

Young Spartacus

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**Mobilize Labor
And Blacks to**

**SMASH
THE KLAN!**

Connecticut Cross Burnings

On September 13 the fascist Ku Klux Klan brought its cross-burnings and racist terror to Connecticut for the first time in over sixty years. In the rural hamlet of Scotland, hundreds of these scum in white sheets watched a twenty-

foot cross go up in flames and chanted the names of prominent blacks they would like to crucify. Despite the random beatings suffered by a few of the "white power" sympathizers at the hands of anti-Klan marchers, Klan führer Bill Wilkinson called a second cross-burning the next night that came off unchallenged.

For the labor movement and black organizations, it is a necessity of elementary self-defense to mobilize to stop such fascist actions. Every time the

Klan/Nazis appear, they leave a blood-soaked calling card.

- November, 1979—Greensboro: Following an increase of Klan activity in the area, five anti-Klan demonstrators—leftists and union militants—are shot dead by Klansmen and Nazis.

- April, 1980—Chattanooga: After a celebration of Hitler's birthday, fascist nightriders randomly shoot down four black women.

- July, 1980—Fontana: Just two hours before a Klan rally in the center of

town a black phone worker on the job is shot in the back. The victim's front lawn had been defaced recently with a burning cross.

- September, 1980—San Diego/Los Angeles: Soon after Klansman Tom Metzger wins the Democratic nomination for Congressman, the Klan carries out a wave of terror against the left. On September 16 Klansmen beat four black supporters of a Communist Party (CP) anti-repression group. Four days later the Los Angeles CP offices are bombed; fortunately the offices are unoccupied at the time of the explosion. Three days later twenty Socialist Workers Party (SWP) members and supporters narrowly escape death when a Klansman is discovered in the act of planting a bomb at their office.

Connecticut is no exception. Before their cross-burning the Klan rode through an integrated housing project in nearby Willimantic threatening to incinerate the homes of blacks and

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Bureau-Sigma

Down With Iraqi Colonels, Iranian Mullahs!



Turn the Guns Around!

In the border war between Iraq and Iran the working class of both countries has no interest in the victory of either side. Baghdad and Teheran both richly deserve to be defeated in this sordid and bloody squabble over oil resources and regional military dominance. On one side is Iraqi military dictator Saddam

Hussein, who escalated months of border incidents into full-scale war September 17, hoping to take advantage of Iran's political chaos and military weakness. On the other side is the "Islamic Revolution" of Ayatollah Khomeini, the butcher of Kurdish and Arab nationalists, with his veils for

women and jails for leftists. For the "sacred national territory" (the borders of which were drawn by the British imperialists and the U.S.-installed shah) both of these "anti-imperialist" stalwarts are eagerly bombing each other's cities, destroying each other's economy

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**Leninism
vs.
Stalinism
on the
United
Front**

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Steelworker vs. RWG

"Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross"

Those interested in the flora and fauna of fake "Trotskyism" can now, for the price of \$6, receive *Fighting Worker* (FW), newborn journal of the Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG) in Ann Arbor, for "approximately one year." That is, if it lasts that long. Under a variety of names and front groups this sect-cult has for a decade had one central principle: anti-Spartacism. Personalism, rather than common agreement to a political program, has been its organizational glue. The tensions of having for the first time to present a comprehensive program in FW will, with some help from the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) and its friends, hopefully contribute to the RWG's early demise.

FW describes itself as "neither an agitational newspaper nor a theoretical magazine but rather a transition to both"! This muddled nonsense, judging by the first issue, means that when FW is not pushing illusions of mass leadership, it will be cakewalking through the minefield of Spartacism. The centerfold is an article on Afghanistan, the sole (but unstated) purpose of which is to distance the RWG from the SL/SYL's clear and principled slogan, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" The lengthiest piece, though, is a diatribe entitled "Picket Lines and Spartacists."

The RWG has indeed had a bit of experience with unions and picket lines—all of it bad. In the mid-70s RWG supporters in Clericals for a Democratic Union (CDU) found themselves in the leadership of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 2001, representing some 3,000 secretaries at the University of Michigan. CDU was elected on a social-democratic platform of "democracy," with vague demands like "fight for control of our working lives" and "change the priorities of society." CDU's leadership did little to raise the wages and working conditions (not to mention the consciousness) of the union's members, and in 1976 the union lost a decertification election. CDU's next foray into the class struggle came in February 1977, when CDUs

crossed the picket lines of striking campus maintenance and service workers in AFSCME Local 1583 (see *Young Spartacus* No. 80, "What is the Revolutionary Workers Group?"). In response to the SYL's exposure of CDU scabbing, the RWG produced no less than 80 pages of documents attempting to justify this betrayal.

The letter below comes from a trade-union friend of the SYL who believes in honoring picket lines, the battle lines of class struggle.

October 4, 1980
Young Spartacus

Dear Editor:

Thanks for providing me with a copy of the first issue of *Fighting Worker* (FW), the contemptible rag of the Ann Arbor-based Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG). The RWG has certainly made history in its premier issue. New organizations traditionally devote their early propaganda to fundamental questions of working-class strategy. For example the first *Militant* in 1928 reprinted an installment of Trotsky's *Third International After Lenin*. But the RWG, not to be held back by hidebound tradition, boldly charts a new course: three of FW's eight precious pages are a justification of...scabbing!

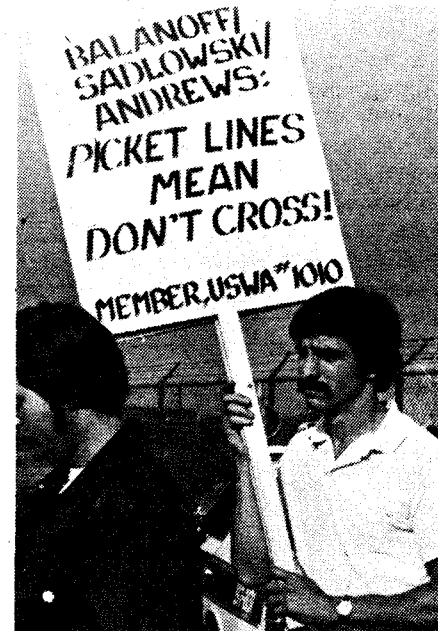
The sole target of this limp polemic is the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), the only left organizations in the U.S. I know of that uphold the elementary union principle that picket lines should never be crossed. As the FW article refers to my own experience, I would like to comment on it.

Let me fill in some background for *Young Spartacus* readers who are unfamiliar with my case. I am a member of the United Steelworkers of America's (USWA) 19,000-strong Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana. In June 1978 I honored the picket lines of striking Bricklayers Local 6 for the week they were on strike. I received a disciplinary warning letter for this act, which was later withdrawn when I

successfully fought it through the grievance procedure. In May 1979 the small USWA Local 8180 struck and picketed the plant. This time I was fired for refusing to cross their picket lines.

Now, let's deal with the RWG's lies. First they charge that I didn't "agitate to force the bureaucrats to give official union sanction for a sympathy strike"

Workers Vanguard Photo



Keith Anwar walks bricklayers' picket line, 1978.

and "did absolutely nothing to build real mass picket lines."

"Did nothing"? Let us count the ways. During the bricklayers strike: 1) I fought to pass a resolution at a Local 1010 meeting to call on all 1010 members to honor the picket lines. 2) Intensively lobbied—with other steelworkers—the next day at a USWA District 31 Conference. 3) Spoke on the floor of that conference urging that the resolution be passed. 4) Provided 5,000 copies of the resolution to the bricklayers who passed them out at the plant gates. 5) Participated in mass picketing with the bricklayers that shut down construction of Inland's new blast furnace. Bricklayers later told me it was the combination of the mass picketing and the mass distribution by the strikers of the resolution that got Inland to capitulate that day.

During the 8180 strike I again fought for 1010 to honor the picket lines. After I was fired, a Keith Anwar Defense Committee (KADC) was formed that mobilized impressive rank and file support for the case through its leaflets, meetings and other activities. Last October the KADC was instrumental in bringing about an official union rally defending the right to honor picket lines. I spoke at that rally to a union crowd, emphasizing the necessity of refusing to cross union picket lines. Last December the KADC collected 1,500 signatures in five days on a petition that prevented the bureaucrats from dropping the grievance. Last June the KADC activated sufficient union support to finally force District Director Balanoff to quit stalling and send the grievance to arbitration. This in itself was a victory of the USWA membership against both the International and Balanoff wings of the bureaucracy, neither of which wanted to pursue the grievance, for obvious reasons.

FW tries to write all this off as "opportunist tailing of the union bureaucrats." In reality the work of the KADC did a thousand times more to "organize workers... for militant solidarity within the unions" (FW) than the RWG's scabbing on the 1977 Ann Arbor AFSCME strike!

All this picket-line hoopla, states FW,

"reinforce[d] the defeatist view that to be militant means pointlessly losing your job." Which I suppose is why the two most prominent activists of the KADC, Sam Hunt and Milly Leonard, each got over 800 votes in the International Convention delegate elections in July! Hunt and Leonard's campaign leaflet had in bold letters at the top, "Picket lines mean don't cross," and presented a class-struggle program—unique in the history of Local 1010.

To support its scabbing the RWG is anxious to write me off as a "martyr." Like all opportunists, the RWG thrives on defeats. But martyrs are dead, and no good unionist ever accepts a firing before every chance of reinstatement has been exhausted. My case is far from that, though the defeatist RWG would like to think otherwise.

The RWG's position on picket lines is the union bureaucrats' recipe for defeat with some "Trotskyist" food coloring added for appearance. FW defines a scab as "one who tries to break a labor action by doing the work of a striking worker." A scab is also someone who crosses a picket line: ask the coal miners; ask the Inland bricklayers, who hated the Local 1010 leaders for telling steelworkers to cross bricklayer picket lines. The bricklayers won on the picket lines, keeping the members of about twenty different craft unions—who didn't know the first thing about masonry—out of the plant. That's what picket lines are for: to shut it down!

The bureaucrats have spent the last several decades subverting the very purpose of picket lines and reinforcing craft consciousness. Their name for this betrayal—the "informational picket line"—makes labor solidarity an empty phrase. The RWG is all too eager to embrace the bureaucratic betrayal of the "informational picket line"—which has been responsible for countless working-class defeats—and "forget" the mass picketers on the battle lines of the past who called a scab a scab and gave each a good beating for educational purposes.

In closing I would like to offer to debate any member or trade-union supporter of the RWG who would dare to get up and defend scabbing. An appropriate location for the debate would be "Bloody Williamson County" in Illinois, site of the "Herrin massacre," where in 1922 striking coal miners killed nineteen scabs whom union leaders had permitted to enter a struck mining compound. But I'd settle for Ann Arbor.

Keith Anwar
USWA Local 1010

Spartacus Youth League Class Series

BOSTON

ABCs of Marxism

At Harvard:
Alternate Wednesdays beginning
October 29, 7:30 p.m.
Phillips Brooks House

At Brandeis:

Alternate Wednesdays beginning
October 22, 7:30 p.m.
Conference Room B, Usdan
For more information: (617) 492-3928

CLEVELAND

Socialist Revolution or World War III

Wednesday October 8 (Alternate
Wednesdays after October 29)
7:30 p.m.
Wilder Hall 101
Oberlin College
For more information: (216) 621-5138

SAN FRANCISCO

ABCs of Communism

Alternate Thursdays beginning
October 9, 7:00 p.m.
Student Union B112
SF State University
For more information: (415) 863-6963
Also to be held at U.C. Berkeley.
Call (415) 835-1535 for time and
details.

CHICAGO

The ABCs of Communism

Alternate Thursdays starting
October 9, 7:30 p.m.
523 South Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
For more information: (312) 427-0003

DETROIT

The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Thursdays beginning
October 9, 7:30 p.m.
Welker Room, Michigan Union
University of Michigan
For more information: (313) 994-9313

MADISON

Marxism and World Revolution

Alternate Thursdays beginning
October 9, 7:30 p.m.
Memorial Union
University of Wisconsin
For more information: (608) 257-2950

NEW YORK

Trotskyism: The Fight for Revolutionary Leadership

Alternate Tuesdays beginning
October 7, 7:30 p.m.
Hamilton Hall, Room 316
Columbia University
For more information: (212) 732-7860

Young Spartacus

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

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Abbie, Jerry: Yippies Turned Babbitt

Liberation News Service

On July 30 the *New York Times* pulled aside one-fourth of its grey curtain of type to reveal a half-naked freak standing, toy gun in hand, in the middle of an essay. It was none other than Jerry Rubin, and the essay was the proud announcement of his new employ as a securities analyst for a prestigious Wall Street firm. Ironically, back in 1968, Rubin's student-based "street guerrilla" Yippies entertained themselves with antics like raining dollar bills down onto the New York Stock Exchange. With great moral superiority and glee they watched the frenzied brokers drop their feverish work and scramble like pigs to the feed. So now Jerry Rubin, a \$35,000-a-year apprentice banker, is scrambling for his feed and it's supposed to be a revolutionary act! Here's the climax of his essay in the *Times*:

"Welcome Wall Street, here I come! Let's make millions of dollars together supporting the little companies engaged in social and environmental positivity. Let's rescue American capitalism from overemphasis on the huge organization. Let's make capitalism work for everyone."

Rubin's utopian claptrap about capitalism working for anyone other than the giant corporations has one thing in common with his idiotic blather of yesteryear for the "Yippie revolution"; both are shameless hustles for media

attention. In private Rubin admits he "was hired partially for publicity for his company and to attract investors from the sixties" (Brandeis *Justice*, 30 September 1980).

On September 4 Abbie Hoffman, the other *enfant terrible* of the Yippies, surfaced. Hoffman turned himself in to the Manhattan courts, formally ending his hide and seek with the police since jumping bail in 1974 on cocaine-selling charges. Like Rubin, Hoffman "felt that the atmosphere had changed considerably" and that "the times are a little more sophisticated." With the sharp turn to the right in this country, what is Abbie talking about? Himself, of course. "Sophisticated times" mean that the courts which strike down Medicaid abortions no longer treat cocaine (the "middle-class high") like heroin. Hoffman's cocaine rap has nothing to do with his past politics. In fact, this "born again" capitalist/environmentalist will get off much easier than any black dealer who gets busted and manages to elude the feds for six years! Abbie deserves no special treatment; we oppose his drug bust because as Marxists we oppose all laws against so-called "crimes without victims" (drug use, prostitution, sodomy, etc.). Hoffman has found a new sandbox to be a celebrity in: the environmental "movement." His lawyer pointed to Hoffman's concern for preserving small islands in



Jerry Rubin (left), Abbie Hoffman and Rennie Davis during Chicago Seven witchhunt trial.

the St. Lawrence during his life on the run as the actions of a model citizen! Hoffman is just as eager as Rubin to cash in on his past as a 60s media brat/"radical." After being released from jail, he rushed off to his publisher's on Madison Avenue, where his latest book *Soon to be a Major Motion Picture* (an autobiography, of course) was published.

The undying marriage of Abbie and Jerry to the media is one of mutual convenience. In the social turmoil of the 60s, the Yippies were nothing more than bizarre exhibitionists pushing the most socially impotent and irrelevant forms of petty-bourgeois protest. That is why the media gave them so much attention, while serious protests against the U.S. in Vietnam and against racism were played down or ignored. Once again the media pounces on these two clowns who have acted out, in the extreme, the retreat

from political struggle into self-absorption of a whole generation of radicals.

But not all the 60s radicals have made their peace with capitalism. Diana Coleman, a longtime socialist activist and supporter of the Spartacist League (see "Vote Coleman for SF Supervisor" in this issue), is bringing the struggle for socialist revolution to the population of San Francisco in the elections for City Supervisors. And the Spartacus Youth League, an organization of young activists in political agreement with the Spartacist League, still agitates against U.S. imperialism on the campuses. We polemicize against its defenders of all stripes, including Jerry Rubin, whose pro-capitalist crap we had occasion to refute at Brandeis University in September. We reprint below an exchange between us and him from the Brandeis *Justice* (30 September). ■

the Justice

An Independent Student Newspaper
Brandeis University Volume XXXIII Number 4
Tuesday, September 30, 1980

What Happened At The Jerry Rubin Talk?

At Jerry Rubin's lecture last week, a member of the Spartacus Youth League came up to the microphone during the question and answer period, and instead of asking a question, began to make a speech of his own. He was soon shouted down by the rest of the audience. We asked both Jerry Rubin and the SYL to explain what happened. — Ed.

By
KATHIE SOMERS and KEITH MARKIN

Jerry Rubin spent his entire evening at Brandeis trying to justify his "turn to capitalism" with the shoddy excuse that he has only gone to work on Wall Street so that he could fight for social change. Not many people bought his arguments, but when members of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) began to speak, both Rubin and some of the audience got a little edgy. After all, he had just finished saying that he doesn't like radicals because "they don't know what they want." He didn't want the SYL to speak because we reminded him of something he has never accepted—that politics is serious business.

Rubin of the '60's represented the most juvenile, unserious and irrelevant section of the political activism of that period. Rubin of the '80's is just another ex-radical who's made his peace with mainstream capitalist America now touring the New Left nostalgia circuit. While the vast majority of New Left activists are out of politics, the media consciously ignored the numerous anti-war and minority activists who remained active by joining the cadre organizations of the American Left, including the SYL. The Spartacist League came out of the New Left with an organization of young socialist militants who have gone on to struggle in and for the working class. Some of today's students who booed when he said the word "Marxist" ought to wake

up and take a good look around. The Klan is knocking on the door in Connecticut while grinding inflation has brought soup kitchens back to Detroit. Capitalism simply doesn't work and Marxists have an alternative to offer.

We in the SYL know what we want—and it's not what Jerry Rubin advocates. Only the most perverse combination of utopianism and cynicism could allow someone to believe that the key to transforming society for the good of all lies in trying to convince the bourgeoisie to make capitalism "profitable for everyone." As socialists, we know that capitalism is inherently a system of profit for those few who rule and of exploitation and misery for the rest of us. We recognize, unlike Rubin, that America's capitalist politicians have not "betrayed the principles" of US imperialism. They are militarily rearming the country in a mad race toward World War III—a war aimed directly at the Soviet Union. The Russian workers overthrew capitalism in 1917, and even though there has been a bureaucratic political degeneration, it is important for socialists to defend the gains—such as the planned economy and collectivized property forms—which still remain in the USSR against US imperialism's Dr. Strangeloves.

The SYL knows that there isn't much of a future in capitalist America. The "American Dream" is shot to hell, and all the capitalist politicians can offer us is skyrocketing unemployment, record inflation and soaring military spending. Their policies amount to a declaration of war against blacks and other minorities, the working class and the poor. Meanwhile, the fascists of the KKK and the Nazis are on the rise, gunning down black women in Chattanooga and leftists in Greensboro and threatening Jews in Skokie. The Spartacist League and the SYL are dedicated to fighting capitalism

and the racist filth it breeds. So in San Francisco last April, we initiated a protest at which 1200 unionists, leftists and minorities prevented the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in that city.

Even if Jerry Rubin wanted to fight for social change (which he doesn't), he's working in the wrong arena. What is needed is the forging of a worker's party based on the unions which will expropriate the exploiters who live off the sweat of the working masses—the very people who Jerry Rubin now seeks to serve. But then, Rubin and his Yippies never had a strategy to change society. They thrived on mindless "anti-establishment" antics, and were a flashy but insignificant part of the political activism of the sixties. Other more serious radicals of that period have paid for their militancy with their lives (like Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, shot dead in his bed by Chicago cops). But for the Yippies, the capitalist system, its government, courts and police were just one big joke.

So it's no big deal that Jerry Rubin has decided to become a Wall Street pimp for the bourgeoisie. But it's disgusting that he talks about a "real War on poverty" while trying to con us into believing that he is going to—or could—do anything but fatten his own wallet. As for those of you who want to work for social justice and are looking for a strategy to fight oppression, check out the Spartacus Youth League, the real fighters for a socialist future.

By

JERRY RUBIN

Mr. Rubin's remarks come from an interview with him by the *Justice* — Ed.

First of all, it (the SYLers' speeches) sounded very canned—and I think people are very resistant to canned appeals, no matter whether there is a germ of truth in them.

Second, they had a hidden purpose, in that the two speakers were represen-

tatives of an organization, and they weren't straight about that from the very beginning. Had they begun by saying, "Look, I'm a representative of this organization, and I'd like to tell you how I feel," they would've had an edge of honesty about them that might have sat better with the audience.

The groaning began when people discovered about halfway through the first speaker that it was a commercial for the organization.

Third, it was a lot of theoretical talk that came from the head and not from the heart. In other words, it really was not good communication. Good communication transcends the value of the message.

They would have been more effective had they put it anecdotally, had they put it in human terms, had there been an element of humor or Will Rogers.

Instead, it sounded like a thousand years of American and world political history all capsulized in five minutes.

The audience responded to the fact that the speakers, no matter what the value of their message, were in a kind of a bubble of their own truths. They were speaking out of their bubble, not really relating to either the audience or their own message. I call it a failure of a relationship. That's how I experienced it.

They would have been more effective had they focused in on one point, and made that one point very clear, rather than making sweeping general statements about history, about working class, about capitalism and socialism, which were so general that they failed to reach people.

Had I been in the audience and wanted to challenge the speaker, I would have done it in a very human, anecdotal, real way. I would have tried to win the audience, rather than try to talk "truth" to the audience. I would have been more concerned with communicating a relationship rather than theology.

BU: Student Government Opposes Anti-Soviet War Drive

ROTC OFF CAMPUS!

The student government of Boston University's 5,000-member College of Liberal Arts (CLA) went on record September 24 against U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive and against the presence of ROTC on campus. The anti-ROTC statement—which had earlier been endorsed by a number of union activists from the clerical workers of District 65 and the Buildings and Grounds workers of SEIU Local 254—was introduced into the CLA Forum by Forum delegate and SYL member Bob Anderson. Anderson pointed out that ROTC was driven off campus ten years ago through militant protest, and he connected its return today to the imperialists' broader campaign to prepare for war against the USSR. Anderson's defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism enraged several of the student bureaucrats in attendance. One aspiring campus hack even threatened physical violence against an SYL member, likening the SYL to the KKK and Nazis! But other delegates voiced their support for the motion. When the dust cleared, the motion passed by a vote of 7 to 5 with one abstention, a victory for all who want to stop the training of U.S. imperialism's killer elite.

Below we reprint the SYL's original call to drive ROTC off campus, which appeared in the BU Daily Free Press on September 11.

To the Editor:

After being driven off campus through militant student protest 10 years ago, ROTC will be returning to Boston University this fall. Silber may claim to be "cleaning them up" by having them wear civilian clothes on campus, but we know who they are. They are the apprentice William Calleys for the future My Lais that will be carried out in the name of U.S. imperialism.

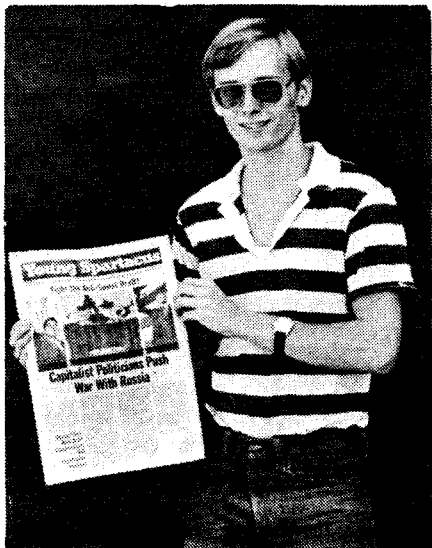
If it had been left up to Madman Silber, ROTC would have returned sooner. As early as 1973 he was pushing for its return, but the military decided not to chance possible opposition until now. On the wave of U.S. imperialism's

new anti-Soviet war drive, Silber was finally able to persuade this elite officer training corps to return to BU.

In order to prepare students for ROTC's return, Silber held "dorm chats" last spring where he discussed the growing Soviet threat and what life will be like after Armageddon. But Silber and his "doomsday machine" are no joke. ROTC will be a key component in a large draft-recruited army needed by U.S. imperialism for its next war, a war aimed at the Soviet Union. If Silber thinks he can quietly let these butchers slip back onto campus, he must be proven wrong. Students, workers and faculty must unite to drive ROTC off campus.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, ROTC

Young Spartacus Photo



SYL member Bob Anderson.

was a focus of antiwar protest and was driven off dozens of campuses around the country. ROTC was correctly linked to the atrocities of the genocidal campaign waged by U.S. imperialism to smash social revolution in Vietnam.

Today, U.S. guns are aimed at the Soviet Union. As Trotskyists, the Spartacus Youth League defends the Soviet Union from imperialist attack. Although there has been a political degeneration since the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, capitalism has not been restored in the USSR. Jimmy Carter

and his ilk would love to reconquer that one-sixth of the earth for imperialist exploitation; and if Russia is lost, China, Cuba and Vietnam would be soon to follow.

This would not only be a monumental defeat for the workers' movement, but would give decaying world imperialism a new lease on life. Today, the Russian question is posed pointblank—which side are you on? This central question must be addressed by serious anti-draft and anti-ROTC fighters. On the one side is Madman Silber and peanut boss Carter in their hell-bent desire to protect the profit system, and on the other, the interests of the labor movement.

Campus radicals of the Sixties genuinely hated U.S. imperialism and all that it represents. They wanted to see the defeat of their own bourgeoisie. The anti-draft movement today, however, has a different character. BAARD (Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft) protesters at Post Office Square sang "God Bless America" and

praised the U.S. as a great country. Instead of opposing the U.S. war machine, they simply oppose conscription, limiting themselves to moral questions and pacifist opposition. In Berkeley, one anti-draft coalition known as SCAMI (which includes non-nukers, the Young Socialist Alliance and the New American Movement) actually invited ROTC to a debate.

The SYL says that there is nothing to debate with the future butchers of more My Lais. They are criminals and should be treated as such. Recently at Merritt College in Oakland, California and at UCLA we were instrumental in leading militant protests aimed at driving ROTC off campus. Here at BU we will do the same. Students, campus workers and faculty must unite to oppose this latest move by the BU administration. Drive ROTC off campus!

Liisa McCormick
Spartacus Youth League
CLA '81
September 4, 1980

SYL Anti-ROTC Motion

The union-busting Silber administration has brought the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) back on campus. ROTC was driven off campus amidst protests over the Vietnam War and its return today is not coincidental. It is part and parcel of a political climate on the campus and across the country, characterized by anti-labor wage controls, union busting, draft registration and anti-Soviet war preparations. ROTC has returned to train future army officers (e.g., William Calley) for the next imperialist war.

Whereas: We are opposed to the anti-Soviet war preparations and opposed to the university being a training ground for such,
Be it resolved: That ROTC be driven off campus.

Endorsed by:

Jane Burns, CLA student
CLA Forum (student government of BU's College of Liberal Arts)
Jim Gallagher, library worker, District 65, UAW
Carol Knox, organizer for District 65, UAW
Tomás Perez, CLA student

David Wesley Soper, B&G worker, SEIU Local 254
Spartacus Youth League
Bob Tocci, militant B&G worker, SEIU Local 254, fired by Silber administration, court case to reinstate his job pending
Peter "Ferd" Wulkan, District 65, UAW

Organizations listed for purposes of identification only.

Star Spangled Banter

Maoists Debate: All the Way With the USA?

The Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) (CP-ML) recently opened the pages of its newspaper, *The Call*, to a controversy that exposes the pro-imperialist bankruptcy of Maoism. The spat began with a *Call* (30 June) book review entitled *Sooner or Later—Questions and Answers on War, Peace and the United Front* by an obscure, obscene, social-patriotic Maoist collective, the Communist Unity Organization (CUO). This was followed by two irate letters from CUO supporters in the 4-17 August issue, and then by a CUO reply to *The Call*'s original review in the 8-21 September issue.

What is amazing is not the spectacle of Maoists debating whether they should support the draft, American colonialism and no-strike pledges—all in the service of the U.S.-China anti-

Soviet alliance. Rather, the obscenity is that they can carry on this "comradely discussion" and still call themselves "leftists."

"C.E.," the *Call* reviewer, heaps praise on the CUO for its "important statement" which "zeroes in on the role of Soviet aggression and on the grave danger to world peace it presents." C.E. agrees that "the U.S. does have a role to play in resisting Soviet aggression" and calls for drawing the U.S. into "some kind of a front" (*sic*). He begs to disagree, however, with the conclusions the CUO draws from that "united front":

"The CUO also goes much farther than present conditions call for in proposing support for American military preparations, generally supporting U.S. military expansion and the draft. The authors go so far as to oppose the

struggles of the Puerto Rican and Philippines independence movements..." (emphasis added)

"The concrete results of such an approach," C.E. sagely remarks, "would be to isolate the communists from the masses...." In other words, anti-Sovietism isn't popular enough—yet. As the CUO notes, "*The Call* even printed an excerpt from a *Beijing Review* article which supported a tougher U.S. stance against the Soviets, but cut out the sections supporting increased U.S. forces and the draft!" The CP-ML's criticisms of the CUO are drenched with concern for the element of timing; there is no principled disagreement here. *The Call* just doesn't like having the upstart CUO holding up a mirror reflecting the CP-ML's future.

As the U.S.-China alliance against the

Soviet degenerated workers state has been strengthened, the CP-ML has marched more and more in step with Carter's wardrums: fronting for the South African invasion of Angola in 1976, hailing China's invasion of Vietnam, calling for the strengthening of NATO, supporting Islamic reaction in Afghanistan. By extension the CP-ML should re-evaluate its position on the Vietnam War: North Vietnam and the NLF now turn out to have been dupes of the "new tsars," while the U.S. was waging a struggle to "liberate" the Vietnamese from "social-imperialism"! It's only a matter of time before these sycophants of the Peking bureaucracy join the CUO in denouncing every struggle of the oppressed as playing into the hands of "Soviet hegemonism." As the CUO so aptly put it, *sooner or later!* ■

On Heels of Arson Frame-Up At Wayne State

SYL Narrowly Wins Budget Fight

The vicious arson frame-up targeting the SYL at Wayne State University has conditioned a concerted effort by student government bureaucrats to silence the SYL on campus by attempting to deprive it of university funding for the first time in our six-year history at that campus. This frame-up was aggressively aided and abetted by anti-communist yellow journalists on the staff of the campus newspaper, the *South End* (see "Nasty Lies or Murder Set-Up: Wayne State Arson Frame-Up Targets SYL," *Young Spartacus*, No. 84, September 1980). Eleven days after a fifth floor room of the Student Center Building was set ablaze and the slogan "The Sparticus [sic] Revolution Begins" was scrawled across its blackboard, the *South End* splashed the news across its front page in a sinister and slanderous article that sought to implicate the SYL in the crime. Even more vicious was an editorial in the same issue by the *South End's* managing editor, Mike Nuttle, which labeled the SYL "violent, deceptive hypocrites." For weeks afterward, the *South End* refused to print our letter protesting this libelous attack and has never published a protest petition signed by 80 outraged members of the university and Detroit community, nor many other letters condemning this slander campaign. More recently this sinister slander campaign was picked up by the Student-Faculty Council president Russ Bellant and his cronies in a narrowly defeated attempt to veto the Wayne State SYL budget request.

The S-FC delayed consideration of

the SYL budget for months until several weeks after the *South End's* libelous attack on the SYL had appeared. The SYL request was singled out from 55 other budget recommendations which were rubber-stamped and tabled for "reconsideration." To justify this flagrant act of political discrimination, S-FC member Eva Carababas joined Bellant—who has unsuccessfully attempted to deny funds to the SYL several times during his tenure—and echoed the *South End* and Mike Nuttle slander campaign, claiming the SYL was "disruptive." Carababas is a former member of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). By "disruption" Carababas meant not arson or anything involving physical force but honest, forthright Marxist criticism presented by the SYL of Harrington's support to the racist, strikebreaking Democratic Party and his support to the Vietnam War, made during the discussion period of a Wayne State public meeting in the fall of 1979. In the school of Cold War social democracy represented by Harrington, Carababas learned how to lie and equate Marxist criticism with physical violence. Bellant through his membership in Ken Cockrel's DARE has his links to City Hall and his own reasons for wanting to silence the SYL.

No fewer than three S-FC meetings hotly debated the SYL budget. Only after an intensive campaign by the SYL which brought out over 40 students, faculty and workers to an S-FC meeting

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YSA for Sale?

Self-proclaimed supporters of "free speech" and other democratic rights, the Young Socialist Alliance at Ann Arbor proved that there is nothing "free" about their speech! In response to the SYL's request that they join the approximately 100 students, workers, faculty members and leftists who have in some way protested the South End's scurrilous attempt to frame the SYL for arson, the YSA slipped us the slimy note reprinted below. Admitting that our "politics were mis-represented (sic) in the press," the YSA put a price tag on its defense of elementary democratic rights within the workers movement: that the SYL support SWP candidates for president and vice president, Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann. Then the YSA might be in "the mood for offering help to the SYL." Pulley—who waltzed across a picket line of striking BRAC (Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks) at a Gary U.S. Steel plant in 1978 and Zimmermann—author of the SWP's defense of reactionary age-of-consent laws—are worthy only of contempt by any real socialist. We wouldn't support them for anything, let alone the occasional anemic YSA "defense" of

other leftists! We reprint YSAer Dennis Hoppe's note below, leaving all grammatical and spelling errors as contained in the original.

July 2, 1980

Irene

It sounds to me like you (in the SYL) have gotten all the publicity mileage out of this incident that you could. I'm not in the mood for offering help to the SYL to continue making SYL "PR" and "B.S."—unless there were an informal promise on the part of the A² [Ann Arbor] SYL to work to help socialist campaigns, such as the Andrew Pulley/Zimmerman candidacy, a success in Ann Arbor, rather than organize to disrupt these events, in behalf of the Democratic and Republican youth brigades, as has happened in the past.

If the SYL spent as much time and effort into challenging the Democratic and Republican party events, as you do asking "questions" of socialists, you wouldn't be reduced to asking for statements from small YSA chapters in Ann Arbor every time your org's politics were mis-represented in the press. The SYL would get a lot of support if you endorsed Pulley/Zimmerman for president. Please read and slip under our door.

Dennis Hoppe
YSA

Madison: Stop Anti-Porn Crusaders!

Jerry Falwell, right-wing TV evangelist, blew into Madison, Wisconsin September 15 with his "All American Singers" to rally the faithful in his crusade to refurbish American morals. Falwell is the head of "Moral Majority," a Christian fundamentalist group which is a large financial backer of the Reagan campaign. His "Old-Time Gospel Hour," which is heard on over six hundred TV and radio stations, has an estimated audience of 21 million. About 800 people attended Falwell's bible-thumping, flag-waving rally at the State Capitol. But this wasn't the only reception he got in Madison. Two counterdemonstrations were organized to "greet" Falwell. The first was a picket of his 11:00 a.m. shindig. It encompassed everyone from the Stalinist Progressive Labor Party to liberal Christian types and sported such slogans as "Jesus Yes, Falwell No!... Worship God, Not America" and "Falwell Plus Reagan Equals Disaster." The second counterdemo, held on the campus mall, was organized by prominent local feminist Ann Gaylor's "Freedom From Religion" group and was attended by feminists from the local anti-porn groups—the fake-left March 28 Movement, the "dirty movie" picketers of Bankers Beware! and supporters of Annie Laurie Gaylor's (daughter of the above) newest literary creation, *Feminist Connection*.

So the conservative winds of the new rightward moving political climate are sweeping the country, but it's not just the right wingers who are being swept along. Of course we expect Phyllis

Schlafly, Anita Bryant (even sullied by a divorce!) and the holy-roller types to pedal their obscene anti-pornography, pro-censorship filth. But what is particularly gruesome is the feminist Women Against Pornography (WAP) movement, aping the right wing's program. The Madison anti-porn moralists are merely the local expression of this movement. Their anti-pornography campaign is not simply misguided but reactionary and dangerous, putting

these people into an objective political bloc with the most conservative forces in society: the book-burning, anti-abortion Anita Bryants, Jerry Falwells and the FBI. These are the political consequences of feminism, which puts "sisterhood" (with Phyllis Schlafly?) above class struggle.

Pornographic movies are *not* the oppressors. Movies merely reflect a violent, sexist and class-divided society. Shall we instead insist they show how

happy women are in their oppression? All those Sidney Poitier films didn't do a thing for the masses of black people or change the racist attitudes pervasive under capitalism. Marxists do not fight gay oppression through picketing "Windows" and "Cruising" but through defending democratic rights linked to the struggle to overturn capitalism and lay the material basis for replacing the nuclear family.

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Is It True...She's Off Men?



What's on Anita Bryant's face?

August was a bad month for Orange Juice Queen Anita Bryant. The Florida Citrus Commission announced that it will not renew Bryant's \$100,000 a year advertising contract. What's more, this former Miss America/born again Christian divorced her husband Bob Green (her "business manager" and an ex-football player whose sexual prowess she had publicly extolled).

This bible-thumping singer was thrust into the arena of political struggle by her aggressive opposition to the 1977 Miami electoral initiative that would have outlawed discrimination against homosexuals. A year later, in a national survey of secondary school students who were asked to "Name the person you hate the most" she tied with Hitler.

In the wake of her divorce, it's rumored that her mother says Anita is now "off men."

And, by the way, what's doing with Phyllis Schlafly? ■

Leninism vs. Stalinism on the United Front

What Strategy to Fight Fascism?

We publish below a letter Young Spartacus received in June in response to our polemic against the Communist Workers Party (CWP) last May on the strategy to fight fascism and YSP's reply.

June 17, 1980
Los Angeles

Young Spartacus:

I enjoyed your discussion of Dimitrov ["CWP Zigzags Between 'Third Period' and Popular Front," *Young Spartacus* No. 82, May 1980] and its particular relevance to the fight against fascist groups in this country. But, if you want to discuss Dimitrov, I think you should complete the discussion.

It is true that his views were presented at the CPSU's 7th Party Congress in 1935. But he only represented one half of a debate! True, it was the winning side, but the alternative position of a "united working class front" of different elements calling for dictatorship of the proletariat (The only real alternative to Dimitrov!) was written by R. Palme Dutt in his *Fascism and Socialist Revolution* [1934-35]. In this volume he clearly and brilliantly outlines the linkages of the failures of capitalism to inter-imperialist contradictions on one side and the failures of the social democrats on the other. The line which you are taking is diluted Dutt, so why not go read him and draw him into the discussion. Another Marxist discussion from the period which is also very good is Daniel Guerin's *Fascism and Big Business*. He is stronger than Dutt in explaining how fascist ideology and organization work, but weaker in explaining the causes of fascism within the contradictions of capitalism and imperialism.

Several other points remain, however:

1. By your definitions Dutt was a Stalinist. He was the head of the British CP. How can this be?

2. If you want to clearly present a political alternative to the latter day Dimitrovs, you must work out a few bugs in your line. To begin, you are correct in criticizing the CWP's [Communist Workers Party] reliance on the state, but what about your reliance on bourgeois unions and petty-bourgeois nationalist organizations? The alternative to Dimitrov is not going to liberal organizations, whether labor unions or minority organizations, as an alternative to the large bourgeoisie. This is really an extension of Dimitrov, because

you are saying there are some good factions of the bourgeoisie—in the person of union leaders and minority leaders. If you are to make a clean break with Dimitrov, as you suggest, you must make a clean break with the bourgeoisie and their immediate (and politically dependent) representatives.

3. The alternative is to turn directly to people, but not to liberal organizations in which they may have been drawn in. Furthermore, if the basis of this united front from below (qualitatively different than alliances with petty bourgeois organizations) is simply opposition to fascism (under some old CP slogan, such as the preservation of democratic rights) you have also replicated Dimitrov, not repudiated him. The clear repudiation, again as outlined by Dutt, is to call for a united front from below which is committed to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In other words, if the basis for the united front is the watering down of a communist line to draw in the good (petty) bourgeoisie—as your organization seems to be doing—you have unwittingly committed the errors which you criticize the CWP of, that is exhuming Dimitrov. It is true they do it deliberately, and you appear to do it unwittingly, but the result is the same.

4. A final point needs to be clarified, and this is the debate between Dimitrov and Dutt which you partially analyzed has already been brought up to the attention of the left. In 1971 *PL Magazine* carefully followed through the discussion, and pointed out the long list of theoretical and practical errors generated by the International Communist Movement turning to the Dimitrov formulation and abandoning the concept of the united front from below. How is it that one of the groups you decry as Stalinist figured out what your [organization] recently became aware of nine years earlier and with greater theoretical and practical precision? Is this organization really not Stalinist (and Dutt too for that matter), or does Stalinism not automatically lead to Dimitrovism?

I realize this is a long letter but I would like your reactions to some of the points I have raised, especially about how your line does not represent a clear break with Dimitrov.

Rick Platkin

Young Spartacus replies: Platkin raises once again (ostensibly from the "left")

the question of Stalinism versus Trotskyism on the united front. While his slightly crackpot letter contains a number of historical inaccuracies and political absurdities and could be easily dismissed, it provides an opportunity for *Young Spartacus* to review the elementary Leninist tactic of the united front. Particularly in the aftermath of our successful anti-fascist mobilizations in Detroit and San Francisco, we are pleased to discuss the history of the united front and its particular application to the American labor movement in the fight against the increasingly visible fascist movement.

Without specifically referring to the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) demonstration in San Francisco, called to combat a threatened "celebration" of Hitler's birthday by the Bay Area fascists, Platkin argues that this mobilization—heavily built and organized by the SL/SYL—was inherently opportunist. He accuses us of "exhuming Dimitrov." The reason? Because in addition to the communist SL/SYL, 35 elected trade-union officials as well as nine local unions endorsed and actively built the ANCAN

rally along with a number of community, minority, gay and civil rights organizations. For the first time in decades, a genuine united-front action of socialists and organized labor defended the rights of the working class and oppressed, independent of and against the efforts of the bourgeois state and politicians.

No gang of Nazis went goosestepping into San Francisco's Civic Center to celebrate Hitler's birthday and not because the police canceled their permit or the Board of Supervisors passed resolutions against the little storm-troopers. As the endorsement list for the ANCAN rally steadily grew, the cops announced that they could not guarantee the safety of the Nazi scum. The Nazis failed to show because thousands of unionists, minorities and socialists intended to sweep them off the streets. Ever since the April 19 rally, the fake-lefts have been falling all over themselves to explain away the undeniable success of the ANCAN mobilization.

Based on the simple proposition that a massive mobilization of the labor movement and its allies could stop the Nazis, the ANCAN rally was a victory and a vindication of the Leninist tactic of the united front. In contrast the Maoist-dominated Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition held a little sectarian rally, which attracted 350, a quarter mile away from the site of the proposed Nazi Hitlerfest. Fundamentally pessimistic about the ability of the working class to turn out in force to stop the brownshirts, the Maoist-dominated coalition turned instead to the strikebreaking Democrats in City Hall. Their "strategy" hinged on pressuring Mayor Feinstein and the Board of Supervisors to revoke the Nazis' permit and pass a resolution condemning the Hitler-lovers. But the Maoists found that there were very few bourgeois politicians interested in building a mass demonstration against fascism. Even after they pledged not to lay a finger on the Nazis, the Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition could only dig up one black councilman from Oakland. The opportunists, albeit empty-handed, were a quarter mile away from the action.

Platkin accuses the SL/SYL of "watering down... a communist line to



draw in the good (petty) bourgeoisie" and counterposes turning directly to the "people." In doing so, he echoes Progressive Labor's (PL) rejection of the united front in *Road to Revolution III*:

"We reject the concept of a united front with the bosses. We reject the concept of a united front with Trotskyists and the herd of various fakes in the left...."

"We believe in a united front from below that takes the form of a left-center coalition."

—PL, November 1971

Platkin speaks approvingly of the "theoretical and practical precision" of the sometime left-sounding Stalinists of Progressive Labor and is in fact a long-time supporter of their sub-reformist front group, the Committee Against Racism (CAR). It is worth noting that PL also came unglued by the success of the ANCAN demo. Before the April 19 rally PL—true to form—denounced both ANCAN and the Maoist-led splinter coalition as "calls for a pacifist counter-demonstration [which] amount to calling for 'peace to the Nazis.'" After the fact, in an article entitled "1500 Protest Against Nazis" (*Challenge*, 30 April) PL waxed eloquent about the Civic Center rally participants who were "just itching for the Nazis to show their faces," proving that when it's opportune PL will even tail the Trotskyist SL/SYL. (Naturally, they omit any mention of the SL/SYL's central role in building the ANCAN rally.)

**The United Front—
A Leninist Tactic**

The united front is a tactic employed by the vanguard party to unite the working class for practical action and to win the allegiance of non-communist workers from the reformists, centrists, labor bureaucrats and at times the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists. We wrote in "On the United Front":

"The UF can only be a reality during periods of social struggle, when the need for sharp class battles makes class unity a burning objective necessity that shakes the ranks of the non-communist workers organizations from their lethargy and day-to-day humdrum organizational parochialism, and places strongly before them the need for class



Nazis march on German Communist Party headquarters, January 1, 1933.

unity that transcends their particular organizations...."

—*Young Communist Bulletin*
No. 3, p. 8

There is a reason that the united front became a central question at the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1922. At the time of the First World Congress in 1919 it was expected that the working-class offensive in the wake of the First World War would lead to the direct overthrow of the bourgeoisie under Communist leadership. The need for the united front tactic flowed from the fact that the majority of workers in most countries had gone through the postwar revolutionary upsurge retaining their allegiance to the reformist leaderships of the trade unions and the social-democratic parties. At the same time, in the wake of the receding revolutionary tide, the bourgeoisie went on the offensive. The capitalist offensive was forcing even the reformist-led organizations into partial and defensive struggles for their lives, simply to maintain the organizational gains and standard of living they had won in the past. This situation placed on the agenda the need for a united workers front.

The Third World Congress had two tasks before it: 1) to cleanse the working class, including the ranks of the Communist parties, of all reformist and centrist elements who did not want to struggle; and 2) to learn the art of struggle, and master revolutionary tactics and strategy. Much of the ideological struggle at the Third Congress was directed against the "Lefts"—those whose revolutionary impatience caused them to lose sight of the most important preparatory and preliminary tasks of the party. The Bolsheviks counseled the young communist "Lefts" at the Congress: "Comrades, we desire not only heroic struggle, we desire first of all victory." Trotsky explained:

"Does the united front extend only to the working masses or does it also include the opportunist leaders?"

"The very posing of this question is a product of misunderstanding.

"If we were able to unite the working masses around our own banner or around our practical immediate slogans, and skip over reformist organizations, whether party or trade union, that would of course be the best thing in the world. But then the very question of the united front would not exist in its present form...."

"It is possible to see in this a rapprochement with the reformists only

from the standpoint of a journalist who believes that he rids himself of reformism by ritualistically criticizing it without ever leaving his editorial office but who is fearful of clashing with the reformists before the eyes of the working masses and giving the latter an opportunity to appraise the Communist and the reformist on the equal plane of the mass struggle.

"Behind this seemingly revolutionary fear of 'rapprochement' there really lurks a political passivity which seeks to perpetuate an order of things wherein the Communists and the reformists each retain their own rigidly demarcated spheres of influence, their own audiences at meetings, their own press,

Seventh Party Congress as Platkin says) Dimitrov was quite explicit:

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

For Platkin, included in the category of "immediate representatives" of the bourgeoisie are the trade unions. Caught in the stranglehold of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, the trade unions are nonetheless workers organizations. And in the United States, they

A cattle dealer once drove some bulls to the slaughterhouse. And the butcher came nigh with his sharp knife.

"Let us close ranks and jack up this executioner on our horns," suggested one of the bulls.

"If you please, in what way is the butcher any worse than the dealer who drove us hither with his cudgel?" replied the bulls, who had received their political education in Manuilsky's institute.

"But we shall be able to attend to the dealer as well afterwards!"

"Nothing doing," replied the bulls, firm in their principles, to the counselor. "You are trying to shield our enemies from the left; you are a social-butcher yourself."

And they refused to close ranks.

—from *Aesop's Fables*

—Leon Trotsky, "What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat," *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany*, 1932

and all this together creates an illusion of serious political struggle."

—"On the United Front,"

The First Five Years of the Communist International, Vol. 2

Platkin argues, "If you are to make a clean break with Dimitrov, as you suggest, you must make a clean break with the bourgeoisie and their immediate (and politically dependent) representatives." Why should Trotskyists make a "break" with Dimitrov? Unlike the Stalinists, we never supported his class-collaborationist line in the first place. And what does Dimitrov have to do with the Leninist united front tactic? Nothing! Dimitrov supplied the theoretical justification not for the united front but for class-collaborationist political blocs with the bourgeoisie which came to be known as popular fronts. At the Seventh Congress of the Stalinized Comintern in 1935 (not the CPSU's

are the *only* mass organizations of the proletariat. To insist that revolutionaries *never* conclude united front blocs for action with the trade unions is simply a recipe for sealing off communists from the organized working class. We refer our readers to Trotsky's polemic against the sectarian policies of Stalin's "Third Period" in *What Next?* Trotsky noted that "just as the trade union is the rudimentary form of the united front in the economic struggle, so the soviet is the highest form of the united front under the conditions in which the proletariat enters the epoch of fighting for power." He goes on to argue that "the refusal by the Communist Party to make arrangements and take joint action with other parties within the working class means nothing else but the refusal to create soviets" (emphasis in original in both quotes).

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Workers Vanguard Photo

Phone workers contingent at April 19 anti-Nazi demonstration, San Francisco.



Roger Violette



Liaison

Price of Stalinist "popular front" with "democratic" bourgeoisie: workers' blood. Above, Franco's terror, Spain 1936. Right, Chile 1973.

United Front...

(continued from page 7)

Moreover, Platkin's attitude toward the unions is totally at variance with the practice of Progressive Labor which he upholds as the real "left" alternative to Dimitrov. In the history of the communist movement, there are and have been ultra-left and anarchist organizations which refused on principle to work in the unions, but PL is not one of them. Far from a "leftist" policy, PL's left-center coalitionism in the unions has led to the worst kind of sub-reformist economism and support to "lesser evil" bureaucrats in the United Auto Workers, Communications Workers, AFSCME and other unions.

Cloaked in the phraseology of revolutionary intransigence, blanket opposition to the united front actually represents political passivity, conservatism and a lack of revolutionary will. "No united front with the reformists" is simply an inverted non-aggression pact with the reformists, an implicit agreement not to fight them on their own turf. Far from such a pact, the united front implies a sharpening of the political struggle with the reformist misleaders. For instance, the unions, black organizations, Chicano, Jewish and gay

groups all had a vital interest in stopping the fascist filth. The proposal of a concrete joint action to these organizations gave their respective leaderships the choice of either openly opposing the action or appearing on the same platform with the communists. The vanguard party must retain full freedom to criticize its temporary allies in the united front, something that the Spartacist League took full advantage of on April 19. The dual nature of the united front is captured in the slogan, "March separately, strike together," and the party must be ready to break with the reformists and centrists when they become a brake on the struggle.

Such was the case in Detroit on November 10. The SL and militant auto workers attempted to mobilize the powerful UAW to stop a planned Klan march in Detroit, a march called to "celebrate" the Greensboro massacre. Criminally, the UAW tops refused to put the weight of the Detroit labor movement behind the anti-Klan rally. The "liberal" black mayor, Coleman Young, threatened to arrest any demonstrators—Klan or anti-Klan. We were *de facto* forced into a united front "from below" under these circumstances and took the call for the demonstration directly to the factory gates and working-class neighborhoods. The result was a rally composed of the "hard

core" of largely black, advanced workers willing to defy the criminal inaction of the UAW tops and stand up to a hostile city government and the possibility of arrest. It was critical that the Klan be stopped in the labor/black town of Detroit. And they were stopped despite the sabotage of the union bureaucrats—a victory for the entire working class and oppressed. However, we did not choose to limit the strength of the anti-Klan mobilization, the only such action to occur in the wake of Greensboro, to a hard core of 500. Much more powerful would have been thousands-strong contingents from the unions putting the Klan and City Hall on notice that "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!"

"The United Front from Below"—History of Betrayal

Platkin fails to address the fact that the revolutionary-sounding "united front from below" has a history: it was the policy of the Stalinized Comintern from 1928 to 1935, the "Third Period." Is Platkin really unaware of the results? The triumph of Hitler and the decimation of the German proletariat were a world historic defeat for the working class.

The policies of the "Third Period" followed the cumulative failures of Stalin's 1924-27 policies of conciliating the colonial bourgeoisie and the trade-union reformists abroad as well as the kulaks at home. During this period, Lenin's united front tactic was degraded to an instrument for class collaboration and counterrevolution. In China, Stalin's "united front" with the bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang (KMT), resulting in the complete liquidation of the Chinese Communist Party, led to the massacre of tens of thousands of Communist and working-class militants in the Shanghai insurrection of 1927 and killed for two decades the possibility of anti-capitalist revolution in China. In Britain, Stalin allied with the British trade-union bureaucrats in the "Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee." The Comintern did not see this as a temporary alliance with British trade-union leaders but as a long-lasting co-partnership. This alliance was preserved through the betrayals of the 1926 General Strike and the miners strike, lending the prestige of the Bolshevik Revolution and Communism to the strikebreaking Trades Union Congress tops.

From these disasters of Stalin's rightist course were born the ultra-left policies of the "Third Period." In Germany, Stalin proclaimed the reformist Social Democratic Party (SPD) to be "social fascist" and thus eliminated any possibility of an SPD-KPD (German Communist Party) united front against Hitler's increasingly strong forces. Of course, it's quite true that the SPD misleaders prepared the way for fascism. It was Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske that beheaded the 1918-19 revolution and murdered Karl Lieb-

necht and Rosa Luxemburg. In 1929 the Social Democrat Zoergeibel drowned the KPD May Day march in blood. At every step on Hitler's road to power the reformists capitulated rather than fight.

Trotsky called the Social Democratic bureaucracy the "rottenest portion of putrefying capitalist Europe." But despite the counterrevolutionary betrayals of the leadership of the SPD, the Social Democrats still led millions of workers and within certain limits were constrained to reckon with their deluded proletarian constituency as well as with their bourgeois masters. The victory of fascism would mean the annihilation of the organizations of Social Democracy. While the SPD leaders did not want to fight, for the Social Democratic ranks it was a matter of life and death. The KPD's refusal to utilize this contradiction was an act of gross stupidity and treachery. The united front would set class against class, defending the workers' organizations against the stormtroopers and at the same time expose in action the hesitations, vacillations and abhorrence of socialist revolution that lie at the heart of Social Democracy. Trotsky insisted that in the war against fascism the Communists must be ready to conclude practical military alliances with the devil and his grandmother, even with Noske and Zoergeibel.

But the Stalinists continued to follow their sectarian-defeatist logic, captured in the slogan "After Hitler—Us." Millions of workers organized in the SPD and KPD were ready and eager to crush the Nazis, but Hitler came to power without a shot being fired because of the policies of the Stalinist "Third Period."

The Popular Front

At the end of 1933, with the triumph of Hitler and the renewed threat of imperialist attack, the panic-stricken Stalinist bureaucracy zigzagged once again. In a desperate search for allies, the Comintern sought to ingratiate itself with the "democratic" imperialist bourgeoisies through calculated containment of revolutionary proletarian movements in Europe. Where a year before the Stalinists had refused blocs with bourgeois workers parties, they were now prepared to make alliances with the bourgeoisie itself, including participation in capitalist governments. Enter Dimitrov, who provided the justification for these treacherous class-collaborationist *political* blocs at the expense of proletarian revolution under the catch phrase "the united front against fascism."

Platkin claims that the positions of R. Palme Dutt were the only real alternative to the Dimitrov/Stalin line. From the 1920s through the mid-1960s Dutt was one of the leading intellectuals and ideologues of the Communist Party of Great Britain. It is true that in *Fascism and Social Revolution* Dutt

CHALLENGE

The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper

Smash the Nazis in S.F.!

SAN FRANCISCO—The fight against the Nazis and the Klan continues as PLP and InCAR build for a demonstration to smash the Nazis "birthday party" for Hitler on April 19 at the Civic Center. Our determination to stop these scum stands in sharp contrast to the two fake left anti-fascist coalitions, whose calls for a pacifist counter-demonstration amount to calling for "peace to the Nazis." We, and thousands of Bay Area workers, are demanding "death to the Nazis."

IN HAYWOOD, WHERE A BLACK AUTO WORKER singlehandedly stopped Klan leafletting; in Santa Rosa, where we led 400 youth in running the Nazis off the street; in Walnut Creek; Castro Valley; San Francisco—everywhere, workers have shown their determination to stop these racist worms from spreading their masters' filth. This is a proud record, and we are proud of our part in it. And this is the record the phony leftists belittle when they help protect the Nazis and Klan by trying to misdirect the anger of the working class.

Response to our leaflets and canvassing for April 19 has been strong. Residents in the nearby Freedom West apartments have welcomed us, and workers in the streets and on buses have been asking for our leaflets. This response makes it imperative for us to organize even harder. When the city is prepared to spend \$100,000 to protect the Nazis, and doubled the MUNI bus fare, and is planning to slash other services, we can see what kind of future Mayor Feinstein and the local rulers are planning to build with the help of their Nazi-Klan friends. Thus, we see even more clearly the need to build a mass revolutionary movement to stop it.

FLASH: As we go to press, the Chief of Police and his partner, Nazi leader Alan Vincent have just agreed to call off the April 19 rally because the police feel unable to guarantee the safety of their Nazi friends in the Civic Center. However, this will not stop PLP and InCAR from marching and rallying on the 19th, assembling at Fell and Laguna at 10:00 am.

April 23, 1980

San Francisco

1500 Protest Against Nazis

SAN FRANCISCO, April 19—WELL OVER 1,500 workers and students rallied in front of the Civic Center here, just itching for the Nazis to show their faces. But the fascist scum didn't dare come in, in spite of their massive publicity up and down the state. One after another, the amassed anti-racists disappointment that they didn't get the chance to finish the fascists off then and there. There is no doubt that thousands more would have shown up if the Nazis had not cancelled out over a week before. For example, one rank-and-file phone worker shop steward had commitments from over a dozen workers (organized in a phone tree) in case the Nazis showed.

April 30, 1980

Changed Your Mind, PL?

Progressive Labor Party (PL) on ANCAN mobilization: Before demonstration (left) PL says ANCAN promotes "peace to the Nazis." After demonstration, PL lauds event but fails to mention the SL or its own line change.

denounced those who declared the "existing bourgeois dictatorship" to be a "lesser evil" than the victory of Fascism," but to see this as a polemic against Dimitrov is absurd. The change in the Comintern's line was so abrupt and unevenly implemented that initially even some of the most loyal Stalinist hacks were caught marching out of step. Dutt spoke in favor of Dimitrov's resolution at the Seventh World Congress and was for the first time elected as a candidate member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. How can Dutt be called a Stalinist? In addition to his grandiloquent praise for Stalin himself ("the genius and will of Stalin, the architect of the rising world of free humanity," etc., etc.) suffice it to say that for 40 years he popularized and promoted every twist and turn of Moscow's line in the pages of *Labour Monthly*.

There is an organic unity between the methodology of the "Third Period" and the popular front. At bottom both represent a lack of confidence in the proletariat's ability to conquer state power. During the "Third Period" the Stalinists abstained from fighting class collaborationism; with the popular front policy they simply embraced it. The net result was the same.

Who opposed the Dimitrov/Stalin line which led to bloody defeat for the working class in Spain and headed off a pre-revolutionary situation in France during the 1930s? Only the Trotskyists. To the popular front, the Trotskyists counterposed a working-class united front to smash the fascists. Instead of depending on the republican generals and the police, the Trotskyists called for workers militias based on the trade unions.

This Trotskyist tradition is today embodied in the program of the Spartacist League/SYL. Against the "ban the Klan" reformism of the Stalinists, the revolting defense of "free speech for fascists" of the social democratic SWP, and the episodically substitutionist antics of PL/CAR and the CWP we have successfully fought for labor/black mobilizations to smash the fascist scum. No other left organization in the U.S. can claim to have responded to the Greensboro massacre by mobilizing black and white trade unionists against the KKK as we did in Detroit; nor has anyone but the SL/SYL put forward and implemented the mass mobilization of the organized labor movement against the fascist threat as occurred in the ANCAN demonstration. The basis for Leninist principles and tactics, as proven by the history of the world working class, is what works. ■

Klan...

(continued from page 1)

hispanics—with the residents inside. Such threats are deadly serious!

Victims Prosecuted as KKK Killers Go Free

It is precisely for this reason that the capitalist government coddles the fascists, knowing that in a period of crisis and working-class upsurge the Klan will be a necessary weapon to break the back of the labor movement and suppress restive minorities fed up with capitalist oppression. Thus in Greensboro, several survivors of the massacre—the victims—are being prosecuted, while the case against some of the Klan/Nazi murderers is sabotaged by the public prosecutor. The Chattanooga gunmen have been set free. Two of the victims of the San Diego beatings were arrested by one of the *assailants*, who turned out to be a cop, and none of the Klan attackers or bombers have been put behind bars.

In Scotland hundreds of state troopers armed with automatics and attack dogs patrolled the perimeter of the crossburning to protect the fascists from outraged anti-Klan demonstrators. Well before September 13 a court

Protest NBC Platform for KKK

Endorsers

- Spartacist League/U.S. Partisan Defense Committee**
Frank Donner, attorney
Conrad Lynn, attorney
William Kunstler, attorney
Naomi Jay, National Secretary of Habonim Labor Zionist Youth
Daniel Soyer, Secretary, Jewish Socialist Youth Bund
David Lutzker, National Secretary, Hashomer Hatzair
Ritchie Bradley, Militant Solidarity Caucus, United Auto Workers Local 906, Mahwah, NJ
Gene Herson, Militant-Solidarity Caucus, National Maritime Union
Rabbi Charles Sheer, Columbia University Jewish Student Union
Rabbi Ronald Roness, Hillel Director, City College
Andrea Snegroff, Vice President, Communications Workers of America Local 1150
Charon Glodwyn, Vice President, Communications Workers of America Local 1150
Spartacus Youth League
David Thorstad, gay activist
American Indian Movement
Donald Banks, AIM
Charles R. Garry, attorney
Robert Allen, editor, *Black Scholar*
Diana Coleman, 1980 candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors
Howard Keylor, Executive Board, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10
Stan Gow, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10
Larry Ackerman, steward, Communications Workers of America Local 9410
Paul Costan, steward, CWA Local 9410
Spence S. Burton, education director, California Association of Letter Carriers

order had banned guns from Scotland. As anti-Klan protesters got off buses in the green that afternoon, the cops frisked each one to ensure that they were all unarmed. While the arrest of Wilkinson for possession of a pistol was well-publicized, the only gunshots that night were fired by Klansmen. Black state Representative Thirman Milner compared this to the way the Black Panther Party was treated when it came into Connecticut: it was harassed and imprisoned out of existence.

Neither moral protest vigils nor indecisive confrontations can prevent the Klan/Nazis from carrying out their program of terror on blacks, unionists, leftists and all minorities. Only massive mobilizations backed by the power of the labor movement and minority organizations—mobilizations that are prepared to *smash* the fascists—can prevent Klan terror. Only two such mobilizations have taken place in the last year in the U.S., both initiated and organized by the Spartacist League (SL) and its supporters in the unions. In Detroit last November 10 a labor/black rally, 500 strong, prevented a Klan march in the center of the city; in San Francisco last April 19 over 1,200—mostly unionists—turned out to stop a Nazi "Hitlerfest" at the Civic Center.

While several protests were organized against the Klan in Scotland, none went beyond "making a statement." Chapters of the NAACP stayed out of Scotland altogether and held vigils in their respective cities. Some cranks calling themselves "Citizens of New Haven" maintained a silent vigil outside former Minuteman Francis Rood's field, where the crossburning was held, with a banner that said, "Racism destroys us all." An ad hoc Coalition Against the Klan brought several hundred to the Scotland town green, a mile and a half from Rood's property, to listen to music and impotent speeches.

PL: "Militant" Exorcism

The largest anti-Klan action was organized by the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and its Committee Against Racism (CAR). In a leaflet building for the demonstration ("Stop the KKK") PL/CAR proclaimed that they "have

Telegram

MSG. NO.	CLASS.	PR.-COLL.	CASH NO.	ACCOUNTING INFORMATION	DATE	FILING TIME	SENT TIME
							A.M. P.M.

24 September 1980
 Tom Snyder
 c/o National Broadcasting Corp.
 New York, NY

We vigorously oppose NBC giving the KKK "Imperial Wizard" Bill Wilkinson national network time on the Tom Snyder show tonight. The KKK and Nazis are fascist action groups committed to the mass murder of Jews, blacks, unionists and leftists as demonstrated from Greensboro, North Carolina to Fontana, California. Nazis and Klansmen came from throughout North America to "celebrate" Hitler's Birthday on April 19 at a "Hitlerfest" in North Carolina. On that same day Klansmen burned crosses and gunned down four black women in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Nazis were prevented from a similar "Hitlerfest" in San Francisco only by a mass demonstration of 1,200 unionists, Jews, blacks, gays, Chicanos and other enemies of fascist terror. Fascists use the media only to mobilize for genocide and their appearance on national TV can only fuel their ominous growth and boldness. No platform for Bill Wilkinson!

- Norman Huntsman**, International Association of Machinists District Lodge 56 and Local Lodge 739
Willy Lee Bell, chairman, Civil Rights Committee, IAM Local 739
Alice Walker, author
Rick Flores, Vice President, United Steel Workers Local 2869, Fontana, CA
Alvin S. Gant, President, Mailhandlers Union Local 302, San Francisco
Ron Tyeskey, President, Local 214, National Association of Letter Carriers, San Francisco

- Vince Courtney**, Executive Secretary, SEIU Local 400, Secretary-Treasurer, Northern California Joint Council of Service Employees
Fernando Guerrero, President, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-1978

(organizational affiliation listed for identification purposes only)

NAACP and Urban League also sent their own telegrams of protest.

already opposed and prevented Klan rallies" and "we... intend to do the same here." But this was just window dressing. In truth PL/CAR never planned for more than a "militant" moral protest. In a statement to the *Hartford Advocate* (17 September) CAR spokesman Jim Drozd said, "The chances of violence will be very slim.... We'll march to their site and uh... uh... I suppose we'll just chant!"

The PL/CAR march got only as far as the cops allowed. After this futile attempt to "smash" the Klan through exorcism, PL/CAR began marching back toward the Scotland green. The demonstrators managed to thrash some Klan latecomers along the way, suffering some casualties themselves. (The *Advocate* of 24 September reports that two WBAI reporters were mistaken for Klansmen and beaten as well.) At one point, armed only with sticks, they smashed the windows of a van heading for the Klan rally. A shot was fired from inside the van and mass confusion ensued. Reporters expecting another Greensboro rushed to the scene and anti-Klan demonstrators scattered into the surrounding fields. Only luck prevented serious injury to the marchers under PL/CAR's leadership. Upon returning to Scotland, one CAR spokesman, Herbert Goldstone, wailed, "I never expected this at all. I thought there would be police security the whole way" (*New Haven Register*, 14 September).

Now PL's newspaper, *Challenge* (24 September), mendaciously trumpets this event as "just another successful action... led by InCAR and PLP, in which the Klan was smashed"!!! An organization that refuses to deal with facts can never present itself as the revolutionary leadership. Fact: On September 13 the Klan held a crossburning that was not disrupted in any way. Fact: The next night these scum had another crossburning. The Klan is far from being "smashed," and through these actions has laid the basis for organized racist terror in depressed eastern Connecticut. PL's lies can only lull the masses and divert them from the urgent danger the Klan represents.

PL's response to the Klan is the

reformism of moral protest with the militant veneer of occasional indecisive, unplanned physical confrontations which it then palms off as "victories." But PL is incapable of mobilizing sufficient forces. They reject united front actions based on the unions, like the April 19 San Francisco anti-Nazi rally to physically smash the fascists. This task belongs to the SL. Through the militant class-struggle caucuses which it supports in the unions the SL fights for revolutionary leadership of the working class, while exploiting divisions in the union bureaucracy to bring out masses of workers as on April 19.

Race War versus Class War

On September 24 Klansman Wilkinson went on Tom Snyder's talk show to spew his racist trash. A telegram initiated by the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee received the endorsements of union leaders and militants and defenders of democratic rights opposed to giving Wilkinson a platform for recruiting armed terrorists for a "race war" (see this issue).

The fascists know what they want: a "white power" society, a "union-free environment," enforced by concentration camps and genocide against racial and religious minorities. North Carolina Nazi Harold Covington says whites must "rebarbarize." Despite the tepid efforts of Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan to dissociate themselves from the Klan and appear as "respectable" racist politicians, the Klan program is the right-wing domestic counterpart to the Carter/Reagan anti-Soviet war preparations.

The warmongering in the presidential election and the recent strengthening of the Klan pose with intensified urgency Marx's dictum that the future of humanity is either socialism or barbarism. The SL/SYL have taken the lead in organizing labor-centered mobilizations to crush these race-hating, labor-hating terrorists. These exemplary actions point toward the need for a workers party to establish a workers government so that these fascist scum are crushed forever! ■

Turn the Guns Around...

(continued from page 1)

and slaughtering each other's people. Whoever wins this war, the working people of Iran and Iraq will be the losers.

Both the self-proclaimed "imam" of Shi'ite Muslims, Ayatollah Khomeini, and the pan-Arab nationalist colonels of Baghdad seek to exploit the real grievances engendered by religious and national oppression in each other's countries. The Ba'athist colonels no doubt thought their pan-Arab nationalism would appeal to the Sunni Arabs who constitute the majority in Iran's oil-rich province of Khuzistan, appropriately called Arabistan by Arab nationalists. For this Arab population is doubly oppressed, both as a religious and a national minority, by the Shi'ite bigoted and Persian chauvinist mullahs of Qum and Teheran. While a few Khuzistan Arabs fight beside the Iraqi army most have fled into the desert to escape the hostilities. The Arab uprising in Khuzistan expected by Baghdad when Iraqi tanks crossed the Shatt al-Arab waterway never materialized. The Iraqi army was thereby condemned to wage a slow war of attrition, a war they were not prepared for.

Conversely, although Shi'ites in Iraq constitute a majority of the Arab population, they suffer discrimination under the Ba'athist regime. The Ba'ath ("Arab Socialist") party claims a secular outlook but its leaders are recruited almost exclusively from Arabs of Sunni background. Khomeini's Shi'ite "Islamic Revolution" calls upon Iraqi Shi'ite Arabs to rise up against the Ba'athist "infidel" and broadcasts the speeches of "Imam" Muhammad al-Bakr al-Sadr, the religious leader of the Iraqi Shi'ites assassinated by the Ba'athists. But the Shi'ite Arabs of Iraq are aware that Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" is as Persian chauvinist as it is Shi'ite and it has little appeal for them.

The national question in Iraq and Iran is not without its economic importance as the oil wealth of these countries is concentrated in areas where national minorities (with kinsmen across the border) predominate. The northern Iraqi oil fields are in the Kurdish areas near Mosul and Kirkuk and virtually all of Iran's oil is to be found in Arab Khuzistan. Were Iran to lose Khuzistan it might degenerate into an economic backwater like Afghanistan.

For the Kurds, Hussein's and Khomeini's war is a contest between their genocidal oppressors. But if the contending states are sufficiently weakened or preoccupied with their war on the Gulf, the Kurdish people may have their best chance in decades to win the



Bani Sadr posing with Iranian troops.

long struggle for self-determination and an independent nation-state.

U.S. Hands Off the Gulf!

The U.S. imperialists, and especially their West European and Japanese allies, have been thrown into a panic over the possibility that the Iran-Iraq war might cut off the export of Persian Gulf crude oil. The Straits of Hormuz, through which pass a third of the capitalist world's oil and two-thirds of West Europe and Japan's, are one of the strategic targets in the war. Iraq has demanded that the Iranians give up three "Arab" islands commanding the Straits and Iran has threatened to close them off completely. The U.S. responded by beefing up its fleet in the region with a second carrier and by sending four AWAC command and radar planes with support personnel to Saudi Arabia. Defense Secretary Harold Brown told the press that, "We have in the Arabian Sea the most powerful concentration of naval force, including naval air forces, that have ever been in that area... The United States has the predominant military power near the Straits and it's our intention to see that they're kept open" (*New York Times*, 6 October).

All left and labor militants must demand that U.S. and NATO imperialist forces get out of the Arabian Sea and

out of the Indian Ocean. If the U.S. intervenes militarily it would be the duty of Marxists to support the military victory of whatever forces, Iraqi, Iranian or others, opposed the troops of the American imperialists. Such an intervention would also risk drawing the Soviet degenerated workers state into the conflict, in which case revolutionaries would offer unconditional military support to the Soviet forces, guardians of the USSR's socialized property against imperialist attack.

For the moment the U.S. poses as "neutral" in the war, if only because the capitalist rulers can't figure out whose victory or defeat would harm their interests more. Iraqi dismemberment of Iran might result in the overthrow of Khomeini, removing a thorn from Carter's side but only at the expense of weakening an anti-communist and anti-Soviet bulwark against the USSR. Carter has more or less openly offered to trade Khomeini spare parts for his U.S.-built weapons in exchange for the embassy hostages, but the Iranians aren't biting.

Iran, Iraq and the Left

As might be expected, many of the supposed "revolutionaries" and "socialists" of the world have turned up in the Iranian camp. Like many Iranian leftists who are reportedly falling over them-

selves to sign up for Khomeini's army, the camp followers of the mullah-led Iranian revolution in Europe and the U.S. have rallied round the "Islamic Republic" in its hour of danger. For the Iranians the explanation is relatively simple: capitulation to a tremendous frenzy of patriotic fervor. But groups like the U.S. Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), one of the biggest Khomeini boosters here, seek the reflected glory of a revolution (even a reactionary political revolution). The SWP long ago chose to become the ayatollah's left-wing lawyers in the U.S.

When Khomeini ordered women into veils, the SWP/YSA declared the symbol of Islamic oppression of women to be a symbol... of anti-imperialism. When Khomeini forcibly closed the universities to crush the left, the SWP/YSA hailed it as a "revolutionary" act, even condemning those leftists who, like the Fedayeen guerrillas, defended themselves from the rightist thugs and government troops. When Khomeini declared war on the Kurds, the SWP/YSA refused to defend the Kurdish people's right to a separate state. So it's no surprise to find that the SWP, declaring that, "The Iranian revolution is under attack," is rushing to blame Iraq's attack on Jimmy Carter and to call for an Iranian victory. Only the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League, who from the beginning of Khomeini's rise to power took up the slogan, "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs!" have maintained a revolutionary Marxist position on this capitalist border war.

In Iran itself the Fedayeen, the most important Iranian left-wing group, blames Iraq for the war, as did a group of Fedayeen supporters in Indiana who handed out a petition denouncing Iraqi "aggression" at a Bloomington anti-draft conference September 28. But a minority faction of the Fedayeen apparently has grave doubts about the war. A position paper of the group distributed in late September stated that, "We have to show the masses that the present government is neither worthy of protecting the country's borders, nor can it meet the fundamental demands and needs of the people." Condemning the war, the statement concluded that, "Our line of action will be in the direction of a proletarian position and in the interests of the oppressed and not from the point of view of nationalism and bourgeois patriotism."

It is among the ranks of those leftists in Iran and Iraq who can consistently stand up to "bourgeois patriotism" and war frenzy that the cadres will be found to build genuine revolutionary workers parties, Trotskyist parties, in the Middle East. It is such parties alone that will be able to lead the Arab and Iranian working masses to victory, sweeping aside the Husseins and Khomeinis to build a socialist federation of the Middle East. ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Trotskyist League of Canada

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

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

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

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Coleman...

(continued from page 12)

wars the profit-mad ruling class has in store for us. The capitalist state can't be reformed to serve the interests of workers and poor people. It must be replaced by a workers state and it will take a socialist revolution to get one.

Diana Coleman's program is the Trotskyist program of class struggle. While cops and Klansmen run wild in the streets, honest working people must safeguard the right of self defense.

COLEMAN NEEDS CASH

The so-called "non-partisan" election for San Francisco Board of Supervisors is a hypocritical farce. Behind the capitalist candidates stand the big party machines with their "big bucks." They have their message of war and soft-core racism all over the media, and their expensive posters plastered on lamp posts and billboards from the Mission to the Sunset district. Behind Diana Coleman stands a program of working-class struggle, a program to change the world. But it takes more than endless hours of hard work by volunteers to get her program onto the streets and into the factories of San Francisco. It takes money.

In this year of the Carter/Reagan and KKK election, Diana Coleman's candidacy is the only one *anywhere* which offers working people a chance to cast a vote in their own interest. We hope readers of *Workers Vanguard* everywhere will come to see this campaign as their own. Urgent—contribute to the Coleman campaign! Checks should be made payable and sent to:

Spartacist Party Campaign
Committee
Suite 729, 55 Sutter St.
San Francisco, CA 94104

Down with gun control—No guns for cops! For labor/black mobilizations to stop the Klan and Nazis. More San Francisco April 19ths—No more Greensboro massacres! Carter tells poor women who need an abortion that "Life is not fair" while Reagan calls for a constitutional amendment to ban abortions. The Anita Bryant sickos preach fire and brimstone against homosexuality and the feminist "Legion of Decency" tries to ban pornography. The despairing, frenzied eco-freaks bleed for Great White Sharks and little fishes but don't give a damn about human beings. For free abortion on demand—Free 24-hour child care! Pass the ERA! Free available safe birth control! Equal pay for equal work! Keep the state out of consensual sexual activity—Down with anti-gay laws and cop harassment! Full democratic rights for gays! No laws against pornography, drug use, prostitution! Down with all censorship!

This rotten, dying system is destroying a whole generation of minority youth. Unwilling and unable to provide education or jobs for black and Latino young people, the bosses' government offers only jail, the unemployment lines or the army. The explosion of black wrath in Miami was met by a reign of terror by the cops and a few more lying promises by "ethnic purity" Carter. It is the power of the working class, black, Latino and white, not programless eruptions of ghetto rage, that offers a way forward. Diana Coleman says: Jobs for all—End discrimination in schools, housing, education, jobs! Not union-busting "affirmative action" but special union programs for recruiting, upgrading, training of minorities and women! For union hiring halls! Free quality higher education for all! Open admissions! Nationalize the private colleges—Free tuition and a living stipend! For bilingual education! Defend busing to achieve integration and extend it to the suburbs! Stop the deportations—Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers!



Diana Coleman campaigning.

Young people don't want to be cannon fodder for World War III and are up in arms against the draft. But the various "anti-draft" coalitions ignore or hide the *cause* of the drive for the draft: the imperialists' craving for a counter-revolution in the USSR to restore capitalism. Just like Carter and his Dr. Z. Strangelove Brzezinski, the liberals, Maoists and social-democrats who run these coalitions love the mullahs in Afghanistan who fight for the "freedom" to sell women and stop little girls from learning to read. No to the draft—Down with Carter/Reagan/Anderson's anti-Soviet war drive! While fighting to replace the Kremlin bureaucrats with democratically-elected workers councils (soviets) through a workers political revolution, we stand for the defense of the Soviet Union. The planned, collectivized economy of the Soviet state, won through the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917, is an historic gain of the working class. Just as we defend the unions against cops, strikebreakers and scabs, so we stand with the Soviet Union against the imperialists, the mullahs and

the tsar-lovers. Hail the Red Army in Afghanistan! The pacifists with their die-ins, teach-ins and "Reagan for Shah" joke-ins will not stop World War III. Pacifism never stopped any wars, and the professional pacifists become flag-waving patriots when war breaks out. The U.S. war machine will never disarm itself: the only "disarmament" that can stop war is the arming of the working class to defeat, disarm and expropriate the bourgeoisie. The road to peace is the road of the class struggle.

So students have a real choice in this election. You *don't* have to pick from among the capitalist candidates or just do nothing out of disgust. Your skills and energy can make a difference in the Diana Coleman socialist campaign. The exciting work of spreading class-struggle politics is the best way to help fight to change the world and an important opportunity to learn more about the liberating program of world socialist revolution. Join the Diana Coleman campaign! Join Students for Coleman! ■

Madison Anti-Porn...

(continued from page 5)

At bottom the WAP-types are fighting for censorship. And it's the capitalist state which will administer this censorship if they are successful. It was only a few years ago that a community in "hip" California obtained a State Supreme Court ruling against "obscene" material. The first thing censored was a women's gynecological self-help booklet. Or what about Jean Oxenburg's "A Comedy in Six Unnatural Acts" (a satire on female stereotypes popular among feminists) which was banned in Provincetown, Massachusetts? The author's response was, "I just can't understand how they could lump it in with pornography." "The only state that went for McGovern" in 1972 has also reinstated school prayer, and at

Harvard University last summer a showing of "Deep Throat" was banned on campus.

So who decides what can and cannot be seen or read or even thought? No matter what "good intentions" underlie the feminist campaign against porn, once censorship laws are in effect, they become weapons which are used against the left, the oppressed and even women's self-help books!

As Marxists we oppose attempts at puritanical censorship whether launched by open reactionaries or by this new feminist "Legion of Decency." Pornography is not the source of violence against women. Rather it is the capitalist system, with its enforced poverty, rigid family structure and straitjacket morality which breeds the deadly frustrations which explode into violence.

Communists take up the fight against *all* forms of social oppression. However, some "left" groups unite with the worst elements of the right wing and embrace

much of the backwardness prevalent throughout society. So the anti-porn feminists aren't the only ones who find themselves in a bloc with the right wing. Falwell's statement that "...the husband-wife team is the ideal unit" sounds all too similar to a position held by both Progressive Labor and the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade that the family is "the fighting unit for socialism." The pro-family and anti-gay positions of these fake-leftists are those of Falwell and Reagan and have nothing in common with the heritage of Marx and Lenin. As the nucleus of the Leninist vanguard party, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League is the tribune of all oppressed people. No to censorship! Women's Liberation through Socialist Revolution! ■

WSU...

(continued from page 5)

to defend our right to campus funding, was an allocation for the SYL passed and then only by the narrow margin of 8 to 7.

This unprecedented and prolonged fight for funding at Wayne State in the aftermath of the *South End* arson frame-up underlines what we wrote in September:

"Behind the arson frame-up is the opening for right-wing fascist, terrorist organizations—on the rise today—to engage in more broad daylight massacres aided by the state. Putting a stop to the *South End's* libelous arson frame-up can be a matter of life and death for all who fight for the workers, black people, socialists and *against* those who would grind us into the mud." ■

SWP Builds Platform for Klansman Metzger

"For the first time in his campaign, Mark Friedman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the Forty-third District, was able to extensively debate his Ku Klux Klan-Democratic Party opponent Thomas Metzger.

"The debate was sponsored by the Santee Chamber of Commerce and was widely attended by the media. Claire Burgener, the Republican candidate, declined to attend because he said it would 'give Metzger a forum for his ideas.'"

—*Militant*, "SWP candidate debates Klan-Democrat," 10 October

What else can we say? A Republi-

can in southern California has more principled opposition to giving fascist scum a platform than the ex-Trotskyist SWP. For their part, the *Militant* is obviously quite proud that they made it to the "big time"—a public debate with a KKK member. They even have the *L.A. Times* on their side: "The *Los Angeles Times* has even editorialized on the need for Burgener to take up the Klan." To cap it off the SWP intends to feature the "debate" in a videotape on Friedman's campaign! Such devotion to providing an opportunity for the KKK to mobilize for lynchings, beatings and cross-burnings!

No platform for fascist scum!

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

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

New York City

Tuesday: 6:00-10:00 p.m.
Saturday: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St.
(one block below Chambers
St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y.
Phone: (212) 267-1025

Chicago

Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone: (312) 427-0003

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

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

Young Spartacus

Join Students for Coleman! It's Time for a Workers Party!

Carter, Reagan, Anderson: some choice! These capitalist politicians' only quarrel is over *who* will get to prepare war against the Soviet Union and *who* can best preside over the draft, depression and racism. Many young people regard the candidates as turkeys of a feather, and any sane person can see these guys are crazy—each claiming to have his own hotline to god. But the point is that they represent the interests of the rulers of this country, the owners of finance and industry.

But it is *not* true that students have to pick from among these candidates or their local supporters. Now there is a real choice—a candidate who tells the truth because she speaks in the interests of the working class and the oppressed. Diana Coleman, a supporter of the Spartacist League, the organization that initiated the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) that stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in San Francisco, is running for San Francisco Supervisor. Coleman, 34, is a socialist union militant born in San Francisco, who has been an activist in the civil rights, antiwar and women's movements. An active union militant for ten years, she was an organizer for ANCAN. Diana Coleman says: "Enough! It's time for a workers party!"

Students for Coleman chapters are being formed at SF State, City College and other campuses. Students—join us in building the only campaign with a solution to the burning problems facing

society. Students for Coleman will go to the campuses, the factory gates, the picket lines and unemployment lines, the anti-draft demos, to the Mission, the Castro and Ingleside with the program of class struggle.

Diana Coleman is running on a revolutionary platform of mobilizing the labor movement and minorities to struggle for what they need to live a decent life. A vote for Diana Coleman is a vote against Carter/Reagan/Anderson, against the bosses, against the draft. It is a vote for mass labor/minority action to keep the Klan and Nazis on the run. It is a vote against the capitalist politicians' drive for thermonuclear war on the Soviet Union.

Diana Coleman says the working class needs its own political party. The unions, minorities, working-class youth must break from the Democrats and Republicans and reject their "lesser-evil" shell game. A workers party, but not like the British Labor Party, which runs the capitalist state for the capitalists. We need a

workers party based on the unions that fights to put an end to capitalism—that fights for a workers government, a completely different kind of government based on the power and organization of the working class. This kind of government isn't going to be voted in at the polls. The capitalists have made a complete mess of society. It's going to take a socialist revolu-

tion to set things right.

So this is a unique campaign. It's a far cry from the stodgy reformist stuff of the Communist Party's Gus Hall and Angela Davis and the Socialist Workers Party's scab Andrew Pulley. While we defend their right to be on the ballot, these fake-leftists don't deserve any votes. They opposed ANCAN's successful fight to keep the Nazis off the streets of San Francisco. They try to outdo each other in their pathetic pleas to the bosses to put "people before profits." But capitalism puts nothing before profits. Only a workers government can meet the needs of the majority for productive, useful jobs, education, freedom from racial and sexual oppression—in fact, for life itself, since only a socialist revolution can stop the

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DIANA COLEMAN FOR S.F. SUPERVISOR

Diana Coleman, a long-time socialist trade-union militant, is running for election to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Backed by the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, Coleman is using as a taking-off point for her campaign the success of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) demonstration which stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in San Francisco. Diana, as a Spartacist League supporter, was a leading organizer of this mobilization. Based on her long history of involvement in socialist and labor struggle, Coleman is waging her fight for SF Board of Supervisors as the working-class alternative to *all* the capitalist and fake-left candidates running for election this year.

Diana's active political life began as a teenager in San Francisco. In 1960 she participated in a demonstration to drive

the anti-communist witchhunters of HUAC out of town. Later she was active in the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), taking part in demonstrations and sit-ins demanding an end to segregation. In 1965, at age 19, Diana went to the Deep South in the voter registration drives organized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). She became disillusioned with SNCC's practice of registering people to vote Democrat, because she saw that the Democratic Party was very much a part of the system of official racism. When she began talking to people about the war in Vietnam, SNCC organizers tried to silence her.

Diana began searching for more radical solutions to the racism and oppression she saw around her. She was familiar with the Communist Party, but

saw it as an ossified and conservative organization which was unwilling to fight. She was attracted to the working-class orientation of the Progressive Labor Party, but repelled by its male chauvinism. Diana became a "socialist-feminist" and went into the factories to do working-class organizing.

Diana broke from feminism and became a Trotskyist in the early '70s. Her study of the Chinese Revolution convinced her of the essentially counter-revolutionary role of Maoism and Stalinism. In addition, some of her friends at the phone company had come into contact with the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) following the 1971 phone strike. MAC is the class-struggle opposition to the CWA bureaucracy, and puts forward a fighting strategy for phone workers. Diana later

got a job at the phone company and joined MAC. A member of the CWA for six years, Diana was a union steward in San Francisco Local 9410. Diana addressed the September membership meeting of Local 9410 and during the question period an endorsement of her campaign by the Militant Action Caucus was announced.

The Union of Socialist Artists, an organization of San Francisco art workers, has also endorsed the Coleman campaign noting in their statement that "of all candidates and special interest forces involved in the race for supervisor, only Diana Coleman and the Spartacist League represent a consistent and principled program of social transformation and support to minority and oppressed groups."

Vote Coleman! ■



Workers Vanguard Photo