

Young Spartacus

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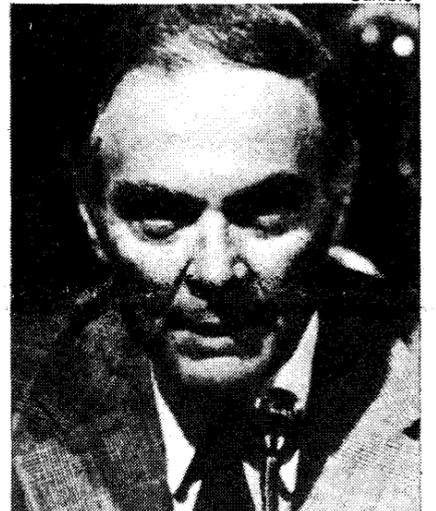


Wehrtechnik

Ray Fisher



Cambio



Defense of USSR/Cuba Begins in El Salvador!

Ronald Reagan did not waste any time: he stepped from the inaugural platform straight to the firing range of Cold War II. Not one week has passed without another shot being fired in this war of threats and accusations—a campaign begun by the Democratic Carter administration—designed to stir up anti-communist frenzy against the Soviet Union. But to call this imperialist rhetoric by the old term “saber rattling” seems to miss the ominous threat that lies behind it: a \$223.6 billion military budget and the relentless will to destroy the Soviet state.

Imperialism *cannot* “peacefully coexist” with the USSR. Created in the only successful *proletarian* revolution in history, the USSR today still embodies the tremendous historical gains of a planned economy and nationalized property. These advances are the prime target of the U.S.’ arsenal of nuclear destruction. Despite the Stalinist political counterrevolution in the Soviet state in the 1920s, the remaining gains of the Russian Revolution must be defended against imperialist attack.

Reagan “Renewal” Means Imperialist War

Ronald Reagan took the oath of office vowing to begin an “era of national renewal.” And what is going to be “renewed” is clearly set forth in dollars and cents for all to see: the largest shift to military spending in the

nation’s peacetime history. Carter’s enormous military budget for 1981 has been increased by \$32 billion under Reagan’s new proposal (with the projection of spending *one trillion dollars* by 1985!), while \$40 billion is to be cut from domestic social programs like food stamps, welfare, job training and educa-

tion. And what will the billions buy? Reportedly, the list starts with the addition of 20,000 civilian employees to the Army, pay increases for members of the armed forces and a myriad of special projects to increase and improve missiles, aircraft, ships, submarines.

The B-1 bomber is again on the

agenda. Development of a new “invisible” airplane continues. Billions will go to new nuclear-powered aircraft carriers, guided missile cruisers, attack submarines... but this is just the beginning of the list.

These modern miracle weapons are *continued on page 10*

U.S. Sends Them to Their Deaths Asylum for Salvadoran Refugees!

While Reagan showers his El Salvador butchers with Huey helicopters and American military “advisers,” back home the U.S. Immigration Service is doing its bit to contribute to the bloodbath. In January the Spartacist League reported how *la migra* has been deporting several hundred Salvadorans a week to the clutches of the murderous junta and its right-wing execution squads. This airlift to death came to light when 42 Salvadorans awaiting deportation in an INS concentration camp at El Centro, California went on a hunger strike after learning about a Christmas Day massacre of a group of deportees at the San Salvador airport.

The 2 March *New York Times* carried a lengthy story investigating this grisly business. In the last fiscal year, the *Times* reported, nearly 12,000 Salvadorans were sent back to face the sadistic junta torturers and assassins. It noted that some of those deported were trade unionists and teachers whose names have appeared on “what purport to be ‘death lists.’” The article reports a spokesman for the U.S. embassy affirming “that he had heard many reports of mistreatment or killing of Salvadorans returned from the United States....” When asked for addresses of those refugees returned on Christmas Day, the INS refused “saying it was concerned that any inquiries in El

Salvador about their well-being might jeopardize their lives.”

The deportations to El Salvador are deliberate *murder*. In contrast to the fate of refugees from the terror of the Reagan-backed, U.S.-armed junta, the United States has always welcomed the scum of the earth: Nazi war criminals, Croatian fascists, Cuban gusanos, Vietnamese torturers and, under Jimmy “Human Rights” Carter, Nicaraguan mercenaries. The Spartacus Youth League calls for militant protests against this bloody trafficking in butchery. Asylum for the refugees from junta terror! Stop deportations to El Salvador!

RWL/OCC Strikes Out in Ann Arbor

For a Campus-Wide Union!

ANN ARBOR—For the second time since their union was decertified five years ago, clerical workers at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor have rejected the Organizing Committee for Clericals (OCC) as their bargaining agent. When the ballots were counted in the state-supervised union certification election on February 17, there were 1,125 votes for the OCC and 1,376 for "no union," with over 70 percent of the university's 3,500 clericals voting. The leaflet reprinted below was distributed before the certification vote by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and its clerical supporters to present the SYL's position of "spoil your ballot."

The OCC is a creature of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), brainchild of one Peter Sollenberger. It was an RWL front group, the Clericals for a Democratic Union (CDU), which led United Auto Workers (UAW) clericals' Local 2001 to destruction in August 1976. At that time clericals were fed up with the CDU's apolitical and destructive maneuvering with the UAW tops. Sollenbergerites who led the union refused to process workers' grievances as a power play against the UAW International leadership. Another CDU ploy was to advocate that clericals withhold union dues—an openly anti-union program!

In the wake of its defeat, the OCC held a public meeting on February 25 attended by only a handful of RWL supporters and their periphery. But when SYL supporters arrived at the meeting, the OCCers tried to exclude us—including our clerical supporters—unless we repudiated the leaflet printed below! Finally, when the militants refused to leave, the OCCers packed up and ran away, having failed in their miserable anti-communist tactics to silence the people who want to fight for a real union.

9 February 1981

The U. of M. campus labor movement has certainly felt the weight of the vicious attacks suffered by the American working class over the last five years. The clerical's union is decertified, the GEO [Graduate Employees Organization] is virtually non-existent and AFSCME [American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees] is considerably weakened. It is undeniable that on a campus where clericals are pulling in a paltry \$130 a week that campus workers desperately need a union which can at the very least make improvements in wages and working conditions and stand as some

sort of barrier to arbitrary management prerogative.

This week clericals will be voting on whether or not to certify the OCC as the bargaining agent for campus clericals. U. of M. clericals desperately need a union but OCC isn't it! These elections offer no choice. Clericals who want to see a union should spoil their ballot



SYL built support for 1977 AFSCME clerical strikers while RWL-CDU crossed their picket lines!

marking it for "a campus-wide union."

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) has a solid record of supporting union organizing efforts and of supporting existing unions when they go on strike against the university. As a fighting socialist youth organization, the SYL seeks to mobilize support for working-class struggles as well as to win this generation of youth to the larger perspective of transforming the world through socialist revolution. These two tasks go hand in hand.

But there is a fraud masquerading as a union movement on campus. Hiding behind a plethora of multi-lettered front groups, a small, Ann Arbor-centered cult/sect presently called the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) led by Peter Sollenberger, makes a flimsy pretense of being a revolutionary organization that does exemplary trade-union work. Campus workers and militant students who wish to support the labor movement should beware: the Sollenberger clique not only has no program to change the world, it does not even support the most rudimentary principles of the labor movement.

Scabbing and Dual Unionism

The RWL has existed in whole or in part under at least ten different names; so when they run into a snag they can always turn up under a new set of initials. For example, their version of a student youth group is called the Campus Labor Support Group (CLSG) which is under the tutelage of the Organizing Committee for Clericals (OCC) which in turn is dominated by the Clericals for a Democratic Union (CDU), a group which is based on the politics of the RWL! The names may be different but the faces and the politics are always the same; but most important, their record is one of crossing other unions' picket lines and fighting against labor unity.

When AFSCME Local 1583 fought a long, bitter strike against the university administration in 1977, the CDU crossed AFSCME picket lines and scabbed—an act which they defend to

this day as necessary to not "deprive the clerical struggle of leadership." In response to SYL insistence on the most fundamental trade-union principle that "picket lines mean don't cross," they turned out 80 pages of documents in defense of scabbing—to date their major literary work. It is no wonder that clericals mistrust this "leadership"

Workers Vanguard Photo

clerical sandbox from which the RWL can recruit.

There is an existing union on campus which bases itself on the organization of government and clerical workers—AFSCME. Common sense dictates that the most effective organization of campus employees would be one campus-wide union, probably under the aegis of AFSCME. It is hardly the most militant union in the U.S., but only dilettantes dabbling in the politics of class struggle like the RWL clot would prefer a sure majority in a small isolated union to a broad campus-wide union which would at least offer the possibility of effectively defending its membership.

Join the SYL!

The SYL is much more than a labor support group. As the youth organization of the Trotskyist Spartacist League, we believe there is an alternative to this society which offers us \$2 a gallon gas prices, massive unemployment, growing racial terror and a brewing nuclear conflagration. As part of our attempt to win youth to a revolutionary working-class perspective we initiated and participated in demonstrations around the country saying, "No to the Draft! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" We were among the main organizers of the labor/black demonstration in Detroit last fall of 500 people who declared that "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" And we fought against the onslaught of Islamic reaction in Iran by fighting "for," "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!"

The RWL and its gamut of front groups have no answers for the long- and short-term questions facing the workers movement; they are even too cowardly to defend their views. To those youth who have a serious desire to support the labor movement and to engage in the struggle to change the world: Join the SYL! We have a world to win! ■

which at the first sound of battle runs to save its own precious skin at the expense of the union movement.

The OCC is likewise a cruel hoax on university clerical workers. Instead of working towards the organization of all campus labor in one union, the OCC spends most of its time hysterically warning AFSCME to stay away from the unorganized clericals through leaflets entitled, "AFSCME Hands Off!" The CLSG/OCC/CDU do not have as their aim the effective organization of clericals but rather the preservation of a

SCAMI Slander Denounced at S.F. State

The following letter was submitted to the Golden Gater and the Phoenix, student newspapers at San Francisco State University (SFSU).

We the undersigned supported and/or endorsed the Spartacus Youth League (SYL)-initiated demonstration on November 19 protesting the acquittal of six killer KKK/Nazis in Greensboro—the only such protest on this campus. Subsequent to that demonstration there appeared a dangerous and slanderous accusation by the Student Coalition Against Militarism and Intervention (SCAMI) in the December 9 issue of the Golden Gater. In an article titled, "Campus political clubs want changes" a SCAMI spokesman charged that the SYL is "a front organization created by the FBI to distract leftist groups." Such a statement could only serve to discredit the important November 19 protest against the racist outrage in Greensboro and create a climate of slander and witchhunt against the SYL.

While we do not necessarily agree with the political views of the SYL,

their honesty and scrupulousness in fighting for the cause of workers and minorities is without question. We reject SCAMI's vicious slander and insist that all leftist, minority and labor organizations must have the right to put forward their views on campus without fear of intimidation.

John F. Affolter, President, California State Employees Association, Chapter 196
Khaled Amin, President, SFSU Organization of Arab Students
Angela Davis, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression
Mona Du Pree
Rodney Lemos, President, SFSU Union of Radical Political Economists
Carl Maxwell, Coordinator, Gay and Lesbian Campus Community
David Montalbano
Roberto Rivera, Chair, La Raza Studies
Gail Sapiro, Women's Studies
Alfonso Torres, Advisor, La Raza Unida Estudiantil
(Organizations listed for identification purposes only.)

Young Spartacus

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

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WSU Administration Saves Burnett's Ass

Oust South End Apologists for Klan/Nazi Murder!

The Wayne State University (WSU) administration has once again made it clear that the students of WSU have no control whatsoever over their own campus newspaper, the *South End*. After the 25 November editorial by *South End* managing editor Mike Nuttle, "Leftists Hinder Justice at Greensboro Trial"—a vile apology for fascist murder which defended an all-white jury's acquittal of five Klan/Nazi murderers—the Ad Hoc Committee to Oust *South End* Apologists for Klan/Nazi Murder demanded the removal of editor John Burnett and Nuttle. The Committee's petition received the support of over 1,200 students and prominent Detroit black, labor and civil rights leaders. Despite the widespread outrage over the Nuttle editorial, the WSU Board of Governors—who have ultimate authority over the paper—refused to take any action (see "Oust South End Apologists for Klan/Nazi Terror!" *YSp* No. 87, December 1980-January 1981). Burnett/Nuttle refused even to publish the petition.

On February 17 the Student Newspaper Publications Board (SNPB)

formally suspended editor Burnett pending an "investigative hearing" on charges which included abuse of office, failure to provide dissenting viewpoints on the letters to the editor page, failure to label editorials as such and failure to insure accurate and objective reporting. While the charges are minimal at best (and the SNPB moved against Burnett only after its toes were stepped on in a petty bureaucratic squabble with the *South End*), Ad Hoc Committee activists rightly saw Burnett's suspension and presumed imminent removal as a partial victory even though aimed at defusing the Committee's campaign. Even the weak-kneed stand of the SNPB, however, was short-lived; the student bureaucrats backed off as soon as the Board of Governors and administration began putting on the pressure.

Unable to tolerate Burnett's removal by even the most attenuated sort of student action, the administration threatened SNPB members with the specter of legal action, charging that the suspension violated due process. Just to make clear who was in control, the

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Liberal Moralists Besiege "Fort Apache"

Everybody's censoring everything these days! The feminists want to censor "dirty" pictures; gays want to censor *Cruising* and *Windows*; Asian groups are organizing against Charlie Chan films. Recently the movie *Fort Apache: The Bronx*, starring Paul Newman and Ed Asner, was run out of Philadelphia as a result of protests by Latino groups. In New York City a similar campaign has been mounted against *Fort Apache*. Picket lines have been set up at movie theaters; stickers have been plastered in subway stations and trains urging people to boycott the movie; a bill to censor *Fort Apache* was even brought before the City Council! When we heard that Mayor Koch and the chief of police had jumped aboard the boycott bandwagon, we determined that there was something very fishy indeed about the campaign against *Fort Apache*. We went to see it and our suspicions were confirmed.

Fort Apache is a liberal cop film of the type one would expect to see on TV. Paul Newman plays the part of a 14-year veteran of the police force who has miraculously managed to maintain democratic values; he and his hip young partner are the only cops who are not portrayed as stupid, vicious, corrupt, racist murderers. In the central scene of the movie a cop throws a Latino youth off a roof to his death about ten stories below. So we know why the Mayor's Office and the Police Department don't want people to see *Fort Apache*.

But what about the Stalinists, the liberals and "community activist" types? Why are they urging people not to see *Fort Apache*? For the most part they

complain that the film doesn't show all the "good" people in the South Bronx, instead focusing on the criminals, pimps, prostitutes, junkies and derelicts. It is simply a fact that there is a relatively high concentration of criminals and social outcasts in poverty-stricken areas like the South Bronx. To Marxists it is elementary that oppression oppresses; it destroys people's lives! We seek to wipe out the ghetto through socialist revolution—the Stalinists and liberals seek to deny its human consequences through censorship. For while *Fort Apache* is little more than a TV-type melodrama, it shows enough of reality to make it clear that social-worker patchwork reform schemes will never "turn the Bronx around."



Scene from *Fort Apache*.

In capitalist America, which feeds on the division between black and white workers and the oppression of minorities, popular culture is deeply racist, sexist and anti-gay. But *Fort Apache* is certainly no more racist than most movies or TV shows, and less so than many. In any case as revolutionaries our battle is with racism in life, not with its reflection on the screen. Marxists do not call for boycotting cultural events such as movies, plays and concerts, i.e., we do not tell people that they should not go see a particular event. We believe that the masses should have the fullest access to culture and to the education which is necessary to critically evaluate and assess it. We have nothing in common with those who argue that the masses

must be shielded from "bad role models" or "dangerous thoughts."

On the other hand, in the right context we might call for a protest (but not a boycott) against a specific movie, such as *Green Berets*. *Green Berets* was a John Wayne movie which attempted to promote pro-war sentiment at the height of U.S. imperialism's unsuccessful attempt to defeat the Vietnamese revolution. A militant demonstration on the opening night of *Green Berets* would have been legitimate, effective and highly desirable. However, to organize a general boycott of the film, to demand that people not see it, would have been an act of stupid, liberal totalitarian moralism. Those who went to see *Green Berets* were not by that act any more or less supporters of the Vietnam War than those who watched LBJ speeches on television or read the editorials in the *Daily News* or the *Chicago Tribune*.

In some situations, an ostensibly cultural event can become a political event. For example, the Ku Klux Klan used to recruit by showing a racist film about Reconstruction called *Birth of a Nation*. Trade-union defense guards would be justified in dispersing such a "film showing." Organizing for racist terror against blacks and other minorities and oppressed people is not a cultural event.

At a February 18 forum at the Old Westbury campus of the State University of New York, entitled "Fighting Reagan Racism and the KKK/Nazis," Spartacist League Central Committee member Charles Burroughs character-

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French Trotskyists Demand:

Workers Defense Guards to Smash the Fascists!

Campuses in and around Paris have in recent months been the scene of increased fascist activity, including terror directed against leftists and minorities. As in the U.S., fascists in France have been emboldened by the increasingly right-wing political climate generated by renewed Cold War anti-Sovietism. But unlike the U.S., the left in France is numerically very strong.

That tiny bands of Nazis can successfully attack ostensibly communist organizations claiming the allegiance of millions of workers and students is a severe indictment of the opportunist politics of these organizations.

The leaflet below was distributed by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF) following a fascist attack upon a meeting of the Communist Party-led UEC (Union of Communist Students). Instead of mobilizing the power of its working-class ranks to defend the meeting, this Stalinist misleadership—like its cohorts in the American Communist Party (see article this issue on page 5)—channeled the existing massive anti-fascist sentiment into impotent and dangerous appeals to the capitalist government to outlaw the fascists.

The rest of the campus "left" was just as misleading. The aspiring bureaucrats of the two major students' organizations—one controlled by the Stalinists, the other dominated by the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) and tailed by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR)—imposed a deceptive "unity" to beg the bourgeoisie to ban the fascists. But on the real class issue—anti-Sovietism (the UEC meeting was called in defense of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan)—there was anything but unity. While falsely claiming to be heirs to the Fourth International of Trotsky, the OCI and LCR both take the same side as the social democrats of the Second International represented in France's Socialist Party (PS), supporting the reactionary mullahs and landlords in Afghanistan against the Red Army.

Only the LTF correctly pointed out the merging of anti-Soviet and fascist sentiment in this attack and by accurately drawing the class line showed students who want to join a real struggle against the fascists the only effective way to do it: through working-class/minority mobilizations.

Anti-Sovietism and Fascist Terror at Tolbiac

Yesterday at Tolbiac anti-Sovietism and fascist terror joined hands. A couple dozen fascists armed with clubs attacked a UEC meeting on Afghanistan and wounded several students.

The UEC has declared its intention to hold the meeting again. This meeting must take place! It is the duty of every worker, Jewish and immigrant organization to guarantee the protection of this meeting in the face of the brown plague.

The apprentice führers' bloody terror has always profited from reformism's bleating pacifism and political cowardice. The lesson of the 1930s was that 30 well-organized and determined fanatical Nazi creeps could panic and disperse 5,000 disorganized, demoralized workers betrayed by their leadership in

Students demonstrate against fascist terror in France.



battle: in Germany, fascism crushed the best-organized and most powerful working class in Europe without a struggle and plunged it into horror.

If we Trotskyists had one-fourth the membership of the PCF today, we would mobilize a defense squad of resolute militants (including our workers) to protect our own and other workers' organizations' freedom of speech, including on the campuses, and one look at our well-organized militants would once and for all squelch the fascist rabble's desire to hang around! Fascists off campus! For workers defense guards to smash the fascists!...

It is no accident that the fascists chose to attack a meeting defending the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The Soviet intervention has served as the pretext for imperialism's renewed war drive against the USSR. And it is this imperialist campaign above all that has rejuvenated the fascists. Given the bourgeoisie's anti-Soviet crusade (plus its anti-immigrant and austerity measures), the fascists sense the wind in their sails.

The class line is drawn in Afghanistan. On one side there is an imperialist-supported rebellion led by the mullahs and tribal chiefs, aimed at preserving a pre-feudal system and fighting against any agrarian reform or attempt to liberate women from their forced seclusion. On the other side is the Red Army which, by intervening against this reactionary rebellion, is defending a just

cause for once.

Despite the installation in the USSR of a bureaucracy that must be driven out through political revolution, important gains of the October Revolution remain and must be defended against imperialism. For proof, one need only compare the lot of the people of Afghanistan on the one hand, where the rebels kill those who teach women to read, and the Asian regions of the USSR on the other hand, where women know how to read and write, and manage universities and factories. That is why we declare: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the Gains of October!"

The class line in Afghanistan is well understood by the fascists also. The leaflet they left behind after their attack at Tolbiac greeted "the magnificent mass uprising of the Afghan people" against "the Soviet aggressor." It ought to be enough to make Maoist, SP and OCI militants think twice about their support to the struggle against the Red Army in Afghanistan.

[...]

But what did [the Stalinist- and OCI-led student organizations] have to offer to the students who wanted to smash the brown plague? Nothing more than a demonstration at the police station under the slogans of "Unity" and "Ban all fascist groups." Thus they reproduced in miniature the PS and PC reformists' response at the 7 October demonstration after the fascist attack at Copernic Street: deflect anti-fascist

hatred into confidence in the bourgeois state....

How can one imagine that the bourgeoisie, whose missiles are aimed at Moscow, would intervene to defend militants who are holding a meeting in support of the Red Army in Afghanistan! Besides, the bourgeoisie, far from crushing the fascist bands, always keeps them in reserve for its dirty work and eventually for the day when it will need them to crush working-class organizations.

The stupidity of demanding that the bourgeoisie ban the fascists was underlined by the [fascist] FANE itself, which carried out its attack at Copernic Street after having been banned by the government. Not only do such appeals to the bourgeois state create illusions, but laws against the "terrorist" bands are most often used against workers organizations. The LCR ought to know this: it has been banned twice under the same law which today it demands be applied against the fascists.

The impressive number of yesterday's demonstrators is a sign of a deep desire to fight the fascists. But will this desire be dissipated in pathetic appeals for protection from the bourgeois government? Those who believe that the prefect will intervene to protect them against the fascists should recall that two years ago these same cops broke into the auditorium at Tolbiac to club students engaged in struggle.

The fascists wanted to prevent the UEC's Afghanistan meeting from happening; they were successful! The students mobilized to protest this fascist attack, but instead of getting lost in stupid supplications before the prefect, this mobilization must be utilized to make sure the UEC's meeting on Afghanistan at Tolbiac goes on, and to organize its defense along with all other workers' organizations. That would have been the way to really demonstrate the will to fight the fascists. This is the kind of unity that is needed: not "unity" in turning to the bourgeois government, but unity for self-defense against the fascists and for defense of workers democracy!

- The UEC meeting must take place!
- Fascists off campus!
- No confidence in the bourgeois state!
- For workers defense guards! ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

Ann Arbor: P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 994-9313

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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) 267-1025

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

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, 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

Anti-“Extremist” Laws Threaten Left

What’s Wrong With CP’s “Ban the Klan”?

The list of fascist attacks and racist murders grows each day: cross burnings from California to Connecticut; ritual killings of blacks in Buffalo; anti-Semitic terror in Los Angeles; the cold-blooded massacre of five anti-Klan activists in Greensboro, North Carolina. Those who claim to lead the working class and oppressed must present a strategy to fight the ominous growth of the race-hate terrorists. The Communist Party (CP) and its youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, have raised “Ban the Klan” as its central anti-fascist slogan—a dangerous call on the bourgeois state to “outlaw racist terror organizations.”

In its first meeting following Reagan’s election, the CP Central Committee passed a resolution demanding “the full weight of the state must be brought to bear to confront this terrorist conspiracy...and organized instigators of it—be they the nazis, the KKK or others—outlawed” (*Daily World*, 20 December).

It is ABC for Leninists that reliance on the bourgeois state, the instrument “for the systematic use of violence by one class against the other” (Lenin, *State and Revolution*), is a trap. How could Klandidate Reagan, the courts that acquitted the Greensboro Klan/Nazi murderers, the cops who break strikes, trash blacks and arrest anti-fascist protesters put an end to the fascists? Why should the viciously racist U.S. state—the butchers of Attica, the terror-bombers of Vietnam—“bring its weight to bear” against the Klan/Nazis? The answer is that it won’t.

Anti-“Extremist” Bills: Anti-Left

At first sight, “Ban the Klan” might look good to those fed up with the civil libertarian claptrap that the “democratic rights” of the racist terrorists are sacrosanct. But the answer to the ACLU and Socialist Workers Party’s (SWP) insistence that the fascists can be debated to death is *not* to call on the bourgeois state to legislate them to death! The state has a use indeed for “anti-extremist” laws—but not the use

“Ban the Klan” supporters hope for. Inevitably, such laws are put to use *against the left*.

The California bill sponsored by state attorney general Deukmejian and backed by the CP is a good example of just how dangerous the “ban” strategy is. The bill is patterned after the 1940 Smith Act, which was also initially touted as anti-Nazi legislation. In 1941, the first Smith Act victims were leaders of the then-revolutionary SWP. Initially, the CP hailed the Smith Act—and the Trotskyists’ convictions—but by the late 1940s and into the 1950s it was the CP which was brutally victimized. By the end of 1956 there had been 145 Smith Act indictments of CP members leading to 108 convictions, with combined sentences of 418 years and fines of nearly half a million dollars. Similarly, the precursor of HUAC in 1934, the Dies Committee, masked itself as an anti-fascist committee. The FBI’s COINTELPRO—an instrument for vicious repression against the antiwar and black movements of the 1960s—was originally offered up as a measure to combat KKK/Nazi terror.

These laws are the enemy of the left and labor movement. Deukmejian’s 1979 report to the California legislature, discussing the fascists’ activity, blames “violence” on... the left:

“The danger, therefore, lies not in their [KKK/Nazi] strength, but in their ability to create trouble by attracting violence from those on the extreme left.”

Sound familiar? The report brands as “terrorists” various leftist organizations—including the SL/SYL! The left groups are thrown into the same category as the Hell’s Angels, fascist prison gangs and the Klan/Nazis. As we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* (13 February):

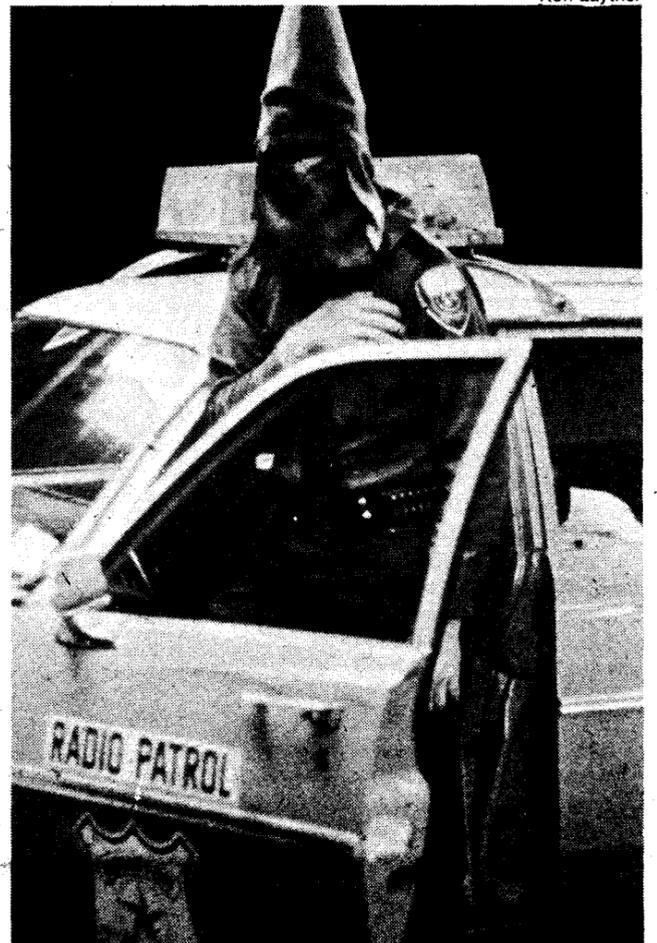
“The purpose is clear. These so-called ‘terrorists’ are proclaimed outside the law, targets to be treated militarily... We are not terrorists, but Marxist revolutionists who oppose terrorism as a futile, despairing strategy that has turned away from the struggle for mass proletarian revolution... We do not intend to be among the nameless, faceless victims to be blown away

Workers Vanguard Photo



Labor/minority demonstration stopped Hitlerite “birthday party” in San Francisco, April 1980. CP tried to sabotage demo.

Why the Klan can’t be “banned”—Smash the Klan!



Ron Laytner

quietly in the night. With all the political, legal and moral resources at our disposal, we will fight this slanderous effort to set us up for government violence.”

It is Deukmejian’s bill, clearly laying the basis for state persecution of the left, which the CP lauds as a prime example of its “ban the Klan” slogan in action.

The task of defending this rotten strategy fell to CP hack Dr. Herbert Aptheker. Aptheker writes:

“Sometimes it is stated that making criminal nazi and KKK propaganda and activity would be used to hurt the left in the sense that such outlawing would be used to justify outlawing of the left. I think this is erroneous. Outlawing racist propaganda and the nazis and KKK would be a great triumph for the left and the very struggles for such an outcome would strengthen the left. That which would strengthen the left cannot at the same time hurt the left.”

—*Daily World*, 15 January

Thus the CP “theoretician” explains that these laws are good for the left because they are good for the left! A few points are “forgotten” by Dr. Aptheker—Deukmejian’s bill deals with “any group or organization that knowingly and willfully advocates, teaches or encourages the commission of acts of violence and force.” Every trade unionist who defends a picket line could be prosecuted under such a bill, just as the United Farmworkers were, in fact, victimized under the 1977 California Terrorist Act.

The fascists cannot be stopped by parliamentary means in any case. Despite the occasional incursions by the fascists into the bourgeois electoral arena in order to gain respectability, a common denominator of fascist movements is that they engage in *extra-legal, extra-parliamentary* action. Their appeal is based precisely on contempt for the “weak-kneed” democrats who cannot save the nation from communism or

“race-mixing.” There lies the difference between right-wing racist demagogues like George Wallace—who operates within the electoral, legal framework—and the Klan.

It is on the streets that the fascists carry out their racist, anti-working-class terror, and it is *on the streets* that they will be defeated. For example, when the Klan threatened to flaunt its Greensboro “victory” in the heart of black and working-class Detroit in November 1979, militant autoworkers and the Spartacist League (SL) organized an anti-Klan demonstration of 500 to say: “The Klan Won’t Ride in the Motor City!” And it didn’t. And when the Nazis announced plans to “celebrate” Hitler’s birthday in San Francisco last April 19, 1,200 militant unionists and leftists prevented it. The CP not only boycotted these anti-fascist mobilizations but in San Francisco unsuccessful—*continued on page 9*

Young Spartacus

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The Spartacus Youth League has sponsored a series of talks around the country by comrade D.L. Reissner, member of the Spartacist League's Commission for Work Among Women, and a former editor of Women and Revolution. The forum has generated controversy and lively debate on campuses. We are printing excerpts from Reissner's presentation in Chicago on January 16, 1981.

Feminists Join "Moral Majority" Anti-Pornography Crusade

From Bra-Burning to Book-Burning

I want to start off by saying a few things about the connection between pornography and violence. In New York, during the last year, three pornographic movie houses were fire-bombed. In Hartford, three feminists recently poured blood all over displays in a lingerie shop and they were acquitted. In Boston, a feminist calling herself Marsha Womongold fired a rifle through the window of a bookstore in Harvard Square because it carried things like *Playboy* and *Penthouse*. At the Women Against Pornography Conference in New York [two years ago] there was a workshop devoted to "Sabotage and the Destruction of Pornography Shops and the Harassment of Customers." And Susan Brownmiller, who equates pornography with Nazi propaganda, writes: "In San Francisco a Jewish community went and tore down a Nazi bookstore. Women must do the same for the pornography establishment."

So, at the outset I'd like to respond to this hotly debated question of whether pornography is linked with violence by saying, certainly on one level, at least, yes it is. There's escalating violence by feminists against innocent booksellers.

Now, of course, the Spartacist League always took a very hard line against feminism on the ground that, by drawing a sex line rather than a class line, it undermined class solidarity and obstructed and delayed the only possible means for the liberation of women, that is, international working-class revolution. But at the same time there was a reason why the Spartacist League always tried very hard, always knocked itself out, to intervene in the feminist movement and not in some other group, not the Junior Chamber of Commerce or the Junior League or something, because we had something in common with many feminists. They were interested in an end to oppression and exploitation on some level. And many feminists in the late '60s and the early '70s, like Marxists, attacked religion, supported revolutionary uprisings against imperialism, opposed the oppressive nuclear family and considered themselves some

kind of revolutionists. Not surprisingly we recruited a lot of these people to the Spartacist League.

Feminists Bloc with Reaction

Now, in 1979, Bella Abzug, a capitalist politician who hasn't won an election in a long time; Gloria Steinem, former CIA collaborator; Robin Mor-

Workers Vanguard Photo



D.L. Reissner

gan, who coined the slogan "Pornography is the Theory, Rape is the Practice"; and Susan Brownmiller, who believes rape is the *essence* of male sexuality, led a march against pornography through Times Square in New York. And we wouldn't touch that march with a ten-foot pole, not even to sell our newspaper at it. We wrote at that time in *Workers Vanguard* [No. 243, 9 November 1979], "As Marxists we oppose attempts at puritanical censorship whether launched by open reactionaries, seeking

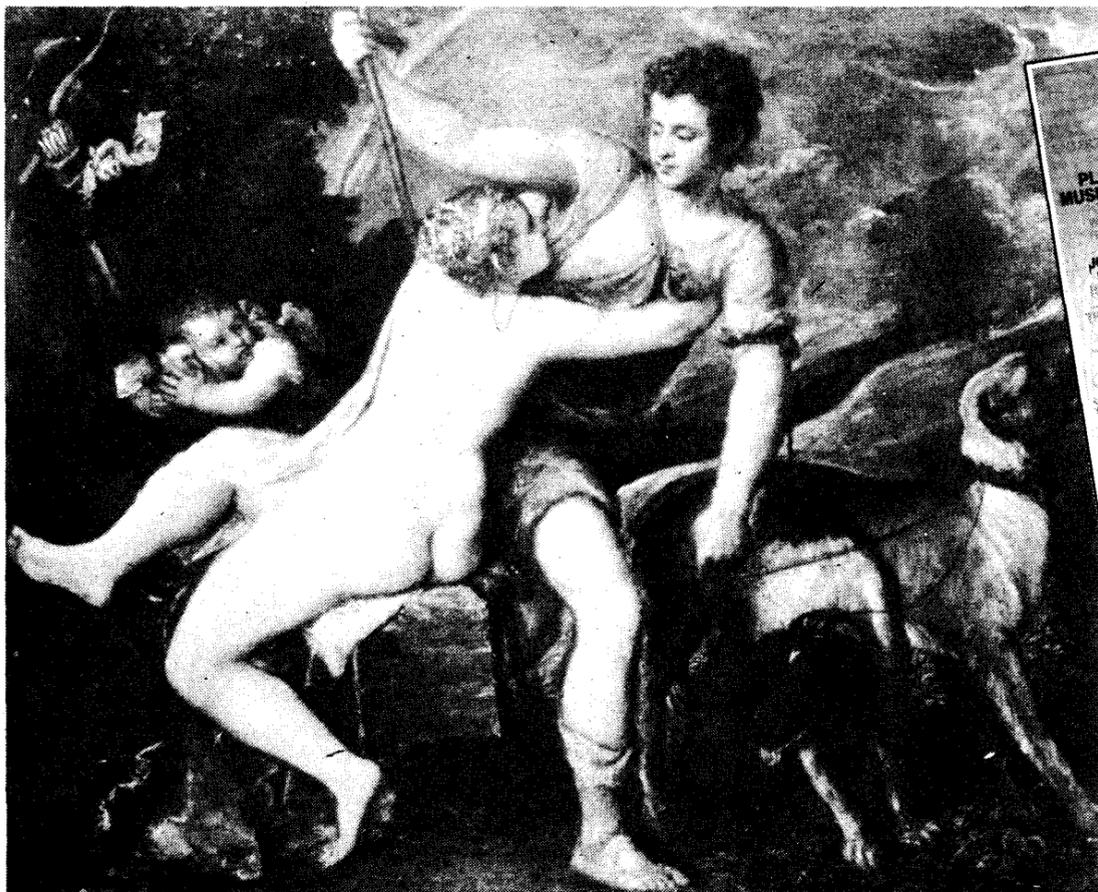
to smash whatever (limited) civil liberties formally exist, or by this new feminist 'Legion of Decency.'" And to those people who said, "Why do you refuse to sell your paper to the same feminists that you've been debating, and arguing with and selling your paper to for years?" we said, "Look, it's one thing to support Appalachian coal miners during a wildcat strike; it's quite another when these same people put on white sheets and go on a religious book-burning spree against the teaching of the theory of evolution in the schools."

This anti-pornography campaign is just as dangerous and just as reactionary. It's a movement which puts feminists in an objective political bloc, no matter how much they may want to dissociate themselves from it, with the most conservative forces in society: the bible-thumping book-burners, the anti-abortion, pro-death penalty right-lifers, the so-called Moral Majority and the FBI. And incidentally I just read in the *Sun-Times* the other day that the Moral Majority's greatest legislative victory last year in Congress was killing a bill to aid battered wives. In this shift toward the right which has been taking place in the whole society, in this country for several years, and which just recently found its expression in the landslide victory of Ronald Reagan, the feminists have shifted right along with everyone else. So within the feminist movement, or the remnants of it, there's no more talk of revolution and there's not even much more talk of reform, and what is left of the feminist movement is devoted almost exclusively now to whipping up outrage and shock that *Playboy* actually prints pictures of naked women—my goodness. So this is the culmination of all those years and years of consciousness raising that we sat through.

Feminists in this country are already in a bloc with the right wing. They are already supporting a renewed and major government offensive against sexual so-called deviants of all sorts. For example, Boston photographer George Jacobs was sentenced last January to, get this, 39 years for having sex with the boy he lived with, 39 years this guy got, and feminist Robin Morgan wrote that guys like Jacobs are just "seedy entrepreneurs slobbering along society's lunatic fringe." Feminists also supported the FBI's Operation Miporn, in Miami Beach, a crackdown on pornography.

Now the Spartacist League has been affected by this right-wing shift too. Our program hasn't forced but the kinds of things that we're forced to talk about in forums like these have. The first public forum that I ever gave for the Spartacist League I gave in 1974, and I talked about the role of women in the Bolshevik Revolution. We like to talk about the Bolshevik Revolution, because it is our model for the future. We like to talk about Marxism, Leninism. We like to argue about what kind of program and strategy and tactics can win power for the working class because that's what we're here for, that's what we're all about. We *do not* like to talk about whether or not government censorship is a good thing or a bad thing. We don't like to talk about whether or not there should be separation of church and state. Or whether women should have to wear veils or not, because we think that these issues were settled a couple hundred years ago. It was the French Revolution.

So we don't like to have to give forums like this, but more and more these are the kinds of issues that we have to talk about. And we find ourselves standing up here before groups of people and defending not so much the



Aspiring feminist ayatollah Annie Laurie Gaylor has gone beyond even Moral Majority bigot Jerry Falwell, who tried to stop the above issue of Penthouse. In her drive against pornography even Titian's "Venus and Adonis" would be censored.

Bolshevik Revolution as the French Revolution. Not so much Leon Trotsky but Mark Twain. And that's a little embarrassing! But Marxists must defend every democratic gain. Because these gains are to the advantage of the working class and its struggle. And if freedom of the press is lost, we know whose press is going to be shut down. So we have to deal with these issues.

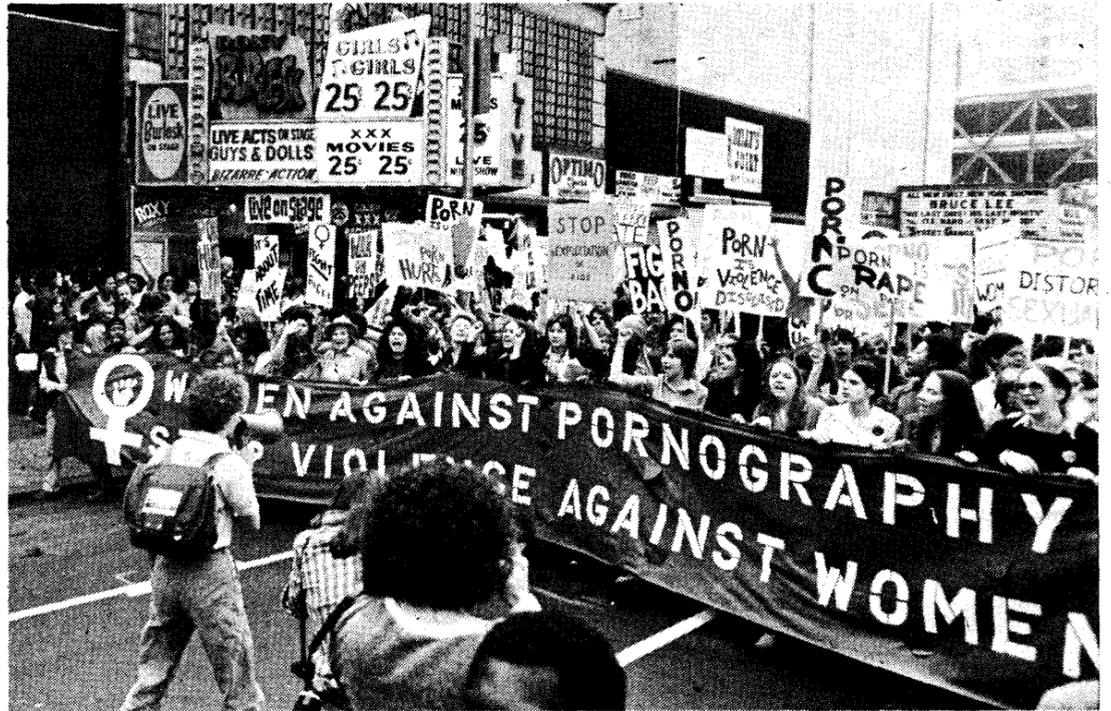
Pornography vs. Erotica?

So I'm going to talk about pornography. Now one of the questions that really weighs heavily on the minds of the anti-pornography feminists is this question of what pornography is. And particularly, what is the difference between pornography and erotica, because everybody agrees that pornography is bad and everybody's for erotica, which is good. The only problem is that nobody can agree on what these are. For instance the pornography slide-show which Women Against Pornography regularly shows in Times Square includes a whole spectrum of things. Everything from women being spanked by men in Nazi uniforms to department store ads showing little girls modeling skirts and sweaters. In the words of professor John Gordon, "The equation is that lust equals dehumanization equals brutalization equals Nazis. There is no talk even of gradations. One is the other, in more or less obvious form. For these angry women, it is the familiar story of the fatal glass of beer. Naughty postcards one minute, Texas Chainsaw Massacre the next! It was one of J. Edgar Hoover's favorite parables—the young innocent inflamed by *smut* to do something dastardly."

One feminist that was interviewed by *off our backs* last year on her definition of pornography said, "When I go past bridal shops I think that's porn. Theology is porn. Psychology is porn. It's all porn." Another one stated, and this is a quote I swear to god, "Saturation with straightforward female sexual stimulus leads slowly but inevitably to the need for and the acceptance of such things as child molestation, incest and sexual violence."

There are a couple of points that should be made here. The first one is the obvious one that there's no accounting

"There's no more talk of revolution....The feminist movement is devoted almost exclusively now to whipping up outrage and shock that Playboy actually prints pictures of naked women—my goodness."



for taste, and likewise there is no justification for locking people up because you don't share their sexual predilections. Somebody once defined perversion as whatever you don't happen to be into. And the same can be said of pornography. At the Women Against Pornography Conference in New York, Gloria Steinem informed the audience that the movie *Cousin Cousine* was a turn-on, the *Story of O* was definitely not erotic, and to think your sexual partner should be bigger than you is pornographic at its root. Thank you, Gloria, but I have my own preferences, I'd rather decide for myself. And *somebody* out there is buying the *Story of O*.

The second point is that the anti-pornography movement, and not just the recent one but historically, has always had at its core a class-biased hypocrisy. Porn has always been what the lower classes must be shielded from lest their base instincts run away with them. Erotic art is what the upper classes collect and the distinction rests on the supposed moral superiority of the self-appointed censors, who always find themselves uniquely qualified to protect the public from sexually impure

thoughts. Do you ever notice how immersing themselves in filth for the public good has never done any of them any harm? They always come out of it okay.

Mark Twain and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Too?

Mark Twain once wrote a bawdy story entitled "1601." It's not so well known as *Tom Sawyer* or *Huckleberry Finn* because it was repressed for a long time. It was never published during his lifetime. But he did show it around to a select circle of friends including John Hay, who later became secretary of state. And Hay sent a copy of it along to his friend Alexander Gunn, who loved it and proposed that they print 100 copies or so just for private circulation. And I got hold of Hay's letter back to him which I thought was really a gem. He says, "My dear Gunn, I have your letter, and the proposition which you make to pull a few proofs of the masterpiece is highly attractive and of course highly immoral. I cannot properly consent to it, and I am afraid the Great Man would think I was taking unfair advantage of his confidence. Please send back the document as soon as you can, and if in

spite of my prohibition you take these proofs save me one."

Now most feminists continue to make this kind of hypocritical distinction between dirty low-class porn and great erotic art. But one feminist that I came across by the name of Annie Laurie Gaylor, writing in the *Feminist Connection*, a feminist paper in Madison, has at least begun to take the premises of the anti-pornography crusade to their logical conclusion. In an article which has the wonderful super-head, "Women: Silly Putty of Classical Artists," she writes, "Where can you see swans raping women, bare-breasted females stabbing themselves, helpless slave girls dangling in space and a whole panorama of sex and violent scenes? More important, where do you find these scenes displayed, studied and venerated? Where do they command huge sums of money and vast respect? You find these photographs *not* in porno shops, but in the most famous art archives and galleries in the Western world. As unlikely as it seems, some of the most valued and influential works of the past by esteemed painters such as Titian, Rubens, Picasso, Giorgionni, Renoir, *continued on page 8*

California Anti-Teen Sex Law: Government Out of the Bedroom!

The champions of good ol' upright upstanding American morals and bourgeois decency are up in arms against sex and art. Sex for female minors, that is, and art they term pornographic. And they're not just driveling on at PTA meetings about the immoral unholiness of heavy petting, they're dealing in *laws and government censorship*.

In January a California state law went into effect requiring doctors to report to the authorities any female patient under 18 suspected of having sex. This law, if enforced, will lead to teenage girls who wish to avoid legal prosecution and parental vindictiveness, having to deal with birth control and VD on their own. That spells lethal disease and coat-hanger abortions, not, as the law's supporters would have it, protection against child abuse.

Even the usually conservative California Medical Association opposes the law, and is filing a suit to stop enforcement of this "state informer" provision. Dr. Edward Zalta, president of the Los Angeles County Medical Association, states he'd "be jailed before I violate any confidentiality," an elementary ethic of the medical profession. Go to jail he might, too, for up to six

months for failure to comply, and get slapped with a \$500 fine to boot.

Among the powerful reactionary sponsors of this obscene law are Senator John V. Briggs (remember him? He authored the anti-homosexual Proposition 6 in California in 1978) and California state attorney general George Deukmejian, whose bill that would outlaw violent "extremist" groups is really aimed at leftists (see "California Anti-'Extremists' Bill Threatens Left," *Workers Vanguard* No. 274, 13 February).

Outrageous violation of basic democratic rights in the form of state intervention in people's private lives seemingly knows no bounds. A public outcry against "pornography" recently forced artist Elaine Good to remove her exhibit of erotic paintings depicting—horrors!—nude men and women embracing, from a suburban L.A. art museum. The museum's director received the command from the Downey City Council: either close the exhibit (already enticingly blocked from casual view by a brown wrapping paper barricade) or close the museum.

These shocking measures on the part of the capitalist state are supremely



Roman Polanski

hypocritical: witness California state senator Alan Robbins, who righteously led the witchhunt against film director Roman Polanski for his sexual affairs with consenting minors, now slithering out of felony charges for his own sexual shenanigans with teenage girls. Tsk, tsk. Preaching ourselves blue in the face but

not exactly practicing what we preach, eh senator?

This is the stuff of which McCarthyite careers are made. Screaming "down with big government" (but free hand to big business, war on labor, the left and the working class), these devout custodians of public welfare seek to ride the white horse of puritanical government totalitarianism and censorship to the heights of political glory—and power. Make doctors into "sex police," city councils into censorship boards, and you whittle away the rights of individuals to conduct their sex lives and artistic pursuits as they wish.

Marxists strongly denounce any and all state interference in the consensual private lives of individuals. In the article, "Stop the Puritan Witchhunt Against Roman Polanski" of 10 February 1978, *Workers Vanguard* wrote:

"As communists we oppose attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated or decreed 'norms'. The guiding principle for sexual relations between people should be that of effective consent—that is, nothing more than mutual agreement and understanding as opposed to coercion."

We say government out of the bedroom! No to state censorship of the arts! ■

Birgitte Muus/Liaison

Bra-Burning...

(continued from page 7)

Munch, Leonardo da Vinci, Fragonard, *ad infinitum*, were really surrogate girly magazines."

Here we have an honest feminist. And there's only one logical conclusion. Feminists have got to stop the assaults on these seedy little porn shops and go on to better things! The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Louvre, the Prado!

Fight Real Violence Against Women!

Some feminists claim that they're not against pornography in general, they're just against violent pornography. And there's an assumption here that violence against women depicted in pornography leads to violence against women in reality. Now it seems hardly necessary to say this, but look, rape is a form of criminal assault. Rape should be dealt with as such. Among other things, the Spartacist League advocates the repeal of all gun control laws. Women should have the right to carry arms and use them in self-defense. The point is that reading pornography, even violent pornography, is not a violent act. It is reading.

Despite a spate of recent experiments by people like Edward Donnerstein at Wisconsin and others linking pornography to aggressive attitudes toward women in a laboratory, there is no proof that any kind of pornography—even the most violent kind of pornography—causes sex crime. There was a federally appointed commission on obscenity and pornography in this country which spent two years and \$2 million in studying this question. And their conclusion, after investigations: "Empirical research designed to clarify the question has found no reliable evidence to date that exposure to explicit sexual material plays a significant role in the causation of delinquent or criminal sexual behavior."

In fact the one thing that researchers seem to agree on is that sex offenders seem to have been exposed to less pornography during their formative years than average people. In 1965 erotic material became very widely available in Denmark and by 1967 the Danish parliament took all legal restrictions off the sale of written and pictorial erotica, pornography. So one would expect the number of sex crimes to have increased at that time if it was linked with pornography, but in fact sex crimes including rape decreased between 1965 and 1967, and since 1967 the incidence of rape has gone down a little bit more, and the incidence of other sex crimes has decreased 75 percent between the years 1967 and 1973.

What really lies behind the assumption of feminists that life imitates art in the area of sex crime is the suspicion, or the conviction, that rape is not some kind of aberrant manifestation at all, but simply a variant of male sexuality, or even the essence of male sexuality. Robin Morgan says, "Rape is the perfected act of male sexuality in a

patriarchal culture. I claim that rape exists any time sexual intercourse occurs when it has not been initiated by the woman. . . . And it need not be in a knife laid against the throat. It's in his body language, his threat of sulking, his clenched or trembling hands, his self-deprecating humor or angry put-down or silent self-pity at being rejected. It must be clear that under this definition most of the decently married bedrooms across America are settings for nightly rape."

Well, according to this definition they are. I myself have been known to sulk at times. But to call this rape makes a travesty of real violence that women suffer every day and that's the point.

Now a fact which seems to escape many feminists is that pornography is not meant to be taken literally. When Nancy Friday wrote in *My Secret Garden* that many women have masochistic fantasies and are aroused by violent pornography, feminists were very quick to point out that this does not mean that women actually want to be raped. Diana Russell, for instance, writing in *The Politics of Rape* said, "... having voluntary fantasies of being raped and wanting to be raped are two entirely different things. First, people are in complete control of their fantasies, even if the fantasy involves a situation in which they are out of control. But in a real rape or attempted rape situation, unlike the fantasy version, women are usually afraid and often terrified."

Now this is quite true. So why is it so hard to comprehend that someone may also fantasize about aggression without having the desire to rape or to murder? Only the Catholic church teaches that sin resides in thought even when it's not articulated in the deed. Even born-again Jimmy Carter knew that he was not going to be damned just for having lust in his heart.

Marxism vs. Petty-Bourgeois Idealism

The final part of what I want to say I call "Idealism vs. Materialism, or Sidney Poitier Against V.I. Lenin." Now think back to the '60s and remember all those goody-goody Sidney Poitier movies which were supposed to advance the civil rights struggle by providing a positive image of black people. Remember how much good they did? Well, nevertheless, people who are frustrated with unsuccessful attempts to change reality are still trying to change the image of reality, instead. So that gays try to censor *Cruising* and *Windows* and Chinese-Americans are trying to censor Charlie Chan movies and black and Spanish residents of the South Bronx try to stop the filming of *Fort Apache*.

But as materialists, Marxists understand that art reflects life, not the other way around. And we address ourselves not to the reflection of life in art, but to the underlying reality itself. We seek to change the world, not the publishing business, or the motion picture business. As Marxists we know that the oppression of women derives from class

society. And that there can be no liberation of women this side of a revolutionary struggle to smash class society and its inherent social injustice.

Sometimes we get accused, "Oh, you guys, you don't fight for women, you just sit back and wait for the revolution." But that simply isn't true. We fight for even small reforms now, which can help women struggle more effectively, and we fight to defend every gain which has already been achieved.

Diana Coleman, who is a militant trade unionist who recently ran for Board of Supervisors in San Francisco on the Spartacist Party ticket, under the slogan "Enough! It's Time for a Workers Party!" included in her program: For free abortion on demand; For free, quality 24-hour child care; Pass the ERA; Free available safe birth control; Equal pay for equal work; Keep the state out of consensual sexual activity; Down with anti-gay laws and cop harassment; Full democratic rights for gays; No laws against pornography, drug use, prostitution; Down with all censorship. Running on this program, which called for breaking with the Democrats and Republicans and forming a workers party to fight for a workers government, Coleman won over 7,000 votes.

Iran, Afghanistan and the Fight for Women's Liberation

The Spartacist League has fought for the emancipation of women not only when it's been easy to do so, like rallying behind the ERA, which everybody does, but we've done it when it's been extremely difficult to do so. So that at the height of Khomeini's popularity in Iran, the Spartacist League stood alone on the left in calling for his downfall, explaining that his program meant the enforced brutalization and slavery of women. In the fighting over Afghanistan, fighting which broke out specifically over the question of women's liberation, the Spartacist League again stood alone and stands alone, in hailing the victory of the Red Army over the reactionary mullahs who are fighting to keep women illiterate, veiled prisoners for life, to be bought and sold like cattle!

Although many feminists oppose Khomeini and what he stood for right from the beginning, they had nothing to say about their sisters in Afghanistan. Because to oppose the rule of the mullahs there, who have the same program as Khomeini and his mullahs in Iran, means to stand squarely on the side of the Soviet Union and against the anti-Soviet war drive being whipped up by American imperialism, and the feminists were not willing to do that. The feminists were so worried that women might be photographed in black garter belts but they had nothing to say about women who are forced to spend their whole lives suffocating under black chadors, veils, and dying by the thousands of tuberculosis and dysentery, and prohibited from learning to read and write, and seeing their daughters sold into slavery. No, they were too busy "taking back the night."

And now, when everybody is jumping

on the anti-pornography bandwagon it's the Spartacist League alone which stands up and opposes this dangerous capitulation to petty-bourgeois despair, which threatens the democratic rights of all of us, and diverts attention from the real cause of violence against women.

At a recent meeting of the National Lawyers Guild, which is supposed to be a radical organization, they adopted a resolution against pornography. And the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee alone carried out the Marxist obligation to be the staunchest defenders of democratic rights, and they put forward a counter-motion. The SL spokesman also pointed out that although the National Lawyers Guild had once defended comedian Lenny Bruce against reactionary moralizers of his day, they wouldn't do so today if he were still alive. Whereas we, the Spartacist League, would be glad to do that.

While most of them are sort of shamed about it, virtually every group on the left today has capitulated to this anti-pornography campaign. Stalinists like the Communist Party, which dominates the National Lawyers Guild, support this campaign at least in part for the same reason that Stalinist bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and China rely on censorship—as a sop to the nuclear family, an institution which they have all been unable to replace. Because, you see, once you defend the nuclear family, as they have to, then everything else falls into place. Then you have to attack everything that's seen as a threat to it. And what could be a threat to the nuclear family? Pornography, homosexuality, and basically women's liberation—the genuine liberation of women, including the right to abortions and contraception. Reformist parties support this anti-pornography crusade because, having given up on the possibility of a working-class revolution, they will tail any petty-bourgeois so-called mass movement.

Now, I just want to finish with something that Mark Twain said since we are obviously gathered here to defend his memory. Mark Twain once said: "Man has been called the laughing animal, but the monkey laughs. And he has been called the animal that weeps, but several of the others do that. Man is merely and exclusively the immodest animal, for he is the only one with a soiled mind, the only one under the dominion of a false shame." Now, we don't pretend to know what people are going to be like under socialism. We don't know what sexuality is going to be like under socialism. We don't try to predict that. But we do know that censorship and bourgeois state repression will never be instruments for human liberation.

And we assume, as we said recently in *Women and Revolution* [No. 20, Spring 1980], that "with the dissolution of the nuclear family and the artificial restraints and frustrations imposed on human expression, sexuality under socialism will become more free, more open, more tolerant, more rich and more diverse. May the day come soon." ■

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Fort Apache...

(continued from page 3)

ized the campaign against *Fort Apache* as the "intersection of liberal moralism and Stalinist censorship." "So what are people objecting to?" he asked.

"The problem is that it shows that the South Bronx cannot be fixed this side of the socialist revolution... So Ed Koch says 'Oh it's a racist film. Nobody should go and see it'."

A member of the audience who has been active in the campaign against *Fort Apache* justified the boycott on the grounds that if people in the South Bronx see this movie they will be driven to a life of crime:

"My people have been neglected through the educational system and they will not understand it. Because you look at brothers and sisters out there—when they're finished watching a karate flick the first thing they do is, they'll be kicking and throwing..."

In his response Burroughs stressed the need to change reality rather than the image of reality reflected in art and entertainment. "What we need is a protest against what creates the South Bronx, not against films that show it."

Black SYL spokesman Ed Jarvis also scored the attempt to deny the reality of social oppression through censorship:

"To the degree that picture depicts reality that has to be faced up to directly. And liberal illusions about painting up the ghetto is absolutely nowhere, because we've got to face that reality in order to effectively fight it."

And Jarvis explained how such a fight can begin:

"It starts with mobilizing people for real around demands in terms of learning in struggle. For example, getting people out in demonstrations to stop the Nazis, for labor/black mobilizations against the Klan, raising people's consciousness in terms of concrete things that effectively fight for their interests. *Fort Apache* ain't where it's at!"

Ban the Klan...

(continued from page 5)

ly tried to sabotage the anti-Nazi rally. "Fight the right" for the CP doesn't mean workers and the oppressed do any fighting—but that "progressive" capitalist politicians do it for us!

What "Anti-Fascist Bourgeoisie"?

Aptheker's article is saturated with nostalgia for that old-time "anti-fascist" bourgeoisie. He proudly points to the 1945 Potsdam Treaty, signed by the "Allies," which outlawed Nazi propaganda, insignia and organization in Germany; he also fondly recalls the wording of a 1948 United Nations resolution condemning ideologies of "racial superiority."

Aptheker's faith in "banning" is truly remarkable: "Would that Hitler's propaganda had been effectively banned before he became Chancellor of Germany." Would that the German Communist Party (KPD) lifted a finger to combat the rise to power of German fascism! Instead the KPD, a party which could have led millions in the streets, allowed Hitler's stormtroopers to come to power without a shot being fired. Right up to the moment of humiliating defeat of the strongest proletariat in Europe, the Stalinists refused in principle to call for united-front action with the Social Democrats (who at the time were calling impotently for a government ban on the fascists) against the Nazis.

Then, in one of the Stalinist Comintern's notorious zigzags, the CPs all over the world were, after the German disaster, directed to enter into "united fronts" with the bourgeois "democrats." Hence the "popular front" policy followed to this day—a policy which led in Spain to the subordination of the working class to the "anti-fascist" Republican bourgeoisie and bloody defeat at the hands of Franco. In the

U.S., the CP's bloc with Roosevelt meant its support to no-strike pledges, the internment of Japanese-Americans and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Such is the "glorious" record of the CP's anti-fascist work and the popular front the CP dreams of reconstructing.

For the abject CP reformists, the Cold War is an aberration and the search for progressive bourgeois forces eternal. The CP will today find no anti-fascist bourgeoisie, it will find a Cold War, anti-Soviet bourgeoisie, consistently dedicated as it has been since 1917 to the destruction of the Soviet workers state.

"Ban the Klan" in the hands of the bourgeois state means "Ban the communists." It is the task of the organized labor movement in alliance with the oppressed to smash the KKK/Nazis in the egg. ■

South End...

(continued from page 3)

administration also invoked a clause of the SNPB charter which renders the student board powerless and made a new appointment to the SNPB over the objections of the Student Council. The appointee, H. Sam Kemp, was a signator of the Ad Hoc Committee petition, but when he got his administration-brokered appointment he forgot about the Committee's campaign for Burnett/Nuttle's ouster.

The *South End*, for its part, unequivocally backed Burnett, with rhetoric about democratic rights. It ran a front page box reading "Editor Held Hostage—Day 2" and a stream of hypocritical editorial commentary on freedom of the press, due process, etc. For several days while Burnett was suspended, the paper published an unprecedented number of letters to the editor—perhaps the result of administration pressure that the *South End* clean up its act in exchange for Burnett's job being saved.

By the time the SNPB convened its "public hearing" (at 8:00 am) it had completely buckled under. The suspension was lifted and all charges against Burnett dropped. With the hearing loaded up with heavies from the Board of Governors and administration, Burnett lounged in the back of the room with a gaggle of *South End* staffers, smiling complacently as the SNPB puppets went through the motions of listening to student complaints against the *South End*. Burnett did not even bother to speak in his own behalf since the meeting was all sewn up anyway.

The administration's ploy did not go over without protest, however—members of the Ad Hoc Committee, the Citizens Party and the WSU Spartacus Youth League (SYL) documented charges of the *South End* editors' abusive arrogance and suppression of dissenting viewpoints. SYL and Ad Hoc Committee spokesmen reiterated the charges of apology for racist murder and condemned the SNPB whitewash. Following the meeting, Ad Hoc Committee organizers began canvassing the campus with news of Burnett's reinstatement and have announced plans to meet with organizations and individuals who want to put a stop to the administration-backed reactionary dictatorship of the student newspaper. Ousting the *South End* editors will require more public protest. It cannot be accomplished merely through "channels"—for all channels lead directly to the WSU administration.

Whose Rights Are Being Violated?

According to Burnett and the WSU administration, it's okay to call the cops on 20 students from the Ad Hoc Committee, okay to arrogantly refuse to publish a petition signed by over 1,200 students, okay to close the pages of the paper to the bulk of student opinion,

okay to slander at will. But any attempt by WSU students to exert control over the paper "violates" Burnett/Nuttle's supposed right to dictate any editorial policy they see fit, no matter how reactionary, threatening or offensive to the student body and Detroit community at large. But as the preamble to the Ad Hoc Committee petition explained:

"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."

At the hearing, SYL spokesman Meg Griffin attacked the hypocritical blather about "rights" coming from the *South End*:

"John Burnett and Mike Nuttle run the *South End* at the sufferance of the Board of Governors and the administration. They act like they are lords and the newspaper is their personal fief, but their real crime is that they have put the *South End* in the service of reaction..."

Burnett and Nuttle, along with shadowy writers who appear and disappear from the paper's pages, showed a sinister fondness for smear tactics against the left, long before the egregious Greensboro editorial. Their first issue (23 June 1980) contained a front-page article and editorial setting up an attempted frame-up of the WSU SYL for arson; the editorial was willfully libelous, describing the SYL as "violent, deceptive hypocrites." One *South End* staff writer penned a letter defending the FBI against well-documented charges of dirty COINTELPRO operations against black and civil rights organizations. Nuttle authored an editorial last June equating Klan/Nazi terrorists with anti-fascist protesters and placing the burden of race war on its intended victims. But on November 25 Burnett and Nuttle finally went too far—many students on the predominantly working-class and largely black campus could not tolerate their viciously anti-communist apologia for racist Jim Crow "justice" in North Carolina. The objective result of the *South End* editorial policy is to pave the way for more Greensboros, to paint blacks, unionists and leftists as criminal "conspirators" and set them up for state repression. It is the rights of the WSU students which are violated every day that Burnett/Nuttle control the *South End*.

Even so mild an organization as the Detroit NAACP felt compelled to write to the SNPB protesting the *South End*'s editorial policy. In a letter dated 11 December 1980, NAACP president Lawrence Washington writes:

"Black students have called our offices

alleging racist practices on the part of the South End, reportedly resulting from a policy of rigid selection, favoring extreme rightist points of view; and a systematic exclusion of blacks from the work force.

"The NAACP is greatly interested in having these charges responded to by those in responsible positions."

To date, the SNPB has refused to reply.

One of the most powerful indictments of the *South End* was given by Ad Hoc Committee member Larry Lipnik:

"... there were approximately 8 million Jews in Poland in 1938 and right now there's 10 thousand... And I think that some of us who are Jews and have families in Europe—and it so happens that I had a family who were in Europe and it so happens that most of them died—and we kind of feel that it's appropriate that if we don't agree with what Mr. Burnett is saying and if we wrote a letter to the editor that is signed by 1,200 students, perhaps that could be acted upon."

Lipnik suggested a motion that the *South End* be instructed by the SNPB to print the petition; the SNPB pleaded no authority to do such a thing. Could the SNPB recommend the petition's publication, they were asked. Of course, was the response, but they would not.

No sooner was Burnett back in the editor's chair but the *South End* began to churn out a new barrage of anti-communist trash aimed at countering the Ad Hoc Committee. The front page of the 25 February issue contained two large photos of Burnett and Nuttle, identified in the caption as "Alleged Murder Apologists." The accompanying article, reporting Burnett's reinstatement, referred to the Greensboro massacre as an "alleged Klan attack"! *South End* "special writer" Steve Gulvezan (whose last contribution to the paper was a repulsive "mock interview" between the *South End* and a white-hooded "campus murder apologist" which could only be described as partisan to the Klan) contributed a "mock petition." Entitled "Apology for murder doesn't wash," the "petition" is signed by fictitious characters demanding the removal from his post, expulsion from WSU and barring from the city of Detroit of "John Adolf B. #99999." Gulvezan's pro-fascist "humor" contains the following:

"... if this John Adolf B #99999 ever dare influence the citizenry of this area through the mediums of print, film, speech, art, photography, pantomime or sign language, his degrading lies will immediately be consumed by the angel fire of divine socialist retribution and the rat himself will be given a good shellacking."

Back to the old tricks, eh? Gulvezan has just laughed himself into the ranks of those who must be ousted from the *South End* by all who believe the paper must not be used as a cover for Klan/Nazi terror. ■

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Young Spartacus Photo

Problematic priorities

THE OBERLIN REVIEW

United Front fails to stand together

By MIGUEL CORONA, PILAR O'CADIZ and NIMIA RAMOS

Miguel Corona is a junior history and Spanish major. Pilar O'Cadiz is a freshman. Nimia Ramos is a sophomore Spanish major.

There was a meeting held Tuesday February 18 in Wilder KB lounge at 8:00. The topic was the united front rally proposed by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) concerning El Salvador. The SYL proposed three demands upon which the rally would be centered. They were: 1. U.S. hands off El Salvador, 2. Stop U.S. aid to the murderous Junta. 3. Military victory to the left-wing insurgents.

Various organizations were contacted by the SYL prior to the united front meeting to ask for endorsement of the demands and participation at the rally. Therefore, the meeting was called by the SYL to organize the rally. Yet it was unclear to most organizations if the three demands were tentative or permanent because of the ignorance of the definition of a united front.

Temporary alliance

A united front is a temporary tactical alliance between different organizations which have the same goal on one issue. Each organization in a front maintains its integrity. Each votes according to what its membership has voted for, resulting in an equal voice for all groups. Each organization has the right to speakers and slogans of its choice during the demonstration. The group that calls the front has the right to chair the meeting as long as it is done in a fair manner.

At the start of the meeting, opposition to SYL immediately emerged and evolved into a 45 minute debate on whom should hold the chair. Due to a shouting match that occurred, the SYL was not able to present the agenda they had formulated prior to the meeting, despite the fact that it was synonymous with the other groups. Because of the turbulent atmosphere, it took a half hour to decide whether voting would take place individually or organizationally. It was finally decided that each organization would be allotted one vote in accordance with the rules of the united front. Later in the evening, the controversial third demand reached the floor for discussion. After several organizations and individuals voiced their opinion, it became clear that their disagreement with this demand was semantical. However, it was unclear whether the opposition concentrated on the word 'military' or 'left-wing.'

Despite the fact that many people professed that they personally agreed with the demand, others contended that the third demand would alienate a majority of Oberlin students, and therefore limit the success of the rally. Furthermore, they stated that as Americans, they could only protest U.S. aid and intervention but could not provide any realistic support for the leftist groups because they are not in El Salvador.

Tempers flared

The debate around this issue culminated in a verbal boxing match—insults were exchanged, voices rose higher and tempers flared.

Due to the misunderstanding of the purpose of the united front, the groups finally decided not to support the SYL proposed rally if the third demand was kept. To unify the splintered united front, Third World House proposed that all groups support the rally as a united front and present their discrepancies with the third demand at the rally.

At this point a vote was taken and the majority chose not to endorse the rally because the third demand was not changed or eliminated. The dust settled after the dissenting organizations marched out of the meeting room leaving behind members of La Union, SYL, and Third World House to organize the rally.

Apparently the organizations that walked out did not set their priorities with the Salvadoran issue. Rather, they were more concerned with their personal image in respect to the rest of the campus. They held cynical, sectarian and hypocritical views in voicing their opinion throughout the meeting. As mentioned above, they based their position on the supposed ignorance and reactionary tendencies of Oberlin students.

Nevertheless, we believe that Oberlin students have the capacity to analyze and comprehend the Salvadoran situation to its fullest extent. It is a class struggle between left-wing workers and peasants against the oligarchy and its right-wing forces. Therefore, military victory to the left-wing insurgents is pertinent and valid to any rally which centers on the present El Salvadoran crisis.

Continue support

Disgraced by the liberal mentality which only calls for the U.S. to get out, we have decided to continue our individual support for the upcoming rally on Saturday.



"...military victory to the left-wing insurgents is pertinent and valid to any rally which centers on the present El Salvadoran crisis" (see box at left).

to *New York Times* accounts of such pressure, the SWP argues that the Sandinistas have *always* been "open" to a deal with the U.S. imperialists (*Militant*, 27 February)!

Speakers at the Oberlin rally included Bruce Bostick, a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1104, and Ray Bergez, a member of Communications Workers of America Local 4309. Bostick, a leader of the Communist Party-supported National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee, put forward the sub-reformist position that too much tax money winds up in the Pentagon budget; more of that money should be returned to cities like Cleveland to enable them to pay off their debts to the banks! It was left to Bergez to raise the real issues of international working-class solidarity posed by the struggle in El Salvador. He advocated a complete labor boycott of military goods bound for El Salvador, noting that such actions could only be effectively organized by a class-struggle workers party fighting for a workers government.

In El Salvador today, victory—through workers revolution—will come about only through a struggle to build a revolutionary Trotskyist party to lead the workers and peasants against *all* wings of the Salvadoran capitalist class. ■

Reagan/Haig War Lust...

(continued from page 1)

aimed primarily at one target: the USSR. At a January 30 press conference, Reagan claimed that the USSR seeks "world revolution and a one-world communist state" and is willing "to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat in order to attain" this goal. The day before, Secretary of State Alexander Haig accused the USSR of "training, funding and equipping international terrorism." The *real* terrorists are the U.S. government and Reagan's closest allies around the world: South Korean dictator Chun; the brutal apartheid government of South Africa; Israel's Prime Minister Begin, the butcher of Deir Yassim; Chile's Pinochet and so many other U.S.-backed butchers. These friends of Reagan/Haig as well as of Carter/Brzezinski have captured and held power through the cost of literally tens of thousands of lives.

At a February 20 press briefing, Haig claimed that:

"A well-orchestrated international Communist campaign designed to transform the Salvadoran crisis from the internal conflict to an increasingly internationalized confrontation is under way....

"We consider what is happening is part of the global Communist campaign coordinated by Havana and Moscow to

support the Marxist guerrillas in El Salvador."

—*New York Times*, 21 February

Everyone knows who "internationalized" the situation in El Salvador, and it wasn't Reagan's Great Satan. The United States has supplied \$10 million in military hardware and has sent in "advisers" (ask a Vietnamese what *that* means) as well as \$63 million in "economic aid" to the bloody junta. In the past year 12,000 have lost their lives in the Salvadoran regime's "reform by death." And Haig vows unconditional support to the Duarte government; "additional aid" will be necessary to "help" the Salvadoran army, which is supposed to be incapable of defeating the guerrillas by itself. American troops? It's quite possible. We demand: U.S. hands off El Salvador!

The lines are clearly drawn, from El Salvador to Nicaragua to Havana. The U.S. has declared that Central America will belong to capitalism, and that it will begin its fight in the bloody streets of El Salvador. Thousands more workers and peasants must die—according to Reaganite policy—in this imperialist campaign to "roll back communism." On February 22 chief Reagan aide Edwin Meese warned that the U.S. would consider blockading Cuba in response to the guerrilla struggle in El Salvador, underscoring the imperialists' readiness to escalate their anti-Soviet campaign to outright war.

Today the defense of the USSR certainly begins in El Salvador, but it doesn't end there. Threats against any Soviet intervention in Poland have emanated from Washington, threats backed up by the build-up of NATO forces in Europe. An agreement was recently made by 14 of 15 NATO countries to deploy the new longer-range Pershing II missile, which, as a non-intercontinental weapon, is exempt from SALT controls. The Pershing II has a range of 1,500 kilometers and a radar guidance section in the warhead, making it capable of penetrating deep into Soviet territory with deadly accuracy. Additionally, on February 3 Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger announced that the Reagan administration is considering going ahead with production of the neutron bomb, the consummate tactical nuclear weapon. This bomb is a substitute for the weakness of conventional forces in Western Europe. Its deployment, however, signals a willingness to go nuclear very early on in any military confrontation. Naturally Weinberger's announcement disquieted West Germany, much of whose population would become irradiated corpses disfiguring an otherwise unblemished countryside if these bombs ever were used.

Down with Détente Illusions!

The Kremlin bureaucrats plead innocent to the charge of trying to foment world revolution—and, alas, they *are*

El Salvador Leftists...

(continued from page 12)

junta? First of all, the social-democratic YSA and DSOC seek to use the issue of El Salvador to cement an anti-draft alliance with liberal bourgeois politicians. According to the textbook of class collaboration, one mustn't alienate such "progressive" forces with slogans that pose "military solutions," i.e., by taking a side in a bloody civil war.

DSOC/YSA Support "Political Solution"

More importantly, these groups refuse to call for military victory to the left-wing guerrillas because they are in favor of a "political solution," i.e., a deal with the junta! History has shown time and again that the liberation of the working masses can take place only through the destruction of the capitalist state (the officer corps, the police, etc.). Any deals in El Salvador would necessarily leave these "bodies of armed men" intact, and the death squad terror would continue despite the government's "progressive" facade. The present junta is the product of just such a deal. In late 1979 the repressive Romero government

was overthrown by "reforming" officers, who brought the Christian Democrats into the government. It is this regime which has killed over 12,000 in the past year. In El Salvador today, the alternatives facing the workers and peasants are victory or death.

The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), however, has formed a popular front with a tiny group of bourgeois politicians tied to DSOC's Second International. These capitalist forces within the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) represent a guarantee to the imperialist powers that the guerrilla struggle will stay within the bounds of capitalism. They are also the ones who have the most to gain from an imperialist-sponsored negotiated settlement of the civil war, and their leader, Guillermo Ungo, has sent out repeated overtures on behalf of the FDR to sit down at the bargaining table with the United States.

The YSA and its parent Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have applauded these overtures, while never calling for the military victory of the FMLN. As American press agents for the petty-bourgeois Sandinista government in Nicaragua, the SWP and YSA have tried to alibi the Sandinista pressure on the FMLN to make a deal, pressure that has increased since Reagan cut off economic aid to Nicaragua. In response

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Friday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
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Phone: (415) 835-1535

New York City

Tuesday: 6:00-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y.
Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

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

Chicago

Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois
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Reformist Burlesque at Anti-Draft Confab

Class collaboration and social-patriotism dominated the first national conference of the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft (NCARD), held at Wayne State University in Detroit February 13-15. The conference opened and closed with speeches by Democratic Party politicians John Conyers and Erma Henderson. In between, the conferees agreed to support the volunteer army, called themselves racist, voted to write a letter to Ronald Reagan and agreed not to talk about the Soviet Union—the main target of the renewed Cold War drive. At a conference where two-thirds of the 800 participants were members or supporters of left organizations, no call was issued for military victory to the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador.

The conference was a political zoo. The crazed Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) pranced around the lobby wearing dunce caps shaped like U.S. and Soviet missiles and yelling profanities at each other. The tiny Stalinophobic International Young Guard, associated with the dubious Michel Varga, kept popping out of their seats to call for a movement "like they have in Poland," in which the Catholic church wields tremendous influence. The feminists demanded that 50 percent of the steering committee be women and the black nationalists insisted that it be 30 percent black! High school students who complained that they were not being heard were condescendingly placed on the stage like ornaments. The Stalinist Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) grumbled about Socialist Workers Party (SWP) domination of the conference, but this merely recorded their chagrin at having been pushed aside. All of these opportunists are equally eager to build a class-collaborationist "anti-draft" movement which defends the "legitimate" interests of U.S. imperialism, as a look at NCARD's "Principles of Unity" shows.

CARD's "principles" are straightforwardly in favor of continuation of the imperialist military machine. They deplore the "current excessive and wasteful level of military spending" and state that the "armed forces should be reduced in size." They "oppose the

current political and economic conditions which push minorities and others into the All-Volunteer Force." But what about the volunteer army per se? These sniveling social patriots don't have a word to offer—after all, what about "national security"?

Anti-Soviet Unity

In contrast to this sorry array of pro-Democratic Party fake-leftists, the

bourgeois liberals is nothing new. In the Vietnam antiwar movement the SWP refused to call for victory to the Vietnamese Revolution, in order to rope Democratic Party politicians like Vance Hartke into its front-group National Peace Action Coalition. And at the NCARD conference the SWP even dropped its favorite social-democratic slogan of "Money for Jobs, Not War" in

Young Spartacus Photo



SYL intervenes in anti-draft demonstration, March 1980, Washington, D.C.

Spartacus Youth League (SYL) came to the conference to present an anti-capitalist strategy against militarism and the draft which takes as its starting point the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. In the SYL resolution entitled "Down with the Imperialist War Machine! Defense of USSR/Cuba Begins in El Salvador," we explained that the planned economies of the bureaucratized workers states are an enormous gain for the international working class and must be defended against imperialist attack. We linked the fight against imperialist militarism to the necessity for the complete independence of the working class from the Democrats and Republicans, the parties of imperialist reaction.

For the fake-left, sacrificing the fundamental interests of the working class in order to seal an alliance with

order to placate the racist student libertarians!

Two small groups of left-wing political lepers—the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), which crosses picket lines, and the Socialist League-Democratic Centralist (SL-DC), which supports cop strikes—submitted a long, grotesque caricature of the Trotskyist Transitional Program—as a program for the NCARD popular front! The resolution analyzes the '60s antiwar movement at length but doesn't once mention the crucial issue of class collaboration. And no wonder—the RWL/SL-DC is merely the left wing of the NCARD pop front, coexisting loyally if "critically" with the likes of John Conyers!

CARD Votes Itself Racist—Gags WSU Ad Hoc Committee

This melange of guilty liberals and

fake-lefts was taken aback when a group of black nationalist hustlers calling itself Black Veterans for Social Justice seized the microphone and, after facing down the SWP marshals, presented a motion chastising the conference as racist and demanding that they be given their own black caucus. So, was there a big fight from the fake-leftists outraged at the serious charge of being racist? No—they all voted for it, overwhelmingly. The SWP, the RWL, the Revolutionary Socialist League—all of them raised their hands high and admitted they were nothing but a bunch of racists! One would think that a serious anti-draft militant would renounce the "racist" CARD on the spot. But only the Spartacist League rose to speak in opposition to this wretched and reactionary race-baiting.

Not coincidentally, the same people who voted themselves racist also voted to exclude a speaker from the Ad Hoc Committee to Oust *South End* Apologists for Klan/Nazi Murder from a workshop on "The Rise of Racist Attacks." The Ad Hoc Committee at Wayne State University, which is campaigning for the removal of two campus newspaper editors who white-washed the Klan/Nazi murders in Greensboro (see article page 3), nevertheless received 150 votes from people who wanted to hear their case at the workshop. Eventually the conference went on record as refusing to endorse the Committee's petition, which has been signed by more than 1,200 Wayne State students and faculty! Instead they decided to write a letter to Reagan requesting that he declare war on racism. Why not send a carbon copy to Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson?

It is in the context of the electoral rout of bourgeois liberalism that the fake-lefts have begun weeping and wailing and gathering the forces to salvage the discredited Democratic Party. The SWP-led National Peace Action Coalition provided voting cattle for McGovern, and NCARD—if it doesn't fall apart—will do the same for Kennedy or some other bosses' hack. The fight against capitalist militarism will succeed only over the corpse of mini-pop fronts like NCARD. ■

innocent. As the *New York Times* pointed out on January 30:

"Mr. Reagan's description of Soviet leaders as seeking a 'one-world' Communist state was historically debatable. That was the view of Leon Trotsky, one of the early Soviet leaders who preached a doctrine of 'permanent revolution,' but since his downfall in 1926, Soviet leaders have generally espoused variations on the theme of what is now called 'peaceful coexistence' and have denied trying to foment 'world revolution.'"

Quite right. The Kremlin bureaucracy has a program of conciliation to imperialism and outright betrayal of workers revolution. Today Stalin's heirs carry on the same policy by a different name: whether "peaceful coexistence" or "détente," it means sacrificing workers revolution for that illusive deal with imperialism. A real defense of the USSR requires the ousting of this Stalinist bureaucracy through political revolution, and the restoration of a revolutionary working-class regime.

For the U.S., détente was a temporary tactic, necessary because of the political and economic damage suffered during the latter years of the Vietnam War.

Today the U.S. is gearing up for war with the Soviet bloc. The U.S. armed forces are far from ready, however, to confront the formidable power of the Soviet degenerated workers state, short of all-out nuclear war. Career soldiers are quitting in droves, knowing that their technical skills can be put to more lucrative use in civilian life. Meanwhile, the volunteer army has attracted society's untrained, disadvantaged youth in search of a steady income. Particularly black youth, who now comprise one-third of the armed forces, have little ideological allegiance to the racist American capitalist system.

Right now the American military needs the draft: who will man those ships, submarines, bombers, tanks and helicopters? But the military also needs *reliable* soldiers, committed to the aims of U.S. imperialism. Thus the government's ability to carry out its military threats depends on winning the support of the American working class behind its war aims. The "get the Reds" propaganda build-up is the necessary prerequisite to the reinstatement of the draft.

The central class questions facing revolutionaries in the U.S. today are:

fighting the Klan/Nazis, beating back the ruling-class attack on the workers and poor and defending the USSR. Likewise, for the American ruling class the central foreign policy consideration boils down to confronting, weakening and ultimately destroying the Soviet degenerated workers state. As the recent

anti-draft conference in Detroit showed (see article above), the hallmark of opportunism among ostensible revolutionary groups is the unwillingness to shoulder the responsibility of defending the USSR. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League are unique in upholding that principle. ■

DEMONSTRATE!
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Hundreds in SYL-Led Demos Demand:

Military Victory to El Salvador Leftists!

El Salvador is the first battlefield in Reagan's war against "Communist subversion." Behind the widely detested right-wing Salvadoran junta stands the greatest force of reactionary terror in the history of mankind: the U.S. armed forces, the CIA, the super-secret spying National Security Agency (NSA). On the other side, Soviet "subversion" is supposedly represented by several thousand poorly armed guerrillas.

Reagan's aim is to crush the insurgent Salvadoran leftists. Success would be but an opening shot of anti-Soviet war escalation. It is the urgent task of leftists in the U.S. to organize protests across the country in defense of the workers and peasants of El Salvador!

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section of the Spartacist League (SL), has been in the vanguard of significant campus mobilizations against U.S. support to the bloody Salvadoran junta. At the University of Wisconsin in Madison, where students widely perceive El Salvador as "the next Vietnam," an SYL-initiated rally brought out some 400 students in the "Great Hall" of the Memorial Union on February 4. And on February 21 over 150 Oberlin students answered the call of a united front initiated by the SYL. After a rally, the protesters marched to confront imperialist also-ran John Anderson, who was speaking on campus on "careers in government."

For the SYL, support to the just struggles of workers and peasants in other countries does not mean mindless enthusing over them. In organizing the Madison and Oberlin demonstrations, SYL members encountered intense

interest among students in the questions of political program and strategy. During the week preceding the Madison rally, crowds gathered around the SYL literature table, with some students grabbing leaflets to pass out at their classes and others staying to discuss the nature of U.S. imperialism, workers revolution vs. class collaboration in

Latin America and why Trotskyists defend Cuba and the Soviet Union against imperialism. At Oberlin, the united-front slogan, "Military Victory to Left-Wing Insurgents!" became a topic of hot debate for campus radicals, extending into the pages of the student newspaper (see box on page 10, "United Front fails to stand together,"

for a principled and accurate statement by three Latino leftists who helped organize the rally). After the demonstration many participants attended a social at the Third World Dorm where topics like guerrillaism vs. working-class revolution were discussed for hours.

The SYL-initiated rallies generated wide support. In Madison the demonstration was backed by the *Daily Cardinal* (the student newspaper), two campus union locals, the Arab Student Union, MEChA and many individual activists. The Oberlin protest drew official support from La Union (the Latino student organization), the Third World Dorm and the Women's Center.

These solidarity efforts were, however, boycotted by New Leftists, Maoists and social democrats, most notably the ex-Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). These "respectable" sectarians opposed the demand for military victory to the guerrilla forces. One Oberlin YSAer proposed an alternative demand, "victory to the people" (a slogan even General Haig could agree with), and withdrew the YSA's endorsement when this was rejected. In the end, the Oberlin boycotters were forced to attend the rally, the only significant Oberlin protest against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. But when the YSA member was offered the microphone to explain his opposition to "military victory," he politely, and cowardly, demurred.

Why all the fuss over demanding that the Salvadoran workers and peasants succeed in overthrowing the hated

continued on page 10

Oberlin students march on February 21 against U.S. support to murderous Salvadoran junta.



Demonstrate at Brandeis March 9 NSA Spies Off Campus! U.S. Hands Off El Salvador!

The National Security Agency (NSA), the government's largest and most secretive intelligence agency, is coming to Brandeis University on March 9 to interview prospective recruits. The NSA is an organization of international spies and assassins, and students must not tolerate its presence at Brandeis! The SYL has initiated a campaign to drive these killer spies off campus as part of a united front protest against U.S. intervention in El Salvador and for military victory to the leftist insurgents fighting the murderous Central American dictatorship.

While the NSA officially is responsible for developing and deciphering codes, most of its

resources have gone into carrying out frequent and regular "special operations" to perform both domestic and foreign spying. The NSA helped to prepare the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. It was NSA airborne observers which picked up Che Guevara's backpack radio signals, enabling Bolivian army rangers to murder him in 1967. The first American killed in the Vietnam War was an NSA agent and it actively spied on antiwar activists for evidence of "possible foreign support or influence" in the antiwar movement. The monitoring stations in Iran which were shut down after the overthrow of the shah were NSA operations and *CovertAction Information Bulletin*

(December 1980) reports that the NSA recently secured an "unofficial secret agreement" with the treacherous Stalinist bureaucrats in China to supply NSA personnel for the establishment of a sophisticated electronic spy system aimed at the Soviet Union.

The NSA is undoubtedly involved in El Salvador, particularly in the surveillance of arms shipments to the leftist insurgents fighting the barbarous junta. This sinister arm of the Pentagon must not be allowed to recruit more spies at Brandeis!

All out on March 9! Demonstrate at noon, Usdan Student Center. For more information: (617) 492-3928.