

Young Spartacus

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Fight the Anti-Soviet Draft!



Capitalist Politicians Push War With Russia

Jimmy Carter stepped up his anti-Soviet war drive on July 2 by signing the proclamation reinstating draft registration. Despite Carter's contention that registration will not lead to a draft, it's obvious that the new law ominously points to just one thing: imperialist war. Ever since the inauguration of his hypocritical anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade three years ago, Carter has fervently tried to whip up a chauvinist war fever against the Soviet Union. Then, following the wave of patriotism

that swept the country after the Iran embassy seizure, Carter upped the ante, exploiting the USSR's intervention in Afghanistan to turn his anti-Soviet demagoguery into explicit war threats.

But the patriotic frenzy dissipated, and as soon as Carter announced his registration campaign, a vocal anti-draft movement emerged on college campuses. The opposition that erupted was largely a testament to the deep-seated distrust of the Carter administration. Carter says he doesn't want a

"peacetime" draft, but he's been lying to the public all along—why should anyone believe he only wants to *register* youth for the draft? So the draft is an unpopular issue (particularly during an election year), and Carter has been forced to reinstate it in stages, with registration as the first step. Everyone from Maoists like Mike Klonsky, Bob Avakian and Jerry Tung and social democrats like Michael Harrington to capitalist politicians Reagan, Kennedy and Anderson and Democratic Party

Klansman Metzger all agree that war with Russia is OK. *Their* only quibble is over which rulers they want in the White House to pursue war with Russia!

Anti-draft coalitions have only opposed the narrow issue of conscription, actively *limiting* any protests to pacifist moral witness and *ducking* the central question of Carter's maniacal war drive against the Soviet Union. But it is crucial that these new activists not simply address their opposition to conscription; they must also fight against U.S. imperialism and its anti-Soviet war drive. Especially now that some four million 19- and 20-year-old males are being forced to sign up to murder and die for U.S. imperialism, the question is posed pointblank: which side are you on in Carter's war threats against the Soviet Union?

Fight the Draft! Fight Carter's Anti-Soviet War Drive!

While a number of anti-draft coalitions across the country have conceded that the government is stepping up its war preparations, they have refused to admit that the guns are aimed directly at the USSR, and have ignored the horrors and crimes of U.S. imperialism. During the Vietnam War, radical students genuinely *hated* what the U.S.

continued on page 4

District Court Rules Draft Discriminatory; But Registration Proceeds

A suit against the draft begun in the Vietnam War years which contested men-only conscription on constitutional grounds has been revived. On Friday, July 18 a federal district court in Philadelphia ruled that registration must include women in order to comply with the fifth amendment's guarantee of "equal protection under the law." The court also placed a permanent restraining order on government plans for registering all men born in 1960 and 1961. Declaring that their registration is "an important element in the package of our national responses to Soviet aggression" (*New York Times*, 18 July) the Justice Department quickly filed an appeal with the Supreme Court.

Supreme Court justice Brennan ruled in favor of the government. One of the more strict civil libertarians on the Supreme Court, Brennan nonetheless put the expediency of U.S. militarism above considerations of equal rights under the law and upheld registration on grounds of not disrupting the U.S. war drive against Russia. Registration is now reinstated as mandatory and under these conditions we would oppose individual resistance. Obviously, were registration later to become voluntary, we would advocate refusal to register.

Communists place no confidence whatsoever in legal battles in bourgeois courts to either stop the anti-

continued on page 6

SF Anti-Nazi Rally

CP/YWLL Sabotage Foiled

Many of the recruits to the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), youth group of the Moscow-loyal Communist Party (CP), have taken the CP's claim of being the "best fighters against fascism" as good coin. But when a 1,200-strong demonstration organized by the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) prevented the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco, the CP attempted to sabotage that mass action.

After the demonstration April 19 the CP's policy was subjected to a barrage of criticism from within and outside the CP/YWLL. Thus the CP's West Coast People's World (10 May) was forced to reprint a scornful letter from William Mandel, a leftist commentator on KPFA radio, Soviet affairs analyst and participant in the ANCAN demonstration. Mandel wrote "...the PW prefers to know nothing, see nothing, and hear nothing when something happens under leadership it disapproves of." He pointed out that the rally's "organizers were Trotskyists, and that apparently made it a non-event to the PW. Such a news policy deserves no respect."

The CP's role in refusing to join with and actually attempting to sabotage the ANCAN mobilization, in a small way mirrors the history of Stalinism in paralyzing the workers movement before fascist terrorists. ANCAN showed that Trotskyists and class-conscious unionists took the lead in mobilizing a significant section of the labor movement to keep the Nazi scum in their holes. We reprint below a leaflet distributed by the Spartacist League to recent CP election rallies for their vice-presidential candidate Angela Davis. We hope YWLLers will see that the Trotsky-Stalin debate was no literary exercise—what is at stake remains the socialist future of mankind!

On April 19, a 1,200-strong labor-centered rally in the SF Civic Center stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday. Official contingents from CWA (phone workers) Locals 9410 and 9415 (SF and Oakland) joined Machinists, postal workers, bus drivers, Teamsters and ILWUers. Altogether, demonstrators from 22 unions gathered with residents of the Mission, the Castro, the Fillmore, the Jewish neighborhoods to proclaim "SF is a Labor Town, Not a Nazi Town!"

So where was the Communist Party (CP) on April 19? Why didn't it endorse or participate in this powerful rally against fascism? The Trotskyists of the



Workers Vanguard Photo

What the Communist Party couldn't stop.

Spartacist League were among the initiators of the rally and we worked day and night to build it. But the CP, which talks "anti-fascist unity" 365 days a year, refused to unite with the power of labor to stop the fascists on this day, when it was for real.

YWLLers—many of whom must be dismayed at the CP's political cowardice—have been telling us that it was a "mistake" that the CP didn't show up. A member of the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression told us there was sentiment in the local branch to participate but "the word came from New York not to." The CP's boycott was no "mistake." The truth is that the CP leadership fought tooth and nail for weeks against the April 19 mobilization.

The April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) demonstration grew out of a struggle inside the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) following the vicious Greensboro, North Carolina Klan/Nazi murders last November. Early on some 500 members of the ILWU signed petitions demanding their union call a Bay Area-wide anti-KKK rally calling for jailing of the killer Klansmen, for union-organized labor/black/Latino defense guards against fascist violence and to uphold the right of armed self-defense. But the leadership of the traditionally "progressive" ILWU, in

particular the well-known CP spokesmen in the union, tried to channel sentiment into support for a separate rally on April 5, explicitly in order to avoid a confrontation with the Nazis on the 19th: As it turned out, only about 200 people showed up April 5 and fully one-half of these supported ANCAN.

In order to sabotage the April 19 rally, CPers in the ILWU and elsewhere viciously slandered those who were organizing to stop the Nazis. "They're violent, they want a confrontation with the police, stay away!" wailed the CPers trying to discourage participation. But it didn't work. Dozens of local labor leaders and unions, community and gay groups endorsed and helped build the rally. Leaflets and posters kept going into the workplaces and communities. Finally a worried Police Chief Con Murphy announced that he could not protect the Nazis from the large number of anticipated counterdemonstrators and that the Nazis had decided to stay home that day and not protest the revocation of their permit.

Even after the successful anti-fascist organizing and rally, the CP lies about what happened. The 26 April *People's World* sports an article claiming that it was pressure on the Board of Supervisors which backed the Nazis down... without even mentioning ANCAN's demonstration and well-advertised plans to stop the Nazis on the 19th. The Board of Supes passed a cheap resolution condemning the fascists only after the Nazis had already announced they were not going to rally on the 19th and Police Chief Murphy was more honest than the CP as to why the Nazis turned tail: "The groups that were going to counterdemonstrate, there could be upwards of 5,000 people there and that would severely limit our ability to provide him [Nazi leader Allen Vincent] with protection."

So why did the CP oppose and boycott the April 19 anti-Nazi rally? Because labor demonstrating to stop the Nazis meant bucking City Hall, which had given the Nazis a permit in the first place and promised them police protection. Bucking City Hall meant conflict with the Democratic Party mayor and Supervisors. And for over 45 years, the CP has been tied to the Democrats' cart. Oh, sure, the CP occasionally runs its own election campaigns as a token show of independence. But there are always

plenty of Democrats around that the CP ends up supporting.

According to the CP, you see, it is necessary to unite with the progressive, democratic peace-loving sector of the bourgeoisie to defeat the reactionary fascist war-mongering sector. This has been the CP's excuse ever since FDR for tying labor to the Democratic Party and heading off movements toward a workers party. So again in SF on April 19. Since Dianne Feinstein, the Democratic Party, the cops and the bourgeoisie as a whole didn't want to stop the Nazi terrorists, neither did the CP. In the face of a genuine, powerful labor-based united front mass action against the fascists, the CP became the biggest splitters of all.

If you are interested in a program and a party to fight fascism, you will not find it in the CP. If you are interested in linking the anti-fascist struggle to the overall fight against capitalist exploitation, racial and sexual oppression, if you are for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against Carter's threats of World War III, you will find answers in the Spartacist League.

Keep the Nazi/KKK killers on the run! Fight for a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government! Join the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League! ■

Young Spartacus

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Young Spartacus

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Summer 1980

No. 83

Carter's Secret Service Apologizes

Jane Wins!

When Jimmy Carter's Secret Service dragged elected delegate Jane Margolis from the floor of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) convention on July 16, 1979 they probably thought it was business as usual. Their boss was in the dregs of the opinion polls and didn't need a union militant protesting his strikebreaking, anti-labor policies.

But they were wrong. Instead Margolis and the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), the only class-struggle opposition in the CWA, decided to fight. They formed the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) and began raising funds for a court suit the government would surely make as difficult and expensive as possible. Centered in the labor movement, UCASSH gathered endorsements and support from throughout the country. Trade unionists and other defenders of democratic rights saw that the stakes were high. This case was challenging in principle the government's "right" to intervene in internal union affairs to squelch political opposition.

The climax to this precedent-setting suit came on June 17 at a press conference in Los Angeles at the CWA national convention. There Margolis,



Workers Vanguard Photo

Margolis, with attorney Charles Garry (left) and Gary Adkins, CWA Local 11502 Executive Board member, announcing victory.

along with her attorney Charles Garry, announced that the Secret Service had written a formal apology "regretting" the "incident" and an out-of-court cash settlement of \$3,500 had been won. Margolis then donated this sum to the union's treasury earmarked for the national strike fund. "Since the rights of

the entire union were attacked," she explained, "I am turning the entire check from the Secret Service over to the CWA Defense Fund."

UCASSH was assisted in raising over \$14,000 by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization in ac-

cordance with the views of the Spartacist League. Activists of the Spartacus Youth League played a significant role in publicizing and gathering support for Margolis vs. the Secret Service on college campuses nationwide. Endorsements came from Boston University professor Howard Zinn, victimized by BU's crazed "ayatollah" Silber for respecting picket lines of striking campus workers, and from San Francisco State's John Beecher, fired in 1950 for refusing to sign a McCarthy-era loyalty oath. Many campus endorsers rightly saw the Margolis case as a fight to defend not only the rights of labor, but also the democratic right of free speech from government intimidation and harassment.

Margolis' victory proves that you can stand up to government "dirty tricks" and win. But it took hard work, thousands of dollars and a strategy committed to getting the weight of organized labor behind it. Besides being a personally satisfying victory for Margolis, the successful outcome of this case sets a precedent which subsequent victims of similar government harassment can cite in their defense. This is a victory that all of labor and its supporters can truly savor. ■

Executions by Stoning

Mullah Bloodlust

On July 3, four Iranians were executed for sexual "crimes" by order of Iran's reactionary Islamic courts. The four were covered in "hoods of the dead," buried up to their chests and then stoned to death!

"The executions, the first in memory to have been carried out in Iran under the old traditions of Islam, took place in the southern town of Kerman. A court official, reached by telephone, said it took the condemned prisoners—two men and two women—15 minutes to die.

"The official Pars press agency said the revolutionary court had convicted the women of prostitution and of deceiving young girls, one man of homosexuality and adultery and the other of raping a 10-year-old girl. Stones ranging in size from walnuts to apples had been gathered for the executions, and five people joined in hurling them at each of the condemned."

—New York Times, 4 July 1980

slavement of women, annihilation of sexual "deviants" and subjugation of the working masses to Islamic discipline.

The massive demonstrations on July 4 continued the all-out war on the left. It was prepared by an escalation of attacks against leftists: executions, pitched battles that successfully purged the Fedayeen from their university strongholds and the fascistic assault on a mass Mujahedeen rally in June in which one radical was killed and dozens were beaten and shot.

These attacks threaten the Iranian left with virtual annihilation. But every left group in Iran has effectively placed its own head in the "hood of the dead" by

giving political support to Khomeini against the shah. Continuing the groveling support for Khomeini *à la* the HKE (Socialist Workers Party, co-thinkers of the American SWP) will not stop the murderous attacks by the fascist mobs of the Muslim *hezbollahi*. Only the Trotskyist international Spartacist tendency insisted that Khomeini was by no means a progressive alternative to the shah. The liberation of the oppressed masses of Iran requires a workers and peasants government which expropriates the economic and social power of the mullahs as well as the capitalists.

The Kerman stoning is an outrageous act of barbarism! To begin with,

prostitution, adultery and homosexuality are *not* crimes (and we are not at all inclined to believe Islamic Inquisitors when they charge "rape")! The mullahs have dredged up this gruesome medieval punishment for no other purpose than to cow a populace that balks at living under the dictatorship of the Koran. But Khomeini's crimes against the Kurds and other minorities, women and the workers and peasants of Iran already rival those of the shah. We look forward to the day when the "imam" and his ilk—along with the hundreds of the shah's henchmen who have been restored to power under Khomeini—are brought to justice by a workers and peasants government. ■

Letter

Chicago, Illinois
30 June 1980

To the editor:

Our defeat of the University of Illinois (Chicago Circle) administration's "outside agitator" ban (see "Outside Agitator" Ban Defeated," *YSp* No. 82) has gained significant publicity on campus. The *Illini* has carried two front page articles on the victory. In a 28 April editorial, "Can We Trust the University to Uphold our Basic Rights?," which condemned the UICC administration for threatening an *Illini* photographer at a demonstration, the *Illini* writes:

"We do not unfairly question the intent of the University. The Spartacus Youth League and Sandor John serve as just one more example of the administration

mentality here. The probable granting of preliminary injunction indicates the administration's obvious disregard for the Bill of Rights."

Unfortunately, the 19 May *Illini* article, "SYL Wins Suit versus UICC in Freedom of Speech Battle," misquotes a Partisan Defense Committee spokesman and implies that the decision applies only to the distribution of literature. But the decision clearly states that non-students have the same rights as students to distribute *and to sell* literature.

The article on the case in *YSp* No. 82 quoted part of an intimidating sign pictured in the *Illini* of 10 October 1978, which read, "Anyone other than students, university personnel or invited guests are trespassers on state supported

property." The *Illini* article noted that these signs were on every door of every building. Subsequently this ungrammatical formulation was corrected to read, "Except During Ordinary Business Hours, Entry Is Prohibited to Persons Other Than University Students, Faculty, Staff and Guests. Violators Will Be Subject to Prosecution." The administration demanded bond, not to cover the costs of removing these stickers (which remain up) as the article stated, but to cover the supposed "increased costs" of cleanup associated with allowing non-students to distribute and sell literature. Even the judge saw this contention as ludicrous.

Comradely,
Marcia B.

On the day following this act of seventh century barbarism, over one-half million Khomeini supporters marched through Teheran demanding *more* severity from the "revolutionary" courts! Coupled with this was the demand for the dissolution of the radical Muslim Mujahedeen and the leftist Fedayeen.

Iran is quickly moving toward a showdown between the increasingly powerful mullah-led forces and the left. Since coming to power a year and a half ago, the Shi'ite theocracy has sought to liquidate the left groups that suicidally supported it against the shah. The mullahs have viewed the presence of armed radicals as a roadblock to the implementation of their program of great Persian chauvinism, virtual en-

War...

(continued from page 1)

government stood for both at home and abroad. They wanted to see the U.S. defeated in Vietnam. But many of today's activists base their opposition to the draft only on a white middle-class resentment that the draft would be "inconvenient" or would "interfere" with their lives. They've reclaimed the American flag—the blood-drenched symbol of U.S. imperialism—as their own, and many have become the country's biggest patriots (such as Chicago's PARD—Patriots Against Registration and the Draft—which advocates "A Volunteer Army for the Land of the Free"). Having been infected by Carter's "human rights" demagoguery, they ally themselves with rampant anti-Sovietism while believing that the moral fiber of the American government can be restored...if only they could convince Carter that war—and the draft—is "unnecessary."

The Spartacus Youth League protests the most recent escalation of Carter's anti-Soviet draft—the July 2 proclamation for registration—and at the same time has intervened to cut through the pacifism and liberal moralism of the anti-draft movement. Our slogans "No to the Draft! No to Carter's Anti-Soviet War Drive! Hail Red Army! Smash Islamic Reaction!" and our militant contingents at rallies have created quite a stir among those who want to limit rallies to "anti-draft only" protests. This was clear at a recent meeting of Chicago's Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), from which the SYL has been bureaucratically excluded. CARD's "evaluation" of their June 21 demonstration was filled with distress over the fact that the SYL had the largest and most visible contingent at the rally. So shaken is CARD by the very presence of the SYL that immediately upon hearing that one visitor was from Champaign-Urbana (where the SYL just recruited some anti-draft activists) one CARD member lamented, "I heard you had some trouble with the Sparts down there."

What is CARD Afraid Of?

It's not the size of our contingents that frighten the CARD chapters—it's our politics. Unlike CARD, our opposition to the draft is based not on a moral repugnance to the draft, but on our commitment to working-class internationalism and the defeat of U.S. imperialism. We are opposed to all forms of U.S. militarism, including both the draft and volunteer army. We recognize that U.S. imperialism's missiles are pointed at the USSR degenerated workers state. Carter's war-mongering simply expresses the desperate desire of the bourgeoisie to recapture the one-sixth of the world that was ripped out of the clutches of the capitalists in October 1917. The planned economy and collectivized property of the USSR are a great historic advance for mankind in spite of

the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state and the absence of workers democracy. It is the duty of Marxists to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution against U.S. imperialism. The Red Army is fighting against the U.S.-backed, reactionary Islamic forces, who maintain that it is their "right" to sell women just as they do goats, to shoot schoolteachers who teach women how to read and to keep the country entrapped in its wretched backwardness. So we stand proudly on the side of the Red Army in Afghanistan and hail its intervention as one of the

politicians who represent the interests of the bourgeoisie (along with their cheerleaders in DSOC) will support every move he makes toward war with the USSR. Bourgeois politicians have no business on the platforms of anti-draft rallies.

For Revolutionary Opposition to Carter's War Drive

Now that registration has become reality, anti-draft activists are faced with the question of how to continue their protests. Demonstrations in front of post office registration sites have taken

activists have concocted a plan to mail grape-filled envelopes in order to sabotage post office machinery. And the Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft is encouraging its members to buy a lot of one-cent stamps (!) and is planning to "harass" postal workers on the job (we wonder if they're also teaching dogs to bite mailmen?). When these infantile antics are directed against the bourgeois state, we will defend them. But if such protests are directed against postal workers, it is the postal workers we will defend, and we will not use pacifist tactics.

Other plans of draft protest center on the strategy of civil disobedience and individual draft resistance. While we would certainly defend against the state those arrested or attacked as a result of their protests, such strategies are just moralistic actions which do not confront the real issue of the U.S. government's war drive. The simple fact is that in the absence of proletarian revolution the bourgeoisie will have its war—and somebody's got to go and fight it. Individual draft resistance has never been an option for poor and working-class youth who could not hide out at college with a 2-S deferment. Also, as we wrote in 1967, "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 contact with the youth who fight the wars" (*Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968). When drafted, militants should go into the army to agitate among the GIs, organizing the mass of working-class draftees against the war.

No amount of individual resistance or civil disobedience schemes is going to stop the draft. As the Madison SYL wrote in a recent leaflet:

"Only socialist revolution can end the capitalists' drive toward war and nuclear holocaust. Liberal pacifism, reliance on the Democratic Party and phony disarmament schemes are an obstacle to this struggle. Trotsky once wrote: 'But the entire question revolves around who will disarm whom. The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers. But to disarm the bourgeoisie the workers must arm themselves.' 'An effective fight against this war mobilization means joining an organization which can take that fight to the working class. As the youth section of the Spartacist League the SYL is dedicated to that task. Join a revolutionary youth organization. Join the SYL!'"



Right: CARD-sponsored Uncle Sam "anti"-draft poster. Above: SYL contingent in Chicago anti-draft demo.



few progressive acts of current Soviet foreign policy.

No Bourgeois Politicians at Anti-Draft Rallies!

By ignoring that draft registration is only doing the preparatory paper work for the U.S. war drive against Russia which threatens the world with nuclear annihilation, the anti-draft movement is doomed to impotence. Without a clear program to fight U.S. imperialism, the anti-draft movement has been dominated by those opposed only to a "peace-time" draft and has found itself lining up with the capitalist politicians who are pushing for war with Russia as much as Carter/Brzezinski. A large number of anti-draft youth have rejected Carter, but still have illusions in loser Teddy Kennedy and Republican-turned-"maverick"-independent John Anderson as "peace" or "anti-draft" candidates—but there is not a dime's worth of difference between war-mongering Carter and Kennedy, Anderson or Reagan! Every one of them agree that the United States must be armed to the teeth against the Soviets. And each of them, given the chance, would willingly waste an entire generation as cannon fodder in order to recapture the Soviet Union for capitalist exploitation.

But the ostensible leftist leadership of the anti-draft protests have actually encouraged support to the Democratic Party, agreeing to muzzle their politics so as not to alienate any liberals. Even now that the Democrats are supporting draft registration (with those politicians opposed to Carter's act offering only slight tactical differences), the pro-Kennedy Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), in a recent leaflet, urges draft-age youth to "write your congressman and President Carter" to "question the intelligence of this decision and the reasons for it." Who are they kidding? Carter knows exactly what he's doing. And the

place. But beyond that, anti-draft coalitions have been steeped in confusion, unable to point the way forward, and are counseling everything from individual resistance and civil disobedience to crazed stunts and harassment of postal workers.

Some of the antics planned are just plain stupid, such as Chicago CARD's advocating that men over 20 register in order to "confuse" the government's computers. In New York, anti-draft

Madison: No Reprisals Against TAA Strike Supporters!

In a display of almost unbelievable arrogance, the University of Wisconsin (UW) administration is threatening 35 students with probation, suspension or expulsion for their role in support of the Teaching Assistants Association (TAA) strike. Not content with the defeat of the 34-day teaching assistants strike, Chancellor Irving Shain (who aspires to the reputation of Boston University's hated president John Silber) and the UW administration want to make an example of anyone who rocks the boat in their petty fiefdom. The charges range from "parking violations" and "obstruction of university business" (i.e., preventing scab deliveries) and "violation of private property" (i.e., participation in strike support actions like building sit-ins) to "disorderly conduct."

In addition, a number of members of the United Faculty (the professors union) were threatened with "removal from their posts" and docked \$200 to \$1,500 for not teaching their classes on campus during the strike. Like the students facing victimization, they are being charged with being on the workers' side of the class line against Shain's union-busting. For that we commend

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Cops charge TAA strikers.

them. Down with the administration witchhunt at UW! Drop the charges! No reprisals! ■

SPARTACIST 4¢

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Hail Red Army!

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SWP on the Draft:

"Consistent Democracy" Equals Race, Sex, Class Privilege

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has long maintained that consistent striving for all good things leads automatically to socialist consciousness. Thus, "consistent feminism leads to socialism," as does consistent black nationalism, consistent gay liberation, consistent environmentalism or even consistent empiricism.

So what happens when consistent adaptation to the trade-union bureaucracy gets in the way of consistent gay liberation? Or when consistent adulation of the "anti-imperialist" Iranian ayatollahs gets in the way of consistent feminism? Then it's time to reexamine the "conjuncture" in order to figure out where the "main chance" really lies.

The student anti-draft protests have confronted the SWP with another conflict of appetites. On the one hand the SWP tails the pervasive social-patriotism and social-pacifism of the anti-draft movement exemplified by Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). On the other hand it seeks to position itself slightly to Harrington's left, invoking references to its long-since-abandoned Trotskyist past—now honored in the breach—to differentiate itself from DSOC.

The SWP's David Frankel tackles this difficult project in a two-part article in *Intercontinental Press* (7 and 14 April) entitled "Conscription and Socialist Policy Toward Capitalist Militarism." In the process he demonstrates the pro-imperialist and anti-democratic consequences of the SWP's consistent opportunism.

"Consistent Democracy" Turns into Its Opposite

Mobilizing the working class for socialist revolution requires class unity through consistent struggle against all forms of special oppression. As we wrote earlier: "... we oppose all forms of class, race and sex discrimination. For that reason, if there is to be a draft, students, women and homosexuals should not be exempted" (*Young Spartacus*, February 1980).

In contrast, the SWP's Frankel writes: "Rather than demanding the elimination of specific exemptions, socialists should demand their extension to everybody." On the surface, Frankel just sounds like some Sunday-

speechifying utopian socialist who wants to abolish capitalist militarism by stages (in other words, by legislation to reform away various aspects of capitalism until none are left). But actually Frankel is carefully ducking a key class question which could—and ought to!—split the present pro-imperialist anti-draft movement: student deferments. In disproportionate numbers black and working-class youth are drafted to serve as imperialism's cannon fodder while white middle-class youth enjoy the privilege of draft exemptions. And the SWP is refusing to oppose this! In order to maximize SWP appeal to petty-bourgeois youth who are presently protesting draft registration, the SWP

NOW in assuring everyone that the ERA is not intended to have any "radical" implications. So during a draft everybody will be learning to shoot except women, if Phyllis Schlafly, the Klan and the SWP have their way. Between its support to the veil in Iran and its line on the draft, the SWP's credentials as "consistent feminists" have gotten pretty "veiled," to say the least.

"Down With the Draft"? Sure—How's About "Down With the War!"

The SWP cannot really address NOW's position on the draft because it

Ronald Haeblerle



SWP's social-patriotic pacifism can't stop the My Lais of the future.

will build an anti-draft "movement" predicated on a refusal to struggle against class privilege.

The SWP opposes inclusion of women in draft registration on the same basis. Here of course the SWP becomes rather less consistent than the consistently bourgeois-feminist National Organization for Women (NOW). NOW supports the drafting of women and perceives no contradiction between this bourgeois-democratic demand and its defense of the bourgeois army and the political aims of U.S. imperialism. The reactionary anti-ERA campaigners have from the beginning exploited the bugaboo of women being drafted, of course. So the SWP rushes to outdo

Workers Vanguard Photo

wants to skirt what is really at stake in any struggle against capitalist militarism: the need for class opposition to U.S. imperialism's drive toward war, the ultimate consequences of which are slaughter and holocaust for the working people of the world. Every 19- and 20-year-old knows what draft registration is all about: getting ready for war against Russia. Yet among all the weighty paragraphs that Frankel spends discussing "socialist military policy" down through history, there is not a single reference to the present capitalist war-mongering campaign to "stop Soviet aggression in Afghanistan," much less any lip-service to the Trotskyist policy of unconditional defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism. The SWP stands only quantitatively to the left of DSOC on the key question of the Soviet Union as expressed today over Afghanistan. And that left posture—the SWP's sometime support to the Soviet-backed Afghan regime against the U.S.-backed reactionary Islamic "freedom fighters"—is quickly dumped where it counts, like in the anti-draft movement.

Here is the most that Frankel can bring himself to say about Afghanistan: "But confusion about Afghanistan is mixed with the deep suspicion that the whole story is not being told; that Washington must also have its fingers in the pie; that there is something shady about the Afghan 'rebels'; and that even if Moscow is doing something bad in Afghanistan, it is not the place of the U.S. government to intervene militarily."

What happened to the SWP's earlier grudging admission that the Russians in Afghanistan are fighting for a genuinely

progressive cause? It's gone, replaced by what Maoists used to call the "mass line"—in this case, pro-imperialist liberal isolationism.

Just as the SWP consciously refused to explicitly defend the Vietnamese revolution, hiding instead behind social-patriotic slogans like "Bring Our Boys Home," so today the SWP will not oppose the draft in anti-imperialist, class terms, but only as a matter of abstract, presumably classless democracy. The SWP opposes the "capitalist draft," says Frankel, because it "is a violation of everybody's democratic rights." The SWP aims to be a respectable bedfellow of Michael Harrington, less explicitly anti-Communist of course, but still within the spectrum of loyal opposition to unpopular military adventures of the American ruling class.

Frankel's article still pays lip-service to orthodox opposition to all imperialist military spending. But in its "mass" propaganda, the SWP is busily putting forward slogans such as "Cut the war budget, fund human needs." "Cut" the war budget? When it counts the SWP does not diverge very much from the consistent "State Department socialism" of Harrington and his ilk, all of whom want to "trim the fat" from the "defense" budget in order to more efficiently prepare for war against the Soviet Union. (And after all, the Russians have not heeded the SWP's advice that they should begin unilateral disarmament....)

One More Time—The Russian Question

Indeed, according to the SWP, the U.S. war drive is not aimed at the Soviet Union at all:

"They have tried to obscure this, [SWP presidential candidate Andrew] Pulley said, with arguments that U.S. military might is needed to deter an alleged threat of Soviet aggression, demagogically pointing to the Soviet presence in Afghanistan....

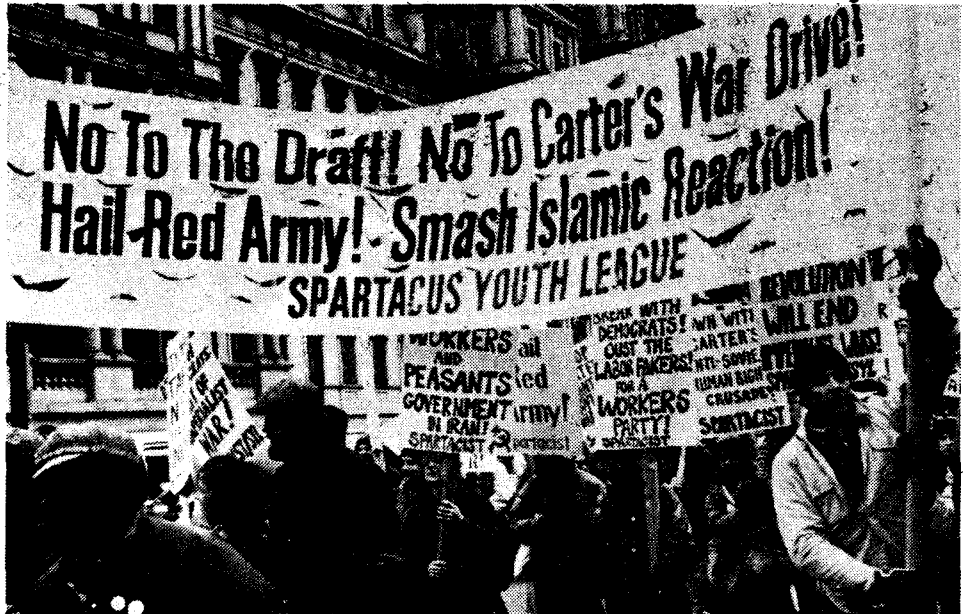
"...The real reason they want a big conscript army is to try to crush revolutionary developments in such countries as Iran, Nicaragua, and now El Salvador."

—*Militant*, 11 July

Does the SWP really believe it is the armed might of Iran, Nicaragua or El Salvador that stands between the U.S. imperialists and their dream of total world domination? Not very likely. But the SWP understands that in the midst of a wave of strident bourgeois anti-Sovietism, one may safely oppose some of imperialism's military adventures (like the Teheran "rescue" fiasco) while maintaining bourgeois respectability, but one who opposes capitalism's vendetta against the Soviet Union runs the risk of being called a communist.

To be sure, the SWP complacently dismisses as ultra-left catastrophism any notion that the imperialist bourgeoisie is seeking to mobilize for a bloody culmination of its anti-Soviet "human rights crusade." Public opinion still reflects the "Vietnam syndrome," these reformists sagely observe, and anyway America no longer enjoys the unquestioned imperialist hegemony which marked the post-World War II Cold War. If only we could share the SWP's confidence in the fundamental reasonableness of the ruling class! The American

continued on page 6



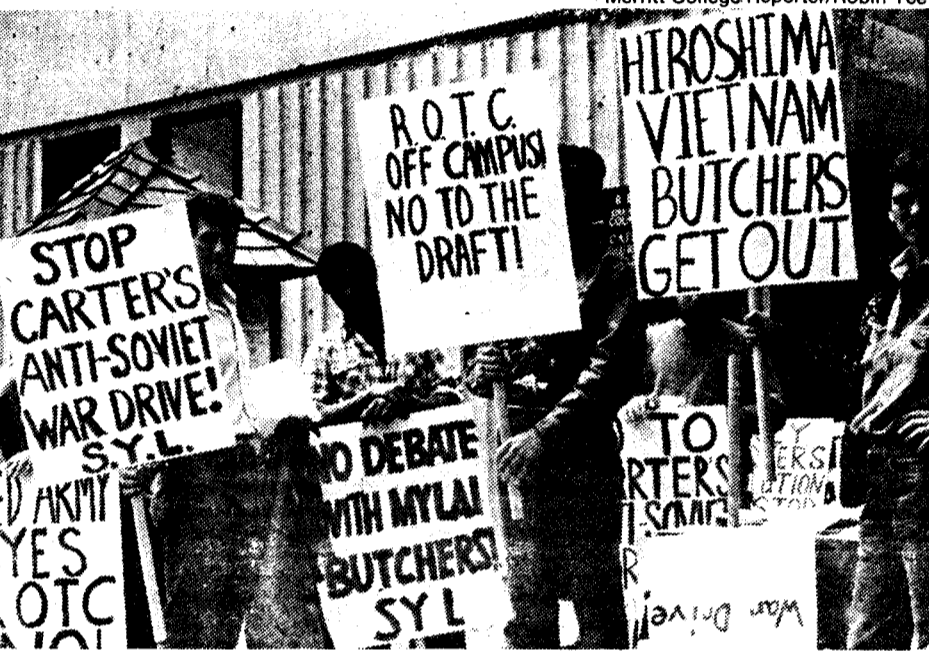
March 22, Washington, D.C.: SYL takes a side.

DRIVE ROTC OFF CAMPUS!

Merritt College

Chants of "Military recruiters off campus! Down with Carter's Cold War drive!" and "Defend the Soviet Union!" greeted the recruiters of U.S. imperialism's armed forces as they descended on Merritt College in Oak-

land last May 14. A spirited, vocal picket line set up by members and supporters of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) made clear that we haven't forgotten the millions of Southeast Asians in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam murdered by the U.S. military, or the atomic genocide at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or any other U.S. military intervention made to make the world safe for imperialism.



Spartacus Youth League protest at Merritt, May 14.

land last May 14. A spirited, vocal picket line set up by members and supporters of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) made clear that we haven't forgotten the millions of Southeast Asians in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam murdered by the U.S. military, or the atomic genocide at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or any other U.S. military intervention made to make the world safe for imperialism.

Another group of students, opposing

only "the deceitful ways" in which the army recruits, attempted to "discredit" these jackals for imperialism with some antic guerrilla theater. Reflecting their pacifist disorientation they joined in with SYL chants of "Recruiters Off Campus," while continuing to defend the "right" of the recruiters to be there. In contrast, the SYL attempted to mobilize students to run the military off campus, something which students did during the Vietnam War. Our opposition to the American military flows from international working-class solidarity, not because army recruiters lie about the glory of a "hitch in the service."

While recruiting the killer elite of the

Merritt College Reporter/Robin Yee

NSA/CIA from the more prestigious universities, the military looks to working-class colleges such as Merritt—and the high schools—for the flesh and blood to be blown apart on the battlefields. It is particularly outrageous that the military recruits by offering jobs to those who see little chance for meaningful employment otherwise, while using these people to prop up the rotting capitalist system which denies them jobs to begin with.

Only the working class has the power to prevent thermonuclear holocaust by disarming the bloodthirsty imperialists and establishing its own rule over society. Students must break from the social-pacifists and fake-leftists and join an organization with a strategy to win. Together with the Spartacist League, the SYL is building the nucleus of the revolutionary vanguard party in this country. Our program is the socialist revolution which, when victorious, will sweep the war-mongers off the face of the earth. ■

UCLA

A mass rally and a militant sit-in took place May 20 at UCLA. One hundred students gathered in Meyerhoff Park to attend a "No draft, no war" rally called by Students Against War and Imperialism (SAWI), Campus Coalition for Peace and Alliance for Survival. The organizers of the rally excluded leftist organizations from the speakers platform and were nervous about marching to the ROTC headquarters afterward. But Spartacus Youth League supporters did not feel constrained by the organizers' simpering liberalism. SYLers carried signs saying "ROTC off campus," "No to the draft," "No to Carter's anti-Soviet war drive" and "Military/spy recruiters off campus." The organizers waited until half the students had left the rally before even discussing the idea of marching to ROTC headquarters at the men's gym, but the students took up the idea eagerly. Along with the SYL contingent and a few supporters of Progressive Labor (PL), the rally moved to the gym, where a spirited sit-in was held.

At the sit-in, SYL members took the lead in discussing the political issues involved in organizing a movement against the draft and were repeatedly applauded for their militancy:

"We are not pacifists... The SYL takes

a side, and during the Vietnam War we stood with the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants who singlehandedly defeated the most murderous imperialist power on the face of the earth... To build an effective anti-draft movement we have to take a side and not repeat the mistakes of the '60s. There's a reason why Carter wants a draft. All the guns of the U.S. Army, which napalmed and carpet-bombed Vietnam, are aimed right now at the Soviet Union... Now we're against the draft, but we say that students *must* go into the army if there is a draft despite our protests, and revolutionaries must fight among the soldiers, not the officers, to turn the guns the other way!"

The sit-in was soon dissolved into a march on a dean's office. Once again it was the SYL which seized the political initiative, circulating a united front proposal around the slogans, "ROTC off campus, No to the draft," in order to lay the basis for more effective actions in the future. All of the approximately 30 students signed the proposal, except for the PLers, who confused some of their own supporters by this sectarianism.

However, it later became clear that SAWI and Alliance for Survival (which wants to *debate* ROTC) are not really serious in their opposition to U.S. imperialism's murderous war machine. Representatives of these two groups showed up at the SYL-initiated united front meeting in an attempt to *block* further militant anti-ROTC protests! "We don't want a rally on Friday if the SYL is there," admitted one of these anti-communists.

The SYL's working-class politics are offensive to the careerist liberals of Santa Monica's Venice Boulevard. They will never live down the fact that it was the SYL which offered a fighting political lead at every point during the May 20 protest, and it was the SYL which held the first anti-draft rally at UCLA, right after Carter's State of the Union speech in January. They will never forget it because we called for *military defense* of the Soviet Union. No to the draft! No to Carter's war drive! Run ROTC off campus! Join the SYL! ■

Registration...

(continued from page 1)

Soviet draft or defend the democratic rights of women. As Trotskyists who militarily defend the Soviet Union we unalterably oppose the draft—not one penny, one man, one woman for the imperialist armed forces!

However, in the event of a draft or registration for the draft we oppose any discrimination in its application. The

armed forces are but a mirror and a concentration of the social oppression and bigotry which exists in society at large. We oppose class- and race-biased student deferments, the exclusion of homosexuals and the Jim Crow barriers which continue to exist within the various military services. We applaud this federal court decision for at least making the record against the discriminatory character of the Vietnam draft and the present anti-Soviet registration. More importantly, if this decision is

subsequently upheld by the full Supreme Court it would disrupt, at least momentarily, American imperialism's mobilization of the populace for war with Russia.

The inclusion of women in the draft will not make the U.S. army one whit more "progressive." Israel drafts women but this in no way attenuates its army as a bloody instrument of Zionist expansionism and national oppression. Further, whatever the ultimate outcome of this particular legal battle, the capitalists are sure to come up with a draft as part of their anti-Soviet war preparations. The liberation of mankind from war and all forms of racial, sexual and national oppression will come about only through the victorious proletarian revolution and the destruction of the rotting capitalist system. ■

SWP...

(continued from page 5)

can bourgeoisie no longer has the economic strength to be the unchallenged "free world policeman," therefore it will not dare to try, right? Wrong. The irrationality of decadent capitalism will find its political expression in new wars for imperialist domination—unless the working class overthrows capitalism and takes state power in its own hands.

It is the perspective of proletarian revolution which the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League seeks to bring to anti-draft militants. The

SWP's capitulation to race, class and sex privilege and its capitulation to imperialist anti-Sovietism stem directly from its rejection of a revolutionary class perspective. In contrast, we communists fight to polarize the present anti-draft ferment around the key class issues which can forge a proletarian, anti-imperialist struggle against capitalist militarism. Down with student deferments—For a proletarian movement against imperialist war! Against all imperialist military adventures! For proletarian opposition to Islamic reaction in Iran and Afghanistan! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan—Extend the social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples! For military defense of the USSR against imperialism! ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

Ann Arbor: SYL, Box 89, Room 4102 Michigan Union, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, or call (313) 994-8051

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Trotskyist League of Canada

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

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

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

Marxist Bulletin

WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

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Workers Vanguard Photo



Bob Mandel, ILWU Local 6 Exec Board member, addresses anti-fascist protesters at Walnut Creek last October. PL/CAR walked into police trap. SL/SYL warned against it.

Joined...

(continued from page 8)

fascists, are examples of the strategy of how to do this.

But PL/InCAR refuses ever to carry out common actions with Trotskyists and other leftists and uses gangsterism as a substitute for politics. PL/InCAR fails to see the class line, unlike the Spartacist League, which defends workers democracy, does not weaken the labor movement with gangsterism and seeks to carry out united-front actions where appropriate. At the same time the SL/SYL always defends its revolutionary line and is not afraid to defend it in political debate. PL is willing to talk to the El Cerrito cross-burning punks but knows only the language of violence against other left organizations.

Jimmy Carter wants everybody to hate Russia. So does PL. PL is so far from Marxism that it says the Soviet Union is "fascist" and "capitalist." Well, listen, Jimmy Carter and Progressive Labor: I don't hate Russia and I believe in the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. The USSR is a degenerated workers state which, like a trade union, must be defended against the capitalists. At the same time, like the union bureaucracy, the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR, China, etc., must be thrown out by the workers. Defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states; proletarian political revolution against the bureaucracy; not "socialism in one country" but world revolution; not popular fronts but workers governments in every country—this is the program of Trotskyism. Down with Stalinist class collaboration! But when the Soviet Union does something good like fight the mullahs in Afghanistan, we say: Hail the Red Army!

**Spartacist League/
Spartacus Youth League
Public Offices**
—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

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

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Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m.
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Chicago, Illinois
Phone: (312) 427-0003

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

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

I now understand why my InCAR study group cannot accept the ideas put forward by *Workers Vanguard*. I am leaving InCAR to act on a revolutionary program and I call on its members to investigate the program of the international Spartacist tendency. Break with PL/InCAR reformism—for a class-struggle fight against racial oppression! Trotskyism is the only road to world workers revolution!

Ann Arbor Clerical Joins SYL

3 July 1980

My first exposure to the SYL was at an anti-draft demonstration at the University of Michigan [Ann Arbor]. There was a lot of racist reaction and a wave of American patriotism ("new right") amongst the students due to the situations in Afghanistan and Iran. Those attitudes, along with the [bourgeois] press' line on "Soviet imperialism" left me quite nauseated. When Irene approached me with *YSp* and *WV* I gladly bought them both. I was

interested in the left groups because I hoped to affiliate with one.

Previous experiences (co-ops, UFW support work, American Indian Movement) and general utopian ideas were making me burnt out and frustrated. I realized there was nothing these single issue, reformist, social-cause clubs could do to change the world. They were politically devoid of a strategy to change what was fundamentally the cause of all the injustice in the world—capitalism. I knew I was a communist and I had to start looking elsewhere.

On investigating the left in Ann Arbor, I began learning the different positions on Khomeini, for example—the YSA's in particular comes to mind. The SL/SYL was the only group to say that Khomeini was no better than the shah and to hail the Red Army in Afghanistan. All along, however, I kept harboring the hope that the fragmented left would all join hands.

Enter the Kent State University CARD Conference. With the ostensibly revolutionary organizations in close view I learned political lesson number one. I was told by SYL comrades that our contingent might be physically excluded from the conference but I did not believe it. Well, the YSA and assorted Maoists did join hands—with the *police*—in order to keep us out. Their political cowardice in dealing with our defense of the Soviet Union and their disgusting act of calling on the state really turned my head around. I have since witnessed the YWLL [Young Workers Liberation League, youth group of the Communist Party] and YAWF [Youth Against War and Fascism, youth group of the Marcyite Workers World Party] try to hide their rotten politics and attempt to censor the SYL. I saw the SL/SYL as the only group capable of providing revolutionary leadership and the only group I could support politically.

The most difficult question for me to overcome was that of the work of the Organizing Committee for Clericals (OCC). Being a clerical on campus with a desire to have a union, I wanted to aid this committee. It seemed that good intentions and the need for a union was reason enough for me to support the OCC.

I learned of the OCC and the Campus

Labor Support Group (CLSG) (both via a leaflet on the women's bathroom floor) about the same time I ran into the SYL. So when I went to a CLSG meeting, the SYL was there to intervene. I learned about the OCC's (aka CLSG, CDU [Clericals for a Democratic Union], RWG [Revolutionary Workers Group]) defense of crossing the picket line [of the Ann Arbor AFSCME strike in 1977]. I heard their justification of it voiced and I read their scabbing document sanctioning this crime. I thought they might not cross the lines again but they still have not repudiated the document. It turns out that the RWG is behind this string of campus labor groups and were behind the

Young Spartacus Photo



Comrade Ruth L. protesting FBI recruiters at Detroit's Wayne State University, May 15.

writing of the document. I have since read some of their slander leaflets against the SYL—their calling the anti-Klan rally in Detroit a fraud for one. I knew I could not support the OCC because of their wanting to organize independently (versus industrial unionism) along with the facts stated above. The OCC is politically controlled by the RWG, which is wrong, and can only mislead the working class. All questions resolved, I was ready to join the SYL.

Ruth L.

"The Best Type of Bolshevik"

We reprint below an appraisal by Leon Trotsky of Yakov Sverdlov, a member of the Bolshevik Central Committee during the October Revolution. Renowned for his outstanding organizational capacities, Sverdlov held the post of Chairman of the All-Union Soviet Executive Committee after the revolution until his death.

The following passage was written in 1927 and is presented here as it appeared in Fourth International, November 1946.

Up to the spring of 1919 the chief organizer of the Party had been Sverdlov. He did not have the name of General Secretary, a name which was then not yet invented, but he was that in reality. Sverdlov died at the age of 34 in March 1919, from the so-called Spanish fever. In the spread of the civil war and the epidemic, mowing people down right and left, the Party hardly realized the weight of this loss. In two funeral speeches Lenin gave an appraisal of Sverdlov which throws a reflected but very clear light also upon his later relations with Stalin. "In the course of our revolution, in its victories," Lenin said, "it fell to Sverdlov to express more fully and more wholly than anybody else the very essence of the proletarian revolution." Sverdlov was "before all and above all an organizer." From a modest underground worker, neither



Yakov Sverdlov, 1885-1919.

theoretician nor writer, there grew up in a short time "an organizer who acquired irreproachable authority, an organizer of the whole Soviet power in Russia, and an organizer of the work of the Party unique in his understanding." Lenin had no taste for the exaggerations of anniversary or funeral panegyrics.

His appraisal of Sverdlov was at the same time a characterization of the task of the organizer: "Only thanks to the fact that we had such an organizer as Sverdlov were we able in war times to work as though we had not one single conflict worth speaking of."

So it was in fact. In conversations with Lenin in those days we remarked more than once, and with ever renewed satisfaction, one of the chief conditions of our success: the unity and solidarity of the governing group. In spite of the dreadful pressure of events and difficulties, the novelty of the problems, and sharp practical disagreements occasionally bursting out, the work proceeded with extraordinary smoothness and friendliness, and without interruptions. With a brief word we would recall episodes of the old revolutions. "No, it is better with us." "This alone guarantees our victory." The solidarity of the center had been prepared by the whole history of Bolshevism, and was kept up by the unquestioned authority of the leaders, and above all of Lenin. But in the inner mechanics of this unexampled unanimity the chief technician had been Sverdlov. The secret of his art was simple: to be guided by the interests of the cause and that only. No one of the Party workers had any fear of intrigues creeping down from the Party staff. The basis of this authority of Sverdlov's was loyalty. ■

Young Spartacus

Black Workers Must Rule!

Smash Apartheid!

Political meetings have been banned in South Africa as the white supremacist government of Prime Minister Pieter Botha fights desperately to contain the raging anti-racist upsurge of the country's vast black and mixed-raced ("coloured") majority. Coloured students initiated the upsurge this spring with a school boycott which, significantly, included blacks in its demands. The boycott centered on the demand for equal education by the apartheid regime which spends \$900 per year on each white student, \$280 per capita on coloureds and a measly \$70 on each black (*New York Times*, 4 May).

After the boycott, demonstrations occurred in every major city, commemorating the fourth anniversary of the Soweto massacre of 600 young protesters by the hired guns of apartheid. Scores of heroic youth were brutally slaughtered and hundreds more injured in this current wave of demonstrations. Then, when one cop was stabbed to death in a baton charge against demonstrators in Cape Town, police were actually instructed to "shoot to kill" and "show no mercy" (UPI, 18 June).

Following the "shoot to kill" order, the United States urged its South African bedfellows to "use restraint" in dealing with the demonstrators. This "restraint" plea by the racist U.S. government is nothing but brazen hypocrisy—especially after the cop riot in Miami!

The powerful black proletariat will be the gravediggers of apartheid. Strikes occurred at over a dozen big factories in June, and the black autoworkers in "Little Detroit," Port Elizabeth, are striking in solidarity with the students and demanding and *winning* higher wages and union rights. But no reforms can possibly pacify the oppressed black masses. Botha, who came to power last



South African students boycotted classes to protest apartheid last April.

year with promises of cosmetic reforms of the apartheid system, today lurches toward naked dictatorship even over the white "liberals." The upper chamber of the South African parliament has been dissolved and a shadowy new "Security Council" with broad powers has been created.

The largely defunct U.S. proponents of "divestment" who pleaded with

strikebreaking multinational corporations to "act morally" and placed their hopes in the deindustrialization of South Africa have never been more irrelevant. The muscle of South Africa's black proletariat has once again proved decisive in the battle to smash apartheid. It is not in Vorster's wretched bantustans but in the industrial centers that the brutal white supremacist regime will

meet its end.

What is needed now in South Africa is a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership among the black proletariat. A black-centered vanguard party is crucial in smashing the apartheid state and fighting for a Socialist Federation of southern Africa. Hail the heroic black and coloured students! The black proletariat is the key to smashing apartheid! ■

Why We Joined the SYL

From PL/CAR to the SYL

Alan K., a high school student in a Bay Area suburb, was attracted to Marxist politics as an answer to the pervasive racism he saw around him. He joined an International Committee Against Racism (InCAR) group composed largely of high school students who saw InCAR as an "action-oriented," militant organization. His letter, printed below, explains how he became disgusted with the reformism of the Progressive Labor Party and its front group, InCAR.

16 February 1980

I hereby resign from the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR),

liberal front group for the Progressive Labor Party (PL), because of my disillusionment with its reformism, adventurism and exclusionist policies. I plan to work with the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), which is a genuine revolutionary organization.

I joined an InCAR study/action group in the spring of 1979, thinking I could learn more about Marxism and put Marxist politics into action this way. While I had been reading the Spartacist League's *Workers Vanguard* for a while, I didn't understand the differences between Stalinism and Trotskyism at that time. I was attracted by InCAR's "militant" image.

But the main "learning" about Marxism in the group came from a PL primer on Marxism-Leninism. This pamphlet mimics the bourgeois view that workers are stupid and must be spoken to like children in a condescending, simplistic way. It comes complete with blanks in the text, with the missing word like "capitalist" or "profit" in the

margin. Instead of a Marxist analysis, PL uses words like "fascist" as an insult, jumping the Klan and the sellout labor leaders together as fascists. Since PL completely writes off the unions, of course they have no strategy for defeating the labor bureaucrats. PL's lack of confidence in the workers is why it doesn't try to mobilize the unions to smash the fascists, but relies only on its own small numbers.

I was also disillusioned by the type of "activism" shown by PL/InCAR like at Walnut Creek. PL had a few dozen of its members try to substitute themselves for the strength of a massive labor/black contingent at the Walnut Creek anti-Nazi rally. There they submitted themselves to cop frisking before entering a trap set by about 400 police and SWAT officers and National Guardsmen who guarded the barbed-wire fence that surrounded them and watched them impotently throw dirt at the fascists. I guess PL really had faith that they could count on the cops not to harm them.

This was a victory for the police and the fascists that all the "militant" talking cannot cover up.

My InCAR group protested a group of teenagers who paraded in KKK robes, carrying a burning cross down an El Cerrito street to a black family's home. But then InCAR had a reconciliation with these racist punks and agreed to stop making such a fuss and to discuss their "differences" peacefully. This was shocking and disgusting to me. Marxists understand that racism is not just a lot of bad ideas.

Racism is a by-product of capitalism and to fight racism and racial oppression we must fight capitalism. Instead of the liberal boycott of McGraw-Hill's racist textbooks we must fight to mobilize the working class against racial oppression, leading to the proletarian revolution. The class-struggle caucuses supported by the SL/SYL inside Bay Area unions, who are now trying to mobilize the unions against the Klan

continued on page 7