

Young Spartacus

NUMBER 122

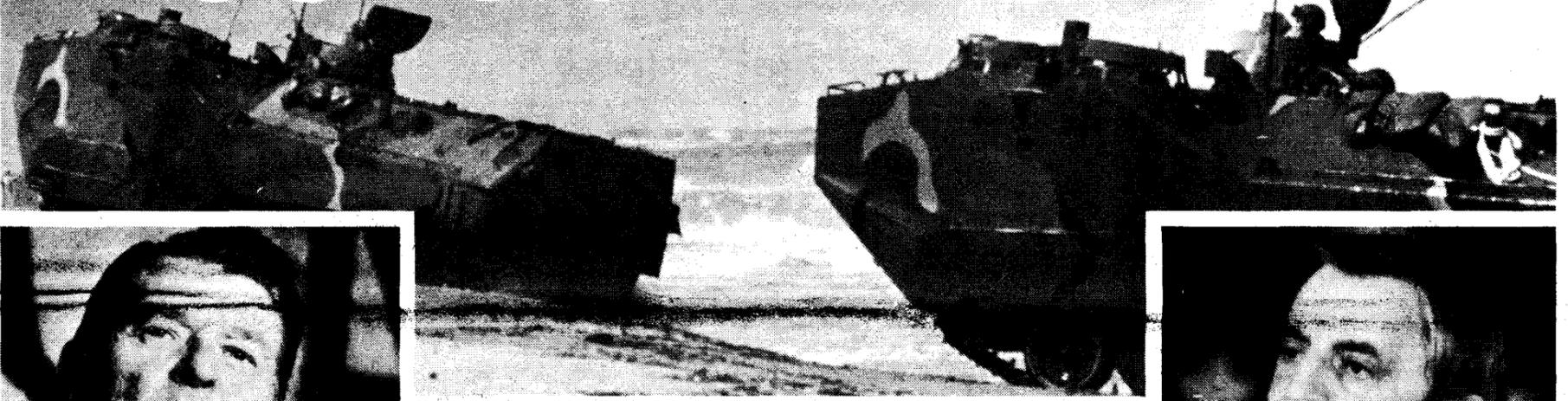
25 CENTS

X-523

NOVEMBER 1984

Goldberg/Syigma

U.S. Get Your Bloody Hands Off Central America!



Rollo/Newsweek

Reagan/Mondale Want War!



Der Spiegel

November 1984: the issue is war. Those with the fortitude to make it through the "great debates" between Reagan, the anti-Soviet nut, and Mondale, the Cold War hawk, witnessed a contest for warmaker of the year award. During the October 21 foreign policy debate, Reagan said on Central America: "I thought for a moment that instead of a debate I was going to find Mr. Mondale in complete agreement with what we're doing because the plan that he has outlined is the one we've been following for quite some time." Indeed, Mondale has embraced every key plank of the G.O.P.'s aggressive platform for death squad "democracy" and counterrevolution in Central America. Both candidates support the butcher Duarte in El Salvador, and in Nicaragua Reagan's CIA directs the *contra* invaders in the "arts" of assassination, blackmail, kidnapping and sabotage while Mondale threatens a "quarantine." Too, Mondale has endorsed Reagan's rape of black Grenada.

While the U.S. prepares for a full-scale military invasion—targeting Nicaragua and Cuba—the regimes in Managua and Havana are preparing for

their defense. For the Central American masses, the very real threat of Yankee invasion means a fight to the finish. According to the authoritative *Latin American Weekly Report* (10 August), quoting an unnamed "US military analyst and former army officer": "The [U.S.] body count would be terrible—two to three hundred a week. Probably, within six weeks, the US would have to institute a draft, total casualties would be from 8,000 to 10,000. The Reagan administration would have to be out of their bloody gourds to do it." But, with "jokes" about outlawing Russia and beginning the bombing in five minutes, we have reason to believe that the American rulers are not all there. So instead of kissing the ground, like the "rescued" medical students in Grenada, some American youth may be kissing their asses good-bye.

Underscoring the fact that a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua would be no Grenada-style walkover, Nicaraguan head of state and Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega vowed at the United Nations:

"... we want the world to know that the Nicaraguan people—barefoot, ragged,

and with empty stomachs—are going to fight to the end, until we achieve peace, by either defeating the invaders or immolating ourselves if imperialist aggressiveness leaves us no other choice.... We are certain that our sacrifice would not be in vain and that all three million Nicaraguans could be annihilated, but our example would triumph and multiply among the peoples of the world and among the people of the United States as well. This is our contribution to peace."

Following Grenada, the Sandinistas began distributing guns to the population so that today Nicaragua has well over a hundred thousand people under arms. Approximately 75 percent of the country's construction resources have been diverted to military defense. Given the extreme economic pressures on Nicaragua from U.S. imperialism, such measures are hardly undertaken without very good reason.

In fact, U.S. invasion plans against Nicaragua have been worked out in detail. One scenario prepared by three Pentagon experts calls for a Marine division, an Army air mobile division, Army light infantry brigade and Ranger battalion, backed up with Air Force and Navy air support and logistics. Assum-

ing 32 days of "high intensity warfare" and three months to complete occupation of the country, the authors come up with a total of "between 2,392 and 4,783 dead with 9,300 to 18,600 wounded." "Casualties among the Nicaraguan population are likely to be very much higher," the study notes (quoted in Theodore Moran, "The Cost of Alternative U.S. Policies Toward El Salvador, 1984-1989," in Robert Leiken, ed., *Central America: Anatomy of Conflict* New York: Pergamon Press, 1984).

While the contenders for imperialist top cop genuflect in the direction of "diplomatic avenues" and differ slightly on tactics and timing, they mean to make war. Despite constant attempts at a negotiated sellout by the Salvadoran FDR/FMLN guerrilla leadership, despite endless overtures by the Sandinistas—including their unconditional acceptance of the Contadora group's draft treaty—the U.S. invasion buildup continues. The Contadora treaty would require Nicaragua to: grant amnesty to the *contras*, hold elections under international supervision, cut off any aid to Salvadoran rebels, send home Cuban

continued on page 5

Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!

EDITORIAL NOTES

The Moral Majority Takes Over the Science Times Sex: Is There Ever Enough?

The last few years—under both Democrat “born-again” Carter and Moral Majority Republican Reagan—have witnessed increased government meddling in the totally private matter of consensual sexual activity. Homosexuality is ruled unprotected by constitutional rights; Reagan tries to outlaw teen sex with his “squeal rule”; campaigns against pornography burgeon in city after city. The former Miss America, the delicious Miss Vanessa Williams, the first black woman ever to win the rhinestone tiara, was pressured into resigning her title because she had posed for nude photographs (in sexually explicit scenes with a white woman)—while the new Miss America is a bible-thumping Mormon from Utah who collects soap for a hobby! “Cleanliness is next to godliness,” sums up the sexual program of the Moral Majority, which wants to make itself the dictator of every American’s conscience.

But now the government and its lackeys in science and medicine are ruling that not only are many kinds of sexual acts wrong/sick/illegal/evil, but so is “too much” of any kind! The lead article in the 16 October issue of the *Science Times*, the *New York Times*’ weekly section on science news, was “Some Sexual Behavior Viewed as an Addiction,” which outlined sex therapists’ “discovery” of “sexual addicts.” While this term is not yet a formal diagnostic category in medicine or psychology, many researchers are working up a definition. Leading “sex addict” proponent Dr. Patrick Carnes states, “the problem is simply that sex has taken over their lives.” We ask ourselves, what is so bad—or unusual—about this? That this article, a hodge-podge of moralism

and eclectic psychologizing, should be published as a piece of “science” only underlines its potentially sinister consequences.

One “expert,” Dr. John Money, director of the psychohormonal research unit at Johns Hopkins Medical School, is quoted, “some male fetishists [sic] report having orgasms up to 10 times a day. We don’t know why they have that capacity, but one day I’m certain we’ll find out the underlying neurochemistry is unique.” And it is equally “certain” that then the (jealous?) Dr. Money will diligently apply himself to “curing” the “affliction” that is the desire of most healthy men and women. This Dr. Money is the same ghastly white-coated doctor wielding hypodermic needles that the Spartacist League wrote about in “Anti-Sex Drugs Deform Male Prisoners” (*Women and Revolution* No. 18, Spring 1979) for his “cure” for “sex offenders.” Dr. Money tested his new drug, a hormone called anti-androgen, not only on “sex offenders,” but on men showing patterns of “violent behavior”—manifested not only in attacks on people, but also on objects! He claimed “you can revert their sex drive back to the prepuberty level.” That the *New York Times* quotes this sinister experimenter in chemical castration as a legitimate “scientist” says a lot about Reagan’s America.

We defend any consensual sexual act as a private matter; the days when sex therapists occupied themselves with helping people have a better time in bed were a small step in the right direction.

We print here a letter to the editor of the *Science Times* by Walt Senterfitt of the editorial board of *Women and Revolution*.

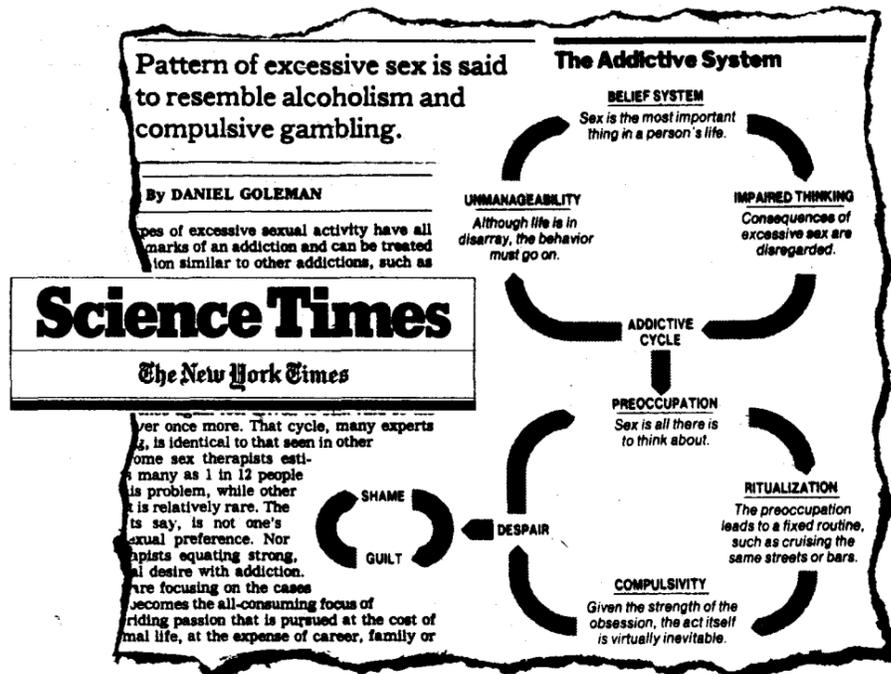
Young in Reagan’s America

No Booze, No Fun, No Future

The normally placid Normal, Illinois campus of Illinois State University was recently the scene of a small campus rebellion. Five hundred students pelted cops with rocks, not in protest of U.S. support to South African apartheid or CIA assassination manuals, but against a law banning “lewd campus parties,” a direct consequence of Reagan’s bill raising the legal drinking age to 21. As we noted in *Young Spartacus* (No. 120, September 1984) this mullah-like regu-

lation of morality is integral to Reagan’s attempted ideological regimentation of American youth into the “new patriotism.” Good, clean conformists, the Reaganites figure, make good cannon fodder.

This campaign has reached such absurd proportions that the Dade Christian School in Miami, Florida has forbidden students from attending Michael Jackson’s Victory Tour concerts. Dade County, Florida may be



Want to screw ten times a day? Men in white coats want to take you away.

22 October 1984

New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, NY 10036

Attention: Editor, *Science Times*

Dear sirs:

Your article, “Some Sexual Behavior Viewed as an Addiction” (16 October 1984) is an eclectic broth of totally dissimilar sexual phenomena with an overlay of Moral Majority-ism. But it is an extension of reactionary sexual unease.

Surely there are many sexual patholo-

gies but somebody’s attempt to put them all under one roof is a reductio ad absurdum. No longer are only qualitative departures from the sexual norm (whose?) to be condemned, but now also even the simple quantitative ones.

Perhaps the man who wanted to screw five to ten times a day, to his wife’s frigid dismay, needs not to be cured but either better technique or a new wife. A lot of women do, you know. Or do you?

Sincerely,
Walt Senterfitt,
editorial board,
Women and Revolution

today, thanks to the decaying society in which they live. Schools are little more than prisons, the inmates illiterate, without democratic rights and subject to search at the whim of campus officials. Unemployment, particularly among black youth, is astronomical and if you’re lucky enough to find a job, it’s at the short end of the two-tier wage system—the bosses’ game of setting young and older workers against each other. Make it to college and, if you’re male and draft age, your financial aid will be withheld unless you’ve registered with the draft board.

To add insult to injury, Reagan & Co. now want to impose a juvenile “prohibition.” These laws are dangerous! Roadblocks have been implemented in New Jersey to search automobiles for alcohol. While any encounter with the cops is ominous particularly for black and Hispanic youth, you can bet there won’t be any sobriety tests of the Nixons and Fords following Republican fundraisers, despite their well-publicized drinking “problems.” Nor will the limousine bars of Reagan’s rich pals be prohibited.

As Marxists, we are opposed to any capitalist law regulating “crimes” without victims, such as pornography, drugs, alcohol, prostitution or various sexual preferences. These are private matters—the state ought to keep its fist out! Need we say that saving young lives is not high on Reagan’s priority list: the “squeal rule,” school prayer and drinking age laws are intended to produce an army of sober, patriotic, Christian soldiers for nuclear armageddon against the “godless” Soviets. What next? Searching for hairy palms to deter excessive masturbation? ■

The survey’s results may be taken as highly dubious, occurring simultaneously with the crackdown on “demon booze.” There is undoubtedly dangerous abuse of alcohol and drugs by kids



“Sorry—I’ve deprogrammed moonies and I’ve deprogrammed hare krishnas, but there’s nothing I can do with youth for Reagan!”

Victory to the Yale Strike!

After more than a year of contract negotiations, 1,800 out of the 2,650 clerical and technical (C&T) workers at Yale University, organized by Local 34 of the Federation of University Employees, set their pickets up against the ivied walls of Yale on September 26. Since then, the strikers have held fast in their fight for a decent living wage, even while coming smack up against the Yale administration and the New Haven cops. On October 5, 190 strikers engaged in a silent "non-violent witness for equality" were arrested and on October 26, 430 more were dragged off to jail during a similar protest. Cops off campus! Victory to the Yale strike! Drop the charges!

A key issue for this predominantly female and heavily minority workforce is equal pay for equal work. But for the Yale administration, even this basic right is too much. Head Yale patrician, president A. Bartlett Giamatti recently put out an expensive four-page glossy brochure explaining to the affluent Yale alumni why his "poverty stricken" administration can't afford the strikers' demand of a 26 percent increase of their \$13,474 annual wages. Meanwhile, the Yale fat cats are sitting on top of a \$1.1 billion endowment!

This disgusting display of arrogance is coming from a racist administration which has long viewed the surrounding black community of New Haven with contempt. In the 1950s Yale's servant, Democratic Party mayor Dick Lee, tore down the Oak Street slum and replaced it with a turnpike connector and some modern office buildings. The Yale administration "royalty" figured that they could use this turnpike as a moat to protect their ivory tower—closing down

SYL on Yale picket lines. Boycott classes! Shut Yale down tight!



Young Spartacus Photo

the bridges and sealing off the campus in case of black ghetto rebellion.

The mainly black workforce of New Haven has a stake in this strike too. Yale is very important in the economy of depressed New Haven, the seventh poorest city in the U.S. If the union is busted at Yale, it will be a defeat for all unions in the surrounding community. Yale wants desperately to bust Local 34, but if labor plays hardball with the Ivy League through mass picketing and solid action by the campus unions, backed up by the local labor movement, faculty and students, they could shut the campus down tight—and that's the way to win this strike! An example of the type of action that is needed has been set by Yale's maintenance and dining hall workers in Local 35 of the Federation of University Employees, whose own contract expires in January. Local 35 has been honoring the picket lines of their union brothers and sisters in Local 34 and succeeded in shutting down all but one dining hall on campus.

Even at this pillar of bourgeois academia where the students are being groomed to be capitalist bosses (as opposed to mere professionals), the students have a stake of their own in this strike. If Yale can get away with lording it over the campus unions, the climate is ripe for assaults on students and faculty as well. But as if to underscore their own "class consciousness," on October 24 102 Yale students filed suit against the university seeking \$2 million for each week of the strike, whining that Yale "destroyed the atmosphere of collegiality and intellectual inquiry" (*New York Times*, 26 October). The money is to be distributed among Yale's 10,000 students—roughly \$200 per week per student which, including meal rebates of \$78, when averaged out exceeds the miserable wages of the Local 34 strikers! This bourgeois arrogance is equally pervasive among so-called "strike supporters" of the Students for a Negotiated Settlement. SNS members, tomorrow's "yuppies" in Reagan's

America, who are more concerned with failing courses than watching Local 34 go down in defeat, proudly wear their "Settle" buttons as they daily cross the picket lines to attend classes while they sign petitions "resenting" their own role as scabs. Those few students who are honoring picket lines and who want to see this strike win have been left unorganized and leaderless by SNS' disgusting scabbing. Many of these students had looked to SNS as a "pro-union" organization before the strike.

Since the beginning of this strike the SYL has intervened to win students to the side of the embattled Local 34 strikers—boycott classes, walk the picket lines, shut Yale down tight! Combating the (scab) diversion of "off campus" classes, we say: No Business As Usual—On Strike Means Shut It Down! We point to the example of the 1971 Local 35 strike when militant students not only boycotted classes and walked the picket lines but blockaded fuel delivery depots, at no small risk to themselves. If this strike is to be won, students must rally to the side of the striking workers and bring the capitalist Yale administration to its knees. An SYL-sponsored forum on October 21 at the First Methodist Church, strike headquarters for Local 34, featured the film "Labor's Turning Point," recounting the lessons of the 1934 Trotskyist-led Minneapolis teamster strikes, where labor played hardball and won! Guest speaker Gene Herson, a 20-year militant in the National Maritime Union, drew the lessons of the Minneapolis strikes for those striking workers and sympathetic students in attendance, and the proceeds from the forum were turned over to Local 34's hardship fund.

Labor's gotta play hardball to win—and students can be team players by taking up their assigned positions on the picket lines. Boycott classes! Shut Yale down tight! Victory to the Local 34 strike! ■

Subscription Drive Success

Congratulations to all comrades on the successful completion of the *Workers Vanguard/Young Spartacus* subscription drive. The six-week drive reached 3,874 points, 131 percent of the national quota. This includes 861 *YSp* subs, 123 percent of our national *YSp* quota. We also sold 541 subscriptions to *Women and Revolution*.

For a Leninist propaganda group press circulation is a crucial activity: we recruit to our program. Many locals got off to a late start this year and some had a hard time making their quotas. But all did end up on target and in the process got a good sampling of our readers' political interests and views.

In addition to other sub drive work, we covered a broad range of college campuses: state universities, black colleges, community colleges as well as some of the more elite private schools. Except on predominantly black campuses, we found a polarized student population. While "Youth for Reagan" and the "new patriotism" do predominate among college students, a significant layer hate Reagan, can't stomach Mondale and are open to communist ideas. This layer is hungry for alternatives. At Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington, a comrade knocked on a dorm room door and a voice answered, "Come in if you want to be depressed." It turned out the four students inside were depressed about the elections—they hated the candidates of both bourgeois parties and didn't want to go to war in Central America. They were excited to see our newspapers and pitched in to buy a sub. With the fake-left mainly buried in Mondale campaign activities, our headline "You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats! Build a Workers Party!" met with interest and sometimes enthusiasm.

With the Reagan administration going all-out to force the U.S. population into ideological conformity in preparation for war with the USSR, our intransigent defense of the Soviet Union sparked plenty of debate. Comrades report that many students were surprised that communists were openly selling papers and some said they were intrigued but afraid to subscribe. The fact that our press told the truth at the time about Reagan's KAL 007 anti-Soviet provocation sold a lot of subs.

Students showed particular interest in South Africa, where the black masses

are battling the brutal apartheid regime. We have 50 new subscribers at Howard University (68 points), where the SYL has been active with other militant students in anti-apartheid protests. At Harvard, where we initiated a united-front demonstration against apartheid, we sold 55 points.

Regional trips were important in this year's drive. The Northern tour by Bay Area comrades, covering campuses in Oregon and Washington state, netted 285 points. New York comrades sold 89-1/2 points at the University of Connecticut (Storrs) and 115-1/2 points at Yale, where the SYL has been supporting a campus workers strike. At Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, our Atlanta local showed the videotape of the 27 November 1982 demonstration that stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. to a total of 125 Tuskegee students in three classes. Even though there wasn't much time for individual discussions with students, we sold 6 points there and plan to make a return trip.



Workers Vanguard Photo

SL candidate Ritchie Bradley sells popular SL pamphlet, "Black History and the Class Struggle," now in its fourth printing.

We welcome our new readers and hope to hear from you with comments and criticisms. Help introduce *YSp* and *WR* to classmates, coworkers and friends. We have a world to win! ■

Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus (ISSN 0162-2692) is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacist 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.

Editorial Board: Bonnie Brodie (editor), Dorie Reed, Alison Spencer

Production manager: Dorie Reed

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No. 122 November 1984

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Black Revolt in South Africa

Bury Apartheid: Black Workers Are Key!

Mass revolt against the South African apartheid regime exploded this September in the wake of insulting sham "reforms" in the white supremacist constitution. The continuing rebellion has encompassed all layers of the disenfranchised in South African society—the Indian and "coloured" (people of mixed race) populations granted token "representation" under the new constitution, striking black miners, students who have boycotted classes in the hundreds of thousands against the racist educational system, the population of the black townships. In spite of and in defiance against the massive show of state terror by the apartheid rulers, the black masses are challenging the foundations of apartheid rule. In the dawn hours of October 23, 7,000 army troops and cops swept down on the black townships of Sebokeng, Biopatong and Sharpeville. So far, reported deaths of blacks are officially at over 100. According to the *New York Times* (24 October), "Security forces searched houses in the township and arrested about 350 people on charges ranging from possession of firearms to having pornographic material." The article continued: "Political analysts said the crackdown was a clear signal to blacks that unrest would not be tolerated. Some speculated that further rioting could lead to harsher action, perhaps including measures against increasingly powerful black trade unions."

South African capitalism has created

the gravedigger of apartheid in the black proletariat which is necessarily central to its economic functioning and expansion. Now it is urgent that the international labor movement take action in concrete solidarity with our South African brothers and sisters: for an emergency boycott of all shipping to and from South Africa! A step in this direction was the October 18 International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10 meeting in the San Francisco Bay Area which resolved to refuse to work South African cargo on the next ship of the Nedlloyd Lines (which handles West Coast-South Africa shipping). Militant longshoreman Stan Gow, an SL supporter and member of the local's Exec Board, fought at this meeting for a boycott of all South African shipping. The motion that was finally passed—for a token, one-shot action—falls short of what is urgently needed. Gow will continue the fight to extend the motion into a boycott of all South African shipping.

Because of its profoundly revolutionary implications, the black revolt in South Africa has revived debate on the liberal moralistic "divestment" schemes which seek to pressure international imperialism into economically "pressuring" the apartheid rulers. As the *Times* quoted Bishop Desmond Tutu, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches and winner of this year's Nobel Peace Prize: "He says he sees Western economic pressures as the only alternative to violence and as a way

to force the white authorities to negotiate changes" (*New York Times*, 28 October). Tutu is looking for an "alternative" to *social revolution*; he fears the powerful black working class will shatter the apartheid system and divest the capitalist class of the wealth created by the toilers. Tutu's message to world imperialism is: pressure the butchers before you lose the whole ball of wax.

Meanwhile, the attitude of the Western "free world democracies" is one of unabashed support for their strategic anti-Communist ally on the African continent. Thatcher's Britain drives anti-apartheid fighters (seeking asylum from the torture dungeons of apartheid) from the British consulate in Durban and the U.S.' dragon lady Kirkpatrick defends Pretoria from mealy-mouthed resolutions at the UN.

According to a recently published survey of 551 black production workers in South Africa conducted by the Center for Applied Social Sciences, 75 percent were against divestment as contrary to their economic interest (*New York Times*, 28 October). Thoroughly utopian, the demand that imperialist nations or individual capitalist corporations "divest" themselves of South African holdings could theoretically have no other impact in the real world than worsening the economic and social power of black workers at the point of production. More generally, such economic boycotts only take place in a situation of intense inter-imperialist rivalry, usually as a forerunner to an

John Seymour



Black miners. Here's where the power lies. Smash apartheid!

actual shooting war. None of this has anything to do with the fight for the liberation of South Africa's black masses.

We reprint below a column from the *Harvard Crimson* by Carla Williams, a black Harvard student who worked with the SYL to build an anti-apartheid protest on September 20 which attracted some 50 demonstrators. In the course of that work, Carla was won to our revolutionary program (particularly as the advocates of "divestment" could not bring themselves to protest apartheid, preferring instead to beg "Hahvahd" to relinquish its stock) as against the empty pro-imperialist gestures of divestment liberals.

"Divestment—Missing the Point"

Reprinted from
The Harvard Crimson,
17 October 1984

The problem of South Africa and its racist apartheid regime has been redefined on this campus and elsewhere as the problem of divestment. However, the South African issue is not "Should Harvard Divest?" or even President Bok and the Corporation's stance on divestment. The issue in South Africa is the same as it's been since the country adopted a set of laws codifying racism. The issue in South Africa is capitalist profits.

It is the profit made from Black miners and factory workers which has allowed apartheid to flourish. It is profit which is made without any concern for moral implications of the gains. And it is profit—not, as President Bok would have people believe, the nature of the University in society—which is at stake.

The message was stated clearly in Bok's October 1 regurgitation of past open letters. "I do believe that the tactics of divestment will not succeed and that they would cost the university money." For those who missed the point, it was something akin to "sure, apartheid is evil, but it is profitable as well."

With these simple facts in mind, the question of divestment becomes moot. Not because divestment will or will not work, but because it will not occur until it is no longer profitable to conduct business in South Africa. That will happen when Black workers in South Africa rise in revolt and crush the

**Harvard,
20 September:
SYL-initiated
united-front
protest in
solidarity with
black revolt in
South Africa.
Divestment
liberals stayed
away.**



apartheid state.

Yet members of the so-called liberal-left persist in their attempts to ask, demand, cajole, and beg the University to "take a moral stance" or "do the right thing" and divest from companies doing business in South Africa. They forget that America has never seen anything wrong or immoral in making an easy buck.

But supposing Harvard does, miraculously, follow the advice of the Advisory Committee on Shareholder Responsibility (ACSR) and divests. Would such an act change anything in South Africa? Did the gestures made by municipalities like Cambridge and Boston or by the University of Michigan change anything in South Africa? No. In fact, those who support divestment, if pressed, admit that Harvard, acting

alone, cannot change anything in South Africa.

But liberal divestment schemers have contrived a scenario in which Harvard is key. It goes something like this: the ACSR advises the Corporation to divest; the Corporation, feeling morally compelled to wash its hands of apartheid blood, does so; other universities, recognizing Harvard's supreme importance in the grand scheme of capitalism, follow suit, as do several state and local governments; then, of course, the U.S. itself divests; the businesses in South Africa crumble, breaking the chains binding South African workers, and apartheid is buried in the flames of revolution.

Such a scheme is utopian at best and liberal reformism at its worst. Divestment misses the point. What will happen

when these cumulative divestments do (in a hypothetical world) take place? Will the money invested in South Africa go into companies that oppress workers in Chile or the Dominican Republic or here at home?

It is the failure to recognize South Africa as an extreme case in a morally bankrupt system that makes proponents of the divestment "movement" only so many loud proclaimers of liberal guilt. After all, it is easy to be liberal when you are not poor, oppressed and starving and you know that your actions will have no real effect on your own comfortable situation.

It is much more difficult to acknowledge that the ties between Harvard and South Africa are those of class, that the same corporate investors remaining inactive on issues of oppression in South Africa remain silent on issues of worker oppression at home. Ford Motor Company has factories in Detroit as well as South Africa.

Divestment is useful only because it serves to make people aware of the futility of attempts at reforming capitalism. President Bok's intransigence on the issue helps to emphasize which side he, and others like him, have chosen. Students now must also choose a side.

Those who are concerned about apartheid repression should ask themselves not, "Do I want Harvard to divest?" but, rather, "Have I myself divested from the system which allows apartheid to exist?"

Then, the next step would be to ask "what can I do to end capitalist oppression worldwide?" Taking advantage of the relatively unrestricted ability to organize and speak freely in this country is a start. Mass student protest, in

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Young Spartacus Photo

Stop UCLA's Witchhunt Against the SYL!

We print below the leaflet distributed by the UCLA SYL calling on students and campus organizations to defend Juvenal Martinez against a UCLA administration vendetta. Martinez, an SYL supporter and UCLA grad student, faces charges of "disruption" because he protested the appearance last March of El Salvador's ambassador to the U.S., Ernesto Rivas-Gallont. Two hundred fifty students were present at the event—over half of them were there to protest the "Ambassador of Death." On November 1, Juvenal Martinez will appear before UCLA's star chamber to denounce the administration's ardent defense of mass murder and its repression of those who would legitimately exercise their right to dissent.

When El Salvador's ambassador-of-death Rivas-Gallont showed up on campus last March, he was met with the reception he deserved from the 75 protesters who shouted down this butcher whose hands drip with the blood of 50,000 Salvadoran workers and peasants. The UCLA administration responded swiftly to the student protest of mass murder. Thought-cop Berky Nelson called in the campus police to round up, handcuff, drag off and throw into jail four of the protesters, supporters of the Spartacus Youth League. Now, almost eight

SYLER denounces Salvadoran "Ambassador of Death," UCLA, March 1984. Four SYLers were arrested, now one faces expulsion.



months later, the administration is still up to its dirty work. SYL supporter Juvenal Martinez faces expulsion, having been summoned to appear before a star chamber Student Conduct Committee hearing to face charges of student "misconduct" for his participation in the protest.

This hearing is an outrage! The only purpose behind it is the university's determination to frighten and intimidate all those who would dare exercise their democratic right to protest. Pure and simple, the Student Conduct Committee is a kangaroo court, set up and run by the UCLA administration. It was last used for political purposes against anti-Vietnam War protesters,

and is now being revived as a witch-hunting body aimed at campus political activists. And this time around, it has targeted as its first would-be victims the communists of the SYL.

The administration wants to stifle student political dissent; the attempts we're seeing today are a continuation of its past policies. During the 1960s the UCLA chapter of SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) was suspended for 15 months by then-vice chancellor Charles Young. In 1969 Angela Davis, prominent Communist Party spokesman, was fired from her position as assistant professor of philosophy for her political views. Of course, what the UCLA administra-

tion's hullabaloo over "free speech" is really all about is *defending mass murder*. Rivas-Gallont is an ambassador of death squad terror, justly protested for his deeds, not his words. For UCLA, "free speech" exists only for those who occupy "Doomsday Floor" in Bunche Hall, where the imperialist think tank Rand Corporation and a nest of other *gusanos*, *contras*, and militarists hold court, where the likes of Professor "Batista" Gonzalez hang out—a death squad strategist who occupies his time plotting ways to overthrow the Cuban government.

The UCLA administration no doubt is targeting the SYL because it figures that in the midst of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive it can get away with running out the communists who stand solidly for the defense of the USSR against imperialism. But its sights are set beyond the SYL—it wants a campus where imperialist war criminals have full rein and where those of us who defend the rights of the workers and oppressed throughout the world are muzzled. Stop the witch-hunt! Defend Juvenal Martinez! Let UCLA know it can't get away with denying us our legitimate right to protest!

Come to the hearing: Thursday, November 1, 10:30 a.m. in the Sunset Recreation Center Conference Room.

Hands Off...

(continued from page 1)

and Soviet advisers and let an "independent commission" decide how much military power it could have for defense! But, no matter how much the Sandinistas are willing to sell, Reagan is not buying.

No Negotiated Sellout! Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!

The "negotiations" between Washington's bought-and-paid-for puppet José Napoleón Duarte and the FDR/FMLN leadership at La Palma last month were a media event allowing Reagan to pose as a "peacemaker" after the unfavorable publicity over the Sandinistas' Contadora decision. The fact is there's nothing to negotiate, and nothing was. Militarily, there has been a lull in the civil war—first during the March-May Salvadoran elections and now during the U.S. presidential campaign (presumably, from the FDR/FMLN viewpoint, to give Mondale an

easy time). Two days after the "negotiations" the Salvadoran army used its new U.S.-supplied Huey helicopters to launch an offensive against the leftist insurgents in Morazán. The civil war goes on—and while government troops have not won a single notable victory in four years, the FMLN has scored several heavy blows. Recently—and much to the delight of those of us who side with the leftist insurgents—a helicopter carrying the Salvadoran army's top combat commander was shot down by rebel forces. In addition to the despised Colonel Monterrosa (described by the FMLN radio station Venceremos as the "maximum war criminal") the helicopter contained one Major Armando Azmitia—the commander of the U.S.-trained elite Atlacatl Battalion.

Duarte fills the bill of mass murderer cum negotiator to a tee. As FDR spokesman Rubén Zamora observed in a recent interview, "... Duarte is the best man for a U.S. invasion of El Salvador because he is the one who will give more cover—political cover" (*Frontline*, 20 August). And Duarte serves the Yankee masters of either party: he was installed

in Carter's "human rights junta" in 1979 and presided over two and a half years of massacres, during which the death squads and military murdered 30,000 workers and peasants. Under his administration, civil disobedience was made a "terrorist" act, strikes were banned and all labor union activity outlawed, the "security forces" were given a free hand to fight against "subversion." In last spring's elections hoax, Duarte was pitted against "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson, the psychopathic death squad assassin. Congressional Democrats bought the "Duarte difference" lock, stock and barrel, and the bucks began rolling:

"In the three months after his [Duarte's] inauguration as president of El Salvador [in June], Congress appropriated a total of \$132 million in military aid and \$120 in economic aid for the fiscal year ending September 30. The amount of military aid sent in this short period is nearly equal to the total sent in the previous year and a half."

—*Central America Bulletin*, September 1984

Democrats: Party of War

As *Young Spartacus* has consistently warned: you can't fight Reagan with Democrats! While the pathetic reformist left and "anti-intervention" forces typified by CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) have liquidated even their liberal "peace" crawls in order to campaign for Walter "Quarantine" Mondale, we have countered: "Remember Bay of Pigs, Remember Vietnam—Democratic Party: We Know Which Side You're On!" The all but invisible CISPES says: "Vote for Peace in November. Changing Presidents won't end the war in Central America by itself, but it is an important first step." Toward what?

It turns out that the CIA's Murder, Inc. manual for *contra* consumption—detailing Washington's techniques for "freedom-fighting" such as the tip to "neutralize [read: assassinate] carefully selected and planned targets, such as court judges, police and state security officials, etc."—borrowed some pages from the Vietnam War days. Senator Daniel Moynihan of the Select Committee on Intelligence revealed that the "manual included 'word for word' passages from guerrilla warfare instructions developed by the United States

Army in 1968" (*New York Times*, 29 October). Those instructions were used in the training of the Green Berets in the dirty genocidal Vietnam War brought to you by Democrats Kennedy and Johnson.

Since its ignominious military defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, U.S. imperialism has not been able to sell the American population on further losing colonial adventures. A section of the bourgeoisie itself wants to avoid what Democratic Senator Christopher Dodd called "picking a loser." The reaction of Democrat Gerry Studds captures this, when he "wondered about 'the yearly assurances' by U.S. military that given a little more time and money the war [in El Salvador] would be won. 'In March of 1981, General Ernest Graves told this committee that in a year' the guerrillas would be defeated" (*Latin America Weekly Report*, 10 August). Reagan thinks his invasion of tiny black Grenada, where 7,000 U.S. troops "conquered" against the heroic resistance of several hundred Cuban construction workers, has re-armed the U.S. population, filling them with "new patriotism." He can think again; as Vietnam War criminal McGeorge Bundy put it: "As a target of

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(Signed) Bonnie Brodie (Editor)

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area
Fri.: 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California
Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone: (312) 663-0715

New York City
Tues.: 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY
Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

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

From "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" to Walter Mondale

Michael Rossman



Going someplace? Sproul Plaza, 1964: Berkeley campus cop car containing arrested civil rights activist immobilized by student protesters.

The Rise and Fall of the New Left

The edited presentation Young Spartacus prints below by Diana Coleman—Spartacist candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors and a veteran activist in the Berkeley Free Speech, anti-Vietnam War, women's liberation and Southern civil rights movements—was given at Berkeley during a week-long commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the Free Speech Movement (FSM). (For an account of the events of the Free Speech Movement see article on page 7.) Comrade Coleman's talk is particularly important since for many youth today the history of the social upheaval of the 1960s and early 1970s is reduced to the myths of the capitalist media. Too, the current generation of youth who find themselves in opposition to this oppressive, racist and imperialist society need not repeat the fatal errors of the New Left—centrally the failure to break from the framework of capitalism and the politics of pro-Democratic Party pressure.

Diana Coleman Speaks at Twentieth Anniversary of Berkeley Free Speech Movement

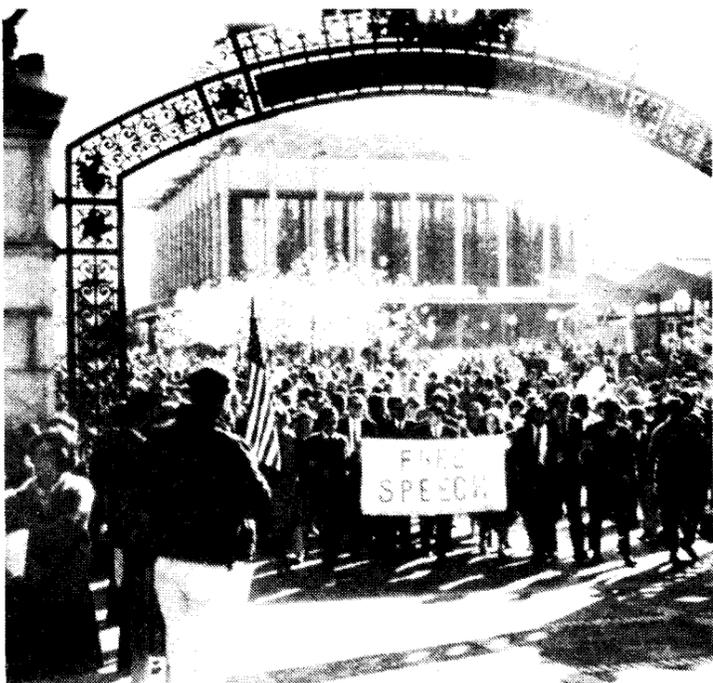
All this week there has been a disgusting orgy of nostalgia, and part of it is the "me generation" of the '70s reminiscing about the '60s. So we've had, "how the FSM affected me, how it transformed my life, what I thought about as I walked down Telegraph Avenue." And then we had in the *East Bay Express*, "The FSM and my existential crisis." But behind this stuff, since in fact this is the '80s, there is a real political message that is coming through. And it's coming through from the bourgeois media and from the reformist left. The [*San Francisco*] *Chronicle* was pushing it as well. They

Don Kechely

were talking about four of the figures in the FSM dispute: that is, Clark Kerr, the president of the UC system; Strong, the Berkeley chancellor; Mario Savio, the best-known spokesman for the FSM; and Jack Weinberg, the man who was arrested in the car, the CORE activist who was trying to set up one of the tables. This is what the *Chronicle* says about it: "Today these four figures of the FSM dispute have something in common. Savio, Weinberg, Kerr and Strong are all registered Democrats." That's the real message of all of this whole week of nostalgia to today's youth—the prodigal son returns. That there is nothing

Civil rights movement impelled free speech battle; at left, 1964 FSM rally. Below, lunch counter sit-in, Chattanooga, 1960.

Wide World



out there except the Democratic Party, that there's no way to change society except by working in the system, and that there can never be a socialist revolution in the United States. At least these guys certainly hope not. This view represents the capitulation of the reformist left to the rightward shift in American politics. But in no way is this justified by a look at the real world that we live in.

So in 1964, speaking for myself, I thought that capitalism was a rotten system. And in the past 20 years I haven't seen much that has convinced me otherwise, frankly. In fact this country looks considerably more decayed and conditions are worse than they were in 1964. The situation for blacks is getting worse: unemployment is rising, and the Ku Klux Klan is growing. You look at women's rights: the gains of the '60s are quickly being reversed. And, if you went to Planned Parenthood in 1964 you didn't have to fight your way through right-wing mobs demonstrating in front of it. For the working class the standard of living in the United States is by all indications going downward, and there is a concerted drive on the part of both the Democrats and the Republicans to bust the unions, of which the air controllers [PATCO] is the most well known. On the political plane, we have a president who makes these jokes "I have outlawed the Soviet Union and in five minutes the bombs will be dropping." They're not yukking it up about jokes like that in Moscow, and neither is anybody else who has any brains. Because in fact it is no joke. Reagan does want war with the Soviet Union. The gains of the Russian Revolution, the first successful workers revolution—that is, the planned socialized economy—stand as a barrier to capitalist exploitation in those countries. There is a bipartisan drive to open up these countries so as to give decaying capitalism a new lease on life. That's what it's about—it's not simply that

1964: Berkeley Free Speech Rebellion

BERKELEY—Twenty years ago, a young activist from the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) set up his literature table to advocate the struggle for black civil rights. Within half an hour after his arrest on October 1, 1964, 3,000 students had converged upon the Berkeley campus' Sproul Plaza and the police car containing the CORE activist Jack Weinberg went nowhere. Instead, it served for the next 32 hours as the podium for those defending the right of students to "free speech." The radical student movement which would continue to confront the racist, imperialist "establishment" for another seven years had made its most massive and well-publicized statement.

The "establishment" responded with a combination of attempted co-optation and brute force. On November 29, the UC Berkeley administration announced that it was pressing new charges against Free Speech Movement activists Art Goldberg and Mario Savio for the October events. On December 2, 1,000 protesters occupied the administration building, Sproul Hall, in defiance and Mario Savio delivered their message:

"There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part; you can't even tacitly take part, and you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus and you've got to make it stop."

At 4:00 a.m., on the orders of Democratic governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, 600 cops in riot gear began the arrests—"the largest peacetime arrest in United States history":

"The police hurled epithets, flung students around in the elevators, kicked males in the groin, dug their nails into the bare skin of females, and, wielding billy clubs, formed a gauntlet which students had to run as they were being taken away."

—*Daily Californian*, 1 October

Leading the prosecution in the subsequent "trial" was, among others, Edwin

Meese III—recently Reagan's hoped-for appointee as head of the Justice Department. The FBI got in the act and opened files on over 800 FSM arrestees, harassed family members of FSM students, trailed FSM spokesmen throughout the country and fed disinformation to the press. In particular, the FBI tried to portray the FSM as a "commie plot" to overthrow the government; as Mario Savio told the *Daily Cal*, "We had a hard enough time overthrowing this one bad policy of the university. I mean, overthrowing the government is a fairly big operation in the U.S." And in fact the FSM leadership made no secret of the fact that among its numbers were several avowed revolutionary socialists.

Cold War McCarthyism was broken by the civil rights movement; the red-baiting did not work. Nor did arrests and administration reprisals. At issue was not only the right to free speech but the ability of civil rights activists to organize; the reaction of the state and university was for this reason attempted repression. The status quo was not unduly threatened by some literature tables on campus—but students had begun to swell the ranks of the civil rights movement engaging in real and modestly successful struggles off the campus as well. As Mario Savio put it: "which side are you on was a very strong feeling. . . . When they (the UC administration) sent those letters out saying that these rights were going to be suspended, there was no light debate 'what does this mean?' There was a very clear feeling: Okay, they are now on the same side as the establishment of the state of Mississippi. Absolutely unacceptable."

Nearly 20 years after the birth of the FSM, Berkeley student protest again became a focus of national attention. In the spring of 1983, Reagan's Dragon Lady at the UN and key architect of U.S. support to death squad "democracy" in Central America—Jeane Kirkpatrick—was driven from the

podium in Berkeley's Wheeler Auditorium by outraged students. On campuses throughout the country, Kirkpatrick was met with similar protest and was forced to cancel several speaking engagements. Correctly surmising that one of their "own" could not step foot on most college campuses, the bourgeois press and university administrations began howling about Kirkpatrick's "free speech," demanding reprisals against protesting students and a general crackdown on student activism.

Free speech is a civil liberty precious to us Marxists, one which we defend vigorously including for those whose views we find revolting. But it has nothing to do with war criminals like a Kirkpatrick or a Kissinger who do not drop tons of "speech" on defenseless populations. However, from all the platforms and in all the newspapers and media provided for those with state power, they have more than their say. This grotesquely cynical "free speech" campaign aimed at student opponents of U.S. policy in Central America was a forerunner of the larger government attack on the rights of any political opposition, particularly the left. Coinciding with Reagan's "terrorism" scare and the whole package of police-state legislation, Supreme Court rulings and virtual license granted the FBI under new guidelines, those who would exercise their right to protest war criminals on the campuses have been met with . . . a combination of attempted co-optation and brute force. The president of Harvard University was recently moved to write a lengthy encyclical on the question of "free speech," precisely because one of Harvard's infamous alumni—Secretary of War Caspar Weinberger—met much the same fate as Kirkpatrick when he spoke at Harvard. Some 600 students demonstrated their revulsion at U.S. policy last spring. And true to form, Harvard went after the

reds involved—two Spartacus Youth League students—threatening them with expulsion.

Today, with Reagan and the Democrats' anti-Soviet war drive threatening nuclear holocaust, the 20th anniversary meetings at Berkeley were largely a pathetic display of nostalgia and political bankruptcy of the old New Left. The press gloated that yesterday's radicals had come "home." Indeed, they have, offering nothing better against the anti-Soviet nut Reagan than the Cold War hawk Mondale. So "respectable" have they become, that erstwhile firebrand Mario Savio could not bring himself to endorse the action of those students who drove Kirkpatrick from the stage. Instead, he offered "prudent" advice:

"For our own good, we need to find ways of tolerating what is almost intolerable and I think in that respect we should make the following distinction . . . between heckling and disruption."

At the large October 2 anniversary meeting, however, there were those who maintained the need for proletarian revolution. A Spartacist supporter told the packed auditorium:

"I was here in 1964, but this panel discussion doesn't make me feel nostalgic. Twenty years ago LBJ ran against Barry Goldwater and there was a pin that a lot of left-liberals wore that said, 'Part of the way with LBJ.' LBJ, the author of the big war in Vietnam. And many activists laughed derisively at the idea that we should be voting cattle for the Democratic Party.

"So why is it that the . . . old movement leaders, much of the left, is back into the Democratic Party? . . . Today it is only the Spartacist League which says 'Vietnam was a Victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!' And in fact should a Republican or Democratic Party administration stage an invasion of Central America, we stand ready to fight again for labor strikes against the war—which today will have a much, much bigger potential of actually stopping that war than any kind of peace crawl that could be organized by those that plan to suck up to the Democratic Party." ■

Reagan is crazy. So we defend those gains despite the subsequent Stalinist degeneration and call for defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism.

As for the Democrats, which is really what all this hype has been about this week, they are not qualitatively different from the Republicans. There are certain differences, mostly of timing and tactics—should we invade Nicaragua now or later?—but not on the basic issues. Mondale, when he is not boring the American population to death, is busy out-Reaganning Reagan. So he says he would quarantine Nicaragua. He's rethought Grenada and he thinks it's one of the best things that ever happened. So all of this convinces us in the SL that, far from being the time to make our accommodation with the system, that in fact our time, and the time for the human race, is growing desperately short. The ruling class of the United States threatens us all with nuclear holocaust. But imperialist wars will end only when the proletariat takes power and establishes its own class rule. So ours is the program of socialist revolution. The only way out of this mess is class struggle. It's certainly not going to be changed at the ballot box.

So, let me talk some about the New Left, and I want to give the punch line of this talk first. That is, in the main, the antiwar movement never went outside the bounds of bourgeois politics. It was protest politics. The idea was that through various methods which would include mass marches, civil disobedience, and so on—even actually sometimes more militant—one would put pressure on the Democratic Party to get them to start acting morally and in the interests of the oppressed. The antiwar movement was basically a support

group and a pressure group on the liberal wing of the American ruling class. This was brought up in one of the [FSM week] talks Tuesday night when Art Goldberg, who was active in the FSM, said that he was not a sectarian like the Spartacists, blah, blah, blah. He was for coalition politics. Well, that's a polite way of saying what I just said—he's for a popular front, class-collaborationist alliance between the working class and oppressed and some wing of the bourgeoisie. And this is the surest method to see to it that nothing fundamental ever changes.

Now, there were elements that attempted to break away from simply pressuring the Democratic Party: the "black power" movement, especially the Black Panthers, some of the New Lefters who began to talk about anti-

imperialism and to take a side in the Vietnam War with the NLF. But these breaks were empirical, and without the benefit of Marxism and Trotskyism, that is to say, scientific socialism. They all wound up through one route or

Foreign Languages Press



Heroic Vietnamese militiamen vow to keep fighting (above). U.S. mass murderers survey their victims.



Burrows/LIFE

another sliding back into the Democratic Party swamp. With the exception of those of us who joined the Spartacist League, that's what happened. Those of us who joined the SL joined around basic Marxist conceptions: that is, that this is a class society, that the working class is the only truly revolutionary class with the interest and power to overturn capitalism, and that only a united working class, by overthrowing capitalism and establishing a planned socialist economy, could lay the basis for ending all forms of social oppression. This is an elementary premise of Marxism and it was rejected by the overwhelming majority of the leftists, including those who called themselves Marxists. Likewise, the Spartacist League was among the few groups which fought for the basic Leninist principle that a proletarian revolution requires a vanguard party, united not on the basis of race or ethnic background or sex, but on the basis of revolutionary program.

The Fight for Black Liberation: "Where Is Our Party?"

So let me give some of my experiences in the civil rights, antiwar and women's movements as a way of illustrating what I'm saying. Now in 1955, when Rosa Parks, a black woman, was arrested for refusing to stand up and give her seat on the bus to a white man, this sparked the Montgomery bus boycott and started a movement that swept across the South. It had several different consequences. One is that it smashed McCarthyism. The deadening ideological uniformity of McCarthyism was really broken open by the sight of hundreds of thousands of black people demonstrating in the streets, for whom very obviously the

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New Left...

(continued from page 7)

American dream had never materialized. And it also gave the impetus for the student movement.

You have to remember that the guy Jack Weinberg—who was the one who was arrested in 1964 and that [incident] started the FSM—was setting up a table to collect money for CORE, that is, Congress of Racial Equality. I was also active here in the Bay Area with Congress of Racial Equality, and then went down South to do voter registration and fight for integration with SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee). Now SNCC was initiated in 1960 under the auspices of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Martin Luther King's group. At its inception it shared King's pacifist, pro-Democratic Party outlook—that through civil disobedience, through pacifism, one would pressure the government for legal reforms, and so on. But real life taught these SNCC activists a different lesson than the one that the preachers were telling them.

You have to understand what it was like trying to register blacks to vote Democrat in the South. And I was down there trying to do this. I was in Mississippi, in a state which is always represented by Democrats, right? It has Democratic Senators, Democratic governors. Democratic everything up and down the line. The Democrats control the state. Fine, you try to register blacks to vote Democrat, you and they were very likely to get killed. So in the Delta, Senator Eastland, who was a Democrat of course, ran a large plantation. A black person who tried to register to vote was certainly thrown off and lost their livelihood, and very often had the Klan sicced on them. So for those of us down there, this led to a contradiction. I was very uncomfortable with this, registering people to vote Democrat. I wasn't sure I wanted to vote Democrat. I certainly believed people had the right to vote—did then,



Militant black movement solidarized with the Vietnamese against racist imperialism.

do now—but I didn't want to vote Democrat.

So by 1964 at the Democratic Party convention SNCC activists had 80,000 blacks who had tried to register Democrat and weren't allowed to—80,000. They had these people sign protest ballots and they took these and went to the Democratic Party convention as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. And what they wanted was to be an alternate delegation. They wanted the blacks to be seated as representatives of the Democratic Party, instead of what was traditional for Mississippi, an all-white delegation. It had always been that way since Reconstruction. Now, [Lyndon B.] Johnson was running for president. He was a Democrat too. He offered Hubert Humphrey the vice presidency if he would stop the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.



Spartacists at Oakland demonstration, 1975—the year Saigon fell to victorious Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

This is interesting: Hubert Humphrey—Cold Warrior, anti-black, and Walter Mondale's mentor. Johnson wanted to keep the white Southern vote, this was very important to him. So Hubert Humphrey went out and he organized and he stopped the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. And all of the white Dixiecrats were seated as they always were, and none of the blacks were. And Hubert Humphrey got the vice presidency.

Now, things like this began to open people's eyes. It was a rude awakening. I want to read a quote, this is actually from the year before. This was a quote from one of the SNCC leaders who spoke at the March on Washington. There is a reason why Malcolm X called it the Farce on Washington. This man, John Lewis, wanted to give this speech but the word came down from the Kennedy White House that he was to be prevented from doing so and that it should be censored. And so Martin Luther King and some of the labor bureaucrats saw to it that he was not allowed to give this part of the speech. And I want to read this because it gives a little sense of where people were moving toward. He said:

"...the party of Kennedy is the party of Eastland.... We cannot depend on any

Flax Hermes

bitterly the SNCC activists hated Martin Luther King. His nickname among the left was "the Lord," as in "the Lord says this, the Lord says that." Not too nice, right? And his positions were well known. So that Martin Luther King's famous position, "If there is any blood shed, let it be ours," was beginning not to go over very well with SNCC activists who had seen far too much of their own blood shed already. I remember being in the South in 1965, reading about the ghetto explosions that were going on across the country, particularly in Watts, and Martin Luther King came out calling for the National Guard and the police to go in there and to put it down by whatever means necessary. And so it was quite clear to SNCC activists, and to a broad layer of people actually, that his pacifism was pacifism for the black masses, but guns for the National Guard and the police to use against them.

There was a great deal of bitterness and beginning of a real rejection of this pacifism and support to the Democrats. And when I was in Mississippi in Gulfport I saw what in embryo was really necessary, and began to happen. But, god knows, we didn't know enough to be able to take very much advantage of it. That was, when we weren't doing voter registration (which as I said I hated), we were integrating lunch counters, which I preferred much more and it was livelier too. So we'd go down with an integrated group of people and try to be served because at that time a black could not be served a coke or a sandwich at a lunch counter downtown. We would of course be refused and would come back the next day with 300 people, all black except for a few civil rights activists like myself from the North, picket the place, demonstrate and so on. We'd get these large white mobs around us, all waving little Confederate flags and screaming obscenities and so on. Then the police arrived, they all had Confederate flags also on their bumpers. It gave me a living sense what the Confederate flag stands for. They would stand around and do nothing while this mob screamed, punched you, slapped you, ripped things out of your hand. As I said, pacifism was wearing kind of thin by this time.

But what happened was that there was a black longshoremen's local in Gulfport—it was the International Longshoremen's Association, it was all black, it was segregated—and they had a meeting with the mayor and the chief of police. They said if we were arrested or beat up that they were going to go on strike and the port of Gulfport would be shut. And that was it. I'll tell you, it worked. And that was really the only thing that saved our ass in a situation that was obviously escalating. So we didn't get arrested, we didn't get beat up, and they did begin to serve blacks in these restaurants. That showed me in embryo what was necessary was the link between the black masses and the working class, and that way you have some power.

Now, as I said, there was great dissatisfaction with King and the pacifism

and the support to the Democrats, and this came out most directly in what was called the "black power" movement. And it was contradictory, but I'll tell you that would have been the time, if the Spartacist League had been bigger, to win subjectively revolutionary blacks to communism. But in fact the Spartacist League was small, it was recently expelled from the Socialist Workers Party, in part over this very question of the struggle to win blacks to a revolutionary perspective. But it was small, really too small to have much of an effect at that time. And this is really a shame, because there were tens of thousands of blacks who were opposed to capitalism and imperialism, insofar as they understood what that meant, who were antiwar. Muhammad Ali's famous statement, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger," really represented the sentiment of a lot of black youth. And they hated the Democratic Party, particularly the racist Southern Dixiecrats. But without strong communist intervention this "black power" movement moved toward black nationalism, as best represented by the Black Panthers in this area. The Panthers had no real orientation toward the working class, even toward the black proletariat. Their view was that you had to organize the unemployed, the "brothers on the block." And they conceived of themselves as sort of warrior heroes, that they, this small group, would take on the establishment. But not linked to the power of the working class, they were impotent and vulnerable. So they were destroyed in large part by a premeditated government campaign of murder. Many were killed, some in their beds like Fred Hampton. Some of them still are in jail, like Geronimo Pratt. And others, seeing what was happening, capitulated—some very grossly like Eldridge Cleaver who now is a right-wing raving Moonie; others, like Elaine Brown, to being more normal liberal black Democrats.

This default left a real vacuum, so today there is no mass organization which even claims to fight for militant black struggle. Instead, this goes by and large for the left in this country, what black people are offered is Jesse Jackson, who I will say did what even Martin Luther King would never have done, and that is shake hands with George Wallace and then say "The South will rise again," which is nothing more than a pro-slavery slogan, a KKK slogan.

The Spartacist League is the only organization that even aspires to lead the black masses in struggle with their white working-class brothers and sisters. On November 27 [1982] when the Klan was trying to march in Washington, the Spartacist League organized 5,000 mostly black workers and the unions to stop the Ku Klux Klan. Most of the left took a walk. They were on the other side of town. The ex-SNCC members like the [Washington, D.C.] mayor, Marion Barry, did everything in their power to oppose this demonstration, including offering people free cheese and butter if they stayed away. But in fact this demonstration was quite a success, and it's a good thing it happened, because every time the Klan is allowed to march it means that many more cross burnings and that many more lynchings. So we have a point to make from all of this, and that is that everything of importance for black people is going to be accomplished against the Democratic Party. And that's what the history of class struggle in this country has shown.

Now, let me talk a little bit about the New Left and the Free Speech Movement. Let me talk about one incident in particular. As I said, the Free Speech Movement—and the papers have noted this as well—was done very much against the Democrats, because Clark Kerr was a Democrat, the governor Pat Brown was a Democrat. During the FSM when the student strike was already on, Clark Kerr called for this

political party for both the Democrats and Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence.... Where is our party? Where is the political party that will make it unnecessary to have Marches on Washington?"

—quoted in *Young Spartacus*
No. 110, Summer 1983

And we can only say, 20 years later, that for all black people and working people, the question is if anything more urgent. Which is: Where is our party? Our party must be an integrated, revolutionary workers party which fights for revolutionary integrationism and black liberation through socialist revolution.

One of the points I want to make, and this is lost to this generation—and covered up too, not just lost, but obscured deliberately—is that by the mid-'60s you have to understand how

official meeting, canceled all classes (even though actually people weren't going to that many classes, but in any case canceled them) and called for a giant assembly in the Greek Theater, which about 20,000 people came to. And so Kerr, who is this well-spoken liberal, got up and made this very reasonable speech in which he didn't say too much, but that we're all reasonable men, we can reason together, and he finished up his speech—very much the attempt to appeal to those students who were undecided as to what was going on here. So Mario Savio got up to announce that there's going to be a rally in Sproul Plaza and as he walked toward the microphone he was jumped and knocked to the ground by six cops, grabbed by his tie (everyone was very respectable in those times), dragged off the stage by his tie, being strangled by these six cops. And it created total pandemonium, with people just screaming. This was such a revealing incident. Here we have "Behind the Liberal Façade." You do one thing, whoops! It really demonstrated what Marxists have to say: when push comes to shove the bourgeois state is armed bodies of men and, man, they'll pull them out, and in a fairly big hurry, too.

The Anti-Vietnam War Movement: The Limits of Middle-Class Protest

Now, today the old antiwar movement is held up as the great success story of rad-lib activism in America. The rad-lib version of what happened in the anti-Vietnam War stuff goes something like this (with a certain amount of polemical exaggeration here): Somehow, by accident, the U.S. government stumbled into this terrible war in Southeast Asia. But, never fear, pretty soon men of good will, especially very wise college professors and their idealistic students, also Sunday school teachers and their idealistic students, and housewives, all got together in this inspiring movement. They sent letters to their Congressmen, had peaceful vigils, and soon they won over the more intelligent, more humane members of the ruling class, like the Bobby Kennedys and the Eugene McCarthys. And this wonderful movement grew and grew, and more people were won over. In the end even Nixon and Kissinger saw the light, and they pulled the U.S. out of Vietnam.

Now, this really is how they tell it. Well, the only problem with it is that it did not happen that way. In fact, U.S. imperialism was *driven out* of Vietnam. It was defeated on the battlefield by the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese. In January of 1968 there occurred what was known as the Tet Offensive and it shook up the U.S. rulers—the Vietnamese were kicking the U.S.' ass. A few months later Eugene McCarthy announced that he would run against Lyndon Johnson as an antiwar candidate. Then Bobby Kennedy said he would run as an antiwar candidate. Then Johnson announced that he was not going to seek re-election and that he was going to open up negotiations with the North Vietnamese. As we say, the timing on this was no accident.

The "doves," like Kennedy and McCarthy, were that wing of the American ruling class which believed U.S. imperialism would be stronger overall if it cut its losses, and I do emphasize *losses*, in Vietnam. The body count was going up, that's what they were talking about. They weren't so much counting the people in the streets, they were counting the body bags. The antiwar movement was basically a support group for the liberal wing of the American ruling class. Of course, we in the Spartacist League did not at all turn our backs on the antiwar movement which involved the radicalization of hundreds of thousands, mainly of student youth, but quite the contrary, we sought to transform the antiwar movement into an anti-capitalist movement. We said it was not possible to

strike a decisive blow against U.S. imperialism from within without mobilizing the power of the working class and going against the bourgeoisie. We raised the slogans "Victory for the Vietnamese Revolution!" "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" We agitated for labor strikes against the war. And we demanded: "Bourgeoisie Out of the Antiwar Movement, Break With the Imperialist Doves—For a Workers Party!"

However, the war did not end that way. It did not end with the U.S. forced out of Vietnam by an upsurge of class struggle at home. Rather, in early 1973, Nixon and Kissinger negotiated a



Chicago, 1968: Protesters at Democratic Convention brutalized by cops.

political compromise, the best they could get given their weakness on the battlefield. At that point the Vietnam antiwar movement simply collapsed, although the war itself went on for another two years, which is fairly decisive proof that it was not an anti-imperialist movement, or even an antiwar movement actually, but it was an anti-U.S. involvement movement. But what you have to understand is that it didn't necessarily have to have been that way. By 1970 there was an absolute majority, I'm sure, of the U.S. population who were for pulling out of Vietnam even if that meant Communist victory. At the demos there began to be at least the beginnings of labor involvement. And there was the real possibility of the slogans for labor strikes against the war. The organizers of these mass marches, that is, the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party, fought like hell to keep the movement acceptable to the liberal bourgeoisie and to silence our call for working-class action, even to the point of physical violence against the Spartacist League. The "official" slogan was "Bring Our Boys Home," that is, absolute refusal to take a side with the NLF, with the enemies of U.S. imperialism.

And it's very reminiscent of today, though they don't seem to have El Salvador demonstrations anymore, I presume it's because it's an election year and it would embarrass the Democrats. But last year they used to have these El Salvador demonstrations, and you could just see CISPES and all the various other leftists call the cops, shit a brick and so on when they'd see the Spartacist League with signs that say "Military Victory to the Leftists in El Salvador!" because we took a side with the enemies of U.S. imperialism.

In fact, in the mid-'60s, there began to be—and it does coincide with changes in the black movement as well—a wing of the student movement that tried to break out of total pressure politics on the Democrats. So there were those who chanted "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh—The NLF is Gonna Win!" and put forward the slogan "Two, Three, Many Vietnams!" But you have to take a look at what the beginnings of this anti-imperialist student movement looked like. Especially in its early stages it was associated with extreme intellectual

arrogance, moralism and a real disdain for the working class. To give you a sense of this, Isaac Deutscher, who was a Marxist historian and sometime Trotskyist, I guess you could say, was in the United States for a Socialist Scholars Conference in New York. He was very positive about the student movement in the United States and tried to pedagogically change some of their views. This is what he said:

"Do you really take such a contemptuous view of your working classes that you think that you alone are so sensitive or so noble as to be dissatisfied with this degrading society...? Do you really believe they are so much more prone, and by nature conditioned, to be corrupted by the meretricious advan-

tages of this war-flourishing capitalism than you are?"

—"On Socialist Man," in *Marxism in Our Time* (1971)

And Deutscher remarked somewhere that he'd trade all the teach-ins and student strikes for one dock strike against the war.

"New Left Meets the Working Class"

Now what really began to change this whole view of the New Left, however, toward the working class was the near-revolution in France in May-June of 1968. *New Left Notes* prior to this used to have this little statement they printed about how the working class was totally bought off, it was not a revolutionary class, and so on. After this real workers uprising which came very close to a revolution and was in fact only betrayed by the Communist Party, *New Left Notes* came out with a new statement which said that the working class was bought off, not a revolutionary class... except in France. However, this really did have an effect and I remember this myself, in '68 I was in Berkeley, and there were a series of demonstrations here in Berkeley in support of workers in France.

So I want to give one example of what might be called "New Left Meets the Working Class" from my own history. This is by popular demand. In 1969 I was part of a women's liberation group, and then a group that included both men and women. We decided that we had to organize the workers and that meant *white* workers because we were very much followers of the whole black nationalist view that blacks should organize blacks, whites should organize whites.

So we did a demographic study of the Bay Area. We decided the place we could find the most white workers was Hayward [laughter]. What a boring suburb that is, I must say. So we all moved to Hayward. One of our people had a job at General Motors in Fremont, and we decided that what we were going to do was start a caucus there. But that to get working people's attention you had to do something really flashy to start it off. We printed up a leaflet, it was on the occasion of Huey Newton's birthday, which we thought was very appropriate to get people out of their racism. We stuffed all these

leaflets in our coats and bags and we took the tour train. At a prearranged moment we all jumped off the tour train and began running around the plant like maniacs, handing out leaflets and throwing them in the cars. Now, whether or not workers were convinced of our political view I don't know. But they thought it was wild. Every assembly line in the entire plant stopped, which people always love. All the foremen ran around like maniacs, chasing us around. All the workers hid us. They figured as long as we were there the assembly lines would be down. It took quite a while before they rounded us all up. Management was so disconcerted by this that they didn't know what to do with us. We just said, "We've had enough of this. We're leaving," and walked out. This is a typical example of "New Left Meets the Working Class."

But for those who turned toward the working class and were serious, what this meant was that they had to re-examine the Old Left, that is Marxism, in some form or other. The real shame is that most of them became Maoists or some other variant of Stalinism. And the real content of Maoist and all Stalinist politics is class collaborationism and popular frontism once again. Maoism appeared somewhat more militant and left-wing at that time. China was under the gun from U.S. imperialism. It had somewhat more militant rhetoric. The Spartacist League predicted the possibility that there would be an alliance between China and U.S. imperialism, which certainly came to pass. Via that alliance, most of those New Lefters-turned-Maoists who hated U.S. imperialism came back to the fold.

So we see the spectacle today of those who once chanted "Two, Three, Many Vietnams!" now chanting "No More Vietnams!"—that is, no more *losses* for U.S. imperialism. And that's truly obscene because the defeat of U.S. imperialism anywhere can only be of benefit to the American working class and to the working class internationally. The Viet Cong did us all a great service by defeating the U.S. in Vietnam, because it created what is called the "Vietnam syndrome"—that is, the American population is not really enthused about going to another country that has jungles and guerrilla fighters and getting shot up. That's a real benefit to all of us, it gave us all a breathing spell. So that the U.S. did not go into Angola and has not yet gone into Central America. But this isn't going to last forever.

While the rest of the left has really dived into the Mondale swamp, as we said, the Spartacist League is still here. And a good thing too, because on the one hand there's certainly a rightward shift in this country. There is also the beginnings of class struggle in this country. Look at this Toledo strike, where auto workers barricaded the front of the plant, beat off the cops; we can see the real beginnings of some militant class struggle in this country. The copper miners strike in Arizona. Actually, there has been a whole series of strikes in this country: the Greyhound strike and a whole number of strikes in San Francisco. And their defeats have been not due to the fact that people haven't fought, because in fact people have fought very hard, but most of them have been stabbed in the back by their own "leaders," by the labor bureaucracy. This kind of class struggle gives us a taste of things to come, and when it does come it's going to need revolutionary leadership and it's going to need a party. And that's what we're all about.

So let me say a word about this [Board of Supervisors] election campaign in San Francisco. As I said, we don't believe that change comes at the ballot box. We believe that change comes on the picket line, in sit-down strikes and on the streets. This campaign offers working people and minorities the opportunity to vote for labor action

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Resignation from the Toronto Disarmament Network Defend the USSR!

Young Spartacus reprints below a letter of resignation from the Toronto Disarmament Network (TDN) submitted by Maria L., the temporary youth coordinator of the TDN. Of the various Canadian "peace" groups, branches of the U.S. nuclear "freeze" movement, the TDN is the favored playpen of the Kremlin-loyal Stalinists of the Communist Party and its youth group, the Young Communist League (YCL). While the CPUSA is going all-out for Democratic Party Cold War hawk Walter Mondale, its Canadian counterparts have marched in "peace" demonstrations under banners hailing the U.S. imperialists' Canadian junior partner as the "brave neutral mediator."

The CP has sacrificed every vestige of class principle in its never-ending search for the "progressive" bourgeoisie. Thus, the Stalinists were among the prime movers in getting TDN to come out in support of former Canadian prime minister Pierre Trudeau's anti-Soviet "peace initiative." In her resignation statement, Maria—a former active member of the YCL—points out that capitulation to anti-Sovietism in the search for an alliance with supposed "peace-loving" imperialists leads to blocs with outright reactionaries and war criminals. Rejecting the class-collaborationism of the "peace" "movement," Maria has been won to the revolutionary program of the Trotskyist League of Canada, a sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency. Her critique of the TDN should be seriously considered by students, youth and others who want to wage a genuine fight against the anti-Soviet war drive.

Tuesday September 18/84

I joined the peace movement and began organizing youth when I was 14. Like others I was terrified at the thought of nuclear war. I saw it as the most important issue, overriding all others. Over the years I worked, believing that somehow I was working towards socialism. It took me this long to clearly analyze my political beliefs/contradictions in a very critical way and realize

that the political work I had been doing was in fact an obstacle to my goal of socialism.

I now feel my political beliefs have changed enough and are solid enough that I can no longer support or be part of the peace movement.

Up till now I had believed that nuclear war drew closer because of "increased international tensions," that what we needed was peaceful co-existence and if we could just unite enough people we could pressure our government into negotiations that would bring about disarmament. I, of course, being a "socialist," also felt we needed complete disarmament linked with justice. While these are commendable aims, what I and others in the peace movement sharing my views lacked was a coherent political analysis and programme.

Throughout history the military has been directly linked to protecting and expanding capitalist and imperialist interests. Since the victorious Russian Revolution and up to [the] present day the imperialist powers have consistently attempted to militarily defeat the Soviet Union and roll back the many gains that have been won. The onset of nuclear weapons has changed only the technological character but has in no way changed the political strategy.

From the beginnings of the A-bomb to [the] present day the U.S. has been planning a first strike against the Soviet Union. I quote below from an interview with Daniel Ellsberg [DE], former specialist to the Pentagon:

"Q: What are most of these (nuclear) weapons for?"

"DE: To threaten or carry out counter-force attacks, that is, attacks on Soviet military capabilities... primarily in the context of a U.S. first strike. By that I don't mean U.S. 'preventive war'... but a U.S. initiated attack on the Soviet homeland."

—*Inquiry*, 13 April 1981

The latest talk of a technological first strike contrary to popular belief did not begin with the nut Ronald Reagan. Jimmy Carter with his Presidential Directive 59 paved the way for "limited strategic war." The U.S. capitalist class has a bipartisan consensus on the fight

to "roll back communism," only differing slightly on the best way to go about it.

The only thing which has stopped them from succeeding thus far is the Soviet Union's military capability to retaliate. This military strength is preventing capitalist restoration within Soviet borders and abroad. This is the heart of the anti-Soviet war drive for capitalism needs to reconquer these markets in order to expand. Therefore there is a direct confrontation between imperialism and the workers states and we must take a stand defending these states from imperialist attack.

Thus we see that this is an anti-Soviet war drive and that the interests of all capitalist powers rely on the military up to and including nuclear weapons. We therefore cannot pressure U.S. imperialism or its Canadian junior partner into changing something which is inherent in

criminals such as Robert McNamara & Co.

In order for all these groups to work together revolutionary politics must be suppressed in order not to alienate the "progressive bourgeoisie." Therefore talk about socialism, revolution, defense of the U.S.S.R.—all these are tactfully avoided even by the "socialist" groups. This was one of the final blows to my commitment, when I realized that what this was, was an alliance that tied the working class with the bourgeoisie, i.e., [the] Popular Front, on a bourgeois programme.

I then had to ask myself what strategy would achieve peace. I knew that WW III would be insanity but it could not be prevented and the threat removed forever until capitalism had been overthrown and world socialism established. Only this would end the need for war.

Thus to build socialism I must work

Reformist CP looks to "progressive" imperialists such as Trudeau (depicted at right) to end nuclear threat. Trotskyists say: you can't fight anti-Soviet war drive with anti-Soviet imperialist politicians!



its system and which they have no interest in changing.

The social-democratic nationalists of the NDP are also not capable of achieving real peace. They are just as committed to capitalism (only with bandages), anti-Sovietism and a "strong West."

This "pressure" however is the entire basis of the peace movement which tries to unite people across class lines to "protest and survive." This "classless" strategy has led to coalitions with reactionaries such as anti-abortionists who think all life is sacred (except women's), western defenders who think conventional weapons should be beefed up instead and out and out war

for workers revolution and the vehicle for this is a vanguard party of the working class with a revolutionary programme. The only organization I have yet to find that offers such a programme is the Trotskyist League.

I encourage you all to critically evaluate your role in the peace movement and decide for yourselves.

The alternatives seem quite clear: war or revolution.

"Only after we have overthrown, finally vanquished and expropriated the bourgeoisie of the whole world and not only one country, will wars become impossible."

—V.I. Lenin

Sincerely,
Maria

New Left...

(continued from page 9)

to bring down Reagan and shatter the anti-Soviet war drive, and more importantly the opportunity to join with us and fight for those things.

Now, a controversial note: we do see a role for students. Not student vanguardism—that students as students are going to lead the struggle. But there have always been those who have turned their backs on their class backgrounds and fought in the interests of the working class. We are looking for a few good class traitors.

Finally, I'd like to say a few words on the Russian question. Now James P. Cannon, who was I think the foremost American revolutionary, said, "He who touches the Russian question touches a revolution." And that's true. In Russia in 1917 there was a workers revolution and that provides a model for us even today. They threw out the capitalists and the landlords, they established a planned socialized economy, and despite the subsequent Stalinist degeneration the gains of that revolution still exist. So we call for defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, and proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucracy. Far from thinking that the Soviet

Union is this aggressive power around the world, we condemn the Soviet bureaucracy for capitulating to U.S. imperialism. The rationalization for that is called "socialism in one country" or détente—that is, class collaboration on a world scale. An example of this is El Salvador. It is a crime that the Soviet bureaucracy refuses to send guns to El Salvador. The workers and peasants in El Salvador would be in much better shape if they were armed by the Soviet Union. That's a real betrayal. Ronald Reagan and the Democrats hate Russia (and, I would say parenthetically, love Solidarność) not because 'Russia is "undemocratic." In the "free world"—South Africa, the Philippines, Chile—the lack of democracy has never seemed to bother U.S. imperialism too much. What they want to destroy in the Soviet Union is what we want to defend—that is, the planned socialized economy. The U.S. ruling class and the Spartacist League both understand, from different class perspectives, that the Soviet Union, due to its objective economic/military strength, is the main obstacle to imperialism's global domination. That's what they don't like. In fact, it is lucky that the Soviet Union has the bomb because if it didn't, U.S. imperialism would have conquered the world by now.

Leon Trotsky in 1940 said "It is the

duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones." And that's very true. We have to defend the gains of our

class, the working class, internationally. And, to wrap up, to use a favorite New Left phrase—"here in the belly of the monster," which is a true enough description—here in the belly of the monster we have to do our part and make a workers revolution. ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

SYL National Office: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008

Ann Arbor: SYL, P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 961-1680

Atlanta: SYL, Box 4012, Atlanta, GA 30302

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) 663-0715

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

Detroit: SYL, Box 32028, Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 961-1680

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 384-9716

Madison: SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 257-8625

New York: SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 267-1025

Norfolk: SYL, c/o SL, P.O. Box 1972, Main P.O., Norfolk, VA 23501

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

Oberlin: SYL, Box 58, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH 44074, or call (216) 775-6067

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

Washington, D.C.: SYL, P.O. Box 75073, Washington, D.C. 20013, or call (202) 636-3537

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6, or call (416) 593-4138

"Missing the Point" ...

(continued from page 4)

solidarity with South African students and workers, and labor action like hot-cargoing all goods going to South Africa are others. These are realistic, concrete acts that students can initiate.

Rather than spending one or two weeks protesting Harvard's limited, but significant role in capitalist oppression, students who care about the future of this world should exercise their rights to organize year round. If you hate racism, it should not be too difficult to recognize that apartheid is a symptom of a sick capitalist system, and you'll fight to end capitalist oppression worldwide.

These might seem like radical ideas, and given the conservative drift of this and other universities it may be. Also for Harvard students, who may have the luck of inheriting a system that allows apartheid to flourish, these acts are probably out of their range of interests.

It has taken me a while to come to this point. But I can recall my freshman year, when I fasted for eight days to protest Harvard's investments in South Africa.

I lost about 10 pounds. That was the only change.

—Carla D. Williams

Hands Off...

(continued from page 5)

military invasion, Nicaragua is to Grenada as a hand grenade is to a marshmallow" (*New York Times*, 6 January).

Reagan's "new patriotism" is superficial in the extreme and yet to be tested. The Democrats come in here—they are the consummate mobilizers of the population for war, usually under the banner of "peace" and "democracy."

Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!

The Democrats and Republicans converge on policy in Central America because of their shared hostility to social revolution anywhere in the world. The bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive unites the twin parties of capitalism in supporting brutal regimes from Marcos' Philippines to apartheid South Africa to Central America and tactical differences dissolve before Reagan/Mondale's common vows to prevent the "creation

of Marxist states" in the region. The fact is that in El Salvador, the civil war pits workers and peasants against a tiny oligarchy which has slaughtered and enslaved them for decades. In Nicaragua, the U.S. puppet dictator Somoza was militarily defeated by popular insurgents. However, despite Reagan's ravings about a "Marxist-Leninist" regime, the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinista regime has pursued a course of "peaceful coexistence" with the landlords and capitalists within Nicaragua—a dangerous fifth column of counterrevolution which must be expropriated as a class if the rule of Yankee imperialism is not to be restored.

It is unfortunately an imperialist myth that the Soviet Union is backing the Salvadoran insurgents and defending the Sandinistas. Anti-Soviet "expert" Leslie Gelb noted in a recent article that "Soviet officials virtually jump through hoops to sidestep labeling Nicaragua a 'socialist Sandinista regime'" and that the USSR "scrupulously avoid[s] commitments of their own prestige and troops" (*New York Times Magazine*, 28 October). Nicaragua is now asking for MIG aircraft and—as we have stated all along—it should get them!

The industrial/military powerhouse of the non-capitalist world, the Soviet degenerated workers state, is the ultimate target of Reagan/Mondale's war drive. Yankee imperialism is not only concerned to keep Central and South America as its "backyard" but is hell-bent on retaking the one-sixth of the globe wrenched from its clutches when the Russian working class seized power in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. While under the threat of Cold War II the Soviet bureaucracy has been forced to take some steps in its defense of the workers state, it continues to seek "détente" with imperialism at the expense of international revolution.

As revolutionary internationalists, we fight to mobilize the working class, oppressed and youth of this country to oppose their capitalist masters' war moves. We *take a side* against our "own" ruling class and for the military victory of the Salvadoran insurgents; in Nicaragua we say: defend, complete, extend the revolution. At home we demand a labor boycott of all U.S. arms to its Central American butchers and *contras*, and call for mass labor action against any attempt at invasion. And against the threat of Armageddon by the leaders of the "free world," we unconditionally defend the Soviet Union. Join us in the fight for a socialist future. ■

Outrage...

(continued from page 12)

bunch of lackeys for Reagan knows this is a lie. Howard security guards were right here, and eyewitnesses say they were assisting the INS! The Howard administration made its stand clear last year when it arrested Spartacus Youth League members who dared to protest the Grenada invasion. The invasion was a diversion by Reagan from the bloody mess in Lebanon where 241 Marines were blown to smithereens—two days before the Yankees landed on Grenada. Remember two years ago when *Hilltop* editor Janice McKnight was expelled for exposing the shenanigans inside the Cheek administration? Cheek's message has always been loud and clear: "no politics or I'll have your head." Dump Cheek, Reagan's boy in the A-building!

African and Caribbean students are especially threatened by this Reaganite repression. What's next? Will INS plainclothesmen bust into the next meeting of international students and round up "troublemakers" for "questioning" and perhaps deportation? Students must mobilize *now* to demand that the U.S. get its hands off Dessima Williams. Stop deportation proceedings now! Defend our right to hear her indict the U.S. rape of Grenada! U.S. get your hands off the world! Dump Cheek! ■

SF Elections...

(continued from page 12)

city and vindictive mayor harassed him with a series of legal proceedings on such charges as "climbing a monument." Ritchie said he welcomed a trial; he and his comrades politically indicted the Democratic mayor for having put up the hated symbol of racism. The jury heard testimony on the Civil War and the betrayed promise of black freedom. After the jury split 8-4 for Bradley, all the charges were speedily dropped.

The Spartacist candidates stand for "Finish the Civil War!" They stand for union action in solidarity with the black toilers battling apartheid terror in South Africa; "No deportations—Full citizenship for immigrant workers!"; for class-struggle unionism; against the anti-Soviet war drive; for labor/black action against Klan terror. Bradley's action against the slavery flag made him something of a hero among many blacks and other working people in the Bay Area. The endorsement of Bradley/Coleman from the Alameda chapter of the Peace and Freedom Party is, we think, tribute to the widespread popularity of Bradley's action. The PFP is very much a popular frontist rad-lib swamp which supports for president feminist Sonia Johnson of the liberal eco-freezenik Citizens Party. The Alameda PFP voted October 21 to endorse the Spartacist candidates and Sylvia Weinstein of the social-democratic Socialist Action grouping.

Sharp exchanges between Bradley and black nationalists marked his appearance before the Black Students Union at City College of San Francisco October 23. That same day, Bradley also spoke at a class at SF State taught by Professor Reginald Major, author of a book on the Black Panthers. There, Bradley sharply counterposed the SL's program for a revolutionary party to the cynical reformist program of reliance on Jesse Jackson and the Democrats:

"What is needed is an integrated revolutionary workers party that will stop at nothing short of a workers government; the party like the one Lenin and Trotsky built, the Bolsheviks that led the October 1917 revolution, that threw the capitalist bosses out of Russia. We defend that historic victory and we fight for a party here that will smash the capitalist system. "And to the students today I would say: if you think there's an American dream awaiting you, forget about it. Look at the 'Rainbow Coalition'—there's sup-

posed to be a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow? Well there ain't shit there waiting for the working class and students of this country today."

At a Spartacist campaign rally October 17, SYL spokesman Paula Daniel told SF State students:

"Well, Reagan's America 1984 doesn't happen to be a very pretty sight if you happen to be young, black, old, female, unemployed, a trade unionist, or any kind of opponent of the government's policies. And for students, what kind of choices are even out there? One, nuclear annihilation—that's a definite possibility. You have unemployment, particularly if you're black, and an increasingly reactionary social climate as the U.S. government gears up the American population for war against the Soviet Union. Reagan's message to youth flashes like an evangelical neon sign saying: No Sex, No Booze, No Fun... No Future.

"Well, we in the SYL have a program to win, a program to fight and win, and we're running this campaign to point out that the only way forward is socialist revolution. If the youth today want a future we have to fight for it. Look, the capitalist economy is shrinking. The past few years under Carter and Reagan, they've made sure there's no jobs out there for you. They've written off an entire generation of black youth, saying 'We don't want you, we don't give a shit. Go deal dope, go die in the ghettos.' We say that maybe three, maybe five, maybe ten percent of you are going to get out there and make it if you really bust your ass. But we say, put your talents, put your intelligence, put your energy to use and become a leader of the working class and the oppressed. "Nothing short of a proletarian revolution is going to end unemployment, is going to end imperialist wars, is going to end the rising race-terror that we face, and you *cannot* speak of fundamental change within the framework of capitalism.

"So I'll tell you why you should vote for Diana Coleman and Ritchie Bradley. One, if you happen to want a future or a future for your children, you should vote for Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman. If you want to have sex with who you want, what you want, and how you want, you should vote for Ritchie Bradley and Diana Coleman. If you happen to be black, and are afraid of getting gunned down in your bedroom by a racist cop, you should vote for Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman. Because we stand on a program of socialist revolution, to smash race-terror. And we realize this doesn't happen through votes. It's going to happen through class struggle. But we run these campaigns so you can work with us and see what it's all about and get our program that the only way forward is going to be socialist revolution....

"So we say to the youth of today—who are for the ruling class the cannon fodder of tomorrow—that if you hate war and racism, forget about the Democrats and Republicans. That your allies are the workers and black masses and your future is in the destruction of this sick, irrational capitalist system. So join with the only reds on campus. Join the SYL and fight for socialist revolution!" ■

CORRECTIONS

In *Young Spartacus* No. 121 (October 1984) we described the efforts of class-struggle militants in the National Maritime Union (NMU) to mobilize their union to stop "all ships and cargo to and from South Africa." Our article mistakenly reports that 15 union members submitted a resolution to that effect on September 24. The resolution was supported and endorsed by 15 mostly black union members; it was submitted by a member of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the NMU. Many of the endorsements for the motion came after it was ruled out of order by the NMU bureaucrats.

In the introduction to Part I of "Germany: Revolution and Counterrevolution," the centerfold in *YSp* No. 121, we refer to "Spartacist educational gatherings held in late April and early May in New York, Chicago and San Francisco." The Bay Area educational was held in Berkeley.

Spartacus Youth League Class Series

BOSTON

Basic Marxism

Alternate Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.
November 7, 28, December 12
Burr Hall, 1st Floor Conference Rm.
(Quincy St., next to Freshman Union)
Harvard University
For more information: (617) 492-3928

MADISON

For International Workers Revolution!

Saturdays, 2:00 p.m.
November 3, 17, December 1
(See "Today in the Union" for room)
UW-Madison
For more information: (608) 257-8625

NEW YORK CITY

Trotskyism:

Revolutionary Marxism Today

Alternate Mondays, 7:30 p.m.
November 12, 26, December 9
Hamilton Hall, Room 401
Columbia University
Alternate Saturdays, 4:00 p.m.
November 3, 17, December 1
SL/SYL Public Office
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

OBERLIN

Marxism and World Revolution

EXCO class series
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 15, 29
Wilder, Room 211, Oberlin College
For more information: (216) 775-6067
or 621-5138

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Trotskyism:

Revolutionary Marxism Today

Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 14, 28
Blackburn Center, Room 142
Howard University
For more information: (202) 636-3537
Sponsored by the Friends of the
Spartacus Youth League

Trotskyist League of Canada Class Series

TORONTO

Only One Solution—

Workers Revolution!

Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 15, 29
Sid Smith, Room 2116
University of Toronto
For more information: (416) 593-4138

Young Spartacus

INS Arrests Former Grenadian Ambassador Racist Outrage at Howard U.

WASHINGTON, D.C., 29 October—Outrage only begins to describe the October 25 arrest and manhandling of former Grenadian ambassador Dessima Williams outside a "Dialogue for Peace in the Americas" symposium at Howard University. In a scene that brings to mind Pinochet's Chile, plainclothes INS agents waited until the two-day symposium was over for the evening and only two dozen people were left before they seized Ms. Williams, pulled her into a car and whisked her away to Fairfax County Detention Center in Virginia. Reagan's colonial puppet regime in Grenada, installed after the brutal U.S. invasion last year, revoked Williams'

diplomatic status, and now Reagan threatens her with deportation as an "illegal alien"! Eyewitnesses of the arrest pointed out that no one could tell who the plainclothes thugs were and feared that Williams may have been kidnapped. The next morning, 90 protesters, including several left organizations and individuals, such as Jacqueline Jackson, the wife of Rev. Jesse Jackson, picketed the INS building where Williams' bail was being set, with placards reading, "Release Dessima—Stop INS Terror!" and "U.S. Out of Grenada—Free Dessima Williams!" Donations collected on the spot helped pay the \$1,000 bond, reduced from the



Hands Off Dessima Williams!

\$3,500 demanded by the INS. But Williams still faces deportation, and a preliminary hearing is set for November 27. Reagan, INS—Get your filthy hands off Dessima Williams! We reprint below the leaflet issued at Howard University on October 29 by the SYL.

Last Thursday, one year to the day after Reagan's racist bully-boy invasion of black Grenada, Dessima Williams, Grenada's ambassador to the OAS under Maurice Bishop, was seized by Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) thugs outside of Cramton Auditorium after speaking at a tribute to Bishop. Williams now faces deportation as an "illegal alien." Reagan's rape of Grenada—which took 7,000 crack U.S. troops to subdue 700 Cuban construction workers—is supposed to be proof of America "standing tall" again after the imperialists' humiliating

defeat in Vietnam. To cap its sick anniversary celebration of this crime, Reagan's administration staged a Gestapo-style INS raid at Howard as part of its drive to suppress any opposition to the U.S. anti-Soviet war drive. This is an outrage!

Where does Reagan get off thinking he'll get away with this atrocity? Some lily-white college in Podunk, Utah? These stormtroopers marched onto Howard U., in the middle of black D.C. The arrest was a conscious racist provocation. We don't have to take this crap! The only fitting response is for students to shut down Howard and lead black D.C. residents in a march on INS headquarters!

The Cheek administration denies it had anything to do with or even prior knowledge of the arrest. Anyone remotely familiar with this corrupt

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26 October 1984

To: William French Smith
Attorney General
U.S. Justice Department

Seizing last legal Ambassador of Grenada is juridical and human outrage. Unhand Dessima Williams! You stand condemned before the entire world. The American people have the right to hear her indict your rape of Grenada.

Partisan Defense Committee

PDC telegram protests racist INS' Grenada "anniversary" atrocity.

You Have a Choice—Build a Workers Party!

Vote Spartacist

When Richard Bradley twice last April scaled the 50-foot flagpole in San Francisco Civic Center and tore down the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK terror, it touched a chord of anger and pride in black and working-class neighborhoods throughout the Bay Area. Bradley's courageous action against Democratic Party mayor Feinstein's official display of racism was a testament to the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League's 20-year commitment to the fight for revolutionary integration and united working-class struggle. Now as Bradley, and co-candidate Diana Coleman, campaign as socialists for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, they find receptivity among groups as

diverse as Muni bus drivers and black college students.

Speaking at a "Meet the Candidates" forum at the Ella Hill Hutch community center in SF's Western Addition October 26, Bradley said:

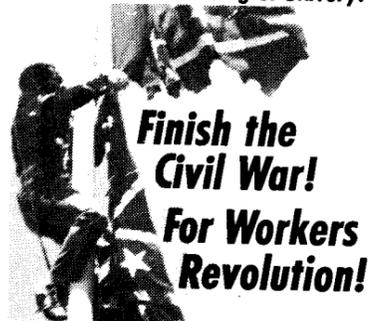
"Everywhere we've gone, workers, blacks recognize us as the people who tore down that racist Confederate flag, recognize that act as a victory for them. 'Dixie Dianne' Feinstein flew that flag to proclaim the same message Reagan and the Dixiecrats want to deliver: 'The South will rise again.' It's open season on blacks and unions.... We smashed that symbol, we burnt that flag, and we say: Finish the Civil War! For Workers Revolution!"

Bradley, 34, grew up in South Carolina where he participated in demonstrations to desegregate public

facilities. He was among the first black students who integrated the University of South Carolina. He worked on an auto assembly line for ten years and became a spokesman for a militant caucus fighting for factory seizures and industry-wide strikes against mass layoffs and plant closures. Now a building maintenance mechanic, Bradley is a leader of the Spartacist League and a founder of the Labor Black League for Social Defense.

Diana Coleman, 38, is a long-time union militant and now a member of the National Association of Letter Carriers. Diana spoke of her experiences in the civil rights, anti-Vietnam War and women's movements when she campaigned at the

"We Tore Down the Flag of Slavery!"



Vote Spartacist

Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman

For S.F. Board of Supervisors

Smash Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive
Break with the Democrats—For a Workers Party!

Smash Tell-Hartley—Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

U.S. Imperialism—Hands Off Central America! Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!

Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, Suite 411, 33 Sutter St., San Francisco, CA 94104, 982-8864

Berkeley campus during the week-long commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the "Free Speech Movement" (see pages 6-10).

After Bradley had twice cut down the slavery flag and then put up a historic Union flag on the flagpole, the

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