

Young Spartacus

Number 26

25 cents

November 1974

Stop Racist Terror in Boston!

**Implement and Extend the Busing Plan!
Not Federal Troops, But Labor/Black Defense!**

*RU Calls for
Smashing Busing*

*CP, SWP Demand
Federal Troops*

In the five weeks since Boston public schools opened on September 12, the court-ordered busing of students to achieve racial desegregation has provoked a vicious racist backlash. The anti-busing school boycott, centering on predominantly working-class South Boston, has escalated into city-wide, organized racist mass mobilizations and lynch-mob terror: racial epithets and rocks are being hurled at buses carrying defenseless black schoolchildren by gangs of white parents and especially youth, roving frenzied mobs are intimidating and assaulting blacks on the streets, fighting and bomb scares are disrupting more and more schools, night-riding vigilantes are shooting into the overwhelmingly-black Columbia Point housing project, and blood-lusting Ku Klux Klan provocateurs are being wildly cheered at large anti-busing rallies. Boston teeters on the brink of race war.

As the racist attacks mount, both the Boston School Committee and the City Council have been actively aiding the anti-busing forces. The Great Healer, President Ford, has consciously fanned the racist flames by declaring at his October 9 news conference, "I have consistently opposed forced busing to achieve racial balance." The Boston anti-busing offensive is becoming a rallying point for a renewed offensive for racist politicians like George Wallace and the organizations leading anti-desegregation campaigns in Baltimore and Denver.



While liberal politicians, community "leaders" and their craven "left" chorus beg for federal troops, the SL/SYL boldly pointed way for a real defense.

The racist terror in Boston must be stopped! The anti-busing forces must be defeated now!

The Spartacus Youth League supports busing as a minimal application of the elementary *democratic right of black people to equality in education*. We are in principle in favor of breaking down all barriers of racial

segregation in all areas of society. Racism is rooted in the real material oppression of black people under capitalism, and ghettos and lumpenization are very much a part of that oppression. We are in favor of the all-sided integration of blacks into society, for then the basis for united class struggle is strengthened. While certainly a bourgeois measure, busing does strike a blow, albeit contradictory and partial, at segregated education and must be supported (see "Anti-Busing Forces Must Be Defeated!" *Young Spartacus*, September 1974).

The present busing plan is totally inadequate, and we demand that busing be extended to include the suburban schools. Boston's inner-city whites are inflamed that they must accept desegregation while being lectured by moralizing suburban liberals, whose schools remain essentially lily-

white. The relatively better suburban schools should be opened up to black, Puerto Rican and working-class white students from the inner city. Busing suburban students into the inner-city schools would itself result in bringing the considerable middle-class suburban vote to bear on city politicians to upgrade these schools.

However, desegregating capitalism's irrelevant or decaying schools is clearly not the solution. We demand quality public education with an end to tracking and free universal higher education with a state stipend for all who wish to learn. Furthermore, we call for the construction throughout the city of low-rent, high-quality, racially-integrated public housing. Such measures would significantly undercut the racist fears of South Boston whites, who see busing as an "invasion" of the

continued on page 5

SPECIAL:

**SWP/YSA, PL/SDS SCAB
ON CHICAGO STRIKE!**

...page 6

EDITORIAL NOTES

PL "Crashes" Bosses' Party

The entire Watergate crisis evoked from the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and its trade-union front, the Workers Action Movement (WAM), little more than a nonchalant, can't-be-bothered dismissal of the significance of the political storm surrounding the "runt" Nixon. But now it has apparently dawned on PL that it is the Democratic Party which is the beneficiary of the anti-Nixon sentiment within the working class. As a political tendency, PL has distinguished itself by wild political oscillations, often swinging from the most petty whining reformism to almost delirious adventurism. And once again, PL/WAM has careened from the "zig" of know-nothing abstentionism on the question of new elections and a labor candidate in opposition to the capitalist parties to the "zag" of... running in the Democratic Party!

PL's *Challenge* (29 August), under the character-

istically inimitable nursery-rhyme title "WAM Puts Bomb in Bosses' Ballot Box," reports the candidacy of PL/WAMer Cleve Parmer for Washington, D.C. City Councilman in the September 10 Democratic Party primary. Parmer's platform of course has been designed to be easily supportable by any smooth, left-talking "friend of labor" Democrat: 30 for 40, fighting racism by raising the minimum wage to \$5 an hour and support to all strikes. Listen to *Challenge* attempt to justify this naked plunge into class collaboration and electoral reformism:

"We are running in the Democratic Primary because this is where the election will be decided. Workers vote Democratic because they believe the Democratic Party to be a progressive party of the lesser of two evils.... If we win the general election on November 5, we will gain the forum of the City Council as a big step towards building WAM in this city."

The next issue of *Challenge* carried a letter purportedly from an honest-center "Observer" opposing the reported campaign in Third Period PL rhetoric. The most recent *Challenge* (October 10), however, runs two letters from members of PL in response. The very likely authoritative letter from a "PLer in

D.C." states:

"But why participate in a bosses' party? Why not run as an 'independent'? Because in this situation our chance of winning is greater by running in the Democratic primary. Running in an election merely to 'use' it as an occasion to put forth our ideas harms the prestige or credibility of the Party. Why convince workers to vote for us as an 'independent' party when it is clear to everyone that no 'independent' candidate is going to win. Winning is important—and taking advantage of every chance we have to win is a course we should always follow if we don't want to earn the reputation of being just a bunch of ineffectual noisemakers."

PL first sharply swerved into an aggressive policy of class collaborationism in the antiwar movement. Dropping its healthy revulsion for bosses' politicians in the antiwar movement, PL/SDS caved in to opportunism in a scramble to reach the "masses" of liberal antiwar protesters and entered the popular front National Peace Action Coalition in 1971. By the 1972 presidential election campaign PL had backed off from its previously hard sectarian position of abstention on principle and campaigned among liberal McGovern supporters for enactment of its trivial "anti-racism" bill.

In sharp contrast to the earlier denunciations of the Communist Party's reformist electoralism, PL began to reconsider an orientation to the Democratic Party. The 1972 internal "Election Report" urged: "Before, during and after the Democratic convention try to build unity on issues with forces inside reform movements tied to electioneering.... Raise 30 for 40 resolutions before reform organizations, including Democrats" (see *Workers Vanguard*, February 1973).

PL in the past has more than once pulled back from its policies of reformist liquidation, and it remains to be seen if a significant section of the membership will stumble at the class line. Yet this gross betrayal of working-class politics stands as a clear indication that PL is not on any "Road to Revolution" but well down the same detour that took the Black Panthers into the Democratic Party.

Leary Finks on Weathermen

According to reports in the *New York Times*, Dr. Timothy Leary, the once-exalted high priest of the acid-assisted inner revolution, has declared his willingness to turn state's evidence against his former cohorts, the Weathermen. After the initial binge of daring terror bombings directed against targets symbolic of imperialist authority, the Weathermen were faced with an unshaken capitalist order and atomized collectives disintegrating under the strains of isolated underground existence. The accidental Greenwich Village bomb blast that took the lives of three of their urban guerrillas had something of a sobering effect, and the Weather Underground issued a self-critical communiqué stating that other methods of struggle in addition to bombings were needed.

Thus, the Weatherpeople began to emphasize even more the "liberating" life-style radicalism characteristic of the alienated petty bourgeoisie. The vicarious enthusing over the murderous Charles Manson sex-slave cult, which had epitomized their identification with everything repugnant to respectable bourgeois society, now turned toward the youth drug-culture cult, whose foremost guru Timothy Leary at that time was a "political prisoner." Leary was serving a ten-year term in San Luis Obispo prison on drug charges and had even become a self-proclaimed "anti-imperialist."

The Weatherpeople allegedly engineered Leary's escape from his minimum-security prison in September 1970, harbored him and secured his passage to Algeria. But Leary's experiences at Eldridge Cleaver's spacious villa were evidently unpleasant enough to dampen his momentary, self-indulging "revolutionary" ardor and send him in flight to Afghanistan, that Riviera of the head set. Leary was finally arrested there, deported back to prison in California and now awaits the most favorable deal in return for betraying his alleged liberators.

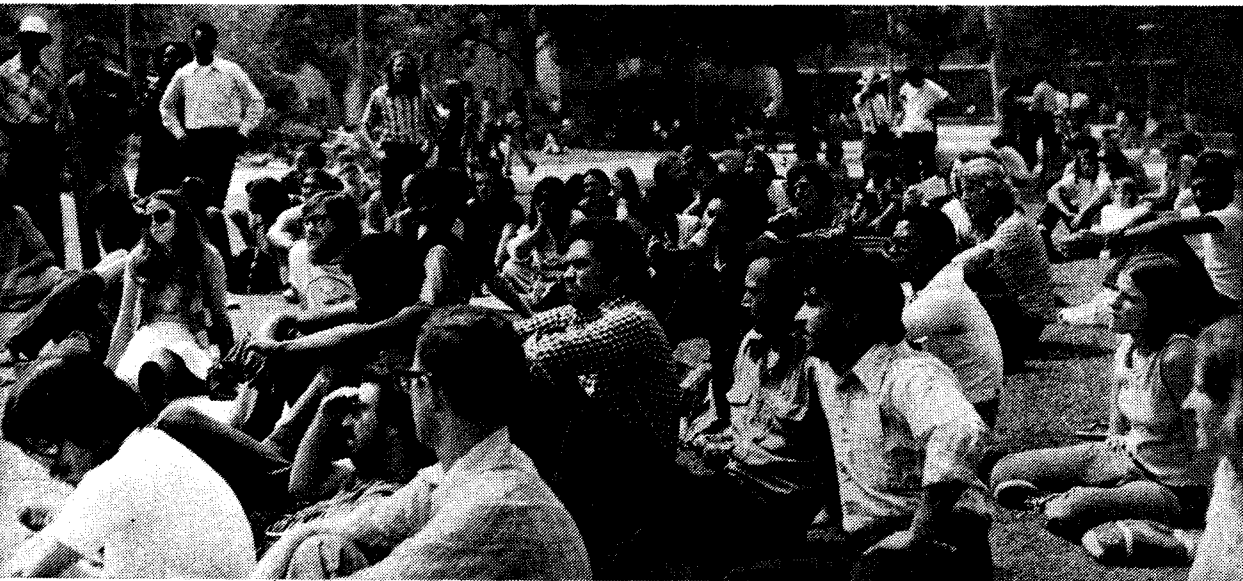
The remnants of Weathermen have survived their assaults on police lines and terror bombings, eluded a massive nationwide FBI manhunt and obtained the dismissal of nearly all the trumped-up federal conspiracy charges. Now they stand the chance of renewed persecution for their reported role in the jailbreak of the disgusting turncoat Leary. Although the revolutionary impulses which led the Weathermen to attempt to bring down the oppressive bourgeois state through individual terrorism were deformed by New Left elitist substitutionism, the Weathermen were and remain part of the left. The SYL was alone on the left in defending them when their defiant terror bombings enraged bourgeois public opinion and sent the rest of the left stampeding to disassociate themselves. Should Leary's expected testimony result in new charges against the Weathermen, we will continue to defend them against the bourgeois state.

Hundreds Demonstrate at SYL Rallies to "Jail Nixon"

About 150 students at the State University of New York at Binghamton, 225 at Los Angeles City College, and 80 at the University of California at Los Angeles demonstrated their outrage at Gerald Ford's pardon of Nixon by attending Spartacus Youth League-sponsored rallies held on September 12, 20 and 26, respectively. The rallies were called around the demands "Jail Nixon" and "No Pardons for the Watergate Criminals!" The LACC rally was the largest political demonstration on the campus in several years. The large turnouts reflect not only the broad-based indignation with the pardon, but also the regeneration of campus political life and the growing influence of the SYL.

At the LACC rally speakers from the SYL pointed out that the pardon of Nixon by his own hand-picked successor demonstrated that "under capitalism people are not equal under the law." The treatment given the crook and mass murderer Nixon was contrasted to the "justice" meted out to the victims of Attica or Tony Wilkins, a Los Angeles black man shot down in cold blood by the police; no one will be able to pardon them. The demand that Nixon be jailed or, alternatively, be extradited to Hanoi to stand trial for his crimes against the working people met with enthusiastic applause.

The speakers attacked the position that Nixon's resignation was a victory for the working class. They demonstrated how the labor movement should have demanded new elections and fielded a workers' candidate with a class-struggle program. Members of the Revolutionary Student Brigade apparently felt unable to defend their position that the resignation of the "bum" was a great victory and that now all the "bums" are "on the run," since they declined the open invitation to address the crowd. The rally concluded with an analysis of the need for the building of the revolutionary party and the role of the SYL.



SYL speaker addressing students at LACC "Jail Nixon" rally.

Sam Meacham

Scopes Affair Revisited

Last month in West Virginia a school-boycott movement for banning allegedly "dirty," "trashy," "Godless" and "Communist" textbooks which was initiated by white Fundamentalist preachers and supported by large numbers of hysterical parents precipitated sporadic wildcat strikes by miners of the United Mine Workers of America. The protests opposed the introduction in the public schools, as supplementary readings, of anthologies of poetry and prose including selections from such un-American and anti-Christian heretics as e. e. cummings, Allen Ginsburg, Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver. Particularly inflammatory are the "anti-white" invectives of George Jackson or the poems of Usef Iman.

Incensed Freewill Baptists and their supporters began the boycott when the schools opened on September 3. When miners began to join the picket lines and demonstrations, a wildcat strike supporting the anti-textbook crusade was begun, shutting down at one point 80 percent of the mines in the area. Classes have been disrupted, schools and school buses bombed and burned, and violent confrontations involving beatings and shootings have been reported. The demonstrators are goaded on by self-ordained preachers such as Charles Quigley, who announced that he has been praying for God to strike dead three school board members who sanctioned the books! At a rally of 3,500 another preacher declared, "If we don't protect our children from evil we'll have to go to hell for it." The protests still continue.

The Spartacus Youth League is firmly opposed to such mob censorship and therefore against the parent protests and the wildcat miners strike. For the traditionally staunchly union-conscious miners, strikes are the means of social protest, regardless of the issues. But in this situation the strike, replete with the usual gun-toting and fist-swinging pickets, involves not class struggle against the coal barons around union demands but rather an expression of social backwardness, cultural deprivation and white racism. With the increased social crisis, the prevailing mood of helplessness in chronically economically-depressed Appalachia is intensified. It is to these frustrations that reactionaries like the Fundamentalists or George Wallace appeal with their "forgotten little man" demagoguery. Many protesters apparently feel that the textbooks are being forced upon them by the powerful northern liberal establishment.

In response to the crusade and strikes the Authors League of America has sent telegrams to President Ford and Attorney General Saxbe calling for federal intervention to prevent censorship. While Bible-quoting, intellectual dinosaur Ford is hardly a champion of controversial literature, we are opposed to any attempt the government might make to weaken or smash the union, such as injunctions against pickets at the mines or use of the cops to break up the picket lines. Likewise, we are opposed to any company reprisals against miners participating in the illegal wildcats. It is the responsibility of the union and class-conscious militants to use their authority to call a halt to the wildcat strikes.

The petty-bourgeois workerists, who are far more enthralled with simple trade-union consciousness than committed to any socialist program, have either passed over in silence, or sought to prettify, this shameful strike. In an article on the strike in its recent *Workers Power* (October 1-16), the reformist International Socialists take no position either for or against this reactionary strike, but enthuse over the miners' militancy without once mentioning backwardness in the working class. On the contrary, the IS glows:

"The miners are aware of the power they have as workers and will use it when they see their interests as parents or citizens being threatened. Likewise other groups who want support for their struggles will turn to workers for help, knowing that the power to stop production is the most important lever they can have... the miners are feeling their power—both to affect community struggles and to point the way for other workers with a victory over the coal operators this fall. Miners also know that a strike over any issue reduces coal stockpiles."

Unlike the petty-bourgeois workerists, we give absolutely no quarter to manifestations of racism, religious bigotry, male chauvinism and national chauvinism, even when combined with some rudiments of trade-union militancy. These are the poison of bourgeois ideology which we, as communists, must struggle to eradicate from the working class.

SYL Protests Cop Terror

YOUNG SPARTACUS



SL/SYL contingent in September 14 mass march in Newark against cop repression.

On September 1, Newark police, under the guise of breaking up alleged gambling, indiscriminately charged into a Puerto Rican festival at Branch Brook Park, seriously injuring one young girl. The outraged reaction of the crowd was met by random and brutal attacks from the rampaging cops; cop rioting resulted in the murder of at least two people. Martial law prevailed in Newark in the following days, with a curfew in effect and a ban on all public meetings of three or more people.

Only two weeks later a black youth was murdered by police in the Brownsville-East New York section of Brooklyn. Fourteen-year-old Claude Reese Jr. had been cleaning a basement in preparation for a party when he was shot in the head by a trigger-happy cop, Frank Bosco, who claimed he saw a gun in the boy's hand. No such gun was found.

In protest against this ominous trend of cop murder and violence directed against blacks and other minorities, the SYL initiated and participated in a number of demonstrations in the metropolitan New York area. As students returned to classes at the City College of New York, the SYL distributed leaflets calling for a picket-line protest of the Newark atrocities. At the demonstration the SYL linked the cop riot in Newark to the recently-begun trials of the Attica Brothers in Buffalo, both standing as warnings of the vicious lengths to which the capitalist state is willing to go at any sign of rebellion from the oppressed. In militant chants the SYL demanded that Newark's killer cops be disarmed and called for a working-class defense of the Attica Brothers and for racially-organized workers militias to defend against cop terror. The SYL also attempted to mobilize students to march with the Spartacist League and SYL at the rally in Newark called by the People's Committee Against Repression and Police Brutality (PCARPB), a coalition including the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and Imamu Baraka's Con-

gress of Afrikan People.

The PCARPB demanded amnesty and free medical care for those arrested September 1, the firing of the police director Hubert Williams and the abolition of the elite tactical and mounted police units. While the SYL supports these demands, we pointed out that the PCARPB's demand for a community review board, in which black mayor Kenneth Gibson would play a leading role, was only one more version of the illusory demand for community control of the bosses' police. Mayor Gibson *already* "reviews" and controls the Newark police and, like any other capitalist politician black or white, will not hesitate to use the armed might of the cops to put down threats to "law and order."

When thousands of outraged residents of the Brownsville-East New York area marched on New York's City Hall to protest the murder of Claude Reese Jr., the SYL also sought to organize a CCNY contingent to participate in this demonstration.

At a time when cop terror is on the rise, the sectarian response of the left organizations at CCNY to the SYL's initiatives is particularly indicative of the hollowness of their phony dedication to the fight against racial oppression. The do-nothing, "radical"-posturing student government of Donald Murphy, who also heads up the Black Studies Collective and the Caribbean Student Association at CCNY, refused to participate in either action, as did the Young Socialist Alliance and the Revolutionary Student Brigade. The complaint of the YSA apparently was that we had not given them enough time to think about refusing to participate! Murphy and the RSB, on the other hand, preferred to devote their efforts to a quota-hiring, union-busting campaign on campus, led by black building contractors and Fight Back, a group notorious for its campaigns to sue unions in the capitalist courts.

The Dark Side of Moon

On September 18 the South Korean "Universal Father," messianic charlatan Reverend Sun Myung Moon, appeared before an overflow motley crowd of fervent followers and curiosity-seekers in New York's Madison Square Garden to deliver his poisonous, anti-communist "message of hope for America" and "initiate the youth movement which is probably the only one of its kind in United States history." For weeks before, New Yorkers were saturated with the Moon message—"September 18 Could Be Your Re-Birthday"—on television and radio and posters plastered over store windows, subway walls, lamp posts and urinals. The response was for the most part a puzzled "Where did the evangelist Moon get the bankroll for such an extravagantly slick advertising promotional campaign?"

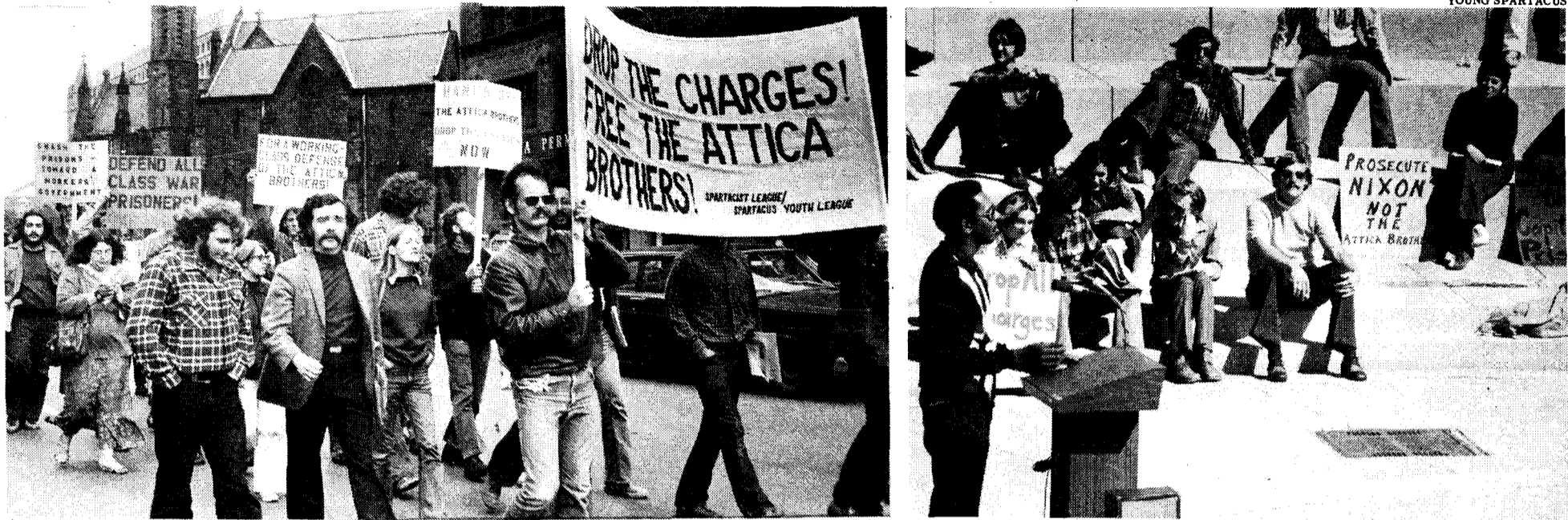
So the *New York Times* and the *Village Voice* have carried articles revealing Moon's right-wing affiliations and enormous personal fortune. His financial empire has been estimated at \$15 million and includes titanium plants in South Korea in which his Unification Church disciples work for "token wages." His Church is part of the World Anti-Communist League and International Federation for Victory Over Communism, and openly functions as an indoctrination center for the South Korean military. The staunch defender of South Korea's embattled vicious murderer, President Park Chung Hee, has in the past year defended his other anti-communist hero, Richard Nixon. During the Watergate crisis Moon led prayers in person before Nixon and his minions have organized rallies, fasting, pray-ins and all-night vigils in Nixon's support.

Politically, Moon's message is for Americans never to relax in their holy war against the godless Red Menace. With revelatory wisdom he declares "God has a very great stake in America" and recites the "In God We Trust" motto on U.S. coinage as a kind of epiphany. Here is a man who indeed takes seriously the relation between god and money!

While Moon's outlook and connections with the Park regime are unquestionably counter-revolutionary and dictatorial, as an Asian he is at a disadvantage to lead a real fascist movement in this country. The fascist priest Father Coughlin in the 1930's broke out of his Catholicism to crusade against communism, but he had to develop a demagogic mix of anti-communism, white racism, anti-semitism and national chauvinism. Fascism will not be brought to America by one who claims that the soon-to-be-revealed Messiah and the language of the coming social order will be Korean.

In times of social crisis messiahs are plentiful, and Moon is the latest cult figure to come over the mystical mountain in recent years. Since the collapse of the radical student movement of the late 1960's, political cynicism and demoralization have hung over the campuses, providing a fertile atmosphere for the growth of all sorts of religious movements, debased fads and outlandish occultism. Contrary to fake lefts who for years have claimed students to be inherently progressive or the driving force behind some irreversible youth radicalization, we have always upheld the Marxist conception that students are not a social class with a conscious ideology rooted in a material opposition to capitalist society, but rather the most volatile section of the petty bourgeoisie. Students can embrace pro-working-class consciousness as well as Krishna consciousness, Cosmic consciousness, consciousness Three, *ad nauseum*. But unlike con-boy Guru Maharajji, who only runs a straight shake-down operation, Moon is not simply an all-purpose celestial pimp, but a running dog for killers.

SYL Demonstrates in Defense of the Attica Brothers



Section of SL/SYL contingent (left) marching to defend the Attica Brothers in Buffalo. Striking University of Chicago campus worker (right) speaking at SYL-sponsored rally in defense of Attica Brothers at University of Illinois, Chicago Circle.

Some 1500 people turned out on September 14 in Buffalo for a march and rally in solidarity with the Attica Brothers Legal Defense (ABLD) around the slogans "Stop the Railroad, Stop the Trials, Drop the Charges." Indictments charging crimes ranging from possession of a prison key to kidnapping and murder have been brought against 61 survivors of the September 1971 prison rebellion, and the first trials are now under way in the State Supreme Court in Buffalo. (Since the indictments have been handed down two of the Attica defendants have entered guilty pleas and a third has died.)

The Spartacus Youth League (formerly the Revolutionary Communist Youth) has long been active in the defense of the Attica Brothers. The Buffalo Marxist Collective, prior to its fusion with the Revolutionary Communist Youth, organized the first demonstration in support of the beleaguered Attica rebels. The SYL intervened in last year's memorial demonstration in Buffalo and participated in the September 14 march and rally with a large banner, "Drop the Charges, Free the Attica Brothers!"

For a United-Front Defense

The SYL has repeatedly directed proposals to the ABLD and other organizations involved in the defense of the Attica Brothers for the building of a militant, united-front defense campaign. Our calls have explained that the campaign should have the perspective of uniting as large a force as possible on the broadest possible basis, around the single demand "No Reprisals—Drop the Charges!" To be effective, a defense campaign must orient to and enlist the support of the trade unions and other labor organizations, black and socialist groups, as well as prominent individuals, liberal and civil-libertarian organizations. While calling upon the defense campaign to utilize every possible legal recourse, we as communists warn against any illusions in bourgeois "justice" and always attempt to demonstrate in propaganda and in practice that it is the working class which possesses the real social power and interest to fight for democratic rights, roll back capitalist repression and stay the hands of the capitalists' executioners. We seek to convince all in the defense campaign that the axis of struggle must be placed in mass mobilizations led by the labor movement.

The fight against repression by the capitalist class is a political fight, and a defense campaign for this reason

requires the fullest possible political discussion for clarity of strategy and tactics. In the case of the Attica Brothers, a united-front defense campaign provides the basis for mass support and united action around the central demand "No Reprisals—Drop the Charges!" as well as for freedom of political criticism of conflicting views.

But the ABLD, organized and controlled by a core of left-liberal and New Left lawyers, stakes the defense of the Attica Brothers primarily on the legal battle in the capitalists' courts and demands that the public defense campaign always be an adjunct subordinated to the exigencies and tempo of the legal proceedings. The ABLD has never considered the working masses as potential powerful allies in the defense effort. This reflects their New Left and professional prejudices more than the 28 demands of the Attica revolt which have been made the political basis for joining in the defense work. By several of their demands, such as for a minimum wage and trade-union rights, the prisoners clearly linked their struggle with the working-class movement. In the past the ABLD has excluded the SYL simply for advancing an alternative strategy and voicing criticism of ABLD politics.

While rejecting the proposals of the SYL for principled joint actions, the ABLD has in the past associated itself with such eager tailists as the Youth Against War and Fascism, Attica Brigade (now Revolutionary Student Brigade) and the Stalinist Communist Party. The ABLD lent their franchise to the opportunist YAWF and Attica Brigade in return for some militant rhetoric and demonstrations which provided an ostensibly "left" complexion to the slow, legalistic campaign. From the substantial defense apparatus of the CP the ABLD expected much, but in fact has received very little.

As at past rallies and demonstrations, not one of the speakers at the September 14 rally tied the defense of the Attica Brothers to the struggle of the working class. The representatives of the ABLD as usual delivered their meaningless, Third-Worldist "Attica is all of us" speeches. Angela Davis, who was billed not as a leader of the CP but as "co-chairperson" of the CP's National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression front group, wove her sometimes left-sounding phrases around the well-known Stalinist plea for a "fair trial." The CP traitors, who have shamelessly referred to Attica as a "tragedy," call not for dropping the charges but for a

"fair" prosecution, not for a mass defense campaign but for "people's petitions" to Congressmen, not for smashing the capitalists' prisons but for humanitarian prison reform. In an attempt to out-maneuver the CP by playing upon the reported disgruntlement of some of the Brothers with the legalistic strategy of the ABLD and the CP, Bob Avakian of the Revolutionary Union attacked the CP's call for a "fair trial." But despite all the podium-thumping rhetoric, Avakian simply repeated the empty, moralistic slogans of the RU banners: "Attica Means Fight Back" and "It is Right to Rebel Against U.S. Imperialism."

In sharp contrast to this liberal morass, the SYL contingent carried signs reading "For a Working-Class Defense, For a Workers Government" and chanted "Free the Brothers, Smash the Prisons, Power to the Workers!" A spokesman for the SYL requested speaking time at the rally, but the ABLD, while not excluding the SYL as in the past, finally responded that there was "no time."

SYL Organizes Defense Rally

Two weeks following the Buffalo demonstration the SYL organized an Attica Brothers defense rally of about 125 students and campus workers at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle campus. Although the SYL had issued a call for united action around the slogan "No Reprisals—Drop the Charges," none of the so-called left organizations on campus responded. The Class Struggle League endorsed the demonstration but did absolutely nothing to build for it. The Revolutionary Socialist League, a stagnating puddle of snotty Shachtmanites, claimed that it didn't have the "forces" to send to the demonstration. The most despicable evasion, however, was that of the revisionist Young Socialist Alliance, who when contacted maintained that our planned rally conflicted with some YSA forum... which had not yet been scheduled or announced!

At the large rally speakers for the SYL exposed the "justice" of bourgeois democracy and explained the role of prisons in capitalist society. They emphasized that only the proletariat in power could smash the prisons, one of the very pillars of the capitalist state. Two featured speakers were striking campus workers from the University of Chicago (see article on page six of this issue). The chairman of the Strike Support Committee, a member of the SYL, spoke on the issues of the strike and the student support which was being

mobilized, essentially by the efforts of the SYL.

Following the speakers program, the SYL opened the microphone to the audience. John Sprague, a representative of a miniscule ultra-"left" literary sect known to a few as the Revolutionary Socialist Group, presented a bombastic analysis of the international crisis of capitalism and the absolute impossibility of reforms. All this was just a prelude to an even more incoherent attack on the SYL for holding an action around a merely local and reform issue like defense of the Attica Brothers!

Then Class Struggle League spokesman Henry Platsky, self-styled *bete noire* of the SL/SYL, came forward for another performance of his moronic, petty-bourgeois workerism. Platsky took great pleasure in insulting his largely student audience by condescendingly informing them that "I go to campus like I go to church." He went on to criticize the ABLD for seeking a change of venue for the trial from proletarian Buffalo to petty-bourgeois New York City! The SYL speaker who closed the rally aptly remarked, "There are serious students on campus who can be won to revolution... and I never go to church!" ■

sub- scribe

YSp 26

includes
SPARTACIST

\$5

24 ISSUES

Marxist Working-Class Bi-Weekly
of the Spartacist League

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable/mail to:
SPARTACIST PUBLISHING CO.
Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10001

WORKERS VANGUARD

RU On Homosexuals:

Malicious Maoist Bigotry

A scandalously revealing document entitled "Position Paper of the Revolutionary Union on Homosexuality and Gay Liberation" is presently circulating somewhat selectively within the left. Consistent with their trade-union economism and shameless adaptation to backwardness in the working class, the Revolutionary Union (RU) in this document follows through its capitulation on the struggle against the special oppression of women by embracing and promoting the most swinish prejudices against homosexuals as "Marxism-Leninism." The document is to inform and assure prejudiced workers and lumpens that "homosexuals cannot be Communists, that is, belong to communist organizations," which of course means the RU. To the extent that the RU phillistines provide some semblance of a political justification for this anti-communist position the document cannot be ignored.

Although the sexual phenomenon of homosexuality has existed in the most diverse cultures and social systems, the RU document begins by claiming homosexuality to be a response of alienated, anxiety-ridden escapist individuals, "particularly the petty bourgeoisie," to "the pressures of capitalist society" and "the intensification of the contradictions brought about by decaying imperialism." Thus, it is the capitalist "system that drives them to homosexuality." For these Maoists homosexuality is a disease of capitalist society, like "exotic religious sects, mysticism, drugs, pornography, promiscuity, sex orgies, trotskyism, etc.," and those who choose homosexuality as a sexual preference are "like all people caught in the mire and muck of bourgeois decadence." We have come to expect from an organization unable to politically defeat our program such unprincipled verbal violence as the defamatory association of Trotskyism with drugs, mysticism, and so on. We only demand that the RU come out and openly state what they so nauseatingly imply: that homosexuals are "perverts."

In order to be "at one" with even the most backward workers, these "communists" willingly accept prevailing bourgeois morality and "deal concretely with homosexual relationships as they exist in our [!] society today." From this perspective homosexuals "are in relationships which necessarily place them outside the mainstream of our society and thus puts enormous strains upon the relationships." But, "concretely," inter-racial relationships also are "outside the mainstream" of this racist society and certainly involve "enormous strains." Will the RU dare to label these couples deviants? If homosexuals are anti-social deviants because they show an "unwillingness to struggle with the opposite sex in very important relationships," then marriage between people of the same race surely must be an impermissible capitulation to racism.

From the social ostracism and persecution of homosexuals, the RU concludes that "therefore such relationships can be only individual solutions to the contradictions of imperialism." Here is where these "dialectically"-endowed Mao-Thinkers clumsily attempt to attribute a *class basis* to an historically-manifested expression of one form of human sexuality:

"In posing an individual solution to the contradictions of monopoly capitalism, homosexuality is an ideology of the petty bourgeoisie, and must be clearly distinguished from proletarian ideology."

While certain petty-bourgeois radicals in the Gay Liberation movement may pose some utopian cultural-sexual "liberation," homosexuality *per se* is objectively no more "individualist" than heterosexuality. The bourgeois state hounds homosexuals because their sexual choice rejects the sacred nuclear family upon which class societies have evolved and flaunts many of the ingrained norms of bourgeois propriety and morality which have been developed to justify it. While certainly not the threat to the existence of capitalist society

claimed by some Gay Liberation politicians, homosexuality, like many other expressions of non-conforming social behavior, is an irritant. Marx and Engels realized that the nuclear family constituted the primary unit of socialization in capitalist society and called for the socialization of child rearing and domestic work and the integration of women into the work force, so that the social and economic constraints on human relations might be removed.

Unlike Marx and Engels, the RU believes that the social unit corresponding to "proletarian ideology" is—the nuclear family! The document states:

"We feel that the best way to struggle out such contradictions in our personal lives is in stable monogamous relationships between men and women based on mutual love and respect.... In reality, gay liberation is anti-working-class and counter-revolutionary. Its attacks on the family would rob poor and working class people of the most viable social unit for their revolutionary struggle against the imperialist system."

Like the Communist Party and Progressive Labor, who long ago proclaimed the family to be "a fighting unit for socialism," the RU excoriates homosexuals for the same reason the bourgeoisie treats them as pariahs.

Under Lenin and Trotsky the Soviet Union annulled all laws discriminating against homosexuals and women and made real inroads into liberating women and children from the prison of the family. These gains were among the first to be wiped out by the emergence of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy, which based itself upon the political expropriation of the working class. The bureaucracy climbed to power in part by mobilizing the most backward masses, still under the influence of Great Russian chauvinism, anti-semitism, male supremecism and anti-homosexual prejudice, against the remnants of the politically conscious vanguard. The Stalinist bureaucracy, having turned its back

on proletarian internationalism, bent all social relations to building "socialism in one country." The family was enshrined over the ashes of the important, liberating social measures of the October Revolution. The reactionary policy of the Stalinist regimes, from China to Cuba, on the homosexual question flows from the state maintenance of the family.

Based on its Stalinist "two-stage" theory of revolution (which means no revolution), the RU concedes that while homosexuals can never be communists, some may lift themselves far enough out of their "selfishness, self-indulgence and decadence" to be "anti-imperialist fighters." Apparently homosexuals who wish to dedicate their lives to the struggle against capitalism should be grateful for being granted the same status as the Shah of Iran, Bandaranaike of Ceylon and NATO!

These "anti-imperialists" presumably would be permitted to join the RU's "anti-imperialist" student front group, the Revolutionary Student Brigade (formerly the Attica Brigade) and function in the petty-bourgeois radical movement, where homosexuality is less covert and even somewhat fashionable. Clearly the viciously anti-homosexual position is for the workers, since the RU does "not feel that the Attica Brigade has to take a stand on this question."

The program for socialist revolution does not take any position on the value of any particular sexual orientation. We are opposed to all forms of discrimination and persecution of homosexuals as well as all laws which curtail the democratic right of privacy and sexual freedom for consenting adults. We have only disgust for the position that homosexuals are incapable of coming to communist consciousness and functioning as cadres in a communist organization.

On this anti-homosexual bigotry and political sanctification of the family and monogamy the RU stands closer to Puritanism than Marxism.

Boston...

Continued from page 1

crime-ridden ghetto, first into "their" schools and next into "their" neighborhoods.

Liberals Betray Black Masses

In Boston the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which filed the suit that resulted in the June 21 court busing plan, and the Black Caucus of the Massachusetts State Legislature have been the most outspoken and prominent busing advocates. These liberals blame the rotten educational system entirely on a few racists in the Boston School Committee.

While the reactionaries and racists have been mobilizing a grass-roots anti-busing campaign and black school-children ride in terror, these misleaders have stood by and done nothing except wait before the government's cops and courts. The Black Caucus has fled to the U.S. District Court to beg Judge W. Arthur Garrity "to send at least a division of federal troops into Boston to protect Black children and implement the integration order."

The first, and to date only, city-wide pro-busing demonstration called by the NAACP and Black Caucus misleaders was a march and rally on October 13. The 700 angry blacks who came to demonstrate against the racist terror were told by Mel King of the

Black Caucus and Tom Atkins of NAACP to await the deliverance of federal troops and sent home with absolutely no program for action.

No Confidence in Federal Troops!

The racist cops of Boston have already demonstrated time and again whom they wish to "protect": by terrorizing and cutting down in cold blood blacks on the streets of Boston, by standing by as white racists have stoned school buses and by occupying and vandalizing Columbia Point. The racists know who their allies are—they have demanded that only cops from their neighborhoods be allowed to "keep order" in South Boston.

Federal troops are only a sometimes-more professional army of occupation. It was federal troops who brutally attacked the black unemployed in the Bonus March during the Depression, who failed to protect the lives of civil rights activists in the South during the early 1960's and who have occupied the ghettos to put down rebellions and restore the racist status quo. The democratic rights and even the lives of black people must not again be entrusted to the armed forces of the capitalist state!

For Labor-Black Defense!

To the cops, federal marshals and troops we counterpose the formation of an integrated defense force mobilized and organized by the pro-busing trade unions, black, community and socialist organizations. Only such a

force can insure the implementation of the busing plan, defend the school-children and black neighborhoods now under attack and properly channel the just rage of the blacks. The recent mobilization of union squads by the United Auto Workers in Detroit to defend a black family who had just moved into a hostile, previously all-white neighborhood points the way.

The Spartacist League and SYL in the past weeks have been struggling to prompt Boston's labor, black and

community organizations to use their influence and mass following to take the lead in mobilizing at once a mass demonstration against the racist terror and in support of busing (see our proposal reprinted in *Workers Vanguard*, September 22). The SL/SYL was the only contingent in the entire October 13 pro-busing token demonstration with banners, placards and agitation calling for implementing *and extending* the busing and for a black-labor defense force. Two days after this demonstration the Civil Rights Committee of the Massachusetts State Labor Council (AFL-CIO) issued a statement favoring integrated education, opposing the racist violence and calling upon workers to "unite for the common good." These union bureaucrats, who consider such declarations a cheap means of building their "progressive" image, must be pressed to carry out their stand *in action!* The need for a pro-busing offensive remains urgent!

Revolutionary Union Capitulates to Racism

The response of the so-called left to the Boston busing crisis has been no better than the liberals', and in the case of the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU) even worse. The October issue of *Revolution* boasts the almost-unbelievable headline, "People Must Unite to Smash Boston Busing Plan"! In the most despicable capitulation to white racism, the lead article at great length and with great understanding seeks to "explain" all the motivations of the anti-busing school-boycotters,

continued on page 11

SUBSCRIBE TO

Young Spartacus

Monthly newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League

\$2/11 ISSUES
1 YEAR

Name.....
Address.....
City.....
State.....Zip.....

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street Station
New York, N.Y., 10003

Workers Strike at U. of Chicago— SYL Builds Support,

CHICAGO, October 4—As the University of Chicago administration was in the midst of final preparations for the fall resumption of classes, 330 buildings and grounds workers organized in Service Employees International Union Local 321 and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 134 walked off their jobs in the unions' first strike since 1952. The two-year contract between the University and the two unions, which together constitute a single bargaining unit called the University Council, contains a clause which provides for the reopening of wage negotiations after one year. The unions demanded a wage increase of 14 percent, which would barely match the present dizzying inflation. The University representatives flatly refused even to discuss the wage issue unless the unions would accept a renegotiation of the workweek that would eliminate overtime pay. This demand clearly violated the contract, but the University backed down only when threatened with a union suit in the National Labor Relations Board.

The University of Chicago (U of C) is among the top-ranking, elite private universities and its Board of Trustees consists of a gallery of powerful capitalists, including Nelson and David Rockefeller and publishing tycoons Cyrus Eaton and Marshall Field. Given its huge endowment, the U of C administration's claim that it "can't afford" the demanded wage increases without eliminating jobs is transparently ludicrous, just as Rockefeller's recent wriggling before the Senate in purporting his financial empire to be but a "few" million dollars. Campus workers over the past several years have observed the University in quite a different financial mood pouring large sums of money into efforts to break the organizing drives of campus secretaries and library workers. With the opening of negotiations the University took a hard line against any decent wage increase and prepared to break the strike.

SYL Onto the Picket Lines

From the very first day of the strike the U of C chapter of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) came forward and established themselves as energetic and militant supporters of the strike. Even though most students had not yet arrived on the campus, the SYL was able to mobilize a number of students in addition to their own forces. With signs reading "Victory to the Strike," and "All Out for Locals 321 and 134" the SYL-organized contingent joined the striking campus workers as the first picket lines began to be set up.

In the following days the SYL supporters earned the recognition and respect of the striking workers for their regular and responsible participation on the strike lines. SYLers discussed their own views of the strike and its political implications and were early on known by the strikers as revolutionary socialists. Many of the SYL placards—which included "For One Campus Union," "For a University-Wide Strike," "For a Full Cost-of-Living Escalator Clause," "For a Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours," "Organize the Unorganized" and "For a Workers Party, Towards a Workers Government"—were carried by union members. The SYL suggested to the unions that a boycott of the campus bookstore might provide a focus for publicizing the strike and attempting to mobilize student support. With the union's endorsement the



SYL member and striking worker, carrying SYL placard, stop delivery truck entering campus.

YOUNG SPARTACUS

SYL set up a daily, spirited picket.

Faced with militant mass picketing, the University had no difficulty obtaining an injunction from the capitalist courts limiting to 2 the number of picketers per entrance. The University used its well-known, intimate connections with Mayor Daley's machine to secure city police for insuring the movement of scabs and goods across the lines. The cops of course did nothing when on several occasions picketers, including a member of the SYL, were struck by cars driven recklessly through the lines by University lackeys. On the contrary, the cops arrested five picketers, one for the offense of lightly striking the cab of a truck with a oak-tag placard. While the workers had few illusions about the city cops, the SYL warned against calling for support from the Teamster-organized campus cops.

The administration could pursue these strike-breaking tactics under the cover of a virtually complete news blackout, obviously ordered by the newspaper-radio magnates sitting on the Board of Trustees. In order to publicize the strike off campus, the SYL arranged for strikers to speak at an SYL-sponsored mass rally to defend the Attica Brothers at the University of Illinois Circle Campus (see story in this issue) and an SYL forum on racial oppression at Chicago State University.

SYL members, students and sympathetic workers in other non-striking campus unions were threatened with discipline, firing or withholding of pay for actively working to support and defend the strike. Supervisory personnel have been instructed to do the "menial" work of the striking workers; the principal of the U of C-affiliated grammar and high school even had the children

carry home each day little bags of garbage.

SYL Initiates Strike Support Committee

When the students arrived on the campus September 22, the SYL distributed a leaflet discussing the issues of the strike, exposing the administration's attempt to pit students against the workers, and explaining the important auxiliary role which students can play in the struggles of campus workers. In this leaflet the SYL announced a union-endorsed meeting for the formation of a student Strike Support Committee. The SYL strategy was to initiate a united-front student strike support committee based upon the slogan "Victory to the Strike!" This committee would function independently from, though in concurrence with, the union leadership, which was quite open to the work of the SYL. The SYL recognized that the participants in a strike support committee must be free to argue and decide those policies and politics which best contribute to advancing the workers struggle. While understanding that students cannot directly intervene in the union's decision-making process, we seek in the course of demonstrating our concrete support to win striking workers to a class-struggle strategy and program and to win demonstrating students to the working-class perspective of the SYL.

This meeting on September 24 attracted about 30 people, who heard union members give brief presentations on the issues involved in the strike and SYL members speak on the tasks and organization of the Strike Support Committee. The SYL proposed that the Committee should be based on support to the slogan "Victory to the Strike" and

should mobilize students to walk the picket lines, collect money for the union strike fund, support the boycott of the bookstore and cafeterias and issue strike-support literature. The fake Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) made their debut at this meeting but did not disclose their political affiliation. They opposed the union-endorsed bookstore/cafeteria boycott, proposing instead as a strategy only the calling of a "mass" rally. The SWP/YSA indeed had good reason for opposing the boycotts. A leading campus supporter of the SWP/YSA had walked through the union picket line at the entrance of the U of C bookstore ignoring the vehement protests of members of the SYL in order to deliver copies of the SWP's *International Socialist Review!* No struggle of the working class will stand in the way of SWP/YSA "party-building" by these petty-bourgeois reformists. While SWP/YSAers are not trained in struggles for labor solidarity, they do have a long experience in organizational manipulation, gained by years of building reformist antiwar and women's liberation "mass" meetings and movements. The meeting, however, voted to accept the SYL proposals.

Two members of the SYL, whose politics were clearly known from the distributed "What is the SYL?" leaflet, were elected to the steering committee of the Strike Support Committee. The two closet-"Trotskyist" SWP/YSA supporters, who said nothing when they were introduced to the meeting as "unaffiliated," were also elected to the steering committee. Failing to pass their proposal for a "mass" meeting, these opportunists proceeded to get themselves elected to the committee

Fake Lefts Scab!

by masquerading as liberal independents, a tactic in which SWP/YSA supporters are proficient. One of these phonies, Neil David, a six-year supporter of the SWP/YSA, was elected committee chairman by a one-vote margin over an SYL activist; the other was appointed a picket captain along with an SYLer. (This "socialist" simply abandoned his post on the picket lines within a few days and was not to be seen with the striking workers again.)

PL/SDS and SWP/YSA Supporters Caught Scabbing!

What began to emerge at this first meeting was the stench of anti-working-class betrayal by organizations proclaiming to speak in the name of the working class. A member of Progressive Labor Party/Students for a Democratic Society (PL/SDS) who had distributed a few pro-strike leaflets for PL's Workers Action Movement had been discovered crossing the picket lines to go to work in the U of C hospital complex by members of the SYL. The SYL then called him on the phone *at work* and confronted him on the question of scabbing. At this first meeting he admitted his scabbing, but stated that following exposure by the SYL he had walked off his job.

Immediately following this meeting an SYLer unable to attend confirmed as an eyewitness that the two of the three crypto-"Trotskyist" SWP/YSA supporters **HAD DAILY BEEN CROSSING THE UNION PICKET LINES TO REPORT FOR WORK!** Just as these vile traitors had withheld from the strike support meeting their political associations, so they kept silent on their activities in "support" of the strike. No wonder these scabs were seldom seen on the picket lines!

SWP/YSA Defends Scabbing

At the following day's meeting of the Strike Support Committee the SYL demanded that this scab be removed as chairman of the steering committee. The SYL pointed out that a Strike Support Committee whose chairman refused to honor the union picket lines could hardly have the authority to call upon the students and other campus workers to do so. The scab Neil David, unlike the PL/SDSer caught strikebreaking, actually *defended* his behavior, resorting to the bosses' line that hospital workers should not strike because it is against the public interest. But the absolute indispensability of a dental technician was not particularly convincing. So then David claimed that his real intentions in going to work were to organize the interns to support the strike.

But these farcical excuses soon gave way to his real defense: this SWP/YSA supporter insisted that he would lose his job if he refused to cross the picket

lines. The class-conscious labor solidarity of a steward in a non-striking union who risked his job to aid the strikers in keeping an entire shift of hospital workers out in support of the strike is unknown to this scabbing, lying careerist who poses (when convenient) as a "socialist." Thoroughly exposed, this scab resigned, and a member of the SYL was elected by acclamation to replace him as steering committee chairman.

Several supporters of the Workers League, a disintegrating band of hysterical political desperados, turned up for the first time at this meeting, hoping to cop a piece of the action built by the SYL. One Workers League supporter declared that the entire discussion on scabbing was irrelevant and the only question was how the student committee could *lead* the workers. These counterfeit Trotskyists have a long record of conjuring up seemingly endless get-rich-quick schemes, from its empty-shell "Trade Unionists for a Labor Party" to its garbage-pail "mass" press, to sub-

strike are suspicious indeed!

SWP/YSA Manuevers

The following day the SWP/YSA supporters were conspicuously absent from the Strike Support Committee's picket lines, which had grown substantially almost entirely because of the work of the SYL. As the SYL walked the picket lines, the SWP/YSA supporters were elsewhere, organizing their next rotten maneuver. Behind the backs of the democratically-elected steering committee, these scabs hastily arranged a rump meeting to try to secure union sanction for their scabbing.

At this meeting Brother John Coffey, vice president of the Service Employees International Union local, stated that the union would not officially demand that unorganized workers and members of other campus unions stay out, since it was illegal to call for a secondary boycott during a strike. From the beginning the SYL had propagandized the *necessity* of a University-

trol of the union leadership. As luridly demonstrated by their treacherous role in the bureaucratic cliques of the Conference of Labor Union Women (see especially "SWP, NOW Sabotage Houston Nurses' Struggle," *Workers Vanguard*, 16 August), the SWP/YSA's aspirations are to become the loyal "socialist" attachés and waterboys to the reformist labor bureaucrats. It is not difficult to envision the role of an SWP/YSA-led student strike support committee firmly under the control of the United Auto Workers union bureaucracy when Woodcock was mobilizing a 1000-goat strong strike-breaking force to smash the Detroit wildcat strike a year ago.

Brother Coffey, however, agreed with the SYL spokesman that the student Strike Support Committee should maintain close working relations with the unions but nonetheless function as an independent organization. The scabs finally relapsed into open red-baiting of the SYL. This anti-communist attack on the SYL also fell on deaf ears.

Fake Lefts Vote for Scabbing

The third open meeting of the Strike Support Committee, held on the first day of classes, drew almost 80 people. Most of those present, including those representing self-proclaimed socialist organizations, had done no work in support of the strike, and many of the politically inexperienced but interested students knew very little at this point about the struggles which had occurred in previous meetings. The SYL recognized the necessity of addressing the genuine confusion of some students concerning the question of crossing picket lines and publically confronting the scab SWP/YSA supporters.

The SYL presented to the meeting the following motion:

"The basic criterion for membership in this Committee shall be active support to the strike.

"Membership in the Strike Support Committee is open to all who support 'Victory to the Strike,' agree to work with the Committee, and are not working for the employer during the strike. Working for the university during the strike is incompatible with membership in the committee."

With the help of the SWP/YSA supporters, speaking time for discussion of this important motion was limited to an insignificant 30 seconds, and the question was called after only 6 out of the 23 who had entered their names on the speakers list had the "opportunity" to blurt out their positions.

SUPPORTERS OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY/YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY/STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, WORKERS LEAGUE, DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, YOUNG PEOPLES' SOCIALIST LEAGUE AND THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT VOTED AGAINST THIS MOTION ON SCABBING! AND THE SPINELESS INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS ABSTAINED! These disgusting yellow "socialists" thus decisively contributed to defeating the motion 53 to 18.

Faced with a decision that clearly violated a fundamental principle of labor solidarity, the SYL delivered a statement calling upon all who seriously supported the strike to withdraw from the committee. The SYL then walked out, together with a number of students and a supporter of the Internationalist Tendency (expelled from the SWP/YSA), who throughout the strike closely worked with the SYL.

continued on page 8



While PL/SDS and SWP/YSA supporters were scabbing, SYL mobilized students to support strike and walk union picket lines.

situte for conducting communist work in the trade unions and on the campuses.

These Johnny-come-lately strike "supporters" even proposed that the confessed scab Neil David be reinstated as steering committee chairman and removed only if in the future he refused to stop going to work. When one of the Workers League supporters who is a campus employee was asked point-blank by an SYL member if she was also going to work, she refused to answer the question, and merely stated that she was "not crossing any picket lines." Since imposition of the injunction curtailing mass picketing, many University entrances have not been covered by pickets. The Workers League supporters' sympathy to the scab Neil David and nervous evasion of the question of its own role in the

wide strike. At this meeting, Brother Coffey added that, despite the official union position, the best thing any campus worker could do for the strike was to stop working. Some of the other union members present were not so polite and diplomatic as Brother Coffey; one said that the moment he heard some students were working during the strike the first thing that came to his mind was: "SCAB!" The disgusting attempt to take refuge behind the legal limitations of business unionism backfired on these scabs, as *not one* of the many union members present defended Neil David.

When it became clear that the meeting was going against them, the scabs retreated to another, equally slimy tactic. A supporter of the YSA now proposed that the Strike Support Committee be placed under the firm con-

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00—6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00—8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00—6:00 p.m.

538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 3:00—7:30 p.m.

Saturday 1:00—4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Iranian Students Protest Shah's Butchery of Workers

During the month of September the Spartacus Youth League and the Spartacist League participated in demonstrations sponsored by the Iranian Students Association (ISA) in New York City and Houston to protest the Shah of Iran's continuing brutal suppression of the Iranian workers' movement, in particular the massacre of 14 worker-militants. According to the French magazine *Liberation*, the Shah's police state has slaughtered 13 striking workers of the Irana and Khavar Enterprises and tortured to death Mohamad Saleh Jahani, a leader of the Tabriz City Transportation Workers. In Iran of the "white revolution," strikes and independent unions are illegal.

Recent reports in the bourgeois press have sourly noted the enormous profits that Iran's already-bloated oil sheiks have reaped since the quadrupling of oil prices. But of the \$20 billion grossed by Iranian oil monopolists last year almost nothing trickled down to the destitute masses. Rather, in this period \$4 billion flowed to the U.S. for the purchase of 50 percent of U.S. arms exports. Under the still-prevailing "Nixon Doctrine" Iran has been designated the watchdog of U.S. imperialism in the Arab/Persian Gulf. The Iranian Army, working in concert with military forces from Jordan and Pakistan, is currently engaged in suppressing the national liberation struggle led by the petty-bourgeois nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf. The September ISA demonstrations also raised the demand that Iranian military forces get out of the Gulf.

Repression Worse than the Mongol Terror

The Shah's enormous repressive apparatus conducts a reign of terror against any dissent or protest by intellectuals, workers and peasants. ISA literature publicizes the fact that 132 political prisoners have been executed since 1971 and another 25,000 languish in prison, subjected to hideous tortures. The hated secret police, the SAVAK, numbers 60,000 and penetrates into every corner of Iranian society and reaches into every country where dissident Iranian students and emigrants reside. For those left-wing Iranians who dare to function

politically abroad, the threat of deportation back to Iran, where imprisonment and possible execution await them, hangs over their heads at all times. Iranians participating in the recent ISA demonstrations wore masks to hinder detection.

It is the elementary duty of the left and labor movement to demand *full citizenship rights* for all non-citizens living in the U.S. Traitors like Chavez of the United Farm Workers, who has launched a vicious campaign for the deportation of "illegal" Mexican immigrant farm workers, must be dumped from their misleadership of the labor movement. And self-proclaimed "left" organizations like the Revolutionary Union and Socialist Workers Party who have volunteered themselves as public-relations men for Chavez should be condemned.

Political Struggle Over Maoism

In spite of the Maoist bureaucracy's reactionary policy of support to the Shah, the ISA and the World Confederation of Iranian Students have come under the influence of Maoism. Those Iranian students who have questioned Chinese foreign policy or the Maoist strategy of the "two-stage" revolution—the search for the elusive national bourgeoisie who will today march with the Maoists in order that tomorrow the Maoists may expropriate them—have been purged from the ISA. At the recent ISA convention in Los Angeles 30 members from Texas and four from New York were expelled.

Many of these oppositionists have come to realize that Maoist foreign policy cannot be separated from Maoist political ideology, but flows directly from the Stalinist shibboleth of "building socialism in one country," which means sabotaging socialist revolution in other countries for temporary diplomatic appeasement of their ruling classes. As an alternative to the bankruptcy of Maoism many Iranian students have been attracted to Trotskyism. Unfortunately, many of these students initially mistook the Socialist Workers Party to be a Trotskyist organization. The SWP was able to exert a certain influence in large part because of the prominent role it played in the defense of two Iranian students, Babak Zahraie



SYL contingent in an Iranian Student Association demonstration at New York University in January. Unable to exclude our socialist slogans, the ISA dispersed their own picket line.

and Bahram Atai, who were threatened several years ago with deportation for their work on behalf of political prisoners in Iran and in the struggle against the Vietnam war. Some of these students have since become repelled by the SWP's gross reformism and have turned to the centrist European "Majority" of the "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International led by the Pabloist old guard of Mandel-Maitan-Frank.

Purges have not suppressed the debate within the ISA over Maoism and Trotskyism. Militants in the ISA who have broken with Stalinism and class collaborationism must investigate the program and perspectives of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League. For it is here, and not the swamp of the unprincipled "United" Secretariat, that the continuation of authentic Leninism and Trotskyism is embodied.

U.C. Strike...

Continued from page 7

The following day the SYL was out on the picket lines distributing a leaflet entitled "Why We Walked Out—Strike Support or Strike Breaking?," which once again presented the question of scabbing and reported the events of the meeting. The leaflet concluded:

"We will continue to be the most active supporters of the strike. You'll see us on the lines. We urge all to picket with the union brothers and sisters, to give to the union's strike fund, to attend Wednesday's 'Victory to the Strike' rally and exercise their right to speak at it. Those who really weaken unity of support are easy to identify. Let no one accuse us of being splitters. Victory, not popularity, is the issue. We will continue to fight consistently for VICTORY TO THE STRIKE!"

And the SYL and their student supporters were the most active supporters of the strike, on the lines, in the following days. The student scab support

committee, and especially those fake lefts who came to one meeting in order gleefully to vote for scabbing because it was a vote against the SYL, mobilized virtually no pickets. Members of the scab committee were seen by the SYL pickets crossing the lines to eat in the boycotted cafeterias. A strike "support" committee which welcomes scabs certainly cannot expect more from its members.

At the strike support rally the next night the SYL was present in force with signs, including one reading "Scabs Out of the Committee," but were denied a speaker. However, three militant workers from the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6, who were encouraged to attend the rally by the SYL, demonstrated; one spoke to the rally, expressing solidarity with the strike, calling for spreading the strike campus-wide and protesting the exclusion of political tendencies from the speaking list.

Two days after the rally union members, in a stormy ratification meeting, voted by a narrow margin of 124 to 104 to settle with the University for an 8-1/2 percent wage increase this year

and 7 percent next year. This miserable settlement is the result of not only the viciously anti-labor policies of a powerful capitalist institution, but also the real weaknesses of the unions involved. Campus employee unions, usually small to begin with, do not command the social and economic weight wielded by the larger industrial unions. For this reason, campus strikes have the greatest basis for success when there is one campus-wide union that can shut down the entire campus as well as coordinated support from all outside unions to honor the picket lines. And for this reason, the mobilizing of student support is important. By scabbing and voting for scabbing the various fake lefts contributed to the defeat of the strike.

The strike support work initiated, built and sustained by the Spartacus Youth League at the University of Chicago stands as an exemplary demonstration of the commitment and capacity of the SYL to intervene on campus as the outspoken and principled partisans of the class struggle of the proletariat. The lessons of the struggle between the indefatigable, so-

cialist supporters of the strike and the do-nothing, "left" scabs will not be lost at the U of C. ■

Young Spartacus

Editorial Board:
Charles O'Brien (editor)
Susan Adrian
Joseph Drummond
Peter Atkins

Production manager: K. Johnson
Circulation manager: M. Sanders

Young Spartacus is published by the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League. We are a revolutionary socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

Subscriptions: \$2 for 11 issues. Write SYL, Box 825, Canal Street Sta., New York, NY 10003

SYL Builds Support for Chile Cargo Boycott

In response to a call from the International Transport Workers Federation for an international labor boycott of goods to and from Chile on September 18 and 19, dockworkers in the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) have taken the first industrial action in the U.S. against the draconian repression of the military junta in Chile. The ILA on the east coast instructed all union members to hot-cargo Chilean goods in observance of the two-day international political protest. However, on the west coast the class-collaborationist ILWU bureaucrats not only did nothing to mobilize the ranks for the boycott, but went so far as to order longshoremen in Los Angeles to handle Chilean cargo (for detailed coverage, see *Workers Vanguard*, 27 September).

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League in the past have continually emphasized the burning necessity for international labor action in defense of the imperiled victims of the Chilean junta and raised the slogan, "Hot-Cargo Military Goods to Chile!" In Los Angeles, the SL and SYL initiated, through an "Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Transport Workers Boycott," a united-front demonstration on September 17 to picket the Chile-bound Prudential Grace Lines ship *Santa Maria*. The longshoremen honored the picket, and unloading of the ship was halted for several hours. Only when ILWU President Harry Bridges personally ordered the dockworkers back to

the ship did they return to work; Bridges promised the workers that the ILWU was preparing a complete boycott of the ship when it docked in San Francisco a few days later.

The SYL in San Francisco called for a joint rally at San Francisco State University on the same day around the demands, "Free All Victims of Chilean Junta Repression, Stop the Executions, Support ILWU Boycott of Chilean Cargo!" The call specified that all organizations supporting these central slogans were free to raise their own additional slogans and could address the rally. When approached by the SYL, Students for a Democratic Society belligerently refused to participate. Thoroughly isolated, SDS the week before had advertised a forum for which even they did not bother to attend!

The Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) categorically rejected joining in any rally called by "Trotskyites and revisionists." American Maoists have criminally abstained from all Chile defense work, probably because the Maoist bureaucracy has denied asylum to Chilean refugees and swiftly recognized and pursued trade agreements with the junta. Mistakenly assuming the SYL to be as isolated as its own organization, the Young Socialist Alliance equivocated on the SYL call for joint action.

But on September 17 over 100 students gathered to participate in the SYL rally. The crowd was addressed by a member of the SYL and a militant of Amalgamated Transit Union



United-front demonstration, initiated by SL/SYL, which brought ILWU dockworkers off the Chile-bound "Santa Maria" in Los Angeles.

Local 192 who had played a prominent role in the recent AC Transit strike. The large turnout obviously threw the YSA into a panic; near the end of the rally a YSA supporter appeared at the platform and requested speaking time as a representative of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. (The USLA in the past has repeatedly denied the SL/SYL speaking rights at its "united-front" rallies.) He devoted his remarks to stressing the need for a democratic Chile and lauding the late Allende. The "principles" of the YSA are simply to tail whatever is popular—from

Allende to SYL rallies. The demonstration also must have impressed the RSB, who later informed the SYL that they are not *always* opposed to participating in the actions of "Trotskyites and revisionists."

It was the SL and SYL once again who initiated the picketing at the docks where the *Santa Maria* was being loaded two days later. The Militant Action Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the Communication Workers of America, and the opportunist Class Struggle League also participated. Despite the anti-junta resolution passed in ILWU Local 10 this November and its recent executive decision for mass demonstrations at the docks, the ILWU bureaucrats did nothing to mobilize the ranks for the two-day solidarity action. Only the Committee to Enforce the Boycott, a group of militants in the ILWU, worked to bring out longshoremen for the demonstration. The San Francisco and Los Angeles cargo-boycott actions would never have taken place without militant rank-and-file efforts within the ILWU and the determined agitation of the SL and SYL. ■

Australian Spartacists Run in Student Election

The youth work of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) has been enhanced recently through the communist election campaign conducted by the Spartacist Club at LaTrobe University in Melbourne. Contesting a seat on the Student Representation Council, Spartacist candidate Phillipa Naughten drew 250 votes in the July election. The Spartacist Club fielded their candidate and campaigned on a socialist communist program, presented in the *Campus Socialist* (4 July), which called for: open admissions to all university courses, facilities with state stipend provided, abolition of the degree system, free quality health and child care for all and student-teacher-worker control of the universities. Tying the campaign to the struggle against capitalism, the program also included demands for equal pay for equal work, a sliding scale of wages and hours, class-struggle opposition within the unions to the reformist labor tops, expropriation of industry without compensation and a workers government.

"Progressive Left" Menagerie

The majority of the ostensibly left candidates chose to camouflage their politics and run on the "Progressive Left" ticket, a coalition composed largely of campus-parochialist muddled reformists. Although the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) and its youth front, the Revolutionary Student Movement, have suffered a considerable loss of student periphery as a result of their rightward plunge following the U.S.-China detente of 1971, Maoism still continues to be the dominant political tendency at LaTrobe and within the Australian student movement generally. While the crypto-Maoist supporters of the Revolutionary Student Movement simply submerged themselves in the "Progressive Left," their politics seeped through in calls for "Australian independence," "patriotism" and unity with the Australian bourgeoisie.

Rubbing elbows with the Maoists in the coalition was the candidate of the syndicalist F7 Movement, whose stated program was for the construction of a "student-worker liason" to effect a "realistic relationship between students and workers to bring about radical social changes." Denying the role of program in forging class consciousness and the necessity of a Leninist vanguard party, the F7 Movement substitutes petty-bourgeois romanticism and impotent schemes of worker-student alliances for the per-

spective of the struggle against the reformist bureaucracy of the ruling Labor Party.

Rounding out this electoral swamp were the four feminist candidates, one of whom claimed to be a "radical." The "program" of the feminists was comprised of a few reforms, namely the establishment of women's studies and child-care centers, which would be free only "in the long term."

"Left" Social-Democratic Buffoonery

Apart from the Spartacist Club candidate, the only left contenders running independently of the "Progressive Left" were a somewhat dubious anarchist and the candidate of the Revolutionary Communists, youth group of the Socialist Workers Action Group, an organization which politically identifies with the reformist International Socialism/International Socialists of Great Britain and the U.S. This candidate's campaign sheet contains extensive discussion on, for example, the democratic obligations of student government office holders and the size of quorums, but absolutely no statement of program other than endorsement of all sorts of popular broad "movements." The Revolutionary Communists in fact implicitly acknowledged the political irrelevancy of their campaign by calling for votes for the F7 Movement, the feminists and the Spartacists, i.e., for petty-bourgeois workerist cretinism, bourgeois feminism and revolutionary Marxism.

Trotskyism at LaTrobe

Although polling substantially less than the victorious "Progressive Left" ticket and roughly on a par with the Revolutionary Communist candidate, the campaign nonetheless served to clearly pose the Spartacist Club as the Trotskyist pole on campus. The Healyite Socialist Labor League has no supporters at LaTrobe. Both the Communist League and the Socialist Workers League—the two "sympathizing groups" affiliated to the revisionist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International"—have supporters at LaTrobe but no political activity on the campus.

The work of the campus fraction of the SL/ANZ at LaTrobe and Monash Universities in Melbourne, and particularly the election campaign, stands as a concrete demonstration of the principled programmatic homogeneity of the International Spartacist Tendency.

SYL Local Directory

- BERKELEY: SYL, Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, CA 94701, or call (415) 653-4668
- BINGHAMTON: SYL, Box RCY, SUNY, Binghamton, NY 13901, or call (607) 797-9073
- BOSTON: SYL, Box 137, Somerville, MA 02144, or call (617) 282-7587
- BUFFALO: SYL, Box 6, Norton Union, SUNY, Buffalo, NY 14214, or call (716) 877-8235
- CHICAGO: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 728-2151
- CLEVELAND: SYL, Box 02182, Cleveland, OH 44102, or call (216) 651-4613
- DETROIT: SYL, Box 07037, Gratiot Sta., Detroit, MI 48207, or call (313) 921-4626
- HOUSTON: SYL, Box 9045, Houston, TX 77011, or call (713) 926-9944
- ITHACA: Call (607) 277-3211
- LOS ANGELES: SYL, Box 29115, Vermont Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 485-1838
- MADISON: SYL, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704, or call (608) 257-4212
- NEW HAVEN: SYL, Box 1363, New Haven, CT 06505
- NEW ORLEANS: SYL, c/o SL, Box 51634, Main P.O., New Orleans, LA 70151, or call (504) 866-8384
- NEW YORK: SYL, Box 825, Canal Street Sta., New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 925-4295
- PHILADELPHIA: SYL, c/o SL, Box 25601, Philadelphia, PA 19144, or call (215) 667-5695
- SAN FRANCISCO: SYL, Box 1757, San Francisco, CA 94101, or call (415) 653-4668
- TORONTO: SYL, c/o Committee of Toronto Supporters of the International Spartacist Tendency, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Stop Feinstein Amendment!

SAN FRANCISCO—In retaliation for the near-general strike sparked last March by San Francisco city employees and the more recent transit strike, Democratic mayoral-contender Feinstein has placed a viciously anti-labor amendment to the City Charter on the November ballot. Fully backed by the Chamber of Commerce, this amendment, Proposition L, represents the most dangerous union-busting, wage-slashing offensive facing the San Francisco labor movement in decades. As the economic horizon continues to darken, this amendment would freeze the wages of over 65 percent of city employees, force others down to the level of the lowest-paid open shops in the state, and undermine the fight of public employees for full collective bargaining and unrestricted right to strike (for full analysis, see *Workers Vanguard*, 11 October).

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League have been active in the campaign to defeat this reactionary measure. We have emphasized that the electoral defeat of Proposition L is of crucial importance and the trade unions must mobilize their ranks at once in independent labor action. A Bay Area-wide general strike could knock Proposition L off the ballot.

The SYL has played a role in explaining the significance of Proposition L on the campuses and mobilizing students to work for its defeat. At San Francisco State University the SYL initiated a Committee to Stop Proposition L, which has been endorsed by La Raza and the Women's Center, and organized a rally on October 3 around two slogans: "For Mas' Labor Action to Stop Proposition L" and "For the Unrestricted Right to Strike and Full Collective Bargaining Rights for Public Employees."

The rally drew about 60 students and campus workers, who heard speakers from the SYL, Women's Center, trade-union militants and Barney Speckman of the S.F. Central Labor Council (AFL-CIO). Speckman promoted the Citizens United Against Proposition L, an electoralist bloc of union bureaucrats with the "friend of labor" wing of the Democratic Party which includes as co-chairmen Sheriff Hongisto and Mayor Alioto, the executors of the racist "Operation Zebra." Speckman came out for "mass labor action," meaning the mobilization of thousands of workers for Saturday door-to-door distributions of a leaflet which calls for a "No" vote on Proposition L because the "next target will be San Francisco policemen" and which supports backhandedly the Democratic Party.

The speakers from the SYL and the Militant Action Caucus of the Communications Workers of America blasted Speckman's strategy of reliance upon the Democratic Party and counterposed the perspective of independent labor action, a general strike and the formation of a workers party based on the trade unions fighting for class-struggle policies.

The SYL has in addition built support for the Labor Action Committee to Stop Proposition L, initiated by the SL and endorsed by dozens of union executive members, committeemen, shop stewards and rank and file militants. The SYL participated in the Labor Action Committee's demonstration on October 7 and in the General Strike Contingent initiated by the SL for the bureaucrats and politicians' token demonstration at City Hall on October 19. ■

Black Oppression...

Continued from page 12

71 fraternal societies, 83 trade unions, 26 youth organizations, 226 civic groups and societies, 46 political groups and parties, and 23 women's organizations. The congress adopted a great deal of the CP's program for the Popular Front period: the "farmer-labor party," a vague pacifist call to struggle against war and fascism (which could be easily channeled into another CP popular-frontist creation, the League Against War and Fascism), and support for organizing blacks into unions and movements among sharecroppers and tenants.

In fact, the NNC was really a house of cards, like countless other "broad-based" congresses, commissions, and committees of "men of good will" who gather together in drafty cavernous auditoriums, pass loftily-phrased resolutions protesting various social injustices and then disperse into inactivity until the next national gathering. The only real life the NNC had between these national congresses was given to it by dedicated and tireless CP members, especially the cadre in the CIO. Thus, in Chicago the NNC was used as an auxiliary in CIO organizing drives in the steel and meatpacking industries, sections of the proletariat with a large black component. It was the CIO unions, especially those where the CP was influential, which provided the continuing financial support for the NNC.

The next national gathering in 1937 was even more "broad-based," attracting many "prominent" personages who saw attendance at an NNC national gathering a cheap way to garnish a usually-unwarranted reputation as a "friend of the Negro," or at least someone who was "concerned" about the problems of blacks. The sessions were attended by Walter White, the Executive Secretary of the NAACP; Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party; Philip Murray, Chairman of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee; and Thomas Kennedy of the United Mine Workers. Nearly 200 resolutions were passed, many of which raised immediate working-class demands. But, again, nothing came of it; the NNC did not even muster itself to stage national gatherings in 1938 and 1939.

The Southern Conference On Human Welfare

Even more ludicrous was the CP intervention into the Southern Conference on Human Welfare (SCHW). SCHW grew out of a report entitled *Economic Conditions In The South*. The report was prepared by the pillars of the bourgeois establishment in the South, including the Governor of Arkansas, the president of the First National Bank of Birmingham, the former president of the Virginia Public Service Company, university presidents, newspaper editors and Southern judges. But the report could not even make a pretense of objectivity without stating that economic conditions in the South were appalling. As a consequence, a group of Southern "liberals" formed a Southern Policy Committee, which organized SCHW in Birmingham during November 1938. The principal speakers at the meeting were Eleanor Roosevelt, United States Supreme Court Justice and former Klan member Hugo

SYL RADIO PROGRAM:

**"Young Spartacus:
A Marxist
Commentary"**

Thursdays 6:30 p.m.

WHPK, 88.3 FM

(southside Chicago radio station)

CHICAGO

Black, and Aubrey Williams, who headed the Works Progress Administration. The resolutions committee included Donald Comer, President of one of the largest textile mills in the South, and Edwin A. Elliot, the Regional Director of the National Labor Relations Board.

Although only a handful of CP members attended, CP reports of this meeting expressed unrestrained enthusiasm. Writing in the January 1939 *Communist*, Robert F. Hall, who was at the time state secretary of the CP in Alabama, embraced SCHW as the "brilliant confirmation of the line of the democratic front advanced by Comrade Browder at the Tenth [May 1938] Convention." One might think that the SCHW's conferring of the "Thomas Jefferson award for outstanding service as a Southern Liberal Leader" upon ex-Klansman Black might tarnish a little of this "brilliance." Not for this Popular Frontist, who wrote in the same article the following on Black's acceptance speech:

"The remarks of the Justice which were an impressive dedication, almost a consecration to democracy, came at the conclusion of the conference. His words symbolized the earnestness, the passion for democracy with which the delegates had tackled the problems of the South."

But Hall did notice some "shortcomings" to the conference. He claimed the middle class was insufficiently represented!

"This weakness in composition expressed itself in some of the resolutions adopted. In some instances the formulations were sectarian [??]. Especially unfortunate is the fact that while almost a complete labor program of labor legislation was adopted, only a few resolutions deal directly and obviously with the problems affecting the middle classes. This may to some extent militate against the building of the broadest conceivable movement of the Southern people."

We can imagine the "almost complete labor program of labor legislation" coming from a resolutions committee which included one of the South's biggest textile magnates and the regional director of the NLRB! Sectarian indeed!

One incident did almost mar this otherwise "brilliant" conference. Hall continues:

"It is interesting that a handful of Trotskyites, with characteristic attempts at disruption and wrecking, proposed that the Negro delegates bolt the conference and advocated the picketing of the meeting at which Mrs. Roosevelt and Mr. Justice Black were to speak."

Needless to say, the CP did not venture to raise at either the Negro National Congresses of 1936 and 1937 or the SCHW the "right to self-determination in the Black Belt." Even though called to discuss the economic problems of the South, the CP failed to explain to textile magnate Comer or ex-Klansman Black the need to champion a Black Republic in the South.

The Popular Front and the Rise of the CIO

It was the uncompromising struggle of the CP to break down the racial barriers to unionizing black workers which laid the basis for the later success of the CIO. Whatever the sectarian errors and stupidities of the "Third Period" "dual red union" policies of the Trade Union Unity League, its commitment to industrial unions and integrated unions set an important precedent for the CIO. Very often Communist cadre who had served their apprenticeship as union organizers in TUUL unions were later used to build the CIO. For example, Saul Alinsky wrote in his semi-official biography, *John L. Lewis*:

"Then, as is now commonly known, the Communists worked indefatigably.... They literally poured themselves into their assignments.... The fact is that the Communist Party made a major contribution to the organization of the unorganized for the CIO."

They were particularly crucial to the organization of those industries with a large concentration of black proletari-

at, such as steel, where over one-third of the organizing staff were CP members.

The importance of the CIO organizing drive for the unionization of black workers can be seen from the following statistics: in 1930, 110,000 black workers were organized; in 1935, 180,000; in 1940, 500,000; in 1945, 759,000. But the upsurge in the class struggle which erupted in 1934 and made the rise of the CIO possible also corresponded to the CP's Popular Front turn. Thus, just as the working class was radicalizing the CP was moving rapidly to the right. The powerful sweep of this mass movement was channeled by the CP into the Roosevelt Democratic Party, just at the time that the conditions for overcoming the historic political backwardness of the American proletariat and forging a mass working-class party were on the agenda. The NNC and SCHW, and the role of the CP in building these organizations as auxiliaries of the Roosevelt machine, were necessary adjuncts in order to chain black workers to what was traditionally known as the Dixiecrat Party. Building the CIO, the continued struggle over Scottsboro, campaigns against lynching and the poll-tax in the South were all subordinated to building the "anti-fascist people's front" around Roosevelt and the Democratic Party.

From the Hitler-Stalin Pact to Social-Patriotism

With the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact in August 1939, the American CP suddenly discovered that Roosevelt was

SYL Southern Tour

10 November - 7 December

The SYL will be visiting campuses in the following cities:

- Chapel Hill and Durham, North Carolina
- Atlanta, Georgia
- Gainesville and Tallahassee, Florida
- New Orleans and Baton Rouge, Louisiana
- Tougaloo and Jackson, Mississippi
- Houston, Texas
- Memphis and Louisville, Kentucky

To contact the SYL representatives or to arrange an SYL forum on your campus, call: (212) 925-2426 or (504) 866-8384.

SUBSCRIBE!

NO. 6 SUMMER 1974

Women and Revolution 

Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League



Women, Culture and Class Society...2
The Woman Question and Revolutionary Marxism...10
Women in Castro's Cuba...15
CLUW: Dead End for Working Women...24

\$1/4 issues

Available from:
SPARTACIST PUBLISHING CO.
Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10001

just another Wall Street puppet. The inadequacies of the New Deal were suddenly rediscovered. Unemployment was over 10,000,000, and in the spring of 1939 Roosevelt called for the firing of 1,500,000 from the WPA work-relief rolls. Legislation eliminating the poll-tax and lynching still had not passed Congress, despite all the "respectable" conferences the CP had helped to build. During the Hitler-Stalin pact the CP pursued a brief left turn, denouncing Roosevelt and U.S. preparations to enter WWII. It attempted to get organizations like the NNC to take stands against the rising tide of war chauvinism, only to see these once "broad-based" organizations drain down to the CP and its supporters.

When Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June of 1941, the CP executed another somersault. The Stalinists became even more patriotic than the ruling class, whom they denounced for their "half-hearted" pursuit of this "national war of liberation." They denounced even the black civil rights

March On Washington Movement led by pro-war social-democrat A. Philip Randolph, a movement so timid that it never did march on Washington. The CP approach to the black question during WWII was simply a crass subordination of the struggle against racial oppression to the struggle for national chauvinism. In 1943, the Communist International was ordered dissolved by Stalin as a gesture of goodwill to the bourgeoisies of the "democracies." The following year the CP liquidated itself into the Communist Political Association and sang the "Star-Spangled Banner" at club meetings as the final gesture of self-effacement.

After the war, the CPA was transformed back into the CP, and its ranks were purged clean of "Browderite revisionism" and "white chauvinism." But in essence, the CP line on the black question since 1941 has been a continuation, and often a sick caricature, of the politics of the Popular Front period. ■

SYL events

[To contact local chapters for more information, see Directory.]

Bay Area

Class Series—
TROTSKYISM: REVOLUTIONARY
MARXISM TODAY

Alternate Tuesdays; 29 October, 7:30 PM. HLL 247, San Francisco State U. Alternate Tuesdays; 5 November, 7:30 PM. Tan Oak Room, Student Union, UC Berkeley.

Forums—

LONG MARCH TO REFORMISM: A DISCUSSION OF CONTEMPORARY MAOISM IN THE U.S.

Speaker: Joe Drummond, SYL National Chairman, SL Central Committee. November 6, 2:00 PM, HLL 219, San Francisco State University. November 9, 8:00 PM, Room 232, Everett Jr. High, 450 Church St., San Francisco. November 14, 8:00 PM, Unitas House, 2700 Bancroft Way, Berkeley.

Binghamton

Forum—

CHILE: LESSONS OF THE POPULAR FRONT

Speaker: Michael Feldman, SYL 6 November, 7:30 PM. West Lounge, Univ. Union, Harpur College.

Boston

Class Series—
MARXISM-LENINISM AND
THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Alternate Wednesdays; 23 October, 7:30 PM. Room 321, George Sherman Union, Boston U.

Buffalo

Class Series—
BASIC MARXISM

30 October, 13 November and 3 December, 8:00 PM. Room 342, Norton Union, UB.

Chicago

Class Series—
REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM

Alternate Wednesdays; 6 November, 7:30 PM. Norris Center Cafeteria, Northwestern U.

Forum—

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

Speaker: Marty Farrell, SL/SYL 6 November, 7:30 PM. U of Chicago. For room location, call: (312) 667-1327.

Cleveland

Class Series—
REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM:
THEORY AND PRACTICE

Every Tuesday; 22 October, 8:00 PM. Room 312, Univ. Tower, Cleveland State U.

Detroit

Class Series—
TOWARD THE AMERICAN
REVOLUTION

Continuing series; 22 October, 7:00 PM. Hilberry A, UCB, Wayne State U. Also 23 October, 7:00 PM. Room 2207, Michigan Union, UM.

Ithaca

Class Series—
BASIC MARXISM

30 October, 13 and 20 November and 4 December, 8:00 PM. Room G-92, Uris Hall, Cornell U. For more information: (607) 797-9073.

Los Angeles

Class Series—
MARXISM AND REVOLUTIONARY
STRATEGY

Every Friday; 1 November, 12:00 noon. AU2412, UCLA.

Madison

Class Series—
REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM:
THEORY AND PRACTICE

Alternate Thursdays; 31 October, Memorial Union, UW. Room and time to be posted.

New Haven

Class Series—
LENINISM, TROTSKYISM AND
THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE

Alternate Wednesdays; 30 October, 7:30 PM. Room 15, William L. Harkness Hall, Yale U. For more information: (203) 776-5953.

New York

Class Series—
WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

Alternate Wednesdays; 23 October, 7:30 PM. SL/SYL Public Office, 260 West Broadway (near Canal St.). Alternate Thursdays; 24 October, 12:30 PM. Room 104, Wagner Hall, CCNY.

Philadelphia

Class Series—
MARXISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE

Alternate Tuesdays; 29 October, 7:30 PM. Room 8, Houston Hall, U of Penn.

Boston...

Continued from page 5

denouncing as "liberal" all talk of "backward, racist whites," denouncing as "reactionary" the "absurd line that the 'only issue' in the white boycott in South Boston is racism," and denouncing as "defeatist and divisive" the line that "the main issue now is racism." You see, only "some [!] white parents had been influenced by the racist arguments."

The RU denounces busing as an "issue which heightens the contradictions of people of different nationalities" and counterposes "community control" of the schools. But "community control"—the right of whites to keep blacks out of their schools and neighborhoods—is exactly what the racists are demanding in Boston! Because busing provokes the racists, the RU turns its back on the blacks in order to appease the white racists. In its disgusting workerist capitulation to backwardness in the working class, the RU has consistently refused to struggle against special oppression and for democratic rights of women (the Equal Rights Amendment) and blacks (busing).

IS, RSL Search for "Third Camp"

Both the social-democratic International Socialists and their Shachtmanite cousins, the Revolutionary Socialist League, have also accommodated the racist anti-busing sentiment, although in a more journalistic-ally "discreet" fashion than the RU. Both call for integrating white schools, but not black schools. The IS opposes "both the 'pro'-busing and the 'anti'-busing forces," because:

"'Two-way' busing involves more than simply the right of black people to attend any school they want, a right which socialists unconditionally defend. It also involves sending white students (mostly working class) to worse schools..."

—*Workers Power*, 10 November 1972

The "creative Marxists" of the RSL simply repeat what they learned in the IS, declaring that busing

"is a way of bypassing the enormous costs of a real solution to the school crisis and focusing blacks' attention on minor and very short term gains. Moreover even such gains would come specifically at the expense of those now attending suburban schools—mainly white working class."

—*Permanent Revolution: Black Liberation and the American Revolution*, p. 27

For these "revolutionary" "democrats," black students may voluntarily choose to be bused into hostile white schools, but no whites should be bused into ghetto schools. Now here are some "socialists" whom the anti-busing racists can tolerate! If the white students are exempted, then the volunteering black children can be intimidated, and that's the end of school desegregation. While we have yet to hear from the RSL's *Torch*, the IS apparently has found it somewhat difficult to pitch its "Third Camp" in racially-polarized Boston and so has simply kept its mouth shut about its position in its recent articles on Boston (*Workers Power*, 17-30 September and 1-16 October).

CP, SWP Reformists Call for Federal Troops

Unlike the RU, both the Stalinist Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League and the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance have quietly dropped their advocacy of "community control" in order to place themselves at the disposal of the more popular pro-busing liberals. The CP/YWLL, acting almost entirely through its National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression

front group, has been simply uncritical-ly supporting the NAACP, Black Caucus and liberal community and church groups. The Stalinists' line is indistinguishable from that of the liberals:

"The Federal government must act—send in Federal marshals and troops to end the racist terror. The Federal government must cut off all federal funds to Boston and to any other community that permits racism to govern its policies. Democracy must prevail in Boston!"

—*Daily World*, October 11

Calling upon the masses to put their confidence in federal troops is a betrayal; calling upon budget-slashing, austerity-mongering Ford to cut off funds to Boston is a crime for which the black and working people would suffer.

Not to be outdone by the CP, the SWP/YSA likewise has offered itself as the "socialist" welcome-wagon for federal troops:

"We completely support the demands made by leaders of the Black community that federal troops be sent to Boston immediately to protect Black students from the escalating racist violence."

—*Militant*, October 18

But for the SWP this solidarity with the armed forces of the bourgeois state is by no means new. When imperialist chief Lyndon Johnson spoke of sending federal troops into Alabama to "protect" the Selma-to-Montgomery civil rights march, the SWP/YSA, then passing over into reformism, screamed in its headlines, "Demand U.S. Troops be Sent to Alabama" (*Militant*, 22 March 1965).

SYL Intervenes

The SL and SYL in Boston have been in the forefront of the struggle to mobilize against the racist terror and in support of the busing. We were the only visible left contingent in the October 13 mass march and the only advocates of a labor-black defense. We have held numerous meetings and rallies in support of busing on Boston campuses. In the protest meeting of over 150 students at the University of Massachusetts on October 11 we were responsible for fighting for a proposal for a mass demonstration. We exposed and defeated the attempt of the SWP/YSA to counterpose to this proposal for mass action a proposal for... a *teach-in*! The SYL is presently playing a leading role in organizing the united-front demonstration.

Unlike the liberals and the CP-SWP, we maintain that the defense of the black children and implementation of the busing lies not in reliance upon the capitalists' troops, but upon the mass organizations of the workers and blacks. Unlike the liberals and their CP-SWP tail, we explain that the solution to racial oppression ultimately lies not in the classroom or "community control" but in the social relations of production. Many of the gains in democratic rights won by the liberal-dominated civil rights movement are today being wiped out. The solution to racial oppression is the united class struggle of the workers, which under the leadership of the vanguard party can smash capitalism, the source of all special oppression. ■

Cops Attack Boston University Demonstration

On October 17 the cops attacked a militant demonstration at Boston University protesting the in-session conference of the "Center for Latin American Development," a pro-Chilean junta imperialist think-tank. A number of students were beaten by the charging cops, and seven were arrested. The SYL was among the groups protesting University complicity in imperialist policy-making. WE DEMAND THAT THE CHARGES AGAINST THE STUDENTS BE DROPPED NOW!

Young Spartacus

How CP's Popular Front Betrayed Black Masses

The policy of the Popular Front, or Peoples Front, was adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Stalinized Communist International (CI) in 1935. At its previous 1928 Congress, the CI had promulgated the ultra-left "Third Period" line, which declared capitalism to be in its final death paroxysm and the Social Democracy and even liberals to be "the left wing of fascism," or "social fascist." Consequently, the Stalinists criminally refused to join together with the mass-based German Social Democracy in a fighting united front to defeat the rising fascists; on the contrary, the Stalinists insisted

away the capitalist order. Rather than taking decisive measures against fascism and reaction, the Peoples Front governments, where they came to power, as in Spain and France, opened the road to fascism and reaction, the same way that the Social Democratic-led "peoples front" in Weimar combined with Stalinist sectarianism was helpless before Hitler.

The Popular Front and the Black Question

During the "Third Period," the Stalinists equated Roosevelt with Hitler

actionary nationalist and reformist movements among the Negro people" into the vanguard of the "anti-fascist peoples front" was performed at the November 1935 CPUSA Central Committee plenum, following the Seventh CI Congress. In his report to the plenum, CP General Secretary Earl Browder delicately explained how Roosevelt was taking on a "progressive" role:

"Our task is not only to show the masses where the danger of fascism comes from but, what is most important, to convince them that Roosevelt, while no longer as in 1933-34 repre-

sentative, too inclined to see enemies everywhere, sometimes even where they do not exist, and where they are potential friends. We ourselves must break loose from these self-appointed limitations, we must have greater confidence in those broad circles, not hitherto associated with us, who are taking up the struggle for Negro rights."

—"New Steps in The United Front," *Communist*, November 1935

James W. Ford, the Party's leading black spokesman during the Popular Front period, cautioned his comrades at the same plenum:

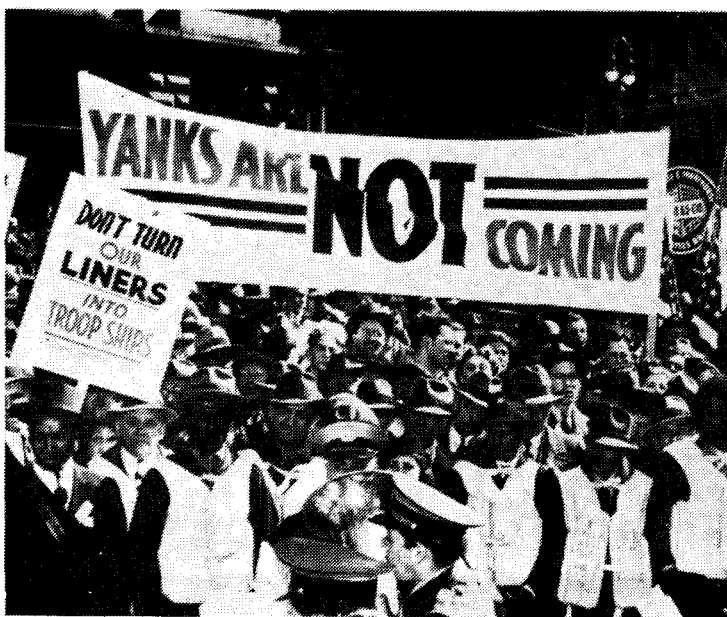
"We must here at this plenum say to our Negro Communists: 'We have to stop using the word 'nationalist' too freely and in a derogatory manner.'"

—"Negro Liberation Movement and Farmer-Labor Party," *Communist*, December 1935

The National Negro Congress

The most thorough application of the methods of the Popular Front by the CP to the black question was the National Negro Congress (NNC). The NNC grew out of the Joint Committee on National Recovery, which was formed by the NAACP and other black organizations as a semi-autonomous pressure group on the burgeoning bureaucratic apparatus spawned by Roosevelt's New Deal. When the Committee first appeared, the CP was still deep in the "Third Period" and the Committee was accordingly denounced as "social-fascist." In 1935 the Joint Committee, in conjunction with Howard University, sponsored a conference on the plight of blacks in the depression. When the conference called for a national conference of black organizations to form a national black agency, James W. Ford became a member of the Sponsoring Committee.

The first national congress of the NNC was held in February 1936 at Chicago. It was indeed a "broad-based" formation: 817 delegates purporting to represent 585 organizations, including 81 church and religious organizations, *continued on page 10*



With international diplomatic realignment of Stalin-Hitler pact, CP took left turn away from Popular Frontist alliance with Roosevelt, exposed Wall Street's war aims (left); when Nazis attacked USSR, CP wrapped itself in Stars and Stripes, jingoistically goaded Roosevelt to prosecute the "peoples war" (right).

that the Social Democrats were an even greater danger than the fascists, because the Socialists "looked" like a working-class tendency. Thus, the powerful German proletariat remained helplessly divided and, together with the theory of the "Third Period," was ground under the iron heel of victorious fascism.

The Stalinists' Popular Front policy represented the CI's panicky retreat toward class-collaborationist unity with the "democratic bourgeoisie" against fascism. The Popular Front signified a *political subordination* of the interests of the proletariat to the left wing of the exploiters. As expressed in the main resolution of the Seventh Congress:

"In circumstances of a *political crisis*, when the ruling classes are no longer in a position to cope with the powerful sweep of the mass movement... it may well prove possible and necessary in the interests of the proletariat to create a *proletarian united front government* or an *anti-fascist peoples' front government* which is not yet a government of the proletarian dictatorship, but one which undertakes to put into effect decisive measures against fascism and reaction. The CP must see to it that such a government is formed." [Emphasis in original.]

So, during a *political crisis* when the ruling classes are no longer in a position to cope with the powerful sweep of the mass movement," that is in a pre-revolutionary situation like the 1934 French General Strike, "The CP must see to it" that the "powerful sweep of the mass movement" is *halted half-way*, and not allowed to sweep

and labeled the New Deal "advancing fascist reaction." In his report to the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party (USA), Harry Haywood, the head of CP black work during the "Third Period," said of such liberal black organizations as the National Urban League (NUL) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP):

"This is why Negro reformism, with its policy of collaboration with white ruling oppressors, its anti-labor activities, its doctrine of Jim Crow nationalism and racial seclusion complements completely the program of fascism. It is but the reverse side of fascism."

—"The Road to Negro Liberation: The Tasks of the Communist Party in Winning Working Class Leadership of the Negro Liberation Struggles and The Fight Against Reactionary Nationalist Reformist Movements Among The Negro People"

During the Popular Front period the American CP lacked the social weight to get even one Congressman elected in its name. Far less was it in a position to demand of the American bourgeoisie Cabinet posts in an "anti-fascist peoples front government" in exchange for class peace. As a consequence, the "anti-fascist peoples front" had to be built around the American Hitler of the "Third Period," Roosevelt, and the various liberal and "progressive" organizations like the NAACP and the NUL which tended to support Roosevelt and the New Deal.

The alchemy required to transform yesterday's "social-fascists" and "re-

sending the main fascist camp, still is not working against it, but is no obstacle to growth of fascist forces."

—"United Front—Key To New Tactical Orientation," *Communist*, December 1935

On the NAACP and the NUL Browder spun *volte-face* as follows:

"We know that past struggles between us have also had a bad effect upon our own forces, of making them too sus-

James W. Ford, Communist Party's leading black spokesman during Popular Front period in U.S.



DAILY WORLD