

Young Spartacus

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500 at Detroit Labor/Black Rally

Smash the Klan!

DETROIT, November 10—A spirited rally of 500 unionists, blacks and socialists was held in downtown Detroit to protest the brutal Ku Klux Klan murders in Greensboro, North Carolina and show the whole country that the Klan won't ride in the Motor City. Demonstrators gathered in Kennedy Square under a huge banner proclaiming, "Detroit is a Labor/Black Town—Fight Klan Terror." Nearly a third of the predominantly black crowd was from Detroit area plants. Workers came from Ford's River Rouge, Cadillac, Chrysler's Linc Road, Mack Avenue Stamping, Dodge Truck and Dodge Main, as well as nearby steel mills. This was something not seen in years: a labor/black rally to stop the Klan.

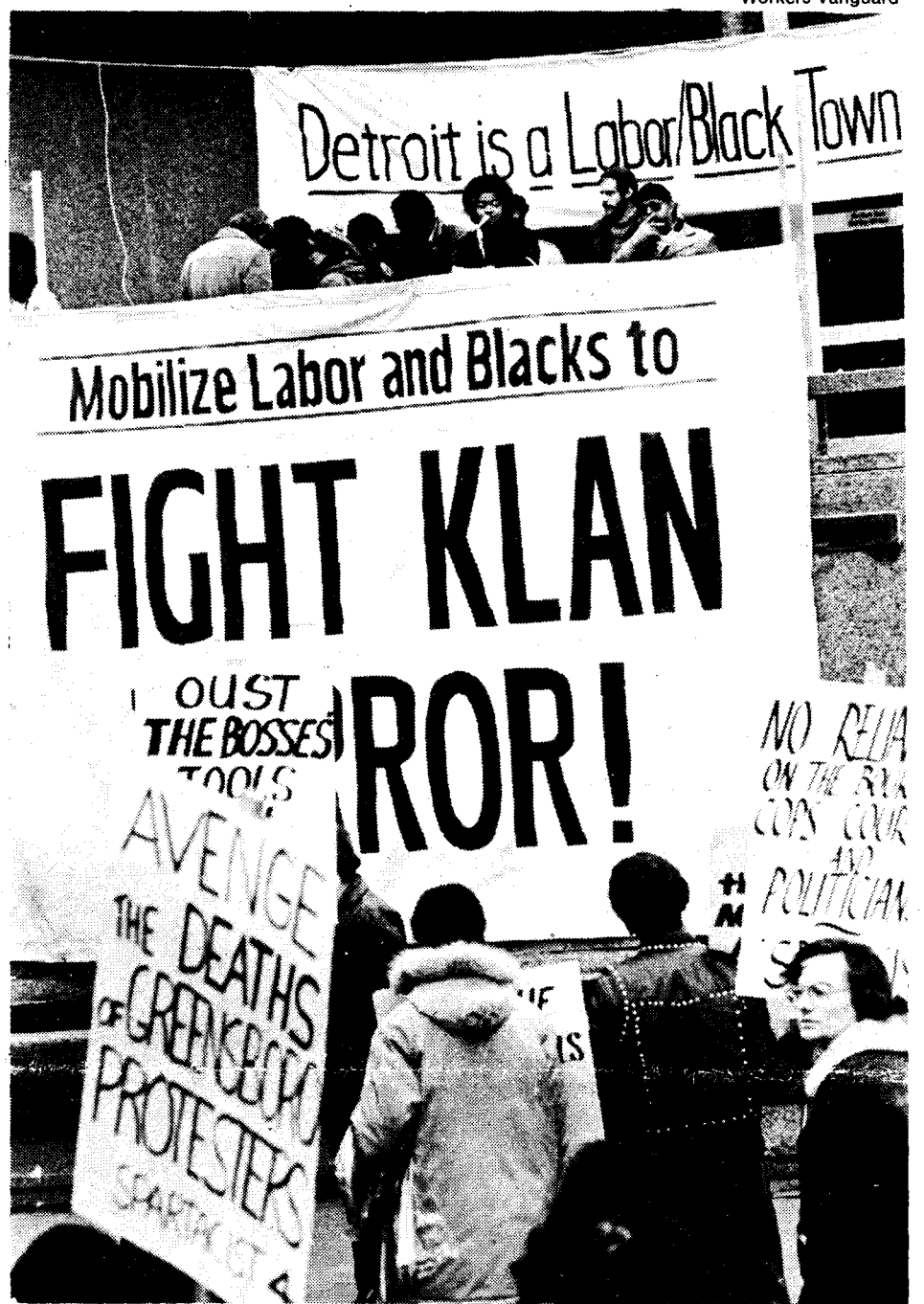
The protest was called in defiance of a ban by liberal black mayor Coleman Young. In the aftermath of the Greensboro killings the Klan announced their intention to march in downtown Detroit, the black industrial heartland of

America! Young made the obscene and outrageous declaration that Klan and anti-Klan demonstrators would be arrested alike. Just like the press and politicians in North Carolina and across the country, Young equated the race-hate killers with their victims and targets.

Insisting that only a mass mobilization of blacks and labor can stop the Klan, the rally was initiated by workers at the giant River Rouge complex and endorsed by dozens of Detroit unionists and black leaders, including: Jackie Jordan, CWA Local 4050; Edith Fox, UAW Local 3; Pete Camarata, Teamsters Local 299; Robert F. Williams, veteran civil rights activist and author of *Negroes with Guns*; Bill Hampton, brother of murdered Chicago Black Panther leader; the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL); and many others.

The days and hours leading up to the rally saw a test of wills between a liberal

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SYL spokesman, Topaz DuBois at Detroit rally.

For Mass Labor/Black Action to Smash the KKK!

Avenge Greensboro!

Don Davis/Jim Stratford



Anti-Klan militant leans over body of fallen comrade in Greensboro.

GREENSBORO, North Carolina—On November 3, carloads of Ku Klux Klansmen replaced their hooded robes with shotguns and semi-automatic rifles as they stormed an anti-Klan rally here, murdering five demonstrators and wounding many others. Over 100 onlookers watched in horror while the Klan carried out an unprecedented assassination attack in broad daylight on an integrated crowd of anti-racist demonstrators.

They drove their cars into the middle of the peaceful rally on their mission of death. Dropping their old tactics of midnight cross burnings, hooded intimidations and terroristic night-riding, the Klan in Greensboro opted for murder—cold-blooded murder. The killers methodically pulled their guns from the trunks of their cars, looking very much like a group of deer hunters on a weekend outing. But then they opened fire, and within minutes, the streets were covered with the blood of the anti-Klan protesters. Killed were five long-time prominent labor and civil rights activ-

ists, supporters of Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO, which recently changed its name to the Communist Workers Party, USA), the sponsor of the rally. The attackers knew what they were doing, were well-organized and made a bloody declaration to their enemies that the KKK is very much alive and deadly.

Two days after the massacre 12 of the murderers were arraigned on multiple counts of murder and conspiracy to commit murder, and two others were charged only with conspiracy. Other than two of those charged, who are members of a Nazi paramilitary storm-trooper group, all the assailants are reportedly members of one of North Carolina's five Klan organizations. As they waited for their hearing to begin, the fascist triggermen sang "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and "Onward Christian Soldiers," obviously feeling that their cold-blooded attack was a victory for their forces. So now the Klan killers are encouraged by the "successful" shoot-

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WSU Demo Hits Recruiters

FBI: Murder, Inc.

On November 5, 35-40 students protested the appearance of FBI recruiters at Wayne State University in Detroit. In the aftermath of Watergate the FBI, exposed as criminals and gangsters, kept a relatively low profile. But under peanut millionaire President "Human Rights" Carter, the G-men are sneaking back to exploit the campuses as recruiting grounds. The demonstration sponsored by the Committee to Keep the FBI Off Campus, a united front initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), seized the opportunity to solidarize with the martyred anti-Klan militants murdered November 3 in Greensboro, North Carolina. Not accidentally, the appearance of FBI, CIA and military recruiters on campus occurs at the same time that there has been an escalation of fascist terror across America. Participants in the demonstration, ranging from SYL student activists to militant Rouge workers, spoke out against FBI minority recruitment schemes as well as

the FBI's probable complicity in the murders of anti-Klan activists. Speakers recalled the FBI's role in the murders of Viola Liuzzo and other civil rights activists, as well as the FBI's active participation in the murderous campaign to wipe out the Black Panther Party.

An April 12 article in the student paper *South End* made it clear why the FBI had targeted WSU: "Special agents Edward Jenkins and Robert E. Lett visited the *South End* to explain agency requirements and restore the FBI's tarnished image." The FBI needs blacks because in deeply racist capitalist America the bourgeois state needs a black cover. According to the March 28 *Detroit Free Press* FBI director William Webster is "alarmed at the agency's lack of effectiveness in minority communities." The FBI's idea of effectiveness was powerfully illustrated by their bloody offensive against the Black Panther Party. In 1969, Black Panthers Fred

Hampton and Mark Clark got the full blast of FBI "effectiveness" when a black FBI agent infiltrated their organization and set them up. In the dead of night the cops kicked their door down and machine-gunned them to death in their beds.

Publicity for the action included a screening of the film "The Murder of Fred Hampton" and interviews on two local radio shows. The united front was endorsed by a number of members of various minority student organizations on campus, as well as Prof. David Herreshoff, a well-known academic Marxist. But much of the so-called left at WSU didn't see fit to endorse or show up at the united front demonstration. Even though members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) initially showed interest in participating, the YSA backed down and was nowhere to be seen during the demonstration. When the SYL went to a meeting of the Student-Faculty Council (S-FC), it was

clear that S-FC head Russ Bellant (a member of Ken Cockere's Detroit Alliance for a Rational Economy [DARE]) had been maneuvering to prevent an SYL presentation on the planned action. An SYL spokesman pointed out that by undermining support and publicity for this demonstration, Bellant was paving the way for the recruitment of the murderers of the next generation of labor and black militants. Enraged, this two-bit student bureaucrat took a vote to expel the SYL from the meeting (which he claimed passed). The SYLers refused to move, and Bellant threatened to call the cops!

At the demonstration site, a small number of supporters of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) stood by explicitly refusing to march, with the excuse that they had more important things to do (like stand on the sidelines and watch)! The demonstrators pointed out that the class

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Northwestern U.

DSOC, "Progressives" Witchhunt SYL

Anti-communism won the day in the Northwestern University Progressive Student Coalition (PSC). By a vote of 32-12 the PSC passed a motion to exclude the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) from its functions, citing our "dehumanizing," "disrespectful," and "destructive" interventions. The PSC motion which carried at the October 31 meeting also falsely charges that the SYL "violated the democratic process" and "instigated a series of libelous personal attacks." Two PSCers walked out with the SYL after the motion was voted and several others followed soon thereafter, disgusted with the proceedings. The PSC motion was masterminded by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) clique in the PSC. Behind the red-scare verbiage and this McCarthy-style purge lies the inability of the aspiring professional red-baiters of DSOC to defend their state-department "socialist" politics against revolutionary Marxism.

The SYL did indeed make life difficult for DSOC within the PSC. We proposed a debate with DSOC which generated considerable interest and support in the group. When UAW

International Rep. Carl Shier, a DSOC member, addressed the PSC, we let it be known that the real day-to-day activity of this "progressive" bureaucrat consisted of breaking wildcat strikes, ramming through the latest sellout auto contract and tying the labor movement to the racist Democratic Party. Some of the members of the PSC agreed with what we had to say. So DSOC wanted us out.

DSOC member and PSC honcho Michael Loftin—prime mover on behalf of the anti-communist purge—struck out several times before he succeeded in making the PSC "safe for democracy." First, he attempted a blanket exclusion of all non-Northwestern students, faculty or staff from the PSC. But that was voted down. Enraged that the SYL was gaining a hearing both on the campus and within the PSC, which he envisioned as his "own" private political sandbox, Loftin saw his chance when the SYL announced plans for a demonstration against Navy recruiters on campus. Off he scurried to Associated Student Government (ASG) executive vice-president "Bubba" George McClellan to complain about the SYL "outside agitators" disrupting the PSC. (Earlier

Loftin enlisted the aid of the campus newspaper to denounce leftist interventions at a Midwest anti-draft conference heavily dominated by DSOC.)

Vice-president "Bubba" proceeded to "freeze" the student status of the Friends of the SYL (FOSYL), an accredited campus organization. "The catalyst," he writes in a letter dated 29 October to the administration "for my actions came when the possibility of a November 9, 1979 protest against NROTC by the FOSYL, co-sponsored by the SYL, came up." Loftin's claims of SYL disruption are also quoted (naturally) as reasons for the "freeze." But even this slimy collusion with the administration didn't pay off. When confronted by 15 supporters of the FOSYL, McClellan was forced to lift the freeze the very next day—not however, without threatening participants in the anti-ROTC rally with ID checks and "outsiders" with possible arrests. (See "Stop the Witchhunt at Northwestern!", *YSp* No. 76, October 1979 for details.) As we wrote in our letter (2 November) to the *Daily Northwestern*: "In the late 60s, any radical student group would have expelled Loftin for his back-handed

finger of 'outsiders' to administration agents." The so-called "progressive democratic socialists" of the PSC and DSOC would have been run off campus by the early Berkeley Free Speech Movement—which began by protesting the administration's ban on "outside" leftists as a means of sealing off the university to all but invited "outsiders" like ROTC!

Back in the PSC, sentiment was split on the SYL's united front proposal to protest the ROTC recruiters. DSOC fought tooth and nail against the proposed demonstration. DSOC was more interested in running the SYL out of the PSC than running the U.S. military off campus. But when the vote on the anti-ROTC protest was taken five PSCers voted in favor.

DSOC opposes conscription only in peacetime and advocates the "democratization" of the armed fist of the capitalist state. For DSOC "democratic" U.S. imperialism is the lesser-evil to "totalitarian communism." Given a choice they'll direct their fire at the "red menace." This time it was the SYL. It is against this brand of yellow socialism

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Young Spartacus

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(Signed) Oliver Stephens, (editor)

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(Signed) Oliver Stephens, (editor)

Out of the Classrooms, Into the Union Bureaucracy

YSA: Young Sadlowskis of America

There's an empty spot on many student government ballots today where sewer socialism once stood. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has made its "turn" to industry and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) has marched into the plants along with them. Replacing YSA "activists" campaigning for National Organization for Women (NOW) meetings, phony divestment schemes and anti-Soviet "dissidents," the pages of the infrequently published *Young Socialist* are now filled with naive on-the-scene accounts of the newly-industrialized. Why this turn? Haven't the SWP/YSA been notorious for tailing every petty-bourgeois movement under the sun, from the student-power movement of the 1960s to today's more staid sectoralists NOW and the NAACP?

Novel as it might be for the petty-bourgeois tailists of the SWP/YSA, the change of arena is simply necessary to implement the SWP's program for social-democratic influence as the political power brokers of the trade-union bureaucrats with whom they have tried to ally since the antiwar days. Remember, when the SWP/YSA was doing the donkey work for the July 1971 National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) convention, where the featured speakers were capitalist politician Vance Hartke and the cold war social-democratic labor bureaucrat Victor Reuther, united on the platform in classic popular-frontist fashion. Later, as the New Left discovered the working class and headed for the factories, the SWP began to test the waters, joining the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) en masse to pressure the "sisters" in the labor bureaucracy. The SWP really escalated its orientation to the labor skates when hundreds of SWPers joined the Sadlowski Steelworkers Fightback bandwagon. Thus the current SWP/YSA industrialization turn is the logical outcome of the developing efforts of the SWP to win a base for their social-democratic politics in the labor movement.

SWP Platform 1980: Put a Scab in the White House and "Save Our Children"

Work in the trade unions is distinguished from work in the various petty-bourgeois milieus by, among other things, the *accountability* of union activists. Put another way, the workers tend to remember for *long years* those who betrayed and those who led. In particular the proletariat remembers scabs. So it is an indictment of "proletarianization" SWP-style that their 1980 presidential candidate, Andrew Pulley, scabbed on the 1978 four-day railway strike. When striking members of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airlines Clerks (BRAC) threw up pickets at the Gary, Indiana, U.S. Steel plant, two leading supporters of the SWP, Pat Grogan and Andrew Pulley, crossed those BRAC lines every day to go to work! The SWP's "steel worker" candidate walked across the same strike lines as did steel foremen who directly replaced the work of the striking railroad workers, the same lines on which leaflets urging steel workers to respect the lines were distributed. Pulley has publicly defended his scabbing several times with the faint-hearted excuse that the USWA bureaucrats permitted it.

While their trade-union turn does not include upholding such elemental working-class principles as the inviolability of the picket line, it has meant some twists and turns in line for the opportunistic SWP. Take the question of democratic rights for homosexuals. Matilde

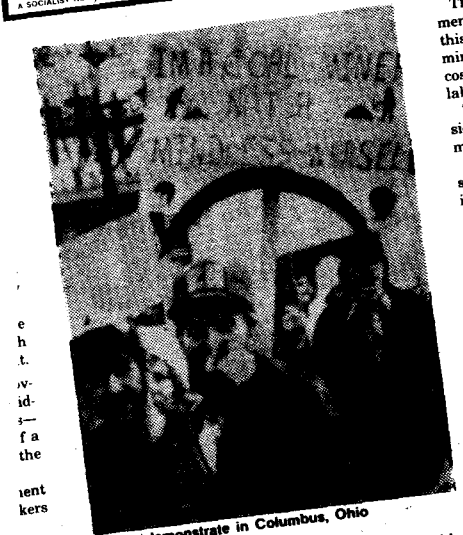
Zimmermann, Pulley's running mate, co-authored the SWP's scandalous position of calling on the bourgeois state to enforce its age-of-consent laws against homosexuals. Not long ago, the SWP adapted to the lifestyle gay liberation movement. But with the turn to the labor bureaucracy, the *Militant* unceremoniously dumped even the defense of democratic rights for gays. This is but the most recent of the SWP's accommodations to the backward social prejudices of the trade-union tops—and as they cuddle ever closer to the Frasers, Millers and Sadlowskis, other specially op-

pressed groups can expect betrayal. No thinking militant should vote for the SWP's scab-and-bigot slate in 1980!

1978—the SWP played the shabby role of hatchet men for bureaucrats who were under the gun from the ranks. When even the Alameda County Central Labor Council felt pressured by militant Bay Area unionists into calling for a general strike, the *Militant* suggested such harmless diversions as a "one-day mobilization on a Saturday" instead. Moreover, when the proposal for elected strike committees began to pick up support in an ad hoc meeting of union militants (while the bureaucrats watched impotently from the back of the room) *Militant* writer Nat Weinstein came to

tled "Draft Counter Political Resolution—Against the Workerist Turn" (*SWP Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 36, No. 19) and a similar document came out of the YSA (see "Against the YSA Turn to Industry; Counterreport to the May 1979 Young Socialist Alliance National Committee Plenum," *SWP Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 36, No. 9). The opposition to the turn comes from the right, largely as a defense of the SWP's primary orientation to petty-bourgeois sectoralist movements. For example, both the YSA dissident Horowitz and the Miami grouping mourn the forces they

UPI



Miners demonstrate in Columbus, Ohio

SWP school of falsification: 1978 miners' strike. *Militant* photo (left) cuts out anti-Miller sign. SWP/YSA tailed Miller when mine workers wanted to hang him.

Consistent Class Traitors: From "Peace Now" to Arnold Miller

The SWP/YSA has had a number of years' training for their brazenly anti-working-class actions. With striking Teamsters not ten miles away, defending their strike against the owners and scab convoys supported by military helicopters, armored cars and National Guardsmen, the SWP blithely convened the Cleveland antiwar conference in 1970. The conference was officially endorsed by Cleveland's mayor Carl Stokes, who called for the same units of the National Guard that later gunned down Kent State students to break the Teamsters' strike. Other NPAC luminaries as well joined to crush the militant Teamster wildcat: Teamster leader Harold Gibbons and Senator Saxbe. Did this bother the SWP? Far from it! The conference immediately proposed a demonstration in downtown Cleveland "against Agnew" and voted down an SDS motion—supported by the Spartacist League and Progressive Labor—for a demonstration in support of the Teamsters and against Stokes as well as Agnew. The revolutionary Trotskyists of the 1930s led the organizing drives of the Teamsters; the SWP had trekked so far into the swamp of social-democratic coalitionism by 1970 that it turned its back on the union for the "antiwar" Democratic strikebreakers. Today when the YSA talks about "winning young workers" while the SWP runs a scab for president, it is to the politics of the 1970 Cleveland "peace" conference that they are to be won.

In two key labor battles—the near general strike in San Francisco in the spring of 1976 and the great coal strike of



the rescue of the labor officialdom, urging instead that there be more "input into the official strike committee." Perhaps this was the best way the SWP could fight for the "modified defeat" Weinstein advocated to enable striking unions to save face and retreat gracefully! Weinstein "explained" that the call for a general strike "served the interests of the employers," since the *bureaucrats* were not prepared to lead it!

During the heroic 110-day miners' strike, the SWP was far to the right of a majority of the UMW membership and most local leaderships. The miners burned Miller's sell-out contract twice before they were finally forced to back down and, as sentiment to get rid of Miller swept the coalfields, the hated labor traitor dared not step foot in mining towns unarmed. The SWP remained Miller-loyal to the bitter end, calling the sell-out contract a "victory" and denouncing as ultra-left our calls for hot-cargoing scab coal and strike action by other unions in defense of the miners' struggle. They even doctored pictures in the *Militant*, cropping a photograph of a "Dump Miller" sign held by a striking miner. More treacherously, the SWP supporters in San Francisco voted against a motion put forward by a militant transit worker to implement a Bay Area-wide protest strike against government strikebreaking and sabotaged a call by International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union for a 24-hour sympathy strike against Carter's imposition of Taft-Hartley.

Opposition to the Turn: "Vanguards" in Conflict

The SWP/YSA's forced march into the plants has not been carried out without opposition. At the last SWP convention a small Miami grouping led by Jack Leiberstein submitted a document against the industrialization, enti-

will lose for intervention into the "no-nuke" movement. At root, the spat between those for and against the turn reflects competing appetites over which "vanguard" to tail. As the counterresolution states: "the real targets of this polemic [against "lifestylism"] are the 'consistent' feminists, nationalists and gay militants who are not awed by the union movement for understandable and healthy reasons." The logic of the SWP's polyvanguardism—its support to feminism and black nationalism—was to adapt to the most backward aspects of the "my sector first" ideology, even when this brought the various "vanguards" into conflict. Thus, the SWP's latest adaptation to labor backwardness, in which special oppression is spat upon, is not surprising.

SWP Rewrites History

Having successfully beaten down sentiment within the SWP for work in the trade unions during the early 1970s—at the time of the largest strike wave by U.S. workers since the post-WWII strikes—the SWP had some fancy footwork to do in order to push their industrialization policy now. Enter SWP hack Fred Feldman, author of the opening article in the March 1979 *Education for Socialists*, "Background to 'The Struggle for a Proletarian Party'." Grossly dishonest, Feldman's article equates the current SWP "turn" to industry with the policies of Cannon and Trotsky, falsifying as he goes the history of the 1940 fight with the Shachtman-Abern-Burnham petty-bourgeois opposition. Feldman also omits any mention of the SWP's vigorous abstention from work in the trade unions in the last two decades and the political fights within the SWP which took up this question.

With complete contempt for the SWP's Trotskyist past, Feldman tries to

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INTERVIEW

SYL Speaks Out As...

Racist Mobs Rampage in Boston

In the last few months anti-busing racist violence in Boston has escalated to a point not seen since 1974. At that time the anti-busing school boycott, centered in South Boston, grew into city-wide organized lynch mob terror. Ku Klux Klan provocateurs were wildly cheered at rallies. Militantly racist groups like the paramilitary South Boston Marshalls and Louise Day Hicks' ROAR mushroomed in Boston's white enclaves.

As a tool for integration, busing has effectively been killed. "Liberal" politicians and the courts—sensitive to the racist backlash—watered down even the partial desegregation plan originally developed which restricted busing to the most poverty-stricken ghettos—black and white. When school opened this September the minimal busing that survives in Boston provoked an intensified racist onslaught.

In the absence of an effective labor/black mobilization and thanks to the bourgeois politicians and fake-lefts who preached reliance on the cops, troops and courts for protection, Boston blacks have been left defenseless. White racist youth have for the last few weeks been boycotting classes, and while their parents organize anti-busing meetings, they rove downtown Boston in gangs, chasing blacks off Boston Common and attacking black delivery men in front of City Hall. On September 18 a bus carrying black students to South Boston High School was stoned by 15 masked white punks. This series of racist assaults reached its peak on September 28 in Charlestown, when Darryl Williams, a black high school football player, was shot by three white youths claiming they were "only shooting at pigeons." Today Williams is paralyzed from the neck down while the three white youths are out on bail.

In an interview this month on the "Spotlight" program of WTBU, a Boston University radio station, the SYL put forward the strategy of a labor/black defense. Reprinted below are excerpts of the exchange between WTBU host Renee Marchande and SYL spokesmen John Keller and Liisa McCormick.

WTBU: Do you feel that racism has grown a bit more since the dreadful shooting of Darryl Williams, or, as the mayor and everyone else is trying to say, that it was just a "lucky shot" and that he just happened to be in the way while many of us feel it was a racist attack. What does the Spartacus Youth League say on that?

Liisa: Well, we think that the shooting of Darryl Williams is really outrageous, particularly in light of the connection that is being made between the racist attacks on the schoolchildren and the South Boston Information Center, which is connected with the anti-busing people from back in '74, and the fact that the City Council recently almost gave \$40,000 to this Information Center to be used for a summer youth camp for target practice, for this racist organization. So we think that the fight against racism must be taken not within the City Council or any capitalist government,

but must be waged by workers and the black masses, they must defend themselves.

John: There's obviously a connection between the racist mobilizations and the shooting of Darryl Williams. But what we have seen is, when school started, all the city officials were proclaiming how peaceful it started, but they completely ignored all the fights that were breaking out in the schools, incidents where gangs of masked white youths stoned a busload of black schoolchildren. Later on, you had a situation where the anti-busing forces had meetings to organize a boycott of schools, and they met in gangs in downtown Boston to drive out blacks, so blacks are not even safe in the streets. And their rallying cry was "reverse racism," and it's very obvious that they have been mobilizing. Like the incident, for example, where a black woman had her car torched, the incidents have continued. There is obviously a pattern to them.

WTBU: Some people feel that there is outside influence, especially when, in all places, like East Boston, which had been the most silent place since court-ordered busing. Suddenly, that place has become the boiling point. And some feel that there is an outside influence causing that. Do you feel that somebody might be pushing these kids, or do you feel that it's just the innermost hostility building up, especially after the shooting, which has now caused, maybe, just an over-reaction to things, instead of being kind of rational?

Liisa: I think that recently all the racist attacks that we've seen have shown that the racists and the fascists such as the Klan and the Nazis are very organized, and it's possible that they would go to other places and organize violence among children. But look at what happened in Greensboro yesterday, where the Klan just openly fired on this organization that was protesting racism. It's obvious that these racists mean business. And so it's very important that the labor movement and the masses of blacks are mobilized in defense squads to defend themselves. Because it has also been shown that the cops are going to protect the Nazis and Klan, such as in Dallas yesterday, where 300 cops came out to protect 50 Klansmen.

WTBU: Do you feel that it would have been different had it happened outside the South, had it happened, let's say in Pennsylvania or New York, and the Klan walked through and tried something like they did in Greensboro? What would you have thought the result would have been?

John: One thing that is really apparent is that the racist mobilization is nationwide, that racism is not something just simply confined to the South, that you had situations, for example in Detroit, where you had two foremen coming into an auto factory dressed as KKK members—they were hooded—so it was a very provocative move by them. Last year, you had the Nazis organizing their headquarters in an area which included blacks and many auto workers. So these racist forces are becoming much bolder,



Southwick/Boston Herald American

White racists attack blacks at South Boston High.

and the main question is, what is the strategy necessary to defeat them?

WTBU: So it's all a non-violent type of rallying the masses of the average person to make them realize what is happening and that there are other ways to fight this other than going out and beating on each others' heads?

Liisa: No, basically, what we say is that the workers and blacks must have defense guards. In the Minneapolis general strike, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party was organizing workers in flying squadrons which at one point met with a big group of cops, and the cops turned and retreated because they realized that they were outnumbered and that's what we want to see, we want to see the workers and blacks fighting racism, having the balance of forces, so they can win. We do not want just a small group substituting itself for the whole class, being smashed, such as this group yesterday.

John: A lot of our work involves bringing this idea of labor/black defense to students, and we do have appetites for the labor movement to take up this call. We think that the major stumbling block to this is the lack of revolutionary perspective among those people who want to oppose the racists. For example, in 1974-75, when there was all this opposition to busing, organizations on the left, liberals and black Democrats called on the government to protect the black schoolchildren—they called for federal troops, they called for more police protection. This is the same thing that they're calling for today. We think that this is the kind of policy that leads to the situations that we have today. The police stand on a certain side—the police are not a neutral body. This is the group which is responsible for the murder of Fred Hampton and the Black Panther Party ten years ago. The police are the ones who carry out the systematic violence against black and minority communities. The police are the ones who go and try to break up the picket lines of the workers. They are the ones who arrested the striking workers at

Boston University. So there is a definite side there. And we are on the opposite side.

WTBU: Do you feel that the police have a job, according to the first amendment, where people have the right to freedom of speech and all that, that maybe some of them might side with them, but still, it's their job to try to keep everything cool?

Liisa: No, because the fact is, that all along, throughout the civil rights movement, the only time that federal troops came onto the scene was when blacks organized to defend themselves. In Little Rock in 1957, the black leaders kept calling for troops to defend the blacks there. But they didn't come, and there were racist attacks there and killings. The only time they came was when the blacks started to organize into defense groups. So they're not there to defend blacks but to defend the racist status quo. That is their job as defenders of bourgeois law and order.

WTBU: Before we go on any further on the racism issue, I'd like to know your opinions on the firing or dismissal of the

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Jim Crow Ban Defeated

Black Trotskyist Speaks to Pan Africanists

CHICAGO—In 1966 when Stokely Carmichael was elected head of SNCC on a "black power" program he immediately became the most prominent militant nationalist in the country. A few years later, with his marriage to African folksinger Miriam Makeba, he became the very personification of black radical chic. What's Stokely Carmichael up to today? He is now the central figure in the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP), a small petty-bourgeois organization of Pan-Africanists. Since the AAPRP has endured for some time a rather stagnant existence on the campuses, this virulently anti-white race-baiting outfit felt compelled to invite representatives of the "European" left to its recent conference on "The Historical Development of the Peoples' Freedom Movement" held at the University of Chicago October 19-20.

Despite the Stokelyites' efforts to build this pretentious academic symposium, the conference drew no more than 60 participants at its height. Among the organizations that addressed the conference were the New American Movement (NAM), the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), the Eritrean People's Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB). But only the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) protested and defeat-

ed the race-color ban on speakers which stipulated that leftist organizations send only a white representative to speak. In rejecting this undemocratic and reactionary proposal the SL/SYL stated in a leaflet distributed to conference participants:

"The proposal of the AAPRP suggests that black men and women in a racially united communist organization are mere dupes, front men and unthinking automatons for white communists. Or perhaps the AAPRP believes that black communists are too ignorant to represent in an articulate fashion the views of their organization. We reject the proposal of the AAPRP outright and defend the right of every member, black and white, of our organization to publicly defend the Trotskyist program of revolutionary internationalism."

Due to the small turnout and the vigorous protest of the SL/SYL, the AAPRP backed down and rescinded its anti-communist "whites only" rule.

The Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

Amid some "oreo-baiting" by a couple of aging dashiki-clad nationalists, Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Alexander put forth the SL/SYL's strategy for black liberation. Alexander explained that the SL fights for *revolutionary integrationism*, seeking to combat capitalism's forced segregation of blacks at the lowest levels



SL spokesman Don Alexander: Socialist revolution, not Pan-Africanism, is the road to black liberation.

of American society. Alexander pointed out that a real fight against black oppression must center on the proletariat, which uniquely has the social power to bring down the racist capitalist system. Comrade Alexander pointed to concrete examples where racially united labor defeated racist attacks. Last month when two racist foremen at Ford Motor Company's giant River Rouge assembly plant outside Detroit donned KKK hoods as a "joke," militant black and white auto workers joined forces to drive them out of the plant.

The SL speaker polemicized against

the separatist ideology of the black nationalist movement of the 1960s which wrote off the working class, instead basing the struggle on the socially powerless ghetto. The experience of the Black Panthers illustrates the impossibility of building a black liberation struggle independent of the rest of American society. Unable to take on the capitalist state alone, the Panthers were forced to oscillate between liberal appeals to the establishment and adventurism—and neither tactic paid off. The "community control" politics of the Panthers (represented by the Newton wing of the party) led to administering poverty programs for the Democratic Party machine. The urban guerrilla component of the Panthers' strategy (the Cleaver wing) also proved fruitless—the Panthers picked up the gun and were defeated by the vastly more powerful capitalist state.

The AAPRP shares the despair of the possibility of an integrated struggle for black rights common to the nationalists, yet it utterly lacks the Panthers' militant appetite to defeat the racist American establishment. Thus the AAPRP refused to participate in the SYL-initiated anti-Nazi protest held recently in San Francisco. While the Panthers did not have even the rudiments of a Leninist program or revolutionary proletarian perspective, we solidarized with their courageous opposition to the capitalist state. But we have nothing but contempt for the Stokelyites and their hot air. At the conference AAPRP spokesman Bobby Wright launched into an anti-Semitic, sexist diatribe worthy of an "All White Peoples' Socialist Party." Echoing the male chauvinism predominant in the black nationalist movement (captured in the Panther remark that "the only position for women in the movement is prone"), Wright sneered, "Two women can screw each other but they can't reproduce." Cavalierly mouthing off in favor of race war, Wright proclaimed, "I am a black socialist nationalist. Whites can be wiped off the face of the earth and I would still be a socialist." Or later, "We owe a blood debt to European people, not pussy, not money, but a blood debt." Talk is cheap but real race war in this country could only result in genocide for black people.

The Myth of African Socialism

That the Stokelyites can so flippantly toy with race war in America reflects the fact that they reject any solution to

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Rutgers Blacks Protest Racist Attacks

With a militancy rarely seen since the days of the antiwar movement, black and Spanish-speaking students at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey are engaged in protest against campus racism. Organized by the Black Student Congress and Blacks United to Save Themselves (BUSI), 500 black and Spanish-speaking students staged a militant mass protest October 24 to denounce "the racial injustices inflicted upon the black and Hispanic students of this university" (*Black Voice*, 30 October). Two similar protests held in the spring of last year attracted upwards of 1,000 students each and resulted in the issuance of a "Minority Concerns Report" by the Rutgers administration which black student leaders have characterized as "totally inadequate."

Rutgers is a public university in a state whose population is 20 percent black. Yet blacks comprise only 12 percent of Rutgers' 35,000 undergraduate students. Many of them are enrolled on the Livingston campus, which also has many Spanish-speaking students. The so-called Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), a standardized examination given to high school seniors across the country as a criterion for admission to college, has been targeted as one cause for the exclusion of blacks from Rutgers. To the extent that "the SAT reflects real and necessary verbal and mathematical

skills, rather than simply white middle-class culture (like the infamous "IQ" tests), it stands as an indictment of the racist, class-biased U.S. educational system. Moreover, blacks who do manage to get into Rutgers find themselves confronted with a pattern of institutional racism that leads many of them to quit. In 1975, 400 black students were enrolled in Rutgers College's freshman class and in 1979, only 35 of the original 400 graduated (*Livingston Medium*, 18 September). Many are forced to leave as a result of the school's ever-escalating tuition and fees.

Black students and campus workers complain of harassment by university personnel, particularly campus cops "harassing us and asking for our ID's just because we're black" (*Rutgers Targum*, 18 September). In response the administration has instituted "sensitivity training courses" for these thugs in blue. Black student outrage has also erupted over the case of highly popular black basketball player Rodney Duncan, who was forced to quit the team under pressure from head coach Tom Young in January 1979. Young's allegation that Duncan did not cooperate with other members of the team is widely viewed as a racist's pretext for forcing a talented black athlete out of competition. The prevalence of racism at Rutgers is also held to be responsible for the exodus of black faculty from the

university over the past three years.

Given an educational system that confines most blacks and other minorities to inferior schools, simply modifying or eliminating the SAT is not enough. This is why the Spartacus Youth League fights for *open admissions*. In addition we propose *remedial educational programs* for students who have been deprived of a decent education by the racist public school system. Everyone who wants an education should get one, and students shouldn't have to eke out a subsistence at some low-paying job while they are trying to learn—*No tuition! For a full living stipend provided by the state!* Campus cops or any cops cannot be "trained" to be "sensitive" to blacks or any oppressed group: their function is to maintain the status quo—*Cops off campus!* An administration which perpetuates and apologizes for racism should be abolished—*For student/worker/faculty control of the university!* The racist abuse at Rutgers is not isolated; it is but one aspect of a growing and often violent wave of racist attacks which increase as the capitalist system plunges further into the abyss of decay and reaction. This is why the Spartacus Youth League fights for quality education for all as part of our broader struggle to overthrow the capitalist system and replace it with a workers government committed to eradicating all forms of exploitation and oppression. ■

Ann Arbor

ANN ARBOR—One hundred protesters rallied at the University of Michigan diag November 7 in response to the SYL's call for a campus-wide protest of the North Carolina Klan killings. Small contingents from Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) and from the miniscule Revolutionary Workers Group participated as well. The demonstration received coverage in the *Ann Arbor News* and the university student government (Michigan Student Assembly) passed a motion in favor of the SYL's call for mass labor/black action across America to smash the Klan and Nazis (see motion reprinted this page).

Among the speakers at the rally were members of the United Auto Workers union who described their efforts to drive two KKK-hooded foremen from the River Rouge Ford plant and announced plans for the November 10 anti-Klan rally in Detroit. Matt Prince, a militant from UAW Local 600 at the Rouge plant in Dearborn, recounted the anti-Klan victory:

"About three weeks ago two foremen thought it would be a big joke to put on a white hat with the letters KKK on it and parade up and down the trim line. In response to this six workers walked off the line in protest with at least one going straight to Labor Relations immediately, since he was quite familiar with the Klan; his brother was killed by the Klan down south and he knew what these hoods represented. So after the walkout, which lasted about 15-20 minutes, Ford Motor Company got the foremen to take the hoods off and began threatening discipline against the workers. . . . Militants in the plant very quickly got a petition together and within 48 hours got over 1,000 signatures demanding that the two foremen be fired and that no disciplinary actions be taken against the workers that protested this outrageous provocation. Now what happened is that the two foremen were removed from the plant. However, they were not fired and they were not driven from the auto industry. They were transferred to another plant. We are pursuing that because we want the unions in those plants to get those guys kicked out of the factories. They have no place in the industry."

Presenting a sorry picture of sectarian abstention from the anti-Klan protest were the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), both of which milled around the sidelines, refusing to join the rally. The opportunism of the RCYB has led the organization through wild gyrations. In Boston in 1974-75 it led them to bloc with the anti-busing racists. At the outset of the violent racist mobilizations *Revolution*, the paper of the RCYB's parent organization, trumpeted the infamous banner headline "People Must Unite to Smash the Busing Plan." At the Ann Arbor anti-Klan rally their sectarianism got the better of them and they stood on the fringes of the demonstration shuffling their feet. But not wanting to miss out on the action altogether a small band of supporters of the RCYB/RCP showed up to leech off the recent "Trotskyite"-organized demonstration against Klan terror in downtown Detroit which drew hundreds of blacks, autoworkers and socialist militants. The ACLU "socialists" of the YSA, which defends democratic "rights" of fascists to organize, preferred to boycott the protest rather than plead the case for the Klan's "civil liberties" in front of 100 outraged and predominantly black students.

The Greensboro murders prove once again that the Klan and the Nazis are race-hating, right-wing paramilitary organizations mobilized for *action*. Bleeding-heart appeals for the "rights" of these fascist scum to a platform are suicidal: the KKK and Nazis are not in business to "discuss" their program of genocide and terror. When they speak it is to organize the next lynching, the next firebombing, the next Greensboro.

The YSA also opposes the strategy put forward by rally participants to deal with racist terror: the fight for a labor/black mobilization. When anti-busing mobs were stoning schoolbuses filled with black children the YSA pleaded for "police protection" and called for federal troops to be sent to Boston to "defend" black people. Brian Mendis, black UAW member who spoke at the rally, condemned such illusions in the capitalist state:

"... Right here in Romulus, Michigan, where you had a black family moving in... what happened? The racist nightriders were coming around bombing his house, trying to set fire to his house, and what did he do? He gets out his shotgun one night and shoots one of them; he shoots one of those racists who's leaning out of the back of a pickup truck and throwing a firebomb out. He shoots him and what do the cops do? The cops come and they arrest this black man for defending his family and for defending his house. That's what they did. That's what the cops are all about in this society. The cops are not going to protect minorities—that's why the SYL thinks that it's necessary to organize a labor/black mobilization against the Klan."

A planning meeting to discuss building support for the anti-Klan rally in Detroit was held following the rally. The protesters sent a telegram to UAW Local 600 executive board (printed in this issue) signed by several U of M student and minority organizations urging the union to take the lead in calling for mass labor/black mobilizations to smash the Klan and the Nazis. ■

TELEGRAM TO UAW LOCAL 600 FOR MASS LABOR/BLACK MOBILIZATION TO SMASH THE KLAN AND NAZIS

The racist vermin of the Ku Klux Klan murdered five anti-Klan demonstrators, and wounded ten others in Greensboro, North Carolina on Saturday, November 3. Klan night-riding, cross burnings, bombing and murder are part of the heritage of racist, capitalist America. But an armed, murderous assault by these terrorists in broad daylight on a public demonstration is unprecedented. These attacks must not go unanswered! The following is a telegram sent to UAW Local 600 from University of Michigan groups:

We hail the Rouge workers' victory in driving the two KKK hooded foremen out of the Dearborn Assembly Plant. A large successful demonstration, initiated by the Spartacus Youth League, against Klan terror, was held in Ann Arbor today, November 7. The demonstration was in response to the murder of the 5 anti-KKK demonstrators in Greensboro, N.C. on Saturday, November 3.

We recognize that it is only mass action on the part of the labor movement and black organizations that can stop Klan terror.

The KKK has threatened that it will march in downtown Detroit, Friday, November 9 at 1 p.m. This is an outrage and deserves to be met by mass action.

We the undersigned organizations urge the UAW Local 600 to take the lead to call for mass labor/black mobilizations to smash the Klan and Nazis.

We commit ourselves and organizations to build support for the rally and bring contingents of students to demonstrate against Klan terror in Detroit.

ENDORSED BY:

Black Student Union
Black Dental Students
Larry B. Thompson
Minority Peer Advocate of Alice Lloyd Hall/
Pilot Program U. of M.
Anthony T. Chambers, President,
Alice Lloyd Minority Council
Richard D. Garland, Black Representative of
Minority Student Services*
Margarita Torres, Hispanic Representative of
Minority Student Services*
Dorothy Goeman, Native American
Student Association*
Patricia Yeghessian, Teaching Assistant, U. of M.
Carol A. Cassidy, Librarian, U. of M.
Jack Hall, Michigan Student
Assembly Representative*
Carol Brown, Vice President, Tenants Union
Joseph Z. Graves, Department of Ecology and
Evolution, U. of M.
Spartacus Youth League

*For identification purposes only.

Berkeley

BERKELEY—Gathering at University of California's Sproul Plaza to hear SYL spokesmen and trade unionists present a strategy of labor/black mobilizations across America to smash the Nazis and the Klan, some 200 students rallied here on November 6. Before the rally could begin, however, participants were subjected to a disruption by CWP supporters, intent on launching a physical attack on SYLers and supporters. Although the rally was held to protest the Klan massacre of their comrades, these crazed Maoists decided to try to break it up! After heated argument, they began a brawl with SYL supporters. (One of our comrades was bitten by a particularly rabid CWP'er!) The CWP attack was quickly repelled and the rally proceeded. In language appropriate to a deranged four-year-old a CWP spokesman pouted, "These Trotskyite scum want to pimp off this" (*Daily Californian*, 7 November).

As SYL supporters at the rally pointed out, the Greensboro Klan murders represent an attack on the entire workers movement. Left unanswered, this brazen act of cold-blooded murder would give the fascist filth a signal to escalate their actions from New Jersey to California. The KKK went gunning for the CWP in Greensboro because they happened to be the visible, integrated left group of labor organizers and anti-racist militants in town. The Klan's vicious assault could have just as easily been directed at any pro-union, anti-racist or self-proclaimed revolutionary organization. For this reason, 500—predominately black and working class—rallied in Detroit November 10 against renewed Klan activity there as well as in outrage over the Greensboro killings. While 200 students remained to participate in the SYL-initiated

SYL P



The massacre of five anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina was an unprecedented act of KKK terror and must not go unanswered! This is the first time that these fascist scum appeared in broad daylight to pump a barrage of bullets into a public rally. As soon as word of the brutal Klan killings reached us, the Spartacus Youth League issued a statement of protest and took the lead in organizing demonstrations on campuses across the country. Hundreds of students, black and white, turned out from Berkeley to Ann Arbor to the University of Chicago to raise their voices against the hooded racist murderers.

Encouraged by their "victory" at Greensboro, racist forces are now rearing their ugly heads ever more boldly: cross burnings have been reported in New York and Los Angeles and the Klan is planning marches in several parts of California. The SYL is aware that the guns of the Klan are trained on every black person, union organizer and leftist in the country. The Communist Workers Party (CWP—formerly Workers Viewpoint Organization) whose members were shot to death in Greensboro, however—far from realizing the necessity for massive anti-Klan mobilizations—responded to several of the protest rallies with criminal, petty sectarianism and rabidly hostile attempts to break them up! The CWP was unsuccessful in these wrecking actions and the protests occurred as planned. We reprint below highlights of the campus demonstrations.

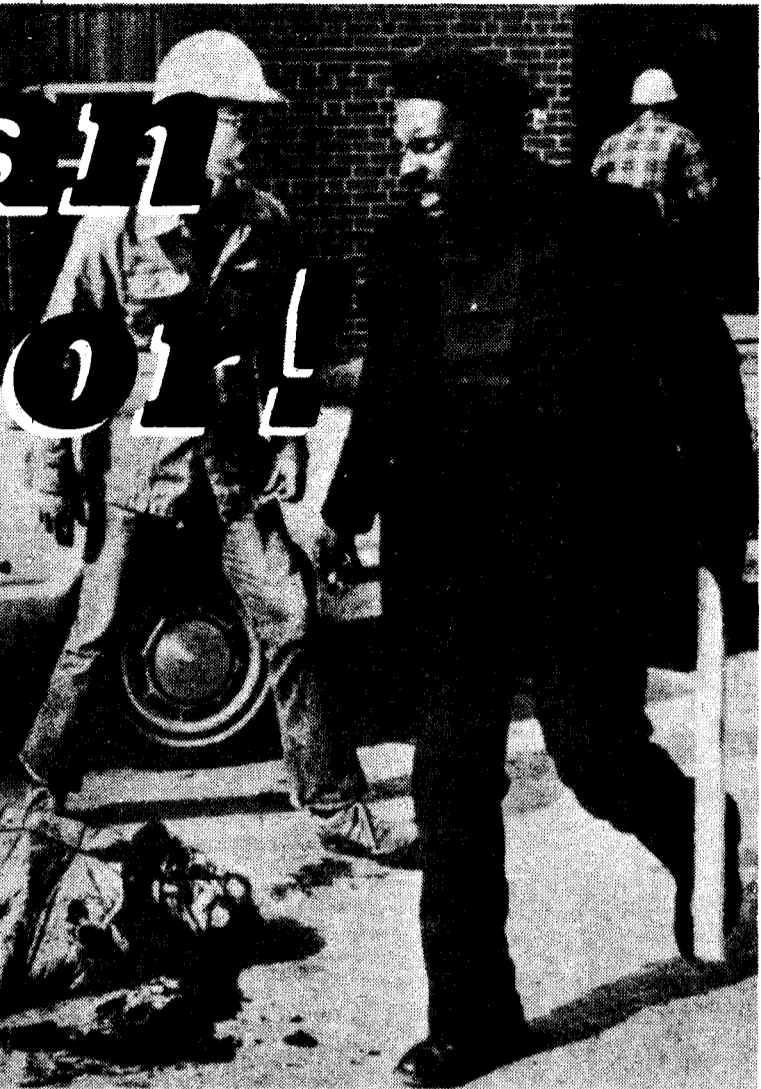
rally, the CWPers crept off to another part of the campus to hold their "own" protest with 15 people.

As the rally got underway, Stan Gow, a longshoreman on the Executive Board of Local 10 and member of the Militant Caucus of the ILWU, pointed out the key role of the labor movement in the defeat of fascist movements. Gow explained, "... it's up to the labor movement and it's up to the left-wing students to get together and to stop them." The California labor movement should not forget that the KKK played a prominent role in the growers' violent attempts to break the militant farm workers strike last year. With threats of Klan mobilizations in Fresno and the recent Nazi rally in Walnut Creek, California—now is the time for a labor-centered mobilization to crush the fascists' movement in the egg.

SYL spokesman Lonnie Grey took the mike to explain the importance of our slogan "Uphold the right of armed self-defense" and contrast it to the liberals' policy of gun control which leaves unarmed blacks and workers at the mercy of the well-armed fascists:

"In North Carolina, there is more than just a tradition of racist terror by the Ku Klux Klan. North Carolina is also the home of Robert F. Williams, who in 1957 was the

Protests



first to organize black self-defense in Monroe, North Carolina. He organized an armed black group to go out and defend the community, to defend a black doctor's house that was under attack by the Ku Klux Klan. And this ended up running the Klan out of Monroe—they have not been able to mobilize! When you show you have militant self-defense—militant armed self-defense—then the Klan will not rise up. But this militant self-defense must be taken one step further and linked to the labor movement, which has the power to halt the forces of production, the power to change the world!" ■

Chicago

CHICAGO—At the University of Chicago on Tuesday, November 6, 40-50 people demonstrated and heard speakers from several left groups and unions, including the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, the Communist Workers Party (CWP), the Trade Union Action League (TUAL), the Committee to Form a U.S.-Albania Friendship Association, the U of C Progressive Student Union, the Liberation League (Black organization of the Communist Party USA-Marxist Leninist [CPUSA-ML]), Operation PUSH, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241 and

United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Locals 65 and 1010. The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) showed up, originally intending to speak, but they backed out and slunk to the sidelines. Conforming to their pattern of frenzied attacks around the country, the CWP attempted to obstruct the rally.

The demonstration received coverage in the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Chicago Defender* and the *UC Chicago Maroon*.

Rena Delano, a member of Amalgamated Transit Local 241, related how the racist climate that has fostered the rise of fascist activity affects the lives of the men and women in her union. Both black and white workers have refused to drive the 79th Street bus past Western Avenue into Marquette Park (scene of Nazi demonstrations) in protest of the harassment of bus drivers there. Delano raised a motion in her union meeting that Local 241 immediately call on the Chicago Federation of Labor to organize a mass labor/black demonstration in downtown Chicago to protest the Greensboro Klan murders. While ruled out of order, her proposal pointed the way forward for workers and the oppressed who must rely on their own strength to crush the fascist threat.

A representative of the Chicago black establishment addressed the rally: Nathaniel Clay, director of communications for Operation PUSH, read a press release from PUSH leader Jesse Jackson. While expressing outrage at the Klan murders, PUSH raised the timeworn and impotent liberal call for Congress to investigate the Klan and suggested that the FBI use its methods of surveillance to prevent the Klan from repeating such acts of criminal terror. However, the best example of the FBI's "surveillance" of fascist organizations is the case of Gary Rowe—an FBI infiltrator in the KKK who assisted in the murder of civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo.

Liberation League representative Lee Rose stated that the Klan should not have the right to "spew their racist, fascist filth" and called for the right of armed self-defense for the working class and minorities. There is a contradiction between these militant positions, however, and the demand raised in the CPUSA-ML's leaflet to *outlaw* the Klan and Nazis, prohibiting them from using public parks and buildings. This demand does not differ significantly from Jackson's appeals to Congress. Marxists oppose calls on the capitalist state to ban the fascists: in the first place, the capitalist government more often than not uses "anti-extremist" laws *against the left*. More importantly, the capitalist rulers cannot be relied on to deal with the fascist gangs. In times of social crisis the bourgeoisie is willing to use a fascist paramilitary movement to curb or crush the working class. The frequent overlap between the membership of the Klan and the cops reflects the true nature of the bourgeois state as "legalized" racist terror.

Speaking for the SL, Tweet Carter pointed out that the evident collusion between the Greensboro cops and the KKK killers is the norm in Klan-infested areas. Reared in a small Southern town herself, Carter explained: "The cops go home at night, take off their blue uniforms and put on white sheets." Only the independent mobilization of organized labor in alliance with the black community can stop the fascist threat dead in its tracks. ■

Cleveland

CLEVELAND—Thirty-five spirited picketers, black and white, rallied to the SYL's call to protest the Greensboro massacre at Cleveland State University (CSU) November 8. At one point, over 100 watched the demonstration and listened to speakers from the Spartacist League/SYL. The demonstration was significant in racially polarized Cleveland, the scene of many right-wing, racist attacks on black rights. Not only the campus press, but the major bourgeois daily—the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*—as well as several television stations and the black radio station WABQ were on hand for the rally.

The vicious KKK attack in North Carolina is no abstract matter to many CSU students. Last summer a black family who had recently moved into the white Garfield Heights neighborhood were the victims of firebombing. In October, black students bused into white west side public schools were attacked by racists at random and a KKK-style cross burning took place at John Marshall High school. In neighboring Columbus, Ohio, the American White Nationalist Party plotted to bomb an integrated elementary school. The Klan is known to be active in the large Brookpark Ford plant and the Nazi United White People's Party has openly mobilized against the Cleveland busing plan. These Nazi swine still maintain a "bookstore" in the heavily Hispanic near west side of

the city—a continuing threat to trade unionists, blacks, Jews and other minorities.

The SYL speakers called for the powerful Cleveland labor movement to throw its weight behind the fight against the terrorist attacks on blacks that have swept the city: for a labor/black mobilization against the Nazis and the Klan! ■

Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES—Over 80 people gathered in Bruin Walk at UCLA November 7 to listen to speeches by supporters of the SL/SYL protesting the bloody Klan assault in Greensboro. Joining the picket line were two supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB). Two members of the CWP showed up at the rally looking for trouble but were unable to disrupt the anti-Klan protest.

SYL spokesman José Silva addressed the protesters, warning that fascist activity is not restricted to Southern night-riders:

"The reactionary offensive against the working class, minorities and women has created a political climate that allows the fascist gangs to take center stage. They are marching, holding rallies and seeking respectability. This past Saturday the Klan marched in Dallas for the first time in 60 years. Several weeks ago the Nazis held a rally in Walnut Creek. And this week a cross was burned on the lawn of a Jewish lawyer's home in North Hollywood. The Klan has announced that it will stage a march in Fresno this weekend. In all their provocative marches and rallies, the fascist scum have been protected by armies of cops in full riot gear. In Greensboro, the cops arrived moments after the bloody assault—and proceeded to arrest the demonstrators! We demand that the charges against the anti-Klan protesters be dropped!"

About 75 students remained after the conclusion of the rally to engage in a heated debate over the question of "free speech" for the fascist scum. SYL members pointed out that the "program" of groups like the Nazis and KKK is murder and genocide, that they are organized for *action*, not an exchange of ideas. The fascists score their "debating points" with clubs, the lynch rope and bullets. A number of students, following this open-air debate, attended the SYL's forum, "What Is Fascism and How to Fight It," held that afternoon. On November 16, the UCLA SYL will be showing the film *Night and Fog*—a graphic account of the Nazi concentration camps and dramatic rebuttal to those who would extend this racist filth the right to organize. ■

San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO—The 150 protesters who turned out for the SYL-called anti-Klan demonstration here on November 7 received a crash course in the difference between proletarian and pacifist methods of fighting fascism. The rally was addressed by speakers from the SYL, La Raza Unida Party (LRUP) and trade unionists from the Communications Workers of America, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the United Steelworkers of America. During the speeches a debate broke out between LRUP state representative Tony Gonzales and Bob Mandel, an executive board member of ILWU Local 6 and a member of the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition politically supported by the SL. Should workers and the oppressed rely on their own strength and organization, including the right to armed self-defense, or use "non-violent" protest instead?

Gonzales laid out the LRUP strategy: "We're into non-violent movements, we are into political movements, and it's hard to stay in line when situations like this occur. But two wrongs don't make a right." The Klan has announced plans to march in Fresno County November 11 and to stage a cross burning in Madiera on November 25. About this brazenly racist provocation against the Chicano and black population, Gonzales had this to say: "I don't know what your feelings are about these types of activities. But on behalf of the Partido La Raza Unida we say to hold the lines and continue in a non-violent fashion."

Responding to such suicidal "turn-the-other-cheek" pacifism, Mandel counterposed the necessity for labor and the oppressed to take militant action in their defense:

"As far as non-violence and its effectiveness, tell it to the millions of Vietnamese who were bombed with napalm that they should have been non-violent against U.S. imperialism.... Tell it to the 25,000 workers in Chile who were executed by the junta and the army because their leadership misled them into believing that they

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Smash the Klan...

(continued from page 1)

Democratic mayor and the demonstration organizers. Initially the Detroit press blacked out any mention of the rally. On Thursday, November 8, UPI reported that mayoral aide James Graham had quoted Young as saying people who rally without a permit will be arrested. The next afternoon a delegation of protesters confronted the mayor's mouthpiece and vowed, "We will march," permit or no permit.

That same afternoon demonstration organizers fired off telegrams asking for U.S. Justice Department observers in view of this violation of their civil rights, and went to federal court seeking an injunction to restrain city officials from denying them the right to peaceably assemble. As thousands of leaflets announcing the rally hit the streets, telegrams from prominent individuals across the country came pouring in to the offices of Detroit city officials and the federal government, protesting Young's attempt to prohibit the rally and threat to arrest any demonstrators. Friday evening the Civil Rights Division agreed to send observers and the city capitulated, agreeing before Federal Judge Feiken that there would be no arrests.

At the rally Frank Hicks, a skilled tradesman at Ford's River Rouge and a spokesman for the protest organizers, described the confrontation in the mayor's office:

"We went with a delegation to the city council building yesterday and talked to Mayor Young's mouthpiece, Jim Graham. He said the mayor has a policy. And that policy was that the KKK killers and the people that want to protest against the Klan would be treated the same in this city. The mayor said we would be arrested if we demonstrated here today, and we said if you do that you're going to pay.... We told the mayor that if he arrested five hundred, a thousand who wanted to rally against the Klan in this city, then go ahead but he could kiss off ever being elected again in this city...and he backed down.... It was the auto workers' response in this city that forced Mayor Young to back down, not the courts, not the constitution, it was you that forced the mayor to back down."

The rally, organized in less than three days' time, was met with enthusiastic support in the plants and the neighborhoods of Detroit. 85,000 leaflets were distributed at factories, shopping centers, bus stops and bars in the city.

Sound trucks announcing the rally combed through the streets. At Cadillac Assembly on Detroit's west side, a worker leaned out a plant emergency exit and asked for leaflets saying, "Give me more. Give me more. I'm going to give them to everyone I know." At the bus depots drivers snatched piles of leaflets to hand out to their passengers. Young people at area supermarkets and hospitals clamored for leaflets to take back to their neighborhoods. In Cadillac Square, downtown Detroit, black youth grabbed stacks of leaflets and started handing them out to people getting off the buses.

On Saturday, the rally opened with a speech by Hicks, one of several members of United Auto Workers Local 600 who organized a petition drive last month that succeeded in driving out of the Rouge plant two foremen who had paraded inside the factory in KKK garb. More than 1,000 workers signed a demand that the foremen who committed this racist provocation be fired. Hicks recounted the story of that victory.

The UAW officialdom refused to mobilize the union to stop the Klan. On Wednesday the Local 600 executive board rejected the demand for a Saturday demonstration. Instead, the bureaucracy sent a letter to Carter to protest against all violence against Americans of any creed or color! Hicks lambasted the do-nothing union top:

"Why aren't there 20,000, 30,000 auto workers, phone workers, teamsters out at this rally? How come these racist scum in the Klan can even think about showing up in a town that's a black and labor city?... It's because the union officials sat on their ass rather than mobilize against the Klan terror in Detroit."

Hicks denounced those who defend the right of free speech for fascists and counsel the masses to rely on the cops, courts and troops to defend them against racist reaction:

"Brothers and sisters, the Nazis and the Klan mean business, against working people, against blacks, against leftists, against anybody who struggles against this racist system the bosses have.... We better in the labor movement, in the black community be ready to stop them.... Some liberals have told me, 'Well, the fascists, they have under the constitution the right to free speech.' This is a giant lie. They're not a discussion club; they're terrorists out to murder us. They act in the night.... The same liberals, the ones who think these killers have free speech will also tell you that you should rely on the government to protect your rights.... But that's where the run-around starts. The government won't do anything until the

Union, and another, Cesar Cauce, was trying to organize Duke Medical Center workers into the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees at the time of his murder. Their political views were antagonistic to those of the unions' leaders—who incidentally call themselves socialists—which may be why the labor statesmen haven't bothered to excoriate the killers or those who let the slaughter be done.

Dignity would at least have required labor and its liberal allies to issue some proclamation of grief, some demand for justice if not revenge. Courage would demand issuance of a call for anti-fascist demonstrations in every major city—like the one sponsored by the Spartacists in Detroit. But our liberals are too busy with Teddy, and labor is getting ready to elevate Lane Kirkland as Meany's successor. Action against native fascism is left in the hands of the Trotskyists and other sectarians, who at least can understand the meaning of murder when they see it. For liberals, it's much more stimulating to dump on the Iranians.

Four of those killed were union activists. Three had organized workers in the Cone textile mills to fight for better conditions with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers



"Klan won't ride in the Motor City."

Klan has murdered and bombed. It's like the police in Greensboro who told demonstrators they couldn't interfere with the Klansmen's so-called rights, because the Klan hadn't broken any laws. The Klan hadn't broken any laws until five brothers and sisters lay dead in the street. After you're murdered the government will defend your civil rights. Thanks a lot, we don't need it."

Bill Hampton later echoed the same sentiments about the "rights" of the Klan:

"How can they come in the black community and tell you give them freedom of speech? In the '60s they didn't give our black leaders the freedom of speech. So how can we say we're going to give the Ku Klux Klan, who's against us all, who ride in the night, who do the same things these days only in a more sophisticated way, that right?... Let's wipe away the Klan once and for all."

The 500-strong rally was a victory for all those who deeply want to smash the KKK. The demonstration showed that it can be done, even though it was a long way from the mobilization of tens of thousands which is urgently needed. Hicks insisted that only mass actions by the labor movement and blacks could stop the Klan:

"There are some people in the left and

labor movement who think that a handful of individuals can substitute for the labor movement. That a handful of people can take the place of militant struggles on the part of auto workers and others.... They usually end up in some type of confrontation when the leftists are outnumbered by the police and not a blow is struck against the fascists.... There is no substitute for the labor movement mobilizing by the tens of thousands to stop the Klan."

Don Alexander, speaking for the executive committee of the Detroit Spartacist League, pointed to the need for a complete break with the capitalist parties:

"So it ought to be ABC. We say the bosses' political parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, can't defend the working people. We need a workers party. Pretty simple, but it sounds like heresy in this town where people tell us to vote for "progressive" Democrats like Coleman Young, Ken Cockerel and the rest.

"This is a racist country. There's never going to be any change in America, any revolutionary change, that does not deal with this fundamental fact. That is the bottom line of Greensboro. The KKK shoots down their enemies in the clear light of day like they were going on a deer hunt. And their enemies are the blacks, the "commies," the labor organizers who fight for black rights. Their

Silent as the Graves

by Alexander Cockburn

the village VOICE

The murder of five communist demonstrators by Klan and Nazi gangsters has been greeted circum-spectly by what passes for the American left. Though the spectacle of fascism running wild ought to evoke unhappy memories among liberals, most remain unseen and unheard. They are content to let consensus reign, in this case the notion (suggested by Anthony Lewis in a disgraceful column) that the Communist Workers Party brought the hail of bullets down upon itself by its "provocative" behaviour. This leads to a gruesome state of affairs: the *Times* mildly chastises the Greensboro police for lack of vigilance, while those same cops whisper that the commies really fired the first shot. Eventual acquittal of the guilty men seems likely, which will naturally encourage other white supremacist murderers, cross-burners and their kind.

Four of those killed were union activists. Three had organized workers in the Cone textile mills to fight for better conditions with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers

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Detroit Area SYL Forums "Detroit is a Labor/Black Town!" Fight Klan Terror!

Ann Arbor
November 22

Guest Speaker:
FRANK HICKS
Member UAW Local 600

Speaker:
TOPAZ DUBOIS
SYL National Committee

University of Michigan
12 Noon
Kuenzel Room, Michigan Union
For information: (313) 994-8051

Oakland University
November 29

Guest Speaker:
CHARLES DUBOIS
Member UAW Local 600

Oakland Center
12 Noon
Room Gold C
Sponsored by Friends of the SYL
For information: (313) 868-9095

Come hear the organizers of the
November 10 Detroit anti-Nazi
demo and discuss the strategy
to fight Klan/Nazi terror.

enemy is us. But the so-called black leadership has nothing to say to blacks here in the United States. They're busy singing pacifist songs and urging everyone to forget about the Klan. They'll lead us to the courts, just like they led the civil rights struggle to the courts and the Democrats. Well, now we have it. The Klan rides over our land, where the civil rights struggle was defeated in every way, from busing to jobs."

Topaz DuBois, speaking for the Spartacus Youth League, portrayed how Carter's America holds no future for black youth:

"Jimmy Carter says there's something wrong with Americans. He says we don't believe in the future anymore. He worries that Americans don't have any money in their savings accounts. Well, black youths don't have savings; well, black youths don't have jobs; well, black youths don't have a future under this system. So there's nothing wrong with us. There's something wrong with Jimmy Carter. So it is easy to believe in a future, a future without Jimmy Carter, a future without the capitalist class, and we stand for that future."

The Spartacus Youth League has been in the forefront of the fight against racist attacks on campuses across the country. As Topaz pointed out:

"The Spartacus Youth League has been building demonstrations on the campuses against the Klan. But we know that the labor movement must mobilize to smash the Klan. We called on the labor movement to build this demonstration; yet students have a role to play and have played that role in building for this demonstration. Now, the issue of busing in this country; we say that there must be more black students in those schools. We don't want to stay in those black ghetto schools. There's no education there. There's nothing for our minds in those schools. This racist, class-biased system prevents us from attaining quality education. It's the liberals, like Kennedy, like Carter and these other Democrats, that have killed busing. They said "yes" to racism, to Jim Crow. We demand: extend busing to those suburbs. We say not only the sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie, but black youth, we too need good schools."

Demonstrators responded with chants of "Smash the Klan, this is the hour, labor and blacks have got the power!"

So America is going down the tubes. You can't live in Detroit and not figure out that the workers had better take over. But it's not just Detroit and it's not just America. It's an international question. Topaz continued,

"Let's look at Iran. It was the international Spartacist tendency that stated to the world that Khomeini would be no better than the shah. We took a side on that issue. We sided with the women, we sided with the Kurds, we sided with the national minorities and the workers. But Khomeini, in today's world, says that if you're Arab, you're going to get it; if you're a worker, you're going to get it; if you're a homosexual, you're going to get it; if you're a woman, you're going to get it; if you're a drinker, you're going to get it. We say, no to Khomeini! No to Islamic reaction! Workers must rule in Iran! Just as in Detroit, and in the U.S. workers must rule!"

"So we've got a political program that we've laid out here. We know we have a world to win. We have to act now to shape the future in our favor. So students, workers, all of you out there, make a choice. Do you want to settle for unemployment? Do you want to settle for mass layoffs in this city? Do you want to settle for Klan terror? Or do you want to make a decisive stand so that we will have a future? The choice is yours. Let's go forward!" ■

Avenge Greensboro...

(continued from page 1)

ing, just as they were emboldened by the racist mobilizations that defeated busing in the streets of Boston, Louisville and Chicago. Across the country the fascists' appetite for more violence has been whetted. They succeeded in murdering five militant anti-racists; now they'd love to go after the rest of their enemies—the blacks, the communists, the Jews and the labor movement.

Uphold the Right of Armed Self-Defense!

This fascist campaign of terror and murder has got to be stopped. Socialists and militants in the labor movement must call on organized labor to mobilize its tremendous social power, in alliance with black and other minority organizations and the left, to stop the Klan in its

more than a block away from the demonstration rallying point. It was only after the killings that they finally arrived at the rally site which by then was bathed in blood—and arrested three of the survivors! The cops have blood on their hands: Greensboro police chief William Swing admitted at a November 4 press conference that there was police surveillance of the Klan on their way to the demonstration area "where by law they had every right to be." Actually, the cops' "surveillance" amounted to an escort service for the armed convoy as they drove through the black community into the rally site! The State Secretary of Crime Control defended the cops by stating,

"They had no authority to stop the cars...until some law was violated. Very tragically, in this case, the first law that had been violated involved the murder."

—UPI dispatch, 4 November

One can assume that the Greensboro racists in blue would have responded very differently had they "carefully watched" carloads of blacks load

Davis/Greensboro Daily News



Jail the killer Klansmen!

tracks. A step in this direction was taken on November 10 in Detroit where trade-union militants and the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League organized a powerful rally of 500 blacks, trade unionists and socialists in a militant protest against Klan and Nazi attacks (see article this issue). Only massive labor/black action to smash the Nazis and the Klan can prevent another Greensboro massacre!

But it is crystal clear that no union, black or leftist organization can defend itself against a repeat of this outrageous and shocking event without the right to armed self-defense. The capitalist state demands a monopoly on the means of violence. It has been busy passing gun control laws, which leave racist murderers unhindered while citizens are deprived of the democratic right to defend themselves. Uphold the right to armed self-defense! No to gun control!

The Klan's Escorts—Racists in Blue

The press has portrayed the vicious massacre by the KKK assassins as a "shootout" between two "fringe" extremist groups. So anxious to ensure the right of "free speech" for the racist terrorists, much of the bourgeois press is now apologizing sympathetically for the Klan, implying that the Klansmen were simply standing up to the communists' insults, and that the demonstrators "got what they deserved." The attitude of the bourgeois press makes it even more urgent that the labor movement protest the Greensboro cold-blooded massacre and uphold the right of armed self-defense.

It clearly was murder, and the cops are apparently complicit. At the time of the attack, the Greensboro police were

North Carolina undercover police are investigating the "possibility" that the demonstrators' civil rights were violated—investigations which are undoubtedly aimed at increasing the harassment of left organizations. And when Workers Viewpoint announced that they would hold a funeral march through Greensboro on November 11, the mayor immediately declared a state of emergency in the town, calling in 250 state troopers and 500 National Guard riot troops. The troops frisked every one of the 500 protesters at the funeral march. They arrested at least 25, mostly on charges of transporting weapons, and would allow WVO's armed "honor guard" into the procession only if their weapons were unloaded!

Labor Must Smash the Klan!

Besides the danger of illusions in cop protection, the other lesson made clear by the Greensboro massacre is that a handful of people cannot successfully take on the Klan by holding small adventurist demonstrations. WVO is a crazed and hysterically disoriented Stalinist/Maoist outfit. They may have held "Death to the Klan" rallies, but they are equally capable of holding a "Death to the Trots and Down with the USSR" rally. They hate the Soviet Union, Trotskyists and the Klan—in that order. In their politics and social attitudes WVO resembles nothing so much as "left-wing" boat people. A recent *Workers Viewpoint* centerfold went so far as to demand the execution of Trotskyists in Iran! As one of the most viciously sectarian and wildly adventurist groups on the left, they specialize in virulent thug violence, often directed against Trotskyists. And now, even after five of their comrades lie dead they have taken to attacking the SYL campus rallies protesting the massacre of their comrades!

But the Klan in Greensboro was not out to attack only this particular Maoist splinter group. Because of the weakness of the left in this country, WVO happened to be the "reds" in Greensboro. These racists were gunning for all the "commies," "n---- lovers" and "labor agitators." Their guns are still aimed at all blacks and minorities, at every trade unionist and socialist, at everyone they consider to be a social "deviant" in this country.

The Klan and Nazis cannot be defeated by reliance on the state to ban them, reliance on the cops to protect anti-racist demonstrators or by small adventurist rallies. The massive social power of the labor movement must be mobilized in alliance with black organizations to smash these fascist scum and demand: Drop the charges against the anti-Klan protesters and jail the killer Klansmen! No to gun control! Uphold the right of armed self-defense! Avenge Greensboro—for massive labor/black mobilizations across America to smash the Nazis and the Klan! ■

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427-0003

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land, OH 44101, or call (216) 621-
5138

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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

New York: SYL, Box 444, Canal
Street Station, New York, NY 10013,
or call (212) 925-5665

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Trotskyist League of Canada

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Vancouver: Box 26, Station A,
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Racist Mobs...

(continued from page 4)

tenured professors, among them Murray Levin and Howard Zinn, the political scientists and the most controversial professors there are on this campus. Is there going to be any support or what action will you be taking to prevent this from happening?

John: The Spartacus Youth League seeks to mobilize students against the attempted firing of these professors, which we see as an attack on the rights of the workers on the campus. In past struggles, we supported the campus workers and faculty when they went out on strike. We went out on the picket lines and we demanded that the picket lines must be honored so that they could win what they were fighting for. So we feel that it is necessary to beat back this attack which is an attack on all democratic rights, and affects the rights of students as well. What is necessary is a united front of all the various campus organizations, the unions and leftist organizations to defeat these attacks. There have been other groups, for example the Revolutionary Student Brigade, which, when there was a strike before, they crossed the picket line. We saw that one thing that was necessary in order for the workers to win, was that the university be shut down tight. Incidentally, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, again linking up to the question of racism, has had a position of being opposed to busing. In fact, what their politics at the time, in 1974, were to demand "Stop forced busing." They allied themselves de facto with the fascists in Boston.

Liisa: We see that busing itself is not the total solution for ending the oppression

of blacks in this country, but we think it must be defended as a basic democratic right that all children should have access to a decent education. We said that busing should be extended into the suburbs.

John: But what has happened is, in effect, that busing has been killed. And we have to look and see why busing was killed, why after all these years of struggles, the small gains that blacks and the oppressed have won in the past are being eroded. A lot of it was reliance on the federal government, reliance on the courts and reliance on the cops.

WTBU: Getting back to labor, now there's poor blacks and poor whites going after the same types of jobs... Do you feel there is more a racist mood by them toward blacks, or do you feel it's just a dog-eat-dog world, everyone fighting to survive?

Liisa: This is a very important point of our program that we fight for in the trade unions. We want to see revolutionary leadership develop there to fight for jobs for all. In the auto plants, in Detroit, workers are working 60 hours a week and killing themselves, and this is forced overtime. What we want to see is for them to work 30 hours for the same amount of pay, we want to see them fight for this and for more jobs for all; as well as fighting to organize the South and other areas that are not unionized.

John: In that situation, where the crumbs are becoming smaller and smaller, you have sections of the working class becoming lumpenized and thrown out of the factories; it opens up the possibility for the racists to mobilize. In this society, you only have two choices within the framework of capitalism. You have the Democrats, who propose a policy of inflation, where the paycheck of workers shrinks ever-

more or you have the policies of the Republicans, where you have the policies of unemployment. But right now, you're having both—no matter what kind of administration, either the Democrat or Republican parties. It doesn't make any difference if it's Carter or Kennedy or whoever. That's why we say that it is necessary for the working class and the oppressed to break with its class enemies, build its own party and fight for its own government, and run the country in its own interest.

WTBU: Do you feel that when there is a war, the racist level tends to go down or up because peoples' minds are on defending mom, apple pie...?

John: Look at the example of WWII and what happened. Everything was a battle for production so that U.S. imperialism could maintain its position of power, be the dominant world imperialist power. For blacks this meant that their democratic rights would have to take a back seat. We have to learn from history—what the ruling class will attempt to do is say, well your enemy's not at home, your enemy's not your boss, your enemy's not the cop who's beating you over the head, your enemy's not the racist mob that's attacking you. What they're trying to say is that your enemy is the Japanese worker, like you, working in a factory, or a British worker, or the Russians. We say that the main enemy is at home and that is the kind of fight that we raise today.

Liisa: What happened during WWII was that Japanese-Americans were put in concentration camps, and in Detroit, there were riots and blacks were being attacked by racists...

John: Ever since we were kids, we've been told that what exists now will always be here, and for the oppressed, that's not a very pretty picture. We in the

Spartacus Youth League look at the example of the Russian Revolution. And we know that it can be done, that capitalism can be overthrown. Before the revolution, you had a situation where different nationalities were being pitted against each other. You had pogroms, where whole villages of Jewish people would be massacred. What the Bolsheviks did in carrying out the revolution is that they mobilized the working class and mobilized them on a class basis. By overthrowing that system, they were able to eliminate the basis for the racism. That's where we stand, on the basis of the Russian Revolution and see that as the way forward.

WTBU: Getting back to Boston, who, as mayor, would you rather see in there—Timilty or White?

John: We as Marxists are not in the business of choosing the lesser of two evils. We are not in the business of choosing which group is in a better position to oppress us. That's why we fight for a workers party. But that's one of the fundamental things—we have to see who our enemies are, and our enemies are both the Mayor Whites and the Timiltys. The Democratic Party is the party of those people, like Mayor White, who bankrolled this racist, [James] Kelley, and the Democratic Party is the party of Louise Day Hicks. The Democratic Party is the party of George Wallace.

If students want to change the world, if they want a society that is free from racism, sexual oppression, and oppression of classes, it is going to require a fight for socialist revolution, it's going to require the construction of a revolutionary party and that is why we seek to win students to our perspective and seek to recruit people to the Spartacus Youth League. ■

Protest FBI...

(continued from page 2)

line had been drawn: either the RCP was opposed to the FBI's presence on campus, in which case they would join the demonstration, or they would put their sectarian reformism ahead of this necessary fight, and abstain from the struggle at hand. The majority of their small contingent voted with their feet and walked away, but two of their sympathizers chose to side with the working class and oppressed and joined the march. The RCPers who chose the sectarian path of abstention went to soap box at the Student Center Building cafeteria, where they were thrown out by the WSU cops. One of the RCP supporters is currently being held without charges and without bail.

A highlight of the demonstration was a speech by a militant from United Auto Workers Local 600 (River Rouge):

"I want to say that this is a very important and necessary protest against the FBI and its racist, anti-working class role in this capitalist society. At Rouge we just had a really important victory against racist provocation by two foremen. The Ford Motor Company was forced to remove two foremen, including a general foreman: they went beyond the usual, day-to-day racist harassment that is our daily bread at Rouge. They put on Klan hats and paraded around in their work areas. Now what the company wanted to do was to discipline the six workers who

walked off their jobs in protest, not the foremen! The foremen continued to work. The union leaders' response was ho-hum, business as usual, file a grievance, we can't do anything, we don't have any power, we don't have any control over what the company hires and fires. But within 48 hours over 1,000 people that work in that plant signed a petition demanding that the union call for the firing of these two foremen. And guess what—as soon as it hit the papers, the next day, these guys were off the job. This is just a small sample of the power that labor has... We have the power to pull the plug on this whole rotten capitalist system and all its henchmen, and that includes the cops, the courts, and the secret police like the CIA and FBI that we are demonstrating against today." ■

PSC Exclusion...

(continued from page 2)

that SYL members fought and it is for that fight we were excluded from PSC meetings.

"DSOC has made it clear that raising our revolutionary ideas constitutes 'disruption'; opposing DSOC trade union bureaucrats, the capitalist Democratic Party and DSOC's current darling Teddy Kennedy violates the 'democratic process.' Politically characterizing social democracy and Loftin's anti-communist actions against the SYL constitutes 'libelous personal attacks.'"

—SYL letter to *Daily Northwestern*, 2 November

Particularly in the United States, the foundation of social democracy is anti-communism. In his own very small way Michael Loftin has demonstrated this once again. The International Socialist Organization (ISO), the left tail of DSOC in the PSC offers little that is at variance with DSOC's politics—virulent anti-Sovietism, adulation of the trade-union bureaucrats and capitulation to "progressive" Democrats. Above all they share implacable hostility to revolutionary Marxist politics.

The PSC promises to degenerate into

a campus club for Kennedy's election. Those Northwestern students whose commitment to social change does not center in the racist, strike-breaking, war-mongering Democratic Party or clique ties to their campus press agents in DSOC should join in the struggle to build the Leninist vanguard of proletarian revolution—against the rotting corpse of social democracy. ■

Iran...

(continued from page 12)

supplying it with guns to shoot down the rebel Kurds.

In all of its imperialist arrogance the U.S. ruling class never expected that allowing the mass murderer and bloody torturer who once occupied the Peacock Throne to get expensive medical treatment in the U.S. would unleash a storm of fury in Iran. The American bourgeoisie cannot understand that Khomeini is a man who means what he says when he talks about restoring the moral codes of the seventh century Bedouin tribes to present-day Iran. The "born-again" Baptist in the White House has run up against a man like John Knox and John Brown who *really believes*. But at bottom Khomeini is no enemy of U.S. imperialism. Even as they attempt to take Iran back to the middle ages the anti-Communist Persian chauvinist mullahs must sell oil on the world imperialist market. The U.S. is having a difficult time putting Khomeini on a leash. The advantage of the current crisis is that it disrupts American military support to the clericalist regime (a welcome respite for the oppressed of Iran).

The American people have every interest in replacing a government that props up vicious dictators like Pinochet, the shah and Khomeini with a government of the working class. It is the policies of U.S. imperialism that brought the maniac ayatollah to power. Hate the shah? Hate Khomeini?—then hate U.S. imperialism. ■

SF State Demo...

(continued from page 7)

should not be armed in their own defense. Tell it to the people that were shot down in the streets by the shah of Iran and tell it to the people in Iran right now—the women who are being lashed and executed for taking the veil off, homosexuals, workers who are trying to organize in unions, the Kurds, the various national minorities who are being shot down by that government. Tell it to them. Tell them they should turn the other cheek. Now we say that there's a reality, we don't glorify violence. But there has never been a ruling class in history that has surrendered peacefully when workers or anybody else has tried to overturn them. That's the reality... Non-violence is a nice idea—what it means is that the United States Army, the National Guard and the local police force will come down and shoot you in the street at the drop of a hat when they want to...." ■

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YSA...

(continued from page 3)

pass off the 1939-40 fight as simply a struggle against the latter's "refusal to decisively turn toward the unions." Feldman's piece goes on for five pages but devotes only one line to what was at the heart of Cannon's fight with the petty-bourgeois minority: the duty of Trotskyists to uphold the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism:

"These items [in the bulletin] do not center on the theoretical issues that were in dispute, like the nature of the Soviet Union or the necessity of defending the degenerated workers' states against imperialism."

Hardly a "theoretical" issue at the time of the Hitler-Stalin Pact when bourgeois public opinion was virulently anti-Soviet, Soviet defensism and revolutionary defeatism toward the U.S. bourgeoisie were *burning* issues. Cannon and 17 other Trotskyists went to prison a year later under the Smith Act for their refusal to support the entry of their "own" bourgeoisie into WWII. Cannon's *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, written to draw the lessons of the 1940 fight, puts it plainly: "The discussion has revealed not a difference of opinion about the application of the program—such differences frequently occur and usually have a transitory significance—but an attempt to counterpose one program for another... they turn their backs on the Soviet Union and deny it defense in the struggle against world imperialism." Feldman's shoddy falsification is motivated by more than the desire to pass off as Trotskyism Barnes & Co.'s wholesale pursuit of influence in the labor bureaucracy. The SWP/YSA have all but in name turned their backs on defense of the USSR. From their refusal to call for military victory to North Vietnam and the Stalinist NLF against U.S. imperialism in the Vietnam War to their call on Brezhnev to offer to initiate nuclear disarmament "as a show of good faith" to critical support to Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, the SWP/YSA has adapted itself to the reflex anti-communism of the U.S. bourgeoisie and its labor lieutenants.

Feldman implies that the party crisis was triggered by the refusal of the minority to carry out the decision to "devote 90 percent of party effort" to work in the trade unions. Their refusal to do this was not due, Feldman tells us, to "the existence of a contrary line or clearly defined alternate orientation, but by reluctance, hesitation and skepticism about taking the next step in building the party... making our program a reality through turning the party toward the industrial unions." This outright falsification is exposed by the fact that after the minority split, the grouping around Shachtman went on to form the Workers Party and build industrial fractions in auto, steel, maritime and other industries, often directly competing with the SWP for contacts. The Shachtmanites deeply desired respectability in the petty-bourgeois intellectual circles. While the opposition was overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois in its social composition, it was not the question of work in the unions but the dramatic escalation of anti-Sovietism in this milieu with the approach of war that was the real pressure point for the minority. "Comrade" Barnes—when he was fighting tooth and nail *against* an industrialization perspective proposed by the Proletarian Orientation Tendency (POT) in 1971—also can be quoted against the SWP rewrite of history:

"The chief characteristic of the petty-bourgeois opposition of 1939-40 was its capitulation to bourgeois... opinion on the eve of the coming imperialist war... The Shachtmanites had carried out a large scale policy of colonization of their members into industry during WWII. But the test we applied was not their colonization progress. We tested their political line and practice."

—Barnes and Sheppard, "The Real Meaning of the

Proletarian Orientation Tendency," *SWP Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 29, No. 19, July 1971

The SL's Fight for Class-Struggle Trade-Union Politics

The POT was not the first internal grouping to advocate an orientation to the labor movement since the SWP's loss of trade-union fractions in the 1950s. As a result of the McCarthyite witchhunt, the SWP was driven out of a number of unions; after the fight with the liquidationist Cochran-Clarke faction in 1953 most of the remaining trade unionists left the party. Isolated from the working class and led by an aging cadre the SWP's process of degeneration came to a head around the party's accommodation to the non-proletarian Castro leadership of the Cuban revolution. In abandoning the need for a revolutionary Leninist party and uncritically tailing the Castro "team" the SWP initiated its departure from Trotskyist program and heritage.

It fell to the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) to struggle against the party's plunge into centrism. The nucleus of the RT originated in the central leadership of the YSA. The YSA's founding leaders—Tim Wohlforth, James Robertson and Shane Mage—having been recently won to the SWP from the disintegrating Shachtmanite Independent Socialist League, took the program of Trotskyism seriously. As part of an alternative domestic perspective for the SWP the RT proposed an interventionist class orientation to the black movement, a modest but real perspective of colonizing into the South and the recreation of nuclei within key industries. The RT submitted an amendment to the majority resolution for the 1963 convention which read in part:

"(C) In maintaining its orientation to the working class as a whole, the party must steadily seek to make or find opportunities to recreate Trade Union fractions at selected spots across the country in industries important to the class struggle. Moreover, every party branch should develop contact with the most important unions and factories in its area; for example, through regular, long-term press sales, and accompanied, where possible, by direct electoral campaign approaches."

—Reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 3, Part II

Unable to tolerate the RT's challenge, the SWP bureaucratically expelled the leaders of the tendency in 1963. Expelled RT members began publication of the journal *Spartacist* in 1964, leading to the formation of the Spartacist League in 1966.

The SL continued its original fight for a proletarian orientation in its regroupment policy. By counterposing working-class politics to the polyvanguardism of the New Left in its interventions into SDS, the SL was able to win the nucleus of a youth section. Later regroupments, particularly the SL fusion with the ex-Maoist Communist Working Collective, allowed the SL to lay the basis for a serious industrialization perspective by 1971.

Since that time SL-supported oppositions have established an impressive record of fighting for class-struggle politics in the unions. Keith Anwar, a militant steel worker supported by the SL, has gained recognition for his refusal to cross the picket lines of striking workers from USWA Local 8180. Anwar, a member of USWA Local 1010 at Inland Steel's East Chicago mill, was fired from his job last May for upholding this basic trade-union principle. His case has received extensive media coverage and support from steel workers in the Chicago area, including USWA District 31, Local 65 and 1010. Even Ed Sadlowski saw fit to back Anwar. Yet the "socialist scabs" of the SWP/YSA have refused to write one word about the struggle of this militant against the steel bosses (see *YSp* No. 76, October 1979, for details!)

The SWP/YSA has also chosen to remain silent about Jane Margolis, executive board member of Communi-

cations Workers of America Local 9410 and spokesman for the CWA's Militant Action Caucus. Last July Margolis, an elected delegate to the CWA convention in Detroit was seized by Secret Servicemen and dragged off the convention floor before she had the chance to confront convention "guest" Jimmy Carter and denounce his wage-slashing, strike-breaking policies. Margolis' opposition to the Democratic Party, her call for a workers party to fight for a workers government, stands in stark contrast to the SWP's strategy of popular-front coalitions with the Democrats—a strategy they will continue in the unions as they vie for influence with the bureaucrats who channel labor votes into the Democratic Party.

The SWP/YSA stayed away from the recent anti-Klan rally held by Detroit auto workers, blacks and socialists. While the SL/SYL built and publicized the actions of these militants (see front page article this issue), the SWP/YSA should logically have opposed such a massive demonstration against the "free speech for fascists" they advocate.

So the YSA is making its "turn" to the plants. Yet these aspiring water boys for the trade-union bureaucracy should not expect a ready-made niche where they can peddle their social-democratic wares. There is an opening for slick

young labor sellouts; the ossified bureaucracy, more distant and ineffective with the ranks, needs to co-opt and recruit a new generation to replace itself. Yet generally the labor tops are not as far-sighted as the SWP/YSA might think, and the SWP will have to face other competitors in the field, like DSOC. Furthermore, the anti-communist American labor bureaucracy will not turn to the SWP, at least at first, as long as the SWP pays lip service to that Russian communist revolutionary Leon Trotsky. The SWP/YSA ranks, recruited on the basis of "single-issue" campaigns (to legalize abortion, pass the ERA or get the universities to divest, etc.) may find their time on the assembly line to be a bit more than what they bargained for when they checked off the box on the *Young Socialist* coupon saying, "Yes! I'd like to join the YSA!"

It is a good thing that the American working class has as yet no effective social-democratic misleadership and we intend to defeat the YSA in their dirty work. The students and young workers won to the SYL will carry the revolutionary program to the unions and lead the fight to replace the YSA's bureaucratic pals with class-struggle leadership. Forward to a genuinely mass revolutionary working-class party to fight for a workers government! ■

AAPRP...

(continued from page 5)

black oppression in the U.S., looking instead to a black-ruled Pan-African homeland. Yet the Stokelyites' idyll of black freedom in post-independence Africa is a myth. Neo-colonial Africa remains under imperialist domination—their economies are still centered on cheap black labor and exportation of raw materials to the advanced capitalist countries. Africa is still an underdeveloped hellhole for the worker and peasant masses. Pan-Africanism never challenged this; in fact, the first Pan-Africanist congresses were explicitly designed to work out with the imperialist powers a peaceful transition from colonialism to neo-colonialism (see *Young Spartacus* No. 22, March-April 1974, "Pan-Africanism or Communism").

Pan-Africanism thus originated as, and continues to be, an ideology which serves the native brokers for imperialism in Africa. The Stokelyites' guru, Kwame Nkrumah, while president of Ghana crushed the 1971 general strike in the name of "African Socialism." In particular, Pan-Africanism has been used to justify the rule of the dominant tribe in nations whose boundaries were determined by the imperialists precisely to divide national and pre-national populations. Thus, a fundamental principle of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) is to maintain the borders inherited from colonialism. This kind of "African unity" really means unity against minority peoples; the logic of the OAU's position is to support the slaughter of the Biafran Ibos in Nigeria and the oppression of the Eritreans and Somalis by Ethiopia. Pan-Africanism is at bottom hostile to genuine national self-determination in Africa.

The "African Socialist" regimes the

Stokelyites uphold perpetuate a framework of tribal bloodletting and barbarism of the likes of Idi Amin and Bokassa. Perhaps one of the most vicious legacies of the backwardness of tribal existence continued by Africa's neo-colonial rulers is the brutal chattel slavery of women. For example, "progressive" Kenyan nationalist Jomo Kenyatta, one of the founding fathers of Pan-Africanism, was an advocate of female circumcision (a tribal rite in which the female genitals are mutilated and the clitoris removed to ensure marital fidelity). In the words of Kenyatta: "The abolition of *irua* (circumcision) will destroy the tribal symbol which identifies the age groups, and prevent Gikuyu from perpetuating the spirit of collectivism and national solidarity which they have been able to maintain from time immemorial" (*Facing Mount Kenya*). That Pan-Africanists can defend such brutality speaks volumes about their pretenses to liberate the oppressed masses.

As revolutionary internationalists we fight for the liberation of the African workers and peasants through socialist revolution. At the same time we see that the real role of American blacks in fighting for their freedom is as a vanguard in the American proletarian revolution. As the SL/SYL leaflet for the conference pointed out:

"The Spartacist League is guided by the strategic aim of assembling together black and white, men and women, revolutionists within a single racially integrated Leninist vanguard party which is the tribune of all the oppressed. Such a party is crucial in leading the working class to the seizure of state power and thereby destroying the material basis of racial oppression. Since blacks not only represent a significantly high proportion of the working class, but also face brutal racial discrimination, a black communist cadre will play the key role in both the party and in the class in leading a successful proletarian revolution." ■

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Iranian Students Threatened with Deportations

Khomeini's Antics Fuel U.S. Chauvinist Backlash

NOVEMBER 15—In the early morning hours Sunday, November 4 the U.S. Embassy in Teheran was seized by pro-Khomeini students in a well-orchestrated siege. Holding 62 American staff and Marines hostage, the Islamic fanatics backed by Khomeini are demanding the return of the deposed butcher shah Riza Pahlavi to Iran for trial.

The U.S. government's initial reaction to the embassy seizure was to play down the traditional recourse of "sending in the Marines," but it is certainly preparing for the option. On November 12 Carter cut off Iranian oil shipments, prompting the Iranians to announce an oil embargo. On November 14 Carter froze all official Iranian assets in American banks, responding to an announcement by Khomeini's government that its U.S. investments would be withdrawn. And Washington is forcing all 50,000 Iranian students in the U.S. to report to immigration offices, threatening to deport those found to be "illegally" here.

Chauvinist Backlash in the U.S.

The threatened police state round-up of thousands of Iranian students recalls the Palmer Raids against foreign-born communists and labor militants and the racist persecution of Japanese-Americans during World War II when 160,000 of them were incarcerated in American concentration camps. While one might relish seeing those sons and daughters of the "upper crust" of Iranian society who hailed the victory of Khomeini get a little taste of what life is like under the Imam, they are not the ones likely to be deported. The Carter administration has already asserted that the over 200 Iranian military personnel undergoing training will not be deported. No doubt many hapless anti-shah Iranians who now have nothing but contempt for the fanatical ayatollah are the most endangered. If deported they would be dealt out harsh treatment at the hands of the new torturers and assassins, the Shiite SAVAK, the Pasdars or "Revolutionary Guards." Furthermore, such a move would set a dangerous precedent for the easy deportation of undocumented workers, foreign nationals critical of the U.S.

Marxists shed no tears for the embassy hostages, a motley crew of imperialist diplomats, CIA/NSA agents and Marine lifers. They took the blood money, now they can face the consequences. But anti-imperialist demagoguery from those who wish to take Iran back to the middle ages aside, the hostages are primarily held simply because they are American (as those enthusiastic armchair supporters of the ayatollah on the idiot left would soon discover if they were in Iran now). The fanatical muslim students could just as easily have hi-



The embassy seizure has inflamed vicious national chauvinism on both sides. Across the U.S., flag waving demonstrators (right) singing "God Bless America" and chanting "Iran, go to hell!" and "Drink your oil and eat your sand" have marched in the streets and on the campuses. Above, fanatical muslim students parade American hostages, blindfolded, around the embassy yard.

jack a plane load of American tourists, and the American people know it.

Khomeini's antics could call forth no other reaction than the super-patriotic, flag-waving protests that have occurred on the campuses and in the streets all across America. A combination of identification with the hostages as American nationals and alienation from a society where alcohol, pork, movies, music, sunbathing, adultery, homosexuality and most things associated with a post-medieval lifestyle are forbidden has aided in driving Americans into the current pro-U.S. reaction. With the bottom falling out of the economy and the oil cartels threatening to jack up the gasoline prices sky high and reinstate rationing it is alarming that this incident has created a national unity not seen since the Korean War. Americans of every walk of life, every race and class, are suddenly "proud to be American."

The American government has gleefully seized on this and sought to mobilize popular support for racist round-ups and economic trade sanctions against Khomeini's theocratic state—channeling the frustration and anger of the American people against the "foreign devils." Half the American population would like to nuke Qom. As revolutionists, we oppose any U.S. military action against Iran. Against

Mingam/Gamma/Liaison

New York Times



U.S. imperialism we would defend Iran militarily, even under Khomeini's rule.

Who Gets the Shah?

Jimmy Carter is not the only one who has been able to stir up national unity in the current crisis. The ayatollah Khomeini has been able to unite a lot of Iranians in their justifiable hatred of the U.S. for its support to the shah. As the mullahs consolidate their dictatorship over the dead bodies of workers, women and national minorities, Khomeini must bolster his anti-shah credentials, to hide the fact that his Islamic state is every bit as reactionary as the shah's. The shah's jails are still full under the mullahs' rule and hundreds have been put to death by the "revolutionary tribunals."

Proletarian revolutionaries demand, "No asylum for the butcher shah!" For all we care he can be sent to any rotten regime that promises to shorten his few remaining days and make them miserable. But Khomeini has now become the oppressor of the Iranian toiling masses. We demand that he too be tried by his victims for his crimes, through proletarian revolution and fair trial.

U.S. Ruling Class Responsible for the Shah and Khomeini

It is a crime that to the extent justifiable outrage about the situation in

Iran exists among the American people, it has been channeled into reactionary unity with the U.S. bourgeoisie. This anger should be turned against the American ruling class which is responsible for the whole mess in Iran. It is U.S. imperialism that engineered the coup in 1953 to oust the bourgeois-nationalist Mossadeq and return the shah to power, as a bulwark against the Soviet Union. And U.S. imperialism trained the shah's monstrous torturers and killers in the SAVAK, whitewashing its gruesome role and supporting the shah despite international protest.

The U.S. will do anything in its power to fight the Soviet Union and communism, cooperating with any despot or anti-communist movement that suits its purposes. John Foster Dulles, former secretary of state, once commented: "The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us, and our task is to find it and develop it" (quoted in *The Political Economy of Growth*, Baran). So it is no surprise that once the shah was deposed the U.S. quickly did everything it could to win favor with the new regime of mullahs, including

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