

Young Spartacus

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Carter's Cold War Puts in Reagan



Enough! It's Time for a Workers Party!

"Reagan Country." Not a very appetizing prospect if you happen to be black, a trade unionist, a communist, a woman in need of an abortion, a young person who doesn't want to die for the greater "glory" of U.S. imperialism. The president-elect is an outspoken proponent of social service cuts, tax breaks for the capitalists, the elimination of the minimum wage, the reinstatement of biblical theories of creation in public schools. He proposes to put the final nail in the coffin of busing to achieve

integration. His candidacy was welcomed by the Ku Klux Klan. And he is quite capable of plunging humanity into thermonuclear war against the Soviet Union.

For the electoral victory of this chamber-of-commerce, "Manifest Destiny" cold warrior and social neanderthal, the working masses of the country can thank Jimmy Carter's Democratic Party and its loyal supporters among the black and labor misleaders. Never has the party of Hiroshima, the Bay of Pigs and Vietnam been perceived as less of a lesser evil. The 1980 election for president was marked by a certain cynicism—almost half of the eligible voting population chose to ignore their much-vaunted right to vote for one of two representatives of the ruling class. Ground down by soaring unemploy-

ment and inflation, a section of the American working class abandoned the Democrats and cast a vote for arch-reactionary Reagan. It was, in good part, a hate-Carter vote of protest against economic conditions. The black population that made Carter's 1976 election possible got four years of worse than nothing from the Democratic administration—increased joblessness and ghettoization, the ominous rise of the Klan and Nazis, more police terror à la Miami, the virtual death of school integration. The youth got Carter's reinstatement of registration for the draft—one of the major acts in his anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign to rearm, literally and figuratively, U.S. imperialism after its defeat in Indochina.

American capitalism is sick and

getting sicker and the "solutions" offered by both Democrats and Republicans reek of racist, anti-union, war-mongering reaction. Reagan campaigned on an overtly bellicose, "Big Stick" foreign policy which holds open the possibility of U.S. military intervention anywhere from the Mideast to Central America to the Soviet bloc. For either party, the ultimate solution to the U.S. economic crisis is war. It was Roosevelt's answer and it is Reagan's. Carter's "human rights" babble amounted to an anti-Soviet war drive which aimed to reclaim for the capitalist market the one-sixth of the globe ripped from the imperialists by the Bolshevik Revolution.

When Reagan says he's going to "put America to work again" he means repeal the minimum wage and slash social security, welfare, unemployment compensation. When, like George Wallace, he talks about "getting government off our backs," he means getting union-won safety requirements off the backs of the bosses, school integration off the backs of the racists and getting the state on the backs of women who want abortions. Some workers would have undoubtedly voted for just about *anyone* who opposed Carter and some identified American "weakness" with their lower standard of living. Most were just fed up with the failure of liberalism. While there is a passive tolerance among sections of the proletariat to Reagan's right-wing ideology—Reagan will discover when he tries to enforce his anti-

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Killer Klan/Nazis Acquitted — Protest Racist "Justice" in Greensboro!

NOVEMBER 17—Ku Klux Klan and Nazi party murderers who shot down in cold blood and in broad daylight supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) on November 3, 1979 were acquitted by a North Carolina court today. The all-white jury's decision to let these killers off scot-free is an outrage and ominous threat to labor, minorities and the left. In Carter/Reagan's America, this is what passes as "justice."

This racist verdict must be answered by massive protest from coast to coast! While the killer Klansmen/Nazis go free, the victims of last November's Greensboro massacre are still up on charges of "inciting to riot." The Spartacus Youth League demands that all the charges against the Greensboro

anti-fascist demonstrators be dropped! We have called for student protest in several major cities against the Greensboro court ruling.

This verdict gives the fascists a *license to kill!* Only labor-centered, massive militant mobilizations can stop the KKK/Nazi scum. The labor movement has proved in the recent past its ability to respond to night-riding, murderous race-terrorists. In 1975 in Chicago, members of the United Autoworkers Local 6 mobilized union-wide, integrated defense teams to stop racist bombings and threats against a black union brother residing in a predominantly white neighborhood. In Oakland, September 1979, in response to the brutal cop slaying of an International Associa-

tion of Machinists (IAM) shop steward, 500 IAM members jammed a city council meeting in protest. Both in Detroit last November and in San Francisco this spring, union/minority demonstrations initiated by labor militants and the Spartacist League stopped threatened Klan and Nazi provocations.

Labor, blacks and socialists have gotten a taste of what's in store for us if the fascist scum aren't sent scurrying back to their holes! The time to act is *now!*

Jail the Killer Klan/Nazis! Drop Charges Against Greensboro Anti-Fascist Demonstrators! For the Right of Armed Self-Defense Against Racist Terror! For Mass Labor/Black Action to Smash Nazi/Klan Scum! ■

**Over 7,000
Vote for
Trotskyist
Candidate
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Coleman Runs for S.F. Supervisor

Trotskyist Campaign Draws Student Support

Throughout the month of October members of the Spartacus Youth League in San Francisco organized on the campuses, soapboxed in the working-class districts and campaigned at factory gates and union meetings for the only candidate in the 1980 elections who had anything worthwhile to say—the Spartacist Party's Diana Coleman. Diana appealed to San Franciscans who were tired of labor defeats, tired of growing right-wing violence and tired of two-bit "progressives" hustling their votes. Her campaign slogan "Enough! It's time for a workers party!" won her a hearing from trade unionists, minorities, gays and students.

While the 60-plus other candidates for SF Supervisor tried to obscure the real needs of working people with smokescreens like the flap over citywide versus district elections, Coleman offered a fighting program to restore the strong labor traditions of this city. Diana's opponents ranged from the ridiculous (one candidate campaigned as a "pastrami lover") to the vicious (including numerous strikebreaking incumbents who crushed the 1976 city workers strike).

There was also a clique of gay candidates trying to fill the murdered Harvey Milk's slot as gay vote broker for the Democratic Party. Gay incumbent Harry Britt, a member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, tried to channel the anger of SF gays at anti-gay violence into a call for more cops through the means of an organized speak out/election stunt. He might have pulled it off if it hadn't been for Coleman's presence. Her call to disarm the cops (the same ones who



Young Spartacus Photo

Students for Coleman brought revolutionary program to San Francisco colleges.

went berserk on Castro Street last year!) drew loud applause.

San Francisco's former top cop, Richard Hongisto, was back in a successful bid for a supervisor's post after a brief stint as police chief of Cleveland, Ohio. This "people's cop" is best known for smashing in the doors of the International Hotel back in 1977 in order to force the eviction of its mostly poor and Asian tenants.

Then there was Stan Smith, a labor-faker in the Building Trades Council who called for a "stronger business community." The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) originally planned to support Smith with the plea

that he made noises about a "labor party." As late as one week before the election, the SWP had produced no literature for its own candidate. Smith, who sits on the Democratic Party's Central Committee, was a Kennedy delegate to the Democratic national convention. Confronted by supporters of the Spartacist League about their support for this candidate of the racist, strikebreaking Democratic Party, SWP members cynically replied that they "never put it in writing!"

The Communist Party didn't run anyone. Their "principled" stand was that to run would mean *de facto* endorsement of citywide over district

elections. They urged voters to re-elect the incumbents—all of them capitalist politicians!

In stark contrast to this hodge-podge of anti-labor small-fry, wackos, pork barrel/ethnic politicians and phony socialists, the Trotskyist campaign of Diana Coleman really stood out. The campaign attracted considerable attention at San Francisco State, where an article in the campus paper focused on Coleman's attitude toward cops and crime. "The cops should have their guns taken away. They are the mainstay of capitalism and are used to oppress gays and other minorities" (*Phoenix*, 9 October).

On October 28 Students for Coleman held a successful rally at SF State. Against a background of "Stop Reagan" students trying to get out the vote for Carter, hundreds heard Coleman explain that students had no stake in a Carter victory:

"I have seen what Jimmy Carter has done to this country. I have seen the largest growth of the Ku Klux Klan since Jimmy Carter came to office that has happened since the 1920s... I was down South in 1965 and I have seen more of the Klan here in California than I ever saw of the Klan in Mississippi in 1965. And I think that says something about what this country has to offer. "This country is *not* offering you a job, brothers and sisters. They are offering you the draft! That's going to be your job. Your job is to go out there and die."

Students at the City College of San Francisco were also receptive to Coleman's socialist campaign. Over 25 students attended a video showing of the April 19 anti-Nazi rally in the San Francisco Civic Center, which was initiated by the Spartacist League. Over a dozen students signed up to work on the Coleman campaign and a new SYL chapter has been established.

The Coleman campaign was an opening for revolutionaries to bring Trotskyist politics to a broad audience in San Francisco. Coleman didn't just address local issues. Her campaign was against Carter/Reagan wage-slashing and austerity programs and anti-Soviet warmongering. She was the only candidate to run on a platform defending the Soviet Union against the U.S. and her campaign was a small but important step in building a mass, fighting workers party in this country. ■

Over 7,000 Vote for Spartacist Party Candidate!

SAN FRANCISCO, November 5—As we go to press the final results of the San Francisco supervisors race display an impressive showing for socialist militant and Spartacist League (SL) supporter, Diana Coleman, who received 7,183 votes (2.7 percent of the voter turnout). Particularly gratifying was the fact that Coleman, running on the program of revolutionary Trotskyism, *against* the capitalist anti-Soviet war drive and *for* mass labor/minority action to stop the Klan and Nazis, outpolled the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate, Louise Goodman, by several hundred votes.

Jimmy Carter and the Democrats have reaped what they have sown. Four years of growing American chauvinism, inflation, unemployment and a growing boldness by the right wing have put Ronald Reagan in the White House. The labor bureaucrats and social democrats who tailed Carter have demonstrated the total bankruptcy of lesser evilism and class-collaborationist politics.

Unlike the campaigns of the Communist Party ("people before profits") and

the SWP ("human needs before profit"), Diana Coleman spoke out against the illusions of electoral reformism. At a Spartacist League forum on October 25, Coleman spoke of the difference between her campaign and those of her various fake-left opponents:

"We are not trying to fool people that you can reform capitalism or have socialism in San Francisco or tax the corporations out of existence.... We are trying to build a mass revolutionary

workers party [to] lead the class struggles where the real changes will take place—on the picket line and in the streets in the heat of battle."

The Coleman campaign brought the politics of socialist revolution to thousands of San Franciscans for the first time, thanks to the active support from SF workers and students who agreed with the central slogan of the campaign: "Enough! It's time for a workers party!" ■

Diana Coleman campaigning at SF State University.



Young Spartacus Photo

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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Guardian Angels: Subway Vigilantes of Racist Law and Order

NEW YORK CITY—Every day millions of commuting workers are forced to ride to work in broken down, graffiti-smearred, smelly, overcrowded and dangerous subways. At night, once the crushed rush-hour mobs have dispersed, an eerie assortment of derelicts, muggers, bag ladies and crazies becomes more visible on the trains. And for the past year and a half a new breed of twilight lumpen has sprouted in this oppressive underground flora and fauna. It is young, menacing, wearing a red beret, insignia T-shirt, black Kung Fu pants and leather accessories. It travels in packs and goes by the name "Guardian Angels."

The Guardian Angels ride the worst trains through the toughest parts of the city six to eight hours a night in troops of six to 20. These uniformed vigilantes go looking for any trouble so they can enforce the law as they define it. The gang is predominantly black and Hispanic, with some white, Asian and female members. Depending on his mood during press interviews, Guardian Angels leader Curtis Sliwa says they number from 142 to 542.

The media has given the group inordinate attention, and its two-bit megalomaniacal führer Sliwa has become the darling of the reactionary *New York Post* and *Daily News* and even the liberal *Village Voice*. While the press portrays him as some sort of saint from the heavens protecting grandmothers on the trains, Sliwa is a violent punk on a big power trip, just hustling for the right deal.

Curtis "Rock" (as his followers call him) Sliwa is a 26-year-old half-Italian, half-Polish bully from a working-class home in Brooklyn. He was tossed out of a Jesuit high school in his final year for refusing to wear the school uniform. According to Sliwa, who was president of the student council, he was offered several Ivy League scholarships before the expulsion. His academic career aborted, Sliwa took jobs pumping gas and working in grocery stores. By 1977 he worked his way up to managing a McDonald's in the Bronx.

One of his jobs at the hamburger chain sweat shop was keeping the street out front clean. Sliwa got inspired to clean up more than one small patch of the Bronx and soon mobilized 66 ghetto youth to do voluntary street cleaning all over the depressed neighborhood. The sanitation workers union justifiably went up in arms against this little legion of unpaid youth, and the project soon folded. Sliwa further demonstrated his pro-capitalist loyalties during the NYC transit strike last spring. While New York ground to a halt under the impact of the transit workers strike, Sliwa's Angels worked as "monitors" for pedestrian traffic on the Brooklyn Bridge. There should be no question of the strikebreaking potential of such a vigilante group.

When he wasn't busy organizing scab street cleaners and managing the minimum-wage youth working at McDonald's, Sliwa got his kicks smashing muggers every night on the subways. The *Village Voice* describes how he and a friend from McDonald's spent their leisure time:

"Night after night Curtis wore the gold medallion, wore the gold watch, carried the briefcase, and people would come up. Curtis would blink. They sniffed him. It was like the jungle, they thought they smelled fear and they would circle him, rub against him, start to punch him in the groin, punch his face, hold a knife to his throat, and then the Chinese guy

would thunder in... and together they would bash brains in."

—*Village Voice*, 16-20 July

This was his night life for a year and a half! Sliwa used himself as a decoy so he could violently attack victims hardly about to run to the police for help. It was during these brain-bashing expeditions that Sliwa came up with the Guardian Angels brainstorm. Why not build a whole gang of toughs to roam the trains looking for a fight? In February of 1979 Sliwa and 12 followers founded the "Magnificent 13." He soon changed the name to "Guardian Angels," realizing

NYC"—*Workers Vanguard* observed:

"It is profoundly dangerous and demoralizing to keep the population, white and black, in a constant state of helpless fear; such desperation spawns fascist mobilizations and racist vigilantes."

—*Workers Vanguard* No. 147, 4 March 1977

Which is exactly what happened.

How can the predominantly black and Hispanic Guardian Angels be racist vigilantes? First of all, most of their targets are black. Occurrences of blacks participating in racist assaults against other blacks are well documented. When

flock to the ranks of the Guardian Angels are interested in the rigorous, compulsory martial arts training members receive and simply want to be part of a gang that gets a lot of publicity.

Sliwa hopes to get mileage out of his integrated group of thugs. If a good deal comes along, he'll take it (he already accepts contributions from supporters of the Angels). The bourgeois press is currently pushing that the transit police work with the Guardian Angels in an official capacity, i.e., making the group an auxiliary police force with passes and free subway fare. So far Sliwa has

NY Post/Jerry Engel

Pro-Reagan Post applauds Sliwa (center) and his punks.



that would be better for public relations (always a big concern with Sliwa).

Down With Racist Vigilantes—For the Right to Armed Self-Defense!

As the group grew in numbers, it attracted attention, particularly because of the "crime fighting" stance it tried to project. New Yorkers have a very real fear of the soaring crime which takes ever more bizarre and brutal forms in the subways (like the latest mugging fad, "chain-snatching," which has resulted in many serious injuries). The gutter bourgeois press constantly exploits this fear with sensationalist coverage of muggings and murders, inciting an atmosphere conducive to racist vigilantism. Now it has found the Guardian Angels.

The same yellow journalist press (as well as the "establishment" *New York Times*) clamors for stiffer gun control laws. But this only means that just criminals and cops carry guns. The solution to crime (whose victims in the inner cities are overwhelmingly proletarian, poor and minorities) is the abolition of the capitalist system that breeds it. While crime is still around, however, it is the elementary right of the whole population to have recourse to firearms to seek protection from the hideous social irrationality that now exists. But New York State's Sullivan law, advertised on television and in the subways as "the toughest gun law in the nation," has a one-year mandatory jail sentence for those caught carrying a gun. Marxists demand the abolition of all gun control laws! In 1977—in an article entitled "Fear and Violence in

black businessman Arthur Miller was strangled to death in broad daylight by police in Crown Heights in June 1978 a black private security guard joined in the brutal slaying. In no sense does the racial composition of the group change the racist nature of the acts it commits, any more than black cops alter the racist character of the police force.

Sliwa, always concerned about PR, was intent from the beginning not to build a predominantly white group, because then they would look like racist vigilantes. The same *Voice* article paraphrases him: "Crucial to have a racial mix, Curtis says; can't be white vigilantes beating up on blacks." Sliwa acknowledges he recruits mainly from black and Hispanic ghettos that are more dangerous (!) than the trains. A large number of the teenage youth that

rejected the idea, and the group continues to be free of even the small amount of civil control the cops are subject to. The transit cops also hate the Angels. Not only do the thugs in blue want to maintain their own monopoly of violence underground, these overzealous ghetto youth are trouble and a threat to the cops' jobs.

The losers in this battle between the racist, trigger-happy cops and lumpen Guardian Angels are the hapless commuters, the working population of New York City. While the press praises Sliwa's bully boys and calls for more cops, we have nothing but contempt for these racist vigilantes and their armed adversaries in the police force. The population has a desperate, felt need to defend itself from muggers, cops and Guardian Angel vigilantes. ■

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Interview with Black Ex-Marine

Down With the Imperialist Armed Forces!

The racist nature of the U.S. military provides a stark example of black oppression in capitalist America. With skyrocketing unemployment, the job market has been virtually cut off to black youth. And the liberals and racists who killed busing as a tool for integration have effectively denied education to ghettoized minorities. A recent U.S. Labor Department survey revealed just how bleak the situation is. It showed that even college-educated blacks have a higher unemployment rate than white high-school dropouts! So faced with a choice between welfare and unemployment lines and the military, many young blacks have gone to fill the ranks of the volunteer army.

But in order for the U.S. to implement its drive for war against the Soviet Union, skilled and technically trained personnel are required. The black and poor youth in the military today won't fill the bill; by and large they have neither the skills and training needed nor a felt interest in defending this racist capitalist government. The U.S. warmongers need a draft in order to widen their pool of youth who will fight for capitalism. But unlike many of the anti-draft coalitions who limit themselves to impotent "resistance" schemes, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) stands in opposition not only to registration and the draft but to all forms of U.S. militarism, including the volunteer army.

When he was about to be drafted in 1972 at the age of 19, Hursey Bush enlisted in the Marines. In four years he rose from the rank of private to sergeant in charge of weapons maintenance, becoming both a sharpshooter and expert rifleman. This did not lead, as his officers had wished, to embracing the values of bourgeois society. The military proved to be only a more vicious and condensed version of the racist South in which he grew up.

In July 1979 Hursey, then a student, generalized his personal experience of racist, imperialist America into a Marxist outlook and with the determination to fight for a socialist future, joined the SYL.

Below we reprint an interview with comrade Hursey.

YSp: So, Hursey, why did you join the Marines?

Hursey: I was going to be drafted into the military, so I thought that now that I knew I was going to be drafted, I could make a choice between the services they had. This led me to finding out how I could go into the service with the guys that lived in the same area so that we could be together, or at least see each other, during our time in the service. The Marines posed themselves as having such a program; they called it the "buddy plan." What it meant was that four people could go into the service together and serve at the same duty station. So I sought to take advantage of this.

But the reason that the other guys that went with me joined was because basically in this small town, Lake Village, Arkansas there's no jobs. The only type of work that is ever available is

working in some white guy's cotton fields where the wages are at bottom level. You have recruiters who come around and they take advantage of the fact that there are no jobs. So, most blacks in the South, and especially in this area, look at the military as being some kind of job.

YSp: Many blacks have joined the "New Action Army" with promises of job skills. What was your experience and the experience of those you knew?

Hursey: They promised me that I could work as an auto mechanic in the military. I told them that I was very interested in auto mechanics and I asked them if it was possible that I could do auto mechanics work in the service. They said, "Oh, no problem. You can do that throughout your time in the service; this will be the type of work you'll be doing."

YSp: So, what actually happened?

Hursey: I didn't get to do mechanics work while I was in. Instead they gave

YSp: Could you talk a bit about specific instances of racist harassment?

Hursey: I think I had been in for about two years and I was stationed at a naval base in Key West, Florida. They had these really horrible posts where mostly black GIs would end up standing. They had this one compound that had to be guarded, and the lighting in the area was really dark. It was almost like a combat field which meant you always had to be alert. And I immediately found out that there were certain blacks in this unit who had been put up on charges because of neglect of duties like sleeping on post. There was this one racist captain who used to sneak into the compound and catch these GIs sleeping on post because of exhaustion and being given long periods of duty without any time off. They would be put up on charges, busted of their ranks, fined.

The legal system is set up where you had to use the military's lawyers to get a speedy trial. So, in order to get a hearing

stationed in Okinawa for a year, I would come across GIs that had been to Vietnam. Some GIs had started their second term in the service because there were still no jobs in the outside world and they were shell-shocked from Vietnam and not able to understand the conditions behind it. I learned from them that there were incidents in Vietnam where you had these officers fresh out of the academy that were gung-ho patriots of U.S. imperialism and would send out suicide squads. Certain GIs, mostly black, would be sent out to do a mission. For example, they'd be sent up against a whole company of the other forces and if they didn't come back that was too bad. Their job was to go out and gather information and take casualties if the situation permits. There was a strong rejection of this. Their lives were on the line. There was one chance in ten that they would come back to the lines. They would turn on the young patriotic officers and some of them were fragged. These incidents, a lot of them did not make it back to the States, but there were fraggings of officers in Vietnam due to these suicide assignments that were given out to GIs. The officers that would end up being fragged would become regular casualties. There wouldn't be any reports about what exactly went down.

YSp: Hursey, how did you become a communist?

Hursey: [After my discharge] I was trying to go to school. I was trying to get some kind of skills so I could get a job and make the situation better for me. But it seemed like it was constantly going the other way. What that pointed to was that the situation here in this country is getting worse and worse. So that it leads you to seek for answers. I remember coming across the Spartacist League at City College of San Francisco—I was taking some sociology courses. I was trying to reorient myself so that I could get back into school and understand some things. The SL came to a class that I was taking called "Psychology of Minorities." They came in and gave a presentation on the black question and how the situation wasn't getting any better. This was the period around the 1978 coal strike and I didn't have a real political consciousness, but I understood something about that. Jimmy Carter was the president and nobody I knew wanted to see him elected. I certainly didn't want to see him elected, but I didn't have a real alternative. I couldn't visualize what kind of system could better run the world. This led me to further pursue questions.

The SL had answers for me. But one thing it pointed to was that it may not be changed in my lifetime, but it gave me some insights on how to fight against this corrupt system. I remember getting a sense that this classroom is not going to change the situation. The struggle is out there on the streets and on the picket lines, like the coal miners waged. So, it took a real commitment I thought because it wasn't something that's going to take place the next few years. The SL/SYL offered a program to fight on that I really thought was leading somewhere. ■



Hursey Bush (right) in 1975.

me a rifle and trained me to be kill-crazy day in and day out. That's what your duties are. Once you're in you sign these endless contracts surrendering your rights. The kind of thing I was promised I would be doing was nowhere in sight.

YSp: Where were you eventually placed?

Hursey: I was put into the infantry unit. The Marines is basically infantry. I was trained to be a rifleman. During my course of training I was sent to Camp Pendleton, where you go through all the basic combat training. And it's drill, drill, drill all the time and it's pointblank that they don't give a shit about you.

I can remember incidents where they'd be drilling recruits. The young recruit might have some physical problem and the drill instructor would be yelling down at him, stomping on his hands while he's trying to do exercises. There was one case where a recruit was constantly harassed because he declared himself a conscientious objector. He was often times called to the duty hut and asked degrading questions like, "Are you a slime?" If the answers to these questions weren't positive, he would be forced to do physical exercises like running with buckets of bricks or exercising in the mud.

at all, most of these GIs were forced to use the military's kangaroo court. Some of the fines the GIs would receive from these hearings would be one-half reduction in their pay for six months, one grade lower in rank and restriction to the barracks area. This would end up maintaining the same kind of discrimination and constantly setting these GIs up on charges they weren't even committing.

It's common knowledge that the military has a white officer corps and a minority and working-class infantry. But at this duty station there was actually segregation of duties among the GIs. Whites stood certain duties and the blacks would be given these horrible posts constantly. The GIs, some of whom had been to Vietnam, were put on these posts because they were beginning to understand what the military was about. This was used to isolate these GIs that served in Vietnam and they were labeled as "bad company" for the other GIs.

YSp: What happened to black and minority GIs in Vietnam from your experience?

Hursey: Throughout the service, first at Key West, Florida and then when I was

Seventh National Conference

Join the SYL!

American news media headline the "Shift to the Right," citing the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency and the defeat of well-known liberal types like McGovern and Bayh as proof of the new conservative mood of the American people. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) maintain that Carter paved the way for Reagan. Leon Jaworski reportedly explained his support for Reagan with the aphorism, "Better a competent extremist than an incompetent moderate" (*Soho Weekly News*, 5 November 1980), a statement that echoed the feelings of many bourgeois politicians. Although Reagan brings a different personality and style to the official policies of the U.S. bourgeoisie (and an ominous one given his outspoken anti-Soviet militarism and his positions against abortion, the ERA, the minimum wage, welfare, etc.), life for the average person is not going to change much under a Republican regime.

It has been popular for several years to invoke Britain as the example of the "socialist" welfare state that does not work. British workers' massive unemployment, poor diet and "new" diseases (like "hypothermia"—a "nicer" way to describe freezing to death in a room with no heat) have become increasingly familiar to Americans. But now jokes about Britain begin to hit a little too close to home, as even white American workers are turning up in significant numbers on the welfare rolls. Britain proves that whether it's nominally "forth-worker" Labourite social democracy or Margaret Thatcher's particularly vicious Toryism, capitalism does not work, will not work, and must be



Young Spartacus Photo

Plenary session, SYL Seventh National Conference.

replaced by something that will.

The Spartacus Youth League is dedicated to building the vanguard party that will lead the workers to power and replace decrepit capitalism with a socialist society. Today more than ever, as capitalism brings greater hardships and as the increased threat of nuclear war poses the annihilation of the human race, we are America's last, best hope.

In late summer, in conjunction with the Sixth National Conference of the Spartacist League (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 266, 17 October 1980), the Spartacus Youth League held its Seventh National Conference, the highest body of the organization. In the context

of Carter's anti-Soviet war drive, the Reagan candidacy and the events in Poland, the SYL conference took stock of the organization's work over the past year and our perspectives for the future.

Recruitment Drive

Khomeini's rise to power in Iran and China's invasion of Vietnam shook the political complacency of the American people and drove home the possibility of nuclear war. The Sino-Vietnam war brought home the SL/SYL's analysis of the growing military alliance between U.S. imperialism and the Chinese deformed workers state aimed against

the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet Union. The SL/SYL's refusal to join the fake-left's prostration before the Iranian mullahs distinguished us as standing for human decency and the democratic gains of the bourgeois revolutions (e.g., the French Revolution of 1789).

Our analysis of the events in Iran and over China/Vietnam provided a basis for a drive to recruit new members. Many youth were repelled by the enforced veiling of women and, though distant from the radicalism of the Vietnam era, did not identify with the moral/military rearmament of U.S. imperialism embodied in Carter's anti-Soviet "Human Rights" crusade. Our job was to find these potential recruits and win them to our program.

The SYL was strengthened internally by having successfully waged a fight in late 1978 against a narrow, bloodless and largely literary conception of politics exemplified by a layer dubbed the "cloned youth." The fight clearly posed for these comrades the choice laid down by Trotsky in 1939-40 for petty-bourgeois Trotskyist youth: to deepen one's involvement in living social reality, e.g., through industrialization, or to leave Trotskyist politics for academic or other careerism. Fortified by internal struggle, the SYL resolved to "go out and recruit a couple of hundred new members." We declared our goals for a recruitment drive at our Sixth National Conference (see *Young Spartacus* No. 73, May 1979).

Contradictory Period

After the seizure of the U.S. diplomatic/spy staff as hostages in Iran,

continued on page 11

Young Spartacus Gains Hundreds of New Subscribers!

The determined work of the members of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), disciplined youth section of the Spartacist League (SL), helped make the 1980 SL subscription drive a resounding success. In conjunction with the work of the party in bringing its press to new readers, members and friends of the SYL took to the campuses during freshman registration to introduce the party press, *Workers Vanguard* and *Women and Revolution*, and the youth press, *Young Spartacus*, to students across the country.

Though particularly the Midwest locals experienced significantly increased anti-communist harassment on campuses this year, well over half the 4,500 points sold nationally (representing 141 percent of the national quota) came from sub sales on campuses. As might be expected given the frightening rise in Ku Klux Klan/Nazi race-terror activism, several locals reported that black students were the most receptive to our communist propaganda.

The sub drive kicked off the SYL's work at universities where the organization maintains a regular presence throughout the year: e.g., 159 points at Ann Arbor, 109 at Madison, 101 at Harvard and 70 at Boston University. In addition, sub drive teams took the party and youth press to

regional campuses, with some impressive results: 129 points at Rutgers/Livingston in New Jersey, 121 at the University of Indiana (Bloomington), 89 at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 84 at the University of California at San Diego, 84 at Yale, 76 at Cornell. Repeating the success of last year's "Northern Tour," sub drive canvassers from the San Francisco area locals netted a whopping 272 points during a regional trip to Oregon and Washington states.

In conjunction with the sub drive, the SYL built public forums on campuses to acquaint students with the Marxist program of the SL/SYL, on issues such as the events in Poland and the struggle for mass union-centered mobilization against the fascist terrorists. Forums featuring videotapes of the successful SL-initiated anti-fascist demonstrations in Detroit and San Francisco were particularly fruitful in bringing the SYL into contact with interested black students.

We welcome the 676 new subscribers to *Young Spartacus* with confidence that its Marxist analysis and program will win new supporters among youth disgusted by the twin parties of war and racism and capitalist austerity. Join the SYL—we have a world to win!



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Q: How Does the SWP A: It Doesn't! Detroit, San Francisco, Evanston: W

The social-democratic Socialist Workers Party, unique on the left for its unwavering defense of the "democratic rights" of fascists, recently published a centerfold article "Black America and the World Revolution" in its monthly *Militant* supplement, the *International Socialist Review* (October 1980). Much of this lengthy treatise by SWP hack Maceo Dixon is dull and silly SWP fare and much of it is simply dishonest. Interestingly, however, the SWP seems to feel under a certain pressure to defend its ACLU-style civil libertarian fantasy about "defeating the fascists in democratic debate." The Greensboro massacre and the menacing escalation of fascist activity from Evanston to Atlanta, from California to Chattanooga, has provoked outrage in large sections of the black and working-class population. It has undoubtedly become more difficult for these cowardly "socialists" to claim that the race-hating fascist swine are no real threat or that political dialogue with race-terrorists is an appropriate response.

It is no accident that Dixon singled out for polemics the Spartacist League. Our successful labor-centered anti-fascist mobilizations in Detroit and San Francisco—rallies which respectively drew 500 and 1,200 unionists, minorities and socialists—must be a thorn in the SWP's side. Boycotting all but the most "peaceful-legal" preacher-dominated vigils, the SWP is widely recognized within the left as grossly abstentionist in militant anti-fascist mobilizations.

It would be wanton cruelty to our readership to take issue with every absurdity in Dixon's article. Very few serious fighters for black liberation believe, for instance, that participation by black officials in delegations to Iran or Rev. Herbert Daughtry's visit to Grenada or Jesse Jackson's trip to the Mideast to talk with the PLO have signaled a new era of black struggle. Dixon tells us that "As more Blacks and other working people visit Grenada they will want to emulate the freedom fighters of that island." Does the SWP really visualize masses of ghetto youth touring in Grenada (as if they have even heard of Grenada)? Dixon also predicts the rise of a "new spirit of Pan-Africanism" and, without explanation, asserts that the "rebellions in Miami and Chattanooga show that the fight for Black liberation is part of the international struggle against imperialism." Racist terror is on the rise; Reagan—the candidate with whom Klan leaders felt gut solidarity—just swept the election; black unemployment is staggering; according to the *New York Times* (30 December 1979) "the chances of black male children reaching age 25 in American cities are only about 3 out of 5"; and the SWP is chattering away about "revolutionary Pan-Africanism." This is cloud cuckooland.

SWP on Miami: "Right-on"

The SWP is incapable of arguing against our strategy of mass labor/black action against the fascists as exemplified

in Detroit and San Francisco, so Dixon attempts to take issue with our line on the outburst of black rage in Miami last May. Dixon writes:

"One of the most disgusting statements came from the press of a sectarian group, the Spartacist League. In the May 30 issue of *Workers Vanguard*, they say, 'Black Miami erupted in a fury born of desperation last week. Miami Blacks lashed out in a misdirected violence ranging from looting of the stores to attacks on random whites who ventured into the ghetto.' 'First, I want to say a word about 'looting.' There was no looting in Miami. The goods that were taken were liberated by Black people. Goods were produced by some workers, then appropriated by the capitalists, then liberated by another section of the working class. This is right-on."

To argue that justifiable violent outbreaks by the oppressed transform looting into expropriation is a liberal lie. Presumably, our statement is "disgusting" because we call looting looting. Breaking store windows is not the Marxist program for integrated proletarian struggle against cop terror, black unemployment, fascist gangs or the misery of the ghetto. Carting off a stereo has nothing to do with workers' expropriation of industry. At the same time, as we did during the 1977 New York City blackout (see "Get Con Ed, Not the Ghetto!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 167, 22 July 1977), in Miami we took a hard position in defense of the victims of the racist dragnet, demanding that they be freed. We also called for the jailing of the killer cops and for cops and National Guard out of the ghetto. Given the SWP's social-democratic faith in the capitalist state as expressed in its demands for federal troops to Boston to "defend" the black population against the racist anti-busing forces in 1974-76, it should have called for more guardsmen into Miami's Liberty City.

We said something else in *Workers Vanguard* that ruffled the SWP's feathers:

"Violence doesn't get you anywhere?"

The cops who killed Arthur McDuffie got away with it, and if the ghetto hadn't blown, nothing at all would ever have been done about it. What were Miami blacks supposed to do? Just sit there and take it?

"...All labor must stand for the defense of the black population against police terror. But we insist, as we did throughout the 1960s, that the ghetto explosions do not lead anywhere but to the killing of more blacks and the devastation of their neighborhoods. The Jewish shopkeepers who were burned out of the inner cities more than a decade ago have not come back. And this time around there won't be any government programs even pretending to rebuild the burnt-out ghettos—just cold repression."

—"Miami Black Wrath,"
WV No. 257, 30 May 1980

Dixon doesn't like our assessment of the ultimate result of ghetto uprisings. But a page earlier in his own article he admits that they do not lead anywhere. Of the federal poverty funds, he says, "Most...never reached the Black masses"; of ghetto college grants—they were usually "two-way tickets" that led back to the streets; the jobs programs were a "cruel hoax"; and "the rulers framed up Black activists, harassed militants, threw freedom fighters in jail, and assassinated leaders." Which is it? Were the ghetto explosions "right-on" and did they produce real gains for the black masses or not?

For the SWP, one day the civil rights movement is "right-on," ghetto rebellions are "right-on" the next day. Martin Luther King who called for federal troops to suppress the Watts rebellion is "right-on," then black nationalism is "right-on," then it's the NAACP. In Dixon's article, the NAACP is no longer "right-on"—we wonder if the NAACP members in the SWP (including Dixon) have now turned in their membership cards. Instead of linking the 1960s struggles for black rights to the labor movement, the SWP counterposed them and ended up scabbing on the New York teachers'

strike in the name of "community control." Today the SWP sings a different tune, counseling that "what is needed is to transform the trade unions so that labor's power can be used to fight for the things we need." "Labor's power" means, for the SWP, linking up with slick-talking pro-capitalist bureaucrats. The kind of working-class action it has in mind is, as Dixon explains, not fighting layoffs but merely opposition to "any layoffs that reduce the proportion, even by one percentage point, of Blacks or women on the job." The SWP has come up with a new "democratic" demand—for racial balance on the unemployment lines! In case the wage-slashing, plant-closing, layoff-happy capitalists can't figure out how to do it, brother Dixon advises:

"If the company can draw up two lists—an affirmative action plan—in order to hire more Blacks and women, it must do the same in order to maintain the same percentage of Blacks, Latinos, and women during the layoffs."

Real tough talk.

Anti-Fascist "Struggle"— SWP-Style

Lest the several paragraphs buried on the fifth page of a six-page article, given over to the fight against the Klan, seem too "alarmist," Dixon hastens to note that the "Klan still represents a tiny minority." "Fighting against the Klan is practice for our class and its vanguard in meeting more serious right-wing attempts." "More serious"? For the five

Where was the SWP?
Left to right:
1) SF State, March 1975;
2) NYC TV Channel 13, December 1977;
3) Detroit Nazi bookstore, January 1978;
4) Detroit Kennedy Sq., November 1979;
5) San Francisco, April 1980.



Do We Fight Fascism?

Where Were They?

Communist Workers Party (CWP) members murdered in broad daylight in Greensboro, the Klan was deadly "serious." How about the black phone worker murdered by the Klan in Fontana? How much more "serious" does the SWP want the Klan to become before it gets serious about fighting them? For the victims and intended victims of Klan terror, the fight to smash these scum *before* they multiply is not "practice," it's an urgent task *now*.

Dixon attempts to paint the SWP as involved in some fashion in anti-fascist work, noting that it "helped build" the February 2 SCLC-called demonstration in Greensboro. Like the Communist Party, the SWP dutifully pledged to subordinate itself to the preachers. SWPers at the march provided the goons for the anti-communist ministers who threatened to exclude the CWP from the march if they did not disarm.

The Detroit left and labor movement will be surprised to read that, according to Dixon, the SWP "participated in organizing against the Klan and Nazis, once when the Nazis attempted to set up a bookstore and again when two Ford foremen at the River Rouge plant came in with Klan hoods on their heads." Everyone at River Rouge knows that

this is just plain garbage. Frank Hicks, a member of the class-struggle opposition caucus in the UAW at River Rouge supported by the SL, fought to get his Local, the largest in the country, to mobilize against the fascist bookstore. He was one of the

initiators of the campaign and petition drive to oust the Klan-hooded foremen. The two well-known SWP supporters in the plant, Mac Warren and Liz Ziers, did absolutely nothing but sign the petition that Hicks and his co-workers circulated! The *Militant*, in fact, did not even bother to cover the incident until a month later; in the article they give credit to the local bureaucracy for driving the foremen out. The Rouge militants responsible for the anti-KKK-hooded foremen campaign initiated, with the Spartacist League/SYL, the November 10 anti-Klan rally in Detroit. While 500 auto workers, black youth and socialists turned out—despite Detroit mayor Coleman Young's threat, withdrawn only at the last minute, to arrest the anti-Klan demonstrators—the SWP boycotted the rally. They refused even to cover it in their press.

As for protests against the Detroit Nazi bookstore in 1977, SWP supporters "organized" by attending several inter-faith council meetings where they said nothing and did nothing. At the major demonstration in front of the bookstore, SWP presence was limited to one reporter. So much for the SWP's claims to any activist presence in militant anti-Klan/Nazi mobilizations! So opposed is the SWP to anti-fascist protests which might really bloody the racist swine, they had no contingent in a recent demonstration of over 2,500, many of them concentration camp survivors, in Evanston, Illinois. When the Hitler-loving creeps unfurled their banner, reading "Holocaust—Six Million Lies," some protesters broke through the police lines. The Nazis turned tail and fled, unfortunately before they got the trouncing they deserved. The SWP was so distant from the scene that the *Militant* (31 October

Look familiar, SWP? Cartoon, headlined "CP Recipe for Fighting Fascism," from Trotskyist press of late 1930s ridicules present SWP/YSA line.



1980) idiotically misreports the Nazi banner as reading "Six Million Lives."

The actual form of "struggle" advocated by the SWP is *electoral* races against the Klan, providing these racist killers a platform and respectability. This is exactly what the SWP did in California, where it ran against KKK member and Democratic Party congressional candidate Tom Metzger. The SWP gleefully debated him publicly—something the Republican candidate couldn't bring herself to do! Dixon calls this election campaign "a bold and correct move on our part." That's "fight-back," SWP-style.

It's bad enough that these lily-livered social democrats absent themselves from demonstrations in order not to trample on the precious "rights" of fascists to organize for racist terror and cold-blooded murder. It's worse that they galavant around building platforms for these demented scum. But that's not all. Since 1975, the SWP has acted as the self-appointed defenders *in action* of fascists against "ultra-left" blacks, students, workers and other left groups.

In 1975 the Spartacus Youth League at San Francisco State University organized a militant protest against a couple of Nazis invited onto the campus. Along with other left and campus

organizations, we succeeded in driving the fascist filth off campus. As a consequence, the SYL and Progressive Labor became the victims of an administration witchhunt. The SWP and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, hopped on the administration bandwagon to denounce the demonstration as a "disruption." In Houston at about the same time, YSAers fought for Klan "Imperial Wizard" Scott Nelson's "right" to spew his racist filth and exhorted militant black students and leftists to quiet down at Nelson's public talk at the University of Houston. In its letter to the campus press, the YSA whined:

"The YSA, on the other hand, was with the overwhelming majority of the students present telling these 'radicals' to be quiet so we could hear."

In October of 1975, the Wayne State University YSA *joined with the cops* in assaulting PLers as they attempted to enter a "public" debate between YSA spokesmen and racist anti-busing forces.

**Smash the Nazis!
Smash the Klan!**

The SWP is overtly *hostile* to labor/black mobilizations to smash the fascists. Recently in Chicago, steel

continued on page 8

Workers Vanguard

LABOR
BILIZATION
MASH
IST THREATS
RTACIST



Evanston: Mass Demonstration Routs Nazi Scum

CHICAGO—On October 19, 2,500 outraged black, Jewish and labor protesters scored an impressive victory when they broke up a race-hate Nazi rally in Lovelace Park in Evanston, Illinois. When the 11 Hitler-lovers unfurled a banner reading "Holocaust—Six Million Lies" from behind heavy police protection, the mostly Jewish crowd—which included many concentration camp survivors—surged forward. At first rocks and eggs were thrown. Then some of the anti-fascists broke through police lines and forced the Nazi scum to flee. Despite pleading by the cops that "it's all over," most of the protesters hung around, angry that the Nazis had gotten away unscathed, that they had not been stuffed down some nearby sewer.

The Evanston victory is unfortunately unique in Chicago in recent years. Just a few weeks earlier these same police-protected Nazi vermin survived an inconclusive confrontation with leftists in the suburb of Oak Park. And on October 25 the Nazis held a demonstration near their Marquette Park headquarters, threatening in advance to march into the adjoining black neighborhood of West Englewood; neither black nor Jewish groups mobilized against this provocation.

The Nazis have been openly pushing their genocidal program in Chicago for several years. Their efforts to stage a provocation in the Jewish suburb of Skokie made nationwide news—partly due to the efforts of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to defend "free speech" for Nazis. And a few years back the Nazis made a "deal" with the government to steer clear of the northern Jewish suburbs if they would be allowed to stage their "white power" marches against open housing in white Marquette Park. Contrary to the ACLU's criminal positions, blacks, Jews and other minorities cannot afford to let the fascists organize *anywhere*. Each step that the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan take in implementing their genocidal program can only embolden them to attack wider sectors of the working people and oppressed minorities. Blacks, Jews, Hispanics and unionists must unite in massive mobilizations to smash the fascists.

The Evanston anti-Nazi mobilization which brought sufficient numbers to *prevent* a fascist rally was the third such victory in the United States in the past year. The first was a 500-strong labor/



SL/SYL mobilized largest left contingent at Evanston anti-Nazi protest, October 10.

black rally initiated by the Spartacist League (SL) and militant auto workers that prevented the Klan from "celebrating" the Greensboro massacre in Detroit last November. In the second, the SL participated with unionists in the formation of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) in San Francisco, which brought out over 1,200 to stop a Nazi rally from taking place.

The Chicago branch of the SL/Spartacus Youth League (SYL) went on campaign footing to build a spirited contingent for the Evanston counterdemonstration. The 70-man SL/SYL contingent included students from five campuses in the region, including members of African Students for African Liberation, the black student group at Lake Forest College, and former members of the Militant Anti-Draft Caucus from the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana. Many of these students had previously attended videotapes of the Detroit and San Francisco anti-fascist mobilizations and agreed with the SL/SYL's strategy of mass labor/minority action against the fascists.

The impressive SL/SYL contingent sharply contrasted with that of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and its front group, the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR)—so much so that PL/InCAR had to fabricate outright lies to support its fake-revolutionary "credentials." Thus PL reports that in Evanston "InCAR was the only organized group among the 1500 [sic] anti-fascists" (*Challenge*, 29

October)! Tell that to the thousands who read the October 20 *Chicago Sun-Times* which ran a prominent photo of the SL/SYL contingent and banner reading "For Mass Labor/Black/Jewish Mobilizations to Smash Nazi/Klan Terror!" The PL/InCAR contingent marched around singing "give me that ole anti-racist feeling" and tried to shield its periphery from the SL/SYL chants by having loudmouth demagogue Finley Campbell shout nonstop into a bullhorn. But our chants of "Sweep the Nazis Off the Streets" and "For Labor/Black Defense to Smash the Fascists" were eagerly taken up by sections of the crowd. PL/InCAR may pretend that they led the Evanston demonstration, but their lie is simply part of PL's sectarian Stalinism and adventurist strategy of small group confrontation with the cops and fascists, which left one of their women members trapped and beaten in the Chicago Nazi headquarters in 1978! PL has no strategy to mobilize the labor movement against the Klan and Nazis, which is why they refused to participate in the powerful labor-endorsed ANCAN mobilization in San Francisco.

The Communist Party (CP), with supporters in several unions in the Chicago area, had virtually no presence in Evanston. Of course, the CP thinks that such mobilizations are unnecessary to stop the fascists. Instead they call on the racist capitalist government to "ban" fascist groups. The CP therefore spreads illusions in the "neutrality" of the state that has consistently used "anti-

extremist" laws to go after "reds" and black groups. In Evanston the cops showed their "neutrality" by arresting six counterdemonstrators who were trying to put a stop to the Nazi provocation. The SYL demands that all charges against the anti-Nazi demonstrators be immediately dropped!

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has made much of how its congressional candidate, Mark Friedman, "confronted" California Klansman Tom Metzger on the TV talk show "Speak Up America" in the comfort of the studio. But in the streets where the Klan and the Nazis do their dirty work, in Detroit last November, this past April in San Francisco and in Evanston where thousands showed up intending to crush the fascist nightriders, the SWP was nowhere to be seen. After the fact, the SWP's *Militant* showered equal praise on the counterdemonstration in Lovelace Park and a liberal moral protest several miles away at Northwestern University, which advocated the Nazis' right to "free speech." In an unintentional display of the SWP's abstention from the fight against fascism, the brief *Militant* article grotesquely misquoted the Nazi banner as "Six Million Lives"!

The key to crushing fascist terror is the mobilization of the potentially powerful Chicago labor movement together with the minorities targeted by the Klan/Nazis. The pro-capitalist liberal Jewish and black leaders are incapable of mobilizing blacks and Jews to unite with labor to smash the fascist threat. Jesse Jackson, for example, was too busy stumping for Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter to bother about either Evanston or West Englewood.

Labor must break with the racist Democratic and Republican parties—which have created the right-wing political climate that has enabled the fascists to grow—and build a workers party. This party should not be another reformist electoral machine like the British Labour Party that will seek to better administer the racist capitalist system, but a workers party that will unite the oppressed and lead their struggles; a workers party that will turn out masses of workers and minorities to crush the fascists wherever they appear; a workers party that will lead the struggle to overthrow capitalism and put an end to fascism forever.

Join a youth organization that is helping to build such a revolutionary workers party—join the Spartacus Youth League! ■

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) 835-1535

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) 254-8875

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

Where Were They?...

(continued from page 7)

workers and SL supporters were excluded from an SWP forum on the need for a labor party. USWA Local 1010 militant Milly Leonard, who received over 800 votes in her bid for delegate to the USWA convention last July and had the night before the forum gotten her Local's endorsement for the anti-Nazi demonstration in Evanston, was one of the workers excluded. The SWP's "free speech" policy is very selective indeed—for the fascists and *not* for anti-fascist militants!

The Nazis, the KKK and other fascists are armed thugs who mobilize

for *action*. Unlike conservative bourgeois politicians or reactionary ideologues, fascist gangs represent an extra-parliamentary, para-military extremist movement offering the bourgeoisie the ultimate weapon for smashing the workers movement in a period of extreme capitalist crisis. Fascists recruit and grow not through political campaigning, but through demonstrating *in action* their intentions and strength. Fascist "speech" is a call for more Greensboros. Simply put, the SWP's line on fighting fascism amounts to telling the labor movement and black masses to stand idly by while communists and union organizers are gunned down in broad daylight. That we will not do; massive labor/black mobilizations will put an end to the Klan threat once and for all—and over the political corpse of the SWP. ■

Democrats' Pet Socialist

Harrington Pushes "Miserable Compromise"

Michael Harrington, leader of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), recently spoke at the University of California at Berkeley on the topic: "Politics of the 1980's: A Socialist Perspective." After the chairman announced the "unprecedented" formation of the local Democratic Socialist Alliance, an umbrella group comprising the East Bay chapters of DSOC and the New American Movement (NAM), Harrington proceeded to alibi his "coalition" with the imperialist Democratic Party.

"The Democratic Party is a mess! The Democratic Party is a party which contains big business, contains racists, contains sexists—all of that is true—it's done absolutely terrible things," he lamented. Nevertheless, he continued, the Democratic Party is "the point of departure": "the progressive forces in America have to start in the Democratic Party...none of the miseries of this miserable election have changed that fact!"

Harrington's sorry reformism was repeatedly challenged by Spartacist supporters during the discussion period, and the following leaflet was distributed by the Berkeley/Oakland Spartacus Youth League at subsequent DSOC/NAM functions in the East Bay.

America's foremost respectable socialist came to town October 10: Mr. Michael Harrington, superstar/savant of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). His disoriented followers expected to find out who to



Diana Coleman (right), Spartacist Party candidate for SF Supervisor, denounces Harrington's pro-Democratic Party reformism at Berkeley forum, October 10.

vote for in November. But Harrington, who happily hustled votes for Bay of Pigs JFK, Vietnam butcher LBJ, his henchman Hubert Humphrey, and Carter himself in '76, wouldn't say. Trying bravely to make a virtue of necessity, he declared DSOC has no position because it's not a "lockstep" organization. Translation: Listen, we blew it with Ted Kennedy and since even some social democrats can't stomach Carter this time, better not risk a split in DSOC or endanger fusion with the New American Movement by pushing hard for Carter.

Instead Harrington put on a show. Virtuoso of speechifying, he declaimed

his latest "discovery": the government is controlled by big corporations. Gesturing elaborately with his spectacles, he learnedly cited obscure journals to prove...capital gets more and more concentrated. (Marx only figured that out 135 years ago.) His high point of impassioned grandiloquence came when he exhorted the faithful to take the "socialist vision" into "miserable compromises," sketching a future of generation after generation begging for "crumbs" from the capitalist table.

For communists this performance was nauseating. Here was a man supposedly giving a perspective for socialists in the '80s who didn't even

have the guts to admit who he's for in November of this year. (Which is Carter, of course.) The menace of Carter/Reagan/Anderson is alarming tens of thousands of working people and this "socialist leader" has nothing to say. Except that when Spartacist supporter and candidate for SF supervisor Diana Coleman posed the need for the labor movement to forge a workers party to fight the Democrats and Republicans, Harrington used every debater's trick in the book to "prove" that of course this was a "nice idea" but not within the "politics of the possible." The truth is he is *against* the political independence of

continued on page 10

RWG Guru Flees Own Debate

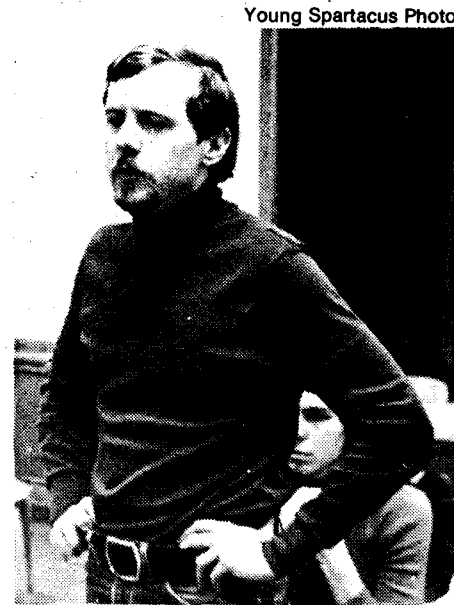
Political cults see the world through the eyes of an all-knowing visionary. Given the lack of programmatic grounding, with only the thoughts of the "leader" to guide them, the trajectories of cults are often bizarre—witness Lynn Marcus' National Caucus of Labor Committees' swing from being crackpot social democrats to extreme right-wing provocateurs. But the Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG), an Ann Arbor-based cult/sect, need only look at its own past and present to see what its future holds—rip-off artists, mental hospitals, "politics"-by-rote, hysteria (see "What Is the Revolutionary Workers Group?" *Young Spartacus* No. 80, March 1980).

On October 26 one of the RWG's plethora of front groups held a symposium on "Labor and the Elections." Had it not been for the presence of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) the affair would have been an apolitical "détente" between the RWG and the invited representatives of various reformist organizations. But the interventions of our comrades and SL-supported trade unionists presented the Trotskyist program for working-class revolution and exposed the cultist character of the RWG, reducing its members to shock and hysteria. When

the discussion ended the RWG's literature table was packed in a flash, and the distraught RWGers hastily bolted for the exit, led by their guru, Peter Solenberger.

The symposium was one of those ridiculous events that could only happen in a campus Disneyland like Ann Arbor. It featured an aged Russia-hater from the International Socialist Organization reminiscing about Calvin Coolidge and Warren Harding; a member of the Young Workers Liberation League (the Communist Party's youth group) still pushing détente; a self-hating white male from the Workers World Party refusing to speak because the panel consisted only of white males; and an RWG trade-union supporter in a "Membership Action Committee" that has practically no members and is against action (union organizing)!

For the RWG, politics is certainly not a vehicle for working-class power. Rather, the "politics" of the RWG serve to conceal the real stuff their cult is made of. The RWG's usual technique consists of rote recitation from carefully prepared typescripts having nothing to do with the political questions raised. These dull texts, prepared in advance and read out from the floor at the symposium, were strongly suggestive of



RWG high priest Peter Solenberger.

religious instruction for Iranian schoolboys, who must recite the Koran in a language they can't understand. Of course, Solenberger himself spoke off the cuff, but then he's the group's imam!

Of course RWGers know that when they *do* speak off the cuff they get into trouble. One poor fellow was never heard from again after he loudly proclaimed at an SYL class that Trotsky's Transitional Program had

been written decades ago and was completely out of date!

When the comrades of the SL/SYL exposed the intricate and bizarre social pressures through which Solenberger keeps his group together, the RWG went bananas. These exposures evoked shrieks of "Lies! Personalism! Slander!" How did the one-time head of the RWG's Ann Arbor campus-based union work—a woman with intimate ties to Solenberger—wind up in a Catholic insane asylum following the decertification of the union local of which she was president? And that notorious crony of Solenberger, Dallas Kenny—has he repaid his "debts" to the many naive Ann Arbor leftists who remember with disgust his "progressive" schemes? (One year it was vegetables, the next it was dancing, then it was movies...now he's got politics and Solenberger.) These and other questions sent the RWG into paroxysms of screaming. The RWG repeatedly interrupted the speakers from the SL/SYL but refused to answer any of the points that had been posed.

If it was all "lies" and "slander" why was the RWG's only "defense" precipitous departure? Why the yelling, tears and hurried flight? Could it be that we touched the raw nerve of a cult? ■

Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

labor policies that the working class votes he got were no mandate for union-busting and wage-slashing.

The disaffection of much of the working class with the Democrats has not phased reformist outfits like the Communist Party and Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC)—both of which see the Reagan victory as the signal to try to exhume the now-defunct "New Deal" coalition of labor and the Democrats. The abject whining about the "death of liberalism" by reformists of all stripes in the wake of the Reagan victory is one of the more disgusting spectacles imaginable. Where have all the liberals gone? They've gone to the White House, to the Khyber Pass, to vote against school integration in Congress, to the Pentagon. Cold warrior Carter has just paved the way for ultra-cold warrior Reagan, and the reformists still dream of a "fight the right" alliance with the party of Carter, Louise Day Hicks and Klansman Tom Metzger!

Don't Moan, Organize!

On a number of campuses, the Reagan victory was met with liberal protests—black armbands at Harvard and Brandeis, a "moan-in" (!) at Oberlin, and a rally and sit-in at UC Berkeley in which over 50 protesters were arrested (see box this issue). But the "human rights" lovers of divestment and dissidents, the eco-creeps whose "small is beautiful" pabulum compliments the anti-union "austerity" drive, the Russia-hating Maoists who criticized Carter's policies from the right, and the "Carter-in-'76" DSOCers have all—in their own small way—paved the road for Reagan's victory.

Reagan's election will, of course, further embolden the race-hating Klan/Nazi scum, the fundamentalist fanatics, the book-burners and rabid militarists. Some of his "team" already occupy the lunatic fringe. Take, for example, General Alexander Haig, who went into Kissinger's White House basement a colonel and emerged a four-star general, "chief-of-staff" of Nixon's bunker in the shell-shocked Watergate days, then NATO commander-in-chief—top candidate for "general most likely to lead a coup in Washington." Too, there's Kissinger himself. But then Reagan would have to look far and wide to outdo the anti-Soviet fanaticism of Carter's pal, Brzezinski.

The bankruptcy of the twin parties of capitalism has been exposed. The black masses have never been so leaderless. The same black misleaders who rushed to Miami on Carter's behalf in order to "cool things down" while crosses burned from coast to coast have refused to mobilize in defense of even the most elementary gains and rights now under attack. They still pushed for Carter (excepting of course the SCLC's Ralph Abernathy and Hosea Williams who went over to Reagan!) but neither party even made a pretense of support for black rights; the Republicans and Democrats vied for the "ethnic purity," anti-busing, anti-welfare votes. The slavish, pro-capitalist labor skates also, with few exceptions, fell into line behind

"Taft-Hartley Carter," but some of the working class wasn't buying it this time. Reagan urged voters to cast their ballots for Carter if their life had improved in the last four years and to vote for him if it hadn't. And that is more or less how the voting went. In the absence of a revolutionary workers party and effective opposition in the factories and on the streets, it is not surprising that the reaction against hoary liberalism worked in favor of the Republican right. A revolutionary workers party is a burning necessity for the American proletariat—a party capable of leading the working class and oppressed against the unending cycle of decaying capitalism—depression and war. An example of the kind of fighting program that is necessary is that of the Spartacist Party's candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, Diana Coleman.

The fight against fascist terror, for jobs for all, against imperialist war and for workers power will not be won at the polling booths, but on the battle lines of the class struggle. The only solution is workers revolution! ■

Klitgaard...

(continued from page 12)

race, class and sex bias of higher education.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The SYL fights for revolutionary integration against all forms of segregation. But there will be no genuine liberation of blacks or anyone else this side of a socialist revolution. For blacks the "American Dream" is at best a distorted nightmare. Capitalism offers only systematic oppression and discrimination that throws blacks as a specially oppressed layer into the lowest rungs of the workforce. The Spartacist League (SL) works to unite black and white workers together with a revolutionary program to end capitalist exploitation and the racism it breeds. Only a workers government with a planned, collectivized economy can end the exploitation of man by man.

Although the Communist Workers Party (CWP) was involved in the anti-Klitgaard protest, they do not share the revolutionary program or optimism of the SL/SYL. Their politics are based on defeat and despair. The CWP opposed integration through busing in the name of black nationalism and community control. This represents a criminal capitulation to the racists who think that blacks belong in the rotting ghettos and [to] the nationalists who have no program for an integrated society. The CWP places itself *objectively* on the same side as the anti-busing racists of South Boston. The five CWP members who were gunned down by the KKK in North Carolina were martyrs of the entire working class. However, the CWP's strategy of small-group confrontations with the fascists is *counterposed* to the massive labor/black mobilizations which must *smash* the Klan.

The Spartacist League's labor-centered strategy should be examined by everyone interested in combating racist attacks. We have a program that wins victories, not defeats. In the wake

of the Greensboro massacre last November the SL/SYL mobilized over 500 auto workers, students and ghetto youth to stop the KKK's threatened rally in downtown Detroit. In San Francisco, the SL initiated the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) which rallied over 1,200 unionists, gays, latinos, blacks, Jews and socialists and successfully stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday.

At Harvard, the SYL advocates building militant, united front protest actions to draw in the broadest numbers of students, faculty and campus workers to combat the administration's attacks. Militant protests won these gains and only militant protests, not pleas for apologies from the administration, can defend them!

The road to black liberation lies in the struggle for socialist revolution. The Spartacus Youth League is an organization of young students and workers dedicated to the fight for a socialist future. Join the SYL!

- Down with the Racist Klitgaard Report!
- Defend Special Admissions!
- For Open Admissions, Free Tuition and a State-Paid Stipend!
- For Militant Protest Actions to Fight Racist Attacks! ■

Harrington...

(continued from page 9)

the working class, which is the central tenet of Marxism, because he has devoted his life to keeping the labor movement tied to the bosses' Democratic Party. This party has been the "point of departure" for Hiroshima, the Bay of Pigs, George Wallace and My Lai; it is a party run by mass murderers, racists and strikebreakers. The entire bourgeois press reports that large numbers of workers are fed up with the Democrats. Real socialists say: Enough! It's time for a workers party!

Harrington showed just how hard he's willing to grovel for the Democrats when Diana Coleman challenged him to comment on the Democratic candidate in the San Diego area, Ku Klux Klan "Grand Dragon" Tom Metzger. Indignantly he yelled:

"The Democratic Party is against Metzger! I believe you should vote for the Republican in that race; that's obvious, isn't it? Everyone knows that Metzger's been repudiated by the Democratic Party in that area...."

"Everyone knows"? Tell it to the black activists who were beaten when they went to a meeting of the San Diego Democratic Party Central Committee on September 16 to urge the body to withdraw support from Metzger. After being beaten by Metzger's goons, two of the victims were arrested and are now facing trumped-up felony charges.

So Harrington's strategy for stopping the Klan is: if you can't vote Democrat, vote Republican. This is the time-worn social-democratic line. In 1932 the German Social Democratic Party told the workers to vote for Hindenburg as the "lesser evil," the man who would stop Hitler. In 1933 Hindenburg appointed Hitler Chancellor.

The fact is that in the U.S., in France, Germany, Italy, England—all the "de-

mocracies" beloved by DSOC—fascist groups are growing and are becoming increasingly bold in their use of open violence against labor and minorities. The fascists have *never* been stopped through electoralism, let alone by voting for the bourgeois parties. Only the mobilization of the working class and minorities in militant mass action can halt them. That is what stopped the Nazis in San Francisco on April 19: 1,200 unionists, socialists, blacks, Latins, Asian-Americans, gays and Jews answered the call of the Spartacist League-initiated April 19 Committee Against Nazis and occupied the place where the fascists threatened to "celebrate Hitler's birthday."

When Diana Coleman called for a break from the Democrats and a fight for a workers party, Harrington demagogically answered: "what you said was said forty years ago." With such a good memory, funny how he forgot to mention what *he* said *four* years ago: "Vote Carter." He visibly squirmed when reminded of this unabashed support for Carter and confronted with the crimes of his "lesser evil" candidate. "I didn't know—nobody knew—how it would turn out," he said plaintively. This injured innocent act was greeted with derisive laughter. Of course, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League *did* warn in '76 that Carter was a "Born Again War Monger" and racist labor-hater.

But in one sense, Harrington is right: the conflict between reformism and Marxism is an old one. Harrington himself has been saying "Vote Democrat" and practicing endless "miserable compromises" since the 1950s. His spanking new "left wing of the possible" line goes back more than 80 years to the patriotic "socialist" gentlemen who called themselves Revisionists and Possibilists and fought Engels in their effort to turn Marxism into liberal sludge. For Harrington's Second International, "democratic socialism" meant supporting the Kaiser or the Czar in World War I; fighting against the Russian Revolution shoulder to shoulder with the imperialists and pogromists; crushing the 1919 German revolution in blood.

It is an ongoing struggle: class collaboration vs. independent workers party; reliance on the bourgeois state vs. self-defense of the working class; hate Russia vs. defense of the Soviet Union; "My Country 'Tis of Thee" or "Deutschland über Alles" vs. "The Main Enemy Is at Home." The issue remains as it was posed by Rosa Luxemburg, the great Marxist murdered by Harrington's German Social Democrat forebears: Reform or revolution? The social democrats' lies about the reformability of decaying capitalism only disarm the working class when the alternative to revolution is thermonuclear destruction. The role of a Harrington is to lead the workers to the slaughter. The task of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League is to build a workers party to lead the proletariat to revolutionary victory. This means the defeat, disarmament and expropriation of the bourgeoisie by the working class and the establishment of world-wide workers rule to plan a rational economy that can liberate humanity from oppression and exploitation. Join the SYL! ■

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(Signed) Dorothy London, (editor)

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Join the SYL...

(continued from page 5)

provoking considerable xenophobic reaction here, and Carter's Cold War saber rattling over the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the political climate in the U.S. shifted perceptibly to the right. The invocation of the "Russian menace" and an appeal to patriotism provided a convenient way for a U.S. government fairly discredited by its dirty war and humiliating defeat in Vietnam to morally and materially rearm, as well as to try to distract its disgruntled citizens from the rapidly declining quality of American life.

At the same time, registration for the draft—though more a ploy for the government's attempt to intensify mass anti-Soviet sentiment than a direct preparation for war—roused campus youth and gave the SYL a forum to address students who did not want to die for the greater glory of U.S. imperialism and its Islamic allies in Afghanistan or elsewhere.

The popularity of our line on the social questions posed in Iran has been somewhat submerged in the wave of heightened bourgeois anti-Sovietism which aims at reinstilling "the Cold War spirit" in the masses. "Down with the Veil!" had an immediate popularity in this country, evidenced by the success of the SL/SYL's Fatima Khalil tour (see *Young Spartacus* No. 73, May 1979); "Hail Red Army" in Afghanistan does not have that immediate mass appeal. Nonetheless, especially in the anti-draft "movement," we have recruited to our program of revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union and the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Midwest Conference

Though opportunities were there and were exploited by our comrades in the SYL local committees, we did not recruit as rapidly as projected due in good part to a rather lethargic, routinist, office-bound National Office. As a result of these problems in the center, the national work of the organization remained largely undirected. Grievances against the National Office surfaced in New York over the production of *Young Spartacus* and opened up a wide-ranging discussion on perspectives for the SYL. Some comrades of the party, in a 13 March memo entitled "To

Be or Not to Be," reflected that "after eleven years and perhaps half a dozen or more leadership configurations, together with no lack of big opportunities in those eleven years, our central youth administration and apparatus has failed to show a continuing viability in discharging its responsibilities to the common movement." The memo challenged the youth organization to justify its existence. The ensuing discussion, focused by a Midwest Regional Conference on March 16, showed a real and vital youth organization in the field whose needs were not being met by the youth center.

The regional helped kick off the process of pre-conference discussion in preparation for the youth national conference. The wide interest generated brought in many literary contributions, not only from SYL members but also from comrades of the SL and from other sections of the international Spartacist tendency. During the pre-conference period four internal bulletins were produced by the SYL.

One result of the discussion was a more precise understanding of the National Office's responsibilities. The main conference document described the center's primary tasks:

"...The NB/N.O. [National Bureau/National Office] staff are primarily responsible to the national youth organization for the production and political accuracy of our press and other publications and as the first court of appeals in disputes between SL and SYL locals, offsetting the usual preponderance of authority in the party local. The tasks of the SYL N.O. therefore are neither to ape the functioning of the SL Central Office nor to monitor the day-to-day tactical exigencies of various campus fractions. The SYL N.O. plays an integral, but subordinate, function in much of the interlocking day-to-day work of the common movement; i.e., that of the Trade Union Commission, the SL National Organizational Secretary, the International Secretariat. Our youth-party "treaty" and status as a youth section is not an academic exercise: the youth organization has full vote and voice on the SL Central Committee and Political Bureau in addition to representation on local party executives."

—"Being There," *SYL Internal Bulletin* No. 26, August 1980

The primary administrative responsibility of the National Office is the production of our propaganda, centered on *Young Spartacus*, which necessarily involves some coordination of local

activities. To aid *Young Spartacus* in appropriately reflecting the work of the field, the national editorial apparatus was consolidated and strengthened. Both the paper itself and its sales figures improved in subsequent months.

The discussion also unearthed a social-democratic conception of youth work, upheld by three members in New York who complained of "youth oppression." Their criticisms soon came down to: the SYL is not recruiting rapidly because our program does not make it possible; we don't have to say "Hail Red Army" so much, do we? Sure enough, they chose not to say it at all and quit within a couple of weeks, citing "1,000-to-1" odds against the success of socialist revolution. Their real complaint with us turned out not to be over "youth oppression" or the problems of the center's functioning, but the party question: the weight of the party's Trotskyist program "oppressed" the youth.

"Biological Existence"

Although the number of quits arising out of the youth discussion was fairly small (with the one "political" opposition, the New York clot of three, getting no support), they included some cadres. The real question facing the comrades turned out to be the party question: why be a communist today—life is hard enough as it is. The conference document described it:

"Subjectively revolutionary youth join the SYL for any number of particular reasons, ranging from hatred of the Klan to browbeating by friends. In the current period, however, youth are not likely to be recruited through social struggle (and the anti-draft 'movement' barely rates on the scale of social struggle), but by ideas. One possible consequent result is a tendency to succumb to pressure from bourgeois society and leave the organization, after a time, for a biological existence.... It has been noted that life as a communist is hard, but life as a human being is hard too, especially when the accompanying isolation is not attenuated by working in concert as comrades, for a larger social purpose. Vitality supplementing programmatic agreement, sustained membership hinges on the ability to channel a gut hatred of capitalism into working to build the vanguard party to lead the proletariat to power."

—"Being There"

One of the important points that came out clearly at the conference itself was a realization that a sort of "historical pessimism" about the possibility of winning a substantial number of new

recruits had infected even elements of the national youth leadership. Some of the comrades charged with coordinating the necessary work doubted the possibility of rapid recruitment but did not openly fight within the organization to rediscuss the perspective. Considering that the youth center tended to act like it suspected the recruitment drive had originated in someone's wild imagination and somehow been adopted by the Sixth National Conference, it's all the more remarkable that the locals were by and large able to do their work well and recruit.

The conference noted that the recruitment drive intersected a quiescent class struggle and a rightward drift in the country symbolized by increased activity by the fascistic race-terrorist "fringe." But we are not alone in feeling threatened by the rightward drift. The SYL gained rich opportunities to recruit, especially among black youth, on the basis of our powerful class-struggle line on how to crush the fascists, backed up by successful exemplary work. Following the Greensboro massacre, where leftist trade unionists and blacks were gunned down in cold blood by the Ku Klux Klan, the SL/SYL took the initiative in building a labor/black rally in Detroit against a grotesque provocation: the announcement of a Klan march to take place in the largely black "Motor City" in the aftermath of Greensboro. Some months later, the SL/SYL again actively worked to build a labor-centered demonstration in San Francisco to stop a planned Nazi "celebration" of Hitler's birthday on April 19. Especially the emergence in the SL/SYL of a layer of committed, tested black cadres now enables us to aggressively follow up this work and translate it into new members.

The conference noted the value of our regional work in taking up opportunities in areas where we do not yet have a sustained presence. While resolving to continue to seek out new areas of work, we affirmed our commitment to the campuses where we have established a reputation over the years. In particular, Boston was noted as an important and fruitful area for the SYL.

The conference showed that the work of the local committees, combined with a national leadership that had consolidated itself through fights and the resulting clarification of goals, provided the basis for the organization to go forward. ■

Free Cathy Wilkerson!

Ex-Weatherwoman Cathy Wilkerson was sentenced October 28 to three years in prison after pleading guilty July 18 to charges stemming from an explosion in 1970 of dynamite, located in her father's Greenwich Village townhouse. The blast killed three of Wilkerson's comrades and was widely publicized at the time. For the next ten years Wilkerson eluded the FBI before turning herself in five months ago.

Unlike the motley parade of repentant New Left clowns who have pledged their allegiance to Ronald Reagan's America, Wilkerson has not renounced her hatred for imperialism. Abbie Hoffman is an upper middle-class professional and an exponent of "coalition politics." Jerry Rubin is a Wall Street broker and eco-freak. Jane Alpert became a feminist and turned state's evidence against her male comrades. Mark Rudd decided he was getting "too old to be a revolutionary." Surrendering before the Manhattan Criminal

Court, Wilkerson declared, "The conditions are the same and my commitment to struggle against them is the same" (*New York Times*, 9 July).

The Spartacus Youth League demands immediate freedom for Cathy Wilkerson! At the same time we warn against the impotent, destructive and profoundly petty-bourgeois strategy of individual terrorism. Historically, it was the Spartacist League alone which defended both the Black Panthers and the Weathermen at a time when their popularity among rad-lib petty-bourgeois circles had waned.

Unlike the exotic, cultist Symbionese Liberation Army, the Weathermen directed their terror threats mainly at symbols or representatives of U.S. imperialism, reflecting a genuine hatred for the bourgeoisie. Trotskyists do not read these militants out of the left, and we defend them against state prosecution. Free Cathy Wilkerson!

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE Class Series

BOSTON

ABCs of Marxism

At Harvard:
Wednesdays, November 26,
December 10, 17, 7:30 p.m.
Phillips Brooks House

At Brandeis:

Wednesdays, November 19,
December 3, 10, 7:30 p.m.
Conference Room B, Usdan
For more information: (617) 492-3928

CHICAGO

ABCs of Communism

Alternate Thursdays
November 20, December 3, 7:30 p.m.
523 South Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
For more information: (312) 427-0003

OBERLIN

Socialist Revolution or World War III

Alternate Wednesdays
November 19, December 3, 7:30 p.m.
Wilder Hall 101
For more information: (216) 775-5245

DETROIT

The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Thursdays
November 20, December 4, 7:30 p.m.
Welker Room, Michigan Union
University of Michigan
For more information: (313) 994-9313

MADISON

Marxism and World Revolution

Alternate Thursdays
November 20, December 4, 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
November 18, December 2, 7:30 p.m.
Hamilton Hall, Room 316
Columbia University
For more information: (212) 732-7860

SAN FRANCISCO

ABCs of Communism

Thursday November 20, 7:00 p.m.
Student Union B112
SF State University
For more information: (415) 863-6963
Also to be held at UC Berkeley.
Call (415) 835-1535 for time and details.

LOS ANGELES

ABCs of Marxism

November 19, December 3, 17,
6:30 p.m.
Student Faculty Lounge
Los Angeles City College
For more information: (213) 662-1564

Young Spartacus

Protest Racist Klitgaard Report!

For Open Admissions! Nationalize Harvard!

CAMBRIDGE—On Tuesday, October 28 over 200 students staged a militant march and rally in the Harvard Yard to protest a racist admissions report commissioned by University president Derek Bok. Written by Bok's special assistant, Robert Klitgaard, the report suggests that black students "attend slightly lesser institutions where they might compete as intellectual equals."

In response to this blatant program for a lily-white Harvard, a coalition of minority student organizations demanded a public disavowal of the Klitgaard report and strengthening of existing affirmative action admissions programs. On November 5, Bok responded with a mealy-mouthed "disavowal" that pledged "to continue and expand such [affirmative action] efforts in the future." Such promises from the man who previously tried to alibi the Klitgaard report aren't worth a hill of beans!

While minority student admissions quotas hardly change the racist status quo, in which the masses of black, latino and Asian youth are barred from college education, we defend them when they are attacked. Instead of fighting for false promises and crumbs, however, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) offers a program to fight for free higher education for all.

The SYL has joined the protests against the Klitgaard report and calls for militant united front action to fight this racist attack. The following leaflet

was distributed by the SYL at the October 28 Harvard demonstration.

Down With the Racist Klitgaard Report!

The Klitgaard report is an outrageous attack on the democratic rights of blacks, women and minorities. The report alleges that black students are academically inferior and recommends that blacks attend "lesser" institutions where they would experience a "greater overall perceived feeling of equality." Klitgaard's sick vision of an Aryan Harvard must be protested! We will not accept "perceptions" of equality but must struggle for the real thing! The explicit pitting of Jews against blacks in this report is particularly disgusting and serves only the most reactionary ends. If black students are driven out of this WASPish enclave then Jews and other minorities will be next. The operational conclusion of the Klitgaard report is clear: segregation—separate and unequal!

The *Crimson* (30 October) wonders "why this report now?" and cites evaluation of admissions policies as the administration's rationale. What nonsense! With Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter and Ronald "states' rights" Reagan racing for the White House, a climate for right-wing attacks is created. The Congress and Supreme Court strike down abortion rights, trigger-happy cops murder blacks and are acquitted in



SYL in anti-Klitgaard protest at Harvard October 28.

Boston, Miami and other cities, and the goose-stepping, cross-burning racists in the Klan and Nazi parties get the message loud and clear: it's open season

on blacks, leftists and the labor movement. And from Greensboro to Connecticut and San Francisco to Evanston, Illinois, these fascists are deadly serious. So, one look outside the ivied walls explains "why this report now." Moreover, academia has long been a haven for "luminaries" such as Shockley who propound theories of genetic inferiority in blacks. Klitgaard's report represents a move to put these theories into practice.

Elite private universities like Harvard are enclaves of the white upper class and serve as the training ground for the future leaders of U.S. imperialism, men like war criminal Kissinger and Bay of Pigs Kennedy. Special admissions programs at Harvard exist only as the result of militant struggles in the 60s and 70s. The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) while recognizing the limited, tokenistic nature of these reforms, defends them against administration attacks. Special admissions programs take capitalist discrimination as the starting point and assume that this oppression will continue. How many ghetto youth can scrape together the necessary \$9,000 for higher education at Harvard? While a Harvard education may be chapter one of a black Horatio Alger story, the myth crumbles when black professors are routinely denied tenure at this university. Marxists want more than just a few places left open for working-class and minority youth. The SYL advocates a program of nationalization of private universities with open admissions, free tuition and a state-paid stipend. This would really undercut the

600 Students Say: "Nuke Duke!"

NOVEMBER 11—As part of "human rights week" at California State University in Northridge, David Duke, head of the fascist National Association for the Advancement of White People, was invited to speak on the campus by the homecoming queen, one Harriet Ikenon, and the Student Legislative Council. For putting forth his racist filth, he was paid \$1,700 by the student government!

But Duke also met with a barrage of protests from Chicano, black, white and Jewish students determined to deny this fascist scum a platform. Organized by MEChA, Black Survival Union and Hillel, the students gathered two hours before he was to arrive. The campus administration brought out dozens of riot-equipped cops to protect Duke and—after demanding two pieces of identification—they frisked the students as they entered the auditorium!

Once inside, the protesters, numbering around 600, chanted in outrage as he began to speak and prevented him from continuing by clapping in unison, marching in the aisles and chanting "nuke Duke" and

"Duke off campus." After over an hour most of the students left. David Duke crawled away shortly after.

The LA SYL sent the following mailgram in solidarity with the Northridge protesters:

SYL Solidarity Message to Anti-Duke Protesters

MEChA
California State University
Northridge, CA 91330

13 NOVEMBER 1980

THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE STRONGLY CONGRATULATES ALL THE STUDENTS AT CAL STATE NORTHRIDGE WHO VIGOROUSLY PROTESTED THE ATTEMPT TO SPEAK ON CAMPUS OF DAVID DUKE, FORMER KLAN CHIEF, NOW THE HEAD OF THE WHITE-SUPREMACIST NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WHITE PEOPLE. DUKE HEADS A FASCIST ORGANIZATION COMMITTED TO THE MASS MURDER OF JEWS, BLACKS, CHICANOS, UNIONISTS AND LEFTISTS.

THE MOBILIZATION OF STUDENT PROTESTERS TO DENY THIS FASCIST SCUM A PLATFORM FOR HIS RACE-HATE CAMPAIGN IS AN ACTION WHICH DESERVES THE WHOLE-HEARTED SUPPORT OF ALL THE ENEMIES OF FASCISM.

FASCISTS USE THE SPEAKING PLATFORM ONLY TO MOBILIZE FOR GENOCIDE AND THEIR APPEARANCE ON THE CAMPUS WOULD HAVE ONLY FUELED THEIR OMINOUS GROWTH AND BOLDNESS. - NO PLATFORM FOR FASCISTS!

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE

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