

Young Spartacus

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May 1977

Protests Continue at Columbia

NO ACADEMIC POST FOR WAR-CRIMINAL KISSINGER!

"I have to say from the way things are going in academia...I may not be able to get any job when I leave this position... If ['Vietnamization'] doesn't succeed, not even Arizona State will take me."

—Secretary of State Henry Kissinger,
16 September 1970

April 28—Seven years ago the Columbia University administration would not have dared to bring Henry Kissinger on campus. Massive student strikes and demonstrations swept campuses across the country following the saturation bombing of Cambodia and the murder of student protestors at Kent State and Jackson State in Spring 1970. Columbia University was rocked by days of militant student demonstrations against the imperialist genocide in Indochina.

Today Columbia president William McGill is attempting to scrape together several million dollars to buy a piece of Kissinger "prestige." Last month McGill proposed a Columbia post for Kissinger, who also has irons in the fire at the Chase Manhattan Bank and the National Broadcasting Corporation. No doubt President McGill thought that the Indochina war and the searing spectacle of napalmed Vietnamese villages on the six-o'clock news were now merely fading memories for the students and faculty at Columbia.

But the proposal to offer the Metternich of the Nixon/Ford administration a lucrative appointment in the ivory towers of Columbia has been challenged. For over a month Columbia University has been the scene of rallies, marches, picket-line demonstrations and teach-ins protesting the proposed appointment of Kissinger.

War Criminal Under Fire

The first anti-Kissinger actions were kicked off by the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus, a united-front coalition initiated and energetically supported by the Columbia Spartacus Youth League (see "Keep Kissinger Off Campus!," *Young Spartacus*, April 1977). A rally and march called for March 25 brought out 80 students, workers and others opposed to the appointment of Kissinger around the single demand: "Keep Kissinger Off Campus!"



N.Y. Times



W.W.

During the following weeks the protests on campus picked up steam as the controversy over the proposed Kissinger appointment mushroomed. On April 19 the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus sponsored a teach-in at Columbia which attracted about 100 people. After a screening of the film, "U.S. Techniques of Torture and Genocide in Vietnam" (a powerful documentary of the imperialist rape of Indochina), presentations on the issues posed by the proposed appointment of Kissinger were given by Columbia professor Alexander Erlich, a spokesman for the Puerto Rican Socialist Student Federation (FUSP—youth affiliate of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party),

two members of Political Science Students Opposed to the Appointment of Kissinger, representatives of the Spartacus Youth League and a member of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union.

The successful teach-in was followed three days later by a militant protest rally at the Columbia sundial, where speakers from the Ad Hoc Committee denounced Kissinger for his role in formulating and implementing U.S. imperialist foreign policy. As Columbia resounded with chants such as "The working class will not forget Kissinger and Pinochet!" the demonstrators marched to Uris Hall, where the University Senate was about to convene for a discussion of the Kissinger appointment.

Most recently, on April 26 about 250 Columbia students and others turned out for a second teach-in on the proposed Kissinger appointment sponsored by the Columbia Faculty Kissinger Statement Committee. After the scheduled presentations by Noam Chomsky of MIT and Columbia professors Seymour Melman and Michael Teitelman about 70 people in the audience, including supporters of the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus and the SYL, marched to the campus residence of President McGill to continue the protest.

Protests Make Headlines

With Henry Kissinger so much in the news lately the stirrings of protest at Columbia attracted the attention of the media, and over the past few weeks a flurry of articles, editorials, radio reports and photo stories have covered anti-

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Editorial Note

No Pupil Paddling!

"Despite the general abandonment of corporal punishment as a means of punishing criminal offenders, the practice continues to play a role in the public education of school children in most parts of the country." That's how the United States Supreme Court on April 19 justified its 5-to-4 ruling that beating of students by teachers and school officials does not violate the Eighth Amendment of the Constitution, which prohibits "cruel and unusual punishments."

The Supreme Court did not dispute—but rather acknowledged—the extent and brutality of corporal punishment in the public schools, especially those with large numbers of minority and poor students. Harsh discipline is so common in ghetto and inner-city schools that the issue usually attracts media attention only when parents or pupils take

legal action. For example, the Supreme Court ruling was in response to a suit filed by two 14-year-old black students in Florida who were severely injured by school paddlings. Another recent case involved welfare mothers in Detroit who have gone to the Federal District Court to stop the public schools from denying entire classes their hot lunches and milk as punishment for misbehavior by "any student in their class" (*New York Times*, 26 April).

But what is so damning about the Supreme Court ruling is its admission that American public schools simply cannot educate the children of the poor without recourse to corporal punishment. As municipal fiscal austerity measures slash special programs and increase teacher workloads, public schools in the inner cities more and more take on the atmosphere of a prison. Just to maintain a minimum of order in the classroom high school teachers are often driven to assert their authority with brute force. And teachers are also victims of escalating attacks by students, many of whom are either unwilling or simply unable to cope with even a modicum of classroom discipline. Over 70,000 teachers were hospitalized last year as a result of assaults by students.

In the decrepit schools which function as warehouses for minority and poor youth "readin', writin' and 'rithmetic" are not being learned, even when the "hickory stick" is freely used. In the New York City school system, for example, graduating seniors are expected to demonstrate reading proficiency only on the eighth-grade level. But even this requirement has proven to be almost utopian, as every year the schools disgorge even more illiterates. (The most recent "scandal" to attract national media attention centers on a 19-year-old from Long Island who is suing the local school board for graduating him an illiterate.) Many New York City school teachers can get their pupils through the annual reading proficiency exams only by circumventing rules and drilling their classes with the correct answers before the tests (*New York Times*, 20 April).

Socialists vigorously oppose the abomination of pupil paddling, and we call upon the American Federation of Teachers to reverse its reactionary position favoring the recent Supreme Court decision. Quality education will be a meaningless phrase as long as the public schools are segregated, with *in loco parentis* in the disciplinary codes and cops in the halls.

Anti-Kissinger Campaign...

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Kissinger activities at Columbia. Both the *New York Times* and *New York Post* editorialized on the anti-Kissinger protests. News stories on the campaign appeared in the *New York Times* and *New York Daily News* as well as in numerous out-of-town newspapers, including the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *New Haven Register* and the Paris daily *Rouge* (newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire).

In addition, at least nine area radio

14 editorialized against students and faculty at Columbia opposed to the appointment of Kissinger. (It just so happens that the publisher of the *Times* sits on the Board of Trustees of Columbia University.) Smearing the opponents of Kissinger as McCarthyite witchhunters, the *Times* editorial states, "The notion that teachers must pass some political test, beyond simple allegiance to their country, should have vanished with the 1950's."

What hypocrisy! From the outset of the anti-Kissinger campaign at Columbia the SYL has stressed that Kissinger should be opposed not principally for his views, but for his deeds while top diplomat for the most rapacious and savage imperialist power on the globe. As the SYL stated in a letter to the editor of the

Chilean or Argentine leftist students and professors who are allowed the 'academic freedom' of concentration camps and torture chambers....

"What is at issue, then, is not an abstract conception of 'freedom.' It is as partisans of the class Kissinger rained bombs on in Vietnam—the working class—that we demand he be kept off campus. It is as a mouthpiece for Kissinger's class—the bourgeoisie—that you demand his 'rights.'"

In its propaganda against the Kissinger appointment the SYL argued that Kissinger has no more "right" to a chair at Columbia than a Nazi war criminal like Rudolf Hess, who has been locked up in Spandau prison since the Nuremberg trials. The logic of the *Times* editorial could be used to argue that giving Rudolf Hess a post at the Free University of Berlin to teach Judaica is simply a matter of

administration to host Henry Kissinger (as well as his host of Secret Service bodyguards, staff assistants, business agents, secretaries and assorted sycophants) has nothing to do with his academic "credentials." (Although Kissinger certainly has more claim to scholastic prowess than Dwight D. Eisenhower, who somehow managed to become Columbia president following World War II.) Kissinger's claim to fame is his tenure as "public servant" for the imperialist ruling class.

Long before entering public office Henry Kissinger was a Harvard professor glad-handing his way into the inner circles of bourgeois politics. In 1956 Kissinger began his association with Nelson Rockefeller, serving as foreign policy braintrust for the Butcher of Attica. One year later Kissinger published *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*, which advocated "limited nuclear war" and solidarized with Rockefeller's slogan, "A bomb shelter in every home." Proud of his protegee, Rockefeller once said, "Every period has its Humphrey Bogart and the tough guy of our time is Henry Kissinger" (quoted in Henry Brandon, *The Retreat of American Power*).

By 1961 Kissinger had become an assistant to McGeorge Bundy as military and "security" consultant for Kennedy. During this period he made quite a name for himself by calling for an all-out invasion of East Germany. But his "nuke-'em" policy perspectives proved too bellicose for the Kennedy gang, and McGeorge Bundy bounced Kissinger.

Kissinger came back to public life in 1965, when Henry Cabot Lodge invited him to come to Saigon to "study" the war. Although denigrating Nixon at the time of the 1968 elections ("He is not fit to be President") Kissinger quickly changed his mind when "our meatball president" beckoned him to head up the National Security Council and the Washington Special Action Group.

It was as head of the Washington Group that Kissinger drew up detailed plans for the 1970 invasion of Cambodia, which sent B-52's on at least 3,600 bombing raids. After the Cambodia bombings were "leaked" to the press, Kissinger and Nixon personally ordered at least 17 wiretaps on various government officials and journalists. When called out on the "secret war" in Cambodia and Laos, Kissinger threw a tantrum and at one point announced, "I just wanted to make it clear it was not a bombing of Cambodia, but it was a bombing of North Vietnamese in Cambodia" (quoted in *New York Times*, 15 September 1972).

Meanwhile, Kissinger was up to his neck in the dirty dealings of the now infamous "Forty Committee"—the se-

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Press Covers Anti-Kissinger Campaign



stations have broadcast reports of the Columbia protests and some have interviewed spokesmen from the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus and the SYL. Television coverage was beamed by both CBS and NBC network stations, and press dispatches were sent over the wire by the Associated Press and the British news service, Keystone Press Agency.

Predictably, the anti-Kissinger protests have provoked a hue and cry about "academic freedom" from the Columbia administration. Taking up cudgels for Columbia President McGill, the *New York Times* of April

Times (reproduced by the SYL as a leaflet when the *Times* refused to publish it),

"While smearing the anti-Kissinger forces at Columbia as witchhunters, your editorial advocates a neo-McCarthyite 'loyalty oath' as the sole political criterion for university professors! Moreover, a *Times* editorial several weeks ago (March 20) sanctimoniously decried the 'vendetta' being carried on against a real witchhunter—Judge Irving Kaufman, who sentenced the Rosenbergs to death—and defended the 'legal' lynching of the Rosenbergs....

"While the *Times* frets over the threat to the alleged 'rights' of an imperialist butcher, you voice no such concern for the rights of

"academic freedom"! In fact, the *New York Times* of March 28 carried an editorial calling for the release of Hess from Spandau: "The humane grounds for his release are evident." But the *New York Times* wouldn't think of calling for a Columbia appointment for Rudolf Hess; the American bourgeoisie honors only its own war criminals—not the mass murderers of a rival imperialist power which it once defeated.

Kissinger's "Credentials"

The desire of the Columbia admin-

LETTER

More on Moonies

30 March 1977

To the Editor:

The paper might comment at some point about the case of the Moonies who were, in effect, abducted by a California court and handed into the custody of their parents for possible "deprogramming" or re-brainwashing. It matters little that the Moon sect is a contemptible side-show that deserves to be scattered by the workers movement to the extent that it has any significance at all (e.g., as a recruiting agency for soldiers to fight North Korea, according to one report): the reasoning of the bourgeois court is so bizarre that it sets a queasy precedent for youth groups of the left, if the bourgeoisie wanted to take the thing one crazy step further some day.

Most press and radio reports (*New York Times* was an exception) referred to the "children" who were to be removed by court order from the Moon milieu. The Moonies in question were children in the sense of progeny, but they were all over 21. So the state had to pretend that extraordinary brainwashing techniques were brought to bear upon the subjects to induce them to hitch up with Moon. Yet it is obvious that the Unification Church sales spiel, directed at (in this case) adult free agents is greatly less than the ordinary religious training, Lutheran or what have you, in which the putty of a toddler's mind is handed over to the Sunday school, after which the process continues week in week out for several years—not to mention the pressure to conform to the religion of one's parents and surrounding community, and the business rewards for doing so, even apart from such professional indoctrination. Furthermore, the court has the sequence backwards. For the most part, Moonies are flower types who have burned out and toppled into the nearest ditch—with a different breeze, they'd fall into EST, Scientology, Save the Whales, any other sump of the counter-culture. They haven't been lured there by some Svengali. (As for the monolingual Reverend himself, he reportedly has, on US turf, all the charisma of a Coke machine.)

I am not suggesting an article "We'll defend them even though we disagree with them" à la ACLU: rather, simply point out the insulting lack of sequitur in the argument of the bourgeois court, and the precedent for transfer by the ruling class of originally seemingly peripheral rulings to the serious political arena.

David J.

Young Spartacus replies: We certainly agree with David J. Our April issue did run an editorial note entitled "Cultists and Custody," which

opposed a recent California ruling ordering five adult Moonies remanded into the custody (conservatorship) of their parents, who had claimed that their children (aged 21 to 26) were "brainwashed" by the Unification Church.

The March 24 decision by Superior Court judge S. Lee Vavuris threatened to set a precedent for denying adults their democratic rights simply on the basis of their convictions. It indeed could be applied to leftists said to be "indoctrinated" as well as to repulsive escapists who devote their miserable little egos (and donate their considerably larger bankrolls) to a Korean anti-communist crusader who blesses the "soul" of the Seoul police-state regime.

Conservatorship can be imposed on those over the age of legal adulthood; in fact, the law is

New York Times Magazine



Moonie dressed in Paul Revere costume before New York Bicentennial Moon rally.

normally applied in cases involving the aged who are senile or otherwise unable to protect themselves. But over the last two years at least 90 parents have used conservatorship hearings to win custody of young people belonging to the Unification Church (*Newsweek*, 25 April).

In many cases the parents hire (for fees as high as \$10,000) so-called "deprogrammers" who abduct the Moonies and then testify about their "brainwashed" behavior at conservatorship hearings where the cultists are not present to defend themselves. When conservatorship is granted, as in the Vavuris ruling, the court can sanction "deprogramming", thereby giving a legal imprimatur to coercive persuasion which often involves brutal third-degree interrogation.

To be sure, we share David J.'s hostility toward the Moon sect. Moon preaches a "doctrine" based on virulent anti-communism, unlike "mystical" con men such as Guru Maharaj Ji, who simply peddles a lucrative "philosophy of life" akin to the "What, me worry?" outlook of Alfred E. Newman.

Even so, the Moonies—at least in this country at the present time—are not fascists, whom we refuse to defend under any circumstances. In the case of the Vavuris ruling we defend the five Moonies, while simultaneously rejecting the

classless "civil-liberties-for-everyone" position of the ACLU. Our editorial pointed out that it was in the interest of the left and labor movement to oppose the reactionary Vavuris decision, even though its target was the Unification Church.

However, since a precedent-setting ruling was involved, the Vavuris decision was immediately sent to appellate court. On April 11 the conservatorship order was stayed by a California court of appeals, which ruled that parents do not have legal control over their children after they have reached adulthood. Nevertheless, the constitutionality of conservatorship in such cases remains to be settled through appeals to higher courts.

But regardless of the outcome of the conser-

Newsweek



vatorship issue, minors will still continue to be denied legal rights. The capitalist legal code is a weapon in the hands of the ruling class which serves to maintain its system of exploitation and special oppression and the nuclear family upon which the bourgeois social order is based. Bourgeois "justice" is biased in favor of strengthening parental authority.

Although overturned, the Vavuris ruling by no means was exceptional. The capitalist courts more often than not are sympathetic to parents who try to "straighten out" their children. One recent egregious example occurred in the small Texas town of Ore City. Last January Forrest Grigg, an aging former pro-football player, landed in court after he took it upon himself to stop his 20-year-old son from smoking marijuana, drinking wine and loafing around the house. Grigg "deprogrammed" his son by putting a bullet through the head of the youth as he lay asleep. "Yes, I did it for him," confessed Grigg (quoted in *New York Times*, 18 January).

The response of the court? After a one-day murder trial the small-town jury deadlocked 9 to 3 in favor of *acquittal*. When Grigg then changed his plea to involuntary manslaughter, the judge sentenced him to five years *probation*!

Campus Elections at Berkeley SYL Challenges Political Censorship

BERKELEY, April 29—At the University of California campus here the Spartacus Youth League last week fielded four candidates for the elections to student government (the Associated Students of the University of California—ASUC). Running on the Young Spartacus slate were Katie Welsh for ASUC President, Steve Hamilton for Executive Vice-President, Dorie Riepe for Academic Affairs Vice-President and Andrew Schulman for Senator.

As in the past, the SYL at Berkeley used the campus elections to campaign as the only communist alternative. But in this year's ASUC elections the SYL also gave battle to a blatantly anti-communist attempt by ASUC in-

cumbents to subject our campaign to bureaucratically-imposed political censorship.

Having earned our reputation as the communists at Cal, the SYL was targeted this election by some conservatives within the ASUC. On April 28 the Young Spartacus candidates were charged by the ASUC attorney general with violating an election by-law. According to this rule all literature and other campaign materials must "be submitted to a member of the Election Council before they may be distributed." In the past the SYL has always refused to submit any election propaganda to the Election Council, even though in this ASUC election all other candidates

(including the Young Socialist Alliance slate) evidently did comply with the by-law.

Such stipulations in the student code provide sanctions for *political censorship* of campaign propaganda and must be opposed by all who stand for democratic rights on campus. In fact, the Election Council Chairman, Kevin Jones, informed SYL presidential candidate Katie Welsh that this particular by-law was designed to prevent the distribution of so-called "slandorous material."

In response, the Young Spartacus candidates stated that the SYL would not comply with the demand of the ASUC attorney general. Citing our refusal to honor this grossly undemocratic regulation a suit was filed calling for a ban on all Young Spartacus campaign activities on April 29, the last day of balloting in the student-government elections. This suit also stated that if any Young Spartacus candidates continued to campaign, the entire slate would be disqualified.

Later that same day the SYL was informed that the Young Spartacus candidates had been ordered to appear before a meeting of the ASUC Judicial Committee which would rule

on the suit. But this "public" hearing was scheduled for...10:00 that night, when the campus would be deserted! (In order to hold their star-chamber hearing behind locked doors the ASUC would-be witchhunters had to sheepishly search for some build-

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FROM THE ARCHIVES OF OUR MOVEMENT

How Trotskyists Applied Boycott to Nazi Germany

Over the past year the brutal repression of the anti-apartheid upsurge in South Africa by the white-supremacist regime of Prime Minister B.J. Vorster has brought forth in this country a spate of calls for consumer boycotts and trade sanctions against South Africa. Climbing aboard the boycott bandwagon, various left-wing tendencies have demanded bigger and better trade sanctions against the white-supremacist regimes from the United Nations and bourgeois congressmen, while arguing that the most effective action U.S. workers and students can take to protest apartheid is abstaining from eating South African sardines and refusing to view South African athletes compete at the Davis Cup tennis tournament.

But none of this is really new. Following the triumph of Hitler in 1933 similar proposals were raised calling for a boycott of Germany to protest the Nazis' escalating persecution of the Jews and their barbaric destruction of the organizations of the proletariat. From bourgeois Jewish circles in this country and internationally came calls for consumer boycotts of all German

eyeglasses, cameras and crockery, while the labor bureaucrats of the Second International and the American Federation of Labor chimed in with pledges to wage economic warfare against fascist Germany.

Like the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League today, the Trotskyists at that time opposed the strategy of open-ended consumer and trade boycotts, in that case against Nazi Germany. We reprint below two statements of the Trotskyist movement from 1933 on the issue of boycotting Germany: an editorial from *The Militant*, weekly press of the American Trotskyists, and a resolution adopted by the International Plenum of the Bolshevik-Leninists. In contrast to the liberal moralizing of the day these statements call for mobilizing international labor solidarity, including strike action and demonstrations of protest, aimed at winning specific demands; *The Militant* called for "a well-organized international boycott [of Germany] and suspending transport and communication for a definite time."

The Trotskyists opposed the class collaborationism of the Stalinists and the social-democratic labor bureau-

crats who demanded that their proposed trade boycotts against Germany be enforced by the "democratic" imperialists and the League of Nations. At bottom, such calls are a reactionary-utopian appeal to one's "own" ruling class to take economic reprisals against a rival bourgeois power. But the imperialists would impose trade boycotts only as part of their response to increasing economic autarky, protectionism and inter-imperialist rivalry—that is, as a prelude to renewed inter-imperialist war. Thus, in opposing the Stalinists' call for a League of Nations embargo against fascist Italy, Trotsky emphasized, "Economic sanctions, if real, lead to military sanctions, to war" (*Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1935-36*). Moreover, as Trotsky also pointed out, in the unlikely event that a major power did impose a complete trade boycott of fascist Germany, one of the main effects would be to increase unemployment in Germany—which would only further demoralize and debilitate the already prostrate German proletariat.

"The absence of Russian orders would, it is true, increase somewhat the number of the unemployed there. But has there been a lack of unemployment for a revolutionary situation up to now? What was lacking was a revolutionary party and a correct policy.... We cannot avoid examining the question as to whom economic reprisals would benefit in Germany now: the fascists or the proletariat."

—*Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1932-33*

Then, as now, the perspective and methods of class struggle are counterposed to moralistic consumer boycotts, which invariably are less than impotent, as well as to demands for open-ended trade boycotts, which are a call for increased inter-imperialist rivalry. Today the international Spartacist tendency calls for an *international labor boycott of all military aid to South Africa*. In addition, we support immediate labor action against the "multinational" corporations with investments in South Africa demanding that their South African subsidiaries recognize *trade-union rights for black workers*. What is needed now are political protests and actions of international labor solidarity aimed at forcing specific concessions from the South African regime, such as immediate release of all victims of apartheid repression and democratic rights for blacks, in particular, the right to form legal trade unions and political parties.

"The Boycott of Fascist Germany," from the *Militant*, 20 October 1933

The resolution of the A.F. of L. convention for the boycott of German goods, following a similar action by the British Trade Union Congress, undoubtedly raises the issue of the boycott to a higher importance and, at the same time, increases the weight of reformist influence in the international agitation against Hitlerism. A positive position on the question of the boycott, which is now brought into such prominence, is obviously required of all the various tenden-

cies in the labor movement.

What is especially necessary is preciseness as to the aims of the boycott, its forms and its limitations. Otherwise the slogan lends itself to vague generalities, binding no one to anything in particular. That is where the agitation on the question stands now, and that is why the opportunists of all countries are having such a happy time with the slogan. The revolutionary wing of the labor movement ought to call for a showdown on the issue of boycotting Hitler's Germany.

As a demonstrative action on an international scale, designed to show working class solidarity with the hard-pressed German workers and stern protest against their fascist torturers, a well-organized international boycott—suspending transport and communication for a definite time—could serve a useful purpose. Such an action, concentrating the force of international labor in a single paralyzing blow, could be a means of lifting up the spirits of the German workers and helping them to their feet again. The German workers, disunited and demoralized by the bankruptcy of their organizations, and overcome with a sense of isolation and despair, need desperately now the concrete and visible proofs of international class solidarity.

A boycott, a *real* boycott, such as it is within the power of the international labor movement to enforce for a limited time, could serve as such a demonstration. Therein would lie its principal value. And, in addition, such an action would revive and strengthen the international labor movement by the revelation of power inherent in it.

Of course the A.F. of L. resolution was never intended by its sponsors to lead in such a direction. It is a face-saving gesture, calculated to put them "on record" without committing them to any obligations. The real measure of the Washington decision can be seen in the fact that Furuseth, head of the Seamen's union, voted against the boycott resolution. This passed without comment, as a matter of course. They intend no action against German fascism. They do not mean it seriously. The mere exhortation to refrain from the purchase of German goods—the passive, voluntary abstentionism of unorganized individuals—is not a real weapon of the struggle against fascism. Such a program has many negative aspects. And it is a harmful substitute for an organized action of the working class.

What is needed is an international, organized mass action which brings all its force to bear on one point at one time. The revolutionary elements in the labor movement ought to pick up the slogan of the boycott and drive the agitation in this direction. The A.F. of L. resolution, which gives the issue an official sanction, can be utilized as a springboard for the agitation in the unions. An international strike against the handling or transport of German goods and communication, as an anti-fascist demonstration for a definitely limited short time, should be the aim. The united front of workers' organizations is required. In such an action, which would blow the breath of life into the boycott, against Hitlerism, the railroad and transport unions would necessarily play a major role. Without their participation the agitation for a boycott is nothing but sound and fury.

"Boycott of Germany,"

Resolution of the International Plenum of the Bolshevik-Leninists, from *International Bulletin of the League of Communist Internationalists*, Series No. 1, April 1934

The boycott is an important weapon in the international struggle against
continued next page

Ann Arbor:

Rally Protests Gerald Ford

Young Spartacus



On April 6 in Ann Arbor a militant demonstration called by the Spartacus Youth League and endorsed by the Bolshevik Leninist Tendency (a small grouping of local leftists) protested Gerald Ford's speaking engagements at the University of Michigan. As former commander-in-chief of U.S. imperialism, Ford used naked gunboat diplomacy to make his mark as a big-power "statesman," for example seizing upon the Mayaguez incident and the Panmunjom episode to launch imperialist provocations against the Cambodian and North Korean deformed workers states. His other "achievements" included opposition to busing and legalized abortion and fiscal austerity up and down the line. This

man no doubt is "qualified" to lecture on imperialist power politics to political science classes. But Gerald Ford is not simply another academic apologist—in fact, he can't even make any academic pretenses. This imperialist butcher must not be allowed to hide his crimes behind an appointment at the University!

Ford's pardon of war criminal Nixon, in contrast to the vicious repression of blacks and leftists, shows the impossibility of justice under capitalism—a point underscored by the demonstrators' call for workers revolution. As the demonstrators chanted, "The working class will not forget that Ford armed Vorster and Pinochet!"

Hitler Germany. It is an elementary truth that the boycott cannot overthrow Hitler. But it can force him to make certain concessions and it can help the defeated German working class as well as the world working class, in regaining confidence in the power of proletarian internationalism.

The boycott of goods supported by bourgeois and liberal Jewish organizations, transforms this method of struggle against Hitler into a means of bourgeois competition and ideologic preparation for war, and into the creation of a "collaboration" between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, in view of coming war.

The boycott of German goods is also propagated in the same sense by the reformist lackeys of capitalism. The revolutionary proletariat can take part only in an active boycott, which also develops the class struggle against its own bourgeoisie; boycott of shipping, strikes of seamen, longshoremen and railroad workers.

The Third International, refusing any boycott in the interest of the commercial policy of the Soviet Union, shows again its inability to defend the class interests of the proletariat; an inability which is due to the non-Marxist policy of socialism in one country. Experience has proved that the boycott has no meaning unless it is conducted by the mass organizations of the proletariat, and is designed to attain an aim in a definite period of time. This is why the boycott should be preceded by systematic propaganda and by the creation of a united front which will permit the projection of the boycott with a determined aim and at the same time with all the necessary force.

It is in this sense that the Plenum of the International Opposition has addressed itself to all workers organizations on August 28, and again in its appeal on the subject of the trial on the burning of the Reichstag, for joint action of all workers organizations.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT
September 28, 1933. ■

Young Spartacus

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LOS ANGELES: "Trotskyism: Strategy for World Revolution"; alternate Wednesdays, May 11 and May 25, at 12 noon; Room 50, Dodd Hall, UCLA—Experimental College; call: (213)413-0160.

YSA Opposes Trashing of Fascist Bookstore Nazi Provocation Smashed in Bay Area

SAN FRANCISCO—Some 150 residents of the Sunset district here recently ransacked and burned a bookstore which had been opened by the fascist National Socialist White Worker Party (Nazis). The "Rudolf Hess Bookstore," located in the center of a German Jewish community of survivors of World War II, was a deliberate and grotesque provocation on the part of the Nazi scum. Every socialist militant, all minorities and the entire labor movement should applaud this exemplary action which completely routed the fascist scum.

At first the fascists had the gall to claim that they had merely set up shop in a "sympathetic" neighborhood. But the storefront was located directly across the street from a synagogue which was founded in 1947 by German Jewish refugees. It was estimated by the Temple's Rabbi that over 60 percent of the congregation actually lived through Hitler's concentration camps. Even the owner of the store, Nathan Green, was a survivor of Auschwitz; he had seen his father, two brothers and two sisters murdered at the hands of the Nazi butchers. Green was unaware of the identity of his new tenants until the uniformed Nazi would-be stormtroopers appeared at his store and plastered a swastika across the storefront.

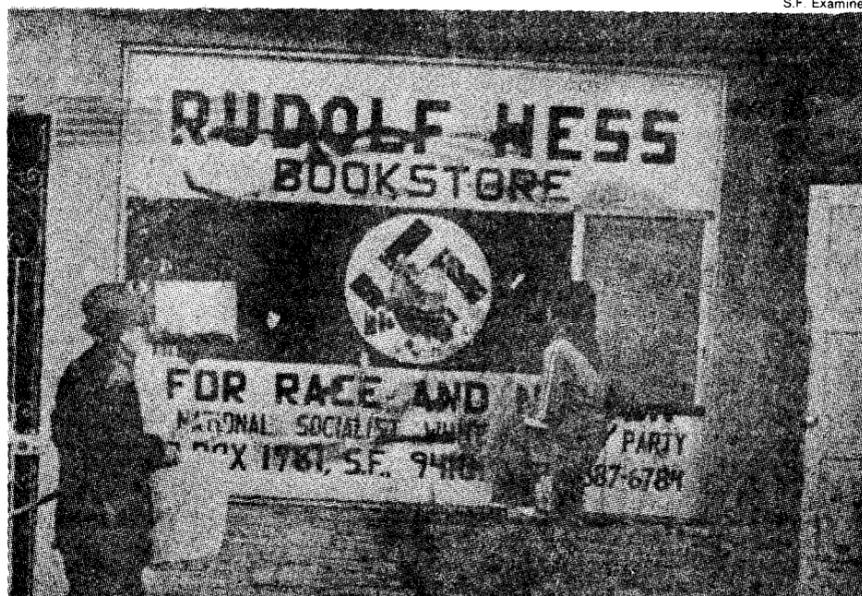
The neighborhood reacted swiftly to the Nazi provocation. Refusing to allow the store to remain open, a crowd of over 100 outraged community residents gathered in the early morning hours of April 2 and cheered as a group entered the store to tear down Hitler posters and rip up the Nazi's hate-sheet "literature." A few hours later rocks and bottles were thrown through the windows of the neighboring synagogue in apparent retaliation. Once again a large crowd responded by trashing the storefront. When the fire department arrived, some in the crowd tried to restrain them from dousing the fire.

The anti-Nazi action generated widespread support throughout the Bay Area. The incident received extensive coverage in the local media, with even the conservative, Hearst-owned press expressing sympathy for the anti-fascist demonstrators (although not their "violent tactics"). In letters to the local papers many area residents expressed their solidarity. One letter stated:

"I wouldn't say they took the law in their own hands, I'd say the law doesn't deal with this sort of thing. The law can deal with property, but it cannot deal with emotions with the things that make us tick... They stood up as men and refused to be intimidated or to relive what was their nightmare."
—San Francisco Examiner, 3 April 1977

The successful effort to close down the Nazi storefront was a courageous and highly commendable action. The racist scum readily admitted, both before and after their forced eviction, that they had hoped to provoke a wave of reaction. Attempting to save face after their humiliating defeat, Nazi ringleader Allen Vincent hysterically ranted:

"We forced them to show their real face. We forced them out into the open. Terror and violence is their M.O. They operate behind a mask of peace



S.F. Examiner

and brotherhood. We forced them to show the world what they're really like. We're so happy, we're still celebrating."

—San Francisco Examiner, 6 April 1977

Vincent's posture of confidence and jubilation will accomplish little; the anti-fascist mobilization in the Sunset will make the fascists think twice before attempting to, once again, spread their racist filth.

YSA Defends Nazis Against Survivors of Auschwitz

Despite the nationwide attention attracted by the anti-fascist action in the Sunset, the reformist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and its parent organization, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), have been conspicuously silent about the issue; no coverage of the action has yet appeared in the pages of the *Militant* or the *Young Socialist*. Yet this is not surprising, for the SWP/YSA has adopted the civil-libertarian position that the murderous, degenerate fascist slime *must never be denied their so-called "right" to free speech and assembly* (see "Sunday Socialists Preach 'Bill of Rights Protection' for Fascists," *Young Spartacus*, September 1976).

But the SWP/YSA has had difficulty maintaining a stonewalling silence on the issue. On April 26 during a public debate at the Berkeley campus of the University of California Reiko Obata, the YSA candidate for president of the Associated Students of the University of California, declared in response to a question about the trashing of the "Rudolf Hess Bookstore" that the YSA defends the Nazis' "right" to open a bookstore! On another occasion a supporter of the SWP suggested that instead of ransacking the fascist bookstore the Sunset residents should have undertaken a campaign to "educate the community" about the nature of fascism! But the Jewish refugees living in the Sunset already received their education—in the Nazi death camps! The lesson learned: the fascists are the sworn enemy of the working class, racial, ethnic and religious minorities.

The smug reformists of the SWP/

YSA usually defend their head-in-the-sand civil libertarianism by demagogically denouncing any protest which denies the fascists their "rights" as "infantile ultra-leftism." Many of the residents of the Sunset know better how to deal with the Nazis than the self-satisfied "smart tacticians" of the SWP/YSA. And many of these survivors of Auschwitz would undoubtedly have some pungent words for anyone who denounced their just response to the Nazi provocation as "infantile ultra-leftism." In an interview with the *San Francisco Examiner* one Sunset resident describes why she participated in driving away the Nazis: "I saw them take my mother away, I lost four brothers and two sisters." She went on to describe how her husband had watched the Nazis "chop his father."

For Labor-Defense Squads to Smash Nazi Provocations!

The unbelievably philistine and ultra-legalist SWP/YSA projects its passive electoralism onto the fascists. But the Nazis do not recruit through peaceful political campaigning. They grow by demonstrating in action their audacity and murderous intention: the terrorization of blacks and Jews, the smashing of the labor movement, the extermination of communists and the suppression of democratic rights. The "program" of the Nazis is genocide. To defend their "rights" is to disarm the working class before these terrorist thugs. Although today the American Nazis are an isolated and tiny sect, to allow them to freely organize for violent racist actions is to pave the way for future disaster.

The SYL advocates the militant mobilization of disciplined defense based on the strength and authority of the mass organizations of the working class and black community to prevent the growth of the Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan and other terrorist right-wing movements. Fascist provocations cannot be effectively countered by polite debate or civil-libertarian defense of the so-called "rights" of these would-be Hitlers. Nor can the cops be relied upon to eliminate the fascist threat or to protect the oppressed

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Pathfinder Press



LESSONS OF THE BARCELONA MAY DAYS

How Popular Front Strangled Spanish Revolution

In the history of the workers movement certain dates carry the indelible imprint of class betrayal. So it was with August 1914—when the German Social Democratic Party voted war credits for the imperialist bourgeoisie, sounding the death knell of the Second International as a revolutionary force. And so it was with May 1937—when the Spanish Popular Front government, comprised primarily of the traditional workers parties, turned its guns on the Barcelona proletariat, delivering a fatal blow to the Spanish Revolution.

Yet for the Spanish proletariat today—exactly forty years after the Barcelona May Days—the specter of civil war once again looms large. As the June 15 parliamentary elections approach, the first to be held since the fall of the Second Republic, the major workers parties—the Stalinist Communist Party (PCE) and the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party (PSOE)—once again seek to create a multi-class popular front, forming alliances with bourgeois parties ranging from Catalan nationalists to right-wing Christian Democrats and even with displaced monarchists. Once again the reformist misleaders are forging political chains binding the Spanish working masses to their exploiters in order to consummate a class-collaborationist alliance with the Spanish "democratic" bourgeoisie.

Revolution is the crucible in which political programs and the parties of the working class face their acid test. Forty years ago, at the height of the Spanish Civil War, the politics of class collaboration took their toll—with vengeance. Under the blows of the Popular Front and its Stalinist henchmen the flower of the Spanish working class—the Catalan proletariat—was trampled. As the Spanish workers head for parliamentary elections the bitter lessons of Barcelona must be brought to the fore for the new generation of prol-

etarian militants—*popular fronts mean workers blood!*

Struggle Against Francoism

The July 1936 military coup under the leadership of Francisco Franco came at the height of the largest strike wave in Spanish history. After the huge working-class vote in February 1936 for the popular-front coalition headed by the leader of the Republican Left, Manuel Azaña, the government's arrest of strike leaders and the censorship of the working-class press discredited Azaña in the eyes of the Spanish workers. Despite the participation of the Socialist and Communist parties (as well as the social-democratic UGT trade-union federation), the workers refused to entrust the government with the struggle against Franco and the fascists.

Franco's military revolt in Morocco triggered the massive mobilization of the Spanish proletariat. The bourgeois popular-front government, fearing the workers' response, first suppressed the news of the uprising a full day and then urged that everyone be "calm." But the memories of the bloody suppression of the 1934 Asturian miners' insurrection (which left 5,000 dead) at the hands of the "loyal Republican" army proved too vivid, and across Spain workers poured into the streets to demand arms for the fight against Franco—which Azaña refused.

As garrison after garrison of the "democratic" army declared its loyalty to the Rebel forces of Franco, local workers committees took the initiative. Beginning on July 19, militant workers, often armed with no more than a few sticks of dynamite or a few aging handguns, stormed armories and barracks of the Republic's army. Those garrisons loyal to Franco (the vast majority) were disbanded and their arms used to equip the rapidly organized workers militias.

By the afternoon of July 20 Barcelona, the Spanish citadel of revolution, was in the hands of the

workers—unified under the Central Committee of the Anti-Fascist Militias. Within days the military revolt had been smashed in two-thirds of Spain by the armed working class. As tens of thousands of initial volunteers were hastily dispatched to the front to stem the advance of the Francoist troops, the organized workers militias settled into control of the streets.

Dual Power in Republican Spain

Following the July workers' uprising, Republican Spain entered into a revolutionary situation with two antagonistic poles of power: the bourgeois government and the armed workers militias. The working class patrolled the streets, organized the war effort and undertook the disarming of the army and the police—the latter were individually "volunteered" for service at the front. Workers collectives managed the factories and agricultural production was taken over by the farm collectives (who significantly raised output).

Nonetheless, even though the unstable Azaña coalition lacked a significant social base—both Spanish capitalists and large landowners had for the most part deserted the Republic in favor of Franco—the popular-front government remained the sole repository of bourgeois class rule in Republican Spain. Without even a significant armed force at its disposal, the few petty-lawyers of the Second Republic were indeed the "shadow of the bourgeoisie" (Trotsky). Their stay in power depended solely upon the determination of the bourgeois workers parties to uphold capitalist property relations. But the distrust and hatred of President Azaña was of such magnitude that the Stalinists and social-democrats were forced to withdraw from the government under working-class pressure.

As with Russia between February and October 1917 and Germany in 1918–1919, so in Spain the independent

organs of the working class were in a position to challenge the bourgeois state for state power. In all three cases the tottering bourgeois state was propped up only by the participation of reformist workers parties—all of whose bases of support existed elsewhere: in Russia the soviets, in Germany the workers' and soldiers' councils and in Spain the trade union federations.

Unlike Russia, however, dual power in Spain existed only at the local or regional level. While workers militias controlled the streets, the unified national organs of proletarian power, the soviets or juntas, never crystallized. Lacking the intervention of a revolutionary party struggling to unite the working class for the seizure of state power—and necessarily rejecting any political collaboration with the bourgeoisie—the government of the "shadow bourgeoisie" remained the only national expression of the anti-Francoist forces. More than any other factor, this paved the way for Franco's march to power.

Revolutionary Catalonia

The locus of dual power *par excellence* was Catalonia—the center of 70 percent of pre-Civil War Spanish industry. The Catalan proletariat had long been the most militant in Spain, and land seizures and workers control of industry had begun long before Franco's uprising. Under wartime conditions, separated from the Basque metalworks industry, Catalonia was converted into the powerhouse of the Republic. The valiant workers collectives expanded the Catalan refineries, increased industrial production and built up a munitions industry and chemical works from scratch.

The workers militias also found their highest expression in Catalonia where they were centralized under the Central Committee of the Anti-Fascist Militias. The planned army takeover of Barcelona was decisively smashed and after July 20 the Catalan government was dependent upon the bureaucratic CNT (mass anarchist trade-union federation) leadership of the Central Committee for its continued existence. Fully the equal of the PCE and the Socialists in terms of class collaboration the Anarchists of the CNT readily acceded, going so far as to incorporate bourgeois forces in the leadership of the Anti-Fascist Militias.

While the Madrid government was rearranged—with PSOE leader Largo Caballero as prime minister and the PCE in the cabinet—the government of Catalan Left leader Luis Companys temporized and granted "official rec-



Manuel Azaña, President of the Republic during the Civil War.

ognition" to workers' activities over which it did not even have the vestige of control. Unable to dispute the military prowess of the workers militias, Companys invited the CNT-FAI (the Anarchist trade union and party) and the POUM (the centrist Catalan-centered Workers Party of Marxist Unification, formed in 1935 by the fusion of former Trotskyist leaders with the Workers and Peasants Bloc led by Joaquin Maurin) to enter the Generalitat—the Catalan government. Caballero alone could not shore up Companys; in Catalonia the CNT was the hegemonic force on the left.

Only the entry of the CNT into the Generalitat on 26 September 1936 could have sufficiently strengthened Companys for a counterrevolutionary mobilization. Behind the rejection of the crucial importance of state power—i.e., either bourgeois or proletarian—which had been the hallmark of the vulgar anarchist "theoreticians" for decades lay the opportunism of the leaders. The abstract rejection of the state, the glorification of the producers' cooperatives emerging from the revolution as the culmination of the anarchist millennia, all gave way in September 1936 with the offer of ministerial portfolios.

With the CNT and the POUM in the government Companys began to reinforce the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state. In October, only a month after the new coalition was formed, he disbanded the Central Committee of the Anti-Fascist Militias and ordered the armed workers into the bourgeois "Popular Army." Later, in December the POUM's services were no longer required; and it found itself booted out of the coalition. In the meantime, the government was amassing a force of 20,000 well-armed men in the previously insignificant Carabineros—the customs police. Not only were these to be the shock troops of the Generalitat, but they laid the basis for the first direct challenge to the CNT (which had controlled the customs houses since July).

May Days in Barcelona

The strength of the Barcelona proletariat was exemplified by the red and black flags flying atop the Telephone Exchange. The Telefónica, the most prominent building in central Barcelona, symbolized the seizure of industry and public services by the workers committees. Possession of the former AT&T building permitted the predominantly CNT workers occupying the premises to monitor the activities of the Generalitat—a small

though real lever of control on the activities of the Companys camarilla.

The confrontation that was to center on the Telefónica had been brewing for several weeks. The Carabineros had repeatedly tried to seize the customs houses from the CNT. Together with the Assault Guards, the Carabineros had attacked workers patrols in Barcelona. And for the first time since the fall of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, the government banned all demonstrations on May Day. Even more ominous was the murder of a dissident UGT leader (a member of the Catalan Communist Party, the PSUC, that controlled sections of the UGT in Catalonia) which the Stalinists used to marshal the forces of counterrevolution. The PSUC turned the funeral for a slain workers' leader into a three-and-a-half hour mobilization of police and government soldiers in the heart of the workers' districts.



Funeral procession for left-Anarchist leader Buenaventura Durruti, killed in 1936 while leading workers militias in the defense of Madrid. Together with the Trotskyists, his followers—the Friends of Durruti—were the only force to call for defense of the May barricades and for proletarian power. At right, the Trotskyist press in April 1937 calls for Revolutionary Proletarian Front to fight Franco and the "Republican" counterrevolution.

not possess a solid base in the working class—before fusing with the PSOE youth its membership was about 10,000. But Soviet military aid provided the PCE an important lever to gain posts within—and to dictate terms to—the Republican forces. However, the real strength of the PCE was its unswerving loyalty to bourgeois class rule. Throughout the popular-front period Stalinists the world over were beside themselves in demonstrating to the capitalist class their indispensability in suppressing the class struggle.

The PCE was the only working-class tendency willing to enter the Azaña government in July of 1936 (during the Third Period the PCE had termed Azaña a "fascist")—but had been prevented from doing so by Caballero's adamant refusal to rejoin the coalition at that time. The PCE had resolutely opposed all nationalizations, land seizures, factory occu-



pations—in short, any incursions upon capitalist property relations. At a plenary session of the PCE Central Committee on 5 March 1937 Spanish Stalinist chief José Diaz laid down the line bluntly:

"If in the beginning the various premature attempts at 'socialization' and 'collectivization,' which were the result of an unclear understanding of the character of the present struggle, might have been justified by the fact that the big landlords and manufacturers had deserted their estates and factories and that it was necessary at all costs to continue production, now on the contrary they cannot be justified at all. At the present time, when there is a government of the Popular Front, in which all the forces engaged in the fight against fascism are represented, such things are not only not desirable, but absolutely impermissible." [our emphasis] —Communist International, May 1937

But in tirading against the seething struggles of the Spanish toilers Diaz and the other PCE leaders were only parroting the anti-revolutionary line of the Kremlin bureaucracy. A few months earlier, in December 1936, Stalin dispatched a personal letter to Prime Minister Largo Caballero advising him to conciliate "the middle and lower bourgeoisie...[by] protecting them against confiscations" (reprinted in *New York Times*, 4 June 1939).

But most of all, the Stalinists provided the rallying force for the attack on the Spanish labor movement. On 17 December 1936 *Pravda* laid out Stalinist policy with undisguised counterrevolutionary zeal:

"So far as Catalonia is concerned the cleaning up of the Trotskyist and Anarcho-Syndicalist elements has already begun, and it will be carried out with the same energy as in the U.S.S.R." —quoted in Gerald Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth*

Pravda's words rang all too true. PSUC commissar Salas directed the attack on the Telefónica and coordinated the attacks upon the workers militias. For the PSUC the barricades posed no problem whatsoever: their members were the only working-class tendency on the side of the Companys government. There could be no excesses in the rooting out of "Trotskyist" and "Anarcho-Syndicalist" "Francoist agents"; and the hidden dungeons and torture chambers in the basements of PSUC-controlled police prefectures attest to this.

The Downfall of Spanish Anarchism

The May Days proved the undoing of the oldest current in the Spanish labor movement: Anarchism. The entry into the Catalan and Madrid governments had exposed the fundamental opportunism and class collaborationism of the CNT-FAI leadership. The May Days forced them to choose between their working-class base and the bourgeoisie; in the final analysis they chose the latter.

The CNT newspaper, *Solidaridad Obrera*, attempted to bury the news of the attack on the Telefónica; meanwhile, the CNT-FAI leaders maneuvered to "negotiate" its surrender to the Generalitat. As the CNT ranks swelled the barricades and took control of the city, the CNT-FAI issued a leaflet exhorting the workers to:

"Put down your arms; embrace like brothers! Victory will be ours if we unite; we shall be defeated if we fight among ourselves." —quoted in Grandizo Muniz, *Jalones de derrota; promesa de victoria*

But the "we" included the first 1,500 Assault Guards sent by the central government (which had moved to Valencia) to drown the workers in blood.

The CNT-FAI sent its top leaders to Barcelona—to counsel "serenity" and abandoning the barricades. CNT National Secretary Marciano Vasquez, the Anarchist Minister of Justice Garcia Oliver and Federica Montseny (the "Pasionaria" of the CNT) hastened to Barcelona from Valencia—each one with the same message: surrender. As the cops streamed into the city Oliver, the most brazen among them, urged the workers, "Hold your fire; embrace the Assault Guards!" (quoted in Muniz, *op. cit.*).

The Anarchist leaders faced no easy task. Clearly in command militarily, the workers were ill disposed to surrender to the hated police and Stalinists. But without organized leadership and following the demoralizing treachery of their leaders the workers drifted from the barricades. By May 6 the Generalitat controlled the city and reprisals were launched. Even the official CNT-FAI apologist was forced to admit:

"the overwhelming majority of the population were with the C.N.T.... It would have been easy to attack the centre of the city, had the responsible committee so decided.... But the Regional Committee of the C.N.T. was opposed to it." —Augustin Souchy, *The Tragic Week in May*

The barricades were finally abandoned in exchange for the "promise" to "negotiate." With the barricades down, the police seized the Telefónica and rampaged through the working-class neighborhoods. How

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PCE rally under banner of the "Gravedigger of the Revolution" during Civil War.

PCE: Spearhead of Counterrevolution

Without doubt the most despicable role during the May Days was played by the PCE. At the time of its entry into the Popular Front the PCE did

Administration on Union-Busting Rampage—

Ann Arbor Rally Defends Strike Militants

ANN ARBOR—The administration of the University of Michigan (U-M) campus here has used the bitter defeat of the recent strike by Local 1583 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) to victimize strike militants. The contract imposed by the U-M administration includes a reprisal clause that gives management the power to fire any worker charged with "misconduct" during the strike.

Since the strike ended March 20 twenty strikers have been fired and another eleven AFSCME members, including local president Joel Block, have been suspended. In addition, seven student workers who have no union protection have been axed. Nearly all those victimized were actively involved in the strike, many defending AFSCME picket lines and attempting to keep scabs out of university facilities. The student workers who were fired all had refused to cross picket lines and refused to work for the duration of the AFSCME strike.

As part of a campaign to force the administration to rehire the 38 workers a rally of about 60 students and university employees was held on campus April 6 around the demands: No reprisals! Drop the charges! Full reinstatement for all victimized workers with full back pay! The protest demonstration had been called by the United Front Against Reprisals (UFAR), an ad hoc committee initiated and actively supported by the Spartacus Youth League at Ann Arbor. Other endorsers of UFAR included the Revolutionary Student Brigade, Clericals for a Democratic Union, Union of Radical Political Economists, Stewards Council of the Graduate Employees Organization, Clericals Strike Support Committee and the Ann Arbor Tenants Union.

Speakers at the rally included a fired AFSCME worker, who solidarized with student efforts to beat back the administration witchhunt of strike militants. Also addressing the demonstration were spokesmen from the Graduate Employees Organization, the Clericals Strike Support Committee and the SYL.

Stalinist Sectarianism Backfires

To their discredit the Stalinists of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), youth group of the pro-Moscow Communist Party, actively attempted to sabotage the defense work launched by UFAR. On March 23 the SYL first proposed a united-front rally at a meeting called by members of the Student Support Committee, a YWLL-dominated strike support group. After discussion, the SYL proposal was adopted and UFAR was established. Among the endorsers of UFAR was a leader of the Student Support Committee. In supporting the SYL proposal she noted that the Student Support Committee had become defunct.

But the YWLL, placing its anti-"Trotskyite" sectarianism higher than its professed solidarity with the victimized strikers, resurrected its empty-shell Student Support Committee for the sole purpose of splitting and wrecking the UFAR defense campaign then underway. However, the blatant sectarian maneuvering

of the Stalinists backfired. When a YWLL spokesman denounced UFAR at its second meeting and called for a walkout, half of the slate of the Student Organizing Committee—the main public vehicle for YWLL politics on campus—remained.

Nor did the YWLL fare any better with its "reactivated" Student Support Committee. At a meeting of the Student Support Committee called after the YWLL failed to wreck UFAR, a contingent of UFAR supporters intervened to argue against the sectarian tactics of the Stalinists. During the lengthy political discussion SYL supporters blasted the YWLL for its role throughout the entire strike, when the Stalinists uncritically supported Block, even his call for the ranks to accept a sell-out contract including the reprisals clause. Unable to defend their politics and deeds from open criticism, the YWLL supporters finally got up and flounced out of their own meeting!

Arm of Defense or Appendage of Bureaucrats?

While the Stalinists slithered around seeking to sabotage the united-front defense rally (to no avail), attempts were also made to hamstring UFAR. Within UFAR the Clericals for a Democratic Union (CDU)—a small grouping which belonged to the United Auto Workers until Local 2001 was decertified not long ago—proposed that UFAR, in effect, subordinate itself to the All Campus Labor Council (a largely fictive structure created by Block several years ago). At the second meeting of UFAR the CDU introduced a proposal which in part stated that "the All Campus Labor Council is the only campus organization which can at this time coordinate the defense efforts of workers and students and undertake all campus joint labor-student action."

In response, the SYL argued that while any student-centered defense committee should seek to work as closely as possible with the official AFSCME defense committee, UFAR must maintain its organizational and political autonomy as a genuine united front. Thus, the CDU proposal would have limited UFAR defense work to the do-nothing policies of the All Campus Labor Council.

During the AFSCME strike, for example, the Labor Council bureaucrats paid lip service to labor solidarity, but did nothing more than call for a one-day work stoppage in support of the campus strike. But at the next Labor Council meeting two days later even this token gesture was rescinded, as CDU supporters and Tenants Union members were rebaited and finally ejected from the meeting. Having retreated from calling even a one-day work stoppage, the Labor Council bureaucrats certainly could not be expected now to "coordinate the defense efforts of workers and students and undertake all campus joint labor-student action!"

Not only in the defense committee, but also during the AFSCME strike, the CDU distinguished itself by building illusions in the Labor Council bureaucracy. When the Labor Council called for the one-day work stoppage, the CDU acted as a left cover for the bureaucrats, hoping that the labor fakers might make good on their promises. But all the CDU got in return was vicious rebaiting and exclusion at the Labor Council meeting. No doubt the CDU would argue



Young Spartacus

that during the AFSCME strike "only the Labor Council" could organize a campus-wide work stoppage. Meanwhile, the fake-militants of the CDU crossed AFSCME picket lines during the strike and claimed that this scabbing was justified until such time as the bureaucrats organized mass picketing to shut down the entire campus! For all its class-struggle slogans and militant rhetoric the CDU lacks the elementary union consciousness—not to mention courage—of the several dozen workers who were victimized for refusing to cross union picket lines during the strike.

The administration campaign of union busting, which over the last three years has included intimidation and firing of union militants as well as tearing up of union contracts, must be rolled back. A militant defense based on the broadest possible mobilization of campus workers and students could stop the administration dead in its tracks. More united-front defense actions are needed to rally support behind the demands: NO REPRISALS—DROP THE CHARGES! REINSTATE ALL VICTIMIZED WORKERS WITH FULL BACK PAY! ■

SYL Educational Highlighted By Report of Steel Oppositionist



Young Spartacus

Session of educational devoted to discussion of workers control.

In March the Spartacus Youth League held a successful West Coast educational conference in the Bay Area. More than 125 supporters of the SYL and Spartacist League from San Diego to Vancouver participated in the weekend gathering. Stimulating discussions were generated by presentations on "The Communist International and Permanent Revolution, 1920-1927" and "Workers Control, Workers Management and Nationalizations." For many of the conference participants the highpoint of the educational was a report on past and present oppositions in the United

Steelworkers by a class-struggle rank-and-file militant. Citing the demagogic promises made by Abel when he was maneuvering to oust McDonald, the reporter cut through all the fake-militant posturing of "Oilcan Eddie" Sadlowski and vividly described the tasks and opportunities facing genuine class-struggle oppositionists in the Steelworkers union. (For an edited transcript of this presentation, see "Bureaucratic Oppositions in Steel," *Workers Vanguard*, 29 April 1977.) After his report, the conference concluded with a rousing singing of the *Internationale*.

Down With Harvard Kangaroo Court!

CAMBRIDGE—Every year since 1970 students at Harvard University have voted to boycott the Committee on Rights and Responsibilities (CRR)—the star chamber established in June 1969 to discipline student radicals following the militant anti-war sit-in at University Hall two months earlier. At that time nearly 200 students were arrested when Harvard president Nathan Pusey called in 500 Cambridge cops to clear the administration building. But recently Harvard freshmen voted to send representatives to the CRR for the first time in seven years.

"We Don't Follow the Rules"

As originally constituted by a faculty vote, the CRR was to consist of seven faculty members, one senior tutor, four undergraduates and two graduate students. CRR hearings have always been closed to the public as well as the campus press. As one CRR member declared, "The principle to us is very important that these meetings not be open to *Crimson* reporters" (quoted in *We're Right—You're Responsible*, an undated SDS pamphlet).

In addition, the CRR denies its defendants the right to legal representation and never once has granted requested appeals. Conservative professor and CRR member James Q. Wilson put it bluntly, "We don't follow the rules of a criminal court, we don't swear in witnesses, we don't exclude hearsay evidence, we don't exclude irrelevant matters." To protest this kangaroo court the original student representatives (freshman and upperclassmen) quit the CRR,

and for the next seven years a Harvard-wide boycott left their seats vacant.

The demise of the boycott has been seized upon as evidence proving the triumph of conservatism among Harvard undergraduates. Much ado has been made in the Harvard campus press as well as in national magazines such as *Newsweek* about the present political quiescence at Harvard compared to the turbulent political protests of the late 1960's and early 1970's.

It is certainly true that New Left student activism has long been dissipated at Harvard. As political apathy has increased on campus, the Harvard administration has been em-

boldened to take the offensive in reversing the few gains which were won through militant student action over the past decade. The firing of popular leftist faculty in Afro-American Studies has kept the department intimidated and tiny, while last year ROTC in effect was restored through cross-registration at nearby MIT.

But the end of the student boycott did not signal student support for administration disciplinary policies. In the freshman vote the boycott proposal lost by only a very small margin. Moreover, as the many articles and letters submitted to the Harvard *Crimson* revealed, the freshman vote reflected a sentiment that reforming the CRR "from within" would prove more effective than boycotting the committee. As in the past, *Harvard* upperclassmen voted to continue the boycott, as did the students on the Committee on Housing and Undergraduate Life.

Abolish the Disciplinary Committee!

At Harvard the Spartacus Youth League called for the continuation of the boycott as a gesture of protest, as did the Task Force on Affirmative Action. But the SYL argued that neither boycott nor pressuring the CRR could force the administration to cease victimizing radical students and others who run afoul of the racist, anti-working-class Harvard administration.

More than once over the last seven years the Harvard administration has demonstrated its contempt for student rights. In 1970 four students were charged with violating

Dean Ernest May's freedom of speech by chanting as he read over a megaphone a warning to protesting black students. Several months later another student was charged with "Chairing a meeting at which a proposal was made, which, had it been put into effect [!], might have violated [!] the Resolution on Rights and Responsibilities." The CRR hearings are often deliberately scheduled during the summer, when fewer students are around to protest, and some hearings have even been held in the absence of the accused.

Student participation in the CRR will only lend legitimacy to the undemocratic disciplinary policies and witchhunting of the Harvard administration. As Harvard students and campus organizations (including the SYL) prepare to protest the imperialist symposium on U.S. policy in Africa scheduled for April 29-30 at the DuBois Institute, the CRR stands fully constituted and ready to deal with "disruptors."

As long as Harvard remains in the hands of its bourgeois trustees any administration code of "rights and responsibilities" can only be class-biased and racially discriminatory. The CRR should be abolished and the campus cops who defend the "law and order" of the administration should be removed from campus. Harvard should be nationalized and its administration abolished and replaced by student/teacher/campus-worker control. The real criminals are the Harvard Corporation and their administration, who maintain Harvard as an ultra-elite institution to serve the interests of a decaying capitalist order. ■

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Martin Luther King...

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supporting the firing of hundreds of striking black sanitationmen in Atlanta by black Democrat Maynard Jackson. Denouncing the union, Martin Luther King Sr. stated, "If any group comes in to try to destroy our town, we are against it, with all the power we have... I say, fire them!" (quoted in *New York Times*, 5 April).

The posthumous glorification of Martin Luther King Jr. is possible today only because the militant black movement which once so sharply and effectively criticized King has been destroyed. The Black Panther Party, the most subjectively revolutionary expression of the black nationalism which emerged in reaction to the sell-out policies of King, was decimated through naked cop terror and then split asunder by its political contradictions ("serve-the-people" reformism of Newton versus "off-the-pig" adventurism of Cleaver).

Nor could the "Black Power" movement provide a viable alternative. In the years after King's death the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee founded, as Julian Bond and John Lewis opted for careers in bourgeois politics, as Rap Brown was framed up and imprisoned, and as Stokely Carmichael embraced virulent "cultural nationalism."

In this period the only tendency to put forward a class analysis of racial oppression and to intervene in the black movement with a revolutionary program was the Spartacist League. Despite our small size and meager resources our tendency initiated the united-front Har-

lem Solidarity Committee in 1964 following the Harlem "riots," and in the South our comrades promoted the self-defense efforts of the Deacons for Defense and Justice. In addition to calling for disciplined, organized black self-defense the Spartacist League combatted illusions in Democratic "reform" movements—such as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party—and called for a complete break with the Democratic Party of cold-war liberals, Southern racists, kept labor fakers and Uncle Toms. Our call for a Freedom Labor Party was designed to pose the need for the civil rights movement to link its struggle with the organized labor movement—a task which would require the intervention of class-struggle militants in the trade unions to struggle to oust the bureaucrats who keep labor tied to the Democratic Party and who refuse to challenge the racist status quo.

"BEWARE MURDERERS THAT WEEP"

(Spartacist leaflet dated 6 April 1968)

The murder of Martin Luther King is an indication of the increasingly violent attacks coming against black working people and poor. King was attempting to lead the strike of 1300 Memphis sanitationmen, mostly black, who have been on strike since 12 February. Tremendous community support had developed for the strike, and a successful economic boycott of downtown stores was carried out. The strikers are demanding union recognition, a dues checkoff system and higher wages, since of course black workers are lowest paid.

The response of the racist white power structure was swift and violent.

On 28 March, a march led by King supposedly "exploded" into violence, resulting in the murder of a black youth, Larry Payne, age 16, by the Memphis police. And then on 4 April, King himself was assassinated.

Every capitalist politician has expressed deep grief over the loss of King. LBJ made a nationwide address deploring violence, after which he called 12,000 troops into Washington, D.C. to keep "order." Vice President Humphrey shed bitter tears, and the Memphis city government promised to catch the killer, although they promised nothing to the striking Memphis sanitationmen. (The garbage in Memphis is still being collected by scabs.) Now Mayor Lindsay wants to attend King's funeral, after having attempted to use troops against the New York City sanitationmen's strike in February.

No government official expressed grief when Malcolm X was murdered while New York City cops stood by, or when Larry Payne was murdered by the Memphis police. None of these weeping officials have even mentioned the striking sanitationmen, who have hung on without regular income for almost two months!

What are these fakers really weeping about? As they keep repeating with urgent tones, they miss the non-violence which King preached. That's not to say that LBJ and the other fakers themselves believe in non-violence—the black ghetto residents of Washington, Detroit, New York, etc., can testify otherwise. But they *do* believe in non-violence for black working people and poor, since that makes their job so much easier. Reject "blind violence," says LBJ—and let the cops handle things!

These weeping politicians also miss the "friendly" approach of King, who said he was "always willing to ne-

gotiate"—meaning talk behind closed doors with LBJ, Kennedy, etc., to work out some new fake concession. Now they may have to deal more in the open, and perhaps the Democratic and Republican parties may lose their oppressive grip on black working people.

What Now?

1—The only defense of black working people and poor is by being *armed* and *organized*. The racist power structure and its private allies are *not* non-violent and so we must be equipped for self-defense. As the Black Panthers of Oakland, California urge: "Buy a gun and stay home."

2—We must build a Freedom-Labor Party. The two major parties, Democrat and Republican, have shown themselves to be tools of the bosses, of the white power structure. All working and poor people, black and white, need a Freedom-Labor Party, based on the power of workers and unemployed, to destroy racism and fight for the interests of working and poor people.

3—We must fight in the labor movement to throw out the conservative and racist bureaucrats who make deals with the bosses and help maintain the poverty of black workers. To this end, we must struggle for the shorter work week with no loss in pay, which paves the way for the hiring of the millions of unemployed.

4—We must aid the Memphis sanitationmen to victory against the racist government, upgrading the black worker. We call for united labor action in other cities in support of the strikers—such as the proposed shutdown of the garment center in New York. And we demand that the AFCSME (AFL-CIO), to which the sanitationmen are affiliated, participate in these efforts as well as send money. ■

Barcelona May Days...

continued from page 7

ever, the treachery of the CNT-FAI did not stop here. Again Souchy admits:

"Had the workers in the outlying districts been informed immediately of this development, they would surely have insisted upon taking further measures and returned the attack."

Once again, *Solidaridad Obrera* suppressed the news.

The open capitulation of the Anarchists fueled the courage of bourgeois reaction on the Republican side. Before the May conflagration Companys haughtily dismissed the largest workers party, predicting that its leadership "would capitulate as they always had before." After the May Days Jaume Miraltes, a Catalan Left minister in the Generalitat, railed "in fact the Anarchists had committed suicide. By this uprising they had shown themselves incompetent" (quoted in Robert Payne, *The Civil War in Spain*).

The actions of the CNT-FAI during the May Days, their refusal to take power and the desertion of their followers, was the logical outcome of their entry into the government. Writing in December 1937, Trotsky summed up their role:

"In opposing the goal, the conquest of power, the Anarchists could not in the end fail to oppose the means, the revolution. The leaders of the CNT and FAI not only helped the bourgeoisie hold on to the shadow of power in July 1936; they also helped it to reestablish bit by bit what it had lost at one stroke. In May 1937, they sabotaged the uprising of the workers and thereby saved the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Thus anarchism, which wished merely to be antipolitical, proved in reality to be antirevolutionary, and in the more critical moments—counterrevolutionary."

—*The Lessons of Spain: The Last Warning*

POUM vs. Trotskyism

The most tragic capitulation was that of the POUM. Up until mid-September 1936, the POUM stood opposed to the Popular Front, at least in words. As the CNT entered into negotiations with the Generalitat, the

Correction

A few inaccuracies crept into our article last issue on the activities against a proposed tuition hike at the University of Chicago ("As Liberals Haggle to 'Open the Books' at Chicago—SYL Says: Open Up Elite Universities!" *Young Spartacus*, April 1977). The article states that the Speakout Coalition and the Young Socialist Alliance were demanding that "the UC Trustees disclose their financial empires." In fact—and as the headline of the article indicated—these groups were demanding that the UC administration disclose its financial records and budgetary information. Also, the name of Milton Friedman's cohort in braintrusting the "shock-treatment" policies of the Chilean junta—Arnold Harberger—was misspelled. Lastly, while one SYL spokesman at the March 3 "speakout" at UC was both cheered by part of the audience and booed by Coalition supporters, a black SYL supporter, who attempted to argue for open admissions, and another SYL supporter, who tried to announce an SYL demonstration at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle, were shouted down by anti-communists in the audience and ruled "out of order" by the chair.

POUM began to waver and on 18 September declared itself "willing to leave the question open." Eight days later POUM leader Andrés Nin became Minister of Justice in a bourgeois government.

The entry of the POUM was a decisive confirmation of Trotsky's determined struggle against its formation. The fusion of Nin's followers, the majority of the Spanish Left Opposition, with Maurin came at the expense of programmatic capitula-



POUM leader Andrés Nin. Once a leader of the Profintern (Red International of Trade Unions) and the Trotskyist International Left Opposition, later Minister of Justice in the bourgeois Catalan government. Only weeks before his murder at the hands of Stalinist thugs he wrote,

"We are proud to proclaim that the attitude of our party, whose prestige among revolutionary workers has greatly increased, effectively contributed to putting an end to the bloody struggles which were developing in the streets of Barcelona and in avoiding the crushing of the workers movement by ferocious repression."

As Saint-Just wrote long ago, "those who go half-way in revolution dig their own graves."

tions on the questions of the popular front and Catalan nationalism. From its inception, the POUM gravitated into the left-wing orbit of the CNT and never presented itself as a determined competitor for leadership of the class. Thus, when the CNT opted for ministerial portfolios, the POUM meekly followed suit.

During the initial phase of the May Days the POUM played a decisive military role. As the largest organized force on the workers' barricades, the POUM militias numbered over 10,000, the POUM was in a unique position to channel the militant disillusionment with the treachery of the CNT tops into a concerted struggle for the seizure of power. Instead the POUM carried its politics of centrist capitulation to its highest expression: it ordered its followers off the barricades. As the proletariat faced the onslaught of the police, the May 6 issue of *La Batalla* (the POUM newspaper) advised the workers to "leave the streets" and "return to work."

The Spanish Trotskyists along with a small left-wing anarchist group, the Friends of Durruti, were the only organizations to have called for the defense of the barricades and raise a program for the seizure of power. Despite their size, the Bolshevik-Leninist section of Spain (for the Fourth International) widely distributed on the barricades the following leaflet dated May 4:

"LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY OFFENSIVE

No compromise. Disarmament of the National Republican Guard and the reactionary Assault Guards. This is the decisive moment. Next time it will be too late. General strike in all the industries excepting those connected with the prosecution of the war, until the resignation of the reactionary government. Only proletarian power can assure military victory.

Complete arming of the working class. Long live unity of action of CNT-FAI-POUM.

Long live the revolutionary front of the proletariat.

Committees of revolutionary defense in the shops, factories, districts."
—quoted in Felix Morrow, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Spain*

Aftermath of the May Days

The May Days broke the back of the struggle against Franco. The Valencia government sent 6,000 Assault Guards (equipped with Soviet arms and described by George Orwell as by far the best troops he'd seen in Spain) to smother the last embers of workers insurrection. When the fighting was over more than 500 had been killed, thousands wounded and the militias decisively defeated. Andrés Nin and Left anarchist leader Camillo Berneri—along with numerous other proletarian militants—were murdered by the Stalinists. The POUM was outlawed and *La Batalla* banned; *Solidaridad Obrera* was censored; and Caballero and the Anarchists were driven from the government. On 26 January 1939 Franco's troops marched into Barcelona; the resistance had long before been crushed.

An embittered George Orwell aptly summed up the nature of the "anti-fascist bourgeoisie's" war against Franco:

"A government which sends boys of fifteen to the front with rifles 40 years old and keeps its biggest men and newest weapons in the rear, is manifestly more afraid of the revolution than of the fascists."

—*Homage to Catalonia*

Barcelona was the purest expression of the bourgeois character of the popular front. As the battle lines of the class struggle were drawn in blood, only the Trotskyist program offered the revolutionary proletariat the path leading to the seizure of power. The actions of the ostensible revolutionaries, from the POUM on the left to the Stalinists on the right, confirmed Trotsky's classic formulation:

"In reality, the People's Front is the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism... All the People's Fronts in Europe are only a pale copy and often a caricature of the Russian People's Front of 1917..."

—*Writings, 1935-36*

Popular fronts are bourgeois political formations fundamentally counterposed to proletarian class interests. The working class must give no support to popular fronts, not even voting for the workers parties within them. This is the lesson of the Popular Front; two generations of the Spanish working class have borne the oppressive burden of Francoism as a result. But this lesson must be embodied in what Trotsky termed the three conditions for victory in Spain:

the party, the party and once again the party.

Forward to the building of a Trotskyist party in Spain, section of a reformed Fourth International! ■

S.F. Nazis...

continued from page 5

from right-wing terror. To take only one example: upon arriving on the scene of the storming of the "Rudolf Hess Bookstore" the cops not only intervened to protect the fleeing fascist ringleader Allen Vincent, but also arrested two of the community residents, Morris Weiss and his son, Allen.

Whenever the relationship of forces permits, the fascists should feel the wrath of their would-be victims, as occurred in the Sunset. As Trotsky so aptly suggested,

"The tactical, or if you will, 'technical', task was quite simple—grab every fascist or every isolated group of fascists by their collars, acquaint them with the pavement a few times, strip them of their fascist insignia and documents, and without carrying things any further, leave them with their fright and a few good black and blue marks."

—reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*, 2 December 1974

While calling for racially integrated defense squads to smash the fascists, the SYL refuses to call on the bourgeois government or the cops to "outlaw" or "fight" the Nazis. It is particularly sickening to hear the likes of Diane Feinstein, the notorious union-busting member of the Board of Supervisors, sympathize with the demonstrators and propose a bill to outlaw all use of the swastika. Besides being an impotent gesture, such a bill in the hands of the Board of Supervisors could be used as a precedent to witchhunt the left and labor movement. It is the Feinsteins, Aliotos and Moscones who, through attacks on the labor movement and vicious racist actions such as Operation Zebra, have created the climate from which the Nazis can most effectively operate.

The events in the Sunset have served as an inspiration to the labor movement and minorities in San Francisco. As a letter written to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (20 April) correctly observes:

"We are again, with the recent Nazi episode in San Francisco, presented with the myth of Nazis as harmless fools who won't gain a foot hold in this country, especially, if we leave them alone... Nazis represent all the animal like aspects of humans: death, destruction, racism, sadism. Their rise is to be equated with murder. There should be no freedom of speech for Nazis because they have proven they will carry out all they say unless stopped. Congratulations to the people of the Sunset district for driving them out." ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

Ann Arbor: SYL, Box 89, 4th floor Michigan Union, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 769-6376

Bay Area: SYL, c/o SL, Box 23372, Oakland, CA 94623, or call (415) 835-1535

Boston: SYL, Box 227, Boston U. Station, Boston, MA 02215, or call (617) 492-3928 or 254-4236

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

Cleveland: SYL, Box 02182, Cleveland, OH 44102, or call (216) 281-4781

Detroit: SYL, c/o SL, Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 869-1551

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

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 413-0160

Madison: SYL, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704

New York: SYL, Box 825, Canal Street Sta., New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 925-5665

Philadelphia: SYL, c/o SL, Box 13138, Philadelphia, PA 19101

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, or call (416) 366-4107

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 291-8993

Berkeley SYL Campaign...

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ing attendant to unlock the Student Union, since the site of the "public" hearing, Eshleman Hall, was bolted for the night!

When the kangaroo-court hearing finally got underway, Young Spartacus ASUC presidential candidate Katie Welsh took the floor only to denounce the entire star-chamber proceedings and then led a walkout of SYL candidates and their supporters. Left alone in their sandbox the Judicial Committee members decided to uphold the suit lodged by the ASUC attorney general.

The following day, April 29, the SYL continued to distribute the Young Spartacus campaign statement.

The Young Spartacus election platform presented the Trotskyist analysis of a broad range of contemporary issues, including: the reactionary ruling of the California Supreme Court on minority admissions programs (the Bakke decision) and our call for open admissions; the controversy over University of California investments in South Africa and our call for labor boycotts of all military goods to the white-supremacist regimes; and the furor created by fascist provocations (such as occurred recently in San Francisco's Sunset district—see article this issue) and our call for workers' defense guards to combat fascist threats.

In addition, the Young Spartacus campaign statement highlighted the activist work of the SYL at Berkeley. It was the SYL that initiated united-front demonstrations against ROTC which involved hundreds of Berkeley students during January, February and March 1975. It was the SYL that initiated similar militant protests against CIA/NSA recruitment on campus in November 1975. And it was the SYL that rallied students at Berkeley and other campuses in the Bay Area to support the San Francisco muni-

cipal workers' strike in April of last year.

Reprinted below is the statement which the Young Spartacus presidential candidate read to the ASUC Judicial Committee:

"We are attending this meeting for one reason—to denounce this hearing as a kangaroo court. We have come here against our will, given four hours notice, and told to produce a full legal brief in ten copies. We have previously informed the Elections Committee that we would only appear at an open meeting held at a time and place where students could attend. Clearly, tonight's tribunal held at 10:00 p.m. and called with almost no prior notice precludes participation of students and faculty.

"In any case, it would be impossible to hold a democratic hearing on whether the Young Spartacus candidates violated 6.25 of the election guidelines. We do not recognize the right of the Elections Committee to 'approve' our campaign material. Compliance with the flagrantly undemocratic regulation would establish a precedent sanctioning future censorship of election material. Both tonight's 'hearing' and by-law 6.25 are of a piece with the ASUC's attempt to solicit membership lists last fall and the administration's harassment of campus groups on Sproul Plaza. All of these measures are particularly directed against left-wing organizations and are motivated by an intention to clamp down on campus political activity. The SYL has fought these undemocratic measures and intends to once again oppose and fully publicize the outcome of this 'hearing'. We remind tonight's tribunal of the Free Speech Movement on this campus which fought out these issues.

"The Spartacus Youth League chose to run candidates in this election not because of any illusions that the power of the ASUC is anything more than negligible, but as part of our fight to win students to the Trotskyist program of the Spartacist League/SYL for revolutionary working-class struggle and a workers government." ■

Anti-Kissinger Campaign...

continued from page 2

cret high-level intelligence panel which authorized \$8 million for the CIA in its covert operations to "destabilize" the popular-front Allende regime. Testifying before a congressional committee former CIA director William Colby stated, "The agency didn't do anything without the knowledge and consent of the Forty Committee" (quoted in *New York Times*, 8 September 1974).

It was also Kissinger who was responsible for drafting the "National Security Study Memorandum 39" which guided Nixon/Ford policy toward South Africa and Rhodesia, including providing the Vorster regime with fighter planes, advanced electronic defense systems and assistance in developing its nuclear capacity. Moreover, at the time of the civil war in Angola the "Forty Committee" authorized \$60 million in aid to Angolan nationalist forces which were spearheaded by South African troops.

Unlike academics at Columbia and elsewhere who apologize for imperialist policies, Kissinger has translated his "theories" into deeds: death, barbaric torture and bitter defeats for our class brothers and sisters around the world. To permit this war criminal to don the robes of academic respectability—to reap new rewards for peddling his "prestige" and "expertise" from some posh university office—would be a travesty.

Keep Kissinger Off Campus!

What is necessary today are militant protests to demonstrate that war criminals like Kissinger will not be kindly received at Columbia. But from the outset of the anti-Kissinger activities at Columbia two divergent perspectives have been advanced. At the first planning meeting the SYL introduced a proposal for a united-front

committee that would be open to all who agreed with the single slogan, "Keep Kissinger Off Campus!", and that would seek to mobilize anti-Kissinger sentiment into demonstrations and other actions of protest. Rejecting this perspective for action, the liberals who were to coalesce as the Ad Hoc Committee to Oppose the Appointment of Kissinger counterposed polite pressure tactics such as a petition campaign.

Taking the lead, the SYL-initiated Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus organized the first anti-Kissinger demonstration and the first teach-in at Columbia. It was these visible and militant actions which attracted the press and made the proposed appointment of Kissinger a controversy beyond Columbia. After finding that President McGill was, in his own brusque words, "impervious" to petitions, the liberals clustered around the rival Committee finally called their own rally and teach-in, but organized them on an anti-communist, exclusionist basis. While attacking the SYL for raising "politics" the liberal-dominated Committee harbors its own politics, having become nothing more than a sounding board for squabbles over whether the proposed appointment was handled "according to procedure" and for hand-wringing moralizing about the "mission" of Columbia.

In 1970 Henry Kissinger publicly voiced his fear that he might not be able to find refuge on any campus in this country. Today, as part of our struggle to win students to active solidarity with the cause and struggles of the international working class, the SYL welcomes the opportunity to protest imperialist henchmen like Daniel Moynihan, Gerald Ford and Kissinger. Only last October the SYL in Boston joined with about 400 students and workers for a protest demonstration against an appearance by Kissinger at Harvard. Our comrades at Columbia have and will continue to play a leading role in mobilizing protest and organizing demonstrations so that Henry Kissinger will once again not dare set foot on campus. ■

Letter of Resignation from Berkeley YSA

EDITOR'S NOTE: Reprinted below are excerpts from a lengthy statement which we received from a student at Berkeley who recently resigned from the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). As one of the most active YSA members at Berkeley this semester, Chris F. was asked to run in the campus elections on the Young Socialist slate. Having developed important political differences with the YSA he declined to run in the elections and then submitted this statement of resignation.

26 April 1977

Dear comrades,

I have been considering the work the Young Socialist Alliance has been carrying out during the period of my membership, and must decide that the program and practice of the YSA, and therefore also the SWP, is not revolutionary. While I am relatively new to Marxist politics, based on my disagreements with the program on the following significant questions, I have decided to resign from the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Steelworkers Fight Back campaign of Ed Sadlowski is the present major focus of our trade-union work. Based on the large support which he was gathering from the rank-and-file around his campaign for "union democracy," the SWP gave his campaign whole-hearted support. The SWP knew, knows, that he gives the support of his campaign to the Demo-

cratic Party. This fact, that he hasn't broken from acceptance of capitalist parties and politics, let alone from acceptance of capitalist economics, already indicates that he is not a leader of class-struggle, and cannot lead the unionists in this necessary direction... Sadlowski has, in fact, already shown that he will subordinate the interests of the workers to those of the companies. As Director of District Thirty-One, he did not call for strike action, or any action against the No-Strike Agreement in a contract the rank-and-file did not ratify. Also interesting is Sadlowski's blank acceptance of layoffs in Gary, Indiana, which is included in *Workers Vanguard* of 17 Jan. 1973....

As Trotsky points out in *The Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay*, there can be no middle ground between labor reformism and class-struggle policies, and thus the role of Trotskyists ought to be to explain "inadequacies," to explain and put forward class-struggle policies in the interests of the workers. For even though such strategy may not be, is not, widely accepted, if we are correct in word and action, they will be taken up by the fellow-workers in the unions.

The call of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance for "Federal Troops to Boston" to "defend" the rights of blacks and to implement school desegregation, as well as the presumption

that "mass demonstrations" alone can "morally isolate" the racist attackers in a period of rising violence, stand opposed to history and Trotsky's writings on the state and Fascist violence. These writings are applicable to the need to defend the black community against racist violence and groups such as the South Boston Marshals. Trotsky continually wrote of the necessity to fight fascist violence by building workers' self-defense guards, or "flying squadrons of Union-militants" to be ready to effectively halt this violence....

Lastly, while I initially agreed with the YSA's position on the Bakke decision, I soon found it unacceptable... although generalizing the reactionary Bakke decision into relationship with local and nationwide attacks on minority-oriented and general educational programs, the YSA did not lead students, faculty and workers to see the necessity of a broader, revolutionary program to really stop such actions as Bakke represents: we did not raise the slogans "Student-Teacher-Worker control of the University".

Secondly, and in this case more importantly, we failed to advance the demand for open admissions—full costs to be underwritten by the state. The YSA stated instead: the means to defeat the Bakke decision, that is, insure that the minorities and women have access to the university-graduate school levels of the educa-

tional system, is to defend and extend minority admissions....

On the issues addressed above I am in essential agreement with the Spartacist League-SYL.

I plan to continue studying Trotskyism, further evaluate the positions and history of the SWP-YSA, and intend to further study for myself, and do encourage other comrades in the YSA to study for themselves, the positions and program of the SL-SYL.

Fraternally,
Chris F.

Workers Vanguard

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Young Spartacus

Racist Hypocrites Shed Tears Over M.L. King

BEWARE MURDERERS THAT WEEP

Last month memorial meetings and other activities were held across the country to commemorate Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. On the anniversary of the death of King we reprint below the leaflet—titled "Beware Murderers That Weep"—which the Spartacist League distributed in the stormy days following the assassination of the civil-rights leader on April 4, 1968.

The cold-blooded murder of King that day in Memphis provoked the most massive outpouring of black rage seen in this century. With fearful eyes the American ruling class watched ghettos explode from coast to coast. And the response of these apostles of the "Great Society" was swift and brutal.

As racist cops and trigger-happy troops were turned loose to restore "law and order" black people who had taken to the streets in more than 130 cities were harassed and gassed, roughed up and shot down. In the first three days following the assassination of King 38 people were killed, 3,550 injured and 16,255 hauled off to jail. In Oakland the cops used the turmoil in the black community as a pretext to cut down Black Panther Party militant Bobby Hutton and to wound and arrest Eldridge Cleaver.

In the nine years that have elapsed Martin Luther King has been lionized, even canonized, as a symbol of the struggle for black equality. Every year eulogies to King are on the lips of the bourgeois authorities, whose hired guns brutally suppressed the ghettos in April 1968 and are alleged to have been implicated in his assassination. Adding their own re-

frain are the reformists of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance, which glorify King and solidarize with his political perspectives.

But at the time of his death King did not command the political authority which both bourgeois hypocrites and fake leftists today would give him; in fact, his political fortunes were on the wane. In the period preceding his death King had lost control over the most active and dedicated black militants—and that meant he had also lost a significant part of his bargaining power with the Democratic Party establishment.

King had upset many civil-rights activists when he refused to call any significant protest actions in 1964 (so as to avoid embarrassing the Democrats in the elections) and actively collaborated with LBJ and the Dixiecrats in railroading the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party out of the Democratic convention. At the time of the Watts ghetto upheaval the following year King placed himself squarely on the side of the rioting cops, who drowned the uprising in the blood of 35 black people. "Rivers of blood may have to flow before we gain our freedom," sermonized King, "but it must be our blood."

The utter bankruptcy of the liberal-dominated civil-rights movement was graphically revealed by the decline and disintegration of King's movement. Yet the legacy of King lives on in the deeds and politics of his disciples and loyal collaborators. While Martin Luther King had to main-

tain a fictive political "independence," keeping his wheeling and dealing with the ruling class behind the scenes so as not to compromise himself with his restive ranks, his followers no longer feel the same pressure from their constituency and have abandoned any pretense of "independence" from the Democratic establishment.

Christian Leadership Conference include Jesse Jackson, whose PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) offers nothing more than Booker T. Washington "bootstrapping," and Andrew Young, who now fronts for "ethnic purity" Carter as a globe-trotting mouthpiece for U.S. imperialism.



M.L. King, Jr. on 1965 Watts "rioters": "It was necessary that as powerful a police force as possible be brought in to check them." Cartoon from *Muhammad Speaks*.



Coretta King, his widow, today actively promotes the Democratic Party and the traditions of Kennedy liberalism (as U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy sanctioned FBI wiretaps on King). Other graduates of the Southern

Likewise, while King in his last days sought to boost his sagging authority by throwing his support behind striking sanitationmen in Memphis, his father is today vociferously
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Discredited by Jim Crow Stand—

RCP For and Against Busing

Over the past two years few on the American left have so shamelessly flaunted their opposition to busing for school desegregation as the "Jim-Crow" Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and its youth group, the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB). But the reformist RCP now seems to be having some qualms about its "separate-but-equal" line on busing that has brought nothing but contempt from most serious militants on the left and in the black movement.

Prominently featured in the April issue of *Revolution*, the monthly press of the RCP, is a letter about busing from some self-described "friends in the East Bay" who "think your [the RCP] articles sound segregationist" and are "jive." But instead of the usual response denouncing supporters of busing as "anti-working class" *Revolution* waffles on the issue, blithely suggesting that socialists should "not write off the possibility that some particular [busing] plan should be supported if it is a real concession from the ruling class."

"We recognize there has been a tendency to stress just the question of quality education and a failure to take up the questions of equality and integration," confesses *Revolution* in a humble-pie "self-criticism." But there has been much more than just

a "tendency"! When busing provoked a vicious racist backlash in Boston beginning in late 1974 *Revolution* screamed in a front-page headline, "People Must Unite to Smash Boston Busing Plan!" A year later the RCP in Boston was still marching to the chant, "From Hyde Park to Mattapan, we'll smash Phase Two anyway we can!" And when busing in Louisville was met with mob violence spearheaded by the fascistic Ku Klux Klan, the RCP glowed, "When school opened in Louisville under a new court-imposed busing plan, the spontaneous



White mob attacks black worker during anti-busing racist backlash in Boston, Fall 1974.

fight back was tremendous" (*Revolution*, October 1975).

While the RCP counterposed "quality education" to desegregation in the manner of Louise Day Hicks, and her ilk, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League called for support to busing in Boston and elsewhere as a means of enforcing school desegregation and ensuring black people their democratic right of equal access to public educational facilities. But unlike the pro-busing liberals, who are content to limit desegregation plans to the decrepit and overcrowded inner-city schools, we demand that busing be extended to include the relatively superior suburban schools and that low-rent, high-quality integrated public housing be constructed to begin to break down the barriers of residential segregation.

To undercut racist demagoguery about "quality education" we link our support for busing to the call for all public schools, from kindergarten to state universities, to be adequately funded by the federal government. And when busing provokes racist violence we call for the formation of labor-black defense to protect black people and drive forward the struggle for school desegregation.

Behind the dishonest and consummately cynical "self-criticism" of the RCP is an opportunist appetite to hedge its bets on the busing issue;

the RCP would like to be in a position to tail both the liberal integrationists and backward workers who oppose busing. Thus, the *Revolution* response painfully avoids stating whether the RCP is for or against the busing plans which are in effect today. Instead, *Revolution* assures its readers that the RCP prefers to wait for the bourgeoisie to come up with a busing plan that will "provide integrated, equal and better education." Then—or rather, maybe then—the RCP will support busing. After ranting for two years that busing plans can only be pernicious ploys, the RCP now fosters the illusion that the liberal bourgeoisie will provide genuine quality education and eliminate segregation.

Moreover, the RCP does not even bother to consider how the racist backlash is to be defeated. Perhaps the RCP and RSB still wants to avoid confronting the racist mobs, whose "fight back" has been glorified in the pages of *Revolution*.

We will watch with interest to see whether the RCP and RSB, in their new campaign to "put popularity in command," ends up marching with the NAACP in Los Angeles and the Klan in Louisville. That, comrades of the RCP and RSB, would not merely be "two-line struggle"—with the RCP/RSB on both sides. It would represent the death agony of a politically bankrupt organization. ■