

# Young Spartacus

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## Drop Charges Against Victims of Racist Dragnet!

# MIAMI: JAIL THE KILLER COPS!

Grinding poverty combined with racist cop terror drove Miami blacks to desperation and set the stage for last week's explosion. The latest cop atrocity was merely the last straw. On May 17 an all-white jury acquitted four cops accused of beating black businessman Arthur McDuffie to death last year. For three days Liberty City, a black suburb of Miami, was terrorized by the cops' special forces and National Guardsmen, who rounded up hundreds of blacks for jail. Cops/National Guard out of the ghetto! Drop the charges against the victims of the racist dragnet! Jail the killer cops!

McDuffie, an insurance executive, was riding home last December 17 on a friend's motorcycle. The cops spotted him for speeding and, according to the police, he led them on a 100-mile-an-hour chase. Whether or not this story is true, McDuffie stopped on a highway exit ramp. The *Washington Post* recounts what happened next:

"Meier [a police officer] testified last month that he heard McDuffie shout, 'I give up' before anyone touched him. He said he had drawn his service revolver on McDuffie and told him, 'Freeze.'"

"Suddenly, another officer pulled the black man off his motorcycle and yanked McDuffie's helmet off. Within seconds, others rushed up and 'started striking him with Kel-Lites [long heavy metal flashlights] and nightsticks,' Meier said....

"I got splattered with the blood," Vereka remembered. He said he recalled Marrero [the only Cuban defendant and the only cop to be charged with murder] had said, 'Easy, one at a time' before stepping up and raising his hands above his head to deliver the sledge-hammer blows. 'I turned my back and walked to the car,' Vereka said."

The cops tried to cover up the incident, saying that McDuffie was an accident victim. But there were too many witnesses. Even some of the cops involved, hardened as they are by routine brutality, could not stomach this incident. It took the state attorney's office one and a half weeks (four days after Miami papers broke the story) to announce that McDuffie had been murdered. The cops indicted were an unsavory bunch—Ira Diggs, Michael

Watts, William Hannon, Alex Marrero and Herbert Evans. Marrero, a year previously, had set off a mini-riot himself by the brutal arrest of a drug suspect. Watts has a string of brutality charges and once beat up a drunken driving suspect so badly the man needed two brain operations and has never returned to work. Watts unsuccessfully attempted suicide last week. Unfortunately he was rescued by his wife.

In response to the Liberty City explosion, President Carter sent his mouthpiece Jody Powell to face the press with the pollyanna statement that violence can contribute nothing to the resolution of the problems," but the Miami cops for years have been resolving their "problems" with racist violence. In February 1979, five white Metropolitan cops kicked in the door of black teacher Nathaniel LaFleur, broke his ribs and beat up his 20-year-old son. The cops had the wrong house in an attempted drug raid! In nearby Hialeah, a 22-year-old black youth was shot and killed while urinating against a factory wall. The off-duty cop said he thought the youth might be a burglar. But the most sickening of all these incidents is the case of the cop who raped an eleven-year-old black girl. He got off with probation. Faced with such systematic wanton brutality, Miami's black population felt they had nothing to lose: they just refused to sit and take it any more.

### Black Ghettos—The "Dream Deferred," Nightmare Realized

Police terror is an unremitting fact of life for blacks in American ghettos. As in Miami, nearly all the big ghetto upheavals of the '60s were set off by cop provocations. The explosions at the end of the '60s were a nationwide phenomenon that arose in large part from the failure of the liberal-pacifist civil rights movement to meet the demands and expectations of urban blacks. They exposed the bankruptcy of the programs and leadership of both the Martin Luther King-type liberals and the black nationalists.

In 1980 the situation of American blacks has worsened in spite of the

heightened visibility of those blacks who have "made it." The social and economic misery of the Miami ghetto is equaled or exceeded in almost every other major American city. Massive layoffs have hit blacks the hardest; black unemployment, now reported at 12.6 percent, is double that of whites. In addition, black incomes have declined continuously since 1971. Meanwhile, blacks have suffered from repeated cuts in social services like welfare and Medicare. Even the token gains in education have gone down the drain due to cutbacks in financial aid and the lowering of minority quotas.

Meanwhile such scum as the Nazis and the Klan have visibly grown in the climate created by Carter's chauvinistic anti-Soviet hysteria. Just a few weeks ago the Nazi candidate for attorney general of North Carolina got 43 percent of the vote in the Republican primary. By now, Greensboro,

North Carolina, where the Klan and Nazis gunned down in cold-blood five socialist labor militants, has become a household word.

Miami and the upheavals of the '60s expressed the outrage of the oppressed black masses. But they are not the way forward. The burnt-out businesses in these black communities never come back. And this time federal pacification in the form of money and programs will not be forthcoming. Ghetto explosions are not social fights, just violent reactions. Marxists seek to transcend such elemental outbursts by providing a program and leadership for drawing the ghetto masses behind the power of the black and white workers against the murderous, oppressive capitalist system. An example of such a program and leadership was the November 10 "Rally to Fight Klan Terror" in Detroit, held in the wake of the Greensboro massacre of

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## May Day at Berkeley

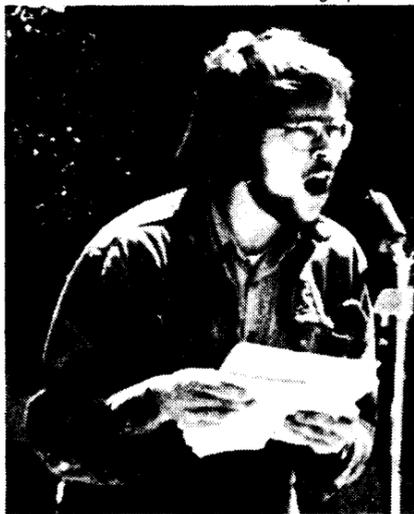
# Keep the Nazis on the Run!

May 1 is International Workers Day, and what better way to show the power of the working class than by celebrating its victory over goose-stepping Nazis last April 19, when 1,200 rallied in San Francisco. Union militants from the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the Communications Workers of America (CWA) came to the University of California at Berkeley to tell how they did it.

"What we found were thousands of San Franciscans who wanted to make sure the Nazis and Klan know that they are not going to be tolerated in the Bay Area," Karen Allen of the Committee for a Militant UAW told the crowd of 200 in Berkeley's Sproul Plaza. She went on to stress the growing danger the Nazis represent:

"They are encouraged by having the racist Carter in the White House, with his born-again Christian, anti-labor, anti-black policies. They are encouraged by the right-wing reversals of the last few years—the attacks on busing, women's rights, abortion, labor rights, homosexuals and immigrants.... The rise of the KKK and Nazis should be seen within the context of the shift to the right.

"Always in times of economic crisis the government encourages divisions with-



Ross Fanning, CWA Local 9415.

in the working population. Internationally, this means trying to whip up an anti-communist Cold War frenzy, trying to start the flag-waving for World War III.... This is why the draft is being reinstated and there is increased activity by ROTC and CIA recruiters on campuses."

As if to underscore Allen's remarks, a procession of Moonies marched into the crowd with signs cataloging the

"crimes" of "world communism." The Moonies (members of Rev. Moon's Unification Church) are professional reactionaries funded by the South Korean CIA. Like the Klan/Nazis, they smell the winds of reaction stirred by the U.S. government. In recent months they have gone from anti-communist propaganda to goon-style provocations against the left. The most serious of these was their attempt to start a brawl and provoke a police attack on the March 22 anti-draft demonstration in Washington, D.C.

After the Moonies failed in their attempt to disrupt the May Day rally, Jeffrey Kaye of the Spartacus Youth League addressed the crowd. He spoke about the recent protest against ROTC at Cal, which culminated in a sit-in of

about 75 students at the ROTC building on April 25. The sit-in was in response to Carter's flop at "Desert One" in Iran the day before. Kaye tied the struggle against fascism to the fight against imperialist anti-Soviet militarism.

The current growth of fascist organizations—the most extreme, armed, organized expression of anti-communism—ominously occurs in the context of Carter/Brzezinski's Cold War drive. Whether the capitalists use armed fascist gangs to smash the workers organizations or huge armies to dismantle the degenerated workers state of the Soviet Union, the working class must defend itself. For workers defense guards against Klan/Nazi terror! Defend the Soviet Union from imperialist attack! ■

## SWP: Dreaming of "Free Speech" for Fascists?

Conspicuously absent from the April 19 mobilization against the Nazis in the San Francisco Civic Center was the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). The SWP/YSA is notorious for its defense of "free speech" for fascists. When confronted at a recent YSA forum at San Francisco State University May 8 with the question, "Where was the SWP April 19?" George Johnson (pictured here), a leading member of the SWP running for California senator, cynically quipped, "I was sleeping." To the hundreds of Bay Area working people who mobilized to stop the Nazis, and to the blacks, Jews, gays and unionists whom the Nazis want to exterminate, this flippant response is



George "I was sleeping" Johnson.

a disgusting slap in the face. The Spartacus Youth League refuses to let sleeping dogs lie. ■

## 200 Votes for Cal Berkeley SYL

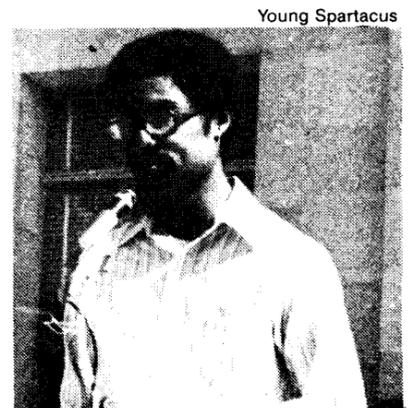
The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) helped stop the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco on April 19. Students at the University of California (UC) at Berkeley showed their solidarity with the SYL's anti-fascist activity and its forthright Marxist politics as over 200 votes were cast for SYL candidates in UC student government elections. Mary VanDeWater received 62 votes for president and Jeffrey Kaye 125 for executive vice-president in an election dominated by the usual campus sandbox politics. Irving Bunton, running for senator, received 27 first choice votes in a complicated selection procedure.

The returns showed a powerful response to the labor-centered politics that the SYL has put forward in its campus work. The SYL was the only group to organize campus protests over the Greensboro massacre of anti-Klan demonstrators last November. We held rallies in defense of the Bay Area labor unions which are increasingly under attack by the employers, and against recruitment by the spy-assassin National Security Agency. Only the SYL transcended the worn-out, liberal-pacifist opposition to the draft, and linked anti-draft protests to opposition to all U.S. militarism while standing for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union. An Iranian student approached an SYLer to report that not only did he vote for the SYL candidates, but lobbied his friends to do likewise.

More than anything else it was the powerful anti-Nazi demonstration in San Francisco April 19, which the SYL helped build and publicize on campus, that showed concerned students that the program of the SYL has a real impact when put into practice, and that we know how to stop the Nazis. As the campaign leaflet put it:

"The SYL has a program and a future to offer students who want a free and humane world, rid of the horrors of imperialist war, of economic uncertainty and depression, and of the straitjacket of racial and sexual oppression. Our alternative? A socialist revolution led by a party

grounded in the program of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. Students! The time to change the world and rally to the banner of socialist revolution is now! Join with us in the Spartacus Youth League and fight for a better world. Vote Communist! Vote SYL!"



From top: Irving Bunton, Mary VanDeWater, Jeffrey Kaye.

### Young Spartacus

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

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## No More Greensboros! Labor Must Smash the Fascists!

# CWP Zigzags Between "Third Period" and Popular Front

November 3: Five members and supporters of the Communist Workers Party are massacred in broad daylight by KKK/Nazi scum in Greensboro, North Carolina. The fascist guns are aimed at every black, leftist and trade unionist. A Nazi draws 43 percent of the vote in the Republican primary for North Carolina attorney general, almost winning the election. His program: the Greensboro massacre.

Response to the Greensboro Klan killings is swift. Emboldened, the KKK threatens to march in the black and union town of Detroit. In a demonstration initiated by UAW militants and the Spartacist League, five hundred protesters, mostly black auto workers, rally November 10 in Kennedy Square chanting "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" The Klan does not march.

The Nazis announce that they will "celebrate" Hitler's birthday in downtown San Francisco. Trade unionists and the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League initiate the April 19 Committee Against the Nazis (ANCAN) and call for a mass demonstration at Civic Center to crush the fascist threat. The broad support for ANCAN, especially from the labor movement, forces the city government to cancel the Nazis' rally permit and the Nazis announce they will not march. Over 1,200—including a powerful trade union component representing over 22 unions—rally. The Nazis do not show their faces.

The labor-centered anti-fascist mobilizations in Detroit and San Francisco were a far cry from the liberal, preacher-dominated mobilizations supported by much of the left since Greensboro. The five slain members of the CWP are indeed martyrs of the entire working class. The entire labor movement must defend the six CWP friends and supporters who, after surviving the Greensboro massacre, face charges of felony rioting. Nevertheless, the CWP chose to split away from the main anti-fascist mobilization in San Francisco and to appeal to the city mayor rather than the power of the organized labor movement to stop the Nazis. The CWP later wrote about the April 19 demonstration:

"San Francisco's Civic Center and UN Plaza were filled with fiery masses. So strong was the spirit in the march and rally, the cowardly fascists dared not show their faces. They knew if they had, the masses would surely have smashed them."

—Workers Viewpoint, 12 May

The article goes on to cite "the leadership of the CWP in the San Francisco Coalition to Stop the Klan/Nazis" (SFC). But what *Workers Viewpoint* failed to mention was:

- That the April 19 Committee Against Nazis, initiated by trade unionists and the Spartacist League, organized and led the rally in Civic Center—site of the Nazis' planned "birthday party" for Adolf Hitler
- That the ANCAN rally was endorsed by a broad array of unions and union leaders, left and minority organizations and prominent individuals
- That if the Nazis had shown up, the CWP wouldn't have been among the outraged masses who would have smashed them, because their sectarian

rally of at most 400 was at UN Plaza, several blocks away!

### "A Heavy Lesson..."

In Greensboro, the CWP found out what role the cops, courts and capitalist state apparatus play in defense of the fascists against leftists, union organizers and blacks. As reported to Blanche McCrary Boyd in the *Village Voice* (26 May) by CWP spokesman Nelson Johnson, the Greensboro cops insisted that the marchers be unarmed when the CWP applied for its parade permit. The deep illusions that the CWP has in the bourgeois state are revealed as Johnson is quoted as saying:

"It was a heavy lesson. We made a complete and total mistake. They kept insisting how they would protect us, so we thought the cops were planning on violence, that if there was going to be trouble it would be because they would plant a provocateur or something.... And it was eerie, you know, when we got here. After all this discussion, where were the pigs?"

According to the *Voice* article, the cops turned over a copy of the parade permit to a known Klan member. The cops knew where the KKK/Nazis were assembling, that the Klansmen were armed and intended to follow the CWP march route. There is overwhelming evidence indicating that the cops were complicit in the massacre. Meanwhile, a North Carolina grand jury has indicted the Greensboro Six on charges of felony rioting, while the KKK assassins are walking the streets. The CWP itself charges the state with conscious complicity in the murders.

But did the CWP learn this "heavy lesson," paid for so expensively with the blood of its comrades? Amazingly, confronted with the need to mobilize

## Defend the Greensboro Six!

On November 3, 1979 Klan and Nazi thugs poured gunfire into an anti-Klan demonstration in Greensboro, North Carolina. When this murderous cold-blooded assault was over, five members and supporters of the Communist Workers Party were dead and many other demonstrators were wounded.

Films of the massacre shown on nationwide TV demonstrated beyond doubt that the fascist gunmen systematically went for prominent CWP supporters. This was no "shootout," as it was labeled by the capitalist press. It was cold-blooded murder in broad daylight! Now "felony rioting" charges have been leveled against six survivors of the Greensboro massacre! The Greensboro Six—Nelson Johnson, Rand Mandella, Lacie Russell, Alan Blitz, Dorothy Blitz and Percy Simms—are supporters or friends of the CWP.

Mass mobilizations of black people and the labor movement are urgently needed to demand, "Drop the charges against the Greensboro Six! Jail the Klan Greensboro Murderers!"

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) is a working-class defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.



Nelson Johnson, right, minutes after the November 3 massacre

against the Nazi Hitlerfest in San Francisco, the CWP runs to... the state! Defending the CWP "strategy" of calling on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to revoke the Nazis' permit and endorse their SFC demonstration, a CWP supporter speaking at an SL forum in San Francisco April 25 argued that contradictions within the ruling class could be exploited by demanding that "anti-fascist" politicians take a stand. As stated in their paper:

"At times, this means uniting with certain low-level politicians such as those in the City Council. It also means utilizing the differences and contradictions among the enemy, such as pressur-

ing the government to take a stand against their fascist tools. That's why the Communist Workers Party is asking the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to endorse the upcoming April 19 anti-Nazi demonstration."

—Workers Viewpoint, 19 April

### "People's Front" or Independent Working Class Action?

Adventurist actions of a handful of militants and abject reformist appeals to the "liberal" bourgeoisie and its state are but two sides of the same coin. Both are based on fundamental pessimism that the enormous social power of the

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The PDC has contributed to the Greensboro Justice Fund. *Young Spartacus* readers are urged to send donations to: Greensboro Justice Fund, P.O. Box 2861, Grand Central Station, New

York, NY 10017.

*Young Spartacus* reprints below a telegram sent by the Partisan Defense Committee in defense of the Greensboro Six.

western union				Telegram			
MSG. NO.	CLASS.	PD.-COLL.	CASH NO.	ACCOUNTING INFORMATION	DATE	FILING TIME	SENT TIME
						A.M. P.M.	A.M. P.M.
<p>Michael Schlosser Guilford County District Attorney 1 Governmental Plaza Greensboro, N.C. 27401</p> <p>WE DEMAND THAT FELONY CHARGES RECENTLY RAMMED THROUGH A GRAND JURY AGAINST SIX GREENSBORO ANTI-KLAN/NAZI PROTESTERS BE IMMEDIATELY DROPPED. FROM THE 1958 MONROE "KISSING CASE" TO THE RACIST FRAME-UPS OF ROBERT P. WILLIAMS, THE WILMINGTON TEN AND CHARLOTTE THREE, TO THE BLOCKING OF UNIONIZATION AT J.P. STEVENS JUSTICE "NORTH CAROLINA STYLE" IS NOTORIOUS. THOSE WHO SURVIVED THE NOVEMBER AMBUSH BY COLD-BLOODED KLAN/NAZI MURDERERS ARE BLAMED FOR THE DEATHS OF THEIR OWN COMRADES. YOUR POLICY OF THREATENING OPPONENTS OF THE KLAN/NAZIS WITH ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT TRIES TO GAG ANTI-FASCISTS AND PUTS THE POWER OF THE STATE BEHIND EMOLDENED FASCIST THUGS. THIS IS AN OUTRAGE TO ALL THOSE OPPOSED TO THE HITLER-LOVER RACE-HATE KILLER KLAN AND NAZIS. JAIL THE MURDERERS OF THE GREENSBORO FIVE. HANDS OFF THE ANTI-KLAN/NAZI PROTESTERS.</p> <p>Toni Randell Partisan Defense Committee P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Sta. New York, NY 10013</p>							

# "Outside Agitator" Ban Defeated

CHICAGO—Attempts by the University of Illinois at Circle Campus (UICC) administration to censor all campus political activity suffered a stinging defeat on April 2 when federal judge James B. Moran declared unconstitutional the administration's "outside-agitator" regulations and granted the Spartacus Youth League's (SYL) request for a preliminary injunction against the ban. The lawsuit was brought in April 1978 after SYL member Sandor John had been arrested for the "crime" of distributing Trotskyist literature on campus. Targeted by the administration for its militant campaign against a McCarthy-style witchhunt, the SYL responded with an activist defense of its comrade and a broadly publicized offensive against the right-wing crackdown.

All charges against John were dropped in August 1978, but for two years the university "fathers" continued to defend their paternalistic obligation to shield students from "outsider" (read: socialist) politics. Even Judge Moran could not stomach such arrogance:

"The present regulations contain the implicit notion that university students are fragile buds which must be nurtured in a controlled and protected environment if they are to blossom. That notion is incompatible with the First Amendment."

And when the administration demanded that the SYL post bond for the "security" costs of tearing down intimidation posters plastered all over the campus ("ANYONE OTHER THAN STUDENTS, UNIVERSITY PERSONNEL OR INVITED GUESTS ARE TRESPASSERS...") Judge Moran responded, "What will you have to do, buy an extra garbage bag on May Day?"

The arrest of John was the most provocative action in a vicious administration campaign against protest at Circle in 1976/77. University plans to implement an admissions "selective index," aimed at drastically reducing minority admissions to this largely black commuter school, resulted in widespread student protests. The enraged Circle trustees responded with a

show of force, banning union organizers as "outsiders," attempting to purge a leftist professor, harassing the left and, finally, arresting Sandor John.

It was the SYL which mobilized the campus to beat back the administration onslaught, initiating an Ad Hoc Committee to Stop Administration Harassment. A petition drive showed significant support for the committee and gained prominent endorsements. Forums and protest meetings were held on campus, while demonstrations were built in front of the courthouse where

"non-student" salesmen and submitting literature for administration approval before distribution—the ACLU hoisted the white flag and fought for the SYL to capitulate to the administration and condone its repression, all in the interests of "reasonableness." On November 20, 1978 the ACLU sent a telegram to the SL/SYL with the ultimatum that either we accept a "consent decree" with the University administration that would severely restrict the rights of non-students to distribute literature or they would withdraw from the case. To this

ment. The SYL was correct in assessing the precedent-setting potential of the case as demonstrated by the court's decision. The ACLU, which consistently defends the murdering fascists in the name of First Amendment principle, is all too willing to compromise the First Amendment when "defending" leftists against the "respectable" University administrators. Although it claims to formulate its policies based on lofty Constitutional grounds, the ACLU in fact responds fundamentally to the pressures of bourgeois opinion. During the '50s it purged its members of Communist Party supporters as part of the McCarthyite witchhunt. In the '70s it has seized on Carter's "human rights" crusade to erect a legal fortress for fascists, in 1978 taking up the case of a gang of Nazis who planned to march through Skokie, Illinois, a Jewish suburb of Chicago. It was therefore not surprising that the ACLU's "good sense" counseled capitulation to the University's attempts at repression.

We for our part determined to make the Sandor John case a real free speech fight—bringing in non-University, non-SYL co-defendants whose rights were likewise violated by the University administration's attempt to muzzle the SYL. Together with our attorney, David Thomas, who fought the criminal charges against Sandor John as well as the civil case, we fought an uncompromising legal battle for the rights of all students, teachers and campus workers to freely engage in political activity. And we won! So who has "tactical good sense"?

The 28 April Chicago *Sun-Times*, noting the decision, ironically stated, "Don't say Trotskyites [sic] won't work within the system." The Sandor John case was won through a combination of intelligent legal tactics and mass publicity and pressure. By defeating the UICC's McCarthyite ban on "outside agitators" we not only defended our own right to propagandize for a revolutionary perspective on the campuses. We won a victory for the entire labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights! ■



Sandor John, 1978.

John was to be tried. As publicity over the arrest mounted, the SYL determined to sue the Circle administration for violating the constitutional rights of all students, faculty and campus workers.

The important victory for democratic rights comes with no thanks to the gutless liberals of the ACLU, however. After some hesitation the ACLU finally agreed to support the case. But when the Circle administration asked the SYL to agree with them on "reasonable" regulations—including registering

the SYL responded:

"...we will not be a party to any 'consent decree' that limits democratic rights as they apply to persons in or out of what is considered by the University, 'the University community.' To accept in principle the University's prerogative to limit democratic rights of non-affiliated persons and then to negotiate the extent of that limitation in the name of tactical 'good sense' destroys the very purpose of the case...."

The dispute with the ACLU was much more than a simple legal disagree-

# Carmichael/Toure Tells Blacks, "Go Back to Africa"

The Pan-Africanist All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) has lately been parading its leader Stokely Carmichael (now known as Kwame Toure) around colleges throughout the country. Railing against the "international Jewish conspiracy," urging blacks to rediscover "African Christianity" by reading the Bible, Toure's message to black America is... go back to Africa! At Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois on April 21 and again at the University of Illinois at Champaign/Urbana on April 23, Carmichael/Toure was challenged by members of the Spartacus Youth League who counterposed a revolutionary program for black liberation to this Pan-Africanist drivel.

At Northwestern a black supporter of the SYL pointed out that not 48 hours before, four black women had been shot



Carmichael/Toure

in Tennessee by racist marauders and that instead of being driven out of the country on the bayonets of the Klan, blacks and labor had to organize to

physically destroy fascist groups like the Klan and Nazis. He pointed to the two recent anti-fascist mobilizations initiated by trade unionists along with the SL/SYL which the AAPRP declined to attend: in Detroit last November and in San Francisco on April 19 where 1,200 demonstrated to stop the Nazis' proposed birthday "celebration" for Hitler. These were victories for working people—in both cases the fascists did not show their faces.

Another black SYLer exposed the real nature of the African "socialists" that the AAPRP hails as the saviors of oppressed blacks. In Ghana Toure's mentor, Kwame Nkrumah, proved the "stability" of his regime to his imperialist masters by crushing the 1961 general strike there. To this Toure replied that many of the striking workers in Ghana, like the teachers, were among the best

paid and most bought off. To a hushed audience, the SYLer reminded Toure that this was the same line Chicago mayor Jane Byrne used to attack the predominantly black bus drivers when they struck last winter!

As long as it remains confined to the universities, the AAPRP is relatively impotent, but its Pan-Africanism is vicious stuff which can only perpetuate racial divisions in the working class and blind blacks to their increasingly dangerous position in racist America today. Toure and the AAPRP have no program for blacks because they substitute a "socialist Africa" for the necessity of struggling right now to protect and extend the democratic rights of black people and to build an integrated revolutionary party that can fight for the liberation of all the oppressed through socialist revolution. ■

# Cops Welcomed, SYL Excluded at Kent State Memorial

State Department Maoists in the Communist Youth Organization (CYO) and Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) cheered on by State Department Shachtmanites in the International Socialist Organization (ISO) called the cops May 3 to exclude the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) from a conference held ostensibly to "commemorate" the four Kent (and two Jackson State, Mississippi) students gunned down ten years ago by the National Guard during antiwar, anti-ROTC protests. The cops, who are particularly wary and arrest-happy each May 4 when events commemorating the Kent State massacre take place, were called when the Maoists realized they did not have the physical ability to carry out the anti-communist exclusion of the SYL themselves.

In order to exclude the SYL, the May 4 Task Force (M4TF—the resident Maoist/liberal lashup that has for years clung to the Kent murders as its sole reason for existence) had no qualms about exposing *all* the May 4 protesters to possible cop repression. Some "commemoration" for the students who died at the hands of trigger-happy National Guardsmen! The conference was split on the exclusion, with the Communist Workers Party (CWP) and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) opposing it. Even individual members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) opposed the cop-enforced exclusion despite their organization's overall abstention. These groups, none of them noted for devotion to the principle of workers democracy, rightfully feared that they might be the next target of the Maoists' obscene campaign to make the student anti-draft movement safe for U.S. imperialism. As opposed to militant demonstrations against U.S. militarism the M4TF-sponsored commemoration offered students bourgeois politicians (Bella Abzug) and pacifist candlelight vigils. "Militancy" was reserved for the *exclusion of communists*.

The conference was sponsored this year by the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) and the M4TF. The actual exclusion was engineered by one Alan Canfora, a professional dilettante (now a CYO supporter) who has been pimping off the student murders for years to further his own "career" as a leading antiwar figure. Canfora was slightly wounded in 1970 when the National Guard opened fire on student protesters at Kent. Ever since he has been pushing liberalism and pacifism. His role in the 1977 student upsurge, when the possibility existed for



John A. Darnell/Life

Failing to physically exclude the SYL (left), Maoists, led by Canfora, call bosses' cops (center) to exclude SYL (right). Above, National Guardsmen charge, 1970.

a militant mass campaign against ROTC and the cops, was particularly noxious. The administration had decided to erect a gymnasium on the site of the massacre. Canfora opposed the SYL's call to make the demand "ROTC off campus!" a focus of the student protests, instead arguing for candlelight vigils, behind-the-scenes bargaining with the administration, and a stupid adventure known as "Tent City" during which students camped out on the site of the proposed gym (which has since been constructed).

## SYL Polarizes Workshops

Outrage at the anti-communist exclusion among conference participants in the plenary session forced the organizers to allow the SYL to attend the workshops held immediately afterward. In fact, a black organization, People's College, specifically invited the SYL to attend its workshop.

At one of the scheduled workshops, "Strategy and Tactics of the Student Movement," a majority of the participants voted for our motion denouncing the anti-communist exclusion and demanding that the conference be open to all members of the workers movement. Our motion for "ROTC off campus" received widespread support, with CARD and the YSA voting for it.

Our motion to deny a platform for bourgeois politicians failed, with all of the "anti-imperialist" fake radicals (including the YSA) voting against it. At another workshop entitled "The International Situation" the Maoists decided they were fed up with having to defend their alliance with U.S. imperialism from the SYL's criticism: they blocked the doorway to prevent us from coming in. Cops again arrived, this time taking down the names of five of our comrades and expelling them from the building. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (4 May) unwittingly gave a perceptive account of the M4TF antics:

"At the student center there was shoving and loud exchanges of angry words in a dispute between student leaders of the May 4th Task Force and members of the Spartacus Youth League.

"The Task Force is the student-level memorial committee. Spartacus is a Communist youth group whose members had been welcomed at May 4 protests in other years.

"Yesterday, one Task Force leader said, 'We are keeping them out of our programs because all they want to do is disrupt us with their calls for support of red armies—the Russians—in Afghanistan. That would not go over here this year.'

On the tenth anniversary of the 1970 antiwar strikes and the Kent/Jackson State murders the Maoists have de-

clared themselves 1-A for Carter's army against the USSR. Despite their anti-draft pretensions, CARD and M4TF are *pro-war*, against Russia. They appeal to the most extreme backwardness to win students to their cause. The flier for the conference featured the famous picture of a screaming woman kneeling beside a slain Kent student along with the caption, "War Resistance is Patriotism!" The Kent and Jackson State martyrs were shot down by the guns of U.S. patriotism. Perhaps next April the Maoists will organize a conference to commemorate the eight commandos killed in the deserts of Iran—they died for patriotism too. It's little wonder that while they exclude the SYL the Maoists get along splendidly with the racist student Libertarians. In fact, so wretched is the M4TF that these Jim Crow radicals initially *omitted* any mention of the two *black* students slain in Jackson, Mississippi the same year!

Calling the cops on communists, wrapping themselves in the blood-drenched U.S. flag, acting as U.S. imperialism's Trojan Horse in the anti-draft movement—the Maoists spit on the memory of the Kent and Jackson State martyrs. Those who wish to take up the struggle against U.S. imperialism should join the Spartacus Youth League! ■



Young Spartacus

## WSU Protest Hits Military, FBI Recruiters

Chanting "Avenge the murder of Fred Hampton—FBI off Campus!" and "Army, Air Force, Secret Police—they're all murderers for the bourgeoisie!" 25 people demonstrated on May 15 in front of the Wayne State Placement Center to protest the appearance of Air Force, Army and FBI recruiters on this predominantly black campus. The "new FBI" is attempting to recruit a black cover so it can more effectively carry out its old policies of disruption of the labor, black and socialist movements. The demonstration was called by the Spartacus Youth League and was endorsed by a number of prominent individuals on

campus, including the editor of the campus newspaper, *The South End*. But several organizations criminally abstained from this important protest, including the Detroit-area Committee Against Registration and the Draft, the reformist Socialist Workers Party and the Russia-hating cop-baiters of Red Tide (youth group of the Shachtmanite International Socialists). Today, with the economy deteriorating and war frenzy escalating, it is even more urgent that the FBI murderers of the next generation of black militants and the recruiters for the next imperialist war be driven off campus! ■

# Lessons of the Anti-War

Workers Vanguard



Bob Mandel, convener of ANCAN, addressing rally.

We print below an edited text of the talk given by Bob Mandel at a Spartacus Youth League forum entitled "No to the Draft! Down with Carter's Anti-Soviet War Drive!" held March 7 at Stanford University.

Mandel was an early civil rights organizer with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and later became a prominent Bay Area anti-Vietnam War activist. In 1967 he helped organize "Stop the Draft Week," a successful—if short-lived—street action to shut down the Army Induction Center in Oakland, California. For his leading role in this action, Mandel was tried (and acquitted) along with six others in the "Oakland 7" conspiracy trial.

Shortly thereafter Mandel became an active member of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). He is currently a member of the General Executive Board of ILWU Local 6 in the Bay Area and a leader of the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition within the union. Last month Mandel was convener of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis, which organized a 1,200-strong mobilization of labor and minorities in San Francisco to stop the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday.

Many leaders of the student struggles of the 60s and early 70s passed through the Democratic Party on their way out of politics. Others adopted China as the "socialist fatherland," and are today abject apologists for the anti-Soviet U.S.-China alliance and enemies of world revolution. The tragedy of the New Left is that so many who at one time despised the racist imperialism of the United States failed to find the revolutionary program to guide the oppressed in overthrowing that system.

Mandel's remarks are a guide for today's young militants who wish to

avoid the mistakes of the New Left, which led to eventual accommodation to U.S. imperialism. To find the road to revolution, one must examine the Trotskyist program. It is only the Spartacus League and its youth section, the Spartacus Youth League, which fights to implement that program.

In one very major sense, the new anti-draft movement is different from the New Left. I remember, when in 1965 Johnson rigged the Gulf of Tonkin incident to justify bombing North Vietnam, that 3,000 people marched through the streets of San Francisco and ran an NLF (National Liberation Front) flag up on the Federal Building flagpole. Almost from the beginning the New Left had a very clear side.

Now the New Left came out of a series of experiences domestically. There had been the civil rights sit-ins beginning in 1960 in Greensboro, and an educational process had gone on. People initially started off involved in these struggles believing that reform could be effected within the context of capitalism. And the first Kennedy administration consciously played into that illusion. In fact, Kennedy gave money to the SNCC civil rights workers to do voter registration to bolster the illusion that if you vote Democratic things will improve in the U.S. And initially SNCC believed that. But in 1964 an organization called the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), which had been organized by the left wing of the student civil rights movement, came to the Democratic Party convention and was simply rudely swept off the floor, and all the old white racists were seated *in toto*. People's eyes began to open.

It took the New Left a hell of a long time to draw the conclusion that the Democrats were bankrupt, and most of the New Left didn't. That's why the left today in the U.S. is very small. So I want to go through some of the mistakes that the New Left made and some of the New Left's history.

## New Left Rejects History

The central mistake is that it rejected history, and it said that the old politics, the politics of the American CP (Communist Party), the question of what the Soviet Union is, what China is and what Cuba is, were irrelevant. It just closed the book, decided to start all over again, and it kept feeling its way along. So you start with militant non-violence with SNCC and the MFDP, then black power.

What "Stop the Draft Week" in 1967 represented in the largely white student



## A Militant Trade-Union Speaks on the New

milieu was a conscious break from non-violence. We split with Joan Baez and David Harris. The first day of "Stop the Draft Week" they sat in at the induction center and made their moral protest; there were about 150 people. The second to fifth days of "Stop the Draft Week" 3,000 and then 10,000 students and some young workers and blacks from the city of Oakland fought the cops. We were going to show working-class kids in this country that they didn't have to burn their draft cards and set themselves up or go to jail, but that somebody was actually going to fight to stop the draft. Now, it was illusory. What can 3,000 or 10,000 students do? They can riot, but they sure as hell can't bring down state power. They couldn't even bring down state power in one city. But what it represented was a significant empirical lurch to the left: enough of this sitting down and saying, "Drag me off and put me in jail and then I can't do anything anymore."

At the same time that "Stop the Draft Week" was going on, Huey Newton was shot and the Panthers became nationally known. 1968 brought the Chicago demonstrations around the Democratic Party convention and the new element there was that black and white GIs at Fort Hood and Fort Carson rebelled and refused to go on riot duty in Chicago. Cops beating students wasn't so new, but that rebellion was new.

## New Left and the Democratic Party

The anti-draft movement became consciously anti-imperialist in that period and started talking not about bad U.S. policy, but that there was something endemic in the capitalist system which had led to the Vietnam War. One of the real hallmarks of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in those days—when students in Berkeley were talking about anti-imperialism and the nature of the capitalist system—was telling people to link up with Vance Hartke, link up with the liberals in the Democratic Party, that it can be cleaned up and American capitalism can be reformed. They were trying to construct what is called a popular front, an alliance between leftist and working-class forces and capitalist forces.

1971 was the peak of the mass demonstrations. That was the year the 10,000 hippies and SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) members went to Washington to shut down the government, and the government simply moved in and picked them all up and locked them up. They had no social power and the U.S. government, intent on maintaining its imperial empire, was not about to let 10,000 hippies or 10,000 people with Viet Cong flags disrupt its central government. You began to have splits from 1969 to 1971, splits all over the place in the left, as people groped for new solutions, because they kept coming up against their powerlessness.

So on the one extreme you had the



Mandel (center) and five co-defendants of the Oakland 7.

# War Movement



## Union Leader New Left

Weathermen going underground and bombing the Capitol, and on the other extreme—and this is far and away the most significant, it was the death of the New Left—you had the McGovern campaign with literally tens of thousands of students who had been very active in the struggles against the war going back into the Democratic Party in the hope that the party that had sponsored the war in the first place would somehow clean up its act. And central in people going back into the

said a long time ago, a phase of capitalist development—the international extension of markets, the dominance of finance capital. It's part of the growth of the capitalist system.

### Destruction of the Black Panthers

Another key thing that happened was that as large parts of the antiwar movement went into the Democratic Party, the Black Panther Party was being annihilated and was also going back into the Democratic Party, having tried to substitute a heroic handful of black kids for mass working-class struggles. They went up against the police in city after city; they went up against the federal police and they were murdered systematically.

Now one of the key things in the defeat of the Panthers was that the left consciously hid its politics. The left had this theory that the most oppressed were the most revolutionary. Remember that the New Left had been inspired by the civil rights struggles in the South and by the Black Panthers. It looked around and saw that most important fights were being fought by blacks primarily so that there was a certain reflex reaction that blacks were by definition the most revolutionary.

A lot of the New Left simply did not know history. But there were parts of the left, like the CP and the SWP, that very much did know it. Unlike the Spartacist League (SL), they refused to criticize in a comradely way. They contributed to the defeat and destruction of the Panthers by *not* saying, "Look, we sympathize with what you are doing, but the power in the U.S. is in the factories, in those sections of the working class which are already in interracial unions and which already have some basic sense of solidarity of workers against bosses."

So, for instance, when I worked in General Motors in 1970, there was a Black Panther Party caucus in GM. They had about a dozen cadre and 200 to 300 active supporters. If, when the cops framed up Newton or Bobby Seale or murdered Bobby Hutton in Oakland, the Panther caucus (which had large

Workers Vanguard



Spartacists cut through liberal pacifism, 1973 (above)...1980 (right).

Democratic Party was the SWP with their line that there weren't class questions posed in Vietnam: it was not the workers and peasants vs. the landlords and U.S. imperialism, it was simply a question of should American boys be killed. So under a socialist guise, it's the Tom Hayden line of today and it was the line of the various "doves" of those days: American boys shouldn't be killed; let's bring the troops home now. And the question that the New Left was groping toward was that imperialism isn't a policy. Imperialism is, as Lenin

support among the white workers in the plant) had shut the plant down to demand cops out or to demand a political strike against the frame-up trials, that would have been power. That would have cost the American bourgeoisie millions of dollars and worried them about the fact that the working class in its organized forms was beginning to come into play.

### New Left Turns to the Workers

You had at this same time whole sections of the left turning to the

working class, but turning very empirically. The New Left was influenced by the 1968 general strike in France, which came within a hair's breadth of toppling the capitalist government. There was also a strike wave in the U.S. from 1969 to 1971. So, in 1970 the postal workers went out in an unprecedented strike, and the National Guard was brought in to break that strike. Essentially for the same reasons, Teamsters went out in the

Weathermen was that the American working class, and centrally its white component, is a labor aristocracy which is hopelessly backward, hopelessly racist and which can never be won to revolutionary politics. Therefore: "forget about them, we're going to go underground, we'll be the Third World army in the cities and we'll blow up this and that and the other thing." Their lack of belief that the workers could be won

"The anti-draft movement became consciously anti-imperialist in that period and started talking not about bad U.S. policy, but that there was something endemic in the capitalist system which had led to the Vietnam War."

Midwest. For about a week and a half the news every night on TV would have scenes of National Guard convoys escorting scab trucks—the stuff that we all saw a little bit of during the miners strike in 1978—and there would be the Teamsters up in the hills shooting at the scab trucks.

One of the contingents of the National Guard that was used to try to break that Teamsters strike was the contingent that went over to Kent State in 1970 and massacred the students who were protesting the bombing of Cambodia. And there was a lesson there: that the students had no social power. Students can play an important role. Students carry ideas, students historically have been catalysts, students historically have played important roles in building revolutionary parties; but you shut a university down, so what? It is a symbolic act; it can have certain political impact. But if the National Guard had turned around and shot four or five or ten Teamsters in the Midwest, then the U.S. government faced the possibility of a nationwide strike of Teamsters in protest. And, there is the obvious link-up: the troops are shooting the Vietnamese in Vietnam, the troops are shooting blacks in the ghettos, and the troops are shooting striking workers. Well, what's going on here?

So there was an enormous opening for the left, and unfortunately, most of the left went into the labor movement in a very touchy-feely fashion. Maybe that's not doing it justice. Most of the left went in with the same prejudices that it carried. There's a connection here. In 1969 SDS split into two camps, and then one of those camps split a lot more.

One of those camps was Progressive Labor (PL)/SDS. The other was the Weathermen and all the Maoist groups which developed. The theory of the

to revolutionary politics was symmetrical with everybody who went into the Democratic Party, because going into the Democratic Party was essentially a statement that there is no other route for the working class in the U.S. except through the dominant capitalist parties.

PL/SDS said that the workers could be won to revolutionary politics, but PL had a lot of the same intellectual baggage. So it went into the labor movement thinking that workers were dumb, workers were bought off and that workers could not be educated. Therefore PL tended to jump back and forth. So that on the one hand, it had a very leftist impulse; on the other hand, it had a theory that you had to accommodate to existing consciousness. For instance, on the woman question, PL opposed free abortion on demand because male chauvinism is rather rampant in American society and PL simply accommodated to that backwardness.

Then there was another side to it. PL opposed both open admissions and free college education. When this was raised in a successful student strike at the City College of New York, PL opposed it because it decided that workers would be bought off if their kids could go to college. Now, what kind of crap is that? What lies there is the basic assumption that you better suffer a lot or you'll never be a revolutionary. It is the same old "the most oppressed are the most revolutionary." In fact, the most oppressed are very often the most backward.

The second half of the SDS split in 1969 was the Revolutionary Youth Movement, a bloc of the terrorist Weathermen and assorted Maoists which rapidly splintered into a myriad of competing groups. All the Maoist groupings went through the same

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Young Spartacus



# Harvard Conference

## DSOC's Harrington Swears Fealty to Imperialism

"I regard the democratic freedoms in the United States as one of the greatest conquests of progressive forces, and I think societies that take people like Sakharov and ban them from Moscow can never be held up as an image to the American people of the future we want."

Jimmy Carter justifying his Olympic boycott? No, but someone who is guaranteed to be one of Carter's staunchest supporters when Kennedy finally drops out of the running: Michael Harrington, national leader of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). Harrington's anti-communist diatribe came in response to a Spartacus Youth League supporter who challenged him at Harvard University during the DSOC-sponsored "Students Against Corporate Power" conference April 19-20.

The conference drew only 200, and even this number dwindled rapidly as conference participants were subjected to boring speeches and poorly-organized, bureaucratically-run workshops that left almost no time for discussion. The keynote speech by DSOC head Harrington consisted of the usual: support for Kennedy and exhortation for "coalition," i.e., support to capitalist politicians and their lieutenants in the labor movement, the trade-union bureaucracy.

Counterposing a revolutionary perspective to Harrington's pathetic

ramblings, SYLer Alison Spencer set the record straight:

"Michael Harrington was introduced here tonight as someone who's been a socialist for a long time. But what I'd like to point out is that his history has been one of *derailing* the road of the socialist movement for a long time.... He talks about 1962, when the fledgling SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] wrote the Port Huron statement against the pervasive anti-communism of the times.... What was Michael Harrington's role? He changed the locks on the doors, fired the SDS staff and went on to campaign for the Vietnam War....

"There was a social struggle going on between the Vietnamese fighting against capitalism and the American imperialists. You didn't even call for 'Out Now!'—just 'Negotiations' and imperialist peace accords.... You also campaigned for Lyndon Johnson when Vietnam was being carpet-bombed and for President Carter, and now it's the White Knight of Chappaquiddick, Teddy Kennedy!

"So the question I want to pose to people who are interested in a socialist alternative is reform or revolution. And you hear Michael Harrington get up here today and talk a lot about coalitions. Well, his message should be clear—he says, yes, socialism might be a nice idea but you better get out there and vote for that Democratic Party...."

Once comrade Spencer finished, Harrington quipped, "I'm becoming an aficionado of these attacks. That was a pretty good one. The stinking corpse of social democracy was not even brought

up." (See "Harrington's DSOC: Exhuming the Rotting Corpse of Social Democracy," *Young Spartacus* No. 76, October 1979.) Harrington belatedly apologized, "... At the time of the SDS convention and the meeting in Port Huron, I acted quite stupidly." He then reaffirmed his pro-imperialist position on the Vietnam War:

"... this is not really the time to bring up as the solution to everything 'Victory to the NLF.' And I think that it was good that there were some of us in the antiwar movement who said, even though we know that the result of American withdrawal from Vietnam will be the victory of a totalitarian political movement, which we do not endorse or support... nevertheless we are against this unconscionable and immoral war...."

Harrington seized on the bureaucratic deformations in the existing workers states to exalt U.S. bourgeois democracy:

"I have my criticism of communism, absolutely. I believe that most Americans, like 99.9 percent, are ambiguously attached sometimes to things like the Bill of Rights. I regard the democratic freedoms in the United States as one of the greatest conquests of progressive forces...."

Well, Harrington, go tell that to the family of dead black insurance executive Arthur McDuffie, whose cold-blooded murderers from the Miami police force were acquitted, or tell it to the hundreds of blacks who have been

arrested in Miami since then. The Bill of Rights didn't help them; they're black. And it didn't help the survivors of the Klan murders in Greensboro—they're leftists, so they are being charged with felonies because some fascist scum tried to kill them!

Trotskyists do not need to be lectured on "democracy" by the likes of Michael Harrington. Certainly the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union has done much to dissipate the enormous authority of the Russian Revolution in the eyes of millions of workers; but the tremendous gains won by that revolution still stand as strong testimony to the power of nationalized industry and a planned economy. As Trotskyists we unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against imperialism, and call for ousting the bureaucracy through workers political revolution—necessary to effectively maintain and extend the gains of October 1917.

Only a shameless apologist for U.S. imperialism would try to pass racist, capitalist America off as democratic. Comrade Spencer outlined our tasks in her concluding remarks:

"As a Marxist in this country and a supporter of the Spartacist League, we recognize our key task: to break blacks, workers and students from the Democratic Party and build a labor party. We're not in the business of running corporations, but overthrowing them to fight for a socialist future!" ■

## Antiwar...

(continued from page 7)

evolution. They started off saying that anything that is black is beautiful and you can't criticize it.

The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), Bob Avakian's group, initially took the position that even though it was in factories, it couldn't recruit black workers, because black workers had to go into the Black Panther Party. But that didn't work too well because the RCP was in factories with unions—and they were integrated unions—and the workers looked at them and said, "You guys are crazy!" So they shifted all the way over and decided that anything the workers said was good. About five years ago when the Boston busing riots were going on—one racist harpooned a black lawyer with the American flag on the

steps of Boston City Hall—the Avakian group was in the streets saying that this is a great "fightback."

### SL Embodies Communist Program

Now the exception to all this was the SL, and that's why I'm speaking under the SL's banner and in sympathy with it. I want to read one quote, "... No variation or combination of protest politics can force the U.S. ruling class out of Indochina. Only a combination of social forces whose consciousness and militancy pose a greater threat to the world hegemony of U.S. imperialism than military defeat in Vietnam can force a halt to the war" (*Spartacist*, July 1971). And the forces they were talking about was the organized working class. What the SL was calling for in the antiwar movement was labor strikes against the war. If I had had those

politics then, we would have been agitating on the docks for the ILWU, which was shipping goods daily to Vietnam, not to handle those goods. Imagine the impact of a one-day strike by the labor movement against the war.

The clearest lesson of the New Left is that you can't dodge history and you can't deal in abstractions. State power is real. The U.S. government does indeed have bombs and an army and police. One has to examine, in any given instance like in Afghanistan, what are the forces at work, which side should you be on—and draw essential conclusions. What was wrong with the New

Left was that there was not a working class-based opposition that could actually fight the U.S. government on more or less equal terms.

The role that a number of us in this room have taken up is to build a revolutionary opposition in the unions with the goal of a workers political party in the U.S. to fight for a workers government. And that's the program we run on. When people vote for us, they know they are voting against the capitalist system and against the Democratic Party, for the workers running their own government. ■

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## Black Women and Revolution

The Spartacist League is sponsoring a *Women and Revolution* class series. A six-part series every Friday night at 7:30 p.m. at the Student Center building room 583, Wayne State University, Detroit. The classes will focus on the oppression of women and blacks and how to fight it.

**Next class June 6: videotape showing, rally to fight Klan terror, Detroit 1979. June 20, film showing, "Babies and Banners."**

For more information: (313) 868-9095

### Detroit Class Series

## SYL Makes People Magazine



The SYL took the lead in the fight to dump the union-busting president of Boston University, John Silber. The June 2 issue of People ran this photo of one campus protest against Silber prominently displaying our signs. "Mad John" didn't even let up his paranoid witch-hunting in the interview with People; the caption quotes him blaming the "campus uprising" on "a handful of faculty attempting to destroy the university." Dump Silber!

Daily Free Press

## CWP...

(continued from page 3)

working class can be brought to bear in the struggle against the fascist threat. When the CWP-led SFC foreswore any confrontation with the Nazis on April 19, it claimed that the working people of San Francisco were unprepared. The ANCAN rally showed that it was the reformist policy of the CWP which was found lacking—not the determination of the labor movement and oppressed in the Bay Area.

The refusal of the social democratic and Communist parties of Germany to mobilize the working class in a united struggle against fascism independently of the capitalists paved the way for the Nazi victory in 1933. The CWP mirrors the policy of the Stalinized Communist International after 1935 when, following the spectacular failure of the "Third Period" sectarian adventurism, Dimitrov's class-collaborationist "United Front Against Fascism" was adopted. Having abandoned the struggle for proletarian revolution, the European CPs sought a political bloc with the "anti-fascist" capitalists. In his report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, Dimitrov put it thus:

"Now the toiling masses in a number of capitalist countries are faced with the necessity of making a definite choice, and of making it today, not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy, but between bourgeois democracy and fascism."

The bloody consequence of this policy in Spain in 1937—where the Stalinists disarmed the proletariat and crushed its revolution in order to maintain their "anti-fascist" bloc with what Trotsky called the "shadow" of the bourgeoisie—was the Francoist victory. Spain in 1937, Indonesia in 1965, Chile in 1973—in each case reaction triumphed and the proletariat was led to bloody defeat under the banner of the popular front.

The Stalinists promulgate the absolutely false conception that a basic social conflict exists between bourgeois democracy and fascism. But fascism appeared in Europe following World War I as a necessary development of the epoch of capitalist decline and decay—a last resort of the bourgeoisie when it is no longer possible to rule through normal parliamentary measures. The popular front is simply another bourgeois solution to the conditions which lead to fascism, a period when the bourgeoisie is unable to crush a combative working class with the "legal" mechanisms of bourgeois terror. At the same time, the working class movement lacks the revolutionary leadership to resolve the ensuing social crisis on its own terms through the establishment of its own state power. The popular front—by inviting the workers' misleaders into the capitalist government—is the mechanism by which the bourgeoisie disciplines the workers through the reformist and Stalinist parties. The demoralization engendered in both the working class and petty-bourgeoisie by the popular front experience opens the road for fascist reaction.

The Trotskyist strategy to smash fascism is counterposed to the opportunist/adventurist zigzags of the Stalinists; the April 19 anti-Nazi mobilization was a historic reconfirmation of the Trotskyist program by uniting workers, minorities and socialists to stop the Nazi threat. No faith can be placed in the bourgeois state which covers for the KKK/Nazi butchers, indicts the leftists, and uses every "anti-extremist" law to persecute the left and working class movement. There is no substitute for the independent action of the organized proletariat.

### CWP: Revolutionary Verbiage, Liberal Practice

As Stalinists, the CWP has never rejected class-collaborationist blocs in principle. The CWP and its predecessor, Workers Viewpoint Organization

(WVO), eclectically adopted "Third Period" Stalinist verbiage including the dogma of "social fascism." In 1974 *Workers Viewpoint* polemicized against the Dimitrov/Stalin "united front against fascism":

"...we disagree with comrades who uphold the united front against fascism as the strategy for the present... We, however, feel that even though the menace of fascism is increasing due to the changing material conditions, the ruling class at this point still holds the same strategy."

—*Workers Viewpoint*,  
September 1974 (emphasis in original)

In 1975, in a tawdry defense of its opposition to busing in Boston as a minimal means to achieve school integration, the WVO labeled the "liberal" bourgeoisie as "even more dangerous." The May 1975 issue of *Workers Viewpoint* dribbled on that "In the busing issue, the split of the working class signals a greater menace of fascism than the KKK, the Hicks and Kerrigans." According to the infantile and reactionary raging of *Workers Viewpoint*, everything from busing to "decadent" movies like Polanski's *Chinatown* to democratic rights for homosexuals is considered a liberal plot for "fascisation." Most recently the CWP joined the social-democratic Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and right-wing bourgeois feminists (!) to demonstrate against *Deep Throat* at Harvard (see "Let 'em See 'Deep Throat,'" this issue).

That the defeat of busing in Boston and Louisville by racist reaction, the reactionary anti-homosexual campaign of Anita Bryant and, most importantly, Carter's anti-Soviet war drive have fueled the growth of the fascist organizations should be obvious. The workers



Nelson Johnson addresses ANCAN rally.

movement can have nothing but contempt for so-called "communists" who align themselves with the most reactionary forces in U.S. society as the CWP has. Now, it wants to turn toward the "liberal" bourgeoisie it accused of being responsible for the "fascisation" of America. But liberal politicians don't provide much aid to the CWP's popular front illusions. Even the *New York Times*, organ of the "enlightened" bourgeoisie, tried to pass off the broad daylight assassinations of the CWP 5 by the fascist filth as a "shoot out" among "extremists" of the right and left. On the one hand, the CWP blocs with reactionary bigots like Hicks and Anita Bryant and on the other with the "progressive" union-busters on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. No matter which wing of the bourgeoisie they capitulate to, the CWP's Stalinism renders it a roadblock to effective mobilization of the labor movement to crush the fascist threat.

American fascism is not simply fueled by racism but represents the extreme right-wing, militant fringe of Carter/Brzezinski's anti-Soviet war lust. The restoration of the draft coupled with

sabre-rattling over Afghanistan and Iran, the Olympic boycott, the strengthening of the CIA and the arms buildup have created the medium for the growth of domestic reaction. Rabidly anti-Soviet defenders of Mao's reactionary alliance with U.S. imperialism, the CWP can be eliminated as a contender for proletarian revolutionary leadership in the U.S. The task of fighting fascism can only belong to those who oppose U.S. imperialism's war drive and defend the proletariat's conquests, especially the social gains of the October Revolution, which remain intact in spite of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state under Stalin. The NATO-loving, anti-gay, anti-busing, and deeply class-collaborationist CWP can never build the party that will lead the proletariat to victory. That task belongs to the Spartacist League. ■

## Madison TAA Strike...

(continued from page 12)

our own forces for the mass student participation necessary for a viable building occupation. In the undergrad committee, the need for "secrecy" was used as an excuse to avoid the hard work and political struggle necessary to build mass student support. Progressive Labor/Committee Against Racism (PL/CAR) and the March 28th Movement (M28) turned the undergrad committee into an "underground" committee, and the numbers dwindled in each successive action after the first sit-in at Peterson Hall.

### PL's Stupid Sectarianism

PL/CAR baldly stated that "numbers are not important," and began to push for macho adventurist actions. This strategy of despair was based on PL's acceptance of the strike's defeat even before the strike was over. Why wage a serious struggle to turn the strike to the TA's advantage? Much better, according to PL's "logic," to use the remaining days of the strike to pose as fake-militants. This is the logic of charlatans!

The SYL continued to fight for mass picketing by students and other unions and a perspective of breaking out of the romantic elitism and guerrilla tactics of the "underground group." While the SYL participated in the subsequent Bascom Hall sit-in/press conference (where ten TA supporters were arrested), PL/CAR's unserious confrontationism made a mockery of the sit-in tactic.

The height of sectarian folly was reached by PL/CAR the day of the Peterson sit-in. While 200 students seized Peterson at 1:00 and began discussing strategy and tactics, PL/CAR went ahead with its own previously scheduled demonstration at 2:00. Marching around campus with 25 people, PL/CAR looked like generals who got left behind when the army went to fight the war. Any serious revolutionist would have been in Peterson helping to shape the course of events. Eventually PL/CAR made it over to Peterson with the explanation that "our thing was more important." According to PL, the masses will be damned lucky if they can fit the revolution into PL's schedule!

After the strike the Madison SYL issued a *Young Spartacus* supplement summing up the lessons of the strike. As the supplement pointed out:

"For many people at U-W the TAA strike was their introduction to the class struggle and they knew nothing about the various left groups on campus. One of the lessons of the TAA strike is that it matters who leads... If an organization's politics carry the day and it is a winning strategy, then they deserve the credit. If their politics lead to defeat, they cannot simply throw their hands in the air and blame 'the masses.' They must take the responsibility for that defeat."

And sharing responsibility for the TAA defeat are the myriad of fake-left

groups—PL/CAR, the liberal anti-draft March 28th Movement, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, the Democratic Socialist Alliance—who blithely crossed picket lines and excused scabbing in general. At a May 12 panel debate on lessons of the TAA strike, none of the groups even had the gall to stand up and defend this scabbing, although an SYL spokesman vigorously attacked their opportunism. Only the SYL fought to bring the coal miners' definition of the picket line to Madison. And only the SYL agitated for a campus-wide strike to shut the campus down! The young revolutionaries who were attracted to the SYL as sympathizers and new members can testify to that. Join the Spartacus Youth League! ■

## Deep Throat...

(continued from page 12)

Were its purpose not so sinister, we would have to chuckle at this grotesque alliance. On the one hand we have the feminists in alliance with the virulently anti-feminist pro-nuclear family CWP. The CWPers are "Gang of Four" Mao-cultists, for whom even Albania is too liberal. They are disciples of Mao's wife Chiang Ching who, as state censor, attempted to set back Chinese culture thousands of years. On the other hand those self-proclaimed enemies of "totalitarian Stalinism," the ever so "democratic" DSOC ally with these absurdly totalitarian Mao-thought Stalinists for purposes of puritanical censorship!

But the sinister state offensive against sexual "deviance" of all kinds is no laughing matter. The increasingly bold forays of the state into the personal sexual lives of the populace are ominous attacks on elementary democratic rights and feed the growth of anti-homosexual bigot Anita Bryant and her ilk. The FBI, the President's and U.S. Attorney General's offices have all made the fight against pornography a top priority.

In late February of this year the FBI announced the indictment of some 50 big pornography distributors as a result of the FBI's "Operation Miporn" (Miami pornography), the biggest sweep ever. The noxious interference by so-called leftists and feminists into the lives of the student body at Harvard recalls the days when Lenny Bruce faced arrest for the use of four-letter words at his every night club appearance. In the name of "women's liberation," these "activists" have become complicit in the state's setting-up of two innocent guys for possible prison terms. *That's* obscene! The Marxist attitude has nothing whatsoever to do with the DSOC/CWP holy war.

We oppose attempts at puritanical censorship, whether launched by open reactionaries seeking to smash whatever limited civil liberties formally exist, or by this new "Legion of Decency." Pornography is not the source of violence against women. It is this capitalist society with its enforced poverty, rigid family structure and straight-jacket morality which breeds the poisonous frustrations that explode in violence.

Linda Lovelace, of *Deep Throat* fame, has written a best-selling book titled *Ordeal* claiming that she was forced to make the movie. There are some very ugly aspects to the condition of women under capitalism—some of them are certainly reflected in pornography. But these reflections are not the enemy; the oppression of women is rooted in the family under capitalism. Like the Harvard anti-porn feminists, Maoists and social democrats, those who shore up the fundamental anti-sexual mores of bourgeois ideology, more openly espoused by Phyllis Schlafly and J. Edgar Hoover, are simply doing their bit for the reactionary *status quo*. Let 'em see *Deep Throat!* Drop the charges against the *Deep Throat Two!* ■

# Why We Joined the SYL

Last month's Young Spartacus featured a series of letters written by new members of the Spartacus Youth League (see "Why We Joined the SYL," YSp No. 81). The letters reflect the work of our comrades around the country in building the organization through the recruitment drive initiated at last year's sixth National Conference of the SYL.

YSp is proud to publish two of the additional letters we have received from new members since we last went to press. These letters demonstrate the effectiveness of the regional campus work carried out by the SYL in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois and Madison, Wisconsin during the spring semester. We note with satisfaction that both of these new comrades joined the SYL after breaking with reformist pseudo-Marxist organizations.

Comrade Dan J. was initially attracted to the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) by its association with Leon Trotsky 40 years ago. But he soon discovered that it was the Spartacist League and SYL which carry forth the tradition of the once-revolutionary SWP/YSA. Today in this country only the SL/SYL upholds the Trotskyist principles of defense of the Soviet Union from imperialism and rejection of popular fronts with the capitalist class.

Comrade Paula D. broke out of the merry-go-round of reformist coalitionism nurtured by the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade to join the only organization that did real strike support work and opposed scabbing during the recent Madison teaching assistants' strike.

**Paula D.**  
**Madison, Wisconsin**  
May 13, 1980

One of the reasons I came to the University of Wisconsin at Madison was because of its political activity. In the "Berkeley of the Midwest" it was only a matter of time before I was knee-deep in coalition politics.

There were frequent rallies, demonstrations and marches to the Capitol to demand our fair share, from "Take Back the Night" marches to anti-nuke silent vigils, to urban guerrilla censorship missions to stop the showing of films like *Cruising* and *Windows*. To the politically fresh such as myself it was a paradise of activism. The first organization I came in touch with was the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), who were in the lead organizing many of these coalitions and marches locally and nationally.

Ironically, the more involved I became the more I questioned our effectiveness and our end product. After over a year of coalition work I was demoral-

ized, frustrated and for the most part dropped out of political activity. These coalitions give a false sense of accomplishment and gratification. My frustration is not unique or isolated—it happens to many people in this situation. These coalitions breed "now you see it, now you don't" socialists who are activists for weeks, maybe months before fizzling out and becoming slap-happy back-patters for a job well done. In between one coalition and the next I wondered if anyone had learned any lessons.

The serious struggle is ongoing, with continuous building, educating and commitment. It takes a lot more than coalition consciousness "raising" (or in this case, lowering) to win the fight for socialism. I realized these coalitions were/are nothing more than outreach for the Democratic Party. Instead of fighting for free abortion on demand, we were asking for the repeal of the Hyde Amendment or petitioning to stop the Constitutional Convention. "Take Back the Night" marches called for increased police (especially women police) activity and CARD anti-draft demonstrations featured capitalist politicians and reeked of patriotism. Any strength a coalition has is in its numbers (anyone please! including young Republicans and Libertarians!) and the only thing that can be agreed upon is the lowest common denominator thus rendering them at best a little left-of-liberal. With no class analysis, there is nothing to win people to along hard lines except reliance on the Democratic Party as their muscle man. We all know how interested the Democratic Party is in truly liberating women, blacks, gays or the working class. Asking capitalist politicians to fight against an anti-Soviet draft is like asking the Catholic Church to fight for atheism!

Very few people know the RSB's position that gays are sick and not much different than junkies and alcoholics. Bill Silver, an RSB honcho, is notorious for his disgusting anti-gay remarks. Veterans or newcomers to coalition politics had better know who their bedfellows are—for the RSB, which is one of the best champions of bigotry and the oppression of women and the working class, it's no small wonder they hide their political line. In a recent conversation with an RSBer, I was told that she worked in coalitions to win people to communism. Well, I worked with her for a year and this was the first mention I'd heard of her being a communist!

The disdain for history and theory is rampant in these coalitions. As one member from the Democratic Socialist Alliance (DSOC-NAM-SP) put it: "There will be a time and place for that, but right now ideological differences

don't make a bit of difference." I disagree. Ideological differences mean whether or not you defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack, whether you fight for a workers' party independent of the capitalist parties, or whether you defend democratic rights for homosexuals or call them sick and hope to reform them. Ideological differences mean whether you are against the draft for principled reasons or you are just trying to save your ass. To ignore theory and history is to reinvent the wheel over and over again.

I don't believe we are all going to reach a revolutionary consciousness spontaneously and that a winning program will simultaneously emerge. Tragically, there is a "we'll cross that bridge when we come to it" attitude; the coalitions' bridge is to the Democratic Party. Coalitions are concerned with single issues and see no reason to plan ahead. They are riddled with cynicism and pessimism. "We'll never get what we want because that's unrealistic"—so they ask for chicken feed.

My final break from the big happy "family of the left" came during the TAA strike. Left groups like PL/CAR, RSB, March 28, DSA all took a dive on honoring the picket line—and scabbed. In a small way the class struggle came to Madison and all the left groups except the SYL capitulated to the conservative student body. When the SYL stood up and said picket lines mean don't cross and the official strike support committee should be made up of 100 percent supporters and no scabs, they stood alone. It's no wonder the other "left" groups thumbed their nose at this basic principle of labor solidarity since they had all crossed the lines. Throughout the strike they demonstrated their spinelessness to the point of stating that it's anti-working class to call workers who cross picket lines scabs.

When I came into contact with the SYL they were the first group to sit down and explain socialist theories, historical events and present conditions to me. They encouraged me to find out for myself the differences among left groups and judge for myself. What's more, they offered me a principled program to fight for not just in Madison but nationally and internationally. I found my way out of the swamp and can now fight for what is necessary instead of what others deem possible. In joining the SYL I join an organization with a communist program committed to fighting all forms of oppression.

For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

**Daniel J.**  
**Champaign-Urbana**  
April 13, 1980

I wish to apply for membership in the Spartacus Youth League. During the past year and a half I have become convinced that the SL/SYL represents the historical continuity of Marxism, and I adhere to its program for working-class revolution. I did not arrive at this position overnight.

My first contact with left politics was the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). I had read and accepted Trotsky's works on the permanent revolution and the transitional program, but I was deceived by his affiliation with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of forty years ago into thinking that the SWP/YSA was the current organizational embodiment of Trotskyism. I was too politically naive to see that the SWP had undergone a drastic degeneration since World War II. My eyes were opened by the SWP's reaction to the 1978 events in Iran. I recognized that their refusal to put forward a program of proletarian leadership was a gross betrayal of the program of permanent revolution.

Around this time, I became friends with some people who had been won away from the YSA by the SL who informed me of the YSA's recent history and their positions on the Boston busing crisis, the antiwar movement and free speech for fascists. These experiences convinced me that the SWP/YSA did not have a revolutionary program, and that their claim to the banner of the Fourth International was a deceit that obstructed the creation of a revolutionary party.

Although the SL/SYL's Trotskyist analysis of the Iranian Revolution appealed to me, I was repelled by what I perceived to be a sectarian attitude on the part of the SL/SYL toward coalitions and other left groups. At the time I was a member of an anti-nuclear weapons coalition in the Bay Area, and I believed that by mobilizing people to shut down Lawrence Livermore Laboratory we were striking a blow against the imperialist armed forces, as well as creating a forum for raising communist politics. But I soon discovered that any attempt to raise issues such as defense of the USSR (even in a muted way) met with extreme hostility from the coalition. When I realized that working for this group meant substituting liberal and reformist politics for a revolutionary program, I became disenchanted and quit the coalition.

After going through a similar experience again in Champaign, I have learned my lesson. The attempt to mobilize people without regard to program is a betrayal of revolutionary politics. And since only a revolution can solve the problems those coalitions address themselves to, it is ultimately ineffective as well.

In conversations with comrades over the past few months I have frequently raised the issue of tone and style. I believe that this is a non-issue that hides insufficient understanding of the treachery and danger that fake-left groups present to the revolution.

In order to have a proletarian revolution, it is essential to construct a vanguard party of professional revolutionists. For the past couple of months I have been functioning as a close sympathizer of the SYL, but hesitating to join for what were essentially personal reasons. I repudiate what was my Menshevik conception of membership by this letter. I take this step not without doubts and hesitations, but with the knowledge that these can only be resolved by active participation according to Bolshevik norms of organization. It is likely that my position of being a member-but-not-a-member was doing harm to the organization by validating other people's hesitations, and I am glad to put an end to this situation.

I realize that the SYL is not a perfect organization—any revolutionary group surrounded by a hostile society is under tremendous deforming pressures. The only way these pressures can be resisted is by the existence of a healthy, democratic internal party life. My experiences in internal SYL meetings have convinced me that the democratic guarantees don't exist just on paper, but are a real, vital feature of the organization.

We are moving into a period of tremendous opportunities. Many young people, including myself, have been impelled to political activism by the spectacle of capitalism in decay. I believe that helping to build a revolutionary party is the only effective outlet for political activism.

Therefore I submit this letter of application for your consideration. I understand and agree with the program of the SYL on all essential points. I have read the rules of the organization and agree to adhere to them, and I agree to abide by the decisions and discipline of the organization. ■

## Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

**Ann Arbor:** SYL, Box 89, Room  
4102 Michigan Union, Univ. of  
Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, or  
call (313) 994-8051

**Berkeley/Oakland:** SYL, Box 273,  
Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA  
94604, or call (415) 863-6963

**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, Cleve-  
land, 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

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

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

## Trotskyist League of Canada

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

**Vancouver:** Box 26, Station A,  
Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 224-  
0805

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

# Chicago CARD Backs Volunteer Army, Excludes SYL

No matter how hard they tried, the leaders of Chicago's Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CCARD) couldn't suppress political debate at an April 12 public meeting, called to discuss the national and local anti-draft movement. The 16 members and supporters of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) who attended the event (where peak attendance was 60) effectively exposed CARD for its backhanded support to the anti-Soviet aims of U.S. imperialism.

## Maoists: For a Pro-Imperialist Anti-Draft Movement?

CCARD is dominated by two Maoist groups, the Communist Youth Organization (CYO) and Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB). As SYL members pointed out at the Chicago meeting, neither of these slavishly Peking-loyal groups have any business running an anti-draft coalition. Both the CYO and RSB back the Chinese Stalinists' line of support to the U.S. imperialists and NATO against the USSR. Both side with the Chinese/CIA-backed Afghan rebels against the Red Army. So logically the Maoists ought to be in favor of Carter's anti-Soviet draft mobilization. Unaffiliated China loyalist William Hinton has already openly endorsed the draft (see *YSp* No. 81, April 1980) and it is only a matter of time before the CYO and RSB get the word from Peking and do likewise.

In the plenary sessions and workshops of the CCARD conference the SYL hammered away at the Maoists, denouncing their anti-Soviet, pro-NATO politics and insisting on the duty of revolutionaries to defend the collec-

tized economy of the USSR from the attacks of the U.S. imperialists and their Chinese would-be allies. Unable to reply politically, the CYO and RSB said nothing. Instead they tried bureaucratically to suppress discussion. But it didn't always work.

At one workshop on campus anti-draft work there was genuine sentiment among those present to discuss politics, to deal with questions like the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, and whether the anti-draft movement must be against U.S. imperialism. But Richie Saks, a leading RSBER who chaired the workshop, tried as hard as he could to stifle political discussion. Nevertheless SYL motions for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state from imperialist attack, and against using anti-draft rallies as platforms for bourgeois speakers, got a significant hearing from unaffiliated students and only narrowly failed.

## People's College: Arm in Arm With Racist Libertarians

Present at the meeting was People's College (PC), a black group of "Marxist-Leninist" scholars. PC, which covers its reformist nationalism with Maoist verbiage, is just as anti-Soviet as the RSB and CYO. PC led the "minority outreach" workshop at the meeting.

But just what kind of politics was PC "reaching out" with? CARD accepts the existence of the volunteer army—it's OK by this rotten coalition for a disproportionate number of blacks and minority youth to be cannon fodder for imperialism. And PC coexists in CARD with the reactionary Students for a Libertarian Society, which opposes



Who opposes the draft?

public education and social services and tells black youth that the solution for unemployment is driving taxis! The latest CCARD leaflet, written by the Libertarians and approved for distribution by CCARD as a whole, actually quotes Jimmy Carter (!) on the adequacy of the volunteer army and says that the problem with the draft is that it would "allow the Armed Forces to return to the inefficient practice of using highly-skilled draftees for menial labor such as KP, instead of paying civilians [i.e., blacks] to do this work."

When a black SYLer rose in the closing plenary session to move that this disgusting sheet was "a pro-capitalist, racist anti-working-class leaflet," he was bureaucratically ruled out of order by the chair, an RSBER. The SYL contin-

gent walked out of the meeting in protest. But the armchair Marxists of PC just sat there, preferring an alliance with the racist, *laissez-faire* Libertarians over any association with the Soviet-defensist SYL.

The first order of business at the next meeting of CCARD's steering committee following the April 12 meeting was the exclusion of the SYL from all future CCARD events. The pro-imperialist Maoists of the RSB, CYO, PC and their racist Libertarian allies cannot tolerate the SYL's exposure of their real politics in front of anti-draft militants. So, as we asked in our leaflet to the April 12 meeting, "Why don't they just come clean and join the imperialist army, or the bands of reactionary Islamic fanatics in the hills of Afghanistan?" ■

## Demonstrators Protest Junta Collaborator Harberger

Young Spartacus



"Harberger, Friedman, Pinochet—the working class will not forget!" chanted 30 spirited demonstrators who picketed the public appearance of Arnold Harberger at University of Chicago (UC) May 18. The demonstration, called to "protest and expose Arnold Harberger," was initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and endorsed by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the UC Progressive Union, the president and vice president of the campus local of the Service Employees International Union, leftist historian James Petras and others.

Harberger, an economic advisor

to the murderous Chilean junta and along with fellow right-wing economist Milton Friedman the architect of the junta's economic "shock treatment," was invited to participate in a panel discussion by prominent UC professor and Communist Party (CP) sympathizer, John Coatsworth. While Coatsworth and members of the CP-supported Organization of Latin American Students debated the mastermind of the starvation, destitution and murder of the Chilean masses, the SYL drew a hard line: No debate with the junta's henchmen! Drive Harberger off campus, not for his ideas but for his actions.

## Jail Killer Cops...

(continued from page 1)

five anti-Klan protesters, which united ghetto youth with black auto workers and socialist militants. The integrated, labor-centered mobilization of 1,200 against a planned Nazi "birthday celebration" for Hitler in San Francisco's Civic Center April 19 was another example.

Black workers must take the lead to mobilize the labor movement in defense of the beleaguered ghettos, to stop cop terror, smash the fascists and uphold the right of armed self-defense. They must lead the fight to break with the betrayers and misleaders of the Democratic Party, to form a workers party based on the trade unions in order to fight for a

workers government. Short of a socialist revolution, there can be no black liberation. Only a workers government can stamp out the fascist scum, free black people from the hell of this racist society and lay the basis through revolutionary integrationism for genuine racial equality. ■

### Spartacus Youth League Class Series

#### BOSTON

##### The ABCs of Marxism

Alternate Wednesdays beginning June 4

7:00 p.m.

Room 312, George Sherman Union Boston University

For more information: (617) 492-3928

#### CHICAGO

##### The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Tuesday evenings beginning June 3

523 South Plymouth Court

For more information: (312) 427-0003

#### NEW YORK

##### Trotskyism: The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Tuesdays beginning May 6

7:30 p.m.

41 Warren Street (one block south of Chambers between Church and West Broadway)

For more information: (212) 732-7860

### Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

#### Bay Area

Friday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.

Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.

1634 Telegraph 3rd Floor

Oakland, California (415) 835-1535

#### Chicago

Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m.

Saturday: 2:00-5:30 p.m.

523 S. Plymouth Court 3rd Floor

Chicago, Illinois (312) 427-0003

# Young Spartacus

## SYL: "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!"

# Lessons of the Madison Teaching Assistants Strike

MADISON—The Teaching Assistants Association (TAA) strike here went down to defeat with none of its major demands met by the university administration. After 34 days on strike, the TAA fell victim to the administration's vicious and arrogant union-busting campaign. Cop brutality, clubs, mace and over 70 arrests were the administration's answer to the TAA's demands. The role of the cops was crystal clear, and many strikers and student supporters took up the SYL chant, "Cops Off Campus!" Supporters of the strike must continue to demand that all charges against those arrested during the strike be dropped and that there be no reprisals against strike supporters.

In the face of this drive by the administration to break the first teaching assistants union in the country, it was crucial that campus workers in the Memorial Union Labor Organization (MULO) and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) go out in solidarity with the TAA and shut the campus down! But the TAA leadership avoided this call for a campus-wide strike. MULO never went on strike even to enforce its own demands, and on May 1 the MULO leadership stabbed the TAs in the back by signing an agreement with the administration. While the United Faculty (a union of over 200 professors) supported the strike by honoring TAA picket lines, the faculty senate voted to commend administration strikebreaker Shain. What is needed to fight the university bosses' "divide and conquer" schemes is the fight for common contract expiration dates, a drive to



Rally in support of striking Madison TAs.

organize the unorganized and the building of one campus-wide union.

Unfortunately many TAs identified more with the white-collar professionalism of the faculty than with the blue-collar tactics needed to win. Shain's calling card among the faculty was his claim to be a defender of "faculty rights" against the "uppity" TAs. TAA tactics like a "bunny hop" in front of Shain's house and silent vigils at faculty senate meetings were aimed at attracting the media and appeasing the faculty. An SYL motion which passed in the undergrad strike support body for mass picketing in conjunction with the TAA to prevent crucial deliveries to the university was scotched in favor of a more "flashy" media event. But strikes are won on the picket line, not in the

media, which is controlled by the capitalists in any case.

### Militant Students Sit In

Throughout the strike, the SYL continued to point out the crucial role that undergrads could play in support of the TAs. On April 17, 200 students took over the Peterson Office Building and held it for 36 hours. The action was defused by the campus fake-lefts—the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), which cut and ran; and Progressive Labor (PL), which proposed to continue the sit-in in rotating shifts, ensuring its defeat. On April 24, during the fourth week of the strike, students with the support of militant TAs occupied South Hall, the second such action in a week. While the number of occupiers swelled

to 175, the presence of over 25 well-armed cops made it clear that the strike supporters could not defend their sit-in indefinitely.

On the morning of April 25, those in South Hall learned of Carter's fiasco in Iran, clearly raising the threat of imperialist war. An SYL-initiated motion passed unanimously "condemning the invasion and calling for unconditional opposition to the draft and Carter's new Cold War drive." At noon TAA supporters left the building, fists in the air, chanting, "You won't know where or when, but we'll be back again!" and marched to an anti-draft rally.

While the SYL early on advocated militant actions in support of the TAA, we realized that we could not substitute

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## Banned at Harvard:

# Let 'Em See "Deep Throat"!

On Friday night, May 16, while 100 Harvard undergraduates watched (or tried to) a screening of *Deep Throat*, the movie that made porn chic, another 120 students protested outside. Suddenly, troopers unleashed by the District Attorney, John Dronney, burst upon the scene. They confiscated the film and arrested two juniors, Carl Stork and Nathan Hagen, co-presidents of the Quincy House Cinema Guild. Stork and Hagen were indicted by a *grand jury* for "disseminating obscene material"—a felony charge for which they can get five years imprisonment!

The bust was preceded by a demonstration by those present-day guardians of conventional sexual morality—the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and the

Communist Workers Party (CWP) along with frenzied feminist anti-porn nuts. Looking like nineteenth century religious fanatics closing down the local saloon, the DSOC/CWP/feminist "Ad Hoc Committee to Protest Deep Throat" mobilized some 120 students carrying placards which read: "Porn is Violence Against Women." But the real violence of the raiding cops didn't evoke any outrage in the breasts of these moralizing, self-appointed censors. While the anti-*Deep Throat* protest leaders now disavow responsibility for the phone call to the Boston DA's office which provoked the raid, the feminists and their left-wing pals stood idle, watching the raid and the arrest. The simple truth is that the raiding troopers merely accomplished the "Christian

duty" which the anti-porn lash-up lacked the power to do: close down the movie showing.

The puritan spirit is alive and well in Boston, the "banned in" city where recently a professional photographer was put away for 39 years for "sex crimes"—having sex with the 14-year-old male who was living with him, and taking and distributing photos of nude boys.

Stork and Hagen sought legal counsel prior to the film screening and obtained a hearing from a district court judge who ruled that the film was not obscene and refused to bar its screening. The county government simply ignored the superior court ruling and raided anyway. Represented by Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz, the two

juniors have filed a federal civil action against the county. Drop the charges against Stork and Hagen!

If these people don't want to see *Deep Throat*—fine and well. What about the 100 Harvard students who apparently did want to see it? Stork and Hagen, faced with the protest plans, took a poll of the Quincy House residents to see if there was opposition to showing the film. The overwhelming majority of men and women residents had no objections. The peeping tom puritans should leave people alone to pursue their cultural and sexual activities as they wish. We suggest that if the CWP and DSOC are really into it, they give the Campus Crusade for Christ a call and hold a joint revival.

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