

Young Spartacus

NUMBER 131

25 CENTS

X-523

NOVEMBER 1985

Reagan, Apartheid Butchers: Anti-Soviet Partners

Smash Apartheid!

"Blood of Moloise!" was the cry of black outrage that resounded through the streets of Johannesburg on October 18. Shortly after dawn that morning, the apartheid butchers had placed the hangman's noose around the neck of Benjamin Moloise, a 30-year-old black South African poet and supporter of the African National Congress (ANC). Moloise had written, "A storm of oppression will be followed by the rain of my blood/I am proud to give my life, my solitary life." Imprisoned for two years under sentence of death, Moloise was framed for the just execution of the police fink whose testimony led to the hanging of three ANC militants in 1983. His 53-year-old mother, Mamike Moloise, was not permitted to see her son at all; she awaited word of his death outside the gates of Pretoria Central Prison. Even after his execution, she was unable to lay eyes on her martyred son. Benjamin Moloise's body had become state property, his mother was told to return in a week to pick up the "grave number." "This government is cruel," she said, "it is really, really cruel."

The viciously racist apartheid state, which has taken the lives of over 800 blacks in the last year, has made a statement with its latest grisly execution: it will not bend. The 3,500 black mourners who defiantly took to the streets have made their statement in return: they will not be cowed. For the first time, the anti-apartheid protest spilled over into the white preserve of downtown Johannesburg. South Africa—that bastion of the "free world"—continues to head for a bloody confrontation between the enslaved black masses and the white regime, armed to the teeth.

The stepping up of repression—the recently imposed ban on foreign journalists and television crews, the extension of "emergency" measures to the Cape Town region, Moloise's execution—all this comes on the heels of Reagan's "sanctions" against Pretoria.

Workers Vanguard Photo



Avenge Moloise! For Workers Revolution!

Utterly token, the imperialist sanctions were designed primarily to placate anti-apartheid sentiment in the U.S. and to give Botha the message that he should pretend to give a little. While Botha seems curiously sensitive to world opinion, there's another wing of the Afrikaner party—even more right-wing and hardline—and it just made significant gains in the five district by-elections held last month. More importantly, however, Pretoria and its senior partners in Washington are caught in the

FOSATU



The face of apartheid repression: racist troops block South African black workers at Johannesburg May Day rally.

contradiction that apartheid cannot be "reformed" away nor will the blacks, the "coloured" (mixed-race) population, the Indians stop battling against the hated system of apartheid.

Rian Malan, a liberal Afrikaner who returned to South Africa after nine years of self-imposed exile, described the intransigence on all sides:

"Afrikaners like my father, the Afrikaners now in power, are willing to share power with blacks on some basis comfortable to themselves, but they will never willingly submerge themselves in Africa. They look at the turbulence north of their borders, and their resolve turns to steel. So they will share power but will never cede it entirely, and anything less will never be acceptable to blacks; too much blood has already flowed. Next time you see television footage of a South African riot, look closely at the faces.... They will never be bought off with concessions. So many black South Africans are thus transfixed that the old order is already doomed. All that remains to be seen is how and when it will fall, and how many people will die in the process."

—Esquire, November 1985

Blood will flow in South Africa. The question is whose blood, when, where, why and how. Liberal columnist Anthony Lewis suggested one scenario: "One explanation of its [Pretoria's] deliberately provocative tactics now is that it hopes to bring this yearlong crisis to a head by arousing more protest and

then crushing it ruthlessly" (*New York Times*, 21 October). As they proved in Sharpeville 25 years ago, the South African regime is quite capable of massacres. Now it's planning terror on the scale of 100 Sharpevilles. The townships are designed for brutal repression; they can be sealed off and napalmed, if it comes to that.

Thus far, Botha & Co. have not taken this road. But they will, unless the seething black resistance that does not stop finds *revolutionary leadership* for the anti-apartheid struggle, based on a perspective of proletarian class power. With some discernible failure of nerve on the white regime's part and with the black masses thirsting for some real power, it is an ideal time to crystallize a Bolshevik party. Such a party would organize the power of the six-million-strong black proletariat to lead all the oppressed and disenfranchised in the struggle for *amandla*, power. It would take advantage of any cracks among the whites, seeking to neutralize a section. Against the false consciousness of nationalism, a Bolshevik vanguard would struggle to shift the axis of the anti-apartheid fight to the *class principle*. Bringing together the advance detachments of the black majority, coloureds and Indians struggling for their rights, a multiracial workers party would pose the only solution to the national and democratic aspirations of the vast majority of South Africa's people: workers revolution.

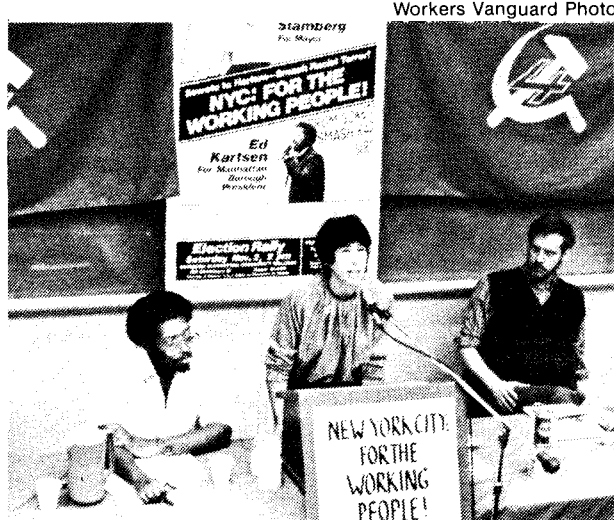
Any other road leads at best to a neo-colonialist regime presiding over communalist/tribalist bloodletting (something resembling Zimbabwe today which will make a mockery of Nelson Mandela's picture on the currency). It leads at worst to a white supremacist victory through sheer military force. But South Africa does not have to go that road. Imperialism created in South Africa a multiracial society—a society of rigidly segregated "interpenetrated peoples" but in which one people, the whites, sit on top of the others. It has created a certain level of industrialization, which means above all that there has been created a working class possessing the skills necessary to provide a decent life for the people. South Africa does not have to become another of the hellholes of the so-called Third World where the strutting of military dictators and the eruptions of tribalist conflicts are supposed to distract from the prospect of starvation.

The conquest of power by the South African working class would be the first step in liberating the workers and peasants throughout black Africa from neocolonial oppression and mass poverty. But to make that revolution requires a leadership which breaks with nationalism to win cadres from every tribal grouping and from the two-and-a-half million coloureds and 900,000

continued on page 10

New York City Election Campaign Spartacist: Tribune of the People

New York City: For the Working People! Spartacist candidates Marjorie Stenberg and Ed Kartsen, running for mayor and borough of Manhattan president, brought the politics of class struggle to New York City elections this fall. On the picket lines of striking black and Hispanic hotel workers, on the streets of Harlem and the Lower East Side, at protest demonstrations against the city's cover-up of racist cop killings, the Spartacist campaign struck a chord among the black and working people looking for a way to fight. The SYL actively worked in the campaign, at



Spartacist candidates Ed Kartsen and Marjorie Stenberg tell it like it is at NYC campaign rally, November 2.

Columbia where clerical workers recently went on strike against the Ivy League slumlord, and at the heavily black Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC).

Nearly 140,000 election brochures in English and Spanish and an overall total of 210,000 pieces of Spartacist/SYL literature were distributed—carrying the central message of the campaign that the power of labor and the minority communities must be mobilized independently of the bosses and their parties against the rampaging racists in blue, that integrated, armed self-defense squads be organized, drawing on responsible union men and women. This call is in sharp contrast to the weepy liberals and reformists who advocate “democratizing the police” or “enforcement of proper police procedures.” But, as Stenberg/Kartsen said: it's a *system*. Speaking at a November 2 Spartacist Party rally at BMCC, Kartsen stated:

“*Workers Vanguard* readers circles should be formed everywhere in this city that we've been electioneering. These circles can come together in mass protest against cop, KKK and Nazi terror, in strike support work and anti-eviction demonstrations. A mass working-class party would mobilize working people against the anti-abortion clinic bombers, the anti-homosexual bigots who want to victimize AIDS patients, would fight to get the government out of the bedroom. Such a party would play a leading role in the formation of workers councils which will be the foundation of a workers government, the foundation for launching social struggle to finish the Civil War and for taking vengeance on those who murdered MOVE members, those who murdered Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs, Edmund Perry and all the victims.”

The Spartacist campaign was militantly interna-



October 3: Protesters demand that city coroner Elliot “Gross the Ghoul has got to go!” for his cover-up of racist cop killings.

tionalist, linking the poverty, racist terror and social/sexual counterrevolution at home to the anti-Soviet war drive abroad. Marjorie explained at the BMCC rally:

“Everyone who's been following our campaign has noticed that we're very up front about our stand on the Soviet Union. For us, the Soviet arsenal, the bombs, the missiles—we are *for* them, we defend them, we want them. They are the reason to this date that the U.S. has not been able to go through with its schemes to roll back those revolutions, from Eastern Europe to Southeast Asia. That is why we say ‘Hail Cuban Troops in Angola!’, why we say ‘Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!’ and why we say the hallmark of our campaign is defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.”

SYL National Committee member Alison Spencer summed up the hard work of the campaign: “This is just the beginning. Our campaign has been an attempt to mobilize working people and the masses of New York City around the slogans for proletarian revolution—to fight for a socialist future for all of us. So I urge you to vote for us and to join us in the struggle.” ■

Sub Drive Success

YSp Welcomes New Readers

Congratulations to all comrades on the successful completion of this year's *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* subscription drive. The six-week sub drive reached an impressive 164

percent of the national quota for a total of 4,612-1/2 points. Of these, 1,066 were subscriptions to *YSp*, an increase of over 200 from last year. 598 subscriptions were sold to *Women*

and *Revolution*—the publication of the Spartacist League's Women's Commission—and 57 to Spanish-language *Spartacist*.

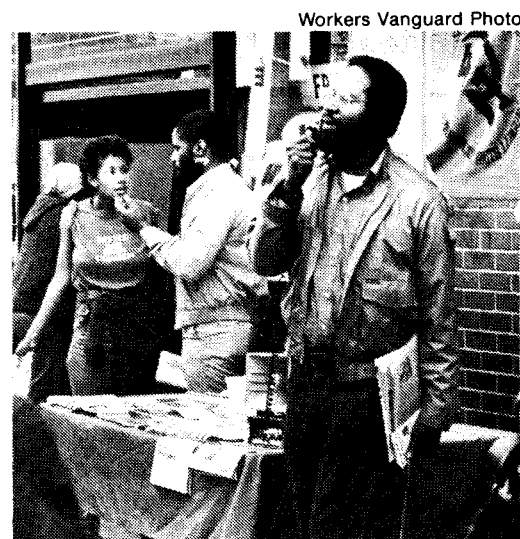
This year's sub drive success reflected the increased politicization of the campuses, particularly around the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. We noted last year that, despite cracks, conservatism and the “new patriotism” predominated among American students. Now, as a comrade from the Bay Area reported after the Northern Tour, “World War III, an invasion of Central America and the draft are frightening prospects on the campuses. It was almost a given that the bourgeois press lies, so that an honest paper with a socialist analysis was easy to sell. KAL 007 was a particularly good example—everyone knows Reagan's story stinks. The *YSp* Vietnam series was popular. The students knew they knew nothing of Vietnam and knew there was something important to know.”

Our regional trips, which are always an important component of the sub drive, were particularly successful. The Northern Tour to the Pacific Northwest campuses netted 444-1/2 points, including 140 at Evergreen College in Olympia, Washington and 171 at the University of Oregon at Eugene. We found that word of the San Francisco State “Underground SYL” Red Avengers had reached students as far away as Evergreen. A tour to campuses in Norfolk, Virginia, Chapel Hill and Greensboro, North Carolina brought in 46 points. One of the people met in Chapel Hill was “a guy who had last seen *Workers Vanguard* at a bookstore in Managua,” Nicaragua. Cleveland, Chicago and

Toronto comrades worked together for a successful drive at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, selling 133 points.

New York comrades traveled to Yale, the scene last year of a militant campus workers strike, where 176 points were sold; and to Cornell where we sold 82 points. The political center of this year's sub drive in New York has been the Stenberg/Kartsen election campaign whose calls for the multiracial unions of the city to mobilize against racist police terror have struck a nerve especially among black working people. Well over 100 points have been sold directly through campaign work.

Young Spartacus welcomes our new readers; we hope to hear from you with your comments, ideas and criticisms. Now's the time to get involved in the fight for a socialist future and help introduce *YSp* to your fellow students, friends and co-workers. ■



Final Totals

Local	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%
Atlanta	100	127	127
Boston	350	436	125
Chicago	280	422½	151
Cleveland	180	374	208
Los Angeles	160	305	191
New York	900	1,070½	119
Oakland	470	781½	166
San Francisco	230	528½	230
Washington, D.C.	150	212	141
At-large	—	355½	—
National Total	2,820	4,612½	164

Subscribe Now!

Name _____

Address _____

Phone () _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

YSp 131

SPECIAL! A packet of Spartacist literature with one-year subscriptions to both *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus*.

\$5/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)
 New Renewal

\$2/4 issues of *Women and Revolution*

\$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)

\$2/9 issues of *Young Spartacus*

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10116

Young Spartacus

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

Editorial Board: Bonnie Brodie (editor), Dorie Reed, Kathie Somers, Alison Spencer
Production manager: Dorie Reed

Circulation manager: Debbie Perkins

Nine issues yearly; published monthly except December/January and June/July/August, by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7867 (Editorial, Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. Domestic subscriptions: \$2.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Young Spartacus*, Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 131

November 1985

Vengeance for Steve Biko!

Steve Biko, the martyred leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, is the best-known of the more than 60 anti-apartheid fighters to have died in prison at the hands of the South African Security Police. He died on 12 September 1977, but his murder is still a living issue today as the struggle for which he died—the liberation of South Africa's black masses—is fought more bitterly than ever.

It is a small sign of apartheid's present crisis that two of the doctors who presided over the Biko torture-murder, certifying that they could find nothing wrong when he was already dying of brain damage, were finally penalized by the South African Medical and Dental Council. The "penalties" were announced on October 16, after eight years of protests against the Council's cover-up of the criminal Biko murder. They are but slaps on the wrist—another reminder of the futility of trying to pressure and reform the South African rulers and the white professional establishment that serves the racist police state.

Dr. Benjamin Tucker, the government-appointed chief district surgeon of Port Elizabeth in 1977, saw Biko frothing at the mouth, hyperventilating and in a state of collapse, but agreed to

**1977:
Defiant
South African
blacks pay
tribute to
Steve Biko
at his funeral.
Victorious
workers
revolution
will avenge
anti-apartheid
martyrs.**



Eastern Cape to stop torturing detainees after Dr. Wendy Orr, a 25-year-old district surgeon under Lang, testified that "detainees are being taken out of my care for the purpose of interrogation and, during the course of this interrogation, brutally assaulted" (UPI dispatch, 26 September). Orr reported that of prisoners she had examined from July 22 to September 16, 60 had "facial injuries, eight had perforated eardrums and 48 had such a multiplicity of injuries they could not have been

Showtime cable network), may have surprised American viewers as the Biko family's lawyer was permitted by the judge to extract damning revelations from the security police and the doctors. But the final verdict was never in question: the killer cops went free.

There are chilling similarities between these proceedings and those of the trial in this country of six New York transit cops who beat to death young black artist Michael Stewart, the son of a New York transit worker. More than 40

Association of South Africa (MASA) readmitted to the World Medical Association (WMA) in 1981. Doctors around the world were outraged at MASA for absolving the Biko doctors. Not only that, but the AMA also secured the admission to the WMA of the medical association of the Transkei, a puppet bantustan in South Africa which not even the Reagan administration has brought itself to recognize. Since all black African members have pulled out in protest, the WMA has been nicknamed the "White Medical Association."

The courage and dedication of Dr. Wendy Orr must be noted, in part because it is exceptional. It recalls the heroic figure of Dr. Neil Aggett, a white South African doctor and organizer for black trade unions who died in police custody after police torture. The plight of another detainee who is now being tried for "treason," Thozamile Gqweta—president of the Allied Workers Union—was told in grisly detail by *World Medicine* (25 June 1983). Gqweta "was moved a week after Neil Aggett's death from police custody to the psychiatric ward of Johannesburg General Hospital." He had been in detention for most of the last 18 months.

"In 1981, his mother and an uncle were burnt to death at their home. A girlfriend was shot dead by police at his mother's funeral. While in custody, he was suspended by handcuffs from window bars and given electric shocks.... After his sudden transfer to the psychiatric ward, his brother managed to visit him and found Gqweta 'a changed man'—confused, depressed, and with difficulty in speaking and loss of memory. After four weeks' psychiatric treatment, he was handed back to the police. The police minister said Gqweta had 'psychoses and ulcer'."

The six-million-strong black proletariat to which Neil Aggett gave his life has the social power to smash apartheid, but only if it is mobilized politically to fight for its own class dictatorship under the leadership of a racially integrated Leninist party. Steve Biko and all the countless martyrs of the struggle against apartheid slavery will be avenged through proletarian revolution. ■

IN MEMORIAM

The following South Africans are known to have died in detention in the hands of the Nationalist government's Security Police. All were imprisoned without trial, charge, prosecution or evidence. All were denied legal representation and access to friends or relatives. The causes of death alleged by the Security Police are given in brackets.

L. NGUDLE died in Pretoria on September 5, 1963 (suicide by hanging)
B. MERHOPE died in Worcester on September 19, 1963 (causes undisclosed)
J. TYITYA died in Port Elizabeth on January 24, 1964 (suicide by hanging)
S. SALOOJIE died in Johannesburg on September 9, 1964 (fell seven floors during interrogation)
N. GAGA died in Transkei on May 7, 1965 (natural causes)
P. HOYE died in Transkei on May 8, 1965 (natural causes)
J. HAMAKWAYO died in Pretoria in 1966 (suicide by hanging)
H. SHONYEKA died in Pretoria on October 9, 1966 (suicide)
L. LEONG PIN died in Pretoria on November 19, 1966 (suicide by hanging)
A. AH YAN died in Pretoria on January 5, 1967 (suicide by hanging)
A. MADIBA died in an undisclosed prison on September 9, 1967 (suicide by hanging)
J. TUBAKWE died in Pretoria on September 11, 1967 (suicide by hanging)
AN UNNAMED PERSON died on an unknown day in 1968 (death disclosed under questioning in Parliament on January 28, 1969)
N. KGOATHE died in Pretoria on February 4, 1969 (slipped in shower)
S. MODIPANE died in prison on February 28, 1969 (slipped in shower)
J. LENKOE died in Pretoria on March 10, 1969 (suicide by hanging)
C. MAYEKISO died in Port Elizabeth on June 17, 1969 (suicide)
J. MONAKGOTLA died in Pretoria on September 10, 1969 (thrombosis)
IMAM A. HARON died in Cape Town on September 27, 1969 (fell down stairs)

M. CUTHSELA died in undisclosed prison on January 21, 1971 (natural causes)
A. TIMOL died in Johannesburg on October 27, 1971 (leapt from tenth-floor window during interrogation)
J. MDLULI died in Durban on March 19, 1976 (fell against chair during scuffle)
M. MOHAPI died in Kei Road on August 5, 1976 (suicide by hanging)
L. MAZWEMBE died in Cape Town on September 2, 1976 (suicide by hanging)
D. MBATHA died in undisclosed prison on September 25, 1976 (suicide by hanging)
E. MZOLO died in Johannesburg on October 1, 1976 (no details given)
W. TSHWANE died on October 14, 1976 (no details given)
E. MAMASILA died on November 18, 1976 (no details given)
T. MOSALA died in Butterworth on November 26, 1976 (no details given)
W. TSHAZIBANE died on December 11, 1976 (no details given)
G. BOTHA died in Port Elizabeth on December 14, 1976 (fell down stairwell)
DR. N. NTSHUNTSHE died on January 9, 1977 (no details given)
L. NDZAGA died on January 9, 1977 (no details given)
E. MALEL died on January 20, 1977 (no details given)
M. MABELANE died on February 15, 1977 (no details given)
T. JOYI died on February 15, 1977 (no details given)
S. MALINGA died in Maritzburg on February 22, 1977 (natural causes)
R. KHOZA died in Maritzburg on March 26, 1977 (suicide by hanging)
J. MASHABANE died on June 5, 1977 (suicide)
P. MABIJA died in Kimberley on July 7, 1977 (fell six floors during interrogation)
E. LOZA died in Cape Town on August 1, 1977 (no details given)
DR. H. HAFEEJE died in Durban on August 3, 1977 (no details given)
B. EMZIZI died on August 5, 1977 (no details given)
F. MOGATSI died on August 28, 1977 (suffocation in epileptic fit)
S. BIKO died in Pretoria on September 12, 1977 (injured in scuffle)

—from *Biko*, by Donald Woods, Paddington Press (1978)

Biko's being transported 750 miles to Pretoria—naked and manacled in the back of a Land Rover. Biko died the day after reaching Pretoria. Tucker has now been stripped of his medical qualifications. However, Tucker had been on extended sick leave and was expected to retire soon anyway.

Dr. Ivor Lang, a district surgeon under Tucker, found no evidence of "abnormal pathology" in Biko at a time when he was not eating or drinking, had swollen feet, ankles and hands, slurred speech and could not walk properly. Lang's "punishment" is a warning. Today Lang still does his dirty work in Port Elizabeth, the main city of the Eastern Cape and a major center of black revolt. Under Lang's "care," the torture-murder of Biko is replayed again and again. Since apartheid führer P.W. Botha declared a "state of emergency" in July, giving the security forces a mandate to terrorize the black population at will, about half of the more than 2,000 "detained" in prison without trial have been in the Eastern Cape.

An extensive study revealed that 83 percent of South Africa's detainees are physically tortured and that the Eastern Cape has the worst record. On September 25, a judge ordered police in the

inflicted in a violent attempt to arrest a man or disperse a mob." Ten days after her victory in court, Orr was given "other duties." She will no longer have access to political prisoners. Needless to say, Lang still has his job.

The draconian statutes which regulate every aspect of the lives of the disenfranchised black majority, the oppressed "coloured" (mixed-race) and Indian populations, provide a Kafkaesque judicial code for police-state terror. Thus, the regime's "Government Gazette" contains tables and long lists stipulating, for example, the frequency with which a detainee can be whipped and the number of strokes, at what rate prisoners may be starved, the precise amount of solitary confinement which should accompany either dietary or corporal punishment or both. At each point "medical" officers—like the "Doktors" of Nazi concentration camps—must "examine" the prisoner, supposedly assuring that torture is carried out by the book.

These laws also make possible the peculiar situation in which exposures like Orr's or the Biko inquest in 1977 can be made public. The *Biko Inquest*, a powerful reenactment based on the actual transcripts (recently broadcast on

witnesses saw the cops beat Stewart. New York City mayor Ed Koch's own "Dr. Mengele"—city coroner Elliot Gross—did not merely falsify the cause of death. He gouged out Michael Stewart's eyes to conceal evidence of strangulation. Amid a growing outcry, a hand-picked commission of Koch cronies gave Gross the Ghoul a total whitewash while a state commission of inquiry was aborted by a low-level court officer. Gross is currently on leave with full pay and still doing his job—covering up for racist murder—at the sham trial of six of the eleven cops who killed Stewart. Gross has changed his story no less than three times, at one point finally admitting that the cops' story was "not consistent" with the injuries found on Stewart. This obscene "trial" has demonstrated an even greater violation of norms of judicial due process than the racist police-state proceedings in the 1977 Biko inquest.

Lang in South Africa, Gross in New York—their jobs are fundamentally the same: to regularly certify the state's license to kill. The racist, anti-Soviet U.S./South African axis has its counterpart in medicine. Thus, the American Medical Association (AMA) was the prime mover in getting the Medical

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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

Mon.-Thurs.: 5:00-8:00 p.m.,
Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

The Finking Corpse of Social Democracy

DSA: How Much Do Harvard's Fat Bosses Pay You?

We've always said the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) act as lackeys for campus administrations within the student movement—keeping things as liberal and respectable as possible, finking on and red-baiting other radicals and generally selling out, usually for not very much in return. But at Harvard the DSA has genuinely hit a new low—it's in bed with Dean of Students Archie Epps III. And as Harvard radicals have known since the 1960s, lower than that one cannot sink.

The DSA, as the "left wing of the possible," is wedded to decaying capitalism and committed to working within the racist, strikebreaking, warmongering Democratic Party. You might show up at a DSA meeting expecting to hear

Young Spartacus Photo



Harvard, November 1981: Ultra-rightists in foiled attempt to break up SYL forum on Poland; their campaign to "roll back" communism in Cambridge was defeated. Placard reads: "How Much Did Poland's Fat Bosses Pay You?"

about socialism. Some "socialism"! Recently DSAer Stephen J. Margolin, who is a "radical" economist and Harvard professor, spoke on the need to reclaim the most vital American symbols—the Bible and the flag! Move over Moral Majority, the DSA wants to move in on your turf.

After several anti-apartheid protests last spring, Harvard responded in a fashion familiar to anyone who knows this institution's track record on "handling" dissent; it started gearing up the machinery to get rid of troublesome students. The administration revived the Committee on Rights and Responsibilities (CRR)—a witchhunting political purge body modeled on a military tribunal and boycotted by the student body since its inception during the anti-Vietnam War days. CRR chief Richard Kronauer made no secret of its intended purpose, stating that "the CRR is here to stay" because "once there are U.S. troops in Nicaragua, it will be a whole different ball game around here." Participants in the anti-apartheid protests were singled out to come before this kangaroo court, facing penalties up to and including expulsion.

Those on the hit list had taken part in one or both of two demonstrations: one, a DSA-led "action" at the Governing Board's 17 Quincy Street office where suit-and-tie students "sat in" during business hours, then left after vacuuming the floor; two, a militant protest initiated by the SYL against South African consul-general Abe Hoppenstein, whose scheduled luncheon with the Conservative Club at Lowell House was rudely interrupted by angry students. The CRR's "sentences" have been announced: ten students who demonstrated at Lowell House have received "suspended requirement to withdraw" from Harvard and eleven from the afternoon cleaning service provided at Quincy Street have received an "admonishment." (Six students received both disciplinary actions, having been at both protests.) Among those facing "suspended requirement to withdraw"—which means immediate expulsion the next time Harvard takes offense at some political activity, a steel boot over the neck hanging from a thread—is SYLer Tom Crean. But for DSAers Evan Grossman and Damon Silvers "charges were not substantiated for Lowell."

These DSAers received much lesser penalties because they saw fit to collaborate with the loathsome CRR. While many militant students vowed to continue the boycott and refused to appear, the DSAers worked overtime to bring in "evidence." DSAer Grossman even

DSA lackeys say "Don't besmirch Dean Epps!" and hand megaphone over to enemy of student radicals at anti-CRR protest last May.



Young Spartacus Photo

helped the CRR arrange to fly in one student for trial over the summer. (For the few stool pigeons who did come in over the summer, the CRR paid room, board and travel expenses.) Not to be outdone by his fellow rat, Damon Silvers wrote a lengthy mea culpa on his role in the protests. As Kronauer put it: "Information is always valuable and it helped us reach a more accurate understanding of what happened" (*Harvard Crimson*, 18 October). Grossman explained: "We wanted to make the University realize that while we can protest loudly and visibly we are also willing to do it rationally and responsibly. Long hair and flowered shirts [!] are definitely out" (*Harvard Crimson*, Registration, 1985).

Presumably armed with the testimony of these "democratic socialists," the CRR issued their pontificating sermon on the spring protests. At Quincy Street: "The degree of informal cooperation between the protesters and the University authorities at 17 Quincy Street blurred certain disciplinary issues. However, this cooperation helped to maintain a constructive level of civility in the events..." But at the SYL-led anti-Hoppenstein protest such "civility" was "unfortunately absent." "The Lowell House incident was shocking and disgraceful. Fundamental civil liberties were violated in a most shameful fashion. To be sure, much of the misconduct during this incident may not have been premeditated; many of those who behaved wrongly were improvising in the face of unanticipated developments and in the grip of strong emotions..." The mass frenzy that characterized much of the Lowell House protest was the very antithesis of the reasoned discourse that is the defining feature of a university community." To be sure, reading this puts one in the grip of strong nausea. When Harvard says "mass frenzy" it means an angry, militant demonstration that did not begin with the singing of the national anthem and did not end with vacuuming the floor. The difference between the Lowell House protest and the Quincy Street "sit-in" is simply that the latter was servile and mealy-mouthed, befitting its cringing initiators, and the former was communist-led and accomplished something.

Anti-apartheid radicals at Harvard should tell the CRR, Epps and the whole slimy cabal where they can put their "civility"! Their "civil" cops busted a lot of heads during the 1960s, their "civil" star chambers expelled a lot of students and got rid of a lot of faculty, their "civil" braintrusting programs brought you napalm and mass murder in Vietnam. And now they respond in a fury to defend a representative of the viciously racist apartheid police state—the racist state responsible for slaughtering at least 700 blacks in the last year. Hoppenstein got a little heartburn last spring and he probably missed his plane

while students blockaded Lowell House—well, it's a start.

As for the DSA, they got their payoff this time—no cigars, but definite pats on the head. Talk about the stinking corpse of social democracy! The great revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg, who along with fellow Spartacist Karl Liebknecht was set up for murder by social-democratic traitors for their opposition to the mass slaughter of World War I, coined this apt description of the DSA's forebears. It's more true than ever today. National DSA honcho Michael Harrington must be mighty proud of his Harvard kids—chips off the old block. Harrington made himself infamous for his red-baiting attacks on Students for a Democratic Society (including locking them out of their office after they dropped the anti-communist exclusion clause of their constitution). From the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba to U.S. imperialism's dirty, losing war in Vietnam, Harrington has loyally served the Democratic Party. This once took the form of lauding the Kennedy/Johnson administrations in power, more recently it meant supporting the loser Mondale as he campaigned to quarantine Nicaragua.

Also missing from the list of victimizations was the tiny International Socialist Organization (ISO) which thinks it might be able to occupy a little place in the huge gulf between the DSA and SYL. The ISO wasn't around during the protests last spring—they were too worried about meeting their *Crimson* deadlines to demonstrate against apartheid. Like their fellow anti-Soviet "State Department" socialists in the DSA, the ISO also couldn't be bothered to join the SYL-initiated demonstration last month against the execution of ANC militant Benjamin Moloise.

The next time a representative of the racist South African regime—or a blood-drenched American war criminal like War Secretary Caspar Weinberger—shows up here, he should be met with mass, militant protest. U.S. imperialism is driving for anti-Soviet World War III—it doesn't want any trouble from the youth who are supposed to be the cannon fodder (or, at Harvard, the officer corps and Dr. Strangeloves who run it). The DSA has proved that it gladly volunteers its services, in complete agreement with its "own" bourgeoisie that the world must be kept "safe from communism" at all costs. We stand in the tradition of the "three L's"—Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht: The Main Enemy Is at Home! U.S. imperialism is the bloody purveyor of repression and murderous racism throughout the world, it is the Number One enemy of the oppressed and exploited. It is our task as revolutionaries here to destroy this monster from within—to build a multiracial workers party committed to leading the working class in the victorious seizure of state power. ■

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 3118, Church St. Sta., NY, NY 10008 • (212) 732-7867

Atlanta
Box 4012, Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston
Box 1644, Cambridge, MA 02238
or call (617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 4667, Main PO, Chicago
IL 60680, or call (312) 663-0715

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

Detroit
SYL, c/o SL, Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232

Los Angeles
Box 29115, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call
(213) 384-9716

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

New York
Box 444, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013, or call
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
SYL, c/o SL, Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland
Box 273, Civic Center Sta.
Oakland, CA 94604, or call
(415) 835-1535

Oberlin
Box 58, Oberlin College, Oberlin
OH 44074, or call (216) 621-5138

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

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

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8 • (416) 593-4138

It's Only Rock 'n' Roll But Some of Us Like It!

It's been nearly 30 years since Elvis warned them to lay off his blue suede shoes. But they're at it again. A group called the Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC)—which would be more appropriately dubbed "Parents Against Puberty," "Washington Wives for Wholesome Fun" or the "Queen Victoria Music Appreciation Society"—is banging its tambourines to save the souls of children from that old demon, rock 'n' roll. For them the issue is good vs. evil, with the fate of Western civilization at stake. But one look at these nasty moral majority culture cops inspires more than a little sympathy for the devil.

The crusaders of the PMRC are led by government wives like Susan Baker, whose husband is Reagan's Treasury Secretary, and Tennessee Senator Albert Gore's wife, Tipper. Other supporters include the wives of South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond and preacher *cum* Congressman Guy Vander Jagt. The PMRC conjures up an image of the average rocker as a syphilitic devil-worshiper who hangs out in public school bathrooms dispensing hypodermics and advocating patricide. Assailing the advent of "porn rock" as a new form of criminal activity, the PMRC argues that the "practices heard and seen by children constitute secondary child abuse" (*Village Voice*, 8 October).

The core demand of the PMRC has been for industry "self-regulation," not unlike the "deal" offered the Sandinistas by Reagan: "drop dead or we'll kill you." Centerpiece to this program is a ratings code to warn buyers that a record or tape contains sexual references, "violence," lyrics glorifying alcohol or drug abuse or mention of the occult. Already, Camelot, the nation's second-largest record retail chain, has announced that selling records with "R" or "X" ratings would cost its mall-based shops their leases. The PMRC also calls for record companies to "review" the contracts of performers who violate the PMRC's sense of "propriety"—a clear threat of blacklisting—and to refrain from the use of "hidden messages" on recordings! And while Strom Thurmond's Senate Judiciary Committee threateningly fondles legislation on



Ross Marino



UPI/Bettmann

WARNING GUARANTEE:

This album contains material which a truly free society would neither fear nor suppress. In some socially retarded areas, religious fanatics and ultra-conservative political organizations violate your First Amendment Rights by attempting to censor rock & roll albums. We feel that this is un-Constitutional and un-American. As an alternative to these government-supported programs (designed to keep you docile and ignorant), Barking Pumpkin is pleased to provide stimulating digital audio entertainment for those of you who have outgrown the ordinary. The language and concepts contained herein are GUARANTEED NOT TO CAUSE ETERNAL TORMENT IN THE PLACE WHERE THE GUY WITH THE HORNS AND POINTED STICK CONDUCTS HIS BUSINESS. This guarantee is as real as the threats of the video fundamentalists who use attacks on rock music in their attempt to transform America into a nation of check-mailing nincompoops (in the name of Jesus Christ). If there is a hell, its fires wait for them, not us.

Goldsmith/LGI



The "devils" themselves: clockwise from top, the delectable Sheila E., early rocker Jerry Lee Lewis in 1958, and the electrifying combo of Tina Turner and Mick Jagger. Center, Zappa's own "warning" label.

the Recording Industry Association of America's (RIAA) long-cherished multimillion-dollar federal tax on blank tapes and tape recorders, many musicians are humming the Rolling Stones' "Short and Curlies" while pondering the hold the PMRC and its supporters have on them.

In a recent interview with the Detroit *Metro Times* (11-17 September), rock composer/guitarist/social satirist Frank Zappa noted that he had smelled this "moral majority aroma" for quite a while; an aroma that has grown into quite a McCarthyite stench. On September 19, the Senate Commerce Committee, of which Tipper Gore's hubby is a member, conducted a hearing on the question of "porn rock." Virginia Senator Paul Trible called it "the most important hearing conducted by the Commerce Committee this year" (*Village Voice*, 8 October). The hearing itself was like something out of an Alice Cooper video, with Committee members and witnesses getting off on chanting the lyrics of the most graphic songs they could excavate. After listening to PMRC "music consultant" Rev. Jeff Ling recite the lyrics of "Golden Showers," Zappa deadpanned, "I think a lot of deep digging was done in order to come up with the song about the anal vapors." And to the bigots' disingenuous concerns about "misleading" album covers, Zappa sagely advised, "I would say that a buzz saw blade between the

guy's legs on the album cover is a good indication that it's not for little Johnny." But perhaps the crusading censors had confused the image with Rambo and expected the more melodious sounds of killing commies.

This Middle Ages-style witch trial of rock 'n' roll artists has now paid off for the record burners. The head of the Recording Industry Association of America announced on November 1 that "record companies would soon begin including warnings on albums containing potentially offensive lyrics." Or "they may decide to print the records' lyrics on the back of the jackets" (*New York Times*, 2 November). The warning "Explicit Lyrics—Parental Advisory" is to appear on albums containing "possibly objectionable" lyrics. Speaking for the PMRC, Tipper Gore said "We're delighted." We bet. Zappa's own "warning" tells it like it is (see above).

While presenting these more graphic and obscure songs for shock value, what's really got a bug up these reactionary assholes is *sex*, particularly masturbation, in commercially successful pop songs; Prince's "Darling Nikki" and Cyndi Lauper's "She Bop" were cited as motivation for the formation of the PMRC. But pubescent youth need no instruction or incentive to discover the hows and wherefores of masturbation, and censoring Prince will be about as much a deterrent as is a fear of blindness, hairy palms or a hunched

back (although maybe forcing everyone to wear Michael Jackson-style white gloves might help).

Conservative columnist William Safire, the former Nixon fan, started his crusade against rock over a decade ago when he wrote a speech for Spiro Agnew assailing "blatant drug-culture propaganda" in the Beatles' "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds." Now Safire rails against "explicit glorification of kinky sex" and hurls accusations of "musical inciters to rape," while his blood boils at the Prince background singer who "delights in losing her virginity" (*New York Times*, 10 October).

Rock music and its antecedents, blues and jazz, have long been targets of narrow-minded, bigoted attack. Jazz, with its free-spirited rhythms, and blues, with its earthy, sexual lyrics, were dubbed "race records" not fit for polite white Christian society. When Elvis shook his hips and Mick Jagger wailed the blues classic, "I'm a King Bee... make more honey than any man alive" the musical segregation was broken, but the battle for the children's salvation has nonetheless persisted. In 1981 punker Wendy Williams was arrested and beaten by Milwaukee cops while onstage. Last year the Dade Christian School in Miami, Florida forbade students to attend Michael Jackson's Victory Tour concert.

Disclaimers notwithstanding, the censorship of music will necessarily include its political content. It's a short step from "porn rock" to "political porn," as Reagan's South African apartheid buddies realize. The apartheid butchers keep a list of banned publications which puts "Sketch of a male genital" and "Make a wish and blow" side by side with issues of *Young Spartacus* and *Spartacist* (see *YSp* No. 129, September 1985). Squeaky-clean singer Pat Boone, who has recently railed against the Live Aid Benefit concert—no doubt appalled by the sexy Mick Jagger/Tina Turner number—honestly denuded American democratic pretensions when he declared, "Censorship should not be a bad word... That's what the Constitution had in mind—self-imposed, majority-approved censorship" (*People*, 16 September).

It has been over a decade since rock musicians have been associated with any sort of political commentary. So it's not surprising that the current witchhunt comes after Reagan was rebuffed by Bruce Springsteen and others when they were asked for their political support; a handful of performers are treading, even if softly, into political waters. College campuses are heating up over U.S. support to South African apartheid and its dirty war in Central America. This is intolerable to the U.S. ruling class, still choking on its defeat at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants, and still blaming the domestic protesters, including the thousands of kids who chanted Country Joe's "1, 2, 3, What are we fighting for?"

While all sorts of crackpots, weirdos and bible-thumpers have tried to proscribe rock music in the past, the

continued on page 10

Fegley/Playboy



Former Ivory Snow girl Marilyn Chambers was removed from soap ads and viciously targeted by Moral Majority bigots and cops after becoming X-rated movie star.

Every Picture Tells

A Story: The people who want to censor rock 'n' roll are sinister and weird enough, but there's worse. The Procter & Gamble logo shown here has been the target of Southern fundamentalist nuts for five years: they think it's a sign of devil worship and that the producers of such "satanic" items as Crest toothpaste and Jif peanut butter are in league with that guy with the horns and funny tail! Actually, the little symbol has proletarian origins: sometime in 1851 "a Cincinnati wharf hand painted black crosses on boxes of Procter & Gamble candles so that illiterate workers could distinguish them. In time the cross became a star. Then a dozen more stars were added to signify the original 13 colonies, as well as a quarter moon with a human face, a popular image of the time" (*Time*, 19 July 1982). P&G has received *thousands* of phone calls from Christian crazies—so far out that even Jerry Falwell sided with the company. Unfortunately, *YSp* was told by P&G's public relations spokesman that they are phasing out the logo. Only in America...



© P&G

SYL Educational on "Left-Wing" Communism

Leninist Tactics and the Road to Workers Power

Part Two of Two

Young Spartacus prints below the second and final part of a presentation by Spartacist League Central Committee member Ed Clarkson. Comrade Clarkson's talk on V.I. Lenin's polemical text on communist tactics, "*Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, was given at a recent plenum of the Spartacus Youth League National Committee. The first part, which appeared in our last issue (*YSp* No. 130, October 1985), put Lenin's work in its historic context. It explained the Russian Bolsheviks' struggle to imprint upon the newly emerging Communist Parties around the world the lessons of October, the Russian Revolution of 1917. Lenin battled against not only the social-patriotic treachery of the Second International but also the ultraleft reaction to the social democracy's monumental betrayal in World War I. The second part of Clarkson's talk applies these lessons to our own communist work among student youth today.

We are also publishing an edited version of remarks to the Bay Area Spartacist League District Committee by SL CC member Al Nelson, made last spring during the massive anti-apartheid student protests at Berkeley and scores of other campuses. Comrade Nelson's remarks were required reading for SYL members prior to the plenum, and are an addendum to Clarkson's presentation there.

During the spring upsurge of student radicalism, the SYL was confronted with a chance to actively intervene in these struggles and win to our Marxist program the best young militants. Most of these protest actions formally adopted the demand for "divestment," which as Marxists we understand to be at best utopian or even counterproductive. However, as comrade Nelson pointed out, commitment to this liberal moralism is not deep. Divestment is pushed by the Democrats and their reformist left tails in hopes of co-opting and containing student activism safely within the straitjacket of electoral, pressure-group politics. Now that the proponents of divestment are getting as much of it as they ever will, it should be clear that this "strategy" of pressuring U.S. imperialism—its corporations and universities—to pressure Pretoria to make "reforms" is bankrupt and has nothing to do with winning the fight against apartheid slavery. The only

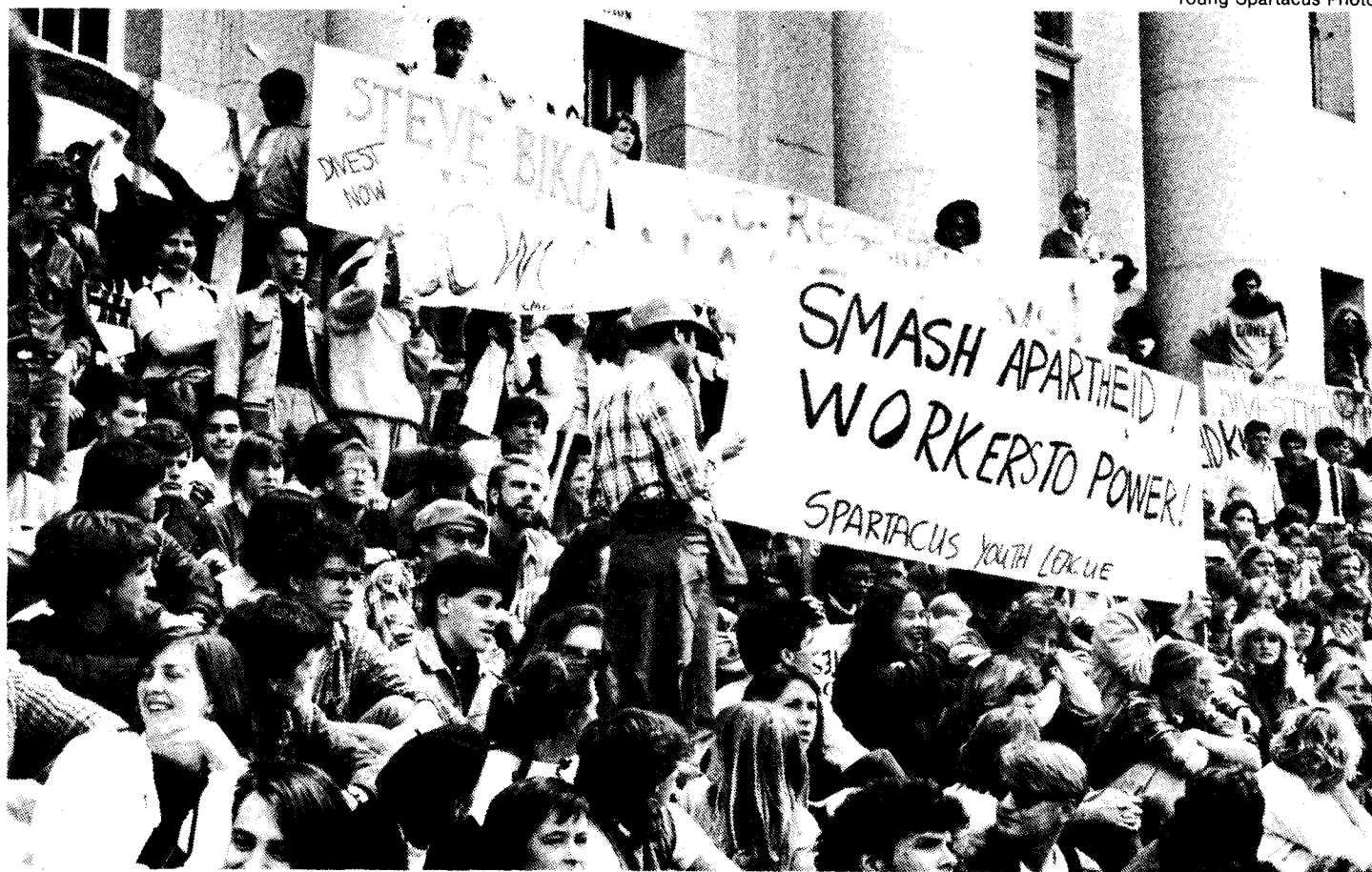
solution is workers revolution—from Durban to Detroit.

At the outset of the campus anti-apartheid activism, some comrades of the SYL, unsure how to present our views on the urgent need for proletarian revolution in South Africa, concentrated on drawing a hard line against "divestment" illusions and ended up wondering why the SYL was participating in militant campus actions which

"swim with the stream." On the contrary: the gut hatred of South African apartheid should lead students toward a recognition of the role of U.S. imperialism and toward active opposition to racist oppression here "at home." To explain the link between racist terror, in its different forms, in South Africa and the U.S. demolishes the divestment liberals' pretensions. A powerful example is the famed Harlem slumlord

prohibited joint action in almost all cases, thereby in practice abdicating the necessary fight for leadership and ducking opportunities to expose the reformists before students who wished to demonstrate their outrage against CIA or ROTC recruiters, for instance. As comrade Lenin wrote about the "left" communists of his day, "if youth were the explanation, it would not be so bad; young people are preordained to

Young Spartacus Photo



UC Berkeley, April 16: Thousands protest in defiance of mass campus cop bust of anti-apartheid protesters.

centrally raised this demand. We responded that the protests—the largest on American campuses since the Vietnam War—were a kind of referendum on apartheid. Students wanted to show their gut revulsion against the racist terror in South Africa; they were not so much committed to a divestment strategy as following the liberal leadership that presented itself to them as they entered into social protest for the first time.

We threw our comrades into those protests to talk socialist politics and to circulate our press and leaflets where we drew the class line for revolution and exposed the futility and bourgeois hypocrisy of divestment schemes. Some of our comrades then concluded that we should capitulate to the liberals and

Columbia University—which has now divested. But Columbia's divestiture does nothing to stop cop killings of black youth—like honor student Edmund Perry—for being on the "wrong side" of the Columbia/Harlem line. Hundreds of students on U.S. campuses were beaten and arrested for daring to protest government policy in Reagan's America. They were getting a very concrete—if small-scale, by ghetto standards—"education" in bourgeois "democracy." And some of them have started looking for radical solutions to the questions of war and racism.

The SYL sought to politically arm comrades for continued intervention into the newly radicalized student milieu. "*Left-Wing" Communism* was mandatory reading for all youth members, for two reasons: as a good place to begin the study of the historically evolved Marxist tradition, and as casting light on the particular challenges confronting the SYL. The national youth leadership had earlier advocated a sectarian position on the question of the united front. For Leninists, the united-front tactic means seeking a bloc with other left or workers organizations for specific action of mutual concern on the basis of "unity in action, freedom of criticism." Reacting to the vile anti-Sovietism of our fake-left opponents, the SYL National Bureau had pushed the policy that defense of the Soviet Union should be a precondition for joint action. Far from serving the defense of the workers states, this policy effectively

talk such nonsense for a certain period."

Comrade Clarkson noted in the first part of his talk that there is a symbiotic relationship between reformism and ultraleft sectarianism: "Whereas the reformists are wedded to the bourgeoisie, and will not challenge their right to rule, or any of their institutional formats for doing so, the ultralefts on principle disdain all forms of struggle tainted by the bourgeoisie, and those of their labor lieutenants, and so the net effect is exactly the same."

Marxists learn from history in order to change the world. In the first part of his presentation, comrade Clarkson described how, in the aftermath of the social democrats' capitulation to their "own" national bourgeoisies in World War I, Lenin undertook the struggle for parties of a fundamentally new type. In the epoch of imperialist decay, proletarian revolution is on the agenda in a historic sense. The purpose of Marxist political intervention therefore is not limited to struggling for reforms, but is intended to prepare the proletariat for the conquest of power. And in place of the old Second International's conception of mass parties of the entire working class, comrade Clarkson explained, you have the division of the workers movement into a reformist wing (based on the accumulation of imperialist profits and the creation of an "aristocracy of labor" whose narrow interests are reflected by the union bureaucracy) and a revolutionary wing, requiring a different kind of party: an



State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow

"Learn!" Detail of painting depicts Lenin speaking at Third Congress of the Russian Young Communist League, 1920.

1965:
Thousands of
newly
radicalized
students
protest in
Washington
against U.S.
bombing of
North Vietnam,
some defiantly
carrying
Vietnamese
Communist
flags.



ideologically homogeneous, disciplined, internationalist formation—a Bolshevik party. The importance of Leninist tactics, comrade Clarkson explained, derives from this:

"The main point I wanted to make here is that these tactics are not merely smart—that's a strong argument I think... all things considered it's just as well to be smart as to be stupid—but they flow fundamentally from the tasks of the proletariat in this period."

Comrade Nelson compared our present situation to 1964, when Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) broke from Cold War liberalism, dropped their anti-communist exclusion clause and helped initiate what would become a major youth radicalization in this country. Due to our small size and late entry into SDS, the Spartacist movement could not take advantage of the opportunity for massive recruitment of the left-wing elements. We did triple our membership but, by and large, the pro-working-class elements found their way into the ranks of the Stalinist/reformist Progressive Labor Party. In the absence of an authentic Leninist pole, the radicals of the SDS era either left politics altogether, became Democrats or joined for at least a period of time one of the myriad Maoist/New Leftist "parties" that briefly peopled the political landscape.

Today we have the program for victorious workers revolution. We also have an experienced party cadre—recruited largely from the struggles for racial equality in this country and against the U.S. imperialists' genocidal war against the people of Vietnam. In the youth organization, many members of the SYL are for the first time intervening in real campus struggles, having been initially recruited during the quiescent "me generation" 1970s. The presentations we print below offer the benefits of political experience and historical perspective for young militants seeking a revolutionary alternative to this rotting, racist capitalist system. Lenin said that each generation comes to socialism in its own way—and the revolutionary party, the "collective memory" of the working class, has an obligation to help them do so.

Ed Clarkson: Now, one sign of this party's aging is its increased penchant to gripe about the youth, which I suspect is directly proportional to the biological distance from that strata. Having said that, let me gripe about the youth. I at this point want to append Al's excellent report on our party's history, its current tasks and where it would like to go, to my comments. Hopefully everybody's read that, because it's really part and parcel of this discussion. Now the only problem I had in giving this class was my rather firm conviction that there were no ultraleftists in the youth, but to be sure, there've been many sectarian errors, usually accompanied pretty quickly with the opportunist flip on the other side, two weeks later. Now, if you look at the youth N.O.'s [National Office] construction of the united front that almost nobody could join—you know, the Russian question as a critical component of all united fronts—it

happened precisely in the period when we were being physically excluded by the other left parties from attending their happenings. So I think what pretty much happened is the youth did the worst thing. Instead of fighting it tooth and nail, which we needed to do, they made it a theoretical positive. "Oh, fuck you, you won't let us join you? Try to join this! Ha, ha! Gotcha!" The problem was, when the situation changed and the boundaries became more permeable we were, of course, disarmed.

I'm just going to list some gripes I have here, it's part of my prerogative. Typically I read contact reports from younger members (who are after all only our eyes and ears into the world) which go like this: "agrees with us on the Russian and black question, and on Lebanon." Not bad. Which, I've learned over time, means that we've met a black pacifist who voted for Harold Washington, is somewhat disappointed in the result, and thinks all Arabs are crazy. Moreover, one can be sure that this person won't show up, probably for the first contact session, but definitely for the second contact session, because he hasn't understood a word of what we had to say to him. And the reason he hasn't is because what happens is you get this volume of *WV* line, the last paragraph, it rolls right over him, and of course most people are courteous, you talk to them and they go, "Oh, yeah, um hum, that sounds interesting, oh yeah." Now the reason for this is quite clear. It has to do with insecurity based on ignorance. Our people simply don't understand the evolution of our political line well enough, so they just gun you down and they leave the corpse in the street and it doesn't come to the first contact session.

The other point that I want to make—that Al also made—and stress, is that there's a certain empty-headedness which characterizes much of this youth stuff. I read an SYL comrade's report—it's a nice report, it had all the relevant quotes from *Workers Vanguard*, and all the input from the National Office was in it—but it sort of went like this: "Well, on Thursday I was sectarian, and then I was walking down the street and I became ultraleft, and then we went on for another couple of miles and sure enough an opportunist error" and like that. So that what we tend to get in struggles in the youth are confessionals and denunciations, as opposed to clarifying fights.

Let me read a nice quote from Lenin in that regard, just to prove to you I've read the book:

"It is, in fact, one of the functions of a party organization and of party leaders worthy of the name, to acquire, through the prolonged, persistent, variegated and comprehensive efforts of all thinking representatives of a given class, the knowledge, experience and—in addition to knowledge and experience—the political flair necessary for the speedy and correct solution of complex political problems."

That's what a political leader is. Nothing magic. And that's what you're to become. The point of that is that you have to take what you think you know and try to apply it to what you do—that's one of the prime thoughts that

continued on page 8

From Protest to Power

For a Fighting Communist Youth Movement!

Al Nelson: We are approaching a generation gap in terms of our party, a dividing line. Cannon observed that a revolutionary party that does not take state power tends not to outlive its founding cadre. The biggest single mistake we ever made was not getting into SDS after the Port Huron statement in 1964, when they dropped their anti-communist clause. Prior to that, SDS was a small, pacifistic, social-democratic front group, among others like Student Peace Union.

So the world began to change with the civil rights movement and the beginnings of the antiwar movement, and SDS just happened to exist because there wasn't much around politically, then. In the early '60s there was the SP [Socialist Party], CP [Communist Party] and the SWP [Socialist Workers Party]. That was it. You had a few screwball ultra-Stalinist groups here and there, but by and large it was social democracy, Stalinism and Trotskyism. And the Socialist Party hadn't split up and it still had a youth organization, YPSL [Young People's Socialist League]. It began to swell, had an explosion and split—which is where we got our Southern work and our Cornell base and our Deputy National Chairman, among others. But we didn't get into SDS which was another organization that began to swell. With the bombings of North Vietnam in February 1965, SDS had called a demonstration for a march in Washington. You say, "oh, well," but there hadn't been any big marches in Washington yet. The Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee hadn't come into existence, the popular front hadn't mobilized yet on this thing, SDS wasn't anything. But 15,000 kids came out for that [1965 march] and that was right after they dropped the anti-communism clause.

In 1968 a big faction fight paralyzed the Spartacist League for a year. I don't know if you comrades know how small we were. We were about 44 members in the fall of 1968. That was after the split took out about a dozen, including a couple of important people, and we did some housecleaning of a certain layer of members at large. So we were a hard, tight little organization of 44 when the big crack came, when the antiwar movement got real big. That 44 was divided mainly in two chunks, New York and the Bay Area, with little forces scattered all about in twos and threes here and there.

We did not get into SDS and become part of the organic development of that organization which became the umbrella organization for the most radical students of that whole generation. And PL [Progressive Labor Party] did. They

were better than we were on that score. They got in there, with their crude, pro-working-class politics. PL had come out of a left split from the Communist Party based on a trade-union wing of the party that reacted against the CP's trade-union reformism. They weren't some kind of latter-day New Left Mao-oid types. They had some sense of the industrial working class. Especially after the May-June [1968] events in France—the biggest general strike in the history of capitalism—galvanized and changed the American and other student movements. Prior to the May-June events, SDS would always have phrases like "The industrial working class is no longer a revolutionary class. It's been bought off." After May-June 1968 they said "The industrial working class is no longer a revolutionary class. It's been bought off... except in France." But all of a sudden a new generation of student radicals observed the working class as a powerful social force that paralyzed a major industrial country for weeks and weeks, the longest general strike in history.

A faction fight you have to have. That's a confrontation, a challenge to the party. You don't duck that in order to do something else, but we didn't do the "something else" anyhow. We didn't get into SDS until around the summer of '69. And PL by then already had a big majority, and the rest of them, when they blew up in June 1969 at the big split conference, became later the Maoists—the October League [now defunct] and RU [Revolutionary Union of Bob Avakian, now Revolutionary Communist Party]. Another wing became the early Weathermen, the anti-political, street-trashing, instant-action types, led by a very brilliant guy—I knew him—Jim Mellen.

Student Radicalism Then and Now

So, we got a piece of it late. We got a piece of PL's piece of it. In the SDS split, we went with PL. In Boston, for instance, where there are a lot of schools, PL had a lot of young SDS supporters there. And PL was in a left phase, it was questioning, in its own crude, empirical way, Stalinism. They questioned the peace in 1945 in Europe, giving back the guns of the resistance movement. It went all the way back to the popular front; they started off questioning the nationalism of the Chinese. They didn't have the answers; we made a joke and referred to them as "Trotskyists with a pre-frontal lobotomy." They had no ability to cogitate on the positions they had because they could not confront the question of the origins of Stalinism, and

continued on page 8

Danny Lyon



Students challenged Jim Crow segregation, sending integrated teams to Deep South for early 1960s voter registration drives.

Leninist Tactics...

(continued from page 7)

Marx had. His solution to the mind-body problem was that they operate together.

I think this is not present in the youth in the sense that you don't see people arguing for positions, "Well, this is what I thought was going on, here's what I was trying to do, this happened, etc." If you're to develop in the way Lenin proposes, it requires on the level of the individual some capacity for self-assertion, which used to be the hallmark of youth, but which seems to have strangely disappeared in the past decade or so. That means you're supposed to act like you think you know what you're doing. In fact to be even rather arrogant in that regard, and maybe we'll have some good fights then. We have the Education Commission which is going to provide you with the knowledge but—and I don't know how to do this—you're the one that has to take that and try to walk out on the street with it, because if you don't do that, then of course, it doesn't matter, it's like masturbation.

So to broadly paraphrase Marx, we must study history, and based on our understanding of it, and what is transpiring in society, proceed rather immediately to change it. Thank you.

Summary: I don't think you've quite grasped the nettle yet. Now there are mass struggles and there are mass struggles, there are large-scale struggles and there are large-scale struggles; there was quite a bit of struggle by the eco-freaks several years ago. Thousands of people went out to demonstrations, right? Many got arrested. Sometimes they were even brutalized. But we didn't want much to do with a society free of smokestacks, you see, so we sold our paper at some of these things, but we didn't have an active intervention; it was pretty solidly middle-class in tone. The SWP had conferences in Chicago about running society with giant windmills. My comment was of course that the unemployed would turn a large crank when the wind died down.

Now if you don't grasp from the beginning that people are on the street and there's some unhappiness indicated about apartheid—that that's sort of different—then there's this notion that we have to think of an excuse to be there. Why are you here? I'm here because apartheid's an abomination!

Youth Movement...

(continued from page 7)

therefore Trotskyism, the continuity of Leninism. We answered the questions they raised to their own ranks—and we cleaned up in those terms. We went from about six comrades to about 45 members in a year in Boston. See, when it comes it comes fast, because they're open and they're running and they're hot; the petty bourgeoisie is very volatile. The working-class movement has its explosions, too, but it tends not to be so up and down, up and down. Now, there's been no "up" for a long time. There's been little blips by a small section of the students.

Now, some of our youth comrades think that we've capitulated to divestment politics. No, but you see, students aren't supposed to be doing this. They are supposed to be Reaganites, they're supposed to be waving the flag and praying and praising the "contras" and not screwing. They're supposed to be good, clean American youth. But they're not, they don't know they're supposed to be that. They're fed up with something and they're always volatile.

We're not a big organization. Gramsci said you know the world to the



May 3, 1981: Spartacist-led Anti-Imperialist Contingent marched for "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!"; raised flags of Fourth International, Cuba, Vietnam and Salvadoran FMLN.

What's more, American racism is an abomination and they're intimately connected. The problem with divestment is of course that it tends to cover one while focusing on the other and tends to operate as an excuse for one—you can say these things. And what really needs to be changed in some sort of fundamental way is society as a whole, you see, and that's what we're here to say. That's why we're here.

In social movements, there's always heterogeneity; always people are at different levels, always there are very backward people. In Cleveland, when the anti-Vietnam War movement started, it was under the control of the pacifists. Talk about moral unctuous self-righteousness in the protests—you know, I'm talking about with crosses and "America, be good." But it changed, you see, because the war was having a primary impact on all of American society. When the shit hit the fan, unfortunately the black movement and the white movement were bifurcated by the policies of the nationalists on the one hand and the reformists who capitulated to them on the other. The Panthers thought of the war as a white man's issue; they were dead wrong! They had a good position on it but they thought of it as "whitey's issue," which was stupid. But of course on the other side you had the reformists who were talking, "Well, should we have one issue in this campaign, should we have two, how about three, how about four?" And of course this drove the people in SDS crazy because they couldn't think of

how to mount a cohesive, all-sided critique of this society, so they decided to go out and kick some ass! That was the right wing of SDS, and on the left wing you had PL's particular brand of idiocy.

The point is, it's hard—there are problems in all arenas. In the trade unions, in defense struggles, in the college struggles, there are problems with introducing our politics which require intelligence and the desire to do so and the desire to take people, the human material that makes up these societies, the potential agents of social change, and they start from here and they go up to here and you recruit the more advanced layers. And you propagandize and make agitation to the more backward areas to raise the general level of the class struggle. And then hopefully when it coheres one day you can sound the cry for a social revolution.

Reuben wanted to make the point—it's a very important point—about the American Trotskyists, that they had so thoroughly assimilated the lessons of the Russian Revolution that they could survive through the reactionary twenties. You know why they were in Minneapolis, in fact? Some of them were on the run. One of the reasons Skoglund¹ was there was because the Farmer-Labor Party² would protect him against extradition. Miles Dunne³ was on the run from "crimes" in other states. So they turned up at a point. They saw a break in a social stratum that was 70-80 percent petty-bourgeois in an official sense—small drivers, etc. They

turned that into a powerful trade-union movement. And they knew the problems of operating in the trade unions, in a particularly reactionary trade union. They had learned that from the Comintern's understanding of the problems that one encounters in the real world raising Marxist politics. There is no ideal milieu in that sense, where it's real easy. Look at our "heroic" trade-union work in the past, much of which has been contaminated by adaptations to the trade-union bureaucracy, who are to the right of most of these students, in a formal sense.

So, we exist to involve ourselves in struggle to change this society, not to find reasons why we should involve ourselves in struggle.

Let me just finish with this nice quote from "Left-Wing" Communism:

"It is far more difficult—and far more precious—to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, really mass and really revolutionary struggle do not yet exist, to be able to champion the interests of the revolution (by propaganda, agitation and organization) in non-revolutionary bodies, and quite often in downright reactionary bodies, in a non-revolutionary situation, among the masses who are incapable of immediately appreciating the need for revolutionary methods of action. To be able to seek, find and correctly determine the specific path or the particular turn of events that will lead the masses to the real, decisive and final revolutionary struggle—such is the main objective of communism in Western Europe and in America today."

And these are our tasks. ■

¹ Carl Skoglund (1884-1961) was a founding member of the CP, expelled for Trotskyism in 1928, and became one of the original leaders of American Trotskyism. He played a central role in the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters strikes in 1934. Skoglund was one of the 18 SWP members and Teamster leaders imprisoned for opposing U.S. imperialism in World War II. He remained in the SWP until his death.

² The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party was formed after World War I as a two-class party based on a federation of AFL unions and farmers organizations. The F-LP's Floyd Olson was governor during the Minneapolis Teamsters strikes; he raided union headquarters and declared martial law in an attempt to head the union's revolutionary leadership.

³ Miles Dunne (1896-1958) was one of the leading Trotskyists in Minneapolis during the 1934 strikes. Like Skoglund he was expelled from the CP and was a founder of the Trotskyist movement. As president of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 he was indicted, though escaped conviction in the 1941 trial that sent the 18 to prison.

extent you struggle with it. And so we're not too big and we don't struggle with too much of the world. And students are a kind of wild card. They can get very reactionary, too. They were a big base of Hitlerite fascism, an enraged petty bourgeoisie in the context of a defeated, demoralized working class; they became a shock troop for reaction. They're very volatile—they are a *middle* class.

Revolutionaries vs. Reformists in the Anti-Apartheid Struggle

It seems that this recent stuff around South Africa is not transitory, not just a flash in the pan. We'll have to see. But even before it got real big, we heard that at the University of Colorado [at Boulder] there were 478 people arrested for trying to do citizen's arrests on CIA recruiters. All I've ever heard about that school was that it was ski time, party time out there in the mountains. You know, good dope and forget it all; or good booze. So if it was going on in Boulder, then something was going on in this country. And then there was Madison, kids getting maced and beat up, then there was Cornell and Rutgers and UCLA, and then it's all over the place—30, 40, 50, 60 schools.

This divestment stuff is superficial and that's clear when you look at how things have unfolded at Cal [UC Berkeley]. Within the student groups

themselves there has been a polarization from the beginning. The UC Divestment Coalition is mainly Unity and the CP and the United People of Color. It's sort of the moderate grouping. It didn't want this sit-out [at Sproul, renamed Biko, Hall]. It didn't start it. There was a divestment rally and a bunch of kids went over and sat down on the steps.



France, May 1968: Militant students sparked massive workers general strike.

The Coalition kept saying that first day, "OK; it's one o'clock and the rally is over. Goodbye. Thanks for coming to the rally. The rally is over. Goodbye." And these kids went tromp, tromp, tromp and sat down and so that started it.

The other group is the Campaign Against Apartheid, which tends in the main to be "non-party" people. It's got a Workers Worlder or two. Tactically they're a little more radical on the issue of the sitdown. There's some gradations there, too. But beyond that general kind of vague militant/non-militant polarization, it's up for grabs.

Right before April 20 [the liberal Democratic Party-dominated protest last spring over Central America] everything in the state was coming to Berkeley. The most powerful politician in California—short of the governor, but who has seen a couple of governors come and go—Willie Brown came down there after saying he would not. He came because I suppose the Democratic Party Central Committee got to him and said, "Hey, asshole, you're a big shot but you're not that big a shot. Get down there and say something to those kids. We need them April 20 because we need them when they vote for Congress in 1986"—which is what April 20 was all about: trying to pick up the pieces from Humpty Dumpty and the Democratic

Madison Cops Bash Anti-CIA Protesters

Young Spartacus Photos



Elise Johnston, victim of UW-Madison cop assault at anti-CIA demonstration, October 23.



Drop the Charges! Cops/CIA Off Campus!

MADISON—In the latest campus cop atrocity, University of Wisconsin (UW)-Madison students were brutally attacked by police as they demonstrated against CIA recruiters October 23.

Over 125 demonstrators rallied at the UW Memorial Union to protest the presence on their campus of the bloody CIA hitmen. The demonstration was organized by members of the Progressive Student Network, who carried a banner reading "No Right to Recruit: CIA Off Campus!" The Madison Spartacus Youth League also participated. Chanting "CIA Off Campus!", the protesters marched to the Engineering Building where the recruitment was taking place—and where a wall of university and Madison city police blocked the protesters' entrance.

When the crowd had dwindled down to around 40, the cops viciously charged into the remaining demonstrators, seizing their megaphone and bloodying one woman's eye in the process. To add injury to injury, seven of the cops' victims were arrested, and now face charges of "disorderly conduct," "resisting arrest" and "obstructing an officer." This outrageous police brutality must be met with mass, militant student protest. Drop all the

charges against Madison anti-CIA protesters!

The police attack was no "aberration"—it is the *policy* of the UW administration. The last time the CIA came to Madison, in April of this year, the cops sprayed mace into the eyes of some two dozen protesters. This time around, UW chancellor Irving Shain was determined to crush any opposition to the recruiters' presence—and his police chief Ralph Hansen was more than willing to oblige. The Madison cops have a long history of attacking student protesters: in 1967 over 100 students were savagely beaten and hundreds more were tear-gassed at a demonstration against recruiters for napalm-producer Dow Chemical Co. The 1970 anti-Vietnam War demonstration shown in the film *The War at Home* was set upon with clubs. And throughout this time, as chancellors have come and gone, Hansen has been in charge of the gun-toting thugs. Fortunately, Madison students have an equally long tradition of fighting back against the cops' violence—a tradition that we hail. Cops Off Campus!

On the morning of October 21, the first of the three days of CIA recruitment, Shain posted a draconian edict

on the doors of the Engineering Building, threatening 90 days in jail and a \$500 fine against any "unauthorized persons" entering the building. Campus cops were stationed inside to check IDs and decide who had "legitimate business" there, sealing off not only the placement office but also the entire first floor of the building. Thus to protect the "free speech" of their CIA buddies, tinpot totalitarians Shain and Hansen wish they could practice at Madison the wholesale terror the CIA's Murder, Inc. specializes in: the army of death squad "democracy" El Salvador, backed and trained by the CIA, invaded the National University in San Salvador in 1980, massacring students and shutting the campus down altogether to suppress a "nest of subversion."

Across the United States, university administrations have resorted to violent police and disciplinary crackdowns to stifle student protest against the CIA, South African apartheid and U.S. imperialism's war moves against Nicaragua. Recently the administration of the University of Illinois-Chicago sent its cops on early Sunday morning *raids of the homes* of five leaders of the liberal Divest Now Coalition (including the vice-president

of the student government and the news editor of the campus paper) to arrest them for demonstrating in favor of divestment at a Board of Trustees meeting. This sinister move smacks of coordination with the Chicago Red Squad which, as part of the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO ("Counter-Intelligence Program," including slander, burglary and "neutralization" of black leaders), set up and murdered Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in their beds in 1969. The Chicago arrests are an outrage and must be fought!

As the SYL stated in a leaflet distributed the day after the Madison cop attack:

"Every student on this campus must rally to the defense of the seven arrested anti-CIA protesters! It took massive student demonstrations against U.S. imperialism to drive the CIA killers off campus during the Vietnam War. What's needed today is more such actions—like a university-wide strike by students, faculty and campus workers—to force the cops and administration to back down."

The arrested protesters are scheduled for a court hearing on November 13. Students should pack the courtroom demanding that all the charges be dropped. Cops/CIA Off Campus!

Party in November. Likewise, all the local and statewide official, capital "L" liberals—and the ILWU [International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union] were down there. You sort of wanted to ask "Hey, boys, it's nice you're here but how come you're not down on the docks stopping ships?"

Here's something else that is different. The ILWU got big applause. Kids don't generally care much for the labor movement. Remember the New Left was the New Left because it didn't like the Old Left—which is to say the old Stalinists and us—and *its base*: they didn't like the working class. They had a middle-class, condescending, contemptuous attitude toward the working class. "Fat slob, Archie Bunker racist pigs, white-skin privilege"—it got codified in various ways. When the Berkeley students applauded those longshoremen, they applauded because the dock workers had stopped a ship bound for South Africa, something these students could not do. This one young fellow came up to us and said, "I read your newspaper very carefully and I agree with some things and don't agree with others. And you may be right about divestment. But on the other hand, I'm a student and what can students do? What can we do but demand non-participation of the university in apartheid by calling for divestment?" There's a certain kind of student-isolated logic to the question, which makes divestment purely tactical. It's not deep.

When the administration arrested

those 158 kids they had observers there and the cops weren't supposed to gouge their eyes out or puncture their eardrums or crush their tracheas or break their arms or stomp on their nuts, the things they really get kicks out of. But yesterday, they beat these kids badly with clubs, and so it's upping. It's nothing extraordinary, just that the tactics have now changed, corresponding with the new respectable axis, across campus at University Hall with the Democratic Party, pro-divestment respectables. Divestment is the view that apartheid can be reformed through some extraordinary series of steps; corporation, U.S. government, Reagan to Botha to this and that. There is a hardcore divestment wing, but right now they're over at University Hall, not on the steps of Sproul. That's been the case from the beginning.

There's been a superficial quality to the divestment stuff. These are students reacting against racism—they have a sense of social outrage. To my memory, it corresponds to the 1962-63 period, the beginnings of the student involvement in the Southern civil rights movement, voter registration. "We should not participate in this because it's pro-Democratic Party, right?" would have been the line of those who think we're being unprincipled now about divestment. Well, the SWP didn't say that. They just didn't think it was worth anything. We were still in the SWP then and choking because we didn't want to break discipline in the party and bolt

with nothing behind us but ourselves and our revolutionary good will—no organization. But it was painful to watch that opportunity go by. We were in the SWP and their view was that the cadre of SNCC [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee] would become revolutionary "in the struggle." The objective situation would make

them "unconscious Trotskyists," like Castro.

Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win!

"Divestment" is not *the* issue. It can be swept away so easily, because there are so many more important things. How is a monumental historical blood-

continued on page 11

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

- 1A. Title of publication: *Young Spartacus*.
- 1B. Publication no.: 01622692.
2. Date of filing: 1 October 1985.
3. Frequency of issue: Monthly (except December/January and June/July/August).
- 3A. No. of issues published annually: 9.
- 3B. Annual subscription price: \$2.00.
4. Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007.
5. Complete mailing address of the headquarters of general business offices of the publisher: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007.
6. Full names and complete mailing address of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher - Spartacus Youth Publishing Company, 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007; Editor - Bonnie Brodie, 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007; Managing Editor - None.
7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.): Spartacus Youth Publishing Company (Unincorporated Association), 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007.
8. Known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more

of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities. (If there are none, so state): None.

9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates.

10. Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total no. copies (Net press run): 11,056; B. Paid and/or requested circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 7,423; (2) Mail subscription: 1,270; C. Total paid and/or requested circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 8,693; D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 74; E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 8,767; F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 2,289; (2) Return from news agents: 0; G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 11,056.

Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: A. Total no. copies (Net press run): 13,500; B. Paid and/or requested circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 8,295; (2) Mail subscription: 1,396; C. Total paid and/or requested circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 9,691; D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 83; E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 9,774; F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 3,726; (2) Return from news agents: 0; G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 13,500.

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed) Bonnie Brodie (Editor)

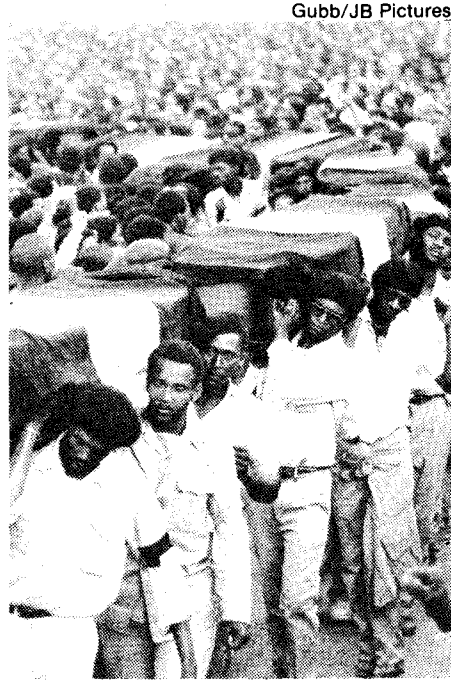
Smash Apartheid...

(continued from page 1)

Indians, and even some whites—layers which have no interest in a new Zimbabwe and possess vital skills for the creation of a new society. The political obstacles are not only the class-collaborationism of the ANC but also the racist exclusivity of more "militant" groups like AZAPO, which recently said of Indian delegates to the national convention, "if they are Indians, why don't they go to Punjab [India]?" (*Frank Talk*, February/March 1985).

Defying the ban on publishing statements from the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), the *Cape Times* published on November 4 an interview with ANC leader Oliver Tambo in which he is quoted as saying, "There is always a possibility of a truce. It would be very, very easy, if, for example, we started negotiations" (*New York Times*, 5 November). Linked to the ANC's strategy of a negotiated settlement of some sort is its misplaced faith in "democratic" imperialism to broker such a settlement. This logic is shared as well by "divestment" liberals who are now seeing as much divestment as they are ever likely to. But the flight of foreign capital from South Africa—a result of capitalists' fears that their investments are endangered by continuing black revolt—has certainly not pushed Botha to the negotiating table. Quite the contrary, Pretoria has reacted to its economic crisis and international isolation by circling the wagons of white supremacy. And economic "chaos"—except in a period when the revolutionary overthrow of the apartheid system is immediately posed—will accomplish nothing except massive dislocation and deprivation for the *black masses*.

Furthermore, the ANC and their reformist cheerleaders abroad blind themselves to the fact that Reagan is prepared to stand by his butchers—from Pretoria to Manila. South Africa is a strategically critical ally in the U.S. anti-Soviet war drive. In addition to its economic importance, South Africa is the anti-communist gendarme of the region—as Botha frequently reminds



Defiant blacks bury martyrs of struggle against apartheid terror, draping flags of outlawed ANC over the coffins.

the U.S. rulers. The South African army invaded Angola in 1975, unsuccessfully attempting to topple the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA regime in the aftermath of the MPLA's military victory over Portuguese colonialism. That invasion was spiked with the aid of 15,000 Cuban troops, supplied and advised by the Soviet Union. South Africa continues its aggression against Angola, and the Cubans for that very reason are still there.

Anti-Soviet nut Reagan has thus made Angola one of his "trouble spots," i.e., states with some diplomatic or military relationship to the Soviet Union in which the U.S. and its Murder, Inc. CIA are backing "rebels": Angola, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Nicaragua. If Washington is hell-bent on waging not-so-covert war against these regimes—whose importance is far more ideological than material as opportunities for a "proxy war" against the Russians—it is virulently hostile to any fundamental change in South Africa with its vast industrial wealth and key military role. U.S. imperialism has a lot to lose if apartheid goes under.

But the world working class and oppressed have much to win in a

successful struggle to smash apartheid and the capitalist system which spawned it. A defeat for the racist butchers and their imperialist backers in South Africa would have a monumental impact internationally, as did the defeat of the U.S. by the heroic workers and peasants of Vietnam. Already, the black revolt has sparked solidarity from London to New York among workers and minorities. The sort of "international pressure" which is necessary and possible is *labor action*, concrete acts of solidarity with the black masses: refusing to handle any military equipment bound for South Africa, limited labor boycotts of goods around specific demands such as an end to the "state of emergency," stopping the execution of anti-apartheid fighters, recognition of black trade unions.

International working-class action could, as well, galvanize the black proletariat within South Africa to strike at the apartheid butchers where it counts: in the mines and factories where black labor produces the wealth of the nation. This is especially key since one result of the search for a rotten "deal" with South African capitalism by the ANC and the United Democratic Front (UDF) leadership has been to rein in the black union movement. Thus, the combative miners' threatened strike last September was aborted, even in the face of escalating apartheid repression. More recently, black trade-union federations such as FOSATU were persuaded not to turn the October 9 National Day of Prayer—called by Bishop Tutu and others—into a "stayaway" strike day. It was left to the defiant youth of the now-banned Congress of South African Students (COSAS) to enforce a "stayaway" by action in the streets: "COSAS leaders claimed a victory when, by all accounts, more than 50 percent of the African workers in Johannesburg stayed away from work" (*Newsday*, 21 October).

Class struggle is anathema to the pro-Democratic Party reformists and "divestment" liberals who make up the American "left" swamp. So it seems is even the most basic solidarity with victims of apartheid repression. On the eve of Moloise's execution, the Spartacist League and SYL called emergency protest demonstrations from coast to coast: in New York City, Los Angeles,

San Francisco, Oberlin, Cambridge, we rallied opponents of apartheid to demand the freedom of this anti-apartheid fighter. Ninety came out in New York for the SL-initiated protest. We contacted the ANC and urged joint action; the ANC proceeded to hold an hours-long meeting—the upshot being their decision not only to abstain from the demonstration, but a last-ditch effort, along with the craven reformists of Workers World Party, to *sabotage* it by calling, at the eleventh hour, a "vigil" to mourn before the execution had even taken place. This unsuccessful diversion attracted a handful of preferred holding a candle to militant protest. At Harvard, the stars and stripes "socialists" of the DSA stood across the street and "watched" the SYL-called demonstration. In Los Angeles, the ANC held a prayer meeting rather than join the SL's protest outside the South African consulate.

In the historic struggle of South Africa's oppressed masses for their birthright, their land, their country—the reformist U.S. "left" sees another opportunity to ingratiate itself with the Democratic Party, the supposed "opposition" to Reagan's policies. Such a perspective has proved time and again to be futile and treacherous—most recently in the case of Nicaragua where the Democrats indeed have tried to "out-Reagan" Reagan in their support for the criminal/terrorist contras. And it is so cheap to cheerlead "the struggle" from thousands of miles away, ignoring the realities of South African society which impinge not at all on the cheerleaders.

For revolutionary internationalists, however, the construction of an authentic Leninist party of workers revolution in South Africa is a necessary and urgent task. As *Newsweek* reporter Ray Wilkinson recently wrote, in South Africa the "revolution awaits its Lenin." For stating this simple truth, he was thrown out of the country. Wilkinson's observation touched too close to home. Even from a great distance and with limited resources, we in the Spartacist League and SYL are committed to building the international party of proletarian revolution which will sweep away the racist butchers from Pretoria to Washington. ■

Rock 'n' Roll...

(continued from page 5)

current crusade bears the unmistakable imprimatur of the Reagan era. As the U.S. war machine gears up, it needs to ideologically regiment its youth into conservative, docile and pliant fodder

for war. Expressions of any form of social, political, sexual or artistic deviation must be crushed. During Reagan's reign youth have already suffered through unemployment, anti-sex "squeal" rules, raising of the drinking age, student financial aid being made contingent on draft registration, and conversion of the schools into

prisons with screws patrolling the halls and searching students' lockers at will.

In this repressive, stultifying society, rock music has provided an outlet for youthful sexual energy and fantasies. But in Reagan's America, just as most other avenues of enjoyment and fulfillment are closed, even the minimal democratic right to enjoy the music of one's choice is under attack. No sex, no booze, no fun, no future: that's the harsh reality for American youth. As Marxists we are opposed to all attempts by the bourgeois state to regulate the "morality" of youth, including age of consent laws, drinking age laws and "no dancing allowed" signs. Down with these moral majority mullahs! We know it's only rock 'n' roll, but we like it. ■

UC Students Fight...

(continued from page 12)

every one of these maniacs should be stripped of his gun before some innocent student or campus worker is blown away. Now is the time for a militant, broad-based united-front defense effort by students, campus workers and the labor movement on behalf of all victims of the UCPD.

There is, however, at Berkeley a pernicious clot of reformists known as the League for Revolutionary Struggle (LRS, aka *Unity*) who oppose the militant action necessary to defend the victims of cop attack. As Berkeley students have been radicalized through

confrontation with the forces of state repression, the virulently anti-Soviet, pro-Democratic Party LRS has stepped in to defuse all attempts at militant action. The *Biko Plaza News*, a refreshingly feisty and polemical newsletter, grew out of the blockade of Sproul Hall last spring. While the *BPN* is not a Marxist paper, it sure knows a shill for the administration when it sees one. In the 18 October *BPN*, they state:

"The LRS does the work of the police. During the vigil it insisted on forcing people to obey University rules. Monitors have even ripped down the signs put out on Biko Hall by demonstrators...."

"The LRS is purposely holding back the movement at this crucial time. When students seek radical action the LRS tells them to calm down. While the South Africans suffer the LRS calls for a pointless vigil and a study-in for October 11. Meanwhile, students around the world called for strikes."

This is a crucial time for all radical activists and defenders of democratic rights at Berkeley and it's a good thing most of them don't follow the League of Reformist Snivellers. It's going to take a fight to beat back the administration's attacks. Drop the charges against Guillermo Bermúdez and all anti-imperialist protesters! Cops off campus!

The fat cats on the board of regents have millions to spend in court trying to put student militants behind bars. *Young Spartacus* appeals to our readers to make a contribution payable to the Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Fund. Mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101. ■

Learn About Marxism! SYL Class Series

BERKELEY

From Protest to Power—For International Proletarian Revolution!
Tuesdays, 7:00 p.m.
November 12, 19, December 3
Room 146, Dwinelle Hall
UC Berkeley
For more information: (415) 835-1535

BOSTON

The Fight for Socialism
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 7, 21, December 12
Emerson 305, Harvard University
For more information: (617) 492-3928

CLEVELAND

**Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today**
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 13, 20
Room 109, Wilder Hall
Oberlin College
For more information: (216) 621-5138

MADISON

The Fight for Socialism
Alternate Saturdays, 2:00 p.m.
November 9, 23
See "Today in the Union" for room
UW-Madison
For more information: (608) 257-8625

NEW YORK CITY

**Marxism: The Struggle
for Workers Revolution**
Alternate Mondays, 7:30 p.m.
November 11, 18, December 2
509 Hamilton Hall
Columbia University
For more information: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

Class Against Class
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 20, December 4, 11
Room B112, Student Union
SF State University
For more information: (415) 863-6963

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Marxism and World Revolution
Wednesday, 7:30 p.m.
November 20
Room 142, Blackburn Center
Howard University
For more information: (202) 636-3537

Columbia Clericals Strike

Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

NEW YORK—On October 17 District 65 (of the United Auto Workers), which represents over 1,000 predominantly black and women clerical workers at Columbia University, went on strike. District 65 workers struck the Ivy League slumlord after five years of fighting for basic union rights. The strike ended after five days with the first-ever contract between the clericals and Columbia. While many District 65 members are happy to get any kind of contract at all, their poverty-level wages only inched up by 6 percent and the agreement contains a no-strike pledge. As the recent strike showed, signing away this key weapon in labor's arsenal is like throwing away your boxing gloves and tying your hands behind your backs. A solid strike could have won a decent living wage; there's certainly no question Columbia can afford it. While they pay their workers starvation wages, the fat cats of Morningside Heights are sitting on a \$900 million endowment fund. (Yes, even after "divesting" themselves of South African holdings.)

There was widespread sympathy for the striking workers among students and faculty. Seeking to mobilize this support, the Columbia SYL agitated students to: boycott classes, no business as usual, shut it down tight! Our fight for the elementary trade-union principle that "picket lines mean don't cross" was in stark contrast to reformist diversions aimed at minimizing the "disruption," i.e., off-campus classes—the "program" of Students for a Fair Contract. When you're up against the ivory tower walls—as a protesting student or a striking worker—you've got to play hardball. Watching the celebration of the minority and women workers after the contract was won, the *New York Times* (23 October) said it "called to mind the textile workers in the film 'Norma Rae,' first wary and later emboldened by their introduction to the union movement."

YSp prints below the leaflet "Victory to the District 65 Strike! Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!" put out by the Columbia SYL.

Columbia SYL Leaflet

Columbia University thinks it can treat its clerical staff like black workers in South Africa—low pay, long hours, and precious few rights on the job. Now, District 65, representing over 1,000 predominantly black and women work-



Young Spartacus Photo

"On strike means shut it down!" SYL joins 1,000-strong picket line of Columbia clerical workers, October 17.

ers, are fighting back with the only weapon they have, the strike! To win this strike, students, faculty, the community and the labor movement must be mobilized to play hardball with the Ivy League. Mass pickets to stop key deliveries like fuel could freeze Columbia's union-busters in their tracks. The Spartacus Youth League calls on all students to take a solid stand with the union. On strike means shut it down! Picket lines mean don't cross! Boycott classes! No business as usual!

The administration brags that classes are still going on "as usual." Indeed, some 800 classes have been moved off campus by students and faculty sympathetic to the strike. Off campus or on, holding classes at all undermines the strike. The views of the so-called strike "support" committee, "Students for a Fair Contract," were made abundantly clear by one Michael Paris, a supporter of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). When an SYL member led the militant chant "Shut it down and shut it tight—That's the way to win this fight!", he went into a tizzy and shouted, "We don't want to shut it down!" But all of Columbia must be effectively shut down, and the strikers know it. And if hundreds of students and teachers shut down their "off campus" classrooms and walked the picket lines instead, a swift victory for District 65 could be won.

Columbia's fat cats Sovren [president of Columbia] and Early can sit out the strike in their ivory tower as long as students continue to go to class and

workers organized by the TWU and 1199 cross District 65's lines and go to work. It is in the interest of all students and campus workers to unite behind District 65 and win a battle against Columbia's racist, union-busting, slumlord administration. Campus security guards organized by the TWU have already threatened to arrest District 65 strikers if they set foot on Columbia's private property. These cops are the bosses' thugs, the enemies of the labor movement and should be thrown out of the unions. TWU and 1199 members had better honor District 65's lines—if District 65 is broken, the other campus unions are next. For one campus-wide union!

Much ado was made of Columbia's decision to divest from South Africa. The trustees rearranged their portfolios, found it more profitable to pull out of South Africa and are now investing in union-busting and oppressing minority workers at home. Divestment didn't stop the apartheid butchers from hanging a heroic ANC militant, Benjamin Moloise, last week! Class struggle, not "alternative investments," is the only road to break the power of the racist ruling class from here to South Africa. Columbia's treatment of its campus workers is right in line with its South Africa-style treatment of "its" Harlem bantustan as well—Columbia evicts black and Hispanic tenants from their homes; cops harass and shoot down black youth like Edmund Perry who crossed the "wrong" side of the Columbia/Harlem line. Hundreds

of students blockaded Mandela Hall last spring under a tarp that said "AMANDLA!" (Power!). How about some Amandla for District 65!

The union-busting, racist Columbia administration must be beaten! Minority workers in District 65 make an average of \$1,000 a year less in every pay grade than whites. Vice President of Personnel Robert Early says that the reason minority workers stay in lower grades is that they do not try to better themselves, and justifies Columbia's racist wage structure by saying that it only reflects the situation of society as a whole! No kidding! Columbia is an integral ideological part of the ongoing anti-Soviet war drive. Not only is South Africa a junior partner in U.S. imperialism's bloody actions around the world, but South Africa-style race-terror and union-busting are on the order of the day right here at home as the imperialists try to whip the population into line for war. The cops run rampant in Harlem, and racist attacks take place on the campus itself. Two minority students' rooms have been repeatedly vandalized; racist epithets were scrawled on their doors and death threats left for them. This outrage must be stopped! From Harlem to Soweto—Smash racist terror!

Columbia is part of New York City, where racist pig Ed Koch presides over "terror city" for blacks, Hispanics and all decent working people. Spartacist candidates for mayor and Manhattan borough president, Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen, respectively, are running on a platform of "New York City: For the Working People!" The Spartacist campaign calls for working-class action to smash race terror; for vengeance for the victims of cop terror, like Edmund Perry, Michael Stewart and Eleanor Bumpurs; for the defense of picket lines—Labor's gotta play hardball to win! A vote for Spartacist is a vote for workers power—from South Africa to the U.S. "Handing these Columbia slumlords a defeat would be a victory for Harlem," said Stamberg. "All New York City labor should be mobilized for victory to the Columbia strikers!"

As the coal miners' strike song goes, "There are no neutrals here; which side are you on?" Take a side—Boycott classes, shut down the campus! Smash Columbia union-busting—Victory to District 65!

Columbia Spartacus Youth League
21 October 1985

Youth Movement...

(continued from page 9)

bath to be averted in South Africa? What forces will come into play? Did you know that apartheid started because of the requirement of low-wage labor for the English mining interests in South Africa? Do you know what the difference is between whites in South Africa and Rhodesia? Do you know why that is critical and therefore why there has to be a programmatic, class approach to the question, not a nationalist one? And all those other fake-left bastards are trying to fill their ears with one thing: the Democratic Party, and the buzz word is divestment. So, it's a competition. And we won't just give it up to our opponents, because there's too much at stake here.

Meanwhile, the opponents are in the

main simply reformist. Maoism isn't just discredited, it doesn't exist anymore. Maoism was always a phony thing anyhow: it came out of the Sino-Soviet split which was simply a stupid quarrel between the Chinese Stalinists and the Soviet Stalinists, not about politics, mainly about economics. In any case, it wound up with political polemics—with the dictatorship of the proletariat vs. peaceful coexistence vs. social imperialism. And it was taken as good coin by a certain generation of young workers and young students throughout the world. But it wasn't real, and with the China-American alliance, Maoism exhausted itself. Now it's back to the historical norms: social democracy, Stalinism, Trotskyism. Where are the centrist groups? Right in there packed into the anal area of the popular front, too far gone I think to rebound, at least quickly, and too locked into a pro-Democratic Party, reformist orientation. When more widespread social

For international labor action against apartheid! Bay Area longshore militants fight to continue their boycott of South African ship last December.



Workers Vanguard Photo

upheaval takes place, we'll have the spectrum getting filled up again one way or another. But we have a much clearer run this time in terms of not only program, but experienced cadre, existing organization, knowledge.

So go talk politics to those kids. Just

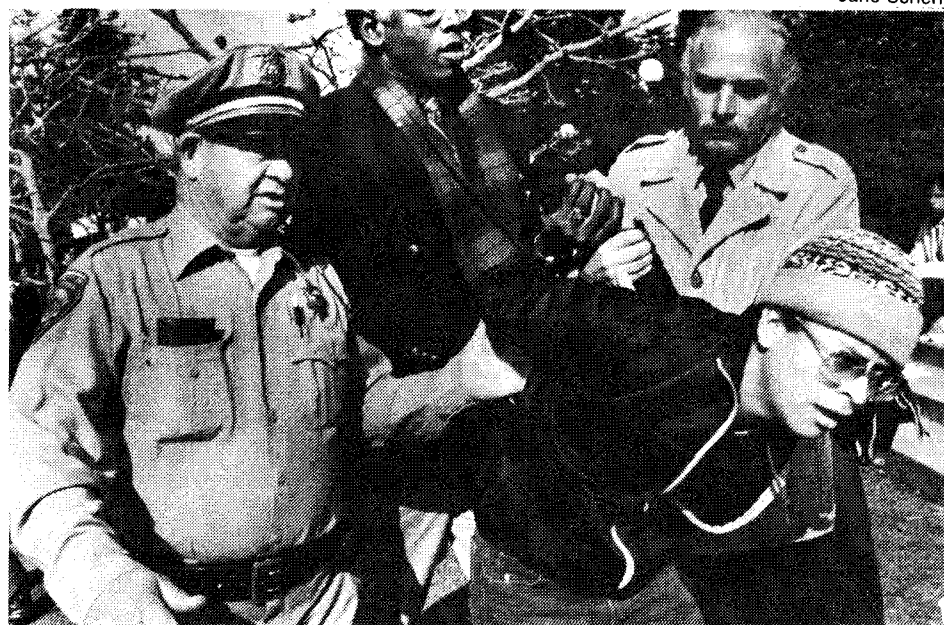
get in there and sell the paper and talk politics. When one speaks of suicidal sectarianism, that means suicide for the party because we miss out on a new generation of young radical kids looking for some kind of answers on how to end racism and war. ■

Young Spartacus

Berkeley: Drop the Charges Against All Anti-Imperialist Protesters!



Hernandez/Daily Californian



Jane Scherr

October 11: Anti-apartheid protesters get "the treatment" from UC Berkeley cops (left). Berkeley, January 1985: SYLer Guillermo Bermúdez in the hammer lock which broke his arm (right).

UC Students Fight Big Brother

FLASH! As we go to press, *YSp* has learned 200 UCB anti-apartheid protesters occupied Sproul Hall today. Another 100 rallied outside in solidarity. At about 5:25 p.m. cops began to arrest the largely black and Hispanic crowd including two SYLers.

Berkeley students are getting one hell of an education in the three "Rs" taught by UC's cops: "Rampage, Riot and Repress." Berkeley, home of the Free Speech Movement, has again become a hotbed of political activity as students have taken to the streets in protest of the racist apartheid regime in South Africa and against recruiters for U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war machine, from the CIA to ROTC to the Marines. Despite the university's attempts to crush political dissent through beatings, choke holds, surveillance and maximum-security cell detentions, a core of militants understand that the best defense is a good offense. They have fought back with continued protests and this has gone a long way toward winning acquittals for students slapped with outrageous charges for exercising their

elementary democratic right to free speech.

Since last spring, the administration and the cops have arrested hundreds of students, but have failed to nail down a single conviction—yet. Seven students (Guillermo Bermúdez, Joe Blackburn, José Carrasco, Michael Donnelly, Joshua Gold, David Lucas and Christopher Katsup) still face criminal charges stemming from their involvement in anti-imperialist protests on the Berkeley campus. On October 30, the student government (ASUC) rallied to the students' defense, demanding that "all charges against political protesters be dropped." Defense efforts must be redoubled now as the university desperately seeks a victim to display as an example before the rest of the student body: protest in Reagan's America is *verboten*.

Guillermo Bermúdez, an Hispanic Berkeley student and member of the Spartacus Youth League, was arrested last January 29 for leading a militant protest against Marine recruiters on campus. For his action in solidarity with the victims of the bloody Marines.

Guillermo was nearly choked to death, dragged by the neck for 30 feet by the now infamous UCPD officer Joe "Choke Hold" Johnson, and then jumped by two other cops who joined Johnson in breaking Guillermo's arm.

Berkeley students are learning what black and Hispanic victims of racist cop terror in America's ghettos know only too well: the worse the cops beat you, the likelier it is you'll get framed for "assaulting" the uniformed thug who mauled you. Comrade Guillermo now faces nearly three years in prison on precisely such frame-up charges. Guillermo goes to trial on November 19: All out to defend Guillermo! Pack the courtroom!

Endless lurid testimony by students at Berkeley Police Review Commission hearings on the campus cops tell it like it is: the UC cops are rabid beasts run amok. But proposals for "civilian review boards" to make the uniformed swine act "responsibly" miss the point. Cops don't "serve the people," they are the armed fist of the bourgeois state. Reagan and the Democrats want war, and that means regimenting a new

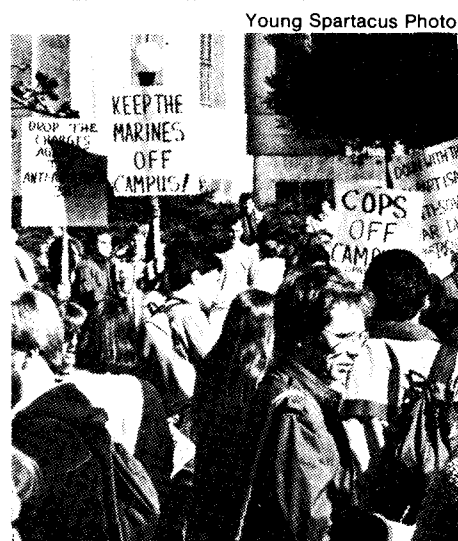
generation of youth to be mindless, docile cannon fodder for U.S. imperialism's holy war against communism.

Even liberal-led demonstrations for divestment of South African stock (a program adopted by sections of the bourgeoisie who see the anti-apartheid revolt as a threat to their profits) have become the target for vicious cop attack. On October 11, two UC cops, Sergeant Finger (who helped break Guillermo's arm) and Officer Hammett (whose order to charge last February 28 led to a full-scale cop riot at Moffitt Library), went berserk, charged into the crowd fists swinging, and had to be restrained by their fellow pigs. In an outrageous affront to the victims of this assault, the "progressive" ASUC president, Pedro Noguera, complimented the UCPD on their "handling" of the protest!

Twice in the past year the UCPD has *drawn guns* on student demonstrations. Now they're revamping their old-fashioned Gestapo tactics with new high technology. On August 14, UC police allocated over \$4,000 to purchase 32 Median radio transmission "scramblers" to prevent interception of their communications. The requisition form stated "Emergency Rush Order Due to Pending Demonstrations." These cops think they're fighting a proxy war against "Soviet surrogates" on campus! What's next? An "Emergency Rush Order" of ICBMs for tactical nuclear strikes "Due to Pending Building Occupations?" The UCPD has also employed Big Brother shutterbugs to videotape all campus events where an infraction of the law *might* occur. If a body or head is in the way of the camera, they just club it to the pavement, then film the bloody victim to "document" his "violent behavior" for use in court. Campus workers organized by AFSCME have been videotaped for the mundane act of reporting to work! Who do the cops give these films to—the Red Squad, FBI, CIA?

Cops off campus! At a minimum,

continued on page 10



Young Spartacus Photo

"Though He's 6-Foot-4"

[to the tune of "When I'm Sixty-Four"]
lyrics by Lorenzo Sadun

When we get hassled by the police
In a little while
Will you still be sitting right along with us
Or will you just walk off with a smile?
Will you support us? Will you resist?
Will you block the door?
Will you stand up to Officer Johnson
Though he's 6-foot-4

You could be useful painting a sign
Hang it on a wall
You can make decisions over candlelight
Wednesday morning go out on strike
Fighting Apartheid, raising a storm
End what we abhor

Will you stand up to Officer Johnson
Though he's 6-foot-4

Every evening we will lay our sleeping bags
Upon the steps of Biko Hall
Backaches hurt and throb
But where else can you get things done
Sleeping on the job?

Set up a picket, carry a sign
Stating point of view
Let the regents know that we are here to stay
We want divestment—we want it today!
Fighting for liberty 'round the world
Free forevermore
We will stand up to Officer Johnson
Though he's 6-foot-4!

—by protesting Berkeley students
April 1985

Despite illusions in impotent "divestment" schemes, Berkeley militants blockading Sproul Hall last April knew that "a pig is a pig." At left: SYL-initiated protest last February demanded "Cops, Marines Off Campus!"