

Young Spartacus

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Not One Man, Not One Penny for the Imperialist Army!

NO TO THE DRAFT!

They want to bring the draft back. A decade ago millions of American youth saw it as synonymous with U.S. imperialism's torture and mass murder in Indochina. Mass draft card burning in New York's Central Park, street-fighting in downtown Oakland during "Stop the Draft Week," resistance to military/CIA recruiters and ROTC programs at hundreds of campuses—protest after protest rose up against the U.S. bourgeoisie's recruitment for its dirtiest war. Hardly anyone believed in the myth of the "free world" as the napalm, herbicides and anti-personnel bombs rained down on Vietnam to preserve the tyrannical Thieu/Ky regime.

Ever since the Vietnam and Watergate fiascos the constant concern of the American ruling class has been to repair its shattered moral authority in the eyes of the American masses, especially the new generation of youth. The dumping of "I am not a crook" Nixon, "reform" of the murderous CIA/FBI, promises of a new honesty (even a new piety)—all have as their common goal the government's attempt to untie its hands and get back to

business, with no protest, outrage or skepticism in the way.

"Making the World Safe for Democracy"

Carter's "human rights" demagoguery is the spearhead of this drive. He hopes that a few slaps on the wrist for the Chilean junta and South African apartheid and a continual propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union will establish U.S. imperialism's "democratic" credentials. But the ambitions of the U.S. ruling class require more than Carter's sermonizing. The proposals to reintroduce registration, the first step in restoring the draft, are part of building up the military machine needed to play the role of world policeman for capitalism.

The Spartacus

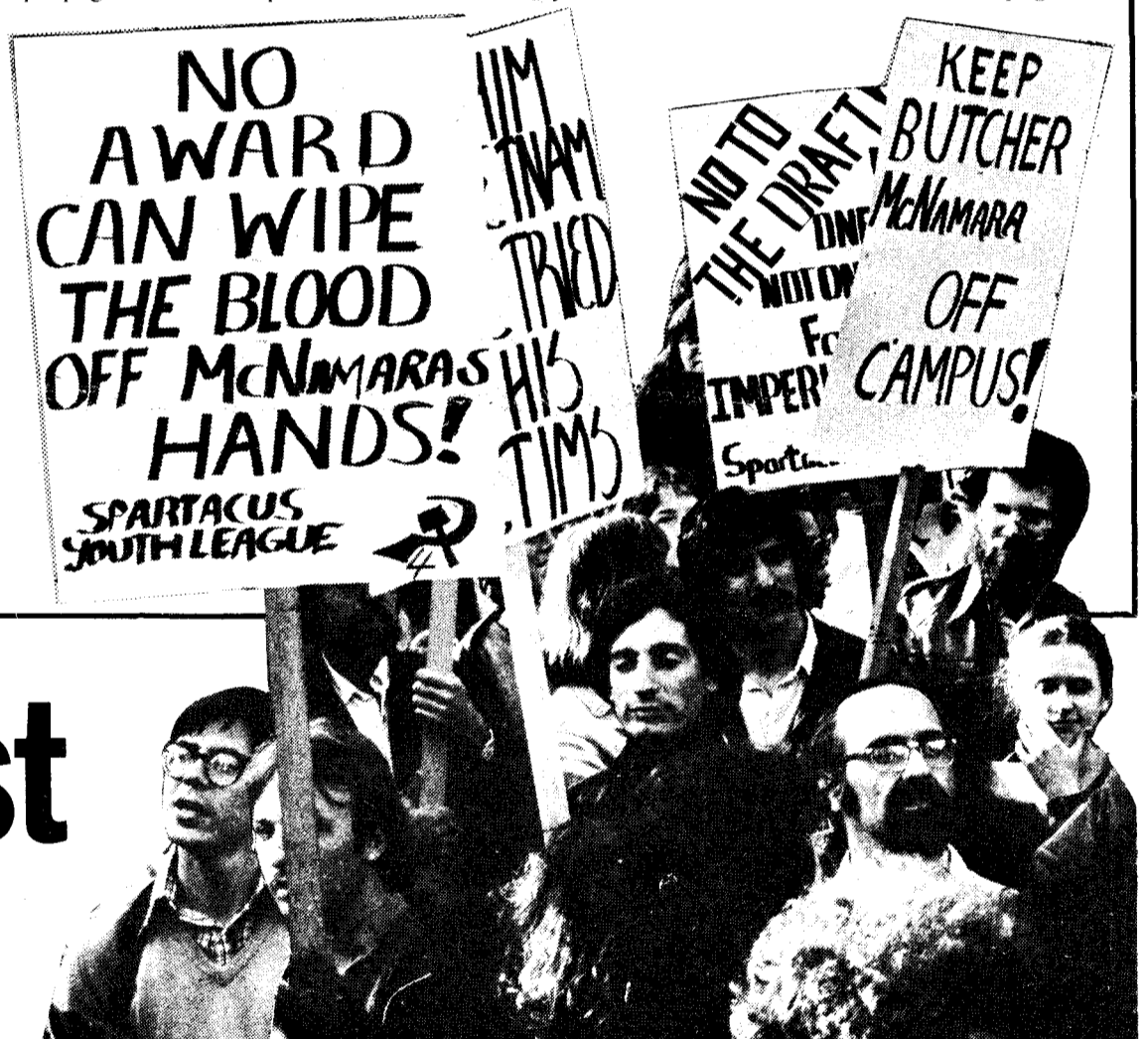
Youth League condemns the attempts to reintroduce the draft and all registration or "national service" plans. We seek to mobilize young people against conscription under the banner of opposition to all facets of imperialist militarism.

After the signing of the 1973 Paris Peace Accords the Nixon administration opted for a volunteer army. The

almost total breakdown of morale and discipline, extending even to "fragging" of officers, had to be stopped. And halting the draft could help end the social convulsions the war was producing at home.

But now the Pentagon is complaining that month after month its military recruiting quotas are not being filled.

continued on page 2



1,500 Protest McNamara

Ship Him To Vietnam To Be Tried By His Victims!

CHICAGO—When University of Chicago president Hanna Gray and the U of C trustees smugly announced their intention to award former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara \$25,000 and the first annual "Albert Pick Jr. Award" for promoting "international understanding," they learned that the memory of U.S. imperialism's campaign of slaughter against Vietnam is not dead. Twenty-five were arrested as 1,500 angry students, teachers and workers rallied on

May 22 in one of the largest demonstrations here in over a decade. Highly visible was the largest organized contingent: 50-strong, the Spartacus Youth League and friends demanded: "No Award to Imperialist Butcher McNamara! Keep McNamara Off Campus! Ship Him To Vietnam To Be Tried By His Victims!"

The meaning of the obscene award presentation was clear: yet another fête to bury the ugly legacy of U.S. mass murder in Vietnam. CIA-liberal and Kennedy "Camelot" team member, McNamara helped to bring us the Bay of Pigs, Tonkin Gulf and the escalation of U.S. aggression in Indochina. For seven years Secretary of Defense (1961-68), this former Ford Motor Co. execu-

tive currently sits as tsar of the World Bank.

While no longer ordering troops into battle, McNamara is no less a key strategist for U.S. imperialism. He presided over the World Bank when the Chilean economy was strangled by the imperialists in order to "destabilize" Allende's government, paving the way for the Pinochet coup and the murder of 30,000 Chilean workers and peasants. The only possible contribution McNamara could make to "international understanding" would be his trial by Vietnamese workers and peasants.

Why Mac Didn't Get the Knife...

It is outrageous that this war criminal

collected his blood money basically without a hitch. Despite the fact that scores of protesters wanted to do more than stand across the street from the banquet hall and be treated to a litany of speeches droning on about the good old days, the organizers of the protest made sure that U of C "discipline guidelines" weren't broken as they provided marshals to police the crowd. They must have been overjoyed when President Gray gave kudos to the University staff, the Chicago cops and the "May 22 Committee, which organized the protest" and was "entirely forthright about its intentions and plans." Indeed, the Committee was quite "forthright"

continued on page 9

Behind South Africa's Black Consciousness Movement /6

A Centrist For All Seasons

Ernest Mandel: Chameleon

The leaflet below was distributed by the Boston Organizing Committee of the SYL to the first session of a lecture series given by Ernest Mandel, a leader of the United Secretariat. We would like to take this opportunity to remind ex-comrade Mandel of a letter written to him by Favre-Bleibtreu, head of the French anti-revisionist Trotskyists in 1951:

"We always take the same pleasure in reading your documents, whose cultural level, richness of imagery, and style remind us that you remain the most brilliant writer of the International. But this reading confirms my belief that you lack one quality, the one most necessary to a leader: firmness of your political ideas...."

"Comrade Ernest Germain [Mandel], renounce diversionary maneuvers, renounce your puerile and irresponsible double-crossing game, put forward and defend your ideas as we ourselves defend them."

—translated from Spartacist (édition française) No. 7, Autumn 1974

Boston University has signed up some "superstars" for the Special Summer Session in Social Theory. Most renowned among these "celebrities" is Ernest Mandel who will lecture on "The Origins and Implications of the Current Economic Recession" and "The Nature of the Bourgeois State." Mandel can always talk a good line when it concerns abstract theory. But when it comes down to providing revolutionary leadership, "telling the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be," he gets a little weak in the knees. At every crucial juncture in the class struggle in the last quarter century the erudite and facile "professor" Mandel has fought *against* a Trotskyist perspective and program.

Did you know:

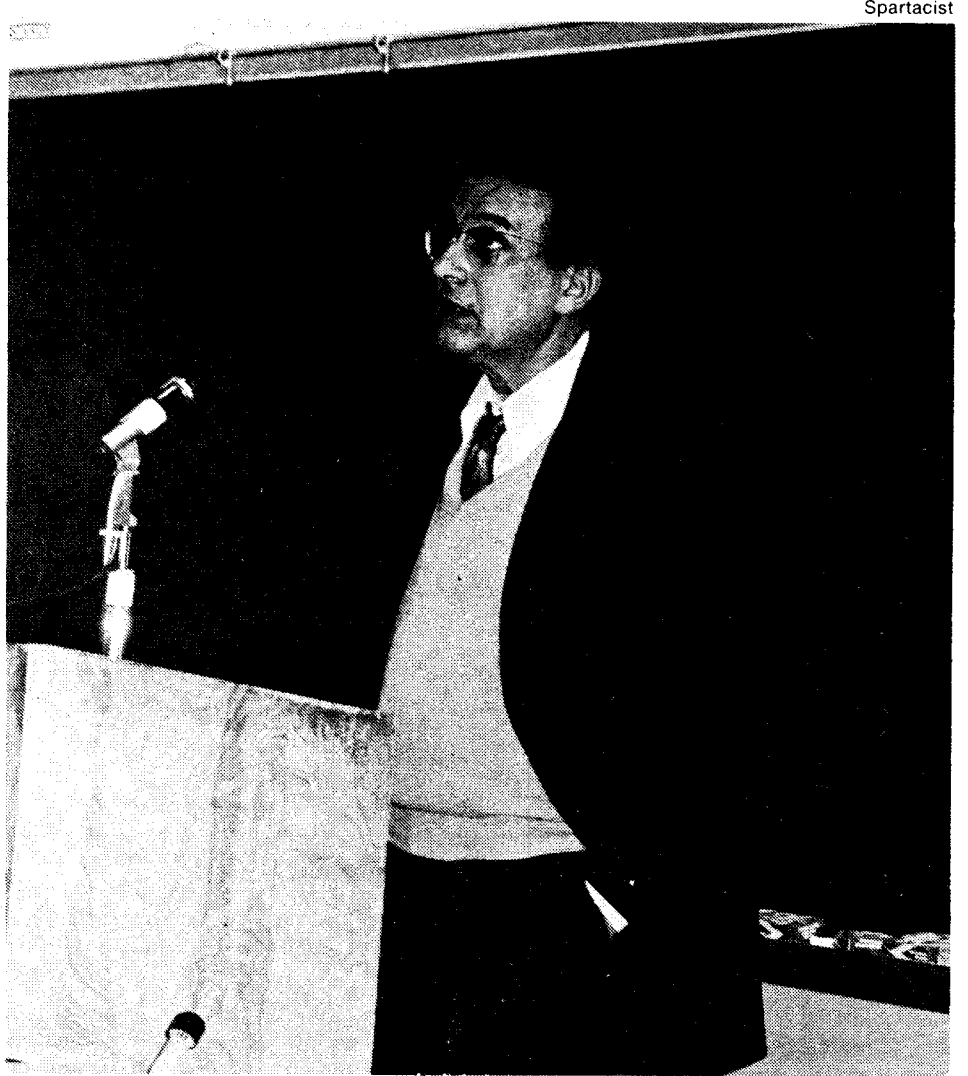
- Trotskyism stands for permanent revolution. But when Khomeini led the mobilization for an Islamic republic in Iran which seeks to turn back the clock

to the seventh century and force women to wear the veil. Mandel and the United Secretariat (USec) said he was "progressive" and "democratic"! Now the "progressive" Imam and his komitehs are beating and jailing members of the USec's Socialist Workers Party of Iran. Yet Mandel's friends in the American SWP are so sectarian that they won't even demonstrate with the Spartacist League in defense of their *own* comrades because we say "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs! Workers to Power!"

- No doubt in his class on economics Mandel will talk about how the falling rate of profit causes capitalist crises. But in the 1960s when "student power" was in its heyday, Mandel wrote that the working class had been bought off under "neocapitalism." So in the midst of the 1968 May-June uprising, with ten million workers on strike, he told the French workers to fight not for state power but for "anti-capitalist" structural reforms.

- Back in the days when "Che" Guevara was a hero on the campuses, did Mandel call for a Leninist vanguard party to lead the struggle of the working masses? Not a chance. "Comandante Ernesto" became an armchair guerrilla and counseled revolutionists to "pick up the gun" and take to the hills. But now when the action is a little closer to home, Mandel & Co., fearful for their respectability, refuse even to defend the "urban guerrillas" of the Baader-Meinhof gang and the Red Brigades from vicious state repression.

- In the 1930s Trotsky warned that the popular front would lead to a bloody defeat for the workers in Spain. History proved him right. In the 1970s when the Allende government came to power, a repeat of that experience, the USec *denied* that it was a popular front. 30,000 workers have paid in blood for illusions in the "progressive" officers and the "democratic" bourgeoisie.



Ernest Mandel: "You lack one quality, firmness of your political ideas."

- Mandel will quote Marx and Lenin saying the bourgeois state is "special bodies of armed men" and the "instrument for the suppression of the working class by the ruling class." But here in Boston in 1974, when the racist anti-busing mobs rampaged through the streets, Mandel and the SWP dismissed the Spartacists' call for labor/black defense as "utopian." These supposed Trotskyists called on the racist U.S.

government to send federal troops to "protect" black school children. Let's see him try to defend this one in class! **Ernest Mandel is not a Trotskyist but a double-talking chameleon. His theories change each time the wind blows. To hear what real Trotskyists have to say about these issues and more, come to the class where the Spartacus Youth League will expose the Marxist pretensions of "the professor"!**

Draft...

(continued from page 1)

The "mobilization period"—the length of time necessary for troops to be assembled, trained and ready for combat—is considered to be too long to meet a "national emergency." According to an Association of the United States Army report:

"The dismal truth is that the Selective Service System, having deteriorated from an operational status in 1973 to a 'deep standby' status today, means that it will be seven months before the first draftees can be made ready for shipment overseas."

The "manpower gap" has joined the "missile gap" and the "bomber gap" as the watchword of the militarists.

The worry in Washington is not the product of idle speculation in the corners of the Pentagon's War Room. With the "energy crisis" and the overthrow of the shah of Iran, Secretary of "Defense" Harold Brown and Energy Secretary James Schlesinger have openly advocated U.S. military intervention into the Persian Gulf. Already a 100,000-man strike force has been set up for use in the region.

Additionally, army spokesmen are weighing the costs of a military engagement with the USSR. They complain that the Individual Ready Reserve is down to 360,000 (roughly half-strength) meaning that there would not be enough trained soldiers to quickly replace the

expected casualties. And as neutron bombs and MX missiles are being added to the U.S.' first-strike nuclear arsenal behind the smokescreen of the SALT talks, American forces in Europe are being beefed up. During China's February invasion of Vietnam, the first military result of Peking's developing reactionary alliance with the U.S. against the Soviets, the question on the assembly lines, in the classrooms and on the streets was: would there be direct U.S. involvement?

Whether American paratroopers attempt to seize the Mideast oil fields or NATO tanks thunder into East Germany, you can be sure that it will be done in defense of "democracy and human rights." But the only freedom that American imperialism is interested in is the freedom for capitalist exploitation. Marcos, butcher of the Philippines; Marshal Ky, the Hitler-loving ex-vice president of South Vietnam; the deposed shah, master of the SAVAK torturers—these are the "freedom-loving democrats" so near the hearts of the U.S. bourgeoisie.

In defense of "human rights" in the Soviet bloc, American imperialism has waged its campaign with the aid of anti-Semitic Poles, Ukrainian fascists, fanatical tsar-lovers like Solzhenitsyn and even a smattering of outright Nazi war criminals! Desperate to recapture the one-sixth of the globe that was ripped out of the clutches of the capitalists by the 1917 October Revolution, the

strategic aim of the U.S. bourgeoisie is to destroy the USSR's military and economic might.

Despite the massive bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state since the time of Lenin and Trotsky and the absence of *workers* democracy, revolutionary Marxists recognize that the planned economy and collectivized property of the USSR are a great historic advance which must be defended against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. Only the victory of a working class political revolution, not the triumph of reactionary, decaying capitalism, can cast aside the parasitic bureaucracy and open the road for socialism.

Blacks and the "New Action Army"

One of the underlying fears of the Pentagon's dislike of the current army is simply that it might not fight. The

advocates of the volunteer army hoped to induce enlistment with Madison Avenue-style ad campaigns, but their offer of \$419 per month was not attractive to educated white youth. So blacks, who represent only 15 percent of the population, comprise 30 percent of the army and 34 percent of the new recruits. Even the reactionary neanderthals in the Pentagon and Congress recognize that blacks have little reason to want to defend an America which has

continued on page 4

Young Spartacus

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Huelga Si! Migra No!

Victory to the UFW!

LOS ANGELES, June 15—Tear gas, clubs and bullets; cops, scabs and grower goons; injunctions, fines and arrests—for over five months the agribusiness giants have been out to destroy the United Farm Workers Union (UFW). From California's Imperial Valley to Salinas Valley and back, class war is raging as the militant UFW rank and file has stood firm and refused to knuckle under to the growers in the UFW's longest strike.

Faced with the union's extremely modest demands (\$4.85 an hour, upping of piece rates, increases in medical and pension benefits) the growers have poured millions into a vicious anti-labor publicity campaign. Armies of hired thugs have been recruited to intimidate, beat and even kill strikers: Rufino Contreras was shot in the face and left to die in an Imperial Valley field by foremen who were let off for "lack of evidence" by a pro-agribusiness judge.

Brutal harassment by local hoodlums is a way of life for UFW members. In every past strike farm workers (including UFW president Cesar Chavez) have been chased down deserted roads at night, had their homes firebombed and been savagely beaten. This time the growers' salaried goons have been aided by the fascist Ku Klux Klan. And while the KKK and the private armies rampage against the striking workers, the forces of "law and order" have been doing their part. Imperial Valley officials have spent \$1 million on scabberding police and Monterey County supervisors are prepared to spend another million in the Salinas Valley (*San Jose Mercury*, 15 May). Governor Jerry Brown has dispatched 200 Highway Patrolmen to the struck fields as the courts and the state's anti-labor Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) have slapped injunctions on the UFW limiting pickets and have jailed hundreds of strikers.

The farm workers have responded to this strikebreaking cabal with 1,400-strong flying picket squads and with car caravans dispatched to farms being worked by scabs. Field after field has been shut down as militant strikers have fought their way past cops and goons to drag scabs away from the harvest. With mass picketing and appeals to other unions who move the crops (transit, warehouse, retail clerks) to "hot cargo" (refuse to handle) the scab produce, the UFW can win. But instead of backing the militant actions of the rank and file, the Chavez bureaucracy has pursued a defeatist policy of "selective" strikes, cringing legalism and consumer boycotts. As in every other UFW strike Chavez has made it clear that to avoid



1973: Chavez told farm workers to "turn the other cheek," killed strike.

offending his "friends" in the Democratic Party, he will risk its success.

Chavez Finks on Mexican Workers

Faced with the scabberding of undocumented workers across the Mexican border Chavez has appealed not to the UFW members but to the hated Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to stop the "illegals." Mexican-born head of a union with a predominantly Mexican, Chicano and Filipino membership, Chavez has called on *la migra* and the same government which instituted the infamous Bracero program (designed to recruit cheap labor and strikebreakers) to "aid" the UFW!

In previous strikes Chavez went so far as to organize "union patrols" to help the INS seal the border. He had to (publicly) shelve this obscene cooperation with the government after the 1975 UFW convention where UFW members, many of them carrying a "green card" or having friends and relatives who face deportation, chanted "Organize! Organize!" to voice *their* policy for undocumented workers. An aggressive, militant campaign to build the UFW on both sides of the border, for full citizenship rights for all foreign workers and for mass picketing—that is the way

UPI

to stop scabbing, not informing to the cops!

The crackdown on foreign-born workers is used to *bust* the UFW, not to build it. Chavez nevertheless complained to a *Los Angeles Times* (18 April) reporter that "We give them names, dates and places and nothing gets done." But the INS *has* done something. *La migra* has arrested over four times as many people as in the same period last year in the Salinas Valley—and 90 percent of those arrested have been on UFW-organized farms!

Farm workers have gotten nothing but betrayals for Chavez' unshakeable faith in the bosses' state. The UFW tops actively lobbied for the creation of the ALRB, and each election year Chavez & Co. go all out in support of Democratic Party candidates, from Robert Kennedy to Jerry Brown. These "friends of labor," just like *la migra* and the ALRB, are on the side of the growers, not the UFW. For farm workers, as for the entire labor movement, what is needed is a break with all the strikebreaking capitalist politicians and a fight to build a workers party. But such a party can only be built when the pro-capitalist labor traitors like Chavez have been ousted by a class-struggle leadership in the unions.

Will Boycotting Bananas Beat the Growers?

In the bitter 1973 strike the UFW bureaucrats forbade militant farm workers from doing anything more than peacefully picketing while scabs worked the fields. Proclaiming his religious faith and adherence to pacifism, Chavez toured the country while the farm workers were offered up to the cops and gun-toting grower thugs as unresistant victims. "Turn the other cheek" and "pray" were Chavez' orders as picketers were clubbed, gassed and arrested. The key to victory, he said, was the years-long grape and lettuce boycott. But when it was over the result was the near extinction of the UFW—membership fell to 6,500 under 12 contracts while giant firms such as the Bud Antle Corp. retained "sweetheart" contracts with the

Teamsters. Now, with less than 10 percent of California's 260,000 farm workers in the UFW, Chavez is again talking about liquidating the strike for a consumer boycott—this time of lettuce and bananas!

In Salinas Valley, home of the most seasoned base of the union, UFW members know that the crops must not leave the fields if the strike is going to win. They know that it was the organizing strikes of the 1960s—in the fields of Monterey, Imperial and Kern counties—that turned *la causa* into reality. It was through these battles that the UFW grew to a membership of 50,000 with 150 contracts in 1972. But Chavez scoffs at concrete proposals for labor solidarity as he sends isolated teams of a dozen pickets to huge fields to face the same Monterey County sheriffs who unleashed dog attacks against strikers in 1973.

Chavez' appeals for the "moral support" of liberal capitalist politicians and his "threats" of going to the American consumer are not new. While boycotts can be a useful tactic to supplement action at the point of production, as a strategy to *replace* militant strikes they can only lose. The picket lines are the strikers' first line of defense and the working class is the real ally of the UFW. Shut down all the farms! Labor: hot cargo scab produce!

As part of a series of talks to build support for a new boycott campaign Chavez appeared at UCLA in early May, sponsored by the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA). There, Julia Maura of the Spartacus Youth League related her eyewitness experiences on the UFW picket lines and challenged the George Meany of the UFW to explain why he claimed that the outcome of the strike would be determined by a consumer boycott:

"At the ILWU [International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union] convention in San Diego, Howard Keylor of the Militant Caucus of ILWU Local 6 put forward a motion for labor solidarity which you, and [ILWU head] Jimmy Herman, of course, ignored. Besides calling for \$10,000 to be

continued on page 10



1979: Pickets charge to get at scabs.

Draft...

(continued from page 2)

oppressed and brutalized them for generations.

For many black youth in this intensely racist society, the army is almost the only alternative to unemployment or crime. At least in the army, they think, there might be a chance to get some training and find a decent, skilled job once they have been discharged. But from Fort Dix to West Germany blacks in uniform find the same oppression and discrimination they have lived under all their lives. Just as the U.S. jails are crammed with black prisoners, so too are the military stockades. The revelation two years ago that Ku Klux Klan cells at the Camp Pendleton Marine base were carrying out a racist, terrorist campaign against black soldiers was only one graphic example of the extreme racial polarization that still festers in "Today's Army."

The military brass doesn't want an army of lumpen victims of oppression, but one which will identify with its imperialist appetite to police the world. They may remember Muhammed Ali's comment made almost fifteen years ago that "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger," and know this expressed the attitude of many, if not most, black youth. Perhaps the vision of black troops refusing to fire on ghetto residents during the 1967 Detroit riots still haunts them.

San Francisco Examiner columnist Guy Wright voiced the Pentagon's fears very well when he noted this February that "there is something at once cowardly and foolhardy about putting today's frightful weapons in the hands of... young men who are essentially alienated; who have little positive contact with the values they are supposed to defend... [W]e will create a military force with no stake in the American dream." Indeed, blacks know the grim reality behind that "dream": segregation, night riders, miserable wages, wanton cop violence and racist frame-ups.

"Ask Not What Your Country..."

The Pentagon's clamor has met with a quick response from Congress. There are now seven bills under consideration, outlining different schemes and schedules for registration and/or induction for young men and possibly women. On May 10 the House Armed Services Committee approved a proposal to be instituted in 1981 requiring registration of all 18-year-old men for possible military service and a Senate committee passed a similar bill on June 7.

Particularly insidious are the liberals' attempts to sugar-coat the military draft with a veneer of "national service," which has broader public support than conscription. The most all-encompassing bill, HR-2206, is sponsored by anti-Vietnam war liberal Paul McCloskey. McCloskey would require all men and women to register at age 17 and be given a choice of civilian service, active military duty or six years in a lottery pool to make sure the generals receive their quota of cannon fodder.

While California's guru-governor, Jerry Brown, pontificates about "service to the country and the future" (*Los Angeles Times*, 28 February), the real meaning of these schemes is clear. In part designed to instill military discipline into unemployed black youth and the white teenagers of the "me-generation," these programs consciously hark back to the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s which mobilized jobless youth for unskilled labor at starvation wages and imprisoned them in racially-segregated camps run by the army. Small wonder that Defense Secretary Brown has announced that the army will take "a more active role" in managing any such projects!

Bearing the protests of the 1960s in mind, the bourgeois media has scurried

off to determine the "campus mood." They discovered a mixed response. Support for military service is on the rise—not surprising in a period when audiences are cheering for the pro-Vietnam war lies of the *Deer Hunter*. The bulk of the students, however, are either apathetic or hostile to serving in the army: "I'll register, but if there's a war, I won't go," captured a typical response.

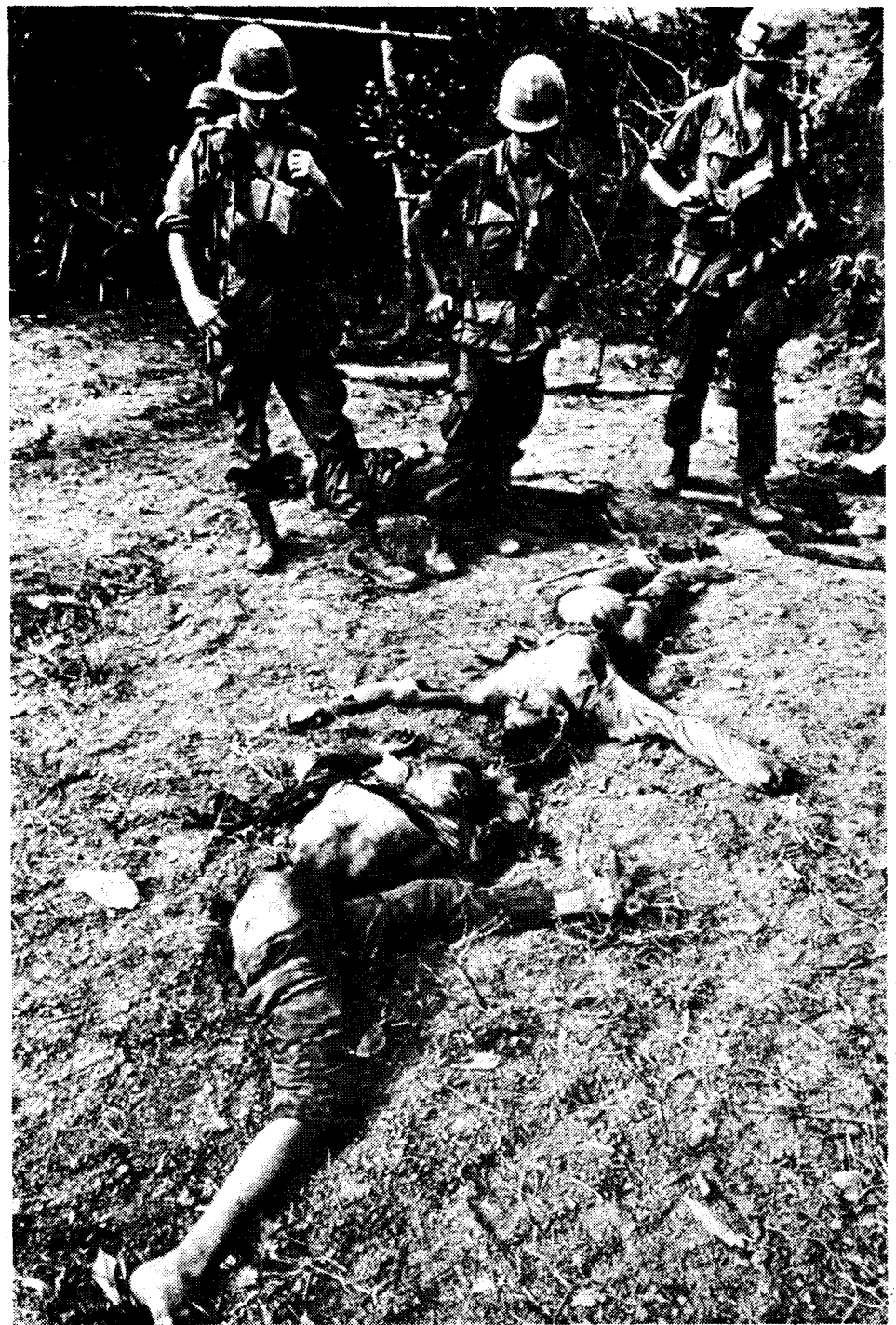
Opposition to the draft on the campuses today combines a number of disparate elements: general disillusionment with the government, resentment that there is no provision for student deferments, the self-indulgence and careerism that have flourished during the "now-decade" and as well a healthy repugnance at fighting and dying to safeguard white supremacy in South Africa or Mobil's profit margin.

This spring a number of anti-draft demonstrations took place around the country. A coterie of pacifist and liberal groups have formed, but it has been the right-wing Students for a Libertarian Society (SLS) who have been the most prominent in these protests. Like the reactionary economist Milton Friedman, they oppose the draft out of support for "free market" solutions. The SLS also opposes the minimum wage and the union shop, placing these characters somewhere to the right of Richard Nixon.

In the name of a "free labor market" the Libertarian devotees of "laissez-faire" have some advice for unemployed black youth who don't want to sign up for a stint in the army: drive taxis (*Liberty*, April/May)! These racists then turn around and play up to the white middle class by bemoaning the fact that there will be no student deferments in a new draft system.

The old 2S deferment, of course, assured the bourgeoisie that their sons could safely hide away at school while working-class and black youth were sent to the battlefields of Indochina. As Marxists we are completely opposed to any such system of built-in class inequality, not because we want everyone to do their "fair share" in defending American capitalism, but because we are opposed to all forms of class, race and sex discrimination.

The Libertarians argue that the draft is inherently undemocratic since it is based on coercion. But an America that offers blacks unemployment and jail at home or dying in a "volunteer" army abroad is offering no choice at all. Additionally, Marxists are not "anti-authoritarian" per se. The "coercive" draft was in fact historically progressive when the bourgeoisie was destroying out-moded pre-capitalist forms of exploitation. We support the triumph of the mass popular levies of the French Revolution! The draft was qualitatively



Quang Ngai Province, 1967.

more democratic than the brutal press-ganging and the buying and selling of a prince's subjects as practiced by the Hessians.

Furthermore, those who have opposed conscription have not always been the "progressives." One of the biggest anti-draft revolts in American history occurred during the Civil War in 1863. Opposed to being drafted into the Union Army to fight the southern slaveholders, racist gangs, backed by the pro-Southern Democrats, rampaged through New York City, lynching blacks and looting the town. We stand with the militant abolitionists and the radicals who fought the racists and suppressed the riots, not with the supporters of slavery!

Today, in the epoch of imperialism, Marxists oppose the draft not because it is "authoritarian," but because—like the volunteer army—it is one of the tools by which the capitalist rulers mobilize

cannon fodder for their reactionary wars.

You Will Go!

If memories of Vietnam-era political crises haunt the current bourgeois debates on conscription, so too do the draft's opponents maintain a legacy from that period—"draft resistance" through civil disobedience or evasion. While many "draft dodgers" were motivated by pacifism and moral revulsion at the war, there were also radicals who saw "The Resistance" as a means of expressing political solidarity with the Vietnamese.

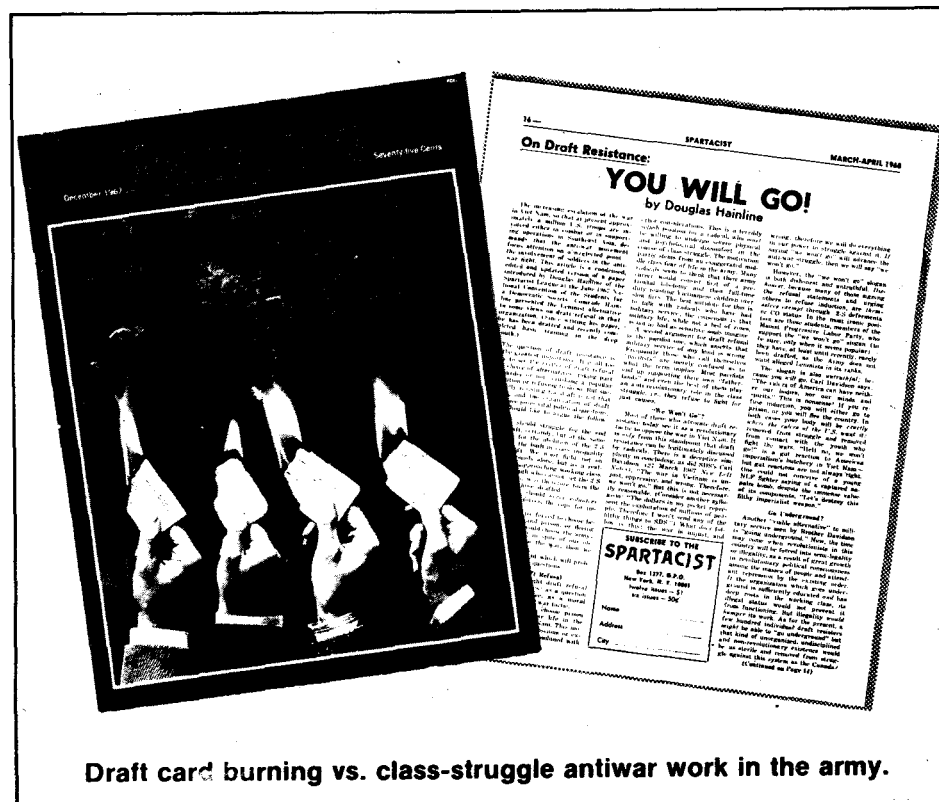
The individual act of draft resistance, however, was totally impotent as a strategy to fight against the government and the war. This pacifistic policy in effect purged the army of those radicals who could have and should have organized the mass of working-class draftees against the war.

As our tendency pointed out to a 1967 national convention of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the slogan "We Won't Go" is:

"...untruthful, because you will go. Carl Davidson [then a leader in SDS] says: 'The rulers of America can have neither our bodies, nor our minds and spirits. This is nonsense! If you refuse induction you will either go to prison, or you will flee the country. In both cases your body will be exactly where the rulers of the U.S. want it: removed from the struggle and removed from contact with the youth who fight the wars. 'Hell no, we won't go!' is a gut reaction to American imperialism's butchery in Vietnam—but gut reactions are not always right. One could not conceive of a young NLF fighter saying of a captured napalm bomb, despite the immense value of its components, 'Let's destroy this filthy imperialist weapon.'"
—Spartacist No. 11, March-April 1968 [emphasis in original]

Not only is evading the draft an empty gesture, it also speaks volumes about the social composition of "The Resistance." Refusing military service has never been an option for the tens of thousands of

continued on page 10



Draft card burning vs. class-struggle antiwar work in the army.

SWP: From "Gay is Good" to "Save Our Children"

Anti-gay reactionaries such as Anita Bryant have always launched their attacks on the democratic rights of homosexuals by posing as the guardians of innocent children from sexual molestation. Recently, however, the "save our children" bigots have found a new ally from an unexpected quarter—the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance. In order to curry favor with the trade-union bureaucracy these reformist ex-Trotskyists printed in the *Militant* of 13 April an attack on gay activists who called for "full rights for gay youth, including revision of age-of-consent laws" at a February Philadelphia conference. Charging that the backers of this demand "are primarily adult men who believe they should be unrestricted in having sex with children," the SWP termed the laws which prohibit the sexual activity of minors "historic acquisitions of the working class [which] should be enforced"!

Let there be no mistake about what these phony "socialists" mean—they are calling on the cops and courts of the capitalist state to enforce reactionary laws based on the sexual morality of the bourgeois family. And for those American youth who do not appreciate the "progressive" nature of enforced celibacy, there are always homes for unwed mothers, "training" schools and juvenile prisons to "reform" them.

The SWP does not believe that youth under the age of consent (usually 16 or 18) should be allowed to agree to have sex with older persons. Comparing consensual sex between adults and "children" to the exploitation of child labor, the SWP declares: "We don't want laws against child labor to simply outlaw vaguely defined 'abusive' child labor. Nor do we want 'non-abusive consensual' sex by adults with children OK'd. Both are reactionary to the core."

But in the real world it is the SWP that has lined up on the side of reaction. The SWP chose to announce its opposition to the rights of youth to engage in sex at precisely the same time that a coalition of right-wing and religious bigots was mobilizing to reverse a measure passed by the New Jersey state legislature which changed the age of consent from 16 to 13. Sponsored by the New Jersey Coalition Against Rape and the National Organization for Women (NOW), with the explicit intent "to extend maximum protection to children who might be involved in consensual sex with someone of their own age" (NOW's Nancy Stultz quoted in the *New York Post*, 30 April), the law passed easily as part of an extensive revision of the state penal code. But within days, groups of "concerned parents" initiated a well-publicized drive to overturn the new law. Under pressure from the same forces which have fought against the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights and school integration, the legislators quickly reversed themselves. By the logic of its position on age-of-consent laws the SWP should have proclaimed New Jersey NOW "reactionary" and the right-to-lifers "progressive"! But they conveniently omitted any mention of the battle over the statute in the *Militant*.

Cops Out of the Bedrooms!

In order to educate its befuddled New York membership on its line shift, the SWP held a forum on May 11 on "Socialism and the Fight for Lesbian and Gay Rights" which drew an unex-

pectedly large turnout of gay activists. Michael Maggi, who had been the national coordinator of the SWP's presumably now-defunct gay work, faced a largely hostile audience and reiterated the SWP's new line albeit in a milder tone. Maggi insisted that "There is a kernel in these age-of-consent laws that is progressive and valid.... Children need to be protected from sexual abuse by adults." Calls to repeal age-of-consent laws would, he added, "give a vicious handle to the right-wing opponents of democratic rights for lesbians and gays."

In the discussion which followed, Maggi and the SWP were clearly on the defensive. Gay stylist David Thorstad, a former SWPer and a founding member (along with the SWP!) of the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (CLGR), indicted the SWP for claiming that he had "foisted" the issue of cross-generational sex on gay rights organizations. "It was the bourgeoisie that foisted this issue on the gay movement," he said, pointing out that bigots like Anita Bryant have attacked every homosexual as a rapist/child molester out to "recruit" the wholesome youth of America.

Revolutionaries, unlike the social-democratic SWP, oppose any and all legal restrictions by the capitalist state on effectively consensual sexual activity. Get the cops out of the bedrooms! We know that such measures are not designed to protect children but to enforce the sexual morality of the nuclear family which is at the root of the oppression of women, youth and homosexuals. The case of Roman Polanski, the Polish-born director, dragged through the courts, sent to jail and forced into exile for his liaison with a precocious Hollywood 13-year-old was only a highly publicized example of the reactionary purpose of age-of-consent laws.

Those who desire to put an end to the abuse of children in capitalist society must place the blame where it belongs—not on sexual "deviants" but on the bourgeois family itself. It is in the home, after all, that physical beatings, incestuous rape and child abuse are most widespread. Those who, like the SWP, join the reactionary chorus calling for the capitalist state to enforce the sexual codes based on the morality of the bourgeois family only help to prop up a key bastion of child abuse and one of the strongest pillars of capitalist oppression.

Why the SWP's Switch?

At the May forum Maggi denounced a Spartacus Youth League member's reference to the SWP's past history of expelling homosexuals as a "club used to attack the SWP rather than anything political." Then a junior reformist piped up to dismiss the question by rhetorically asking the audience to "name one" person so expelled. To the great embarrassment of the SWP several hands immediately shot up and one CLGR member called out his own name as one who had been forced to resign. The SWP's policy of excluding homosexuals has never been repudiated and it is not at all inconceivable that it could be resurrected in the future.

The SWP has flip-flopped several times on these questions, as its rampant opportunist appetites have dictated. In the early sixties the SWP adopted the practice of expelling homosexual mem-

bers. With the rise of "gay liberation" politics in 1969-1970 the SWP briefly flirted with the lifestyle radicalism of the gay milieu in 1971, until it pulled back from active intervention—precisely following the rise and fall of the "movement." With the massive anti-Anita Bryant marches of 1977 in the headlines the SWP suggested that "Gays Need A Powerful National Movement" (*Militant*, 22 July 1977) whereas today it even denies the very existence of "a so-called gay movement defined by sexuality" (*Militant*, 13 April).

The SWP has decided in the last year or so that winning friends and influence among trade-union bureaucrats, right-wing feminists and the NAACP will be impossible unless it distances itself from all but the most "respectable" homosexuality. "As long as the movement does not decisively repudiate this demand [revision of age-of-consent laws]," the *Militant* opined, "it will cut off the possibility of involving other social forces." Not to leave us guessing just who these "other forces" are, the authors continued: "What is certain is that the tainting of any action call with the 'cross-generational sex' issue will make it impossible for organizations like NOW, civil rights groups, trade unions, or socialists to endorse—and correctly so."

The SWP's recent "turn" to the labor movement is in reality a turn toward building support for "progressive" bureaucrats like Ed Sadlowski in the Steelworkers and Arnold Miller in the Mine Workers, so the SWP must tone down its defense of democratic rights for homosexuals to a level acceptable to these pro-capitalist labor sellouts. The *Militant* article is chock full of miserably hypocritical attempts at Leninist "orthodoxy" on the centrality of the working class in fighting the capitalist offensive on behalf of all the oppressed.

The opening shot in the SWP's polemic is an attack on the gay movement's isolation from the class struggle. What gall! It is the SWP itself which, when opportune, has championed an autonomous petty-bourgeois gay movement, sowing illusions in the bourgeois state and doing its best to obscure the intersection between the struggle for homosexual rights and the class struggle. For years the SWP has touted itself as the "best builder" of independent sectoralist movements such as black nationalism and feminism, and now it has the nerve to pompously lecture on the pitfalls of lifestyle politics!

Then to add insult to injury the article attacks the gay movement because it includes "gay preachers whose religious role is not a bit less reactionary than that of more orthodox clergy." This from an organization that proclaims Khomeini's *Islamic Republic* in Iran—which is

gunning down the national minorities, executing homosexuals in the streets and forcing women to wear the veil—as a "big advance for the gay rights struggle" and a victory for the working class (*Militant*, 13 April)!

The Leninist Tribune of the People

The capitulation of the SWP to backward anti-gay prejudice in the working class leaves a powerful stench. The SWP has made it clear that it has bigger fish to fry than the gay movement. Defense of elementary democratic rights conflicts with its opportunist appetites. Precisely because (as the SWP now says) homosexuals carry very little clout, the gay question becomes a measure of the political decency of the SWP or any party.

It is the Spartacist League/SYL alone which has consistently fought for a labor-centered strategy to defend democratic rights for all rather than building a sectoralist "gay movement" for "gay rights" organized along the lines of sexual orientation. It is this history of Trotskyist political struggle which drew to the SL/SYL the former Red Flag Union (RFU), a Los Angeles-based group of gay communists. Rejecting overtures from the SWP and other groups which tried to recruit the RFU with appeals to the sectoralist politics which the group was leaving behind, the RFU militants fused with the SL in 1977.

At the fusion conference a spokesman for the SL pointed out:

"[The RFU] represent[s] an enrichment of the Spartacist League.... More than that, however, I think the party will be acquiring a banner of decency. It will be a statement not simply to homosexuals but to all the oppressed as to the nature of our party and what it stands for."

The SL/SYL's position that the proletariat must defend the democratic rights of all the oppressed is guided by Lenin's 1903 injunction to the then-revolutionary Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in *What Is to Be Done?*: "The Social-Democrat's ideal should not be the trade-union secretary, but the *tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; who is able to generalize all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth *before all* his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat." ■

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—A Review—

I Write What I Like

By Steve Biko

*Black Power in South Africa:
The Evolution of an Ideology*
by Gail M. Gerhart

Soweto, June 16, 1976. Ten thousand black students surged through the streets of this huge township, ten miles from Johannesburg. As the crowd converged on Phefeni Junior Secondary High School, ten police cars blocked their path—thirty police, blacks armed with batons and whites armed with revolvers and submachine guns, emerged. Without warning, the police suddenly aimed and fired, pumping over 300 rounds into the unarmed crowd. One teenage student fell dead with a slug in his chest. Within four days the official body count of slain blacks had climbed to over 100 dead and 1,100 wounded as then South African prime minister Balthazar Vorster issued the command to "maintain law and order at all costs."

The plebeian masses responded to this deliberate, cold-blooded slaughter by the racist apartheid regime with an outburst of pent-up fury. The squalid townships that ring South Africa's cities saw thousands-strong crowds of workers and youth hurl themselves against the symbols of oppression with torches, knives, stones and bare hands. In the next year over 1,000 were killed as rebellions continued to convulse the townships.

Out of this movement one first began to hear of the Black Consciousness movement and Steve Biko. But just over

Peter Magubane



Victim of apartheid, 1976.

a year after Soweto achieved worldwide infamy, Steve Biko was arrested. For 19 days he was held naked in solitary confinement. Then his hands and feet were shackled to a metal grill while he was alternately questioned and beaten for 50 hours. Still naked, bloodied and in a semi-coma, Biko was flung onto the floor of a Land Rover and driven over 750 miles from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria. Twelve hours after arriving, he died in his cell.

International protests denounced this atrocity in South Africa's white supremacist hell. Yet outside the land of apartheid terror, not much was really known about Biko and the Black Consciousness movement. As Biko put it, the "first step" in the struggle against apartheid was to instill or re-instill race pride among the black masses. Why did such a subjectivist form of South African black nationalism develop in the early 1970s? What were the origins of the Black Consciousness movement? What was its relationship to the older nationalist organizations, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC)?

Donald Woods' *Biko*, published last summer, offered few answers. His brief treatment of Biko's politics is so superficial as to be simply untrustworthy (for a review, see: "Stephen Biko: A Martyred Black Liberal," *Young Spartacus* No. 67, October 1978). Two recent books, however, are much more useful. One is a collection of Biko's major writings and speeches selected and annotated by (like Woods) a white liberal friend of his, Aelred Stubbs, a British Anglican priest. *Black Power in*

South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology, by American left-liberal academic Gail Gerhart, presents a sympathetic account of Biko's movement. In contrast to the empty moralistic rhetoric found in so much liberal and left writing on South Africa, Gerhart's book is articulate, informative and politically sophisticated.

Nationalism or Class Struggle?

Gerhart's analysis is premised on the acceptance of the political framework provided by South African black nationalist politics. She projects only two alternative paths to the liberation of South African blacks which reflect the major differences in the nationalist movement:

"...where the nonracial nationalism has aimed at a pluralistic sharing of power [with whites], orthodox nationalism tends toward a 'winner-take-all' view, with Africans winning power to control the state.... [O]rthodox nationalism rejects alliances with anti-apartheid whites, whereas nonracial nationalism has tended to favor such alliances."

Believing (rightly) that the white ruling elite will not progressively extend democratic rights to blacks leading to the formation of a liberal multiracial bourgeois democracy, Gerhart sympathizes with the "orthodox" ("Africanist" or "black power") nationalists who seek to establish an "African socialist" regime of the Nkrumah/Nyerere type.

Furthermore, Gerhart accepts the self-justification of the "orthodox" nationalists that their opposition to "nonracial" nationalism flows from the hypocrisy and impotence of white liberalism/radicalism in their country. However, Africanist nationalism is *not* primarily derived from a rejection of liberal white paternalism. Despite their often bitter disagreements, *both* of the nationalist tendencies base their political views on the same terrain: the denial of class struggle.

Given the extreme intensity of racial oppression in South Africa, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism must and will be a contender for leadership over the black working class. A proletarian-socialist revolution will require sharp political struggle against black African nationalism and the nationalists themselves fully recognize this fact.

It is significant that anti-communism marked the worldview of "orthodox" nationalism from its inception. Gerhart writes that Anton Lembede, founding father of Africanist nationalism in the 1940s:

"argued that race-consciousness nationalism was the only creed potent enough to inspire Africans to action, but that communists would always work to undermine nationalism because of their commitment to the theory of class conflict and to 'internationalism'...."

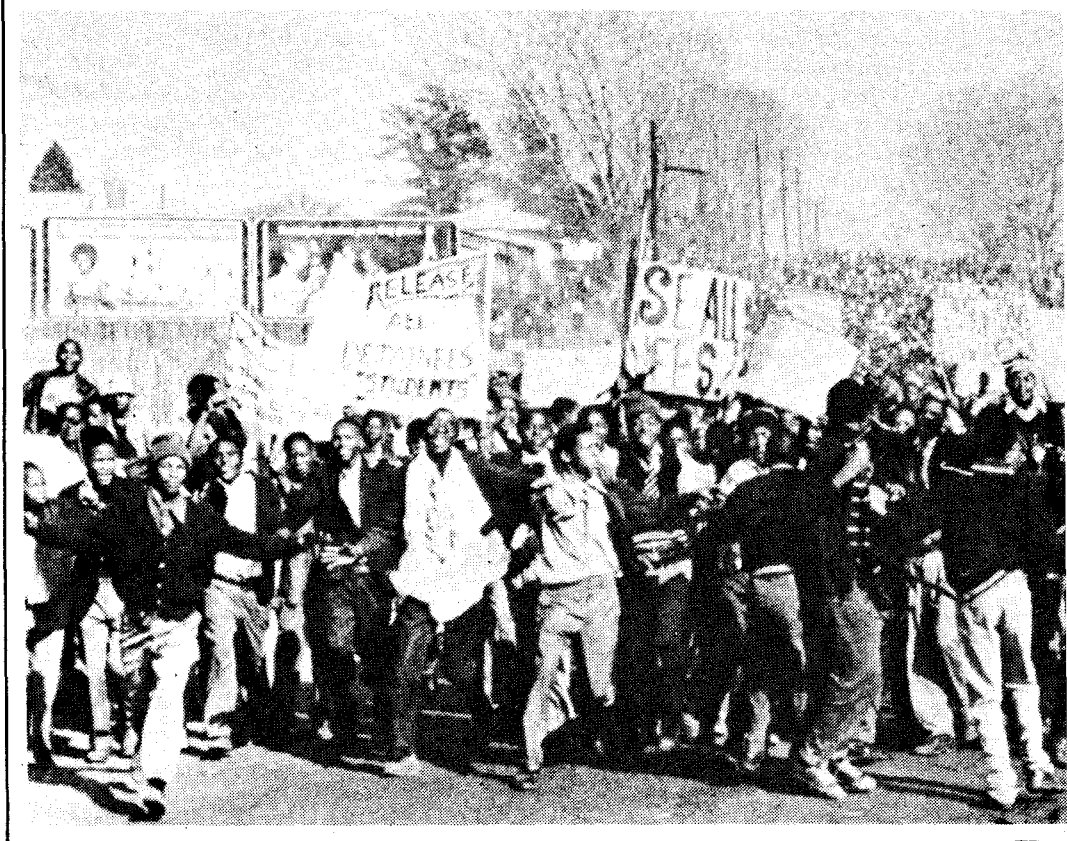
Steve Biko speaks at South African Students' Organization meeting, July 1971; murdered six years later by white supremacist regime.

John Reader/Life Magazine



For Workers Revolution Through Sm

BEHIND SOUTH A BLACK CONSCIOUS MOVEMENT



Lembede's successors were so virulently anti-communist and anti-Soviet that they even gained the support of some prominent white South African liberals on that account!

The experience of African independence struggles, however, fully confirms the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution, which proclaims that neither bourgeois nor various petty-bourgeois forces can guarantee even the most basic democratic rights. Whether openly neo-colonialist, "African socialist" or "Marxist-Leninist," nationalist regimes have bowed down before the imperialists. Neither the liberal nor the "orthodox" nationalists can emancipate the masses of South Africa. Only the proletariat, standing at the head of the peasantry and establishing a black-centered workers and peasants govern-

ment, can secure liberation by a workers revolution that smashes apartheid.

The Split in the African Nationalist Congress

When Gerhart writes of the conflict between "orthodox" and "nonracial" nationalism, she is centrally referring to the 1958-59 split in the ANC, hitherto the hegemonic organization of black opposition. This split, which led to the creation of the PAC, was a major event in post-war black South African politics. Although both groups were effectively suppressed a few years later, their bitter rivalry continues to dominate South African exile politics to this day.

To understand the split one has to go back to ANC factional politics of the early 1940s. The ANC was then a relatively small organization of the black African elite engaged in respectfully lobbying the liberal elements of the white ruling group. It resembled and operated much like the NAACP and the Urban League in the U.S. today.

This ultra-conservatism provoked opposition from a group of younger militants, who in 1944 set up the ANC Youth League with Lembede as its first president. But the ANC "Young Turks" were a heterogeneous group whose only common denominator was rejection of the ANC's traditional policy of pressuring the more "enlightened" white rulers. For many this primarily meant a turn toward the mass organization of blacks for direct action. But for others, notably Lembede and A.P. Mda, it was the rejection of liberalism *as an ideology* in favor of pan-African nationalism that was important.

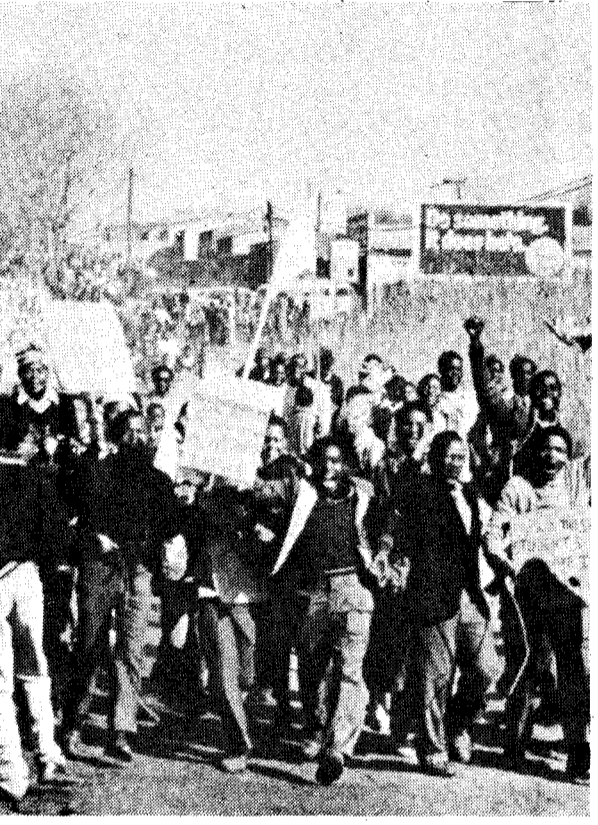
Gerhart reveals that Lembede's ideas were influenced by the growing white Afrikaner nationalism of the late 1930s, which in turn identified with European fascism. In fact, in his early period as an ANC activist, Lembede would cite Hitler and Mussolini approvingly as authorities on "dynamic nationalism" (until his colleagues convinced him that this was in bad taste!)

Daily Dispatch



Smashing Apartheid!

AFRICA'S CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT



The ANC "Young Turks" won a decisive victory in 1949 when they ousted much of the "Old Guard" and adopted the "Program of Action" which declared "the people will be brought together by inspired leadership under the banner of African nationalism with courage and determination." What became the Africanist opposition saw this as a "nation-building" program and would later accuse the new ANC leadership of betraying it. Most ANCers, however, saw it as primarily a turn toward a more activist policy.

In the next few years the ANC undertook a program of mass resistance to apartheid laws, notably the 1952 Defiance Campaign. The turn to mass action brought the ANC into collaboration with the pro-Moscow South African Communist Party and its associated organizations who were the only numerically significant force willing to participate. Although the Africanists accused the ANC leaders of having sold out to the Communists, it was the Stalinists who capitulated to the ANC by adopting the program of liberal nationalism. In line with the standard Stalinist theory of two-stage revolution, the CP declared that the ANC would lead the first, bourgeois-democratic stage.

Moreover, in order to appeal to the insignificant white liberal bourgeoisie, the Congress Alliance (the ANC/CP bloc) stopped well short of even a genuinely bourgeois-democratic program. The 1955 Freedom Charter, which formally is still the ANC's program, states: "There shall be equal status in the bodies of the state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races." This implies a racially-federated governmental system with the whites perhaps having veto power over important legislation and policy. In other words, the Congress Alliance Freedom Charter opens the door to the kind of "black majority rule" which now exists in Rhodesia under the Muzorewa/Smith regime!

The South African CP's capitulation to white bourgeois liberalism was by no

means limited to this program for the future. Throughout the 1950s the Stalinists advocated voting for the English-dominated United Party (UP) opposition, which stood for a slightly reformed apartheid system. (In fact, UP representatives who aided in drawing up the brutal Suppression of Communism Act, proposed the execution of "communist agitators.") In 1959 the CP switched its electoral allegiance to the Progressive Party of diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer, which favored extension of the franchise—only to "educated" blacks.

The Africanist opposition to the ANC's multiracialism in large measure took the form of anti-communism. As Gerhart puts it:

"...anti-communism became an auxiliary theme of the Africanist attack on the Congress Alliance, with white and Indian designs to 'capture' and 'dominate' the ANC portrayed as part of a sinister offensive directed from Moscow and carried out through African 'functionaries.'"

The Africanists split from the ANC in late 1958 at a conference in which both factions were armed with sticks and lengths of iron. They went on to form the Pan Africanist Congress in April of the next year. PAC's foremost leader, Robert Sobukwe, defined its goal:

"We aim, politically, at government of the Africans by the Africans for Africans, with everybody who owes his only loyalty to Africa and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as an African."

—reproduced in Thomas Karis and Gwendolen M. Carter, eds., *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of Politics in South Africa 1882-1964* (1973)

This formulation was incorporated into PAC's basic program.

Thus, PAC stands for an ideological definition of citizenship, one which would exclude a black African member of the pro-Moscow Communist Party or a black Trotskyist loyal to proletarian internationalism. And who is to judge whether someone is or is not "loyal to Africa"? Obviously, the PAC leaders. If they came to power one can be sure that any black workers who went on strike would quickly be condemned for "disloyalty." PAC, then, is simply black African bonapartism out of power, an organization led by the would-be Senghors, Kuandas and Nyereres of South Africa.

Determined to outdo the ANC in militancy, the newly-formed PAC attempted to launch a mass civil disobedience campaign against the hated pass laws which control the daily movement of the black population. It was an anti-pass law demonstration on March 16, 1960 which made a small black township south of Johannesburg a worldwide synonym for racist atrocity. At Sharpeville that day, South African police wantonly fired into the unarmed demonstrators, killing 69 and wounding almost 200.

Faced with massive black protests and stay-at-home strikes in the after-

math of the Sharpeville massacre, the Afrikaner nationalist regime (supported by the United Party) moved to crush completely all organized African opposition. The ANC and PAC were outlawed and their leaders were hunted down. In response both groups turned toward insurrectional terrorism, the ANC/CP bloc through Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) and the PAC through Poqo.

But by 1963 the military actions of the African nationalists had been ruthlessly suppressed and all the main and secondary leaders of the ANC, PAC and CP and their peripheral organizations were in prison or in exile. While the ANC and PAC ceased to exist as effective organizations within South Africa, they remain important in-exile having gained diplomatic standing as the recognized opposition to the white supremacist regime. Moreover, their leaders, such as imprisoned Nelson Mandela of the ANC, no doubt retain



Black workers pedal supervisor in gold mine outside Johannesburg.

much authority among South Africa's black masses.

Black Students and White Liberals

Not since the early years of this century have South Africa's blacks been as atomized, demoralized and defenseless before white racist rule as in the mid- to late 1960s. With the suppression of the mass African organizations the only organized opposition to the apartheid status quo was the small, liberal white community concentrated on the campuses and in the English-speaking churches. Under these circumstances the new generation of radical black intellectuals grew up in the white-led National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the University Christian Movement. And it was in these organizations that Biko and the

other founding members of the student-based Black Consciousness movement found their start.

In the late 1960s NUSAS contained 27,000 whites and only 3,000 blacks, although blacks outnumber whites in South Africa by four-and-a-half to one. In part this reflected the enormous overrepresentation of whites in the college-going elite. It also resulted from the fact that at the government-run black universities students were effectively discouraged from joining the liberal NUSAS.

The apartheid system gives liberal white leaders inestimable practical advantages in any legal multiracial organization. Within a multiracial Leninist vanguard, blacks and whites would function on an equal footing. A revolutionary party in South Africa would have to operate *clandestinely*, violating the apartheid laws. But the white-dominated liberal student organization adhered to apartheid legality

Der Spiegel

with its privileged position for whites. At the 1967 NUSAS conference, for instance, the black delegates suffered a humiliating experience. While the white delegates stayed in comfortable dormitories near the conference site, the blacks had to be driven back and forth from an African township miles away. Events like this fueled Biko's hatred of the white liberal paternalism embodied in these organizations and helped lead to the founding of the South African Students' Organization (SASO) as a 1969 split from NUSAS.

From the first days of SASO's existence Biko had to defend the formation of a separate black organization in the face of charges that this in itself affirms apartheid. His opponents pointed out the fact that the hardline pro-apartheid Afrikaanse Studentebond initially welcomed the SASO split from the liberal, multiracial NUSAS as an indication that black students had opted for "separate development." Additionally, Biko was desirous of gaining for SASO the political and financial backing of American and West European liberal circles, however much he might disdain their South African counterparts. And Western liberals were unlikely to look favorably upon a black split from one of South Africa's few multiracial organizations.

The notion that he was leading a black student bantustan was clearly repellent and embarrassing to Biko. He answered his critics by arguing that although he upheld liberal principles and opposed racial separation, multiracial organizations under present South African conditions were paternalistic, tokenistic and neglectful of black needs:

"While, as a principle, we would reject separation in a normal society, we have to take cognizance of the fact that ours is far from a normal society. It is difficult not to look at white society as a

continued on page 8



Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, leaders of the ANC, Robben Island prison, 1966.

South Africa...

(continued from page 7)

group of people bent on perpetuating the *status quo*. The situation is not made easier by the non-acceptance that black students have met with in all the so called open organizations both religious and secular. All suffer from the same fault basically of accepting the fact that there shall be white leadership and even worse, that they shall occupy themselves predominantly with problems affecting white society first."

—"Letter to Students' Representative Council Presidents" (February 1970), Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like*

Biko's condemnation of the hypocrisy of the white South African liberal community and his acid portrait of the typical well-off white liberal assuaging his conscience through soirees with well-mannered blacks hits the mark:

"First the black-white circles are almost always the creation of white liberals. As a testimony to their claim of complete identification with the blacks, they call a few 'intelligent and articulate' blacks to 'come around for tea at home'.... The more such tea-parties one calls the more liberal he is and the freer he shall feel from the guilt that harnesses and binds his conscience. Hence he moves around his white circles—white-only hotels, beaches, restaurants and cinemas—with a lighter load, feeling that he is not like the others. Yet at the back of his mind is a constant reminder that he is quite comfortable as things stand and therefore should not bother about change."

—"Black Souls in White Skins?" (August 1970), *ibid.*

It is clear that his rebellion against white liberal paternalism was the shaping political experience of Biko's brief life. He generalized this personal (really class-generational) experience into a theory of liberation for South African blacks. He looked upon the absence of significant black resistance in the late 1960s not so much as a result of the temporary effectiveness of savage state repression but as a reflection of a profound sense of inferiority among the black masses. He concluded that a *pre-condition* for militant struggle was the nurturing of race pride:

"[T]he type of black man we have today has lost his manhood. Reduced to an obliging shell, he looks in awe at the white power structure and accepts what he regards as the 'inevitable position'.... All in all the black man has become a shell, a shadow of a man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity."

"This is the first truth, bitter as it may seem, that we have to acknowledge before we can start on any programme to change the status quo.... The first step therefore is to make the black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth. This is what we mean by an inward-looking process. This is the definition of 'Black Consciousness.'" [emphasis added]

—"We Blacks" (September 1970), *ibid.*

However, little more than two years after Biko wrote that a lengthy "inward-looking process" was needed before there could be effective struggle against white oppression and exploitation, tens of thousands of black workers paralyzed his home city of Durban in a strike wave that shook South African society. For over a year the black proletariat struck again and again against starvation wages and the industrial color bar and for the right to organize trade unions. The Vorster regime of hardline Afrikaner reactionaries was forced to tolerate the illegal black unions. The awesome power of the black proletariat had been unleashed proving that the black workers were not "bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity" as Biko would have it.

Biko: A Liberal Nationalist

Gail Gerhart claims Biko for the "orthodox" nationalist tradition:

"Like the ideologues of orthodox African nationalism from Lembede onward, Biko and the architects of SASO began from the premise that oppression was most immediately a psychological problem. Seen from this perspective, the liberal approach could never provide a solution because it failed to take into account the spiritual dimension of the African's plight, most importantly his need to cast off his complexes of dependence and deference toward whites."

This analysis is so partial as to be seriously misleading.

While Steve Biko may have broken from the "liberalism" of certain white South Africans, he by no means broke from liberalism per se. Biko stood far closer to bourgeois reformism, both in the South African and, especially, in the international contexts, than did the Africanist nationalists of the 1950s. The Africanists' attack on the ANC's multi-racialism was at least linked in some measure to greater tactical militancy. By contrast the Black Consciousness movement was deliberately quietist in its tactics.

The trade union grouping associated with Biko's movement, for example, Drake Koka's shadowy Black Allied Workers Union, eschewed even economic militancy. Shortly after it was founded in 1972, this organization stated it aimed "to win the respect of the employers, the public and government; to create a climate of opinion in which laws about Bantu trade unions and discriminatory industrial and labour laws could be reformed." It promised not "to hold the economy of the country to ransom by organizing illegal strikes and making unreasonable demands for political reasons" (quoted in David Davis, *African Workers and Apartheid* [1978]).

The most characteristic feature of Biko's worldview became apparent in his international approaches (a point which Gerhart practically ignores). The anti-liberal nationalists of the 1950s (Sobukwe, Mda) were *pan-Africanists* while Biko was not. Twenty-five years

ago most of black Africa was in the hands of European colonialists. South African black leaders could thus project a united African uprising against colonial rule which would also sweep away the white Afrikaner regime in the southern-most country of the continent. In 1959 Sobukwe could declare in apocalyptic fashion: "Afrika will be free by 1963!"

Today, almost everyone knows that the notion of the black African states conquering South Africa is a pipe dream. The surrounding states are militarily weak and most, including the "Marxist" People's Republic of Mozambique, are economically dependent upon white South African capital. The present generation of South African black nationalists (including Biko) have thus turned their eyes from Accra and Nairobi to Washington and Bonn looking for potential allies in the struggle against apartheid.

When it was announced that Henry Kissinger would visit South Africa in the fall of 1976, Biko informed a *New York Times* reporter of what he would say to the imperialist American Metternich if he could meet with him. Biko would advise the mass murderer of the



Anton Lembede

Indochinese people that "America simply cannot afford to prop up the system at a time when it is seriously being challenged by progressive forces" (19 September 1976).

As the scepter of power passed into the hands of "liberal" Jimmy Carter, Biko renewed his appeals to the U.S. Warning that if the American rulers didn't offer "full scale support of the struggle for black man's liberation," they risked losing the hearts and minds of South Africa's blacks to Russia, Biko laid down his demands:

"America must therefore re-examine her policy towards South Africa drastically...."

"America must insist on South Africa recognizing the need for legitimate non-government-initiated platforms like the Black People's convention...."

"America must call for the release of political prisoners and banned people like Nelson Mandela, Robert Sobukwe, Steve Biko, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Barney Pityana and the integration of these people in the political process that shall shape things to come."

—"American Policy towards Azania" (December 1976), Biko, *op. cit.*

Biko's appeals went unanswered, for the world's leading imperialist power is hardly more "progressive" than the South African apartheid regime. The butchers of Hiroshima and My Lai, the murderers of George Jackson and Fred Hampton, the massacrers of Attica—the U.S. imperialists will never lift a finger for the liberation of the black masses.

Biko's strategy to pressure "democratic" U.S. imperialism to withdraw its economic support to South Africa was picked up by the American proponents of "divestment." Taking Carter's "human rights" babble for good coin, the divestment forces were encouraged by some bourgeois liberals' desire to pressure their junior partners in Pretoria to make a few cosmetic reforms through trade and investment sanctions. Begging university trustees to dump all or part of their South Africa-related investments replaced militant anti-apartheid demonstrations on U.S.

campuses. Ironically, the "divestment movement" ostentatiously boycotted SYL-initiated protests at the time of Biko's brutal murder: only a year later did divestment coalitions latch onto candle-lit "commemorations" of Biko.

Whether or not a couple colleges sell their Xerox holdings—divestment is an empty moralist gimmick, American capitalism has substantial investments in South Africa. The U.S. imperialists know that any significant opening toward democratic rights for blacks would lay the basis for great social struggles that could go beyond the bounds of capitalism. (They are concerned with the dangerous intransigence of the apartheid regime for precisely that reason.) The U.S. ruling class is no more opposed to apartheid than the Nationalist Party—just more able to mouth off about "human rights."

For a South African Trotskyist Party!

Despite their tremendous courage and determination in the face of savage repression, the young followers of Steve Biko and his Black Consciousness movement face a dead end. Spontaneous urban rebellion, "race pride" or futile attempts at terrorism are incapable of winning victory against a powerful state and technologically advanced oppressor caste armed to the teeth.

One year after 13-year-old Hector Peterson was the first to die in the streets of Soweto the international Spartacist tendency wrote:

"Neither the 'black consciousness' student movement nor the traditional nationalist leaders can show the way forward to the Soweto protestors. The liberation of the oppressed non-white masses of South Africa awaits the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard party rooted in the black and 'Coloured' (mixed-race) proletariat. Such a party will centrally pose the struggle for democratic demands—abolition of the pass laws and all racist legislation, end of job reservations, equal pay at the highest levels, full trade-union and political rights for blacks, destruction of the Bantustan system, redistribution of land and a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage—aimed at destroying the apartheid police-state regimentation which sharply impedes the mobilization of the oppressed blacks. It must be stressed that these democratic demands can be won only through the organization of the powerful working class around the struggle for its own class rule."

—"Soweto Bleeds," *Workers Vanguard* No. 164, 1 July 1977

Through its massive superexploitation of black labor, white South African capitalism has created a powerful enemy within its own vitals. Under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party, a mass black labor movement will be the gravedigger of apartheid. ■

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McNamara Protest...

(continued from page 1)

they made it clear from the very beginning that they wanted nothing more militant than a vigil.

The liberals went into a tizzy when the announcement of the award was made. But what they were fretting about was that it might "tarnish" the "image" of U of C. When 280 faculty members "dissociated" themselves from the award because it brought "politics" to the University, the May 22 Committee chirped in that the award was a "violation of the integrity of the University of Chicago."

What claptrap! Started up with the profits extorted by John D. Rockefeller, presided over by Hanna Gray, who smashed a 1977 campus workers strike at Yale, and once home to outright collaborators with the Chilean junta, Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger (see "SYL Campaigns Against Chilean Junta's Collaborators," *Young Spartacus* No. 37, November 1975)—the U of C is already "political" and has about as much integrity as Bert Lance. Just what do the liberals expect from one of the most elite private universities whose very job is to train the next generation of imperialist ideologues, capitalist administrators and "public servants"?

A planning meeting on May 15 drew 175 people reflecting real outrage on the campus, especially among undergraduates. The core of the May 22 Committee leadership—a clique of former antiwar activists turned grad students and professors who had met in secrecy earlier—succeeded in voting down the SYL's proposal for a united-front committee open to all organizations and individuals who agreed with the slogans "No Award to Imperialist Butcher!" and "Keep McNamara Off Campus!" To suggest that McNamara should be run off campus was totally anathema to these people. In fact, the Committee was so worried about "tarnishing" their "image" that they even voted down a vague proposal that called for "civil disobedience" at the award dinner.

Joining the liberals in rejecting the SYL's strategy were supporters of several left organizations, among them the Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB), the ex-Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the New American Movement (NAM) and the miniscule International Socialist Organization. NAM and the RCYB were rewarded for their services and were allowed to share the platform at a planned teach-in. The YSA, which had maintained a conspicuous absence from earlier planning meetings, arrived on the scene just in time to argue against the SYL having the right to speak. Instead, they wanted to hear... Eugene McCarthy! While the fake-lefts did their best to out-liberal the liberals, the SYL refused to endorse the bureaucratic, weak-kneed Committee and set about organizing a militant contingent for the demonstration.

The activities on May 22 began with an "honor the dead" picnic on the quadrangles, complete with protest songs. Dave Dellinger (remember him?) extended his "turn the other cheek" philosophy to include McNamara, saying that he shouldn't be punished for his crimes! He then denounced the SYL's slogan of shipping him to Vietnam to be tried by his victims. Marshall Sahlins—a former antiwar activist—suggested that "next time" the protest movement should drape itself in the "stars and stripes" instead of burning it, as if the American flag could be something other than the symbol of the most brutal imperialist power.

After several hours of nostalgic left-liberal dribble which drove most of the students away in sheer boredom, an

SYL speaker finally got to the floor to cut through the "movement is not dead" rhetoric:

"Unlike what many of the liberals have been saying, McNamara's crime is not that he helped deceive the public about a 'mistake' of the U.S. government. The war in Vietnam was no mistake, but part of U.S. imperialism's drive world wide. McNamara's crimes are those of a mass murderer.

"During the Vietnam war the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League recognized that there was a class war going on in Indochina and we took a firm stand for the military victory of the NLF/DRV. We called for labor strikes against the war and we said 'All Indochina Must Go Communist'....



Rene Burri/Magnum

For seven years McNamara (right) directed U.S. mass murder in Indochina.

Our program was in direct counterposition to the reformists of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party who sought to limit the movement to peace crawls and tie it to the Democratic Party—the party of McNamara and the war. The liberals and reformists have continued this policy today in their plans for tonight's demonstration....

"The Maoists of the RSB and RCYB who today protest McNamara felt fine when Nixon sipped tea with Mao Tsetung in Peking while U.S. bombers rained death and destruction over Hanoi and Haiphong. Now the Chinese deformed workers state plays the role of cat's paw for U.S. imperialism with its invasion of Vietnam in a not-so-veiled attack against the Soviet Union—the main military/industrial powerhouse of the deformed and degenerated workers states.

"While the Maoists grovel in their alliance with U.S. imperialism and the RCYB lines up with imperialism's propaganda offensive against the Soviet Union, the SL/SYL defends all the deformed workers states against imperialism and struggles for a workers political revolution from Moscow to Peking to Hanoi to overthrow the counterrevolutionary bureaucracies.

"The SYL is organizing the only contingent in the demonstration which will raise revolutionary politics. This award is an atrocity and McNamara should be kept off campus!"

Just one month after the SYL spokesman asserted that the U.S. invasion of Vietnam was "no mistake," the Carter administration called for military intervention to suppress a popular revolution against a hated rightist dictatorship. At the U.S. colonial bureau, the Organization of American States, Cyrus Vance proposed a "peace-keeping" force to prevent the Nicaragua rebels from overthrowing the Somoza dynasty.

If the day of speeches was frustrating for militant students, the evening's events must have been more so. While McNamara was being whisked into a side entrance by the cops, the protesters were being kept across the street by the May 22 Committee marshals. The only interesting speech that came booming from the Committee's soundtruck was given by Revolutionary Communist Party honcho Clark Kissinger—interesting because it was nuts: "This is the night of the living dead," he raved, "you know that you can't deal with a vampire with just a cross, you deal with him with a stake through the heart!"

Despite the predominant liberal politics, the crowd was in a militant mood. When the Chicago cops stepped in to put out a burning effigy of McNamara, the SYL's chant of "Cops Off Campus" was enthusiastically taken up. The chants of the militant SYL contingent also provided the only alternative to the insipid "McNamara, We Will Not Forget" moral witness politics of the rally organizers. "International Understanding the U of C Way—Butcher 'Honored' by Strike-Breaker Gray!"; "World Bank, CIA: Backers of Videla and Pinochet!" and "No to the Draft and Imperialist Slaughter! Capitalism Wants Us for Cannon Fodder!"

demonstrators remained and the rally continued.

Both at the rally and at a heavily attended meeting that night the SYL exposed the Committee's despicable attempt to distance itself from those arrested, and proposed that a united-front defense demonstration be held. Despite the desire of many of those present to protest the arrests, the motion failed—largely due to the arguments of a number of defendants that the arrests themselves had made the "point" and to the fact that the RCYB preferred to stick with the liberals and thus sabotage its own defense!

In the absence of effective, militant protests, the Chicago courts were able to place 24 of those arrested under one-year "court supervision," which means that if any are arrested again within a year they will face the charges of disorderly conduct. The alleged pie thrower still faces a count of battery on a policeman. These attacks must not go unchallenged! Ten years ago, as soon as widespread student protest died down, the U of C administration expelled 42 students and suspended 120 others. The threat of reprisals still remains.

For a meeting called on May 29 the SYL distributed a leaflet entitled "Drop the Charges! For Militant Protest!"

"The question is on everyone's lips. Were the events of May 22nd a victory or a defeat, and for whom?... The SYL says that it was significant and important that 1500 people were drawn from the apolitical mire of the 'me-decade' to protest the award to imperialist butcher McNamara. However, it is no victory that McNamara did receive the award and that 25 people were arrested."

This analysis was clearly shared by many of the frustrated demonstrators. The meeting, called to form a new "progressive" organization voted to hear SI Central Committee member Tweet Carter. As a former regional organizer for SDS she noted that even at its worst, SDS was far to the left of the May 22 Committee and its "left" pals.

As the SYL leaflet explained: "There has been a lot of talk about bringing back the student movement of the New Left and creating a new student coalition to deal with the various 'issues.' Don't repeat the mistakes of the sixties! The reason that SDS and the New Left fell apart was because it did not have a leadership with a revolutionary working-class program which could guide the movement beyond student-power illusions and sectoralist politics. As a result, many students got channelled into the Democratic Party reformist politics of McGovern or became disillusioned with politics entirely. The Revolutionary Marxist Caucus, the precursor of the SYL, fought for a working-class perspective within SDS, winning over militants to Trotskyism. What is needed now is not another grab-bag liberal coalition like the May 22 Committee under another name, but a party of professional revolutionaries committed to a socialist future.

"The Spartacist League and its youth group, the SYL, are fighting to build a Trotskyist vanguard party. Such a party would mobilize the labor movement to fight for the establishment of a workers government which would expropriate the capitalists and run society for the working people. Join the SYL!"

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echoed off the walls of Hutchinson Commons as McNamara was wine and dined.

...But the Protesters Did

As the evening wore on the crowd began to dwindle away until only one third of the demonstrators were left. In an unsuccessful attempt to intercept McNamara's departure, several hundred protesters broke away and sat down on University Avenue for a "teach-in." As the cops moved in the one in charge got a pie thrown into his face and twenty-five protesters were hauled off to a waiting paddy wagon including a Vietnam veteran dragged off in his wheelchair.

Quickly 200 angry demonstrators marched to Hanna Gray's house where an SYL spokesman demanded that the charges against those arrested be immediately dropped, that there be no administration reprisals and that the cops get off campus. True to form, though, most of the May 22 steering committee members boycotted this rally.

While the 25 were being booked and fingerprinted it turned out that the Committee was busily debating the wording of a statement dissociating it from the sit-in! Some Committee members spoke against bailing out Kissinger and another RCYBer, baiting them for "violence-mongering." It was only after an angry SYLer intervened to condemn this crass anti-communism, to point out that it was the cops who were responsible for any "violence" and to demand that all those arrested be defended that the Committee relented and voted to bail out all the arrestees.

The day after the arrests, however, the wretched Committee made it clear that accolades from Hanna Gray meant more to them than defense of the arrested protesters. After refusing to endorse a rally hastily called by the RCYB, the Committee sent its water-boy, a YSAer, to read an "official" statement. Applauding the participants who had "rigorously observed the policy of the peaceful and legal discussion and demonstration decided upon by the Committee and its marshals," the YSAer then shamelessly called upon all those present to disperse! The YSAer could only look on in dismay as 150

UFW...

(continued from page 3)

contributed to the UFW strike fund, he proposed that ILWU members be sent to the fields to aid UFW pickets and that the ILWU refuse to handle scab produce. And on February 21 in Imperial Valley we saw the entire valley shut down by 2,000 pickets in a roving car caravan. Not one scab worked that day because the pickets drove them out! Instead of such militant tactics, you call on the INS to 'do its job' and turn over six-page lists to help them."

Chavez' only response was to charge that the SYL "didn't know what it was talking about." But others were also disgusted by Chavez' appeals to *la migrá*, and SYLer José Silva did not allow the UFW bureaucrat to get off the hook:

"So you defend yourself by saying that we don't know anything about the UFW. Well we know that you've been calling on the INS to deport the 'illegal aliens' being used as scabs. At the National Press Club you lambasted the INS for its failure to carry out your instructions. This criminal policy feeds directly into the current chauvinist hysteria against the undocumented workers! We believe that in order to win the strike, scabberding must be stopped. Militant defense of the picket lines is the answer to scabbing and not reliance on the racist INS. Is there any difference in your attitude toward the 'illegal aliens' and that of [INS head] Leonel Castillo? I see none!"

Chavez Wags, the Left Tails

The SYL has been alone among leftist youth organizations to demonstrate more than nominal support for the UFW strike. A six-campus speaking tour organized by the SYL brought vivid eyewitness accounts of the picket line battles to students throughout the state. In Santa Cruz more than 30 people, including 4 UFW members, attended an SYL forum prompting a debate on Chavez' role and strike strategy during the discussion period (see *Young Spartacus* No. 72, April

1979). The SYL also initiated a united-front support rally at UCLA on February 28 and participated in a May 4 rally and march in Santa Cruz.

In that Santa Cruz demonstration the difference between abject kowtowing to Chavez and a revolutionary strategy was starkly counterposed. While MEChA members and the Labor Support Group (a local reformist outfit) carried signs indicating their total support to Chavez' policies, the SYL raised the demands: "Break with the Democrats—For a workers party to fight for a workers government! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers! Unions—don't handle scab produce!" Labor Support Group members wanted to prove their loyalty to Chavez' betrayals so much that they actually attempted to drown out the SYL's chants of "Huelga Si, Migra No" with choruses of "Chavez Si, Chiquita No." But by the time the march ended UFW honcho Dolores Huerta felt so pressured by the SYL's and others' anti-*migra* sentiment to declare to the crowd that "We'll call on the INS to take them [undocumented workers] out of the fields" only after other means have been tried!

MEChA, the largest Chicano student organization in the U.S., has a firm policy of uncritical support for the Chavez leadership in the UFW. As petty-bourgeois nationalists—overwhelmingly aspiring lawyers, doctors, businessmen and professors—MEChA's leaders idolize the most popular and influential Chicano in the U.S. while they demonstrate no real concern for the most oppressed and exploited Mexican and Chicano workers. In fact, MEChA supports Chavez' despicable calls on the INS to deport undocumented workers! Backing Chavez to the hilt, the UCLA MEChA chapter chose to boycott the SYL-initiated UFW support rally claiming they were "too busy with *La Raza* week" to stand up for the embattled strikers.

And when Chavez came under fire from the SYL in May, the response of the Chicano nationalists was to rush to the defense of their hero and pull the plug on the microphone, denouncing the SYL as disrupters.

"Chavez Si, Migra Si"—that's where MEChA's nationalism leads. For Chicano activists in MEChA who seek to win liberation, it is only the road taken by ex-MEChA members in Santa Cruz that offers a way out: they left the swamp of petty-bourgeois nationalism for the class-struggle politics of the SYL.

El Malcriado



Thugs menace farm workers.

(see "SYL Wins Young Chicano Militants," *YSp* No. 73, May 1979).

The reformist left has hardly been any better than MEChA as they continue to support Chavez' policies, as they have from the very beginning. Both the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in their minimal coverage have had not one word to say about Chavez' efforts to sabotage the strike. The SWP, which for months has been waging a just campaign to save Mexican socialist Héctor Marroquín from deportation to the torture-chamber prisons of the López Portillo regime, has been criminally silent about Chavez' attempts to have thousands of undocumented workers deported.

The Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party and Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, who used to offer their services to Chavez as goons to beat up *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* salesmen, have been exhibiting symptoms of schizophrenia ever since the "gang of four" was purged and they discovered that the Chinese motherland was "on the capitalist road." Perhaps this explains why their monthly magazine offers tepid criticism of

Chavez while their newspaper, (occasionally distributed to UFW members) simply praises the strike. Meanwhile, the Peking-loyal toadies of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) tags right along with Chavez as they hail the Chiquita banana boycott as a qualitative extension of the strike!

Class Struggle Can Win!

The rank and file of the UFW has no need for "leftists" who simply serve as cheerleaders for Chavez. What they need is the truth: Chavez is a bureaucrat whose reliance on the workers' class enemies in the Democratic Party means the potential destruction of the UFW. It is the program like that of the Militant Caucus of the United Auto Workers that points the way for class-conscious farm workers.

When Chavez came to address UAW Local 1364 in Fremont, California on June 3 to appeal for financial support and to push his boycott strategy, the Militant Caucus, which is politically supported by the Spartacist League/SYL, distributed a leaflet which took on Chavez' collaboration with the INS:

"The hated INS... is all too willing to harass and deport undocumented workers—only they go after union members, not scabs! 'La Migra' has a long history of union-busting and terrorizing raids on California warehouses, factories and fields. In response to a proposed INS 'census' in San Jose in 1975, our own UAW passed a motion initiated by Militant Caucus members that condemned the phony census and raids. Our local is on record for supporting full citizenship rights for foreign workers."

The leaflet spoke to the most pressing issues of the strike:

"The UFW needs help from other unions, not only cash donations, but most importantly by 'hot carguing' or refusing to handle scab produce. Stop scab produce from reaching the supermarkets! Appeal to California labor unions to send busloads of volunteers to build mass pickets in Salinas and elsewhere—chase out the scabs and shut down all the lettuce fields!"

The UFW *can* win—but not with Chavez and his cronies' policies. Mass picket lines are needed to defend UFW members from INS harassment and to stop grower/cop scabberding. Organizing drives on both sides of the border are needed to cut off the flow of scabs and to build the union. Every grower must be shut down to maximize the impact of the strike. Most importantly the UFW should turn not to Washington or Sacramento but to the labor movement for support. Along with militants in the ILWU and the UAW the SYL demands: Avenge the murder of Rufino Contreras! For labor solidarity with the UFW—Hot cargo scab goods! Victory to the farm workers strike! ■

Draft...

(continued from page 4)

working-class youth who have been drafted. The predecessors of the Spartacus Youth League intervened in the antiwar movement with the position that while radicals should never volunteer for the bourgeois army, if they were drafted—despite their known antiwar sentiments—they should go. Agitating against the war among GIs was the proper role for radical draftees. And supporters of our tendency who were drafted did just that, including the publication of an antiwar, class-struggle newsletter, *GI Voice*.

Down With the Bourgeois Army!

Unlike the pacifists and "anti-authoritarians," we took a side in the Vietnam war—for the defeat of the U.S. imperialists and the South Vietnamese puppets. It is precisely because of our commitment to working-class internationalism and the overthrow of capitalism that we oppose the draft—and all of the forms of American militarism: the volunteer army, ROTC, West Point.

From the railroad strikes of 1877 to the Little Steel strikes in 1937 to the 1970 postal workers strike, the armed forces have shot and beaten picketers, busted up workers' meetings and dispersed their demonstrations. From East St. Louis in 1917 to Detroit fifty years later the army has been called in to crush black revolts. The American military has intervened in defense of U.S. capitalism's interests dozens of times all over the world from Cuba and the Philippines in 1898 to Nicaragua in the 1920s to Lebanon, 1958 and Santo Domingo, 1965. The army is the heart and soul of the state, it is the guarantor of the bourgeoisie's rule. Volunteer or drafted, there can be no such thing as a "good," capitalist American army.

For Marxists, this is ABC. But there are some left groups that deny that the

American army and capitalist state are the enemies of the oppressed both in the U.S. and throughout the world. The fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) demanded in 1974 that the same troops that burned and pillaged Vietnam be sent to Boston to "defend" black school children during the busing crisis. Logically, the SWP should be for a bigger and better army (perhaps through a draft?), an army all the more able to "defend" black people under racist attack.

Mao's heirs in the Forbidden Palace, in line with China's alliance with U.S. imperialism, have stridently supported the strengthening of NATO to stop the "Russian polar bear." Their sycophants in the U.S., like the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), could very well someday turn out to be in favor of the draft. After all, a stronger NATO needs more troops! By siding with their own imperialist government against the degenerated workers state of the USSR, there is nothing to stop the Maoists from lining up behind the U.S. in a war.

And, just as in Vietnam, it will be primarily young people who are packed into the boats and planes and sent to die for the greater glory of the U.S. capitalists. The draft may not be here yet, but as long as the bourgeoisie continues to rule, the spectre of war remains. As we wrote last March when China's invasion of Vietnam raised the immediate possibility of a direct military confrontation between U.S. imperialism and the USSR:

"The imperialist rulers remain dedicated to overturning the social revolutions which have driven them from more than one third of the globe. This means war of one kind or another....

"Now once again the new alignments for a coming global war are ominously being sketched out on the horizon. The task of Marxists is not to hide this terrible reality but to tell the simple truth: *only workers revolution will prevent nuclear annihilation.*"

—"China Get Out!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 226, 2 March

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Iran...

(continued from page 12)

and swear fealty to the "Islamic Revolution"! Afraid of incurring the wrath of Khomeini and his mullahs they have preferred to rely on telegrams from prominent individuals, "private" picket lines and appeals to the mullahs' government—the very government which is attacking the HKS. They are stabbing their own comrades in the back!

The Australian SWP voted *against* the SL/ANZ motions and they abandoned their own picket line in Sydney on June 11 rather than march with the SL. In the San Francisco Bay Area the American SWP flatly rejected an SL/U.S. proposal for a united-front demonstration, and they boycotted our June 22 picket line outside the Iranian consulate. That same day a 50-man goon squad of SWPers pushed and shoved a large SL contingent away from their "private" and unpublicized demonstration in New York City. The Spartacist supporters, refusing to allow the cause of the imperiled leftists to be left at the mercy of the SWP's criminal tactics, set up a picket line across the street chanting "Don't split defense of Iranian left!" and "Women in veils, workers in jails—Stop Khomeini's attacks!" "No asylum for the shah!" and "Down with Khomeini—For workers revolution!"

Not content to merely split the defense of their own co-thinkers, the ex-Trotskyist SWP has launched a scandalous slander campaign against the iSt. Accusing the SL of "disruption," "provocative action" and with being "counterrevolutionary," they unabashedly lie that "The SL openly states that Iran was better off under the butcher shah" (*Intercontinental Press/Imprecor*, 2 July). The SWP sounds very much like it is borrowing the slogan of the Muslim fanatics: "Marxists are agents of the shah!" And the SWP's charges do not differ in quality from those of the Healyite provocateurs for Libya's Qaddafi who slander the HKS as "having contacts with a network of United States agents operating in Iran" (*News Line*, 11 June)!

It is the SWP's support of the mullah-led revolution that leads them into such lies. From the very beginning they sought to deny the reality of the Iranian events. At first they tried to claim that the reactionary mullahs were not central to the movement that toppled the shah. The SWP's David Frankel wrote: "Since large sections of the Iranian population are still swayed by Islamic ideology, the mullahs had considerable influence. But what is decisive is the direction that things are moving in, and the overall significance of the mass protests. . . . [E]ven where its influence is greatest, the Muslim leadership does not control the movement in Iran" (*Militant*, 3 November 1978). Now their HKS comrades are getting a first class lesson in "what direction things are moving in" as these "unimportant" Muslim reactionaries arrest and imprison them!

Soon, however, the SWP began to hail Khomeini as a "progressive" and an "anti-imperialist." They celebrated "Victory in Iran!" when the mullahs ousted the shah, advising that "Iranian masses show the way for workers around the world" (*Militant*, 23 February). When the SL headlined "Mullahs Win" and raised the slogan "For workers revolution to overthrow Khomeini" the SWP leapt to the defense of the new regime, attacking the Trotskyist analysis of the SL as "... a clear echo of imperialist propaganda against the Iranian workers and peasants, propaganda that has centered on portraying their revolution as a step backward" (*Militant*, 6 July).

The SWP actually thought that the coming to power of the mullahs would open up one big, happy national discussion in its dreamed-of constituent assembly on what kind of government should be established after the shah was toppled. Their deeply ingrained, willful opportunism and thorough-going social-democratic cretinism blinds them to the simple truth: Khomeini doesn't think that there are "good" Marxists like the SWP and "bad" Marxists like the SL/SYL, or that leftists are just people with different ideas—he thinks communists are "demons" and are to be wiped off the face of the earth! Khomeini wants to destroy anyone who even speaks of a "democratic" instead of an "Islamic" republic (*New York Times*, 25 May)! The SWP's pleading to the mullahs is the bleating of the lamb being led to the slaughter, but it is the HKS supporters who will pay for this suicidal idiocy.

The SWP's craven attempts to curry favor with the potential executioner of their own comrades comes after years in which the SWP distinguished itself by its cowardly, spineless approach to the Iranian class struggle. While the shah was savagely suppressing strikes, hunting down leftist guerrillas and torturing student militants, the SWP's pet creation was the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI)—a committee which threatened to haul Iranian leftist opponents into U.S. courts and which dismissed defense of the "royal" murderer's left-wing opponents as subordinate to the question of what poetry was considered printable in Iran.

These sniveling social democrats even had the temerity to publicly polemicize against the call to smash the shah's dictatorship as being mere "wishful thinking" (see "Down With the Shah—SWP Says No," *WV* No. 191, 3 February 1978). Their studied refusal to raise any slogan demanding the overthrow of the shah and their boycott of demonstrations organized by the Iranian Students Association hit paydirt when the U.S.' former top cop, Ramsey Clark, became a backer of CAIFI. Now the SWP hopes to hit it big by refusing to call for the overthrow of the theocratic Iranian state and by denouncing the Trotskyist program as "counter-revolutionary." So worried that they might be tainted with anything more

Golestan/Time



Teheran women protest Khomeini's imposition of the veil; "feminist" SWP called him "progressive."



Spineless SWP sidesteps defense of guerrillaist Fedayeen.

militant than humble appeals to the mullahs, the SWP has even practically ignored the defense of the guerrillaist Fedayeen.

Down with Khomeini! Workers to Power!

The HKS itself tragically follows in the SWP's political wake. In the 22 June *Militant*, for example, an HKS supporter attempts to alibi the Imam's Committees: "It was the ex-SAVAK agents in the committee and not the group as a whole that were responsible for the harassment. . . ." When a member of the Revolutionary Council was assassinated by the shadowy "Forghan Fighters" the HKS rushed a message of condolence into print. As tens of thousands of Islamic fanatics marched through the streets chanting "Death, death, death to the Communists!" and "I will kill, kill, kill those who killed my brother," the HKS said, "The terrorist attack on Ayatollah Motahari was a counter-revolutionary act . . . we deplore the assassination of Ayatollah Motahari and express our sorrow at his death."

The international Spartacist tendency sheds no tears for the shah's torturers who are lined up before a firing squad or for the Muslim reactionaries who seek to drown the struggles of women, workers, leftists and national minorities

in blood. It is not to the mullahs that we look, but to the Iranian working class:

"Those who have supported and continue to support the 'anti-imperialist' ayatollah's revolution will become its victims unless they break from this dangerous policy and organize a broad united-front defense based on the social power of the working class. The growing discontent of the oil workers provides the objective basis for this policy. Their months of militant strikes were decisive in bringing down the shah. They fought the shah's torture regime as they now fight the Muslim army of Khomeini for the rights that are still denied them, for equality and economic survival."

—*WV* No. 233, 8 June

The working class *has* shown the way in Iran with a strike by oil workers who sat in at the oil company offices in Ahwaz demanding the release of two of their leaders, jailed along with 20 steel worker militants and the HKS supporters. The possibility of building a united, working-class defense of the victims of Islamic reaction is clear. What is lacking is the *political* courage to do so. While the SWP gambles with the lives of their Iranian comrades on the munificence of ayatollahs, the iSt fights for a united-front of all left, working-class and secular-democratic forces for defense against Khomeini. For a life without the shah and the mullahs! Workers must rule in Iran! ■

"The mullahs understand that they are in a struggle for power. The shah and the generals understand it. And so has the international Spartacist tendency which has raised as a condensed expression of proletarian independence in a struggle for power the slogan, 'Down with the Shah—Down with the Mullahs!' We say 'Workers Must Rule,' not Islamic fundamentalists or jet-setting monarchs. It is an obvious slogan. . . .

"It is excruciating that none of the leftist groups in Iran are presenting this fundamental truth and absolutely vital program to the students, the oil workers and others who have been caught up in the religious-led opposition in the hope of escaping from the unrelieved terror of the shah's rule. Not since Portugal has there been a more agonizing example of the crisis of revolutionary leadership. . . .

"In this vacuum of revolutionary leadership, even a small propaganda group might gain influence and grow rapidly if it could stand up to the pressure of the popular religious movement. But it would take some of the stuff of the 1914 Bolsheviks who were stoned by the Vyborg workers for their antiwar agitation. Three years later they had transformed this district into a revolutionary bastion because of their courage. It is downright criminal that none of the leftist groups will tell their own members or supporters the truth that is looming up ominously in front of their noses, namely that this movement is reactionary and a threat to anyone labeled a leftist or a communist. It is a question of life or death."

—"Iran Showdown," *Workers Vanguard* No. 224, 2 February 1979

Young Spartacus

SWP Bows to Khomeini, Sabotages Defense

Free Jailed Iranian Leftists!

David Burnett/Contact

"Revolutionists were with Khomeini and this revolution.... To say that the new regime now is just as reactionary as the shah—I don't know what world you live in. That's counterrevolutionary."

—SWP national secretary
Barry Sheppard at a March 4
New York forum.

"The Spartacist League will be defending your own comrades in Iran when they face the bloodbath that the 'Islamic Republic' will institute against them."

—SL/SYL supporter in answer
to Barry Sheppard.



And you think Khomeini is running a democratic regime, SWP?

The blood-drenched Peacock Throne has given way to the "Sword of Islam"—but it is no less reactionary. Hundreds of Kurds, Arabs and Turkomans have been mowed down—by the same elite military units who fought for the shah a few months ago. Squads of Muslim fanatics have attacked meetings and demonstrations for women's rights, while Khomeini attempts to reimpose the veil. Homosexuals are executed in the streets; unmarried couples are dragged from their cars, flogged and forcibly wed by Islamic zealots manning checkpoints.

You can't legally buy a drink in Iran, you can't go swimming at a beach with members of the opposite sex, you can't see anything but religious movies. The radio blares out endless streams of preaching, the TV is censored, liberal newspapers are closed down. Like Catholic Ireland or Zionist Israel, Iran is a theocratic state that will allow nothing that violates whatever is held holy by the ruling class. In Persia, where there has never been a bourgeois-democratic revolution, the social mores of the seventh century prevail.

The torture-chic shah had his SAVAK to murder leftists, striking workers and separatist nationalists. Several hundred of these U.S.-backed torturers have been tried and executed—too bad all of them haven't been seized by popular tribunals and given the fate they so richly deserve! Instead of SAVAK, today there are the "Imam's Committees," the *komitehs*. Once again there is vicious repression, but now in the service of the victorious mullahs.

No less than the shah, the mullahs have declared war against the left, hampered only by their not yet completely consolidated military power. A new law proclaimed by the secretive "Revolutionary Council" threatens death to those who engage in "counter-revolutionary" acts: inciting workers to strike, holding political demonstrations, fighting for the rights of the national minorities who make up three fifths of the population. Most ominously the law cites the *shah's* penal code to ban

"collectivist activities" (*Economist*, 30 June).

Free the Fedayeen, HKS!

In the wake of the Iranian government's bloody suppression of the recent struggle for Arab rights in southern Khuzistan province, hundreds of militants have been arrested in sweeping raids. Arab nationalists, oil and steel workers and leftists have been locked away. In April, 70 members of the left-wing Fedayeen were arrested in Teheran, while 41 were imprisoned in Abadan. Just at the end of May the Imam's Committees struck at the ostensibly Trotskyist Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party).

Two HKS supporters were dragged from their cars in the oil city of Ahwaz

and mercilessly beaten on May 30. The next day, in response to HKS protests, armed komiteh goons arrested seven more HKS members in their homes, confiscating their books, newspapers and even their clothes, whisking them away to an undisclosed location. Khuzistan's military governor labeled the militants "masked leftists in the service of international imperialism," and proceeded to arrest yet another seven HKSers.

The lives of these militants are in grave danger. Denounced as "demons," "satanic elements" and "worse than the shah" by Khomeini, leftists may be targeted once again for torture and execution. The left and international labor movement must come to their defense! End the attacks against the left,

national minorities, trade unionists, women and democratic-secular organizations!

The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) quickly responded to the latest wave of arrests. The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) succeeded in getting two motions passed at Melbourne's LaTrobe University at a student General Meeting. The first called for a national campaign of demonstrations by the Australian Union of Students to "free the endangered militants of the Fedayeen and HKS" while the second endorsed the strategy of workers revolution to overthrow the theocratic Islamic Republic (see "Save Jailed Iranian SWPers!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 233, 8 June).

The Trotskyist League of Canada sent a protest telegram to the Iranian embassy in Ottawa and the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF) presented a message of solidarity to an overflow meeting of 5,000 in Paris sponsored by France's three largest ostensibly Trotskyist groups. The LTF also participated in a united-front picket line outside the Iranian embassy. In Britain the Spartacist League marched in a united-front demonstration sponsored by the International Marxist Group of the United Secretariat (USec) to which the HKS is affiliated.

"Your Comrades May Die, But You Defend Khomeini!"

While the iSt has sought to build the widest non-sectarian defense effort and has joined with USec supporters in Europe to protest the arrests, the USec's American and Australian co-thinkers have sabotaged their own comrades' defense! In a revolting display of sectarianism and political stupidity, the American and Australian SWPs have excluded from their defense activities all those who do not bow down

TELEGRAM

Iranian Embassy
3005 Massachusetts Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20008

The Partisan Defense Committee demands the immediate release of 9 members of the Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party of Iran), members of the Fedayeen and all others jailed as a result of the bloody suppression of the struggle for the national rights of Arabs, Turkomans and Kurds. The HKS members are being held without formal charges, many of them incommunicado in secret locations, by the Imam's Committee. The prisons and terror tactics made infamous by the butcher shah are brutally employed in a continuing assault upon the democratic rights of Iranians by the Khomeini/Bazargan regime. These arrests expose even more clearly before the workers of the world the reactionary purpose of their "Islamic Republic."

In the interest of the international proletariat we defend all the victims of Khomeini's repression against the left and labor movement, national minorities, women and homosexuals and democratic-secular organizations. Hands off the left. End the attacks against women and minorities.

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 99, Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
27 June 1979

continued on page 11