remove from their positions of abusive authority the apologists for racist murder currently running the paper. We petition you to take some step toward restoring the *South End* to the Wayne State students. As we state in our petition, "That the students of Wayne State reassert control over what is nominally a forum for our diverse opinions and views is long overdue." I'm handing over petitions signed by over 1,200 students to the Board. I urge the Board of Governors to deal with this matter at this meeting and take action immediately. The Committee will be happy to answer any questions that Board members may have.

## Preamble...

(continued from page 7)

verdict were not, as it happens, CWPers. The Wayne professors, the Student-Faculty Council vice president, the former *South End* editor, the Spartacus Youth League, campus and city unionists who protested knew the CWP was shot down in cold blood not just because it was foolishly innocent in baiting the Klan. The CWPers were assassinated because they were active union organizers, avowed "reds" and militant supporters of black rights. It could have been us—it could have been any anti-racist militant, any radical professor, any black auto worker.

The *South End* editorial might go over in some lily-white bible school in Mississippi, but it won't go over here! There are those who might even argue that apologists for white racism and Klan/Nazi murder have a place in the "academic community," exercising their freedom of speech. This moot point certainly applies to Nuttle & Co.—but they will have to find a platform other than making editorial policy for the official student newspaper at Wayne State.

Nuttle's editorial must not be passed off as an aberration, a horrible "mistake" which will never happen again. Since Nuttle and Burnett assumed their respective posts as editor-in-chief and managing editor, the *South End* has engaged in other racist apologia, heavily laced with red-baiting and slander.

• A Nuttle editorial entitled "Klansman, Nazi make Leftists See Red" appeared in the 30 June *South End*. Nuttle denounces as "violent and disruptive" a protest against the fascists' attempt to get a City Council permit to march in Detroit. The editorial attempts

to portray leftists as instigators of "race riots."

• A *South End* campaign in June 1980 aided an attempted frame-up of the Spartacus Youth League for an arson at the Student Center Building. A grossly inaccurate front page article and Nuttle's editorial of 23 June implicated the SYL in the arson; the editorial resorted to willful libel, labeling the SYL as "violent, deceptive hypocrites." The *South End* then arrogantly refused to publish a petition protesting this smear campaign signed by more than 80 WSU students, faculty, and other individuals.

• Marie Lazzari, who joined the *South End* editorial staff at the time Burnett and Nuttle took over and has subsequently left, authored a letter to the editor in October 1979 which defended the FBI against self-confessed and/or well documented charges that it engaged in large-scale disruption, infiltration and murder set-ups within the civil rights and black movements.

Once a paper which defended the rights of blacks and labor, the *South End* has become a nest of apologists for racist murder. The 25 November editorial must be the last such reactionary filth to be inflicted on the Wayne State campus from the pages of our paper! ■

## Students...

(continued from page 7)

Klan," photographer Jerry Wildbahn stated, "It [the editorial] was simply an account of the judicial process.... The CWP brought it on themselves." When this defense fell on deaf ears, the *South End* spokesmen tried to red-bait the Ad Hoc Committee as a sinister communist "front." But the students were having none of it. Over 20 marched over to the *South End* office to again demand publication of the petition.

This time a frantic John Burnett not

only threw the printed demand in the trash basket, but called the cops to remove the students! The Committee publicized this outrageous act of contempt for student opinion and the number of signatures on the petition swelled to 800 the next day. Even the do-nothing Student Council, which refused to take any action against the *South End* apologists for Klan/Nazi murder, was forced to go on record against Burnett's calling cops against Wayne State students.

The Student Newspaper Publication Board was, if anything, more protective than the Student Council of the Nuttle/Burnett gang. By the time the Publication Board met, over 1,000 had signed the petition. Support from outside the campus had begun to grow as well. Over 50 signed the petition at a Greensboro conference held December 5-6 on "Government Repression of Human Rights and the Rise of the Klan" including CWP leader and survivor of the Greensboro massacre Nelson Johnson. The largest United Auto Workers region in the country, UAW Region 1-A, endorsed. The Detroit chapter of the NAACP endorsed, as well as prominent Detroit attorneys, other unionists and faculty and former *South End* editor Pat Byers. None of this impressed the Student Newspaper Publication Board. Chairman Marc Segal remarked that "If 1,000 students don't like the article, that's tough. If you wish to prove the facts are wrong, you're welcome to file a libel suit."

That night, the nearby University of Michigan's (at Ann Arbor) Student Assembly considered the Committee petition. While refusing to endorse as a body, eight MSA members signed the petition, including President Marc Breakstone. Asked by the *Michigan Daily* why he had signed, Breakstone, commented, "I know that the editorial

policy of the newspaper has been consistently reactionary" and said that he opposed the editor's "policy of not allowing an open forum for the discussion of issues" (*Michigan Daily*, 11 December).

### SE Response: Censor, Red-Bait, Race-Hate

Meanwhile, except for the provocative "Shove It—SYL!" masthead, the *South End* maintained a stony silence in the face of growing support for the Ad Hoc Committee petition. Burnett could not, however, escape a telephone interview by radio station WXYZ. His "let them eat cake" editorial arrogance was undisguisable: WXYZ: Do you not have the responsibility of at least printing the letters to the editor?

Burnett: If they're coherent, certainly. WXYZ: And that's determined by you, sir?

Burnett: Yes, it is. I don't print dogma and that's all they ever give me. And I'll never publish that kind of thing.

WXYZ: Since when do you have the right to censor what people want to have read in their paper?

Burnett: I don't censor. I'm the editor of the *South End*. I determine what goes in the paper. Again ...

WXYZ: And you don't feel that's dictatorial?

Burnett: No, it's not dictatorial. It's an editorial policy.

We in the SYL have had occasion to fight this "policy" before. The *South End*, under Burnett and Nuttle, engaged in a vicious campaign to aid an attempted frame-up of the SYL for arson last June. Both the grossly inaccurate front page article "Firebug hits student center; Spartacists cry 'frame-up'" and Nuttle's libelous editorial tried to link us with fires set in the Student Center Building at Wayne State

(see "Nasty Lies or Murder Set Up?" YSp No. 84, September 1980). The *South End* refused to print a petition signed by over 80 outraged WSU students, professors and workers as well as statements by another 20 protesting their outrageous smear campaign. Then, during the height of the petition campaign—over the December 5-7 weekend—several small fires were set on floors of the Student Center Building. It's a strange "coincidence" indeed that this occurred while the SYL was active in the Ad Hoc Committee to Oust *South End* Apologists for Klan/Nazi Murder!

While refusing to print so much as a word of the Ad Hoc Committee statement, the *South End* did see fit to print a "voluntary" retraction in its 8 December issue of black writer H. Sam Kemp's editorial against police brutality. The editorial, printed last October, is the object of a lawsuit by Detroit cops. Burnett & Co. were eager to make clear that they never tarnished the good name of the Detroit police.

In the last issue of the semester, December 10, the *South End* broke its silence on the campaign. Burnett's editorial was standard *South End* fare for these days—anti-communist rhetoric that J. Edgar Hoover might shrink from using publicly. It contained no mention whatsoever of the content of Nuttle's editorial, nor did it mention Burnett's using the cops against students outraged by the editorial. Burnett simply reiterated his "refusal to publish a peculiar petition demanding my own firing" and referred to the 1,200 signatories of the petition as "a disease [that] has been gestating here at WSU for the last several days." He goes on to raise the spectre of communist influence: "The group behind this Ad Hoc Committee has its own publication, in which they can spew out their dogma and rhetoric to their heart's content. Their stock-in-trade is lies, which they dispense extremely well." Any alleged "lies" dispensed by the Ad Hoc Committee statement are left to the imagination; Burnett answers not one charge against the paper's policy or the Nuttle editorial.

Another member of the Nuttle/Burnett school of gross racist apology published in this same issue an even more sinister and offensive piece. One Steve Gulvezan wrote a "mock" interview with a white-hooded "campus murder apologist" which reads in part:

"SE: I find you so disgusting that it turns my stomach just to be sitting in the same room with you. If it wasn't in the best interests of responsible journalism I would spit in your fascist pig face and walk right out. Now, what do you have to say for yourself, you capitalist abomination?  
Swine: Well, I....

SE: Don't give me any of your wormlike apologist pseudo-nazi anti-workers excuses, you miserable excuse for a human being. Any true soldier of the revolution can see right through your pitiful disguise and expose a black-hearted enemy of the proletariat!  
Swine: I think...."

*Ad nauseum.* This trash passes for a student newspaper of a largely black and working-class campus! The sort of

pro-Klan "humor" in the guise of virulent anti-communism Gulvezan writes would not be found in even the most conservative bourgeois newspapers. Despite the contention by yet another *South End* "luminary" that "the majority of Americans not only sympathize with, but actually support actions of these fascist fanatics," (*South End*, 10 December) the overwhelming majority of working people in this country do not believe that any crime—be it race-terror or union-busting—can be carried out under the banner of anti-communism. But to create the reactionary social climate in which fascist murder is condoned is precisely to what the official student newspaper of Wayne State, through Burnett/Nuttle's editorial policy, has dedicated itself.

Armed with more than 1,200 signatures and the support of prominent Detroit-area academic, black, union and community leaders, the Ad Hoc Committee appeared before the Decem-

academic freedom by the exercise of this Board of political power...."

As soon as Einheuser finished, the gavel came down and the meeting was immediately adjourned. Burnett and Nuttle vanished before the press could get to them.

The Board of Governor's hypocritical invocation of "freedom of the press" and the sanctity of student control of the campus newspaper is simply a poor attempt at explaining away their refusal to take action against Nuttle, Burnett & Co. Neither freedom of the press nor any real student control of the *South End* has existed at Wayne State since 1969 when militant black editor John Watson was removed as editor and publication of the *South End* was suspended by the university president. It was a dirty business, too. During 1968-69, the FBI, as part of its COINTEL-PRO operation, "sent anonymous letters critical of the WSU newspaper, the *South End*, to officials of the school

*Greensboro Daily News*



Greensboro massacre, 3 November 1979.

ber 12 meeting of the WSU Board of Governors. The Board of Governors also received letters protesting the *South End* editorial policy and endorsing the Ad Hoc Committee from Robert Katz, Civil Rights Commission of the Detroit Bar Association; City Councilman Herbert F. McFadden; Shelton Tappes, former International Exec Board member, UAW; and a telegram from state senator Jackie Vaughn III. In addition to supporters of the Ad Hoc Committee, reporters from several radio stations, four television stations, the *Detroit Free Press* and *Detroit News*, the Student Council president and vice-president, Publications Board members and a delegation from the *South End* were on hand for the meeting.

Ad Hoc Committee spokesman Gloria Howse delivered the speech, reprinted on page 8, demanding the Board take immediate action to remove Nuttle, Burnett and all those responsible for the 25 November editorial. Howse also pointed out that real authority for the editorial policy of the *South End* rests with the Board of Governors. On behalf of the outraged students and community, she asked that the Board "not pass the buck."

But pass the buck they did. Board member Einheuser responded in a prepared statement:

"...this Board could never adopt a policy that it advocated the control or the interference of the product of any of those journals or publications.... What we are being asked to do here this morning is to exercise a broad authority; remove the editor of the *South End* because of disagreements among a group of students of an editorial policy. Taking that action I think would create a very dangerous precedent that could be used by future Boards to remove future editors with any disagreement of an editorial policy.

"We will not take the action that is requested this morning. We suggest that the Committee return to the Student Newspaper Publications Board and carry on their appeal that way. To do otherwise would simply set an incredibly bad precedent, would strike a blow at both freedom of the press and

and state. The bureau reported to Washington later that the letters played a major part in the reducing of the *South End* yearly allotted funds by \$10,000." ("FBI Plot: Stir Black Dissension," *Detroit Free Press*, 29 June 1977).

Following the Watson affair, the Board set up as its "agent" the Student Newspaper Publications Board, which has no real authority. In 1973, the Board of Governors took it upon itself to purge radical editor Gene Cunningham. Approached by the Ad Hoc Committee to exercise its unquestionable authority against those who apologize for fascist terrorists, the Board became suddenly overwhelmed by a commitment to "hands off" the student newspaper. While it had no compunction about suspending publication of the *South End* when its masthead was decorated by black panthers and radical black nationalists controlled the editorial policy, today it waxes eloquent about nonexistent "student control" when racist reactionaries openly dictate the paper's policy. The "precedent" Board member Einheuser was so loathe to set was set eleven years ago—and Nuttle/Burnett are its result.

Today the *South End* as well as the powerless student bodies set up to oversee its publication are the creatures of the Board of Governors. The real precedent the Board was intent on avoiding was the ability of students, faculty and the Detroit community to affect the editorial policy of the *South End*. The WSU students who have had enough of bureaucratic red tape, lies and a newspaper which considers itself responsible to none of the student body are more of a threat to the Board of Governors' control than the apologists for fascist murder who currently run the *South End* as their personal property. Perhaps the Board will find it in its interest to quietly, behind closed doors, clean-up what it has created and even momentarily open the pages of the paper to the students, faculty and workers it is there to serve. What is clear, however, is that students must,

with the aid of our allies in Detroit's labor movement and black community, regain control of the *South End* in order that it cease to be a mouthpiece for racist apologists, an offense and a threat to every defender of the rights of minorities, unionists and socialists. ■

## Conference...

(continued from page 5)

the positive response given the class-struggle positions of the SL/SYL supporters during the first conference session on Friday night. Speakers described how the SL initiated a 500-strong labor/black anti-Klan rally in Detroit last November right after the Greensboro massacre, and last April how we spearheaded a labor/black mobilization which successfully stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco. Warning of the mortal danger in relying on capitalist politicians to fight racist terror, one militant was applauded when he said, "The hell with these guys. We don't need these creeps to represent us."

The next day the CWP rammed through, without discussion, a motion concretizing its desire for a political alliance with the capitalist class enemy. CWP spokesman Nelson Johnson argued that "there isn't any one organization, nor is there any one race, or one class for that matter that can stop this." As an example of who these Stalinists think can "stop this," elected to the group's Task Force was a self-described "Christian lawyer" who wanted people to "communicate" with the Klan and likened KKK violence to the case of Curtis Lee Robinson, a black militant who shot a club-swinging "Grand Cyclops" in self-defense!

CWP spokesmen repeatedly urged those attending to put aside "petty differences" and to avoid "hair-splitting." But it is over the questions of black self-defense and the mobilization of the labor movement that heads, not hairs, are split.

It was not just a white Southern jury which freed the Greensboro killers. They got their cue from the American ruling class. The capitalist class understands that some day it may need to use fascist terrorists against the left and the labor movement: Greensboro on a mass scale. The Klan and the Nazis represent the shock troops of anti-labor, anti-black economic austerity and the imperialist war drive against the Soviet degenerated workers state. They are straining at the leash to bust up strikes, sit-ins against the closing of ghetto hospitals and demonstrations against the draft.

The CWP's answer to this situation is to shore up the damaged illusions of blacks and other minorities in the "progressive wing" of the bourgeoisie and herd them back into the fold of the capitalist parties. At one point in the conference a Japanese-American stated that if an organization like the CWP's "coalition" had existed before World War II, his parents would not have been put in U.S. concentration camps during the war. But during that war the Stalinists opposed the fight for civil rights in the army, the labor movement and society in general and went so far as to oppose a broadly supported civil rights march on Washington in 1943. No doubt he also doesn't know it was precisely in the name of "anti-fascist popular unity" that the Stalinist American Communist Party (CP) wholeheartedly supported the U.S. government in the second imperialist world war. The CP not only supported the internment of the Japanese-Americans, but instructed its Japanese-American comrades to go into concentration camps and dropped them from membership! There is no more fitting symbol of the "people's front against fascism" in the U.S. than the tens of thousands of Japanese-American working people herded into Franklin D. Roosevelt's concentration camps. ■

## Young Spartacus

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## SYL vs. CWP at Harvard

# What Strategy to Fight Racist Attacks?

Boston, the northern city in which busing was defeated on the streets by racist mobs, has continued to be a hotbed of racist attacks against black people. There have been firebombings of black families' homes in Brighton; beatings of blacks by gangs of white youths in the Boston Common and other downtown areas; the cop-killing of a 14-year-old black youth, Levi Hart. Even within the ivied walls of Harvard University, racist hoodlums have crawled out of the woodwork. The president of Harvard's Black Student Association (BSA) Lydia Jackson received a death threat and a series of racist, obscene phone calls warning she would be raped if she continued to "cause trouble." The BSA's office was broken into and racist, pro-Klan slogans scrawled in the office and a nearby bathroom. These events closely followed the appearance of an administration-commissioned report on affirmative action policies called the Klitgaard report, which suggested that blacks go to "lesser" schools in order to achieve a "perceived feeling of equality" (see "For Open Admissions! Nationalize Harvard!" *Young Spartacus* No. 86, November 1980).

Black students have staged protests against these attacks: on October 28 over 200 rallied to protest the Klitgaard report and on November 22 about 100 protested the recent threats against the BSA. Both of these protests centered on appeals to the "respectability" of the Harvard administration—truly a dead end. Harvard University is the bastion of elite, ruling-class education in America, churning out corporate presidents and the ideologues and technocrats of mass-murder for imperialism. Participating in the anti-racist protests at Harvard, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) pointed out that an administration "apology" for the Klitgaard report isn't worth the paper it's printed on! Calling, as did the November 22 demonstration, for increased police "protection" and "safe streets" is worse yet. The cops' bloody collaboration with fascists and racist mobs is indisputable; "safe" for the cops means harassment and brutal slayings of blacks.

This would seem elementary for any ostensible revolutionary organization, however the Communist Workers Party (CWP) activists on campus have busily put themselves to the task of containing the anti-racist protests to the defeatist strategy of appealing to the administration. The CWP has stooped to race-baiting and anti-communist exclusion in order to seal off the BSA membership from an open discussion on strategy. To

this end, at a November 19 BSA meeting called to discuss the attacks on the BSA, CWP supporters tried in vain to exclude the SYL (including our black and hispanic comrades). When both its white-exclusionist and SYL-exclusionist motions were overwhelmingly voted down, the CWP decided that democracy could be dispensed with. The next night the CWP set up its own goon squad to exclude us, in defiance of the BSA membership vote. What is the CWP afraid of?

The CWP is reduced to such pitiful tactics for the simple reason that it has no strategy whatsoever to defeat racist attacks—at Harvard or anywhere else. In 1975-77 the Spartacist League and SYL campaigned in Boston for labor/black defense against anti-busing racist attacks, for no reliance on the cops, courts or federal troops to protect black people, and for the extension of busing to the suburbs (as opposed to

*Viewpoint* tells us that:

"By carrying out the bourgeoisie's law in the constitution, the forced busing plan has fed the growth of fascist organizations like ROAR, KKK, and the South Boston Liberation Army. The liberals have given these reactionary organizations more strength to mislead the white workers."

With such a position, we wonder that the CWP protested the Klitgaard report. After all, don't special admissions programs for black students get the racists' backs up in universities as well? And, if the CWP believes "community control" is such a fine thing, why object to keeping blacks out of richly-endowed Ivy League enclaves of white upper-class privilege?

The Boston busing fight was, at the time, the most important referendum on racism in the country—and the CWP stood on the wrong side. If the fight for "free hot lunches" in rotting ghetto schools in a virulently racist society can

Young Spartacus Photo



October 28: Harvard students protest racist Klitgaard report.

limiting busing between equally impoverished inner-city schools). At the same time the CWP—then Workers Viewpoint Organization—opposed busing. And they still do! In convoluted Mao-talk, *Workers Viewpoint* (November 1976) devotes page after page to why black people in Boston should give up the fight for busing to achieve integration, primarily because it "pits the oppressed nationality and white working class communities against each other." This means, in simple language, that if racist mobs in South Boston don't like busing, then busing is a "bourgeois plot" which makes honest working folks fight with each other. So, according to the CWP, blacks should forget about the struggle for integration and fight for better "community" schools. *Workers*

be called a "strategy"—it is a strategy for defeat. CWP supporters attended an SYL forum at Harvard on November 21 and defended their wretched anti-busing position in front of appalled students. "I don't understand the line," said a CWP spokesman, "this acceptance as though, as busing in itself is a good idea. You know in some cases community control is the best thing. The best thing in any case is to try to talk about education." The black school children who daily face rock-throwing bullies as they ride the bus to school no doubt think something more should be done than "talk about education." There is the question of fighting the racist mobilization which seeks to keep black youth segregated in the hell-holes of American ghettos. SYL spokesman Ed Jarvis responded:

"I am astonished about the question, the stuff you said about busing. You've got forced segregation in this country. Blacks are forced into the ghetto, forced into inferior education and when I go to Harlem, or to the ghettos of Chicago and I see the conditions of all-black schools.... They let the schools deteriorate. You almost have an all-black school system in Chicago, and they wouldn't even pay the teachers! This is a national policy. It's hard to make that kind of blatant, disgusting racist attack when there is integration. And the point is integration.... Segregation is inherently a disenfranchisement of the black population. That's why it exists. And that's why the racists are out there trying to stop busing."

But this simple fact of social reality is lost on the eclectic Maoists of the CWP: the defeat of busing to achieve integration by organized racists signalled ever-increasing and bold racist attacks, sanctioned by the state.

In its own small way, the CWP contributed to the rise of social reaction

in this country. Despairing of winning the white and black working class to a united struggle against racist attacks, the CWP covered up its revolting defeatist line by arguing that the "liberal" bourgeoisie is "even more dangerous." "In the busing issue, the split of the working class signals a greater menace of fascism than the KKK, the Hicks and Kerrigans" (*Workers Viewpoint*, May 1975). Likewise, "decadent" movies, democratic rights for homosexuals—all of this was, for the CWP, part of a liberal plot for "fascisation." Only this fall, the CWP was among the bigoted puritans who organized to close down a Harvard screening of *Deep Throat*. Its reactionary positions on elementary social issues are reflected as well in the CWP's virulently anti-Soviet posture; like all the Maoist sectlets, it stands foursquare with NATO and the U.S. war arsenal against the Soviet degenerated workers state.

Lacking any strategy to mobilize the power of the organized labor movement to fight in the interests of the oppressed, the CWP leaps from one defeatist gimmick to the next. The five slain CWP members, slaughtered by KKK/Nazis in Greensboro, are martyrs of the entire working class and left movement—and their murders will be avenged! But, the death of five union organizers, black rights activists and communists is no victory!

The emergence of open racist threats to black students within the halls of the foremost bourgeois university in the country is an ominous sign of a growing right-wing racist social climate. These attacks must be stopped! Serious black and anti-racist militants at Harvard must look beyond the campus gates, however, to the growing KKK/Nazi terror and government attacks on the most minimal gains of the civil rights movement. The Klitgaard report is only an academic echo of the fascist gunfire in Chattanooga and Greensboro. The SYL has demonstrated in action that the fascist threat can be stopped by mass mobilizations of labor and minorities. The SYL organized nationwide protests on campuses from California to Chicago, from New York to Detroit against the racist "justice" in Greensboro. And the CWP? It was calling for a march on the Harvard-Yale game to demand police "protection" against racist attacks and tailing the mythical "anti-fascist" alliance with ruling-class politicians in Greensboro. It took sides with the anti-busing bigots in Boston, preaching despair of an integrated class battle to win. To young black militants, the CWP can only offer the fleeting rhetoric and permanent sellouts of a sect going nowhere.

As an SYL spokesman explained to the Harvard audience attending the SYL forum "Smash the Klan!":

"...the difference between the Spartacus Youth League and the CWP is a question of recognizing the difference between a victory and a defeat. So that when the Nazis were stopped in San Francisco by mobilizing 1,200 trade unionists, leftists and socialists and members of various minority groups [by the April 19 Committee Against Nazis] that is a victory. Whereas the CWP careens into Kokomo, Indiana after the KKK had already left, and gets injuries inflicted on themselves by the cops—they call that a victory, we call that a defeat.... We see that the trade-union movement, the industrial unions in this country are the only places in this deeply racist society where blacks and whites are organized at the point of production and where you can cut through the racist hatred in this society and you can mobilize them together against their common oppressors, whether it's the boss, the Nazis or the KKK."

### Spartacus Youth League Directory

SYL National Office: Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013

Ann Arbor: SYL, Box 89, Room 4102 Michigan Union, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, or call (313) 994-9313

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

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

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

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

Detroit: SYL, Box 20035, Ferndale, MI 48220, or call (313) 868-9095

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

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 662-1564

Madison: SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 257-2950

New York: SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 732-7860

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

### Trotskyist League of Canada

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

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 254-8875

Winnipeg: Box 3952, Station B, Winnipeg, Manitoba, or call (204) 589-7214

# Reagan Reaction...

(continued from page 1)

world's most powerful non-capitalist state. The great October Revolution of 1917 still lives in the nationalized and collective property forms of the Soviet state and their extension to Eastern Europe. As Trotskyists we seek to oust through proletarian political revolution the bureaucratic caste which usurped political power under Stalin. This is ultimately the only way to defend the social gains of the Bolshevik revolution against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution.

## Labor and Black Battles Ahead

All the victimizable sections of the population in the U.S. and the world can expect to get it. There is plenty of desire to fight back among the trade unionists and blacks who clearly see their rights under fire by the Reagan administration. It is crucial that struggles against the Reagan reaction not be channeled through the Democratic Party, which is discredited as never before among wide layers of working people. Against the liberals and black reformists who will be trying to restore the myth of the Democrats as "friends of the working people" it will be necessary to mobilize labor and blacks independently of the twin parties of war and big business racism.

Reagan, who won a good many white working-class votes, will be confronted by major union contracts, i.e., the mine workers, railroad workers and postal workers, in 1981. Blacks will be in the forefront of the defensive struggles of labor, especially in the key auto and steel industries, both of which have a heavily black labor force and both of which are in a period of decline. Factory closings and mass layoffs in steel and auto demand militant and integrated class struggle against the bosses' plans to "rationalize" thousands of workers out of their jobs. Black workers are also less likely to be caught up in the capitalists' attempts to whip up anti-Soviet war sentiment, if only because American blacks have never had many illusions in the "American dream."

Furthermore, it has been the policy of the bourgeois press to link up any battle against racism and fascist terrorists with the question of socialist participation in these fights. Greensboro, for instance, was consistently portrayed even in the liberal bourgeois press as a "shoot out" among equally extremist groups. Despite attempts by both the Carter and the Reagan camps to whip up a Cold War witchhunt atmosphere of anti-communist hysteria, the majority of the American population has not yet fallen into step behind them and blacks, particularly, are unresponsive to this virulent right-wing patriotism.

The Reagan election was a signal to the fascist terrorists on the ultra-right that their day is coming. From San Francisco to North Carolina, the Klan and Nazis are growing—and can expect

to capitalize on the general rightward turn in American bourgeois politics. At the same time, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League have led several important mobilizations against the fascist swine. Independent mobilizations of labor and blacks in San Francisco last spring and a year ago in Detroit were successful in stopping threatened Nazi and Klan demonstrations. When the acquittals of the five Klan/Nazi murderers were announced, the SYL initiated demonstrations nationwide, which typically drew over 100 students at each campus, to protest this racist "justice" (see article this issue). The Spartacist Party campaign of socialist union militant Diana Coleman for SF Board of Supervisors reached many working-class, minority, gay and leftist supporters, netting over 7,000 votes for the revolutionary candidate.

There are always two sides to a social/political polarization. Those who desire to fight the racist, anti-working class and warmongering policies of the "Reagan years" should look to the SL/SYL. We are fighting to build the revolutionary party which can lead the struggle to smash racial oppression and capitalism through socialist revolution. Join the SYL! ■

# Grenada...

(continued from page 3)

found throughout the ex-colonial world, from Mexico City to Lagos, Nigeria, with urban centers swollen with millions of jobless squatters drawn from the dirt poor countryside. But on the tiny Antilles there is not even much countryside, and the bulk of the population has no appreciable role in the productive process. The main alternatives for the urban and rural poor are emigration or participation in a thriving underworld. Add to this an assortment of religious/drug cults like the Rastafarians and you get the bleak poverty and wanton lumpen violence of the Jamaican film, *The Harder They Come*. In this setting the dominant social organizations are competing gangs disputing control of gambling, prostitution and the ganja trade. State power, such as it exists, is mostly in the hands of a fly-by-night mafia bourgeoisie, ever ready to escape to Miami in their waiting Cessnas (usually used for dope smuggling).

It is absurd to envision proletarian revolution within the confines of these impoverished islands which hardly have a proletariat. Lacking the strength of proletarian or bourgeois class rule, petty-bourgeois movements like Bishop's can dominate the lumpenproletariat only through bonapartist militarism. And tiny Grenada is no Cuba. Moreover, even in a Caribbean-wide framework, linking up the fragments of a working class from Trinidad to Cuba (and the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico), it will not be possible to escape from deep poverty and build socialism without proletarian revolution in the metropolitan imperialist powers, first and foremost the United States. The idea of a

## CORRECTIONS

In *YSp* No. 85 (October 1980), we reprinted an article by the SYL and an interview with the former Yippie-turned-Wall Street securities analyst Jerry Rubin, both of which originally appeared in the *Brandeis Justice*. Our comrades wrote, "The Spartacist League came out of the New Left with an organization of young socialist militants who have gone on to struggle in and for the working class." While many recruits to the SL/SYL certainly began their political life in the New Left, the origins of the Spartacist League go back to the "old left" of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA). The founding cadre of the SL were members of a left opposition in the SWP—the Revolutionary Tendency—and were bureaucratically expelled from the SWP in 1963. As the SWP rushed headlong from centrism to outright reformism, the expelled RT mem-

bers, who had formerly functioned as an external faction of the SWP, formed the Spartacist League in 1966.

In the article, "How Does the SWP Fight Fascism?" in *YSp* No. 86 (November 1980), we refer to "the black phone worker murdered by the Klan in Fontana." Actually, black phone worker Dovard Howard was shot in the back and permanently paralyzed from the waist down. He was shot by one Larry West Deanne just two hours before a Klan rally at Fontana City Hall. Although Deanne has not been identified as an official KKK member, it is the belief of Howard's family and the black community that the shooting was Klan related. Also, we refer to the Republican candidate who refused to debate Klansman Tom Metzger as "herself." Clair Burgener, the 58-year-old self-described "right-winger," is a male.

Grenadian (or Martinican or Barbadian) Revolution is such a travesty that for the last century the real political capitals of the Caribbean have been New York, London and Paris. And quite a number of West Indian radicals have been led to join the communist movement in the advanced capitalist countries by the desire to liberate their homelands from imperialist domination.

The New Jewel Movement in Grenada and similar populist-nationalist

Rick Smolan/Contact



Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop

groupings elsewhere in the region are the after-products of the "black power" upsurge in the Caribbean of 1970-71, centering on Trinidad. Growing out of the student movement, this revolt against the neocolonial rulers imposed at independence spread to militant left-wing oil workers, giving Caribbean rulers the jitters. But it was utterly smashed by a government crackdown, and "black power" soon fell apart as an organized current in the region. For while it had tapped explosive mass

discontent over the bitter fruits of formal independence, it never had a revolutionary program for political/economic emancipation of the black masses.

Now the after-effects are hopeless nationalist movements, each focusing on a smaller piece of real estate and preaching the virtues of "self reliance." There are even "liberation movements" trying to free Tobago from Trinidad, Aruba from Curaçao, Barbuda from Antigua! In contrast, the greatest of the black revolutionaries of the Caribbean, Toussaint L'Ouverture, abolished slavery and won independence for Haiti in the 1790s by joining with white European revolutionists fighting for the cause of "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality" everywhere. And the revolution he led was not trivial: by adopting an international revolutionary banner and seeking to assimilate European culture, he was able to build a powerful army which beat off Napoleon's attempt to crush black independence in Santo Domingo. Compare this to the "threat" posed by "revolutionary Grenada."

Even more so than in the days of the great bourgeois revolutions, only an internationalist program—which today means communist—can liberate the West Indies, which was divided under five flags by colonialism and has been kept in poverty by capitalist imperialism. A revolutionary Trotskyist party will be built not on the basis of narrow nationalism but in close collaboration with the workers of the advanced capitalist countries. It will be built in struggle against the Stalinist illusion that socialism can be built on one island, or even in one archipelago, and against the petty-bourgeois populism which the Cuban Stalinists (along with the SWP) hail. The SWP's overblown glorification of "revolutionary Grenada" only proves that these reformists have nothing to say to West Indian leftists who seek the road of permanent revolution. ■

## Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

### Bay Area

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

### New York City

Tuesday: 6:00-9:00 p.m.  
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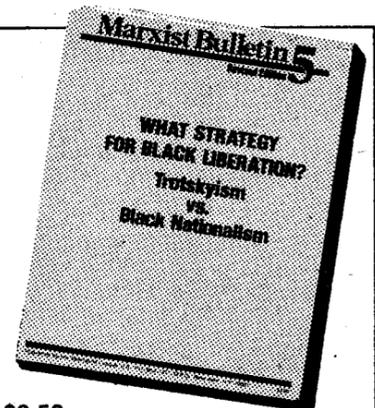
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# Young Spartacus

## Line Shift on Afghanistan

# SWP Joins Anti-Soviet Chorus

For revolutionary socialists there is nothing ambiguous about the war in Afghanistan. The Soviet army and its left-nationalist allies are fighting an imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary melange of landlords, money lenders, mullahs, tribal chiefs and bandits committed to serfdom, usury, the bride price and mass illiteracy. Even the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was forced to admit this earlier this year in a front-page *Militant* (25 January) editorial: "The Soviet troops sent into Afghanistan are there to help crush the U.S.-backed counterrevolution." Of course, the SWP was lukewarm in its support to the Soviet intervention. Even in the face of Carter's exploitation of Afghanistan to escalate his anti-Soviet war drive, the SWP denied that defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism had been placed squarely on the agenda. Further, given its prostration before the mullahs in neighboring Iran the SWP had to first deny reality and then alibi Khomeini when he stood with the CIA, British imperialism and the Pakistani military dictatorship in providing material aid to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries against the Soviet "infidel."

Now, after months of individual members around the country announcing an imminent line change, the SWP has finally gone public with a reversal on Afghanistan. In a National Committee document "Upheaval in Afghanistan" reprinted in the 22 December *Intercontinental Press* and 22 December *Militant*, the SWP has joined the anti-Soviet chorus of Reagan, Carter, pro-NATO Maoists and "third camp" social democrats: "Rather than being liberators, the Soviet troops are foreign occupiers"

(emphasis in original).

Why the line change? According to a companion document by the SWP national secretary Jack Barnes, "Correcting Some Errors on Afghanistan" (*International Internal Information Bulletin*, December 1980) Barnes has been doing some "thinking" and "mulling over" the SWP's support to Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Barnes singles out the position of the international Spartacist tendency, significantly the only opponent organization he polemicalizes against. "I also read the press of the Spartacist sect. 'Hail Red Army!' was the main headline on their first issue after the Soviet intervention." This forthright Trotskyist slogan led him to observe: "... it did make me think about the devastating political logic that could be drawn from some of the assumptions we were starting from." Such "political logic" was "devastating" because it led to the Trotskyist position of the unconditional military defense of the social gains of the October Revolution which, despite the bureaucratic usurpation of proletarian political power, are still embodied in anti-capitalist collectivized property forms.

Barnes had to acknowledge the "third camp" pressures from the petty-bourgeois left that have intensified in the wake of the propaganda campaign unleashed by the imperialists and bourgeois press following the Afghan events." But the American SWP line change is not a capitulation to the "petty-bourgeois" but to the intensified anti-Soviet campaign of its own imperialist bourgeoisie.

While conceding that Afghanistan has "more mullahs than proletarians,"



Young Spartacus Photo

Trotskyists welcome Soviet intervention against U.S.-backed Afghan feudalists; SWP now denounces "foreign occupiers."

Barnes tries to invoke Lenin's name in opposing Red Army intervention in semi-colonial regions. But it was precisely to such regions where the proletariat was negligible or nonexistent and where nascent and weak anti-feudal movements such as the Young Bohara movement or the Mongolian People's Party—movements that were very much analogous to the left-nationalists in Afghanistan today—met fierce counter-revolutionary resistance, that Lenin and Trotsky rushed whatever military aid was available in their beleaguered workers state.

Of course, Brezhnev's Red Army is

not Trotsky's. But when the SWP was supporting the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan earlier this year it made the appropriate analogy to the extension of the Stalinist Chinese Revolution to Tibet in 1959 ("Rightist Revolts: Tibet in 1959, Afghanistan Today," *Intercontinental Press*, 31 March). The SWP, reformists with a Castroite veneer, now squarely oppose the military might of the Soviet Union which makes possible the extension of the social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples and which constitutes a mortal threat to the imperialist world order. ■

# The Murder of John Lennon

New York Governor Carey ordered the American flag flown at half mast. Mayor Koch seized the opportunity to make a pitch for national gun control and led 150,000 mourners in a Central Park vigil, while Ronald Reagan added his prayer for stiffer crime laws. The sensationalist *New York Post* swung into action with "exclusive" photos of the murderer's ex-lovers and revelations like, "Dali death painting may provide a clue." The music industry's marketing strategies were quickly revised to milk maximum profit from the murder's conjunction with the Christmas season. Ex-radicals called each other to "share their feelings." And the Communist Workers Party mourned that the dead "working class hero" "didn't know how to apply Marxism-Leninism." In the murder of John Lennon, there was something for everybody.

For many, the iconoclastic Lennon symbolized a "countercultural movement" born in the '60s. Lennon's irreverence appealed to youth fed up

with the readily apparent hypocrisy of bourgeois society and the slaughter of the Vietnam War. "All you need is love, love, love" became the "bed-ins" against the war in '69, and American youth loved it. And when the "movement" was gone, they could cling to their Beatles' albums and feel that they hadn't "sold out."

An innovative popular musician, John Lennon was a contradictory public figure. The man who said that the Beatles were "more popular than Jesus" and met with effigy-burnings and Klan demonstrations in the Bible Belt is the same man who knelt before Queen Elizabeth to receive the Order of the British Empire. He evoked optimism in "Imagine" and anti-communism in "Revolution." He wrote "Give Peace a Chance" to be sung by hundreds of thousands at the antiwar Washington Moratorium in 1969; he also made a donation to the New York police—a force of capitalist violence against working people and minorities—to help



them buy bullet-proof vests.

Conservative Prime Minister Alec Douglas-Home once called the Beatles "a useful contribution to the balance of payments." With paramount cynicism, Koch and Reagan now look upon Lennon's murder as another "useful contribution," this time to their "law and order" campaigns. Politely forgot-

ten, of course, is the fact that the U.S. government waged a five-year, million-dollar campaign to deport Lennon on a 1968 British drug bust. With consummate hypocrisy, the bloodiest ruling class in history is using the Lennon killing to sway public sentiment in favor of gun control. America is a "violent society," they say, so let's take away the people's guns. This will leave only the cops, criminals and crazies armed, with decent citizens more helpless than ever. Meanwhile the Pentagon drives full speed ahead with the largest arsenal of mega-death weapons ever.

Facing four years of Ronald Reagan, the "counterculture" generation is reduced to the refrain, "I believe in yesterday." For them the struggle is over. Revolutionaries do want to change the world—before the bourgeoisie does by plunging humanity into a nuclear holocaust. The choices facing humanity have only grown more stark since Marx originally posed them; Barbarism or Socialism! ■