

# Young Spartacus

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## No to Carter's Anti-Soviet Draft!

### Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!

On March 22 demonstrators will march on Washington to voice opposition to Carter's proposed draft registration. There's a lot of talk about reviving the antiwar movement of the 1960s. Timeworn pacifists have come out of the woodwork and thousands of students have taken a few halting steps toward what they perceive as radical politics, chanting "Hell no, we won't go" in demonstrations across the country. But there never has been nor will there ever be a mass movement against conscription which ignores the wars for which the draft is invoked. Anti-draft protesters must directly confront the real questions posed: Where do you stand on Carter's war drive against the Soviet Union? Will you defend the imperialist United States?

Unlike the antiwar protests of the 1960s and 1970s when opposition to the draft was linked to widespread hatred for U.S. imperialism's bloody genocide in Vietnam, today's protests largely ignore the crimes of imperialism. A decade ago thousands of young people marched in the street not just to demand that the U.S. get out of Vietnam, but to support the victory of the Vietnamese NLF. Hardly anyone believed in the "democratic" mission of U.S. imperialism as napalm, herbicides and anti-personnel weapons rained down on Vietnam to preserve the bloody tyranny



Spartacus Youth League contingent in New York City anti-draft demo, February 9.

of Ky and Thieu. Radical students genuinely hated what the U.S. government stood for both at home and abroad, and sincerely, if only for a short duration of time, desired the overthrow of the American capitalist government.

But today's anti-draft protesters are trying to reclaim the American flag—the symbol of U.S. imperialism—as their own. Protesters assail technology and nuclear power while echoing Carter's calls for austerity. "Bite the bullet, don't shoot it" has become one of the main themes of the anti-draft movement

particularly on the "eco-conscious" West Coast. Under the influence of Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy, anti-draft activists have asserted that war, especially over oil, is unnecessary—the preferable alternative is energy conservation here at home. They've even undertaken a consciousness-raising campaign to convince Americans that they are being selfish about their consumption of world energy supplies!

Behind all the "conservation, not conscription" rhetoric, these patriotic pacifists are in their own way lining up behind Carter's Cold War drive. The protests on the campuses have often been as anti-Soviet as the flag-waving counterdemonstrations of right-wing students. Hayden called on students to "resist the dangerous game the politicians are playing with the politics of your patriotism.... Troops would be useless in Iran, Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf." Then he went on to call for continued political rather than military pressure on the Soviet Union (i.e., the Cold War Carter is presently pursuing rather than thermonuclear hot war to which the Cold War inevitably leads!). His stance was echoed in numerous protests on the California campuses which backed the economic warfare that is Carter's present policy, in place of the military confrontation with the USSR which his policies only portend. In the absence of a clear antimilitarist, anti-imperialist program the present anti-draft movement will be dominated by those opposed only to a peacetime draft, and fuel the fortunes of the presidential "peace" candidates like Ted Kennedy and Jerry Brown. Coalitions with such bourgeois politicians only pave the way to imperialist war.

The Spartacist League/Spartacus

Youth League has boldly put forward the need for military defense of the Soviet Union, polarizing many of the recent anti-draft mobilizations with banners declaring, "No to the draft! No to Carter's war drive! Hail Red Army! Smash Islamic reaction!" In addition the SYL organized independent rallies of its own at the University of Chicago, UCLA, San Francisco State, the University of Michigan, UC Berkeley, Harvard and Oberlin. For many students, the SYL's unflinching defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism was the first viewpoint they had been exposed to which did not echo the American imperialist hysteria over the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. We are the only anti-imperialists in these demonstrations. And for that we have earned the wrath of all the fake-lefts who want to rope the Democratic Party "doves" into their broad coalition against the draft. The grand anti-draft unity would be shattered by any consideration of the political issues which have brought the draft to the center of public attention—Afghanistan and the nature of the USSR.

### Break With the Bosses' Parties—Twin Parties of War and Racism

A February 9 New York City rally was sponsored by a hodgepodge of Yippies, Quakers, right-wing libertarians and fake-lefts. All the leftist endorsers of the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) agreed to muzzle themselves so as not to alienate the liberals. The fake-lefts howled when former Congresswoman Bella Abzug was met by militant Spartacist chants of "Break with the Democrats! Build a workers party!" At a subsequent CARD

continued on page 9

### Let U.S. Athletes Go to Moscow!

Carter's campaign to whip up a U.S. chauvinist frenzy against the Soviet Union has witnessed the virtual cessation of scientific and cultural ties between the two countries. The proposed boycott of the Summer Olympics in Moscow is part of this disgusting Cold War campaign, and one which unfortunately seems to have piled up some support.

So it is heartening that Eric Heiden, the U.S. speed skater who just won five gold medals at the Winter Olympics, has come out against it. At a February 25 gathering at the White House held in honor of the U.S. Winter Olympics team, Heiden offered Carter a petition, signed by a majority of the U.S. Winter team, opposing the boycott. "The Winter athletes in general just don't

feel a boycott is the right thing," Heiden said (*New York Times*, 26 February). The White House has conveniently "misplaced" Heiden's petition.

Ruling classes (and the bureaucratic castes in the deformed and degenerated workers states) seek to exploit the athletic achievements of "their" Olympics champions to foment reactionary nationalism. The Spartacus Youth League opposes Carter's boycott because it is directed against the Soviet degenerated workers state. We praise the Olympics athletes who refuse to prostitute their talents for Carter's Cold War hysteria and Heiden's courage in bringing their protest against the boycott to the White House. Break the boycott! Let the U.S. Olympics Team go to Moscow! ■

# Support Builds for Jane Margolis

Workers Vanguard

SAN FRANCISCO, February 28—The case of Jane Margolis vs. the U.S. Secret Service continues to gather new support and funds as it nears its first court appearance February 29. Margolis is suing the Secret Service for its attack upon her in Detroit last July at the National Convention of the Communication Workers of America (CWA). Margolis, an elected delegate representing thousands of workers, was seized, handcuffed and dragged from the convention floor by the Secret Service—all to prevent her from speaking against the anti-labor policies of Jimmy Carter. This case fights to defend free speech and the independence of the labor movement from government strong-arm tactics.

But as support for the case grows so has company harassment of Margolis and other CWA members. Just this week *Young Spartacus* learned that Margolis, a steward and Executive Board member of Local 9410 (San Francisco), is facing a five-day suspension and has been placed on final warning notice for firing. Management has repeatedly sought to get Margolis. For eight and a half years she has stood out as a fighter for labor; she is a leader of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC)—a class-struggle opposition in CWA Local 9410. In 1975 the phone company fired her but Margolis regained her job through a long, drawn-out battle which finally forced the company to back down.

The phone company's latest attempt to purge Margolis from the industry comes in the midst of escalating, vicious company harassment of outspoken phone workers. Margolis told *Young Spartacus*:

"The company has begun the August contract early. In the last few weeks, there has been a shocking number of firings and frame-ups. These have been directed against model workers and union militants. Over the last year and a half, 100 phone workers have been fired in San Francisco alone. The company is

attempting to break and destroy our union. They want an intimidated and leaderless membership so they can shove a sellout contract down our throats in August. It's time for action that can bring a halt to these company attacks. We in the MAC, along with other concerned stewards and members, are going to be building for a March 18 strike vote."

## Union Locals Back UCASSH

Members of CWA Locals 9410 and 9415 formed the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) to support the Margolis suit against the Secret Service. UCASSH has already generated significant labor support, including the backing of CWA locals 9201 (Portland, Oregon) and 5011 (Lockport, Illinois), United Electrical Local 1412, SEIU Local 535 State Executive Board, International Typographical Union (ITU) Local 21 and the individual endorsements of over 42 CWA stewards.

Many prominent individuals and organizations committed to the defense of democratic rights have also endorsed the suit. Among them are the National Lawyers Guild; Robert Meeropol, younger son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, the couple that was framed up and executed at the height of the McCarthyite anti-communist hysteria; Doron Weinberg, constitutional rights attorney in San Francisco; Bill Hampton, December 4th Committee and Hampton/Clark lawsuit; and Henry Schmidt, retired International Vice President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and leader of the 1934 San Francisco general strike.

According to UCASSH spokesmen, its first fundraising goal of \$5,000 has already been surpassed by \$1,000. Still, the gap between present contributions and the projected legal costs of \$25,000 for this year alone is enormous. The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) has been working with the Partisan Defense

Jane Margolis speaks to CWA convention after Secret Service attack.



Committee (PDC) to help bridge this gap. It is to champion those cases and causes whose victorious outcome is in the interests of all labor that the Partisan Defense Committee was formed. In accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, the PDC stands in the tradition of the early International Labor Defense established by James P. Cannon. The PDC is now launching a major fundraising campaign on behalf of the Margolis case and UCAASH.

On the campuses, the SYL has gathered endorsements and funds for UCASSH from both faculty and campus unions. Howard Zinn, who has come under the gun of crazed union-busting administrator John Silber at Boston University for his pro-labor

views and support to striking campus workers, endorsed along with professors at campuses around the country. At the University of California at Berkeley, AFSCME Local 1695 along with several individual faculty members of AFT Local 1474 have endorsed. Other endorsers include Bruce Wright of the Statewide Executive Board, United Professors of California, and member of AFT Local 1588 in Los Angeles, and John Beecher, professor at San Francisco State University, who was fired in 1950 for refusing to sign the McCarthy-era loyalty oath.

This is no ordinary lawsuit: the independence of labor from coercive state control is at issue. If the government's secret police agencies can silence this union leader with impunity on the floor of her own convention, then no section of the labor movement is safe from suppression.

The government recognizes what is at stake too. Every legal trick in the book will be used to delay and tie up this case, adding to already costly court and legal fees. The government has enormous resources at its disposal, while Margolis requires broad financial support from those willing to defend basic democratic rights.

We call upon those committed to the defense of the fundamental constitutional and democratic rights at stake in this case, and all those committed to the defense of the independence of the labor movement, to send a contribution to UCASSH today. It needs and deserves your support. ■

## Victory to the British Steel Strike!

Spartacist Britain



FEBRUARY 26—For the past two months more than 150,000 British steel workers have been waging a bitter strike battle against the nationalized British Steel Corporation, the private steel companies and Margaret Thatcher's Tory government. From the campuses to the picket lines the Spartacist League of Britain (SL/B) has actively intervened in this struggle, putting forward a strategy that can lead the steel workers to victory. While the rest of the British left tailed the steel union bureaucracy and called for a general strike only

after it was already on the lips of the majority of steel workers, the SL/B pointed out from the beginning that the entire British working class—from auto workers at British Leyland to the Welsh coal miners—are under a vicious capitalist onslaught of wage slashing and redundancies (layoffs) and must answer the bosses with a *General Strike Now!*

On February 7, Spartacist Societies at the London School of Economics (LSE) and Birmingham University initiated rallies in support of the steel strikers, members of the

Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC). At both campuses Spartacist supporters posed the question to students, "Which side are you on? Will you support the bosses or the working class?" At LSE 50 students gathered to hear speakers from the Rotherham Strike Committee, the SL/B and others. A student union meeting held afterwards heatedly debated a Spartacist motion calling for a donation of £100 to the steel workers—a motion which narrowly failed to win the necessary two-thirds majority. Nonetheless the Spartacist Society collected over £100 on campus from individual students for the steel strike!

At Birmingham University, reactionary Tory students tried to disrupt the Spartacist steel strike support rally by creating feedback on the PA system. They were quickly given a lesson in good manners by steel workers and SL/B supporters. Two strikers addressed the crowd, bringing "fraternal greetings from 15,000 Yorkshire steel workers." SL/B spokesman Jo Woodward described how in 1972 students had supplied accommodation and support to the miners' flying pickets. "This is the tradition we seek to stand on and repeat," she said. Victory to the steel strike! General strike now! Get Thatcher—the workers must rule!

## Young Spartacus

*Young Spartacus* (ISSN 0162-2692) is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, is a socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

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## YWLL: Whatever Happened to Détente?

# How to Fight Carter's Anti-Soviet War Drive

We reprint below a leaflet distributed by the Spartacus Youth League to a conference of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL, youth group of the Communist Party) held in New York City the weekend of February 9-10. As Carter launches Cold War II over Afghanistan, the myth of "détente" has exploded. And the escalation of U.S. military threats and provocations against the Soviet Union has put the CP/YWLL in the contradictory position of on the one hand defending the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, and on the other pursuing their strategy of an "anti-monopoly" coalition with the liberal wing of Carter's Democratic Party.

While they are running their own Gus Hall/Angela Davis presidential slate, running their own candidates has never stood in the way of CP/YWLL support to "progressive" Democratic Party politicians. The 1980 elections are no exception for the thoroughly reformist CP. The speeches and workshops at the YWLL conference were filled with touching faith in the "power of the ballot box" and laced with reminders that candidates from any party who advocate job and youth rights legislation should be actively supported. The CP's position on Afghanistan, however, was seldom mentioned. Here was the rare occasion where the CP/YWLL's blind loyalty to the Kremlin's foreign policy corresponds to supporting an historically progressive intervention of the Red Army: support to the left-nationalist regime in Kabul against imperialist-backed Afghan feudal reaction. Yet the conference treated Afghanistan as if it were a public embarrassment, burying it under an avalanche of reformist schemes for full employment and a better life under capitalism.

In contrast, the international Spartacist tendency has been outspoken in its opposition to Carter's anti-Soviet war drive. Even the Kremlin's most loyal supporters have been forced to take note of our support for the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Members of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (politically supported by the SL) in the National Maritime Union introduced a resolution at a recent port meeting in New York which opposed the reaction-

ary anti-Soviet boycott by the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). Although the NMU bureaucrats defeated the motion, the M-SC was successful in achieving a rare united front against the ILA's anti-working class boycott. A member of the CP-supported Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy introduced his remarks by noting that this was the first time in years he had wholeheartedly supported an M-SC resolution.

Because of our support to the Red Army in Afghanistan, a leading spokesman of the iSt's German section—Fred Zierenberg of the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands* (Trotzkist League of Germany)—was almost murdered by knife-wielding Afghan reactionaries (see YSp No. 79, "We Will Not Be Silenced!"). In Germany, where the border between East and West is ringed with thousands of Soviet and East German troops on one side and U.S. and West German troops on the other, defense of the Soviet Union is particularly urgently posed. Significantly, *Wahrheit*, the organ of the East German Socialist Unity Party, gave prominent coverage to this attempted assassination of a Trotskyist.

In connection with our demand that not a penny or a man should go to the U.S. war machine for its anti-Soviet war drive, the leaflet reprinted below invokes the tradition of the German revolutionary social democrat, Karl Liebknecht. Liebknecht's anti-militarist slogan, "Not a Penny or a Man for the Imperialist Army," was raised in opposition to World War I, an inter-imperialist war in which revolutionaries were defeatist on both sides. As raised in our leaflet, this tradition is misleading. In the event of war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, revolutionaries call for the military victory of the Soviets.

We also state that the SL/SYL "acted first in defense of Vietnam against the Chinese invasion." In fact, we had a strong tilt toward Vietnam because China's action deepened its reactionary diplomatic and potentially military bloc with U.S. imperialism, but we were not explicitly defensist of Vietnam. Our statement of revolutionary defeatism toward both sides was not just a formal



YWLL hides Soviet defensism while SYL champions Red Army in Afghanistan at New York City demo. CP spokesman Jarvis Tyner, second from left.

disclaimer but rather was based on the fact that we do not support the nationalist aims of the rival Stalinist bureaucracies in Hanoi or Peking in their feud over which shall be overlord of the Indochinese peninsula.

Carter's anti-Soviet war drive, threatening nuclear holocaust, poses a serious political challenge to revolutionary youth in the U.S. The madman in the White House is escalating his anti-Russian "human rights" demagoguery to the point of direct military threats against the Soviet Union. To back up the U.S. Cold War drive, Carter has called for reimposition of draft registration, earmarked billions more for the Pentagon and instituted economic sanctions against the Soviet Union—calling on other imperialist powers to follow suit. Certainly the attempts to whip up American chauvinist frenzy and the appeals on behalf of the reactionary Islamic rebel forces in "poor democratic Afghanistan" are part of Carter's re-election campaign strategy. But it is not merely that. The U.S. bourgeoisie wants to recapture its former position as imperialist top dog and lusters after the one-sixth of the globe ripped from the capitalist market by the victorious Russian Revolution of 1917.

The Spartacus Youth League and Spartacist League demand that the U.S. immediately lift all trade sanctions against the Soviet Union and lift its ban on travel from the Soviet Union to the U.S. Let Aeroflot use Kennedy airport! Visas now for the 17 Soviet dance and drama performers! Open the Soviet consulate in New York City! We demand that the U.S. maintain normal diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union. We have no illusions, however, that as long as imperialism survives there can be the "peace, détente and normal and friendly relations between the U.S. and the USSR" that the CP and YWLL call for. The U.S. and USSR are two social systems locked in mortal struggle. Should anyone doubt the willingness of U.S. imperialism to use nuclear war to get what it wants—remember Hiroshima and Nagasaki! The Japanese had already surrendered when the U.S. brutally mas-

sacred the civilian population of two cities. The use of the atomic bomb in Japan was the opening shot of the Cold War—aimed at intimidating the Soviet Union. At the time, the CPUSA hailed this imperialist crime, assuring the U.S. bourgeoisie that CP support for the American war effort was 100 percent.

Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign has served to morally and militarily rearm U.S. imperialism after its humiliating defeat at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese. Unfortunately, this campaign was given support by the Helsinki Accords, co-signed by the Kremlin and its allies. Helsinki is one of the fruits of the Soviet bureaucracy's illusion in the possibility of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

Afghanistan has exploded the myth of "détente." After threatening intervention in Iran and condoning China's invasion of Vietnam the U.S. provocations have gone from hijacking Aeroflot flights to the deployment of 572 nuclear warheads in Europe, offering China direct military assistance and Brzezinski's warmongering visit to the Khyber Pass. It is critical that communist youth oppose U.S. militarism and unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism.

At the anti-draft rallies which have swept the campuses across the country, the SYL has made clear that our opposition to the draft is not based on pacifist opposition to "war" in general or social-patriotic opposition to "peacetime" conscription. We demand, in the tradition of the German revolutionary Karl Liebknecht, that not a penny nor a man should go to the U.S. war machine for its anti-Soviet crusade.

In Afghanistan, there is an army worth fighting for—the Red Army! We hail the Soviet aid to the left-nationalists in Afghanistan against reactionary Islamic insurgents who want to maintain the veil, bride price and illiteracy in this wretchedly backward country. However, Soviet support for the Kabul government against Islamic reactionaries stands in flat contradiction to their support to Khomeini and the mullahs in Iran, the same kind of theocratic feudal reactionaries the Red Army is fighting in Afghanistan. Khomeini knows who

*continued on page 11*

### Spartacus Youth League Forums

## No to the Draft! Down With Carter's Anti-Soviet War Drive

- For military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack!
- Hail Red Army in Afghanistan—Smash Islamic reaction!
- Not a penny or a man for the imperialist armed forces!
- No to student deferments!

Speaker: Jeanne Mitchell

Thursday, March 6, 8:00 p.m.  
Reynolds Club Lounge  
University of Chicago  
57th and University  
Chicago

Tuesday, March 11, 8:00 p.m.  
110 Lincoln Hall  
University of Illinois  
Champaign Urbana

Tuesday, March 18, 8:00 p.m.  
Memorial Union (see *Today in the Union* for room)  
University of Wisconsin  
Madison

For more information call: (312) 427-0003

# Ann Arbor Cult/Sect Slanders Anti-Klan Demo

On November 3, 1979 five communist unionists were gunned down by the Ku Klux Klan in Greensboro, North Carolina. One week later militant auto workers from Ford's River Rouge plant and the Spartacist League organized the largest labor/black demonstration against fascist terror that Detroit has seen in decades.

Detroit has had more than its share of the recent upsurge in Klan/Nazi activity. Two years ago the Nazis opened a "bookstore" close to the River Rouge plant to display their swastikas and peddle their racist filth. Immediately preceding the Greensboro murders two Klan-hooded foremen in the River Rouge plant itself had the nerve to parade up and down the line wearing their symbol of nightriding terror. After the Greensboro atrocity the Klan stated its intention to march on the streets of Detroit. With this grotesque provocation, Detroit workers were ready for a fight.

Despite all the "dirty tricks" thrown in their path by a liberal black city administration, the protesters managed to reach Detroit-area workers and blacks. The rally, organized in less than three days time, was met with enthusiastic support in the plants and the neighborhoods. 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. On the day of the rally 500 trade unionists, ghetto youth, students and socialist militants gathered in Kennedy Square to protest Klan terror.

Over two months after the anti-Klan rally, a leaflet appeared denouncing the demonstration as a fake. Signed by the Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG) and titled "SL Fraud in Detroit! Read the Truth About the SL's Phony 'Labor/Black Rally' in Detroit!", the leaflet made a number of allegations that will surprise the anti-Klan militants who attended and also those who solidarized with the action in the U.S. and internationally.

While the RWG on paper stands for mass mobilizations to crush the Klan they politically opposed the *only* such demonstration to occur in the wake of the Greensboro massacre. The RWG argues the same line as Mayor Coleman Young and the bourgeois press. They claim the Klan never intended to march in the streets of Detroit. The RWG



Workers Vanguard  
These people are dupes?  
RWG slander amounts to racism.

would have us believe that the Klan is not a threat. The demonstrators chanted "Smash the Klan, this is the hour, labor and blacks have the power!" "Nonsense!" says the RWG. "The hour of confrontation with a fascist mass movement is a number of years off." Tell that to the relatives of the five martyred anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro! This kind of racist complacency ignores the fact that bourgeois democracy is very brittle especially for black people in the U.S. who are in constant danger of being gunned down in the street by some kill-crazy right-wingers or trigger-happy cops. The RWG's position amounts to telling blacks that there is no need to fight back until a fascist movement is leading masses in the streets. Furthermore, the RWG echoes Young's equation of Klan and anti-Klan protests in labeling the anti-Klan demonstration a provocation with repeated reference to the "crazy, adventurist tactics" of the organizers, just as the bourgeois media did over the Greensboro massacre.

The RWG says that the Spartacist League spent \$10,000 for a media event.

Given the total news blackout up to the very eve of the rally and the grip that Coleman Young and the UAW bureaucracy have on Detroit, the Spartacist League could have spent \$1 million and it wouldn't have made a difference. The blackout was lifted because a 500-strong labor/black rally could not be ignored. But the SL did in fact spend a lot of money. In addition, the organizational work done by our members cannot be translated into dollars. We wanted to make sure that what happened in Greensboro did not happen in Detroit. When we called the workers of Detroit into the streets we took responsibility for people's lives. Naturally, we sought a permit but the city officials refused us. We arranged for federal observers in case Young made good on his threat of mass arrests. We sought a preliminary injunction from federal court to restrain city officials from denying our right to peaceably assemble. A bomb squad rummaged through all the trash containers at Kennedy Square and used a trained dog to check out the parking lot underneath. We had doctors and lawyers at the rally and on call in case of

injury or arrest. We took political responsibility for the rally and we're proud no one was hurt.

The "fraud" accusations of the RWG are fairly ridiculous, but their characterization of those attending the rally as "accidental passers-by, downtown to shop or just hang out" is slanderous and insulting. But the RWG saved its most vile attacks for internal documents. RWG supporter Dallas Kenney circulated a letter dated 4 December 1979 claiming that "Black onlookers were repeatedly told to hold SL signs and then photographed by WV photographers...whereupon the signholding shopper would turn the sign around, read it and quickly give it back to a demonstrator." This is the most repulsive kind of anti-communism. The largely black crowd they claim was "attracted by the large banners, loudspeakers, TV cameras, cops, and general commotion." What? Like Pavlov's dogs? This inflammatory, paternalistic position that blacks are the dupes of communists and couldn't possibly know what they are doing puts the RWG in

*continued on page 11*

## An Interview With "The Notorious Comrade H."

**YSp:** Why did you leave the CDU for the SYL?

**Comrade H.:** Peter once told me that I was the CDU's best organizer, best public spokesman and highest vote getter in the last UAW Local 2001 election. He even said that I was a likeable person! I was flattered, but I still joined the SYL, mainly because I knew after a year of trade-union organizing that the international proletariat extended beyond Ann Arbor. The CDU had nothing to say about Portugal, Chile or Angola. They still don't, but after I joined the SYL they had a lot to say about me. They described me as "the Notorious Comrade H."—an unstable element and a mere pile of sand.

**YSp:** What do you think of the CDU's

record since you broke with them?

**Comrade H.:** I was really shocked when they crossed AFSCME's picket lines in the '77 strike. The comrades of the SYL told me they'd scab, but I couldn't believe they would betray everything we had worked 18 hours a day for—basic trade unionism! But they walked into work with coats over their heads to hide their faces and then wrote hundreds of pages justifying the "principle" of scabbing.

**YSp:** How did the CDU operate?

**Comrade H.:** It's hard to say. We had regular caucus meetings that lasted all day in which we talked about the next union meeting and Roberts Rules of Order. The CDU had a couple of study groups, mostly made up of non-union

members. One guy—he's their West Coast operator now—was accepted into the study group after he had reneged on the repayment of loans amounting to thousands of dollars cosigned by most of the CDUers. This guy was a real shady character. I couldn't believe that they would want something like that in the organization. I thought he should be run out of town. He didn't even promise to pay them back. He sounds like a mini-Moreno.

The CDU was a very little group set up along cliquist lines—there's always a lot of personal pressure in small groups, but the CDU seemed to have more than its share. I had never been a member of a leftist organization before so I wasn't sure whether this was the norm or not,

but something looked awfully wrong when caucus meetings would be interrupted by hysterical screaming and caucus leaders with intimate ties to "the leader" ended up being dumped in the local Roman Catholic insane asylum. Peter insisted that this was the norm and even gave me a quote from Cannon to back it up. The SYL turned out to be quite a bit different. Everyone knows that the SL has a "closet rule"—what you do in your personal life is your own business as long as it doesn't affect your organizational work. The trouble with the CDU study circle mentality was that everyone was busy trying to get into everybody else's closet!

**YSp:** What was the CDU's view of the

*continued on page 11*

# What is the "Revolutionary Workers Group"?

What is the RWG? The slanderous and scurrilous attacks of the RWG require us to introduce working-class militants to an organization that, might otherwise remain unknown outside of Michigan. The RWG is merely the latest in a long line of ostensibly Trotskyist centrist anti-Spartacist Leagues in the pattern of the now defunct Class Struggle League, *Spark*, the moribund Revolutionary Socialist League and the League for a Revolutionary Party, all of which despite their often inflated differences on formal political questions, share a defining orientation to the SL/SYL. And despite its pretensions to being a "new organization," the tendency which became the RWG has struggled against the Trotskyism of the SL for over a decade. Although this organization has been incapable of producing a single comprehensive programmatic statement in the last ten years, it has a 27 point outline for a critique/analysis of the SL.

Back in 1969 two Harvard students, Peter Solenberger and Leland Sanderson came into contact with Trotskyism through the Spartacist League branch in Boston. The SL at that time was a very small organization, but we had a program and a perspective—building a Leninist party through revolutionary regroupment. We sought to win the best elements in the mass radical Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) to revolutionary politics. The RWG today says that in 1969 the SL was a Trotskyist organization with a correct program. But Solenberger and Sanderson manufactured excuses to avoid joining a disciplined democratic-centralist Leninist vanguard. If the SL said it was going to the campuses to recruit radical students at the height of the New Left, then these campus-bound dilettantes would "go to the class." They wanted to be big fish in their own little pond.

It was through our intervention in SDS that the SL acquired the forces to undertake serious implantation in the unions of basic industry. The fact that the youth won to Trotskyism in the 1960s would become and did become the class-struggle union organizers of the 1970s they did not even consider. Underlying Solenberger and Sanderson's rejection of the SL's regroupment policy was a rejection of the Leninist party.

## From "Democratic" Unionism to Scabbing

In pursuit of the "Industrial Proletariat" and their own little pond to play around in, Solenberger and Sanderson ended up in Ann Arbor where they founded the embryo of an oppositional caucus in the University of Michigan secretaries' brand-new union—UAW Local 2001. Clericals for a Democratic Union (CDU) began as an amorphous, politically undefined clot and spent most of its time under the direction of Solenberger running for union office. Their program consisted of the ever useful codeword "democracy" and such vague libertarian demands as "fight for control of our working lives," and "change the priorities of society." The union members, who had struggled to unionize for eleven years, wanted better wages and working conditions, looked to the CDU to fight for them, and voted the CDU candidates into local union office. The CDU, under the direct control of Solenberger, had almost complete responsibility for a brand new local of 3,000 members. What followed was nearly a year of grueling union work in which the caucus members-turned-union-officers spent most of their days setting up an office, making endless phone calls to build for union meetings, organizing mailings and the like. At the same time, a vicious battle raged between the CDU and the "pro-UAW bureaucracy" caucus. This, along with pressure from a hostile UAW International and the usual trouble from the University management made the short life of Local 2001 a constant battle—with few results. The clericals got fed up and voted to decertify the union in 1976.

The CDU was the first time Solenberger/Sanderson had made a discernible dent in the class struggle (even if it was in Ann Arbor). They truly made a genuine mess of it. At the end of a year and a half of frenzied trade union work Solenberger ended up with a decertified local and a very small hard core of supporters bound together by elaborate personal ties. What was to become of the 20 or so union activists and subjective revolutionaries who at one time or another had devoted their efforts to building the CDU and working for a better union, some at great personal hardship? Most had been

recruited to the CDU on a program of low-level trade unionism and, when the union ceased to exist, they drifted away.

A few members of the CDU had managed to assimilate some ideas about class-struggle politics despite Solenberger's program of 18-hour-days of organizing on a sub-workerist basis. The caucus had many discussions, particularly as decertification neared, about the wisdom of Solenberger's perspective. In this period, members of the CDU might have been receptive to the idea that trade union work without the program and leadership of the vanguard party is a farce. But the clique of self-annointed high priests of Trotskyism, pretentiously named the Bolshevik Leninist Tendency (BLT) were calling all the shots. Solenberger had been around the left long enough to know that any exposure to the serious revolutionary politics of the SL would be the end of his CDU salad-days. He tried to seal off the membership of the CDU.

When CWA militant and SL supporter Jane Margolis gave a forum entitled "Trade Unionists and Revolutionary Politics" in Ann Arbor, Peter Solenberger declined to mention this event to the CDU members, taking it upon himself to decide that yet another night of endless phone calls was a priority for the CDU women. He delegated who would go to the Margolis forum. Peter countered the CDU membership's indignation at not even being told of the forum with the accusation that the SL had lied about the CDU. Thus began the infamous CDU "gag rule" which stipulated that only Peter or his designate could talk to the SL. What was Solenberger so afraid of in a confrontation with the SL? One of the CDU's main political spokesmen (and recording secretary of the union) asked the same question. She broke with the CDU/Solenberger petty-bourgeois radical circle to join the SYL (see "Ann Arbor Campus Militant Solidarizes with the SYL," *Young Spartacus* No. 51, February 1977). Later the "gag rule" was mysteriously dropped—because the CDU/BLT couldn't avoid the program of the SL and still expect to be taken seriously—even in Ann Arbor.

The RWG has been known to exist in whole or in part under a variety of initials: BLT-BLG-CDU-OCC-MDU-

DMGEO-CLSG-MDA-CMDUAW and RWG. The list is probably not complete. The egos of Solenberger and Sanderson must be enormous. These two dilettantes keep popping, up with no history, to the working class. If they run into a snag they try reincarnation and a different set of initials. This is only an index of the irresponsibility of the RWG. The RWG is particularly interested in dissociating itself from its supporters' failures. A BLT holding action called the "Committee for a Democratic Union" in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was involved in a bitter and disastrous strike in 1975. The strike was smashed and the union decertified (see "Support the Cambion Strike," *WV* No. 128, 8 October 1976; "UE Decertified by Scab Votes," *WV* No. 150, 25 March 1977). Imagine the surprise of the CDU "West" members in Ann Arbor when they found out that an organization with the same name existed in the East! And imagine their further surprise when they discovered that CDU "East" and CDU "West" were in constant telephone communication! Yet the BLT felt compelled to issue the following disclaimer to the SL on February 8, 1977:

"The comrades mentioned by the SL/SYL (the Cambion group) are not in any way subject to BLT discipline; and the BLT takes no responsibility for their actions."

Yet after the Cambion union was smashed, the two members of CDU "East" then packed up their bags and headed for Ann Arbor and have been working under the political name of the RWG ever since. Future field workers for the RWG take heed—if you succeed, they'll take the credit; but if you get into trouble, you're on your own.

Solenberger/Sanderson have good reason to want to disappear their past exploits: they have had very few successes. What with two decertified unions to their credit, one stillborn organizing drive and a couple of washed out caucuses, Solenberger, like Stalin, could be characterized as the great "organizer of defeats"! It's frightening to think of the failures this group has managed to bury successfully.

Eventually the exigencies of political life demanded that the RWG take a stand on something besides the now defunct Local 2001 and the SL. They did

*continued on page 10*

## Militant Quits RWG to Join the SYL

January 18, 1980

Dear Comrades,

I am writing this letter to express my political solidarity with the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), and to outline my reasons for breaking with the Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG) a.k.a. Bolshevik Leninist Group, Bolshevik Leninist Tendency, etc. I was a supporter of the trade union work of the RWG beginning in 1975. As an activist in their leading caucus, Clericals for a Democratic Union (CDU), I have seen them develop from a centrist New Left swamp into the hardened clique that they are today.

The RWG and its front groups have been run for years without written rules, documents or programs to justify their existence. Typically, the CDU took almost two years to adopt these organi-

zational fundamentals. As head honcho Peter S. aptly put it: "I didn't think they were necessary." This is entirely consistent with the patronizing attitude of the hypertrophied intellectuals who run the RWG.

Like all workerists, the RWG does not think that the working class is capable of accepting the *Transitional Program*, so it dishes up a variety of minimalist, economist programs to their various front groups. This cynicism was demonstrated when Peter S. told an ex-supporter of the RWG that "with six or ten good communists in the Rouge (the Ford River Rouge plant), we could win the plant in six months." Instead, after almost two years, the work of RWG supporters in the plant has been confined to turning out reams of hysterical, economist leaflets aimed at in-house bureaucrats—not fighting for a revolutionary class struggle program. To the

attacks of the Klan, the RWG answered with leaflets full of empty discourses on the nature of fascism. They reluctantly signed, but refused to lend a hand to SL supporters and other militants who were circulating petitions calling for the ouster of two KKK-hooded foremen. These militants were successful in their fight, but the RWG deprecated it. Peter S. said: "The anti-KKK petitions were a diversion from the more important fight against the contract." The RWG offers nothing to black auto workers.

While all communists realize that the need for security sometimes necessitates clandestine activities, the RWG has elevated this to an organizational principle. Since its inception, the RWG has substituted closed study circles, private letters and conversations, and numerous front groups for the real class struggle tools of public classes, forums, trade union work based on the *Transi-*

*tional Program*, and a public press. While bleating about its tiny size, the RWG refuses to engage in activities that will put its program before workers, militants, and other leftists.

After five years of political capitulation and cowardice in the Ann Arbor milieu, the RWG tallies up as a loser. Most of their front groups have collapsed—the Members for a Democratic Union, the Campus Labor Support Group, the Membership Action Caucus. The CDU has lost two certification elections, and thus has been a caucus without a union since August of 1976. These experiences and observations have led me to believe that the only program that can successfully wage the fight against capitalism is that put forward by the SL/SYL.

Comradely,  
Cindy S.

## Part Two of Two

The following article is the conclusion of a two-part series based on a transcription of an educational on American slavery, the Civil War and Reconstruction given in the Detroit SYL local committee by Brian Manning. The period of the Civil War and Reconstruction is crucial to understand because it provides the backdrop for the formation of class relations, the development of the Democratic and Republican parties, the twin parties of capitalism, and the development of race relations as they exist today.

Part One covered the period from the American revolution to 1860, the beginning of the Civil War. It discussed the rise of American slavery and the conflict between northern industrial capitalism and the anachronistic mode of production of the slave plantations of the old South; the nature and scope of the slave revolts particularly in comparison to those of the Caribbean; the development of the abolitionist movement; and the events which sparked the South's secession.

Part Two covers the period of the Civil War and the Reconstruction era. It discusses the role of blacks in the war, the establishment of the Reconstruction governments, the institution of the black codes and the systematic terror against black freedmen in the aftermath of the war, blacks and the early labor movement, and the reversal of the gains of Reconstruction. The transcription has been minimally edited to preserve the character of the original presentation.

Back issues of Young Spartacus No. 78 containing Part One of "Slavery, the Civil War and Reconstruction" are available and may be obtained for 25 cents from: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, N. Y. 10013

According to Abraham Lincoln, the Civil War was started as a war to save the Union. But everybody, particularly the slaves, knew that it was a war to free the slaves. There's a little story in *Rehearsal for Reconstruction* by Willie Lee Rose about Port Royal in the Sea Islands of North Carolina between Charleston and Savannah right off the coast. It was one of the first places liberated by the North because the South never had a navy; the slave owners just fled back to the mainland. An ex-slave 75 years later related the story of the day the Yankees came. He was tugging on his mother's skirts as the ships were coming in, and they were firing on Port Royal. He said, "Mommy, listen—there's thunder." And his mother explained crisply, "Son, dat

**Freed slaves faced degrading second-class treatment in Union army to fight slaveholders.**



ain't no t'under, dat Yankee come to gib you Freedom." They knew. The Union army couldn't keep the black slaves from flocking to its lines, even when it persisted in saying that it wasn't going to liberate them. Officially, slaves were still the property of the slave owners.

### Blacks in Union Blue

Lincoln held off as long as he could on the slavery question. Finally, in 1862 he saw that the Union wasn't winning the war and was having more and more trouble getting an army together. The North hadn't instituted a draft and was enlisting people for just three months at a time, so that after fighting one battle the soldiers would go home and plough their fields. Lincoln needed some help. Meanwhile the blacks in the South were pretty quiescent, except when the Union army was near. The slaves were continuing to produce the goods and agricultural products needed for the Confederacy. So Lincoln drafted the Emancipation

Proclamation which wasn't even a real emancipation. All it said was that all slaves in the areas not currently under the control of the Union army were hereby free. What about the slaves in the areas the Union *did* control? The Union army still didn't know what to do with all the refugees. It started using them as laborers. First blacks were given lower pay, and the army would only send them on picket duty in the garrisons along the southern coast where there was a lot of yellow fever. Finally they were integrated into the army in fighting regiments. By the end of the war there were 200,000 blacks under arms, approximately a fifth to a quarter of the Union army.

When they saw what the Union was doing, the Confederates figured they would try the same thing. They offered freedom after the war to anyone who enlisted in the Confederate army. They were not very successful because, as one perceptive southern gentleman put it, "Why should the slaves join us and have a chance at freedom, when all they have to do is walk across to the Union lines, and they're automatically free?"

The blacks fought well, which surprised a lot of people who still thought that they had tails. Proportionally they were in the Union army in greater numbers than were the northern whites. I'm sure that the black soldiers in the Union blue deeply threatened the slave owners. They certainly didn't like to see black soldiers marching through Charleston, the seat of the South and its biggest and most civilized city. It was a black regiment raised in Massachusetts by Garrison and Douglass which took the lead of the army, singing "John Brown's Body" as it marched through Charleston after the Confederate withdrawal.

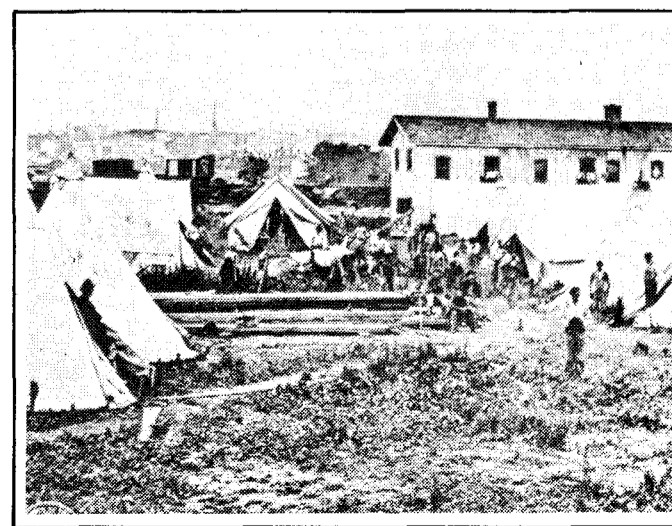
### Free At Last... But Destitute

The situation of the black freedmen after the war was really bad. Destitute

and landless, in desperate poverty, they were uneducated of course, but they were to a large extent skilled. It was the blacks who had built the South before the war. The slave owners would teach their slaves how to blacksmith or how to be mechanics rather than pay outside white labor, so there were far more skilled blacks than whites. For example, Philip Foner estimates that there were two black blacksmiths for every white one in Mississippi; and six Negro mechanics for every white one in North Carolina. But after the war there was terrible disorder and dislocation in the South. One of the things that all travelers in the immediate post-war period commented on was the masses of blacks wandering aimlessly around the roads of the South, real poor, in rags.

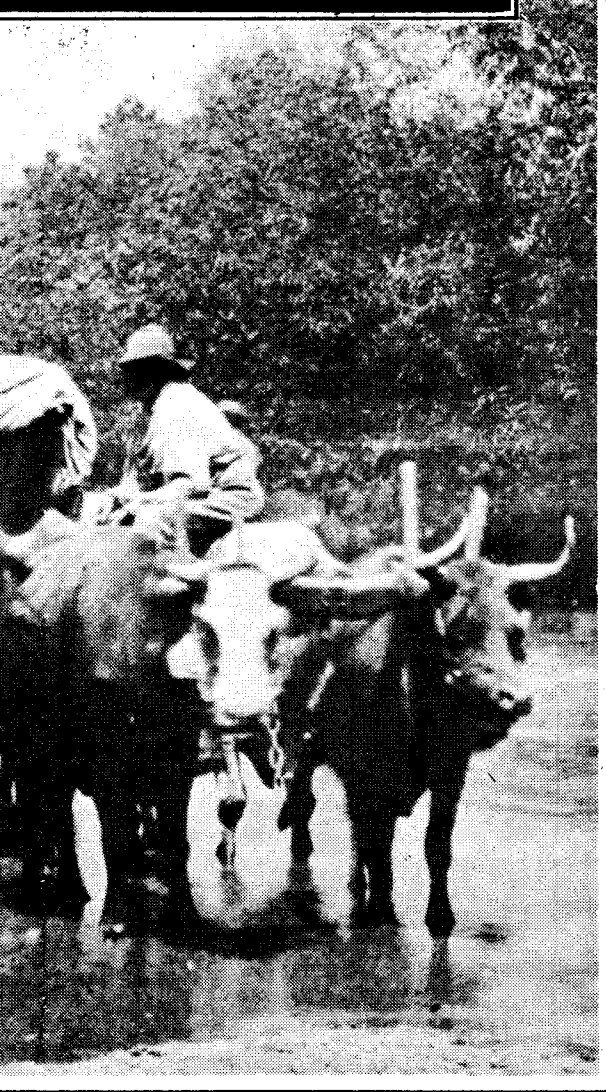
There had been a number of attempts to give blacks land. When the slaves were freed on Port Royal, a number of blacks were able to work for wages and work their own land. Jefferson Davis'

**Homeless blacks hoping to aid Union army folk through South. Thousands were herded into refugee camps after the war, escape from destitution was available only such as Booker T. Washington (middle), who worked on millions of blacks who daily faced Klan terror in Thomas Nast cartoon.**



# SLAVERY, THE CIVIL AND RECONSTRUCT

# L WAR TION



plantation near Vicksburg, Mississippi was also one of the places liberated relatively soon—by U.S. Grant, in fact. The blacks had land and worked it for a while. When Sherman marched to the sea through Georgia, he had a terrible problem with all the liberated slaves following the army eating food, so he decided to give them 40 acres for the duration. Generally, this is not what happened after the war. Blacks were either working on the plantations in much the same conditions or they were wandering around.

Lincoln never had a thoroughgoing plan for Reconstruction. All he wanted to do was to save the Union. Perhaps if he had lived longer, his mystique as the Great Emancipator would have been smashed. His basic attitude toward blacks can be illustrated by a famous

ny followed Northern troops  
refugee camps (below). After  
le only to a handful of blacks  
ho were willing to turn their  
Klan terror, illustrated at right



quote from the Lincoln-Douglass debates: "On the question of the negro, I don't regard him as an equal, never have and never will. I don't think he can be taught," etc., etc. Even after the Emancipation Proclamation his plan was to gradually free the slaves so that by 1900, blacks would be free throughout the South. By 1900! Those who were emancipated he wanted to colonize in Africa. He didn't live to try to institute his plan.

Andrew Johnson came in as president after Lincoln's assassination with a seeming determination to bust the planter aristocracy. Johnson was a poor white from Tennessee, and he always hated the planter aristocracy. His main objection to slavery was that only a few privileged whites got to enjoy the fruits of it. He wanted to strengthen and establish the position of a white American yeomanry in the South. His plan was to let the Confederates take an amnesty oath with some exceptions, and the state governments would be restored. He said nothing about blacks, nothing about emancipation. At first, in order to vote, any person who owned \$25,000 worth of property or more couldn't simply take an amnesty oath, but needed a personal pardon from the president. So of course all the planter aristocracy came up to Johnson, flocked to him, flattered him and sweet-talked him, so that eventually he became its tool.

### The Black Codes and the Rise of Racist Terror

Meanwhile, the blacks in the South were kept in a subordinate position with the institution of the black codes. These codes prohibited blacks from bearing arms; blacks couldn't sell produce without evidence that it wasn't stolen; there was a poll tax placed on all blacks; any white could arrest any black upon viewing a misdemeanor by aforesaid black; the right to buy land was limited in both amount and location, i.e., the whites got all the good land and the blacks didn't get any. There were numerous vagrancy apprenticeship laws, so that a black had to make a contract with a landowner within the first ten days of January, and was bound for a year to work for him. If he didn't, then he was a vagrant and was fined, imprisoned and probably sent to work on the plantation of that very same landowner. A black had to have a pass to go anywhere, and the wage system was only nominal. White people were prevented from associating with blacks on terms of equality, but blacks could finally get legally married. All this was an attempt by the slavocracy to maintain its power while legally abolishing slavery, but still using the same system

of gang labor on the plantations.

Blacks didn't take this entirely sitting down. There were "colored conventions" throughout the South to protest this treatment. In a number of cities the upper layer of blacks—the skilled workers and the professionals—would participate in these colored conventions. On the one hand the slavocracy was instituting the black codes, but on the other hand there were 200,000 blacks who had been in the army, a number of whom hadn't been demobilized. There was a desire among the freedmen to take over the land, with the tacit consent of these black troops. But that never really got off the ground. It was at this time, around the winter of 1865 to 1866, that if the Radicals had had power, the blacks might have had a chance to get the land. The Confederates had definitely been militarily defeated.

I wanted to read you a graphic passage out of DuBois' *Black Reconstruction* which describes a convention in New Orleans and how it was broken up by the Klansmen. It was a state convention to determine whether blacks would get the vote. A lot of blacks were in attendance:

"Most of the leaders in this movement stayed away from the opening, and in fact only a small number of members accepted the call; but Monroe, also chief of a secret society known as 'The Southern Cross,' armed his police and the mob, who wore white handkerchiefs on their necks.

A signal shot was fired, and the mob deployed across the head of Dryades Street, moved upon the State House, and shot down the people who were in the hall.

The Reverend Dr. Horton waving a white handkerchief, cried to the police: 'Gentlemen, I beseech you to stop firing; we are non-combatants. If you want to arrest us, make any arrest you please, we are not prepared to defend ourselves.' Some of the police, it is claimed, replied, 'We don't want any prisoners; you have all got to die.' Dr. Horton was shot and fell, mortally wounded. Dr. Dostie who was an object of special animosity on account of his inflammatory addresses was a marked victim. Shot through the spine, and with a sword thrust through his stomach, he died a few days later. There were about one hundred and fifty persons in the hall, mostly Negroes. Seizing chairs, they beat back the police three times, and barred the doors. But the police returned to the attack, firing their revolvers as they came. Some of the Negroes returned the fire, but most of them leaped from the windows in wild panic. In some cases they were shot as they came down or as they scrambled over the fence at the bottom. The only member of the convention, however, that was killed was a certain John Henderson. Some say six or seven hundred shots were fired. Negroes were pursued, and in some cases were killed on the streets. One of them, two miles from the scene, was taken from his shop and wounded in his side, hip, and back. The dead and wounded were piled upon drays and carried.

Some say forty-eight were killed...."

That was New Orleans in 1865, and there was another big riot up in

Memphis. The black codes didn't go over too big with the northerners, either. They didn't like the idea that they had just fought a war to end slavery and break the power of the slavocracy, and yet the condition of blacks seemed almost unchanged. So for example, the *Chicago Tribune*, that bastion of radicalism during Reconstruction, warned upon the enactment of the black codes in Mississippi that the North would "convert Mississippi into a frog-pond before permitting slavery to be re-established." That kind of militant sentiment on the part of the northerners was omnipresent. Also, they didn't like the political power that the South was going to get in Washington. If their governments were readmitted, the South would actually have more power than it had before the Civil War, when the basis of representation for blacks was three-fifths. Now that blacks were going to be citizens, every black counted as a whole person. Since blacks weren't being allowed to vote under the black codes, the planter aristocracy would have that much more political power, and the Republicans would lose in any national elections. Other issues were that the North did not want to pay the debts incurred by the southern governments during the Civil War, nor did it want to pay the Confederate pensioners. By and large, northerners did not like the fact that the Johnson governments in the South had introduced a whole system of discrimination, segregation and disenfranchisement, and they were willing to fight it.

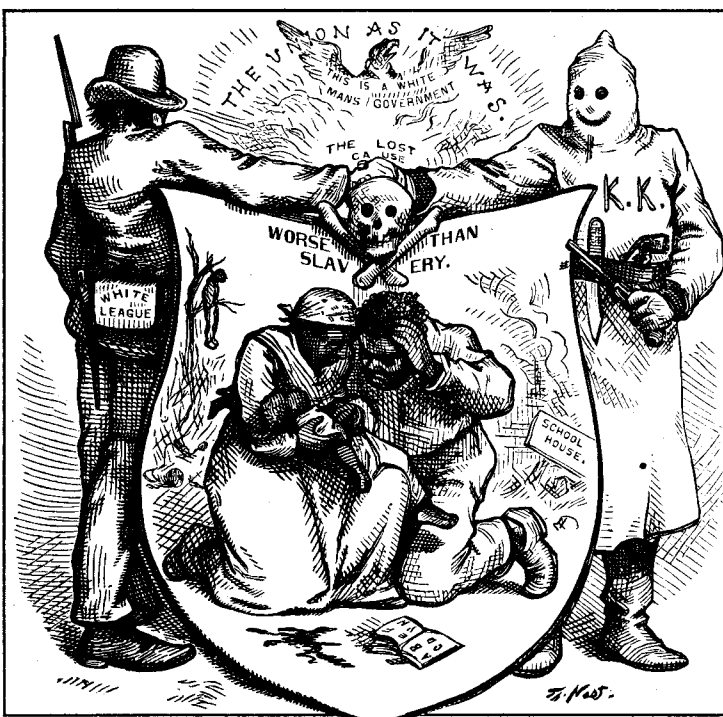
The southern whites weren't reconciled to the status of blacks as freedmen, and they fought tooth and nail to drive them back onto the plantations and forcibly suppress them as at best second-class citizens. At this time, 1865, the Klan was formed in Tennessee. Bands of ex-Confederates roamed around at will murdering, beating and intimidating. There were also people called the "regulators," like Marlon Brando in "Missouri Breaks." He was a regulator and a pretty rotten character in the movie, but these regulators were even worse, with a real social purpose. They weren't just guns for hire. They were murderers of blacks in particular, and murderers of Republicans and Unionists. In Texas, for example, they were so bad that it led the military administrator of the state, General P.H. Sheridan, to comment that if he owned both hell and Texas, he would live in hell and rent out Texas.

### The Rise and Fall of Reconstruction

Let me shift back to the North where the decisions about what was going on in the South were actually being made. That's the whole dynamic of Reconstruction. It was a revolution from above, determined by the Republicans in Washington, D.C., not by the freedmen in the South. The freedmen went along with the Republicans until it was too late.

So Washington, D.C. controlled what Reconstruction was going to look like in the end, and the Republicans controlled Washington, D.C. They had won a smashing victory in the 1864 presidential elections and still enjoyed almost total support from the northern electorate. The party itself was divided into three main camps: the conservative supporters of Johnson, the majority of the party who were moderates vacillating between support to Johnson or the Radicals, and the Radicals. The Radicals were committed to the enfranchisement of blacks and believed in their equality, but while most formally recognized the primacy of the land question for black freedmen, little was done to actually redistribute the land. The Radical leaders were people like Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips. They were all radicals

continued on next page



# Slavery...

(continued from page 7)

from way back, and Charles Sumner was actually caned to within an inch of his life on the Senate floor by a southern senator for his political views. The Republican Party was pretty timid except for these few isolated Radicals. It was lucky that the Radicals were able to push through the Reconstruction Acts at a time when the party was divided and threatened by the slavocracy in the South.

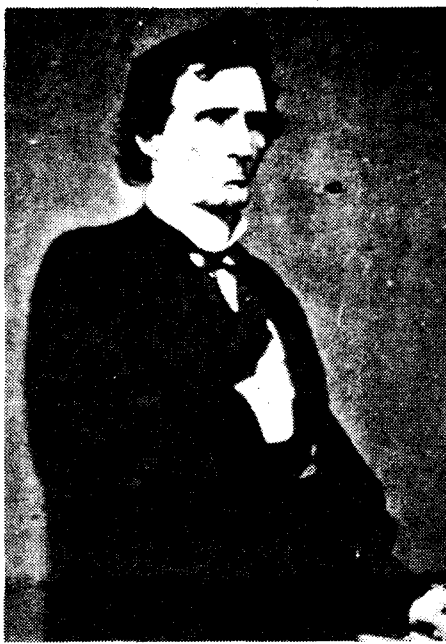
It was the moderates who held the real balance of power in the Republican Party, and only the ability of Stevens, Sumner and Phillips to get these moderates on their side for a while enabled Reconstruction to go forward at all. The Radicals made a number of attempts to get Johnson to change, and not succeeding there, they eventually impeached him. The whole dynamic was that Congress would pass some bill enacting civil rights or the vote for blacks, and Johnson would veto it, thumbing his nose at Congress, and they would override his veto. For example, the Fourteenth Amendment, which gave blacks citizenship and implicitly the right to vote, was ratified by the Radical Unionist government in Tennessee, the first southern government to be re-admitted to the Union. The governor of Tennessee sent his message to Congress saying that it has been a great victory and the Fourteenth Amendment has been ratified, and by the way, give my regards to that dead dog in the White House. Essentially, the impeachment was a frame-up on charges of bureaucratic shuffling. But Johnson's policy toward the South was the real issue, and the impeachment failed by one vote.

In 1867, over Johnson's veto, the Reconstruction Act was passed, separating the South into five military districts, giving universal suffrage to blacks and calling for state conventions in order to write up new state constitutions. Everybody had to take an oath of allegiance, and each state convention had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment before the state would be re-admitted to the Union. Also the Freedmen's Bureau, which had been in existence since 1865, became a real force in the South; it was a bureau for establishing schools and giving aid to refugees. On the whole, the South got off easy. What conquered nation has ever gotten off as easy as the South did after the Civil War? There were 2,000 troops in each state, and essentially all they did was guard the state house. They weren't out on the bayous and the plantations protecting blacks.

After the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, the blacks were a landless but voting mass. They had to fight even to keep the vote. They were dependent on the small Union army forces which by and large looked on benignly whenever anything happened. The

Reconstruction governments themselves, although charged with all sorts of corruption and high taxation, were in fact governments with a large black component, which did things like establish the first school system the South had ever seen. They were small and moderately effective governments. But only the land would have given blacks the social basis for the protection of their rights. Land and arms. The Republicans weren't enthusiastic about fighting for that. Confiscation of land—private property—came too close to home for all the freeholders in the North. The Radical Republicans however did fight for land. In the forefront of this was Thaddeus Stevens, an industrialist for Pennsylvania. He introduced a bill in Congress with the intention of giving land to blacks.

Meanwhile, the planters were moving toward controlling the black vote through the actions of the Klan and other groups. It was easy for them to do this: there's a poor little sharecropper who votes Republican, and his boss says, "I'm sorry, I don't want you voting Republican, so get off my land." There were big campaigns of intimidation. For



**Radical Republican Thaddeus Stevens.**

example, DuBois mentions a parish in Louisiana where in an election in the spring something like 17,000 people voted Republican, and all throughout the spring and summer there was a campaign of intimidation, murder and terror, so that by the fall, two people voted Republican. That went on throughout the South.

The economic power of the planters provided the basis for the development of the race/color caste of blacks. With no land and no vote, it was clear that blacks weren't going to be integrated as equals into American society. The poor whites feared the blacks being raised to the level of social equals, and so they did the planters' dirty work. They were the ones in the Klan. They were the ones who drove the blacks out of the cities, out of the skilled trades and back into

the fields. At the same time a different system of labor was developed. After the slavocracy was politically defeated through Reconstruction, the plantations were broken up. Gang labor no longer existed as it had under slavery, but the new sharecropping system, a system of virtual peonage, didn't mean that the living conditions of blacks was improved significantly.

The Republicans abandoned the blacks after Reconstruction because the interests of the northern industrialists jived more with the interests of the planters than the blacks. Any union between the Republican Party and blacks could only be uneasy after the Republican Party failed to give blacks land. The continued enfranchisement of blacks was no longer a condition for the success of the Republican Party. They had consolidated power. They had accomplished the triumph of the urban North. They had gotten their protective tariffs, their national banking system and their transcontinental railway, and the party was rent with divisions. They wanted to unify the party and make profits. The Radical Republicans were isolated and the blacks, the freedmen,



**Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison**

were left holding the bag. By 1869, land reform was essentially a dead issue and the Freedmen's Bureau was winding up. Some Reconstruction governments had been overturned as early as 1869. The power of the Radicals was broken by 1870 through retirement, electoral defeats, death, etc. A large portion of the southern landholders came to accept black suffrage and some civil and political rights. They were able to control the vote anyway. Given the removal of Federal troops in 1877, they knew that they could control the blacks entirely.

In 1877, the contested election of Rutherford Hayes led to the withdrawal of the Union troops. Hayes was a Republican. The southern Democrats said, "We won't contest it, which would mean that you might lose, if you promise to pull out all your troops." That was the Compromise of 1877, the official end of Reconstruction, but it was dead long before that.

## Blacks and the Early Labor Movement

Given the fact that the Republican Party did not give blacks land, it would seem logical for blacks to turn to labor at this time to fight for their rights. But the labor movement was just getting off the ground. It was not strong, and given the anti-black prejudice in the unions, the presence of blacks was not looked on kindly. There was a labor organization called the National Labor Union (NLU), formed right after the Civil War, which did not actually have an explicitly anti-black program, but it certainly did not go out of its way to organize blacks. It had segregated union locals and a prejudice in favor of skilled tradesmen and craftsmen. Even the Marxists, the American First Internationalists—even

Fredrick Sorge—did not speak up in favor of blacks or of land for blacks at the convention of the NLU. The perspective of the NLU was that if it didn't organize blacks, they might scab, so it would organize them when it had to. One delegate from the Bricklayers summed up their attitude well: "If we don't organize him, he will work for anyone at any price."

There were also instances of white labor driving out black labor. Philip Foner in *Blacks and Organized Labor* mentions the Baltimore ship caulkers (they sealed seams in wooden ships) who were driven out of the labor force. The blacks got together, bought their own shipyard, formed their own union and worked in their own shipyard in Baltimore because they had been driven out of the industry by the whites.

The Colored National Labor Union (CNLU) was formed in 1869 from a split in the NLU. One of the main reasons for the split was that the NLU said that the workers shouldn't support the Democrats or the Republicans because they were both the bosses' parties. The CNLU wanted to support the Republicans. While the NLU was groping toward a break with the bourgeois parties, its policies on the race question were often backward. Not only did the NLU organize segregated unions but it failed to recognize the revolutionary side of Reconstruction. The CNLU remained loyal to the Republican Party as the party of Reconstruction. The CNLU organized both blacks and whites together, addressed the land question in the South, and also admitted Chinese labor, whereas the NLU opposed "coolie labor" on the West Coast.

The Knights of Labor (K of L), which made real inroads into the organization of blacks and whites, didn't hit the scene until the mid-1870s after Reconstruction had been defeated.

On the whole, the Civil War and Reconstruction were a triumph for capitalism. It united for the first time the northern and southern propertied classes. It broke the back of the slavocracy and the plantations and recruited the southern workers as lackeys for the southern landowners. It established an industrial reserve army, which however was not needed until the beginning of the twentieth century. This industrial reserve army of sharecroppers and marginal workers, hillbillies, was consolidated in the South. Reconstruction paved the way for black people like Booker T. Washington and his ilk: the shut-up-and-work school, where maybe a black man could make it if he avoided politics. That's how blacks were until the 1930s, until they got out of the South. Two societies existed, separate and unequal, black and white. At the same time the basis was laid for the integration of blacks into the political economy of the United States, albeit at the bottom, as a race-color caste. It was the failure of Reconstruction that really laid the groundwork for that caste system. ■

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YSp 80



# No to Carter's Draft...

(continued from page 1)

meeting several pacifists objected to the SL/SYL presence in the demonstration, particularly horrified by our prominent slogan "Hail Red Army!", but backed off from official exclusion.

Democratic Party politicians have no place on the platform at anti-draft protests. While Carter's brandishing conscription has little immediate military value, it plays a key role in building patriotic war fever. For the Democratic "opponents" of Carter's registration it's simply a question of the wrong plan at the wrong time. At present there are only tactical differences within the ruling class and the Democratic Party over how best to pursue the imperialist drive against the Soviet Union. The Democratic Party is the party of war and racism. It's the Democrats that take this country to war and run the witchhunts. In flyers distributed at countless anti-draft protests Kennedy has said, "I oppose registration when it

"Selective Service Equals Socialist Slavery" and distribute flyers proclaiming "Fight Communism By Fighting the Draft!"

And little wonder. The present anti-draft movement is overwhelmingly, in fact almost exclusively, white. Much of the current opposition to the draft is based on white, middle-class resentment that there is no provision for student deferments. Not only have most of the protests simply opposed peacetime conscription, but nobody's protesting the volunteer army. The patriotic opponents of the draft—from the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee to the right-wing Libertarians—all believe that a volunteer army which is disproportionately black is just dandy. For these pacifist chauvinists it's the "black man's burden" to protect the interests of U.S. imperialism.

For poor blacks facing depression level unemployment in the ghetto, the army frequently appears as a step up economically and socially. It's no accident that Carter's "New Action Army" is largely black. And the Pentagon is justifiably worried that an army

bombing of Hanoi many of the Maoists tried to dismiss it as a mere matter of "state to state relations." Yet Mao's every appeal to NATO for "vigilance" against the Soviet Union was repeated as if it were a divine revelation. But China's military support to the U.S./South African axis in Angola against the pro-Soviet MPLA made it clear where all this was headed—direct action on the battlefield in the service of imperialism. The sinister alliance was once more translated into military action by China's invasion of Vietnam in direct collusion with the U.S. imperialists. Today, as the U.S. prepares to sell military equipment to China and defense secretary Harold Brown goes to Peking to plot "coordinated action" with China against the Soviet Union, it is clear that Maoist opposition to the draft is completely cynical...and short lived.

The official pro-Peking Maoists of the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CP-ML) are naturally the most rabid in their anti-Sovietism. The CP-ML's *Call* (4 February) castigates Carter for "three years of White House policies that have

threat to start World War III over "Soviet aggression."

## For Revolutionary Opposition to the Draft! Defend the Gains of October!

If America's rulers once again swagger and act as if the future is theirs, the Stalinists acquiescently believe that capitalism will more and more become circumscribed and finally die a more or less peaceful death. This is part of the rationale behind peaceful coexistence. It is the political role of Stalinism to attempt to stabilize this decaying capitalist system. Since the division of the world after World War II it has been a policy of the Russians to respect "spheres of influence." They have extended the social gains of the October Revolution to Eastern Europe only under the gun of American imperialism (e.g., the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Alliance), after the independent mobilization of the proletariat had been crushed. Likewise the Kremlin came to the aid of the left-nationalists in Kabul only after U.S.-backed reactionary forces in Afghanistan threatened a triumphant counterrevolution which would create an imperialist beachhead along 1,000 miles of the Soviet border. Politically both the Kremlin bureaucrats and the U.S. ruling class fear proletarian revolution. For the capitalists revolution would mean the end of their economic and social system of class rule. For the Stalinists it means losing their bureaucratic privileges and being swept away in a political revolution. But despite the Stalinists' illusions and insatiable appetite to conciliate imperialism, the capitalists still have a need to reconquer the degenerated and reformed workers states for exploitation. For working-class revolutionaries, the issue of military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism is posed point blank. Once again the Russian question has been thrust to the fore as a decisive criterion separating revolutionary Marxists from all those who waver and capitulate to the pressures of the bourgeoisie. Anti-Sovietism leads straight to the door of the State Department.

In particular the Carter Doctrine poses the question of proletarian revolution in the U.S. or the mobilization of a war against Russia. As James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the American Trotskyist movement said in 1946:

"In their mad drive to enslave the entire world, the American monopolists are today preparing for war against the Soviet Union... A war will not solve the internal difficulties of American imperialism but will rather sharpen them and complicate them. Such a war will meet with fierce resistance not only by the peoples of the USSR, but also by the European and colonial masses who do not want to be the slaves of Wall Street. At home fiercest resistance will be generated. Wall Street's war drive, aggravating the social crisis, may under certain conditions actually precipitate it. In any case, another war will not cancel out the socialist alternative to capitalism but only pose it more sharply.

"The workers struggle for power in the U.S. is not a perspective of a distant and hazy future but the realistic program of our epoch." ■

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Young Spartacus



SYL on the march against anti-Soviet draft in Cleveland (left) and Berkeley (right).

only means reams of computer print outs that would only be a paper curtain against Soviet troops." He's even tried to out-tough Carter claiming the president's refusal to get tough with the Soviets over their troops stationed in Cuba paved the way for Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. And of course, in the event of a "real emergency," i.e., war, Kennedy would certainly support the draft. The SL/SYL opposes all the bourgeois politicians and their patriotic opposition to the draft.

### CARD Excludes Communists, Embraces Democrats and Libertarians

The Coalition Against Registration and the Draft is supposedly one of the major vehicles for building a broad movement against the draft. But at CARD's Midwestern Regional Conference in Kalamazoo, Michigan, February 16, an alliance of Maoists and social democrats joined forces to physically bar members of the SYL from entering the conference room. Such anti-communist exclusionism is nothing new. It harks back to the days of the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee in 1966. The Spartacist League withdrew from the Committee when it adopted the social-patriotic slogan "Stop the War—Negotiate Now." The marshals attempted to exclude our contingent at the parade, but we marched nevertheless with a banner proclaiming "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution!" The anti-communist pacifists didn't want us around for fear of alienating the liberal Democrats.

While the assorted fake-lefts that have joined together in CARD exclude communists they have no trouble being in a common coalition with the racist, right-wing anti-union Students for a Libertarian Society. While the fake-lefts recoil in horror at SYL placards proclaiming "Hail Red Army!", not a word of protest is uttered when the Libertarians carry signs proclaiming

of black victims of racist oppression doesn't have much stake in fighting to make the U.S. top cop in the imperialist world order. Not one penny, not one man for the imperialist army—volunteer or conscripted! If conscription is imposed communists would oppose all socially discriminatory or privileged exemptions including the exemption of women and students.

### Maoists United With Uncle Sam

The Kalamazoo conference was dominated by the so-called Revolutionary Student Brigade, whose parent group, the "Revolutionary Workers Headquarters" (RWH) calls for "unified collective action by the world community against Soviet aggression." At a recent conference of the Union of Radical Political Economists at San Francisco State, RWH spokesman Larry Harris made it clear that the Maoists are calling for a new "anti-fascist alliance"...with the imperialists against the Soviet Union. As Harris was railing about the need to stop Soviet aggression, an SYL supporter interjected, "With what? Carter's Army?" The response was quick and blunt, "They [the Russians] have to be stopped with whatever it takes." Another RWH spokesman counseled the audience about the need for "flexible" tactics regarding the army and the draft, including conditional support to the draft! And representatives of this organization were elected to the steering committee of the Midwest Coalition Against Registration and the Draft!

The Maoists, little John Waynes waving the Red Book in one hand and Old Glory in the other, are now among U.S. imperialism's most fervent jingoists. The diplomatic cover has been ripped from the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy's openly counterrevolutionary anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism. When Nixon went to China during the 1972 Christmas

amounted to appeasement of the Soviet Union," even adding that his current war threats "leave much to be desired"! The *Call* is currently touring journalist David Kline, recently returned from Afghanistan, who explicitly calls for the U.S. to send troops into Afghanistan! With their appeals to Carter for a "genuine united front" against Soviet aggression one wonders why these red-white-and-blue Maoists don't just enlist now. Apparently the logic of their politics has been brought home to a number of their supporters. At a recent conference of the National Lawyers Guild CP-ML supporters in the misnamed "anti-imperialist" caucus, seeking to avoid the embarrassment of a later reversal of their position, called for a discussion as to whether they should support the draft now!

The fake-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) sat on their hands while the SYL was excluded at the Kalamazoo conference. As the most uncritical cheerleaders of Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" in Iran, it was inconsistent for the SWP/YSA to come out for the Soviet-allied Kabul government against the Islamic rebels in Afghanistan. But from the very beginning they have desperately tried to deny that Soviet intervention is the issue. At the Kalamazoo conference the SWP/YSA just threw their paper position in support of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and in defense of the Soviet Union out the window to maintain their cozy coalition with the virulently anti-Soviet Maoists. When the SWP/YSA put up a routine motion to oppose U.S. intervention in Afghanistan, the Maoists jumped to the podium to demand the USSR be condemned. The SWP/YSA withdrew their motion and voted for a compromise resolution condemning all military intervention in Afghanistan. Pacifist in form, this resolution is actually political support to Carter's



political revolution to oust the conservative parasitic bureaucracy. But the Red Army in Afghanistan is fighting on the side of social progress. The real betrayal would be pulling the Red Army out and leaving the barbaric social order of this wretchedly backward country intact, as Stalin did in Persian Azerbaijan in 1946.

The RWG condemns the Soviets, claiming "Carter has finally got what he has been trying for years to get, the means to whip up war hysteria in this country, to get the defense budget raised, to get the draft back." In other words, it's the Soviet Union not the U.S. ruling class that's responsible for escalating the Cold War! Does the RWG also believe that it was Vietnamese resistance to American imperialism that "provoked" the Vietnam War? Such are the arguments of right-wing social democrats who are imbued with the spirit of the late Max Shachtman rather than Trotsky.

**Whither the RWG?**

The RWG's lack of a codified program allows these leader cultists to play with politics and muck around in the unions. For the RWG, Trotsky's characterization is apt: "lacking most of the attributes of a revolutionary organization, it is forced to improvise, with the centrists light-minded attitude towards its own history and past positions." The RWG's lack of press has led to a degree of heterogeneity—in public!—perhaps unmatched among ostensibly Leninist organizations. Simple workerists coexist with passive "Marxoid" political analysts and pure petty-bourgeois moralists. But this degree of heterogeneity raises the threat of splits and factionalism should the RWG ever concretize through a press its line on a number of key questions (such as the black question). But the RWG is an emotionally founded rather than programmatically founded organization.

You have to have a good reason to be in an organization of a couple of dozen people. Comrades of the RWG, do you want to be cannon fodder for an organization that has no program? Or do you want to belong to an international tendency and change the world? The circle spirit Menshevik leaders of the RWG have no intention of building a revolutionary Leninist party. They merely want to dabble.

The RWG's few deeds in the labor movement argue a sorry (and brief) future. The RWG's thin veneer of "activity in the class" (largely literary) covers a well of passivity, rationalized by objectivist appeals to the historical dynamic. What the intellectualists of the RWG do not understand is that the Marxist dialectic is not a method for standing by and analyzing the objective sweep of the revolutionary process, but a guide to action. In the name of "dialectics" the RWG remains passive or capitulates.

The RWG is an unserious cult/sect which can hardly be compared to the centrists Trotsky polemicized against in the 1930s. Nevertheless his most damn-

ing statements about these centrists still pertain to the RWG:

"There is even less to be said about such groups as *Internationale* or *Proletaire*. They also abstract their views from the latest issues of *La Verité*, with an admixture of critical improvisation. They have no perspectives at all for revolutionary growth; but they manage to get along without perspectives. Instead of trying to learn within the framework of a more serious organization (to learn is difficult), these haters of discipline and very pretentious "leaders" desire to teach the working class (this appears to them to be easier). In moments of sober reflection they must themselves realize that their very existence as 'independent' organizations is a sheer misunderstanding."  
—"Sectarianism, Centrism and the Fourth International,"  
*Writings, 1935-36*

**Anti-Klan...**

(continued from page 4)

the camp of renegade red-baiters and race-baiters like Harold Cruse.

This was a hard core demonstration. Hundreds of workers came out from the plants despite the mayor's ban, the threat of mass arrest and the possibility of Klan violence. Detroit is a politically sophisticated city—the hotbed of radical black nationalism in the 1960s, the home of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. Workers in the plants have seen every stripe of radical. Those that came out to the rally knew what they were getting into—they came in spite of the red-baiting smear campaign of the media. If these were just casual passers-by why did they stay to listen to 90 minutes of speeches? And just who were those 367 *Workers Vanguard*s sold to? Who were those people in the video tape...paid extras?

And just what was the RWG doing at this fraudulent event with banners and signs in hand? Funny, but the leaflet they passed out at the demonstration says not one word to the demonstrators about the massive fraud that was taking place before their very eyes. And why is it the RWG never distributed the "SL Fraud in Detroit" leaflet to the workers at River Rouge? It's a regroupment leaflet, we're told. Perhaps they fear they'll get the same response they got from Bill Hampton, brother of murdered Panther leader Fred Hampton, and a speaker at the rally. At a February 16 teach-in in Ann Arbor on how to fight Klan terror Hampton replied to their slanderous charges:

"I participated in the November 10 rally...I hear that the Klan don't like black people, and being that I was born black and I can't do much about it, I took heed to it... I was called on the phone by some people I knew in the Spartacist League, some very good friends of mine. We discussed what happened in Greensboro and other incidents of the Klan. So I decided to take a trip to Detroit and be a supporter [of the rally] and speak. And didn't anybody fraud me into it, and if they did, that was one fraud I was glad to be a part of, because I thought it was relevant... So what if it was just 500 people there, they were standing for the right thing... Anytime the police and the media and the TV people are there, it's some kind of a threat, it put some kind of mark on Detroit, because the mayor was talking about stopping it... I was glad to be a part of the 500 people..."

**"Notorious Comrade H." ...**

(continued from page 4)

relationship between union organizing and revolutionary politics? How did they translate their theories into practice?

**Comrade H.:** I didn't like not being told what was what in the CDU. For example, Peter's description of himself as a community organizer in Detroit was not an outright lie—he just left out the fact that he had a previous history with the Spartacist League. And why

didn't Peter tell the women of the CDU that their every move had been plotted in advance by a "Transitional Organization" called the BLT? I even had to ask Peter what the Transitional Program was—after 10 months of working with him! Why didn't they just tell the truth in the first place? It was such a relief to join the SYL. In a Leninist organization at least you have a chance and it's not just your relationship to the big cheese that determines how much you know.

I remember how I found out about the Russian question: A clerical worker had argued that the CDU demand for day care meant that the CDU wanted things to be "just like Russia." I denied it. Afterwards I told Bob (one of Peter's deputies) that I felt like I'd betrayed something. I wanted to know what was different about the USSR. Bob replied that he knew it must be hard for me, but he was glad that I had told him, and if I ever felt this way again to just come and talk to him. That was the first and last I ever heard about the Russian question in the CDU! ■

**War Criminal Harberger...**

(continued from page 12)

imperialism and the Chilean capitalist class. But it was Allende's popular front which preached class collaboration and faith in the political "neutrality" of the bourgeois officer corps, literally disarming the Chilean proletariat in the face of murderous reaction. Allende's "peaceful road to socialism" led to Pinochet's bloody counterrevolution. The proletariat, its vanguard steeled in the fight against popular front betrayals, must lead the oppressed masses and overthrow the junta.

Harberger and his ilk must be driven off campus. There must be protest demonstrations and other militant actions by all those at Harvard and in the Boston-Cambridge area who oppose his collaboration and deadly complicity with the junta killers. Join the Committee to Keep Harberger Off Campus! ■

**YWLL and Detente...**

(continued from page 3)

his allies are and has come out strongly for the Afghani insurgents against the Soviet-backed Kabul regime.

The military strength of the Soviet Union, based on the social gains of the October Revolution, has been placed in the service of a historically progressive cause in Afghanistan. Such was the case as well with Soviet military aid to Vietnam—but this aid was woefully inadequate. Trotskyists condemn the Maoist Red Guards who blocked Soviet supply trains to North Vietnam, but we also note that the best Soviet armaments were squandered on anti-communist regimes like Egypt. Aid that should instead have gone to the courageous North Vietnamese Army and NLF. Egypt has "repaid" the Soviet Union by kicking it out and becoming the staunchest ally of U.S. imperialism in the Arab world, even offering Egyptian territory for U.S. military bases and asylum for the deposed butcher shah. Today the Soviet Union squanders military resources on the reactionary Derg in Ethiopia which massacres workers, leftists and national minorities and tomorrow will treat the Soviet Union as Sadat did.

"Peaceful coexistence" means the subordination of workers revolution to shortsighted diplomatic advantage. In Peking it has translated into the disgusting spectacle of China acting as the U.S. cat's paw. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League acted first in defense of Vietnam against the Chinese invasion, sponsoring demonstrations and forums demanding "China Get

Out" and "Soviet Union: Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam." Ideologically disarming the world working class, the policy of "detente" trades workers revolution in the imperialist countries and solidarity with those states where capitalism has been overthrown for short-lived and empty diplomatic favors from the imperialists. The Soviet bureaucracy has, in the name of detente, sold out the working masses at critical historical moments, from blocking military support to the Greek CP-led partisans to hailing the Pinochet of Argentina, General Videla. Only proletarian political revolution against the bureaucracies from Havana to Moscow to Peking can create the necessary communist unity against imperialism.

The CPUSA and YWLL have refused to join the so-called "Eurocommunists" in their anti-Soviet stampede. But no less than the Kremlin bureaucracy, the CP's reformist policies of seeking "peaceful coexistence" with its own imperialist bourgeoisie—from supporting liberal capitalist politicians to backing "progressive" labor sell-outs—has undermined the defense of the social gains of the October Revolution and the cause of the American proletarian revolution. A mass revolutionary proletarian party is clearly needed in the U.S. that is a disciplined part of the international communist movement and which stands on the October Revolution of Lenin and Trotsky. A decade before Stalin formally dissolved the Communist International in 1943 (also in the name of "peaceful coexistence") he politically destroyed it as a revolutionary instrument. Against all revisionists and reformists, the SYL, youth section of the Spartacist League, is fighting for the rebirth of Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

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# Young Spartacus

## Chilean Junta Collaborator Offered Harvard Post

# Keep Harberger Off Campus!

Young Spartacus

BOSTON, February 22—Arnold Harberger, the University of Chicago economist who braintrustered the bloody military dictatorship in Chile, has been offered a post as director of the Harvard Institute for International Development (HIID). The proposed appointment has provoked considerable opposition even in this Ivy League establishment bastion because of Harberger's contribution to the systematic immiseration of the Chilean masses under Pinochet. He engineered the barbarous austerity measures, known as the "shock treatment" program, which drove the Chilean masses into widespread unemployment and starvation.

The Spartacus Youth League at Harvard has initiated a united-front Committee to Keep Harberger Off Campus. The SYL urges students, faculty members and campus workers to unite around the slogan "Keep Harberger Off Campus Through Protest and Exposure!" Harberger must not be allowed to wrap himself in Harvard's crimson robes of academic respectability.

### The Harberger "Credentials"

Arnold Harberger is currently the chairman of the Economics Department at the University of Chicago (UC). Along with Milton Friedman, he trains the "Chicago Boys" in the school of reactionary free-market economics. But it is not his school of thought which is at issue with the Committee to Keep Harberger Off Campus; it is his actual role in aiding the Chilean junta.

The complicity of Harberger in the policies of Chile's ruling generals is fairly well-known today, in large part due to the protest activities initiated by the UC SYL in 1975. The SYL-initiated Committee to Protest Friedman-Harberger Collaboration with the Junta succeeded in widely publicizing the "Chicago Boys'" Chile connection and sparked protest demonstrations around the country.

Accompanied by Friedman, Harberger visited Chile in late March 1975 (his third trip to Chile since the September 11, 1973 coup which installed the current military dictators). During their six-day visit, they spoke before 400 officials of the Armed Forces and met with junta generalissimo Augusto Pinochet. At this time, they outlined their economic proposals to the junta. Citing inflation as the primary problem in Chile, Harberger and Friedman advised the junta to cut public spending, increase income tax and implement monetary controls—all at the expense of the Chilean workers, peasants and urban poor.

The "shock treatment" economic program was "free market" in its rhetoric. But the reality is that these austerity measures, aimed at restoring the profitability of Chilean capitalism and imperialist investment through slashing the Chilean working people's living standards, required the massive intervention of the state. Under the junta state intervention took the form of bonapartism: naked organized violence, smashing the organized workers movement, murdering its leaders and militants, banning political parties, replacing union officials with military cadres



Anti-Harberger demonstration, February 16.

and police officers, destroying agricultural cooperatives established through the "squatter movement," and terrorizing working-class slums and suburbs around the industrial centers. This plan was implemented immediately after Harberger and Friedman's visit, when a cabinet shake-up installed Harberger's close friend Jorge Cauas as the "Superminister" of finance and placed at least seven other "Chicago Boys" in high-level government positions. The "shock treatment" had a devastating effect on the masses of Chileans. As prices soared, wages dropped drastically. Even the *New York Times* (20 September 1975) admitted that the new policy was disastrous, headlining, "Malnutrition is the Rule in Santiago Shantytowns."

With their economic policy for reducing the masses to starvation, Friedman was hailed as "the guiding light of the junta's economic policy" (*New York Times*, 21 September 1975) and Harberger as the "brilliant star" of the March visit with Pinochet (*Pueblo Costa Rica*, 24 March 1975). But Harberger and his "Boys" are nothing more than academic prostitutes who are complicit in the murderous repression of the junta butchers.

### Nothing to Debate With the Junta's Henchmen!

While some of the opposition to Harberger has centered on his economic "narrowness" and other criticisms of his academic views, the SYL has been quick to point out that Harberger should be kept off campus for his *deeds*, not because of his ideas. There are plenty of well-salaried right-wing professors at Harvard who are perfectly capable of arguing reactionary views. But Marxists make a key distinction between such ideologues and charlatans whose right to expound their doctrines is not at issue, and those who are neck-deep in planning the crimes of the bourgeoisie. With Harberger, there should be no question of "academic freedom" because he has gone *beyond* the classroom by aiding the most brutal rightist military dictatorship in Latin America. By his active collaboration in the

decisions which have led to the continuing repression of the Chilean working masses, Harberger shares responsibility with Pinochet and the ruling generals.

Knowing that the Harvard administration will always use purge precedents and sanctions most frequently and aggressively against the left, we do not call on the administration to get rid of Harberger. It is not at all surprising that the administration and the Harvard Corporation want someone like Harberger to direct the HIID. The Institute, like Harvard itself, is a major think-tank for U.S. imperialism, serving as a training ground for future enemies of the working class.

The criminal actions of Harberger in Chile are indisputable fact, and those at Harvard who side with the junta's victims should want to keep Harberger from setting foot on campus. But there is a group at Harvard, Students Opposed to Harberger (SOH), which feels that the way to "protest" Harberger is to build a platform for him to "defend" his complicity with the junta!

SOH, brainchild of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), is a motley coalition which includes the nearly defunct South Africa Solidarity Committee (SASC) and two small Spanish-American student groups. The coalition was formed on an explicitly exclusionist basis, having rejected a proposal by the SYL for united-front actions to keep Harberger off campus.

It quickly became apparent that DSOC's SOH is not at all interested in driving Harberger off campus. On the contrary—they wanted to bring him on campus to debate with him at a panel discussion. But the SYL's arguments—that the torture stadiums, the countless murdered, starving and "disappeared" Chileans are not debatable and that we would no sooner debate Harberger than Nazi leader Goebbels—have had an impact. When a spokesman for La Organización (a Spanish-American student group at Harvard), which endorses the SOH coalition, agreed with the SYL position, the DSOC opportunists decided not to directly sponsor the

February 17 debate but "merely" to *build* for it!

On the day of the debate, the DSOC crew went to hear Harberger defend himself, while a spirited contingent of SYL supporters picketed outside, with signs that read "No Debate With Junta's Henchmen!" and chants of "There is nothing to debate! Workers will decide his fate!"

The rampant opportunism of the DSOC coalition is overshadowed only by its cynical sectarianism. SOH has, from the start, done its best to sabotage a united mobilization to keep Harberger off campus. At a SOH-sponsored rally on February 16, these bureaucrats not only screened the speakers, allowing only a professor and their own supporters to speak, but they also brazenly tried to physically attack SYL supporters at the rally. But their attempt to knock down and destroy the banner of the Committee to Keep Harberger Off Campus was quickly repelled, as our comrades asserted their right to participate in the rally.

### Defend the Victims of Pinochet's Terror!

The SYL sees the campaign to keep Harberger off campus through militant protest and exposure of his role in Chile as part of our unceasing efforts to defend the victims of the junta's terror. In the past, the SL/SYL has initiated campaigns to defend MIR leaders Van Schouwen and Romero, built support for the enacting of the maritime protest boycotts on goods to Chile and for a permanent boycott of all military goods, and has participated in numerous protests against the junta's atrocities including the murder of Orlando Letelier, a leading cabinet member in the Allende government.

Such defense efforts of the SL/SYL have also been coupled with continued criticism of the role of Allende's popular-front coalition in paving the way for the junta's seizure of power. There is no doubt that Pinochet's military coup was backed by U.S.

*continued on page 11*