

# Young Spartacus

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## Media Gloats Over Rudd Surrender

# New Left: At Peace With Carter's America?

During the past year the bourgeois press has jubilantly reported the conversion of former leaders of the New Left to a myriad of new faiths. Ranging from Eldridge Cleaver's discovery of Jesus Christ and Uncle Sam through Jerry Rubin's plunge into his inner spiritual growth and ending in Tom Hayden's integration into Democratic Party politics, the theme for the media has been the "death of a generation" and the "coming to maturity" of its former spokesmen. To a capitalist class which has suffered a considerable loss in public confidence through the years of Vietnam and Watergate, the public redemption of ex-radicals has been a source of keen satisfaction.

Only one week after *Newsweek* had triumphantly featured an article "Where Have All the Flowers Gone" and a few days after a spread in the gossip rag *People* on the eventual fate of the members of the "Chicago 7," the news media was filled with the sensational story of Mark Rudd's surrender to a Manhattan District Attorney. The press was quick to conjecture on the motivation behind Rudd's surfacing and anxiously related his father's relieved guess:

"He's thirty years old. You get too old to be a revolutionary. It's time to start something new."

The satisfaction with which the bourgeoisie reported Rudd's surrender was not accidental. Rudd was one of the best known leaders of the New Left, chairman of the Columbia University Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) chapter during the university's spring strike of 1968 and leader of the Weathermen faction of SDS. In the late 1960's, Rudd was a symbol of student militancy against the imperialist war in Vietnam and opposition to racial oppression. As a fugitive for the past seven years, Rudd's face has become a familiar fixture in the most-wanted section of every post office across the country.

Rudd faces a series of charges stemming from his role



Fred W. McDarrah/Newsweek

Columbia Spectator

Mark Rudd (top) rose to national prominence during 1968 Columbia strike (bottom) protesting Columbia's expansion into Harlem and ties to imperialism.

during the Columbia strike and from the Weathermen-organized "Days of Rage" streetfighting in Chicago in 1969. To date, Rudd has left the reasons for his surfacing unclear. He has refused all press comment, has not implicated his former underground comrades to get a "soft rap," and has given no indication of having made his peace with Jimmy Carter's America—the first sure sign of a political renegade. Furthermore, the more

astute commentators have taken note of the recent split in the Weather Underground over whether to continue its underground existence or resurface to engage in legal political activity.

A precedent for Rudd's action may have been the surrender of two Weatherpeople in Chicago this past

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## Bakke Ruling Focus for Racist Backlash

# Fight for Open Admissions!

As national attention focuses on the upcoming U.S. Supreme Court ruling on the Bakke case, thousands of students across the country will take to the streets in defense of special admissions programs for minorities.

At immediate issue is the admissions procedure at the University of California (UC) Davis School of Medicine, which currently reserves 16 out of its 100 openings each year for "educationally and economically disadvantaged students." Last year the California Supreme Court ruled in favor of Allen Bakke, a white engineer who attributed his repeated rejection from the school to its minority quota admissions program.

But on October 12 when the UC Regents open

their appeal before the high court, more than Davis admissions policy will be at stake. A Supreme Court ruling in favor of Bakke could well mean the elimination of all special programs both in the universities and the workforce. Already a spate of "discrimination" suits against institutions with quota programs has been filed around the country, the latest by a white, Russian immigrant who has sued Davis for refusing her admission under its special program. The Bakke decision has become a test case for many of the real, though limited, gains of blacks in the 1960's and early 1970's.

Widely recognized as the most significant civil-rights case since "separate-but-equal" education was declared unconstitutional in the *Brown vs. Board of*

Education ruling of 1954, the Bakke decision has polarized public opinion over the basic issue of rights for blacks and oppressed minorities. A record number of "friend of the court" briefs, 58 in all, have been filed with the court on both sides of the case. The arch-conservative Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) has lined up with the Italian-American Foundation and Albert Shanker's American Federation of Teachers on the side of Bakke, while Columbia, Stanford and Harvard universities and the American Bar Association have joined the NAACP in favor of special minority admissions. Others, like the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and the AFL/CIO are too split to make any

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

### Jesse Jackson's "Moral Contract" for Sale

Politics makes for some rather peculiar bedfellows, as has oft been noted. And a case in point is black minister Jesse Jackson, whose Chicago-based "People United to Save Humanity" (PUSH) has recently found some seemingly unlikely allies.

On September 6 the Los Angeles Board of Education, which has fought tooth-and-nail against school integration for the past fourteen years, voted almost unanimously to allocate \$400,000 to Jackson's "Push for Excellence" (EXCEL) program.

How could it be that the EXCEL program could muster the support of both Diane Watson, the Board's "outspoken busing advocate" and darling of the reformist left, and Bobbi Fiedler, the leader of the local racist Busstop outfit?

People Magazine



The answer is to be found in what Jackson, the self-anointed "leader of the black community," had to offer the LA school board. As inner-city schools across the country deteriorate into prison-like hellholes and as virulent right-wing organizations mobilize to stop busing, Jackson could hold forward his relatively cheap "moral alternative." Instead of fighting for concrete gains such as busing and school integration, the goal of Jackson's program, according to the *Los Angeles Times* (5 September), is to "improve the attitudes of hostile, rebellious inner city youths, transforming them into studious advocates of hard work and self discipline."

The EXCEL plan calls for a "home-school moral contract" between students, parents and the schools—against what this reverend calls "tools of decadence":

drugs, liquor, sex and violent television programs. According to this "contract" students will pledge themselves to work hard at school, parents will ward off the evil influence of television and radio during study hours and principals will (of course) monitor the pupils' "progress."

Jackson's plan fits right in with the hue and cry raised by Superintendent of Schools William Johnson over the "lack of respect for adults" and the "deterioration of behavior standards" in the LA school system. Already there have been calls for the reinstatement of corporal punishment and the school administration is doubtless taken with Jackson's promise of a "revival of authority" in the crumbling ghetto schools. In the words of another Board member, Philip Bardos, "It represents the value system I believe this country wants to follow."

In the meantime, a chosen few of Jackson's cronies will find themselves in cushy administration positions—to the tune of up to \$30,000 a year. Jackson himself will receive \$5,000 for regular visits to Los Angeles "to deliver his words of inspiration." The funding for all this—mostly salary expenses—is to

come out of the misnamed and almost depleted "desegregation budget"!

Behind Jesse Jackson's revivalistic rantings against "sex-oriented music" (by which he means everything other than church hymns) there is nothing but cynical hype which blames the victims of oppression for its effects. Jackson exploits the brutality of ghetto lumpenization and the recognition that millions of black youth lead lives wasted by the effects of poverty, crime and drugs. But for Jackson this is just a ticket onto the "community" gravy train. Ghetto schools do not teach and their graduates simply swell the ranks of the unemployed. But Jackson and the rest of the liberal black misleaders simply allow themselves to be used for such inane diversions from the struggle for integration and quality education as the EXCEL program.

EXCEL stands squarely in the tradition of Booker T. Washington—the spiritual father of nationalist community control schemes—who also preached such "self-reliance" and "moral upgrading" as a utopian alternative to the struggle for integration. Jackson's program makes clear the real meaning of "black *continued on page 9*

### No Platform for Nazi Professor Butz!

When an unheralded local engineering professor, Arthur Butz, turned out to be the author of a crude and revolting apologia for Nazi genocide, a furor broke out at Northwestern University last spring. In *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Butz attempted to write off the extermination of six million Jews in Hitler's death camps as mere "wartime propaganda fantasies."

Although a wave of protest swept the campus, Butz adamantly denied that he was connected to any fascist organization. Even though his book was distributed in the U.S. by the "Christian nationalist" Liberty Bell Publications and peddled by the fascist National Socialist White Peoples Party, no direct link between Butz and fascist organizations was ever established.

Now Butz's "interested professor" game is up. And the unnamed persons he thanked for aiding his "research" are losing their anonymity. On September 3 of this year, the neo-Nazi Deutsche Volkunion (DVU) called a meeting in Munich on the theme "Must We Atone For Hitler Forever?" According to *Le Monde* (8 September), a featured speaker at this meeting, which was eventually banned, was to be none other than Arthur Butz!

The DVU is one of the many resurgent barely-veiled pro-Hitler groups in Germany today. Its newspaper, the *Deutsche National Zeitung*, regularly runs articles with headlines such as "New Gas Chambers Hoax Exposed" and "Who's Behind the Fabrications About Millions of Jews Gassed to Death?" Similarly, a film "re-evaluating" the Third Reich, "Hitler, A Career," is currently making the rounds, and its ubiquitous posters bearing Hitler's face evoke haunting memories

on the streets of Germany. Ever more outspoken, the DVU (which praised the escape of Nazi war criminal Herbert Kappler from Italy) now snidely asks "Hitler, Demon or Messiah?" Its answer is never in doubt.

When the Butz case was first publicized, the Spartacus Youth League pointed out that, while Butz's organizational affiliations were unclear, his book was most definitely a fascist tract. Unlike the various sociologists, psychologists or biologists who use their academic credentials to advance a pseudo-scientific justification for racial oppression, Butz was simply a willful defender of Hitlerism and deserved to feel the wrath of outraged students, workers and survivors of the infamous Nazi death camps.

Butz has now been exposed as a skulking, shame-faced fascist, linked to an actual neo-Nazi organization. It is not necessary to hear his pronouncements on whether Hitler was "demon or messiah." His open association with the DVU and their shared political stance of denying the massive carnage under the Nazi reign of terror should dispel any remaining doubts as to what Butz is.

The workers movement, Jews, blacks and all others who would bear the brunt of future fascist pogroms cannot afford fascists the luxury of developing their parties of death and devastation. The organized workers movement and behind it the oppressed minorities must deal decisively with the fascist scum while their numbers remain small. A suitable beginning would be to strip Butz of his academic cover and drive him from the Northwestern campus. *No platform for fascists!*

## LETTER

22 September 1977

To the Editor:

The September issue of *Young Spartacus* carried a very good article on the brutal eviction of elderly tenants from San Francisco's International Hotel. Your article exposed well how the social-democratic rightism of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the gay milieu led them to promote the "progressive" image of Sheriff Hongisto, a cop who spoke out against Anita Bryant, while this same cop led the sledge-hammer eviction raid on the I-Hotel.

What the article left out, however, was that the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) was guilty of more than merely insuring the isolation of the besieged tenants at I-Hotel through a combination of aimless grandstand militancy and "community" appeals totally devoid of class-struggle politics. *Young Spartacus* readers should know that the RSB's spontaneist policy of pursuit of whatever the action is—what Mao-talk terms the "mass line"—has also strengthened the hand of the cops.

In June 1974 a predecessor of the RSB, the Revolutionary Union- (now Revolutionary Communist Party) dominated Revolutionary Student Union (RSU) at the University of California Berkeley campus was happy to combine protests against political firings of radical professors at the university's Criminology



S.F. "mod squad" evicts elderly at I-Hotel.

School (founded to "professionalize the police") with backhanded support to cop training on campus. This was proven on two counts: first, the RSU-supported "Committee to Save Crim" invited and featured a certain local sheriff to speak at the Committee's rally on campus—you guessed it, Hongisto. And, second, on June 3 the RSU voted against the motions of the

Revolutionary Communist Youth (forerunner of the SYL) which linked the defense of victimized professors with *opposition* to cop training on campus and the call for all cops off campus.

That the SWP/Young Socialist Alliance and the RSB leaderships are in general sufficiently spineless and stupid enough to endorse cop training and even ROTC for what they think is smart tactics vis-a-vis liberal students is known by all at Kent State. The September issue of *Young Spartacus* carried a good article illustrating this. What particularly brings the Crim School incident to mind now, however, is that if one looks under the helmets of the S.F. cops who viciously attacked the I-Hotel protesters in the pre-dawn hours and threw the tenants into the streets, one could see the fruits of the Crim School: "hip" cops with their beards and long hair, minority cops with their afros, and even women cops were carefully added to "balance" the assault force. The S.F. bosses must have worked hard with institutions like the Crim School to produce a "mod squad" for such universally hated attacks. And how particularly valuable to them must be Sheriff Hongisto, the lead attack dog, who even fake-leftists treat like a house guest.

Comradely  
V.G.

## As Cops Swarm Over Kent State

# Liberal Antics Under the Gun

KENT, September 25—Against a backdrop of mounted police and bulldozers, the new president of Kent State piously offers to dedicate the disputed gymnasium annex to "the slain, the wounded, the National Guardsmen, the townspeople, the university community." With arrests numbering in the hundreds and the campus approximating an armed camp, it is perhaps fitting that Dr. Brage Golding would include among the "victims of the tragedy" the trigger-happy National Guardsmen who unleashed a hail of bullets on unarmed demonstrators seven years ago.

For months now Blanket Hill, the site from which the guardsmen opened fire on May 4, 1970, has been a center of controversy. Administration attempts to cover over the site with the gym and bury the memory of the four slain students triggered a tenacious and sometimes militant outburst of protest. But with riot police thick as locusts, a grand jury already convened and cooperative courts railroading protesters, construction of the gym has begun. By the time the final legal barriers against the gym were exhausted—including three appeals (all rejected) to the Supreme Court—construction

each for participating in an earlier "occupation" of the hill. Kainrad went on to bluster, "this court has every intention to 'tough it out' in this situation."

Since the current protests began, the SYL has consistently opposed all cop attacks and administrative and legal reprisals against the protesters. We demand that all charges against the five most recent arrested demonstrators, as well as the more than 200 who had previously been arrested, be dropped at once!

### May 4, Then and Now

The September 24 demonstration was not, however, a new step forward in the struggle at Kent State. Despite its numbers, it represented nothing more than the last gasp of the disorganized and fractured "movement" which has led it nowhere. Under the tutelage of the May 4 Coalition—a loosely-knit campus organization of liberals, church groups, student government politicians and assorted fake-socialists—the potential student militancy at Kent has been allowed to dissipate along the no-win course of groveling before the administration and empty bravado. As prepara-



Ravenna Record Courier

"Fighting today for a better tomorrow."

which attracted 300 turned into a "mass action" consisting of marching to Golding's home and plastering the house with "Move the Gym" bumper stickers. And throughout there have been isolated "take the hill" excursions, usually led by the latter-day Teddy Roosevelts of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and usually resulting in the fence surrounding the site being cut down at a couple of points before the "militants" triumphantly march back to the student center. More recently the May 4 Coalition has taken to tossing uprooted trees back over the fence onto the gym site, having a former student publicly burn her Kent State diploma and cheering on while others recklessly throw themselves in the path of bulldozers or under cranes as they unload dirt.

But the main theme is the wretched liberalism exemplified by the Coalition's central demand for the Department of the Interior to declare Blanket Hill a national landmark. A similar tack was taken by the lawyer in the civil damage suit against Ohio governor Rhodes and the National Guardsmen in trying to get the Court of Appeals to halt construction on the grounds that Blanket Hill was required as material evidence in this trial.

In pursuing the landmark/monument course, both coalitions have even abandoned the minimal demand of moving the gym. This motley collection of liberals and aging remnants of the New Left have opened the door for university president Golding to present himself as an equally determined advocate of "one, two, three, many" monuments. With Carteresque cant, Golding has promised four benches to mark the site of the murders (which he pledged to build himself), nine trees where nine students were wounded, a line of shrubbery where the guardsmen opened fire, and tent-shaped shelters to shade his benches in honor of the "tent city peaceful encampment." From the standpoint of empty moral symbolism, all that's missing is the partridge in a pear tree.

### "Violence Toward Property"

Given the hodgepodge that makes up the May 4 Coalition, it is not surprising that an RSB-led fence cutting escapade on September 11 precipitated a split in the Coalition. In desperation, a section of the Coalition hoped that a final show of "respectability" would yield some concession from the administration and Board of Trustees. The Blanket Hill Coalition then went on to denounce certain "violent protests" and called for

their supporters to "explore alternatives" to the tactics of the May 4 Coalition.

Typically, the junior reformists of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) lamented the splitting up of the so-called broad and diverse movement. But the YSA quickly found itself in ever greater political proximity to the "non-violent" dissident group. Raising their usual head-in-the-sand "peaceful, legal" chant, these "socialists" actually went so far as to distribute a leaflet which explained that breaking the fence "involved its participants in acts of violence toward property!"

The "Marxist-Leninists" of the RSB bear special responsibility for the failure of Kent State student struggles to lead anywhere. Early on the RSB wrested effective tactical control over the May 4 Coalition from assorted student government bureaucrats. The RSB—along with the YSA and Mike Klonsky's slavishly Peking-loyal Communist Youth Organization—was particularly vociferous in shouting down "ROTC off campus," and even as police were arresting their own followers the RSB would try to drown out the call for "cops off campus"—two of the most basic slogans of the radical student antiwar movement.

Even at yesterday's demonstration the RSB continued to try to shout down the SYL chant of "Cops and ROTC Off Campus!" with the hackneyed New Left/Stalinist litany "The people united will never be defeated." There is indeed a touch of irony in the leadership of a splintered Coalition faced with the gym being constructed chanting this against the only political answer to the administration's offensive at Kent State. Perhaps the workers and peasants of Africa, Asia or Latin America will rest contented with the thought that if they are bombed or shot down by the graduates of American college ROTC programs, the RSB will demand that they too get a monument from the imperialists.

### Cops and ROTC Off Campus!

While the SYL has solidarized with the May 4 Coalition in the demand that the gym be moved, we rejected the RSB's contention that "the issue is settled by the gym being moved." We have consistently criticized the total lack of serious political activity, the legalistic crawling before the federal government and the absence of any real militancy in the Coalition's "campaign." The SYL has stood alone at Kent State in insisting that the government and the

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Ravenna Record Courier

"Take the hill" brigade in action.

crews were stripping the site of trees and leveling an adjacent field.

Despite the haste of the Kent Board of Trustees in erecting the gym, protests over the site have not ceased. On September 24 upwards of 1,500 students and supporters turned out for a "national demonstration" on the Kent State campus. After a rally and march, several hundred demonstrators rushed to stage yet another foolhardy "occupation" of Blanket Hill—the site of the ill-begotten 62-day "tent-city" fiasco this summer.

Although as many as 100 police in full riot gear have been stationed at Kent State for weeks, there were only five arrests made yesterday. As has become their custom, the cops preferred to videotape the protests and round up the protesters later. A taste of what is to come was given by Judge Joseph Kainrad on September 15 when he sent four protesters to jail on \$2,600 bond

tions for the gymnasium proceed, and as the police repression intensifies, the "movement" has suffered a further split between the "militants" of the May 4 Coalition and the newly-formed "responsible" Blanket Hill Coalition.

At the time of the Rockwell Hall sit-in this past May 4, we argued that for the current student protests to have any lasting meaning—and in fact to succeed at all—they must be directed against the administration and champion the demand of the demonstrators seven years ago: ROTC off campus! This was rejected by the bulk of the May 4 Coalition in favor of backroom negotiations with the administration and pathetic pleas for help from the federal government and the U.S. courts.

Campus protests have since degenerated from the liberal into the absurd. An unsuccessful attempt was made to found a "tent city in exile." A Labor Day rally

## New Left...

(continued from page 1)

March—both received suspended sentences for similar charges stemming from the "Days of Rage" and, equally important, without renouncing their radical pasts. Although Rudd's immediate motives are unknown, we uphold our seven-year position of demanding that all charges against Rudd and the remaining members of the Weather Underground be dropped!

### From Picking Up the Gun to Picking Up the Ching

What is clear, however, is that the last residue of the organized New Left has come to an end. From its origins in the voter-registration drives and the civil rights movement, the New Left embodied contradictory tendencies between the desire to effect genuine social change and the rampant cult of individual subjectivity. While the Berkeley Free Speech Movement courageously defended the right to recruit for Southern civil rights drives, it also ushered in an era of "flower power." The militant and often times heroic opposition to the war in Vietnam also bred the individualism of draft dodging in terms of politics and the escapism of communal living in terms of the personal. What the press tries to portray is the resolution of the contradiction and a victory of "reason" and "disillusionment" over political commitment among the former spokesmen for American student radicalism.

But what emerges from the media profile of the former New Leftists is a portrayal of pathetic, broken individuals unable to comprehend or explain the social realities of which they formed a part. This is not to say that there are no gung-ho, true-blue America-first converts. Student activist Sam Brown—now a Carter appointee in a government anti-poverty program—is approvingly quoted by *Newseek* to the effect that,

"Some of my friends say everyone's been co-opted, but that's the genius of the system. It's not the mark of failure but of success."

More typical of the ex-radicals is former antiwar activist Rennie Davis who now splits his time between his "Birth of a New Nation" insurance

Village Voice



Rudd returns.

agency and his adolescent guru, the Maharaj Ji. The most disgusting spectacle, perhaps, is that of former Black Panther Party leader Eldridge Cleaver touring the Southern Baptist Evangelical circuit to deliver joint lectures, along with Nixon's one-time leading hatchetman Charles Colson, on the new love he has found through Jesus Christ.

Rudd's surrender follows by two months another press happening—the return of Black Panther Huey Newton from his Cuban exile. While Newton did not follow Cleaver's road into religious obscurantism or Bobby Seale's path out of politics, he too endorses the new role of the Panthers as the "best builders" of

the Oakland Democratic Party. Whereas once the Panthers combined fiery "off the pig" rhetoric with minimalist community activism (e.g., their breakfast for schoolchildren program), the organization's energies today are directed almost exclusively to utter reformism: "advising" the black Democratic mayor of Oakland and running their own community school. In the words of the Clorox Company's president—who gave the school \$3,000—"I have come across one successful private school in Oakland... Interestingly enough, this school is run by the Black Panthers" (*Los Angeles Times*, 8 August 1977).

### Narcissism Triumphant

The jubilation of the bourgeoisie toward these "conversions" is somewhat misleading. While it is undeniable that American campuses have been relatively



Black student building take-over at Cornell, 1969, came at the height of black power militancy on American campuses.

quiescent since the end of the Vietnam war, the new generation of students, and their older brothers and sisters from the New Left, could best be characterized as the "resigned" rather than the "believers." The 1970's have witnessed the proliferation of "personal growth" movements that have sought to replace the "revolutionary" rhetoric of the 1960's with the complacency of the "inner revolution." Although this movement of fads and cults is aggressively anti-radical, it does not represent an active embrace of the "ideals" of American imperialism. Jimmy Carter would be hard pressed to raise an army worthy of Falstaff out of this motley collection of ESTers, primal scream therapists, speed freaks and Reichians.

Behind the "personal growth" and individual "consciousness" rhetoric that dominates the petty-bourgeois milieu lies a profound cynicism. The turn to "self-fulfillment" is not the "greening" of a generation of former student radicals but a sign of pervasive despair. In an excellent article entitled "Narcissist America," the perceptive leftist intellectual Christopher Lasch points out the character of these movements:

"To live for the moment is the prevailing passion—to live for yourself, not for your predecessors or posterity. We are fast losing the sense of historical continuity, the sense of belonging to a succession of generations originating in the past and stretching into the future."

Lasch cites this pervasive narcissism as an indictment of the brutality endemic to contemporary American life:

"The retreat to purely personal satisfactions—such as they are—is one of the main themes of the Seventies. A growing despair of changing society—even of understanding it—has generated on the one hand a revival of old-time religion, on the other a cult of expanded consciousness, health and personal 'growth.'

"Having no hope of improving their lives in any of the ways that matter, people have convinced themselves that what

matters is psychic self-improvement: getting in touch with their feelings, eating health food, taking lessons in ballet or belly dancing, immersing themselves in the wisdom of the East, jogging, learning how to 'relate,' overcoming the 'fear of pleasure.' Harmless in themselves, these pursuits, elevated to a program and wrapped in the rhetoric of 'authenticity' and 'awareness,' signify a retreat from the political turmoil of the recent past. Indeed Americans seem to wish to forget not only the Sixties, the riots, the New Left, Watergate, and the Nixon presidency, but their entire collective past, even in the antiseptic form of the Bicentennial....

"The trouble with the consciousness movement is not that it addresses trivial or unreal issues but that it provides self-defeating solutions.... The ideology of personal growth, superficially optimistic about the power of positive thinking, radiates pessimism. It is the world view of the resigned."

—*New York Review of Books*, 30 September 1976

Ramparts

its most important contribution. In an article on the Op-Ed page of the *New York Times* (16 September), Kirkpatrick Sale takes Rudd to task for his personal "capitulation" and argues:

"Finally, whatever Rudd himself may decide to do, the radical movements that have carried on in his absence are clearly going to proceed apace....

"The antinuclear protests, for example, from Seabrook, N.H., to San Francisco represent this cutting edge; and the widespread environmental organizations, and the anticorporate campaigns, and the alternative-technology movement, and the locally based community-action groups in virtually every city of the land—this is where the radicals are today, and it's obvious that there's not a one among them who feels 'too old to be a revolutionary.'"

To see the Clamshell demonstrations and the divestiture movement in California as a continuation of the New Left is an insult to the thousands of subjectively revolutionary youth who struggled throughout the 1960's. While the New Left was mired in the worst sort of petty-bourgeois life-stylism, its unifying theme was militant opposition to the capitalist state which was waging a genocidal war in Indochina. Masses of youth sincerely, if only for a short duration of time, desired the overthrow of the American imperialist government.

In the 1960's, students mobilized to support the victory of the Vietnamese NLF while today the Clamshells ignore the countless crimes of imperialism and instead singularly assail "technology" as the source of all evil. During the Vietnam war students demonstrated against Johnson and Nixon; today's divestment movement pleads with Jimmy Carter to lead a crusade to make the world safe for "human rights."

Perhaps the most stark contrast is to be found at Kent State. In 1970 students were killed while demonstrating for ROTC to be thrown off the campus and against the imperialist rape of Indochina. The current May 4th Coalition at Kent—which is organizing against the construction of a gym on the site from which the National Guard opened fire—cop-baits the SYL for our insistence that one of the demands of Kent students must be ROTC Off Campus!

### Which Way the Wind Blew

This is not to romanticize the New Left. The movement was shaped (and deformed) by the political inactivity of the working class during the 1960's and by the view it had of the American proletariat as indistinguishable from the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy. By seeing themselves as an isolated force for liberation, New Leftists continually oscillated between utopian counter-cultural schemes and vicarious, uncritical enthusing for Third World nationalism. Lacking any decisive social power and refusing to see the working class as the only vehicle for social revolution, the antiwar movement was doomed to lead nowhere. Following the murders of protesters at Kent and Jackson State in 1970 and the evident failure of a nationwide student strike to make a dent in

### What the New Left Was and Wasn't

The New Left combined political opposition to imperialist war and racial oppression with a parochial, university-based "counter-cultural" identity. With the end of the McCarthy period of the 1950's, the emphasis on new "lifestyles" was an inevitable and not particularly radical response to the social backwardness of the Eisenhower years. The utopian romanticization of "counter-culture," the attempt to build a "new nation in the heart of the monster" and the glorification of "dropping out" represented the worst and most self-indulgent aspect of the New Left.

It is not surprising that much of the New Left-associated lifestyle rhetoric of the 1960's has been adopted not only by the cult movements, but also integrated into the mainstream of bourgeois society. Today the use of marijuana is no longer considered risqué, rock and roll has become a billion dollar industry and Sammy Davis Jr. extends the black-power handshake to prominent bourgeois politicians.

Unable to accept the death of the New Left, various "radicals" periodically claim that it is alive and kicking. Invariably, these defenders of the New Left's continuity pick the worst aspects of the radical student movement, its self-indulgence and youth vanguardism, as

## Young Spartacus

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Nixon's war effort, widespread demoralization swept through the ranks of the New Left.

Mark Rudd and the Weathermen were notable in their attempt to consistently carry out the extremes of a New Left strategy. Rejecting the need for a Leninist party and seeing the working class as hopelessly reactionary, the Weathermen decided to become a fifth column for the Third World through the utilization of bombings and underground tactics to weaken imperialism. Internally, the Weathermen engaged in self-destructive "cadre building," consisting of grueling, senseless criticism/self-criticism sessions, forced intra-group sex to break down monogamy and "individualism," and reportedly even reaching the extreme of learning "self-reliance" through killing stray dogs and eating them.

Although the Weathermen displayed all the impatience and adventurism of petty-bourgeois revolutionists, their courage in fighting against the ruling class was at times heroic, if consistently misled. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, when the Nixon government went on a rampage to break up the Weather Underground, the SL/SYL was uniquely the only group on the left which, while politically opposing this would-be native version of Castro's July 26 Movement, nonetheless called for its defense against the bourgeois state. Though we opposed the dead-end, voluntarist strategy based on the rejection of the organized strength of the proletariat, their selective bombings of war-associated targets as distinct from the irrational random terror (à la Symbionese Liberation Army) made them defensible from the standpoint of the workers movement. Even today, groups such as the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) are conspicuously silent about demanding that the outstanding charges against Rudd and the Weather Underground be dropped.

The revolutionary movement needs cadres who are willing to make great sacrifices. Unfortunately, in the case of the Weathermen, their courage was squandered on an adventurist path that ensured their total social isolation. And Mark Rudd was the most publicized, if not particularly exceptional, of both the misplaced militancy and the almost anti-political philistinism characteristic of the Weathermen.

In rejecting the need for a Leninist vanguard party rooted in the working class, the Weathermen and New Left sealed their doom. Lenin, in polemicizing against the Russian Narodniks, pointed out the pitfalls of petty-bourgeois radicalism. "Marxist theory has established," he noted, that the agitated petty bourgeois

"who, under capitalism, always suffers oppression and very frequently a most acute and rapid deterioration in his conditions of life, and even ruin, easily goes to revolutionary extremes, but is incapable of perseverance, organization, discipline and steadfastness. A petty bourgeois driven to frenzy by the horrors of capitalism is a social phenomenon which, like anarchism, is characteristic of all capitalist countries. The instability of such revolutionism, its barrenness, and its tendency to turn rapidly into submission, apathy, phantasms, and even a frenzied infatuation with one bourgeois fad or another—all this is common knowledge."

—*"Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder*

### The Marxist Left in the Antiwar Movement

While the vast majority of New Left activists are out of politics, the media consciously ignores the numerous antiwar and minority activists who remained active by joining the cadre organizations of the American left, including the Spartacist League. Though the New Left could not long survive in isolation from the working class, a significant section of its members could have developed the historical perspective to understand the need for Bolshevik organization and discipline. Unfortunately, the leading

fake-left organizations in the antiwar movement played a criminal role in feeding the worst illusions of the New Left and paved the way for future demoralization.

Especially pernicious was the role of the Socialist Workers Party, which by 1965 had degenerated into a reformist group whose remaining connection with Trotskyism was purely literary. The key issue in this social-democratic transformation was the SWP's fight to channel the antiwar movement into the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, through such vehicles as the Student Mobilization Committee. Beginning with its 1965 support for the call for "all foreign troops

rally, the SWP, so as not to embarrass its liberal allies, refused to solidarize with or support the workers and peasants of Vietnam who were fighting U.S. imperialism, and call for the defeat of its own bourgeoisie in the rapacious imperialist war.

For the thousands of subjectively revolutionary youth who tried to generalize a worldview on the basis of opposition to racial oppression, war and the draft, the SWP and its Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) were rightly scorned as the consistently rightist "single issue" element of the 1960's. As the SWP/YSA strove to build the "mass movement" that would propel Eugene

Pterodactyl/LNS



Ramparts



Chicago 1969: Weathermen mobilize for "Days of Rage" march (top); Columbia 1968 (bottom).

to leave Vietnam," the SWP sought to build its pacifist peace crawls on a political basis which would attract liberal bourgeois spokesmen.

Carefully guarding its two prize catches for the popular-frontist National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC)—Democratic senator Vance Hartke, and UAW bureaucrat Victor Reuther—the SWP launched a savage goon attack to expel both the Spartacist League and Progressive Labor for criticizing the presence of Hartke and Reuther at the speakers podium at the July 1971 NPAC conference. What the SWP lacked in social weight (the principal stumbling block for its intended role as the U.S. version of mass social democracy), it made up for as the organizational muscle building platforms for the bourgeois "doves" of the Democratic Party. Natu-

McCarthy and George McGovern, these house Trotskyists denounced the entirety of SDS as "ultraleft." Had there been an effective intervention into SDS by a revolutionary organization the size of the SWP, many militants could have been won to the banner of Trotskyism and the perspective of proletarian revolution.

Instead, those in SDS interested in more coherent organizations and programs than the traditional New Left gravitated toward several Stalinoid factions, culminating in the 1969 convention faction fight which blew SDS apart. Progressive Labor's (PL) opposition to black nationalism and advocacy of a crude working class orientation, established it as the only left-wing force of the major factions and laid the basis for it to

recruit many of the best elements in SDS. But PL was unable to consolidate its leftward motion, and eventually dissipated its gains from SDS when it plunged into endless sub-reformist "activism" to avoid the political questions it had confronted in its break from Maoism. Despite the influx of militant cadres, PL was unable to generalize its pro-working-class approach into a Leninist-Trotskyist program. As the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus (RMC), a predecessor of the SYL, noted at the time,

"Progressive Labor members have often argued that SDS should support workers' struggles because workers are the most oppressed section of American society.... Workers' struggles are decisive not because workers are 'worse off' than other groups, but because private property and the exploitation of labor is the central axis on which this society rests. Social power depends on control of productive resources. Only the working class is capable of destroying the power of the capitalist class and reconstructing society for the benefit of all of humanity.

"If one speaks of being 'pro-working class,' one should want the working class to have power and not simply endlessly fight their exploiters. Workers' power, whatever one may call it, is socialism. To describe oneself as socialist without having a socialist perspective is, at best, to be an advocate of trade union militancy, and, at worst, to accept the permanent exploitation of the working class."

—*Revolutionary Marxist Caucus Newsletter*, December 1970

The Spartacist League threw the small forces at its disposal into SDS. Although the SL was too weak to switch the direction of SDS, we were able to recruit a number of leading New Left Maoist activists to our organization. The program we raised showed the only way forward for the best elements of SDS and the New Left in general:

"The Revolutionary Marxist Caucus is the left opposition in SDS fighting for an aggressive socialist policy in contrast to the narrow social work approach of the PL-controlled leadership. Rejecting campus parochialism, we seek to build an SDS which can provide a militant leadership for all major social struggles, particularly those centered around the labor movement. We want to intervene in these struggles with a radical socialist program through which we can recruit other revolutionary workers and students. Important elements of our program are a break with the capitalist parties and formation of a workers party; a shorter work week with no loss in pay to eliminate unemployment; opposition to racial oppression, particularly within the labor movement; labor strikes against the Vietnam War and other manifestations of U.S. imperialism; defense of all left groups against police repression (the Panthers and the Weathermen); for a class analysis of sexual and racial oppression."

—*"Where We Stand," Newsletter*, September 1970

### Toward the American Revolution

The intervention of the SL into SDS provided the basis for the qualitative expansion of the political influence of the Spartacist tendency, both domestically and internationally. In September 1971 the SL Central Committee noted in a "Memorandum on the Transformation of the Spartacist League":

"The experienced forces won which in good part are a direct accretion to the SL cadre, taken together with the extremely valuable recruitment of younger comrades to the RMC, give us the human resources sufficient to ensure the strengthening of our center, the production of our press, the extension of our trade union work, the development of a Trotskyist youth league and the consolidation and extension of the SL geographically into more regional centers in the country."

—*Marxist Bulletin No. 9 Part III*

While the New Left has died, the U.S. has not returned to a period of pervasive, fanatical anti-communism and widespread moral authority of the ruling class, as during the 1950's. Massive unemployment lines, cutbacks in vital social services and education, deteriorating living standards, the attacks on minorities and the growing trend toward inter-imperialist war have produced

*continued on page 11*

CHICAGO, September 20—"We have had a peaceful and uneventful opening," announced Chicago mayor Michael Bilandic after public schools here opened earlier this month.

But the past two weeks have been far from "peaceful and uneventful" for black students in Chicago attending previously all-white schools under the new "permissive transfer plan." Mobs of crazed racists have daily gathered in the streets of Chicago to abuse, threaten and viciously assault black people entering white neighborhoods near these schools.

So hard are the lines of racial segregation in this city that even the token school desegregation provided by the "permissive transfer plan" has provoked a violent racist backlash in many white ethnic neighborhoods. As in Boston, so now in Chicago, racist attacks confront the left and labor movements with the urgent question: what strategy to protect the school children from anti-busing violence and to drive forward the struggle for black equality?

### Jim Crow Lives in Chicago

Lynch-mob violence has been mounting in Chicago since September 7, when the opening of public schools was met by an organized white class boycott on the Southwest side. Within days crowds of hysterical bigots were jamming the entrances of several grammar and high schools to hurl racist taunts and threats at black children attempting to enter. On September 9 a mob of white mothers charged a school bus and hammered its sides with clenched fists in a frenzied effort to terrorize the black students trapped inside.

Racist terror gravely escalated two days later, when gangs of whites assaulted black motorists driving through the Bogan Park area on the Southwest side. Rivaling the rabid bigots of South Boston in savagery, one gang of blood-thirsty racists surrounded a car driven by a black man and smashed its windows. As the thugs grabbed for him, the motorist hit the accelerator, narrowly escaping their clutches but accidentally hitting three people as his car sped away. Only after the black motorist had gotten away from the mob did the notoriously racist Chicago cops appear and proceed to arrest him on charges of "reckless driving" and "leaving the scene of an accident!"

On the same day a 1,000-strong segregationist rally was staged in Bogan Park, where white residents shouted, "We don't want to integrate!", and burned effigies of school board officials. Ten demonstrators were arrested when scuffling broke out with the cops, who had announced that the rally was illegal without a permit and then, after allowing "several speakers to have their say," attempted to disperse the crowd (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 12 September).

September 12 brought a further escalation of racist hysteria when anti-busing zealots, brandishing placards with slogans such as "No busing here!" and "Bus them back to Africa!", blocked the entrance to the Adlai Stevenson Elementary School on the Southwest side. After school one hundred whites amassed outside Stevenson to shout at the black students as they emerged to board the buses.

Vicious attacks on motor vehicles driven by blacks continued that night, especially in the Bogan Park area. One of the assaults sent a black mother and her two young sons, aged seven and nine, to the hospital with lacerations and bruises. The following day white students staged an anti-busing walkout protest at Bogan High, which is not even involved in the "voluntary" busing plan, although the area grade schools which graduate students into Bogan are.

Meanwhile, anti-busing groups dedicated to the "defense of the family and neighborhood schools" continue to stir the racist hornet's nest. And the ringleaders of this city's small but active fascist movement are eagerly fishing for recruits

## Desegregate Chicago Schools!



## Troops No Answer to Racist Mobs

in these cesspools of mobilized racism.

### Bus Tokens and Token Busing

In the face of this vicious segregationist mobilization the left and labor movement must rally to the defense of those students seeking integration under the "permissive transfer plan." But despite the racist hue and cry over this "integration" the "permissive transfer plan" does *not* involve legally-enforced busing, which in Boston and elsewhere must be supported as a measure ensuring black people their democratic right of equal access to public schools.

Long threatened with loss of its state and federal funds for failure to comply with desegregation guidelines, the Chicago school board hatched this plan as a means of *avoiding* court-ordered large-scale busing. Presented as a remedy for classroom overcrowding (and not as a desegregation measure) the "permissive transfer plan" offers a deliberately small number of black students—*0.5 percent* of the public school enrollment!—the *individual option* of transferring to a few all-white schools deemed to be "below capacity." Under the plan grammar-school pupils are provided transportation in school buses, while high school volunteers are given free tokens for the city transit system.

Thus, the "permissive transfer plan" enables the Chicago school board to avoid taking any responsibility whatsoever for enforcing school desegregation, even on so limited a scale as imposed in Boston three years ago. It places the burden of whatever desegregation occurs entirely on the shoulders of the black students who courageously volunteer to transfer into hostile white schools. No wonder that to date only some 850 out of the eligible 2,180 black students have volunteered to transfer!

It is for these reasons that the "permissive transfer plan" can only be regarded as a racist insult to the black people of Chicago and to all who stand for school desegregation. It must be answered with the demand for the immediate desegregation of the Chicago public schools, by means including mass legally enforced busing. But any busing

implemented in Chicago must not only cover the inner-city schools but also incorporate the relatively superior educational facilities in the suburbs which ring this metropolis.

Adding injury to insult, the Chicago school board at the same time has been more than eager to comply with a federal court ruling ordering massive involuntary transfers of teachers in direct violation of their union seniority rights. Under the guise of enforcing desegregation of the teaching staff the school board has launched a union-busting attack on the Chicago Teachers Union precisely on the eve of its contract renegotiation.

Daley. Even though the Chicago school board for the last decade has periodically been found guilty of deliberate segregation by the federal government (which then does nothing), the NAACP and the Urban League have eschewed major court battles and have not denounced such token measures as "voluntary busing." For Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) led by the preacher Jesse Jackson, who *opposes* any busing into the suburbs and favors simply improving ghetto schools (that is, "separate but equal"...and a little better!), any mention of this fraudulent "desegregation" scheme pales before its

*"We must build a movement to demand protection for Black students. If the cops won't do it, then the National Guard and federal troops should be called in."*

—Militant, 30 September 1977

Unlike court-ordered busing, such state interference in the labor movement must be unconditionally opposed and countered with a *union-controlled* campaign for teacher integration.

### Liberals Over the Pork Barrel

Seldom has the political bankruptcy of liberal civil-rights pressure politics been more glaring than in Chicago today. What little school desegregation that is occurring now is the result of a tokenistic sop by the Jim Crow school board and not the product of any concerted struggle by the local civil-rights establishment. Whereas in Boston the pro-busing liberals retreated as their pleas fell on deaf Democratic ears, from their "ally" Edward Kennedy all the way up to "ethnic purity" Carter, and as their utter confidence in the Supreme Court was repaid with one reactionary ruling after another, in Chicago the civil-rights misleaders surrendered long before the battle.

Committed to "working within the system," the black liberal establishment in Chicago is dependent upon the pork-barrel constituency politics dominated by the Democratic machine bequeathed by that big-time ward heeler, Richard

Daley. Even though the Chicago school board for the last decade has periodically been found guilty of deliberate segregation by the federal government (which then does nothing), the NAACP and the Urban League have eschewed major court battles and have not denounced such token measures as "voluntary busing." For Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) led by the preacher Jesse Jackson, who *opposes* any busing into the suburbs and favors simply improving ghetto schools (that is, "separate but equal"...and a little better!), any mention of this fraudulent "desegregation" scheme pales before its

### How to Defeat Racist Terror

As racist violence endangers the lives and threatens the democratic rights of black people in Chicago, the need of the hour is for the mobilization of a defense which can reliably protect the embattled black people and effectively repulse the anti-busing forces. What is needed is the formation of a *labor/black defense* based on the strength and authority of the mass organizations of the working class and black community. It is the multi-millioned and racially integrated labor movement of Chicago which has the organized muscle and class interest to take the lead in forming such a defense force.

Labor today must follow the example set by Local 6 of the United Auto Workers (UAW) two years ago in Chicago. When racist vigilantes fire-bombed the home of a black Local 6 member who had just moved into an all-white neighborhood, the Labor Struggle Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the local which is politically supported by the Spartacist League, proposed that the union organize a trade-union defense

squad to guard the brother's home. As a result Local 6 formed a defense guard which was stationed at the house and which put an end to the vigilante terror.

But the "respectable" civil-rights leadership and do-nothing trade-union bureaucrats are not about to jeopardize their good standing in the Democratic Party by mobilizing their constituencies in mass militant independent action against the racist status quo. Instead, they preach reliance upon the capitalist state and its armed forces—the racist cops and U.S. imperialist army. As was to be expected, the NAACP, the Urban League and Operation PUSH have responded to the recent racist attacks by demanding "more cops" to restore "law and order."

### "By Any Means Necessary"

But the liberals are not alone in preaching that black people in Chicago can best defend themselves by throwing their children at the mercy of the trigger-happy cops and troops. The reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) and its empty-shell front group, the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), have once again become the most vociferous "left" champions of the call for cops and troops to "defend" black people from racist attack.

Even before the opening of Chicago schools SWP spokesman Cecil Lampkin bellowed at an open meeting of the Chicago school board on August 31:

"We must protect and defend those black students by any means necessary—any means necessary. If the police can't do it, the National Guard. If the National Guard can't do it, bring in the federal troops."

For these ultra-"respectable" socialists, "we" means the hired guns of the capitalist state and "by any means necessary" means simply by pressuring the government!

But this "strategy" was put to the test for three full years in Boston. Tailing the NAACP and black Democrats, the SWP/YSA and its creature NSCAR made the call for troops its *central demand*, while ridiculing the perspective of labor/black defense and denigrating efforts at black community self-defense in Boston. As the racist violence escalated, the SWP/YSA claimed that its semi-annual parades calling for troops were sufficient to "demoralize" and "set back" the organized vigilante gangs.

After preaching reliance on the cops for two years, however, the SWP/YSA was forced to cancel its last "mass mobilization" in Boston when NSCAR could no longer rely on the cops to protect its parade from the racist thugs. Having waited for three years for the U.S. army to invade Boston, NSCAR quietly packed up its national office, left town and dropped school desegregation as its main issue!

### Calling on Cops to "Pick Up The Gun"

In peddling the strategy which led to a debacle in Boston the SWP/YSA and NSCAR are now compelled to *glorify* the police department responsible for the cold-blooded murder of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in their beds in 1969 and for the killing of two unarmed Puerto Rican youths in Humboldt Park this summer. In a front-page feature story headlined, "Chicago Bigots Pushed Back," the SWP's *Militant* (30 September) *uncritically praised* the Chicago police department—the most powerful and well-organized racist force in this city!—for its "get tough" measures against anti-busing mob activity."

But the Chicago cops—who off-duty have joined fascist-inspired lynch mobs in Marquette Park and who on-duty have been seen fraternizing with racist demonstrators at Stevenson High—as always will use their "get tough" measures against blacks far more frequently and harshly than against the marauding mobs of white bigots. The kind of "get tough" measures which can be expected

from the Chicago cops was illustrated by their response to the "standby committees" organized by Operation PUSH to monitor how the cops are "protecting" black students.

In a telephone interview with *Young Spartacus* Hugh Wilson, a member of one of the PUSH "standby committees," described what happened when he recently approached Stevenson Elementary School:

"About a block away from the school, as we were about to go to the 'receiving school' and then home, we were arrested. About three or four cars—patrol cars and unmarked police cars—converged on us. About eight policemen surrounded the car. They had drawn revolvers. They told us to get out of the car and to put our hands on the trunk. They frisked us and handcuffed our hands behind our backs. We were unarmed. They treated us as if we were the Jesse James gang. They separated us into two cars and drove us off."

ghetto "riots" were brutally suppressed by the armed forces of the bourgeoisie.

The first ghetto rebellion to erupt in Chicago began in August 1965, when blacks outraged by racist harassment battled cops, some of whom brazenly displayed swastikas on their belt buckles. It was the courageous *resistance* of the black people that "pressured" Mayor Daley to place National Guard units on the alert; in the suburb of Dixmoor about 1,000 blacks for two days battled an occupation force consisting of over 200 cops and state troopers.

The following summer cop-brutality provoked a two-day "riot" in the Puerto Rican *barrio*, during which one youth was gunned down in cold blood by "Chicago's finest," and a few weeks later ignited a ghetto revolt, which rapidly spread over an 800-square-block area housing 300,000 black people. When over 900 riot-clad cops were unable to

federalized the Illinois National Guard and in addition ordered into Chicago 5,000 federal troops from Fort Hood, Texas, and Fort Carson, Colorado. In a massive display of force aimed at terrorizing the ghettos into submission thousands of troops, with rifles loaded and bayonets fixed, patrolled the streets in jeeps and trucks.

Given the green light by Daley, who issued "shoot-to-kill" orders for "anyone looting any stores in our city," cops gunned down four blacks in a two-block area on West Madison Street during one three-and-a-half hour period (*Report of the Chicago Riot Study Committee, 1968*)! During the six-day "state of emergency" nine blacks were killed and at least 2,700 were arrested and detained under barbaric conditions, often left without food or water for 24 hours or more and sometimes maced in their cells. Such was the "protection for blacks" that the troops brought to town!

And only five months later the troops were back again to Chicago, but this time to indeed protect the Democratic Party nominating convention from thousands of unarmed antiwar demonstrators who had gathered in a nearby park. A liberal exposé of Daley vividly described the scene:

"By the time the convention began, the most massive security arrangements in the history of American politics had been completed: Chicago's twelve thousand policemen had been put on twelve-hour shifts; five thousand Illinois national guardsmen had been mobilized and were standing by near the downtown area; six thousand specially trained army troops were flown in and were in combat readiness at the Glenview Naval Air Station, just north of the city; several hundred state and county lawmen were on call; and the largest number of secret service agents ever used at a political convention were in Chicago. Including the private security workers hired for the Amphitheatre, a defense force [sic] of at least twenty-five thousand was in Chicago. Daley had an army that was bigger than that commanded by George Washington."

—Mike Royko, *Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago* (1971)

Many a left liberal and radical lost their remaining illusions in the possible "neutrality" of the armed fist of the U.S. government during those days in Chicago. Under the glare of television floodlights cops assaulted student demonstrators as well as "nosey" newsmen and hapless bystanders who just got in the way. Wirephotos were beamed around the world showing National Guardsmen menacing demonstrators with bayonets, lobbing canisters of teargas into crowds of peaceful protesters and clubbing with their rifle butts marchers led by black activist Dick Gregory.

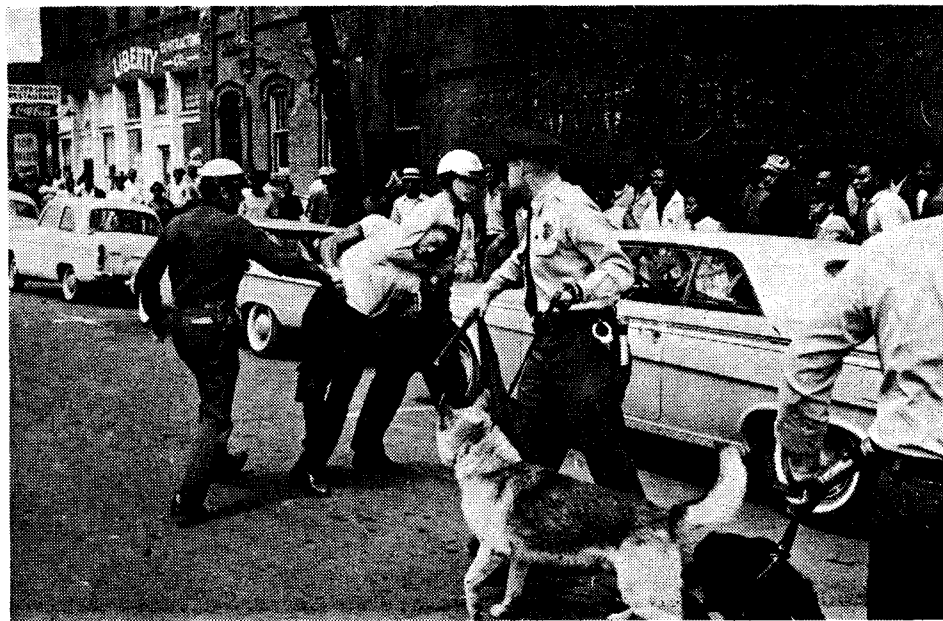
### From Armchair "Urban Guerrillas" to Troop Evangelists

During the late sixties the SWP/YSA dared not preach reliance on the cops and troops. With the rise of militant black nationalism the SWP/YSA oh-so-quietly dropped the demand for federal troops to enforce civil rights which had become its stock-in-trade during the years of the liberal-dominated civil rights movement. Unlike today, the *Militant* exposed the role of the racist cops and federal troops in suppressing black militancy; even by its own accounts of those years the SWP/YSA stands condemned today.

But while echoing the hatred of black people for the cops and troops the SWP/YSA at that time sought to garner popularity by vicariously enthusing over the most adventurous aspects of the militant "Black Power"/black nationalist movement. Unlike the Spartacist League, which defended the ghetto uprisings while at the same time struggling to win dedicated black militants away from self-defeating isolated confrontations with the overpowering armed might of the state, the SWP/YSA simply cheered from the safety of the sidelines as heroic black youth threw themselves at the organized forces of state repression.

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## When Cops and Troops Came to the Ghetto



1968—Top: Chicago; Bottom: Pittsburgh.

If cop brutality should get so wanton that even the *Militant* dares not cover it up, then the SWP/YSA can trumpet that the police "can't do it" and that the National Guard and federal troops must now protect blacks "by any means necessary." But the SWP/YSA has a problem: NSCAR is seeking to recruit black youth who *remember* what happened when federal troops and National Guardsmen were sent to Chicago in the late 1960's.

### When the Troops Came to Chicago

The sight of hordes of riot-clad cops, trigger-happy National Guardsmen and combat-trained army troops storming through the ghettos, invading black homes in search of arms and dispersing crowds of blacks with tear gas and hot lead, became a familiar one across the United States in the late 1960's. From Watts to Detroit to Newark desperate

restore the "peace," Daley called in 45,000 National Guardsmen, some of whom had recently received special training for Vietnam. Trigger-happy and vengeful, these racists in uniform clubbed blacks into unconsciousness and fatally shot two unarmed blacks, one of whom was a 14-year-old expectant mother.

Black anger again exploded in Chicago when the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968, triggered ghetto revolts across the country. As fires blazed in the West Side ghetto, Mayor Daley ordered a 40 percent increase in police manpower and called in the National Guard. By midnight on April 5 over 6,700 Guardsmen were on the streets as the "disturbance" spread to the South Side and Near North Side.

At Daley's urgent request President Johnson, who had already called out the U.S. army to guard the White House,

## Chicago Schools...

(continued from page 7)

In its 1967 pamphlet, *The Black Uprisings*, the SWP/YSA, criminally fostering the illusion that through immediate "guerrilla warfare" blacks could "take power in their own community," encouraged "those Brothers who had taken up the [armed] struggle against the invaders" to squander their lives in suicidal shoot-outs with the cops and federal troops. It despicably encouraged young black militants to go-it-alone: "The whites are deaf."

But the SWP/YSA never practiced what it preached in these tracts. Cynically and hypocritically spewing irresponsible "right-on!" rhetoric from the safety of its editorial offices, the SWP/YSA devoted its main energies to building the antiwar movement on the basis of *liberal social chauvinism* ("Bring Our Boys

exposed so effectively by Malcolm X and the Panthers. Today these smug "socialists" have the temerity to combine Malcolm's militant slogan, "by any means necessary," with the "send-in-the-troops" demand of the liberal misleaders whom he scorned as "Uncle Toms."

### Labor/Black Defense in Chicago

Today black youth and others who are seeking an effective strategy for rolling back the racist offensive and driving forward the fight for desegregation will find in the SL/SYL and SWP/YSA two fundamentally counterposed perspectives.

The SWP/YSA and its NSCAR stand for a strategy which led to defeat in Boston. They stand for placing no confidence in the masses of black and working people and all confidence in the racist cops and federal troops, whose bayonets are stained with the blood of innocent blacks. They stand for ridiculing class-struggle militants who have provided exemplary defense and promoting labor-fakers like Ed Sadlowski

Militant



National Guardsmen "protecting" striking sanitationmen in Memphis, 1968, the scene of M.L. King Jr.'s murder.

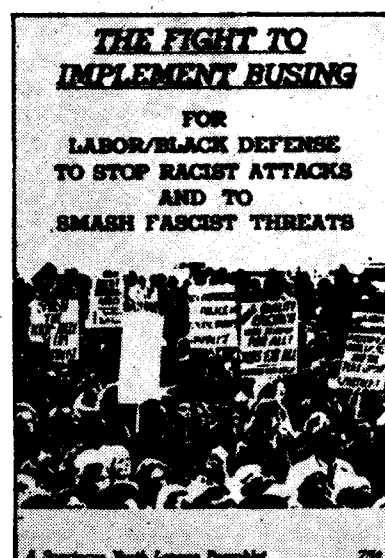
Home"). In its main area of political activity the SWP/YSA built a "mass movement" which refused to call for the victory of the Vietnamese guerrilla warriors, which featured as its honored spokesmen representatives of the same Democratic Party that had sent the troops into the ghettos and which denounced as "ultraleft" the mainstream of the radical student movement represented by SDS.

With the demise of the radical black nationalist movement, which in part was the result of the decimation of its most self-sacrificing militants through heroic but hopeless armed confrontations with the cops, the SWP/YSA simply shelved all its vicarious "guerrilla war" rhetoric and began uncritically promoting the very civil-rights moderates who had been

and Jim Balanoff who have not even come out for busing in Chicago much less denounced the racist terror.

The SL/SYL stands for mobilizing pro-desegregation sentiment behind the organized labor movement to demand that Chicago schools be desegregated. We stand for teaching class-conscious distrust of the capitalist armed forces and for instilling in the oppressed confidence in their own strength and organizations. We stand for the necessary struggle for labor/black defense to protect the black schoolchildren who are under attack today in Chicago. And we stand for winning youth to the struggle to build the vanguard party of the American proletariat which through the fire of the revolution will eradicate forever all racism and oppression. JOIN US! ■

## Federal Troops or the Struggle for School Integration?



The demand of the reformist left for federal troops to "protect" blacks from racist mobs in this country is not new. Detroit, 1943... Little Rock, 1957... Birmingham, 1963... Selma, 1965. Each time the troops were called out, but only to squelch any attempts by blacks to defend themselves. Today the same lesson is being learned on the streets of Boston, Louisville and Chicago: there can be no reliance on the bourgeois state to defend black people.

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## South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

express their solidarity with the anti-apartheid militants.

### Militant Protest Or Moralistic Posturing?

As at San Francisco State, various campus left groups refused to endorse the Columbia demonstration. Here again the "best supporters" of South African blacks—the RSB, YSA and the Socialist Action Community (a local campus clot of New Leftovers)—refused participation in concrete acts of solidarity. These sectarian responses to militant action have a common thread in the program of university divestment which each of these groups champions.

In a talk given on September 24 at Columbia, entitled "Anti-Apartheid Revolts and U.S. Imperialist Moralism," comrade Seymour pointed out the absurdity of divestment schemes. To advocate that universities dump their stock in U.S. corporations which invest in South Africa is a program which would benefit only those financiers who would buy up the stocks at reduced prices.

What is really behind these absurd schemes is a desire to "clean up" the campuses and to ignore the role of the university as a capitalist institution. For example, Arthur Krim, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Columbia University, recently asked the university senate

Burns/New York Times



Steven Biko.

to form a committee to investigate the morality of Columbia's stock ownership in companies which invest in South Africa.

But is Columbia's collaboration with the CIA or ownership of Harlem slums any better than stockholding in GM or IBM? Or how about its more mundane task of training corporate managers and imperialist diplomats like Kissinger? Those pushing divestment have no concrete demands to offer. Their sole purpose is to strike a moral posture and not to take steps to wrest anti-racist fighters from the murderous hands of the apartheid regime.

Divestment is part of a broader scheme to pressure U.S. corporations to behave "responsibly" and make Carter "live up to" his "human rights" promises. But it is not Vorster who is propping up reactionary regimes from Indonesia to Iran to Chile: the U.S. imperialist government remains the main enemy of workers and the oppressed worldwide and must be replaced by a proletarian state. The SYL's militant defense of the South African anti-apartheid fighters can only be part of our struggle against American capitalism. As comrade Seymour concluded his forum:

"... there's another sense in which we use the slogan that the main enemy *really is at home*; that it is the United States and no other country which is the bastion of world imperialism. It is Wall Street and Washington and Columbia and Harvard which form the military, political and financial backbone of every reactionary regime in this world. So if Washington and Wall Street fall, they all fall: the Chilean junta, the Shah of Iran, Vorster in South Africa. Our task is not to be deflected into seeking to overthrow some more reactionary state than the U.S. Our task is defined as the main enemy is at home. Take Columbia! Take Wall Street! Take Washington!"

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## Correction

In our article "Open Admissions: The Answer to Bakke" (*Young Spartacus*, No. 57, September 1977) we cited University of California officials as having "announced a new set of entrance requirements in order to reduce college admissions." While the University of California has not yet adopted this proposal, it is the California State University system which has set out to slash enrollment in this manner.



# Jesse Jackson...

(continued from page 2)

community control": sell-out leaders in the service of the bourgeoisie dishing out the crumbs of a decaying society to the downtrodden black masses. In this case Jackson does not even pretend to have any crumbs to offer, just discipline for the prisons that pass for schools in the urban ghettos.

Revolutionary socialists support and defend any genuine educational gains

for black people. But to be meaningful this requires an all-sided fight for integration, including a union program for job upgrading and government-subsidized housing. We stand for integration in an egalitarian society and call upon the strength of the organized working class to carry forward this struggle. At the same time we recognize that only with the forging of a Trotskyist party and a successful proletarian revolution will the brutal racist oppression of blacks as a race-color caste concentrated at the lowest sectors of American society be finally ended. The future for American blacks is represented by the black cadres of an integrated revolutionary proletarian party and not the sell-out misleaders such as Jesse Jackson. ■

# Kent State...

(continued from page 3)

courts, as well as the administration and the Board of Trustees, are accomplices in the 1970 killings and that attempts to pressure the consciences of these murderers could only lead to a politically impotent and ultimately unsuccessful struggle.

Now that construction of the gym has begun, it is clear that further protests will only accent the already dead-end course of the May 4 Coalition and its "respectable" sidekick, the Blanket Hill Coalition. By refusing last May to address the key political issue, and the only real tribute to the martyred

students—that ROTC and the cops be removed from the Kent campus—the May 4 Coalition sealed its fate. No amount of RSB "take the hill" rhetoric and avowals of "fighting today for a better tomorrow" (!), YSA "respectability" or liberal moralistic pleading with the government can replace the necessary militant student struggle against the Kent State Trustees and the cops and courts that stand behind them.

As the gym is being built, it remains for serious leftists to take up the demand of the protests of 1970, the protests of the four students who died demonstrating against the imperialist invasion of Cambodia. ROTC is the training camp for the future killers of workers, militant students and oppressed minorities. Cops and ROTC Off Campus! ■

## Stop RSB Exclusionism at Chicago Circle!

CHICAGO, September 23—Kent State has proven to be a source of embarrassment for the sometime-Maoist / Stalinist Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) across the country. As police swarm all over the Kent campus, the RSB is increasingly hard pressed to defend its *opposition* to the elementary militant demand for cops and ROTC off campus.

When confronted yesterday at an "open meeting" about Kent State held at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus (UICC), the RSB let loose a torrent of threats and abuse and physically excluded supporters of the SYL from the meeting. The frenzied RSB then instigated a pushing and shoving match—which was easily repelled—and finally attempted to provoke an all-out brawl.

While their petty gangsterism got them nowhere, the RSB's ready recourse to exclusionism and violence on the left did not go unanswered. At a UICC student government meeting today it was unanimously resolved that the "student government condemns the highly undemocratic practice of excluding the Spartacus Youth League and the Young Socialist Alliance from public meetings by the Revolutionary Student Brigade. [The student government] further condemns the use of threats, intimidation and actual physical attack... by the RSB. While opposing all administration interference in this matter, we insist that publicly-advertised public meetings must be open to all organizations and students on campus regardless of their political opinions."

## Boston Demo Confronts Pinochet's "Chicago Boy" Friedman

BOSTON, September 16—Milton Friedman, the Nobel-prize winning economist known for his brain-trusting of the blood-drenched Chilean dictatorship, was met by an SYL-initiated demonstration today at Boston's Park Plaza Hotel. Speaking at a luncheon sponsored by the "Citizens for Limited Taxation," Friedman set out to expound his "theories" for slashing vital social services in the name of halting "government intervention."

Even before the silver-spoon banquet began, the head of the

to the numerous Chilean journeys of his University of Chicago cohort Arnold Harberger. Even the *New York Times* has accorded Friedman, along with his "Chicago Boys," his due as "the guiding light of the junta's economic policy." Recently, Friedman has extended his services to Israeli prime minister Menahem Begin, the butcher of Deir Yassin.

As has been the case throughout the SYL's campaign against Friedman, the demonstration witnessed the sectarian abstention of the twin

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"Chicago Boys" was reminded that his crimes against the Chilean working people have not been forgotten. As the demonstrators gathered outside chanting, "Friedman's shock treatment means mass starvation!" and "Friedman's 'Chicago Boys' are accomplices in murder!" an SYL spokesman confronted Friedman at a press conference inside the hotel.

Faced with exposure before the assembled Boston press, Friedman lost his customary aplomb. After choosing "not to dignify these slanders," the architect of the starvation-level economic "shock treatment" confessed to visiting Chile for six days in 1975. He neglected to mention that during those six days, according to the Santiago daily *El Mercurio*, he was the central figure in a state economic conference and addressed several hundred junta officers.

Friedman also neglected to speak

pillars of U.S. reformism, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Party (CP). The SWP professed not to "agree" with the demonstration slogan: "Down with Milton Friedman—Braintruster for Pinochet and Begin!" For its part, the CP went so far as to try to stop the SYL from distributing demonstration announcements—an attempt at thug tactics which was rebuffed by SYL supporters. For these reformists, avoiding the revolutionary politics of the SL/SYL proved more important than demonstrating solidarity with the hideously oppressed Chilean working masses.

Since 1975, the SYL has led a campaign to expose Friedman's criminal complicity with the Chilean gorillas and to drive him from his refuge in academia. Friedman's program of widespread unemployment and mass starvation must not go unprotested!

# Bakke...

(continued from page 1)

statement on the issue. Articles on the "pros" and "cons" of the case have covered front pages and editorial columns of almost every major bourgeois paper. And recently the campus daily at UCLA, which has been the site of a number of protest rallies against the Bakke ruling, featured letters bemoaning the "neglect" of white students and calling on them to "fight back" against the "encroachment" of black and Chicano youth onto "their" campus.

## The Demise of the Liberal Camp

Though it is not odd to find such neanderthals as the YAF echoing the racist arguments of the pro-Bakke camp, it is significant that many of the liberal organizations which had supported the civil rights movement of the 1960's—most notably the various Jewish associations—have joined the crusade against minority admissions. Faced with the evident failure of its strategy of reliance on the Democratic Party and the Supreme Court to intervene on behalf of the oppressed, the liberal camp has now polarized around this racial issue. Perhaps most indicative was the 26 September issue of the liberal magazine *Newsweek*. Its front cover pictured two



"Reverse Discrimination"—Once a codeword for racism, now legitimate in liberal circles.

students, one black and one white, tugging at opposite ends of a diploma under the headline, "Reverse Discrimination."

A decade ago, at the tail end of the civil-rights movement, the use of the term "reverse discrimination" among the liberal establishment would have been unthinkable. "Reverse discrimination" was correctly seen as a codeword for nothing less than the preservation of the racist status quo. In fact, what distinguished liberals of the 1960's stripe was precisely the belief that the brutal oppression of blacks—as well as other minorities and women—could be significantly ameliorated through broader, more equal access to educational opportunity. Special admissions and racial quotas were the core of the liberal stratagem to overcome racial oppression.

If today many (white) liberals find themselves in an unholy alliance with conservative and openly racist forces, this only signals the political demise of the liberal camp. Under the pressure of right-wing mobilizations (as with Bakke), gone is the support to special programs, busing and open admissions.

The anti-Bakke wing of the divided liberal establishment has, predictably, placed its hopes in the Carter administration. In August black politicians waxed jubilant when Carter hinted that he would support UC Davis against Bakke. Burned by Carter's inaction on black unemployment and his support to the elimination of Medicaid-funded abortions, these kept "critics" welcomed a change of pace from the "ethnic purity" Georgia Democrat they worked so hard to put in office.

The cheers turned to tears, however, when the long-awaited Justice Department brief actually opposed racial quotas as unconstitutional while supporting special minority programs "in general." Snubbed once more by the imperialist chief, the Congressional Black Caucus whined that "A President and an Administration committed to increasing and improving job opportunities for minorities [!] must not permit such a brief to be filed in the Supreme Court" (quoted in *Los Angeles Times*, 13 September 1977). So the political football most recently came to rest with the 19 September Justice Department brief which states that race may be used as a factor in college admissions as opposed to "rigid exclusionary quotas" and which asks that the court not rule on the Davis program at all.

## Our Answer to Bakke: For Open Admissions!

The SYL opposes the Bakke decision, since a return to the previous entrance requirements would ensure that higher education remains predominantly white, male and middle class. We recognize the clamor about "reverse discrimination" for what it is: the battle cry of a growing racist backlash.

However, quota admissions, which take racial discrimination in U.S. society as a starting point, are not our program. They cannot address the harsh realities of inferior education in America's rotting ghettos or the prohibitive costs of college which keep millions of minority and white working-class youth from ever setting foot on a university campus, let alone reach the level of professional school. Moreover, quotas are invariably minimal and easily reversible. Chicanos, for instance, who comprise 17 percent of the California population, are only 4.1 percent of the UCLA student body, despite the fact that state universities are required to match the percentage of minority students in the state's high schools.

Thus our opposition to the Bakke decision has centered around the egalitarian demand for open admissions to all universities and not simply a return to special admissions programs. Together with a fight for full living stipends paid for by the state and for the abolition of all tuition, open admissions would sharply undercut the class- and race-biased system of education under capitalism. We demand as well an end to the segregation of schools, to "tracking" systems and to "flunk-outs"; and we call for the state to provide all necessary remedial and special recruitment programs. Such a program would also tend to undercut the opposition of the American Jewish Council and other ethnic groups who perceive minority quotas as a threat to the access of their "own" to the universities.

Much of the uproar around the Bakke case stems from the anticipated effects of any ruling for affirmative action pro-

grams in employment. While quotas for minority admissions to universities and professional schools is a minimal and partial attempt to redress the systematic discrimination against minorities and women in education, the ramifications of affirmative action in the work force are quite different.

## Government Out of the Unions!

The black politicians, labor reformists and fake-lefts that support affirmative action look to the state to protect the rights of minorities and women against the corporations and the encrusted, sell-out labor bureaucrats like Shanker. A policy of reliance on the government can only lead to defeat. Government affirmative action programs—no less than anti-

## ILWU Local 6 Opposes Bakke Ruling

The following motion was put forward by the Militant Caucus—a class-struggle opposition grouping in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)—at a membership meeting of Local 6 in Oakland on September 15:

"In addition to calling for the U.S. Supreme Court to reverse the Bakke decision, Local 6 stands for open college admissions with a living stipend paid for by the government."

The motion was approved by the membership body, but now runs the risk of being thrown out by the union bureaucracy at the upcoming General Executive Board meeting.

strike laws, wage controls, and compulsory arbitration—are weapons in the hands of the government to weaken the unions. The token gains in hiring for a few blacks and minorities are more than offset by the losses suffered by the entire working class as a result of the subordination of the labor movement to the control of the capitalist state.

A real fight to wipe out the discriminatory practices of the employers must be waged using the methods and social power of the labor movement. Key to mobilizing the unions is a fight against the likes of Meany and Shanker who subordinate the interests of all workers to the profit drives of the companies. There must be a political struggle within the unions for a program which truly combats racial oppression. Such a program would call for a fight for the organization of the unorganized; for aggressive union-controlled minority recruitment and training programs; a union hiring hall to ensure hiring on a first come, first served basis; for jobs for all through a shorter work week with no loss in pay. This necessitates a political break with the capitalist parties

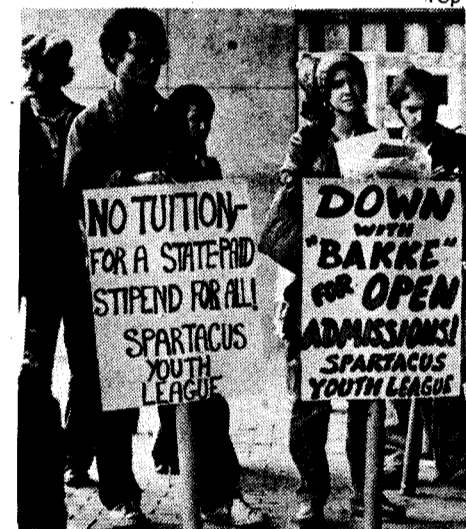
and the forging of a revolutionary workers party.

The political backwardness of the American working class is in large part the result of the ability of the ruling class to effectively manipulate the deep ethnic consciousness in a society built by waves of immigration. Revolutionists cannot accept the limits of what capitalism can provide. Instead they must demonstrate that the fight against discrimination must take place, not at the expense of another section of the working class, but at the expense of the capitalists.

## Protests Mired in Liberalism

For many students the demonstrations against Bakke have offered their first chance to struggle against the racial oppression engendered by capitalist society. But the organizers of the "National Day of Protest to Overturn the Bakke Decision" on October 8—the National Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD), the Black American Law Students Association and the People's Alliance—have made it clear that the protests will offer nothing but an impotent strategy of appealing to "progressive" congressmen, judges and university Regents to put up a "good" legal battle before the Supreme Court. Typically, the NCOBD—echoing its mentors in the Communist Party who have hailed Carter's brief as "a sign of what can be accomplished, given the determination of people's organizations to fight on issues" (*Daily World*, 22 September 1977)—has welcomed the government's anti-Bakke posturing as a "positive development."

To protect these defeatist politics, the demonstration organizers have ruled



SYL at September 24 anti-Bakke rally in N.Y.C.

that speakers cannot raise any demands that can be interpreted to contradict any of their sub-reformist slogans. With demands that limit the struggle to the maintenance of existing quota programs and that explicitly uphold union-busting "affirmative action" schemes, the day of protests cannot be endorsed by revolutionaries.

But this has not stopped the fake-left from jumping on the October 8 bandwagon. One organization that has "wholeheartedly" endorsed this liberal coalition is the social-democratic Young Socialist Alliance. This is only in keeping, however, with its slavish commitment to the maintenance of quota admissions and quota hiring. In fact, the YSA has in the past voted against SYL

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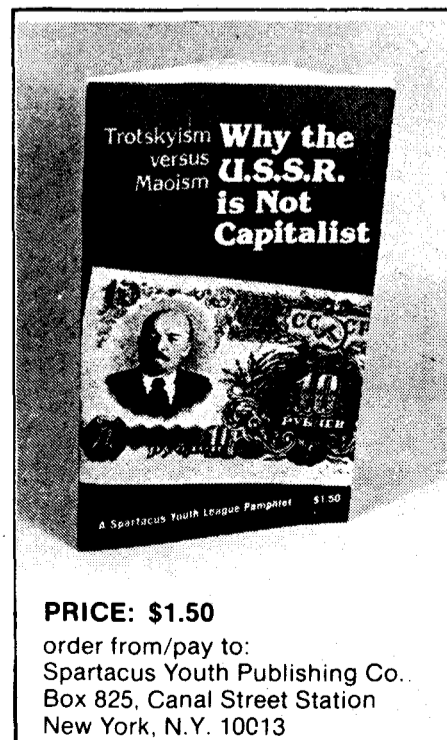
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proposals to take up the demand for open admissions.

The YSA's liberal response to the Bakke case was one of the issues that was instrumental in the resignation of one of its members in solidarity with the revolutionary Trotskyism of the SYL. Alice F. stated in her resignation letter:

"...YSA's concept of affirmative action is similar to the New Left notion that it is not the capitalist class, but white working class men who are responsible for the oppression faced by blacks, women, Chicanos, Native Americans, and other minorities. The YSA's demand for Preferential Layoffs, by attacking the seniority system, is a call for whites and men to sacrifice their jobs in this period of heightened unemployment. The role of socialists should not be to administer the racial composition of the unemployment lines. Instead we should call for full employment and open admissions to institutions of higher learning at the expense of the Capitalists and work actively for it. This approach provides the opportunity to help undercut the hateful, divisive, self-destructive racism of the ranks of white workers and students by showing their community of interest in work and education, and thereby opening the door to real united struggle against the common enemy. In order to fight against special oppressions, it is necessary to put forward a program of democratic and transitional demands that transcends the limitations of employment and higher education in this deeply racist society. It is not enough to simply oppose the Bakke decision.... By refusing to raise the call for open admissions, the YSA in effect opposes the right of millions of ghetto and poor youth to a college education. We do not have to accept the inadequate and token quotas which the bourgeoisie will at times grudgingly offer."

The Jim Crow "socialists" of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), notorious for their opposition to busing, have swallowed their dislike of "forced assimilation" (i.e. integration) in order to tail student sentiment against the Bakke decision. The RSB's sole strategy for fighting against the elimination of special admissions is to call on the UC Regents to "put up a real defense," to "admit to past discrimination" and to come to campus to "explain" their policies.

And just who is it that these fake-revolutionaries call on to lead the fight against Bakke? In the 1960's when open admissions was a common demand at student radicals' rallies, the Regents were universally regarded as the very pillars of imperialist America, especially since they were appointed by the arch-reactionary Ronald Reagan. Now they are appointed by austerity-preaching, guru/governor Jerry Brown, who has just slashed half a million dollars from the University of California's sorely needed remedial English program. Militants must have no illusions about the role of the Regents as overseer of the universities' function of training the technological, military and managerial elite for the capitalist class. The Board of Regents must be abolished, and the university placed under student/teacher/campus worker control.

The Bakke case has become the rallying point for racists who, dressed in constitutional garb, seek the extension of the recent attacks on school integration, such as busing, and open admissions to NYC's university system. The liberal strategy of the 1960's—that the federal government would be the guarantor of black rights by arbitrating between blacks, whites and other oppressed minorities—has been proved impotent by the grim realities of the 1970's in which chronic unemployment and fiscal crises have led to the slashing of vital social services at every level of the bourgeois state. All that liberalism has left to offer is a tug-of-war between sections of the working class over the shrinking economic resources of capitalist society. The current racist mobilizations against the democratic rights of blacks and other minorities pose again the critical need for the forging of a revolutionary party that can lead the proletariat to socialist victory. ■

## New Left...

(continued from page 5)

widespread discontent in the labor movement. It is the labor bureaucracy which has contained the explosion brewing in the ranks of the working class through its treacherous support to class peace and the Democratic Party of "ethnic purity," anti-union Jimmy Carter.

But the smugness of the American bourgeoisie—fueled by the distortion of the reality of class struggle in a country where there has never been a mass political expression of the working class and where the last historically decisive social polarization occurred at the time of the Civil War—will yield before the massive social upheavals of the future. As capitalist society writhes in its death agony, mankind is plunged into wars, reactionary terror and economic depressions that can only be positively resolved by the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat as a transition to a socialist future.

The SL/SYL is dedicated to the urgent task of the construction of a Leninist vanguard party to lead the working class and oppressed to power. A working-class upsurge is inevitable; the only way to ensure its success is to assemble revolutionists into a tight-knit combat party to lead the working class in struggle. The "Resolution on Youth" of the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938 retains its relevancy for youth today:

"That is why youth will rally under the flag of those who bring it a future. Only the Fourth International, because it represents the historical interests of the

Huey Newton during the Panther's "off the pig" period.



only class which can reorganize the world upon new bases, only the Bolshevik-Leninists can promise youth a future in which it can put its abilities to full use. Only they can say to the youth: 'Together with you, we want to make a new world, where everyone works and is proud to work well, to know his job down to the smallest details; a world where everyone will eat according to his hunger, for production will be regulated according to the needs of the workers and not those of profit; a world where one must constantly learn, in order the better to subordinate the forces

of nature to the will of man; a world where, by ceaselessly extending the domain of the application of science, humanity's theoretic knowledge will be daily increased; a new world; a new man who can make real all the hopes and powers he bears within him.' It is under the ensign of a new world and a new humanity that the Fourth International and its youth organizations must go on to win the working-class youth; it is under that ensign that they will win the youth."

—Reprinted in *RCY Newsletter*, No. 17, May-June 1973

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# Young Spartacus

## Thousands in South Africa Mourn Anti-Apartheid Student Leader

# Protests Hit Murder of Steven Biko

September 28—Apartheid terror again struck South Africa's embattled black population during the past two weeks. On September 12, Steven Biko, a founder of the black South African Students Organization (SASO), was brutally murdered at the hands of the Pretoria police. By the time Biko was finally buried on September 25, angry mass protests were sweeping South Africa in honor of the most recent victim of the police-state white-supremacist regime.

Over 10,000 demonstrators turned out for Biko's funeral service and a militant rally. Organizers of the rally reported police roadblocks and entire bus loads detained. In Soweto policemen dragged protesters from buses resulting in 30 blacks with skull fractures, hundreds of arrests and reports of rapes of young women by police (*New York Times*, 26 September).

Biko's bruised and beaten body proved a source of embarrassment to Prime Minister B.J. Vorster and "Justice" minister James Kruger. While they and other South African authorities tried to write off the death as being the result of a "hunger-strike suicide" (which Kruger maintained "left him cold"), the murder was rightly seen as only the latest in a series of measures designed to destroy the leadership of all anti-apartheid organizations. Biko is certainly not the first leading figure to "mysteriously" die in detention. Among the scores of militants killed since last year's Soweto rebellion have been Matetla Mohati, secretary general of SASO and Lawrence Ndzanga, former national secretary of the Railway and Harbor Workers Union.

Others, such as African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Pan-Africanist Congress president Robert Sobukwe, remain imprisoned or "banned" from political life. Meanwhile, some black leaders share the fate of Trofomo Sono, president of the Soweto Students Representative Council, who was forced to flee to Botswana for fear of being killed.

Although Pretoria now bemoans the bad international publicity caused by the murder of the admittedly moderate Biko (the SASO leader was well known among American liberals and journalists and had encouraged Jimmy Carter's "help" in South Africa), the repression continued.

At the University of Fort Hare, police used attack dogs against a rally of the university's 1,500 students and arrested 1,200 for protesting Biko's murder. Another meeting by blacks at Natal University was banned. Earlier in September, nine members of the African National Congress were convicted of "terrorist activity" when the state's chief witness was tortured into giving testimony; five were sentenced to life imprisonment.

In Soweto, police fired on youths protesting the murder of Biko, and viciously whipped those who mourned him at one of the township's Catholic churches. In Soweto, high school students continued their boycott of classes in which all 700 teachers at Soweto's high schools have resigned in solidarity.

(*New York Times*, 7 September). In all, 25,000 of Soweto's 27,000 students have been formally disqualified from attending school by the racist administration.

In this situation, the task of all left, labor and anti-racist organizations must be immediate solidarity with all victims of apartheid terror and to struggle to stop the further decimation of the ranks of anti-apartheid militants. Two hundred and twenty white Cape Town students and 25 professors have courageously demanded the release of those arrested. Those outside South Africa must do no less. *Free the 1,200! Free all prisoners of apartheid repression!*

### Solidarity With Anti-Apartheid Militants

As soon as the news of Biko's murder was out, the SYL initiated solidarity actions to protest the killing. On Thursday, September 22, the SYL at San Francisco State University (SFS) called a united-front demonstration to protest the murder. The rally was endorsed by a number of other organizations as well as some individuals prominent on the SFS campus; including the History Students Union and a member of the student government. Some 75 people attended the half-hour rally at the Student Union plaza, which received coverage in the campus press.

The speakers, drawn from the endorsing groups, were Randy Burns of the Student Council Intertribal Nations (an American Indian organization at SFS), Abu Bhonapha of the African Students Organization, Howard Keylor of the Longshore Militant group of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), Darlene Fujino of the Committee for a Militant UAW, a caucus in the United Auto Workers, and Meg Grulich of the SYL. Missing from this encouraging example of common action were the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), who

Columbia Spectator



Anti-apartheid demonstration at Columbia, September 21, initiated by the SYL.



Funeral procession for Biko in Kingwillamstown on September 25.

often posture as the "non-sectarian leaders" of solidarity with the South African struggle through such utopian moralistic schemes as divestment and boycotts of Krugerrands.

The SYL speaker at the rally stressed the centrality of the working class, both to the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa and to any movement in the U.S. which seeks to aid that struggle. She exposed the futility of relying on Carter's reactionary "human rights" hoax: "The crimes of U.S. imperialism dwarf those of Vorster. The best way for revolutionaries in this country to aid the South African masses' struggle is to struggle against their own bourgeoisie, the U.S. imperialists. Revolutionaries must proudly raise the slogan, 'The Main Enemy is at Home!'"

Howard Keylor, speaking for the Longshore Militant group, pointed to the record of class-struggle oppositionists in the ILWU as an illustration of why a movement to aid the anti-apartheid struggle must have a labor axis. The Longshore Militant group has fought for their union to take concrete action against apartheid. Such actions, Keylor noted, include boycotts ("hot-cargoing") of goods to and from South Africa as a protest action in response to specific acts of terror by the apartheid regime, and strikes by U.S. employees of multinational corporations to force these exploiters to recognize trade-union fights for black workers employed by their South African subsidiaries.

On Wednesday, September 21, the

Spartacus Youth League also initiated a rally at Columbia University. Called on short notice, the noon rally attracted about 50 people including several black and foreign students. One of the speakers, Jack Heyman of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union, like Keylor, represented a grouping in the unions which has consistently fought for labor action to aid the anti-apartheid struggle. Heyman also raised the call for the hot-cargoing of all military goods bound for South Africa.

Jeremy Lyle, the speaker from the SYL, pointed to the ongoing protests in South Africa and explained how the struggles against apartheid must be linked to the goal of proletarian revolution and a black-centered workers and peasants government. Lyle also blasted Columbia's role as a think-tank for U.S. imperialism, typified by the invitation of mass-murderer Henry Kissinger to a professorship—a move which was blocked by militant protest initiated by the SYL.

In addition, in separate half-hour interviews on WFUV radio in New York, Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour and *Young Spartacus* managing editor Samuel Lewis detailed the Trotskyist position on fighting apartheid and denounced the latest atrocity of Vorster's shock troops. Comrades Seymour and Lewis called upon students and workers to take up concrete issues to

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