

Young Spartacus

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Defend Cuba and Russia!

U.S. Out of Guantánamo!

Jimmy Carter's crisis-mongering over Cuba was the desperate attempt of a rapidly sinking president to restore a modicum of confidence in his disastrous administration. In the heated atmosphere of electoral politics Democratic senators seeking to cool off their "liberal" image had dropped the "bombshell" about those 2,000 or so Russian "combat troops." But by the time Carter got around to making his October 1 speech, it was generally recognized that the troops had been there for 17 years and were no big deal. Hawkish ideologues promptly out-flanked Carter on the right by condemning him for backing down in the face of the "Red menace," while the *New York Times* quite rightly called him to account for announcing a "phony solution to a phony crisis." The ostentatious build-up of American nuclear forces, the proposals for reinstating the draft and the formation of specially-trained military strike forces, however, have absolutely nothing phony about them.

From the "human rights" crusade and the imperialist furor over the "boat people" to the bizarre and outrageous commando-style hijacking of a Soviet airliner at Kennedy airport just a few weeks before the hullabaloo over the Russian troops, there is a consistent thread that ties together the policy of the U.S. ruling class. Wall Street and the Pentagon will not rest until the planned, collectivized economy of the industrially and militarily powerful Soviet bloc is destroyed, and capitalist exploitation is once again free to penetrate every corner of the planet. As Carter understated it in his October 1 speech, "We've had fundamental differences with the Soviet Union since 1917." Cuba is only one theatre in U.S. imperialism's escalating cold war drive against the degenerated workers state of the USSR.

Ever since the social revolution which swept away the venal and corrupt Batista dictatorship and



Laurer/Gamma

Let Cuba have whatever it needs for defense against Yankee imperialism!

established a deformed workers state just 90 miles from the Florida coast, Cuba has been the target of U.S. attempts to strangle the gains of that revolution. The CIA's April 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion was only the beginning. For the next six years hundreds of CIA agents and over 2,000 Cuban reactionaries were

unleashed in "Operation Mongoose." These marauders staged commando raids, burned down sugar cane fields, bombed factories and murdered Cuban militiamen with the backing of the U.S. government. And no less than eight assassination plots were launched

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KKK Won't Ride at River Rouge Assembly Plant!

Workers Drive Hooded Foremen Out

DETROIT—When two foremen in the Dearborn Assembly Plant of Ford's giant River Rouge complex near Detroit put on Ku Klux Klan hoods and paraded up and down their assembly line on September 25, they didn't figure on running into trouble for this racist provocation. But militant Ford workers, who know that the Klan hood is the symbol of bloody terror against blacks and unionists, weren't about to let Tim McKulen and Fred Beinke get away with it. Six unionists stormed off the trim assembly line and refused to work under the two racists. A dozen militants launched a mass petition campaign demanding that the foremen be immediately fired and that there be no reprisals against the workers—within 48

hours they collected over 1,000 signatures as support came from throughout the plant. The uproar hit the front pages of the Detroit papers and stayed in the news for the rest of the week until United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600 passed the word on October 11: the workers would not be disciplined and the foremen would be "relieved of their duties." The UAW membership had struck a powerful blow against company racism.

UAW Local 600 member Frank Hicks, an initiator of the petition, told *Young Spartacus* the mood in the plant after the victory was "euphoric": "One guy came up to me and excitedly said, 'I didn't think we could do it. We really have the power!'" Frustrated at the

prospect of being saddled with a new contract negotiated by the UAW bureaucracy that doesn't keep pace with inflation or stop murderous speed-up even as tens of thousands are laid off, auto workers leapt at the chance to take on Ford Motor Company. Unionists lined up at the plant gates to sign the petition and copies were eagerly passed around lunch tables. A militant expressed the sentiments of many activists when he said, "I hope they transfer those foremen to my department." One of the hooded racists got the message fast, and as Hicks remarked to the *Detroit News* (10 October), he was "rumored to have taken an early vacation."

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We Have a World to Win!

Join the SYL!

Fake Lefts Paved the Way for Mullahs' Terror

For Workers Revolution in Iran!

Iranian Baluchi Defends Oppressed Minorities at SYL Forum

DETROIT—Forums sponsored by the Spartacus Youth League entitled "The Mullahs' Left-Wing Apostles Paved the Way for Khomeini's Islamic Reaction: For Workers Revolution in Iran," at the University of Michigan and Michigan State University on September 24 and 25 were highly successful. Notably absent were the gangs of Iranian Khomeini-worshippers who last spring were prevented from disrupting SYL forums on the oppression of women in Iran held at these campuses. Whether they stayed away due to political shame or the knowledge that the SYL would enforce an orderly and democratic meeting, the forums proceeded peacefully with lively discussions following talks given by SYL National Committee member Mary Jo McAllister.

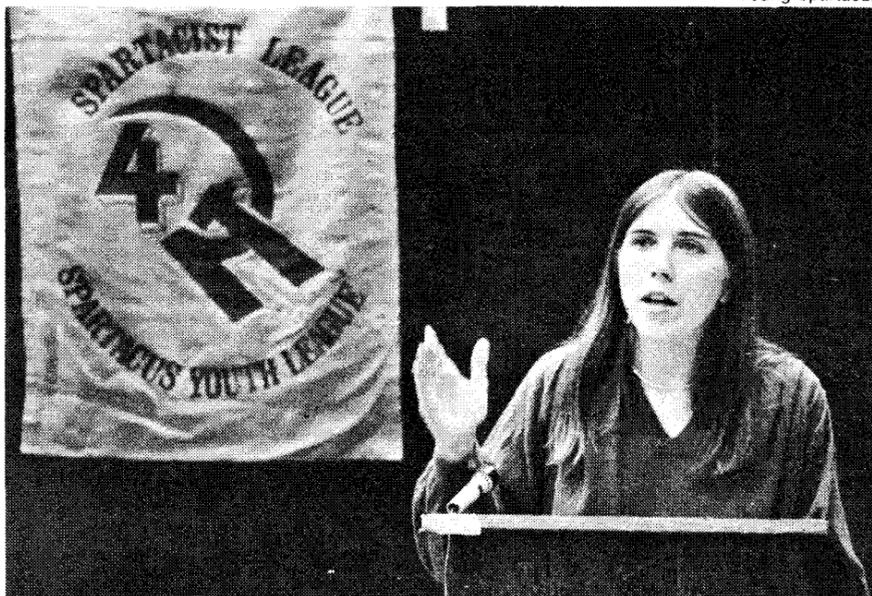
At the Michigan State forum there was a special presentation by Malek Towghi, an Iranian Baluchi, who is threatened with deportation to Iran because of his outspoken opposition to the Persian chauvinism of both the shah's regime and Khomeini's. In a letter to the Department of State on behalf of Malek, William O. Beeman,

Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Brown University wrote on 7 September:

"Baluchis have been persecuted for centuries in Iran. They live in a remote area of the country, speak a language unintelligible to Persian speakers and are Sunni Moslems as opposed to the dominant Shi'a sect.... Baluchis have been mistreated, denied adequate education and opportunities for advancement and have been deprived of equal treatment under law as a result of deep-seated prejudice against them."

Malek landed a job with National Iranian Radio-Television before coming to study in the U.S., but the shah's forces kept him constantly under surveillance because he was a Baluchi. As neither a supporter of the bloody Pahlavi regime nor of the equally oppressive Islamic theocratic state, Malek and his family are suffering harassment at the hands of both. People claiming to represent the current regime have made death threats against him and he has been refused a new passport in a clear attempt to force him to return to Iran. Given Malek's political views he will certainly be placed in prison and he would face possible execution before the firing squads that are now murdering Kurds. Malek, refusing to be silenced, outlined his views at the SYL's forum:

"I have to say that my friends in the Spartacist League have no illusions about the fact that, if any definition is necessary, I would be called a kind of liberal on the left. They knew it before.



SYL National Committee member Mary Jo McAllister exposed fake lefts' responsibility for Khomeini's slaughter.

They know it now. And with all that, they have been sympathetic to my cause. By my cause I mean the cause of all oppressed nationalities in Iran and in the other Middle Eastern countries.

"I was one of those Iranians who participated along with other Khomeini supporters in disrupting the Spartacist League's forum on this campus [last spring].... I was expecting Khomeini and his supporters at least to bring a liberal, democratic system in Iran....

But as a result of my contact with these groups and individuals (particularly in Pakistan where a similar group came to power with the help of the military) and then with what started to happen in Iran, I was shocked. I came to the conclusion I should have come to before: that all these Islamic movements, including Khomeini's Islamic movement, are the worst type of

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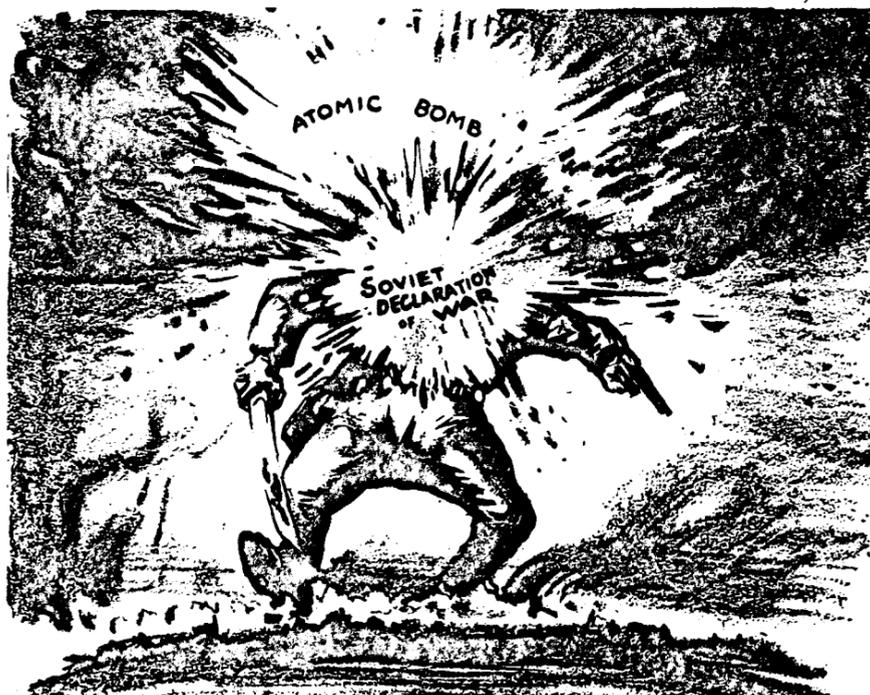
Disarm the Bourgeoisie, Not Russia!

YWLL Says "Pass the SALT"

ANN ARBOR—"Pass the SALT" was the theme of a Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) forum October 4 at the University of Michigan. While much of the bourgeois media and the Carter administration were hurling furious denunciations at Cuba and Russia over the phony Soviet troops issue, the best the YWLL, youth group of the cravenly Kremlin-loyal Communist Party/USA, could do was make quailing pleas for the ratification of the SALT II treaty supposedly "limiting" strategic nuclear weapons. Spartacus Youth League supporters confronted the YWLL at the forum and proved once again that only the Trotskyists are the real defenders of the gains of the October Revolution. While the junior Stalinists pitched for the fraud of "peaceful coexistence" and the SALT hoax, the SYL counterposed the urgent need for international proletarian revolution to disarm the bourgeoisie.

Walter Corlee, president of the Michigan Young Democrats, and Judith Mercadel, from the National Coalition for Economic Justice and YWLL National Student Secretary, shared the speakers rostrum and presented a common political platform. Mercadel, elaborating the time-tested strategy of Stalinist class collaboration, went so far as to say that "We will chain ourselves to the doors of the Democratic Party campaign headquarters until they... pass SALT II." Just picture it: YWLLers down on their knees begging Henry (the Senator from Boeing) Jackson, racist peanut boss Carter and the rest of the "party of war" to come out for peace and brotherhood. Of course,

THE OLD ONE-TWO



YWLL now calls A-bombing of Japan "shameful," but CP cheered at the time in cartoon from 10 August 1945 Daily Worker.

Mercadel got it a bit wrong, the CP/YWLL is *already* chained to the Democratic Party, and has been for decades.

Oozing social patriotism, Mercadel insisted that SALT II would not endanger the "national security" of "our country." After all, she pointed out, the U.S. is five years ahead of the USSR in technological development. The YWLL's *Young Worker* (September-October) enthusiastically describes how

good the U.S. spy satellites are: why, they can even "send license plate numbers from cars in the Soviet Union to 100 miles up." Must it really be left to the SYL to point out that this is not a good thing? The YWLL must think that the shooting down of American U-2 spy planes over Russia in 1960 and Cuba in 1962—*elementary* measures of self-defense—were "threats to détente"!

Mercadel's talk was the usual—long quotes from Martin Luther King (and

Coretta King too), Paul Robeson, and pleas for peace. What she left out was the real point: the American bourgeoisie will never cease its efforts to destroy the collectivized property forms of the USSR and recapture the Soviet Union for capitalist exploitation. Like all capitalist disarmament hoaxes the SALT talks were intended to tie up the opposition while furiously developing new weapons and technology outside the terms of the agreement. During SALT I the U.S. got a three-to-one advantage over the USSR in nuclear warheads. With the new generation of ICBMs, cruise missiles and the like, the U.S. is clearly striving for a *nuclear first strike capability*. SALT II (or the YWLL's hoped-for SALT III through X) won't do a thing to stop the U.S. war drive.

After successfully defeating the YWLL's attempt to suppress discussion at the forum, SYLers cut through the YWLL's capitulation to the U.S. ruling class and denounced the SALT farce. An SYLer noted that the Ann Arbor YWLL even leaves open the possibility of support to the draft! He read part of a motion submitted by a YWLL member of the Michigan Student Assembly: "instatement [sic] of registration or of the draft *during peacetime* is an unnecessary and expensive measure given that there is no war..." (our emphasis). Such touching concern for the imperialist budget! And what about opposing the draft during wartime? In fact the CP did support the draft during World War II, and cheered on the American imperialists. When Roosevelt tried to

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Not Sandinista/Bourgeois Junta, But—

Workers to Power in Nicaragua!

"For the first time in 20 years a Latin American tyrant has been overthrown by a popular revolt. This represents a serious defeat for the American imperialists who installed and maintained him in power, and in whose interests the country was raped and plundered for over 40 years. It is a cause for rejoicing and a spur to revolutionary action throughout the Americas."

—SYL spokesman José Silva,
San Francisco, October 4

The overthrow of the blood-drenched Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua has sharply posed the question: which class will rule? This question, as yet unanswered in politically unstable and volatile Nicaragua, was the topic of a West Coast series of Spartacus Youth League forums entitled, "Cuba, Nicaragua—What Strategy for Revolution in Latin America?" In the Bay Area, Davis, Santa Cruz and Los Angeles José Silva's presentation provoked lively discussion including a debate in San Francisco with supporters of the Prolonged People's War tendency of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

"The country Somoza left behind is in economic ruins," said Silva. "Major cities are reduced to rubble, Managua's industrial zone has been devastated, agriculture was totally disrupted, hundreds of thousands are homeless and out of work." The bitter and bloody civil war which raged for 18 months and included two insurrections not only led to the economic devastation of the country, but also severely damaged the Nicaraguan bourgeois order. The Somozas were a major component of the ruling class, owning more than 30 percent of the arable land. As well, the bourgeois state apparatus had been almost entirely reduced to the dictator's private National Guard which was defeated in the civil war.

Like the destruction of the Batista regime by Castro's rebel army in 1959, the shattering of Somoza's National Guard has opened up the possibility of a revolutionary transformation of society. The current junta of Castroite guerrillas and big capitalists, while temporarily balancing above the primary rival class forces in society—proletariat and bourgeoisie—is fundamentally unstable. The armed bodies of men in Nicaragua, the key to state power, will either decisively defend private ownership of the means of production or collectivized property forms, the result of the overthrow of capitalism. There is no middle ground.

The main concern of U.S. imperialism has been to avoid "another Cuba." Washington warns of the dangers of "Castro communism" and talks about

guaranteeing a "democratic" future for Nicaragua—something Jimmy "Human Rights" Carter wasn't too concerned about while the Somoza dynasty was in power! To date the U.S. has been willing to deal with the Nicaraguan regime, channeling funds via the Red Cross and promising more if the Sandinistas behave themselves. So far American policy appears to be paying off as the FSLN commanders are pledging to respect private property. But the initial government of the Cuban Revolution, which was also a petty-bourgeois guerrilla/capitalist coalition, began by pledging to respect private property.

Cuba was forced to break with the imperialist order as a defensive measure against U.S. aggression. In response to Castro's initial actions, particularly the

industrialists can keep calm" (*Washington Post*, 25 July).

For Working-Class Opposition to the FSLN!

Comrade Silva demonstrated that the new regime is a straightjacket on the Nicaraguan masses and merits no political support from revolutionaries. He was challenged by a Nicaraguan supporter of the Prolonged People's War tendency (PPW) at the San Francisco State forum on October 4. Arguing that despite its internal differences "the main point of the FSLN is to give power to the Nicaraguan people," the PPW supporter demanded to know which organization represents the interests of the people if not the FSLN.



Sandinista petty-bourgeois nationalists protect capitalist holdings. For workers revolution, not a "government of national reconstruction"!

agrarian reforms of June 1959, Yankee imperialism launched an economic boycott and encouraged domestic counterrevolutionaries. To defend itself against the Americans (and the Cuban bourgeoisie's economic sabotage), the Castro regime, after a series of splits in the ruling July 26 Movement, expropriated capitalist property in the summer and fall of 1960, and created a deformed workers state. In the absence of the working class contending for power in its own right, the Castro forces never had to transcend or fundamentally alter their petty-bourgeois radical appetites. They became the nucleus of a Stalinist bureaucratic caste that politically expropriates the working class. Such deformed revolutions, which Trotskyists unconditionally defend against imperialist attack and capitalist restoration, occur only in historically exceptional circumstances and are the most favorable outcome of petty-bourgeois guerrilla struggles. More typical is the stabilization of a new capitalist regime still tied to imperialism as occurred in Algeria.

The willingness of U.S. imperialism to negotiate with the Nicaraguan regime will clearly affect its course and may prove decisive in the reconsolidation of a capitalist state. As Silva pointed out:

"This is the real danger for the Nicaraguan working masses, who don't want to live in the old way and who won't be satisfied with vague promises of a 'new Nicaragua' that will leave intact the exploitative and oppressive relations of capitalism."

The FSLN leadership, however, has been quite clear: the "new Nicaragua" will be capitalist, if they can help it. Sandinista honcho Borge, who is both minister of the interior and one of the three commanders of the new People's Army, stated: "Private property in this country will be respected.... The

An SYLer replied that unfortunately there is no organization in Nicaragua that stands for the independence of the working people from the (belatedly) oppositional bourgeoisie:

"The organizations that claim to represent the interest of the working class to one degree or another support the government of 'unity of all anti-Somoza forces'—a government that includes some of the biggest capitalists in the country who have viciously exploited the working masses. [Their] opposition to Somoza stems not from any professed democratic principles, but from the fact that they were frozen out of Somoza's rip-offs.... This has nothing to do with giving 'power to the people.'"

Silva pointed out that the PPW tendency supports the strategy of rural guerrilla war, and he noted:

"Guerrillas are bonapartists out of power. The role they assign to the working masses is that of spectators. That is why all three factions of the FSLN consciously and consistently opposed a popular insurrection, trying to keep the anti-Somoza struggle confined to a clash of regular military forces. What is needed is a revolutionary vanguard party which seeks to mobilize the working class, the class that has the social power to smash all the capitalists through mass insurrection and establish a democratically-ruled revolutionary workers state.

"The PPW [said] Somoza should be replaced by a 'popular democratic government in which all organizations of the popular movement would participate as well as the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie.' Despite the 'people's power' rhetoric, the PPW stands with the two other Sandinista currents in opposition to proletarian dictatorship. We demand: workers to power!"

In his presentation Silva also exposed the bankruptcy of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). These craven reformists call for the working class to cut its own throat by uncritically supporting the FSLN: "the only way

for revolutionary socialists around the world to help advance the Nicaraguan revolution is to recognize the revolutionary capacities of this leadership, to identify with it, and to join forces with it" (*Militant*, 24 August). The *Militant* (28 September) even echoes the line of the State Department in their demand for the U.S. to send emergency aid to Nicaragua. Congress might very well do so—otherwise Nicaragua may "go Communist."

The SWP's support to the FSLN has been paid in the coin of the betrayal of the SWP's own comrades. The SWP openly endorsed the Nicaraguan regime's expulsion of the Simón Bolívar Brigade—composed of Latin American members of the United Secretariat (USec) to which the SWP is "fraternally" affiliated! Evidence has been received that the SWP may have "collaborate[d]" with the leadership of the Sandinista Front in order to get rid of the Simón Bolívar Brigade" (letter by 3 USec members, reprinted in *Workers Vanguard* No. 242, 26 October 1979)! Is this charge true? Did USec representatives supply the FSLN with names? *Did the SWP finger the Simón Bolívar Brigade? We demand an answer!*

For a Trotskyist Party!

As in Cuba, the FSLN may be unable to keep its pledge to the industrialists and be forced to collectivize property, or, as in the Dominican Republic, imperialist-backed domestic reaction could triumph. But there is *another* option for the Nicaraguan working people. No matter how clever Washington's policy makers, the role played by Yankee imperialism is not decisive. The future of the Nicaraguan regime also depends on the development of the class struggle within Nicaragua.

The road forward for the Nicaraguan working people lies in the creation of independent organs of workers power (factory committees, workers militias, soviets) and in the forging of a Leninist vanguard party rooted in these organizations which could lead the successful seizure of state power. A proletarian upsurge under the leadership of a revolutionary Marxist party would split the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas—a section would likely go over to the workers while other elements would retreat into the camp of bourgeois reaction.

A Trotskyist party would mobilize the working masses under democratic and socialist demands. While the junta says it will hold elections in three or four years, revolutionaries would counterpose the demand for a revolutionary

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SYLer José Silva at L.A. anti-Somoza demo last July.

Young Spartacus

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Harrington's DSOC: Exhuming the Rotting Corpse of Social Democracy

Michael Harrington, líder máximo of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), has been touring the college campuses this fall in an effort to recruit new blood and drum up support for the mid-November Washington "Conference for a Democratic Agenda." All of a sudden DSOC's respectable socialists are flying about trying to build their organization with all the verve and razz-matazz of used car salesmen. It's all rather peculiar—who ever heard much about DSOC before now?

The official social democracy in the U.S. has been moribund for over 30 years, and it became virtually extinct during the Vietnam era when its support for America's dirtiest war made it anathema to a generation of young radicals. For them hatred of the U.S. government and of the Democratic Party was axiomatic. But today's college-age youth, most of whom were in elementary school at the height of the war, have no such reflexes—the Vietnam war is at most a vague recollection of fuzzy images on the 6 o'clock news. And that's where Harrington sees his chance.

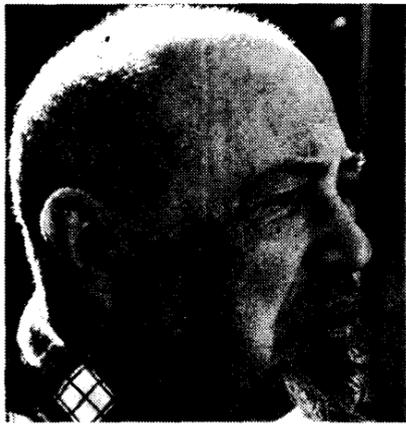
DSOC wants to enlist the energies of socially conscious student youth to pump some life into the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, resuscitate the by-gone programs of better years (War on Poverty, the New Frontier of the 1960s) and staff the offices of the "progressive wing" of the trade-union bureaucracy. All the rhetoric about structural reforms aside, the real goal of Harrington's "democratic left" is to sign up kids to campaign for Teddy.

DSOC/NAM Waltz

In its search for new forces DSOC has its eye on ripping off the New American Movement (NAM). Astutely noticing that the last five years have brought about a certain convergence of political perspectives, DSOC is hot after these remnants of the New Left. And at the August NAM convention the issue of merger with DSOC occupied center stage.

NAM leader Roberta Lynch, in a keynote address sprinkled with pop-psychology buzz words and touchy-feely mysticism, proudly declared that "it is remarkable that we are here at all."

ISR



Max Shachtman, Harrington's mentor.

Echoing the despair and historical pessimism of the "now generation," Lynch stated that "the seventies have shown that there is no simple configuration of social and economic events that is going to provoke an uprising." After announcing that "new forms of struggle were on the horizon" and "they might not be the revolutionary forms we expect," Lynch told the NAMers that it

was time to forget about the good old days of the New Left.

Everyone understood; Lynch was pitching for unity with DSOC. While no grouping in NAM is on principle opposed to working in the capitalist parties, the aging New Lefters were not quite ready for a sharp pro-Democratic Party turn, and a resolution calling explicitly for work in the Democratic Party received only one quarter of the votes. Facing a three-way split on electoral perspectives, the hard pro-DSOC elements were forced to back off.

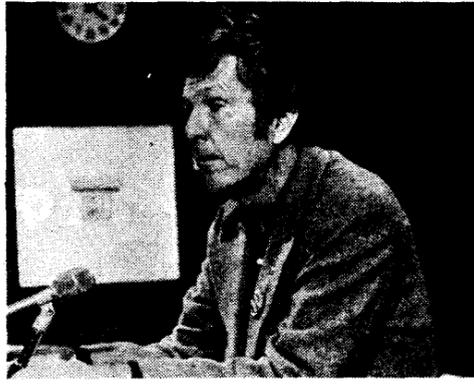
The differences between DSOC and

somewhat appalled at the eclectic New Leftism of NAM which champions "privatism" as the last hold-out against the corporate state, but they also know that DSOC has the whip hand. DSOC can swallow NAM whole, chew it up and spit out what doesn't taste right.

DSOC, like the New Left, would like to paint itself as a spanking new organization formed in 1973 with no dusty history or skeletons in the closet. But skeletons there are: the real origins of DSOC can be found in the resurgence of social-democratic youth work during the 1940s. To understand these "demo-

Workers Vanguard

UPI



While thousands marched to protest Vietnam war, Michael Harrington (above) went "all the way with LBJ" and refused to call for withdrawal of U.S. troops, let alone victory to heroic Vietnamese.



NAM are not matters of underlying principle, but only the differences between the neo-Old Left and the neo-New Left. Harrington's DSOC came out of a 1973 split in the old Socialist Party (SP) and carries the vision of a social-democratic movement built on the time-worn tenets of anti-Communism, liberalism and mainstream bourgeois politics. NAM's politics—sectoralism, cheerleading for Third World revolts (whether led by Stalinists or petty-bourgeois nationalists) reflect its origins in the New Left. Seeking to avoid the political questions that blew SDS apart, NAM's founding convention in 1972 undemocratically excluded Progressive Labor and the Socialist Workers Party, while inviting a Democrat to give the keynote address. Ineffectual and stagnant under the leadership of a motely collection of New Leftists, disintegrated Stalinists, old Communists and counter-cultural types, NAM has little hope of a future.

While NAM thinks small and DSOC has its sights on the "big-time," the political convergence is real. NAM supports local Democratic candidates as a lesser evil while DSOC operates as a pressure group on the significant but shrinking "left wing" of the Democratic Party. NAM is enamored of slick-talking labor fakers like Ed Sadlowski of the Steelworkers while DSOC (with its origins in the SP, a real force in the American union bureaucracy) commands the support of major elements of the trade-union hierarchy. DSOC's practiced social democrats may be

cratic socialists" of the anti-communist variety one needs to know something of where they came from and the tortuous and wretched history of American social democracy.

The Communist Party's Young Communist League (YCL) was the only prominent left group conducting youth work in the late 1930s and early 1940s. The SP had lost most of its youth to the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1937. The SWP in turn saw most of these recruits leave with Max Shachtman three years later as they bolted from the SWP's principled program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union. Eager to compete directly with the SWP, Shachtman's Workers Party (WP) sent its younger members into the factories and left the YCL as the only game in town on the campuses. But the Communist Party's rabid pro-war, pro-FDR, strike-breaking policy put the CP to the right of many newly radicalized youth who justly despised the Stalinists' toadying for the U.S. bourgeoisie. The SP stepped into the vacuum, resuming its youth work in 1943 with the reestablishment of the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) under the leadership of Virgil Vogel.

But radical youth have been the Achilles' heel of the social democracy ever since World War I. The social-democratic youth organizations repeatedly hemorrhage—the influx of radical youth and the pressures of the class struggle inevitably generate left splits. Only eight years after losing hundreds of

its youth to the SWP, the SP's YPSL split with the left wing going over to the Shachtmanites in 1945. This was the situation when Michael Harrington entered the scene a few years later.

The Odyssey of Michael Harrington

As an Irish Catholic boy from the Midwest, Harrington traveled to New York in the early 1950s to seek fame and fortune as a writer and member of the liberal-socialist intellectual community. Lionized as a "real American" in the predominantly Jewish socialist milieu,

Harrington wrote for the *Catholic Worker* and *Commonweal* and eventually drifted into the YPSL. Finding the SP too moribund for his ambitions, Harrington hooked up with Max Shachtman's Independent Socialist League (ISL), the successor organization to the WP, to form its youth group, the Young Socialist League (YSL), in 1954. For the next 18 years Harrington opposed every attempt to find the road to revolutionary politics. At each crucial juncture, Harrington made his choice, and covered for the right wing—as the "lesser evil" no doubt.

Shachtman had broken with the SWP fourteen years earlier because he refused to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet workers against imperialist attack. Trotskyists, however, demand the unconditional military defense of the states where capitalism has been overthrown (USSR, China, Eastern Europe, Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea). The collectivization of property, the establishment of a state monopoly of foreign trade and centralized economic planning represent a qualitative advance for mankind. At the same time revolutionary internationalists understand that the petty-bourgeois, nationalistic Stalinist bureaucracies are the greatest obstacle to the defense of these revolutions and their extension internationally. The ousting of these parasitic castes through workers political revolution and the institution of the democratic rule of workers councils (soviets), together with proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries is the only road

to the establishment of world socialism.

The evolution of Shachtman's politics makes absolutely clear that those would-be socialists who refuse to defend the conquests of the working class in the degenerated and deformed workers states inevitably reconcile themselves to the bourgeois order. After some years of attempting to create an independent "Third Camp" tendency (i.e., support to neither the U.S. nor the USSR), Shachtman eventually made his peace with the social democracy and became an unabashed supporter of Yankee imperialism. Less well known, however, is the fact that Shachtman's petty-bourgeois despair and denial of the revolutionary potential of the proletariat eventually led him to a final reconciliation with Stalinism. Shortly before he died Shachtman spurned the reasons which had led him to follow Trotsky as "all bunk" and expressed his unabiding respect for Stalin:

"The Communist party was fundamentally, essentially wisest, playing for time, maneuvering. It was ridiculous for us to call Stalin a reactionary, a fascist, a national socialist. He and the Communist party knew revolution would inevitably come—in a year, ten years, 100 years, but inevitably.... Stalin was no reactionary, he was for the permanent revolution, but he was just cooler, playing for time...."

—Constance Ashton Myers, *The Prophet's Army: Trotskyists in America, 1928-1941*, (1977)

In the cold-war witchhunt atmosphere after World War II and in the wake of post-war Stalinist expansion, the Shachtmanites rapidly abandoned their even-handed Third Camp opposition to "imperialism East and West" in favor of the "lesser evil"—U.S. imperialism. While the SP outrightly backed American imperialism's brutal assault on North Korea, the ISL, while officially supporting neither the U.S. nor the Stalinists, had to frankly admit that the Third Camp program could not be a guide to action during the Korean war. Korea had to be written off.

The more radical and perceptive YSL youth realized that the ISL's step in abandoning the Third Camp position could only lead them into the arms of the American bourgeoisie and its loyal left advisors, the social democrats of the SP. A left wing formed in reaction to the majority's Stalinophobia and insisted that the first duty of socialists was to oppose their own imperialist rulers. The leftists also wanted to defend colonial revolutions against imperialism regardless of their leadership and called for military victory to the Stalinist Vietnam in Indochina. At the heart of the left wing's view was rejection of the position that an American victory over Russia was a lesser evil.

Harrington, at this time a leader of the YSL, stood somewhere in the middle. He was Shachtman's protégé, but his views were not always identical to those of his mentor. The right wing thought that Harrington was soft on détente as he made a real effort to distance himself from the right's toying with support to a "democratic World War III" against Stalinist "imperialism." In trying to find an independent role for the Third Camp he insisted that Third Camp forces should militantly compete with the Stalinists for leadership of the colonial revolts. Harrington argued that since the "bureaucratic collectivist" economy produced for use, Stalinism wasn't "imperialist" but rather "expansionist," and that the policies of the Stalinists could be significantly altered. The left wing pointed out that since Harrington denied that the Stalinists were imperialist, he should defend the non-imperialist Stalinist-ruled countries against U.S. imperialism. Thus this faction fight provided the amusing spectacle of the left wing calling Harrington out on the carpet for his views which would logically lead to defense of the USSR on a pro-Stalinist basis. But Harrington was only playing around. By 1956 he was back in the fold, hatchet man for the right wing in the faction fight that developed around



1956 Hungarian workers' anti-Stalinist revolt defended socialist property relations. Harrington stood ready to support capitalist restoration.

Hungary, election policy and fusion with the State Department-socialist SP.

In 1956 the Hungarian workers rose up in an anti-Stalinist rebellion based on workers councils and the defense of socialist property relations. Trotskyists hailed this as a first sustained attempt at political revolution, stressed the urgent need for the forging of a vanguard party and called for defense of the nationalized property of all the Soviet bloc countries.

While Shachtman pushed for U.S. intervention, Harrington and the YSL majority put forth a position that was not qualitatively different:

"Even if...the democratic anti-Stalin revolution were under bourgeois leadership or under the leadership of forces aiming to restore capitalism, socialists would be duty bound to give support...." [emphasis added]

—National Action Committee Resolution on the Crisis of World Stalinism, *Young Socialist Review*, 18 April 1957

It couldn't be more clearly stated. Harrington & Co. stood ready to support the smashing of the Hungarian deformed workers state by the imperialists! But the Hungarian workers knew what to do with the CIA agents, the fascists and other forces of reaction: they imprisoned them.

The Third Camp Finds Its Way to the State Department

The logic of the ISL/YSL program was leading them back into the pro-Democratic Party, pro-cold war Socialist Party of Norman Thomas. But it took the dispute over election policy in 1956 to bring the right wing out of the closet with their proposal for unity. The YSL's right-wing majority, led by Harrington, called for a vote to the SP whose leaders, like Thomas, were openly supporting the liberal Democratic candidate, Adlai Stevenson. The left wing fought for explicit repudiation of the Democrats and called for a protest vote to any of the candidates of the SP, SWP or Socialist Labor Party.

While Third Camp phrasology was used to justify the ISL's policy, the real political motivation was the desire to liquidate the ISL/YSL into the SP. While some within the ISL may have believed this was an entry and that the ISL would seek to build a Third Camp tendency out of the left wing of the SP, it is clear that what Shachtman had in mind was total liquidation. Criticism of the recently merged SP-Social Democratic Federation disappeared from the pages of *Labor Action* and the YSL's "Young Socialist Challenge" column. And the YSL resolution on unity was a virtual loyalty oath to the SP:

"Our aim is not to take over the new organization.... The YSL should not and does not make changes in the program of the Socialist Party conditions for [unity]. On the contrary, it is ready to unite with the Socialist Party as it stands today."

And the resolution goes on to explicitly repudiate Leninism and Trotskyism:

"[The SP] should be broad and loosely structured rather than a highly disci-

plined or tight organization.... The new movement as a whole cannot be in any way committed to the proposition that Russia is a socialist society, and must unambiguously be the opponent of the totalitarian regime in Russia...."

—YSL Resolution on Socialist Realignment and Socialist Unity, passed by the YSL NEC Plenum, 26-7 January 1957

The 1957 SP/ISL fusion statement proclaimed that "the free world and its democratically established military agencies must be constantly on guard against the drive of the communist dictators." The American Joint Chiefs of Staff who carpet-bombed Vietnam, invaded Cuba and threaten nuclear war against the Soviet Union probably couldn't put it better themselves! The Third Camp had run its course and ended up in the party of "socialists" like Norman Thomas who openly defended his membership in organizations that received CIA funds. He joined them because these organizations reflected, in his words, "my political beliefs."

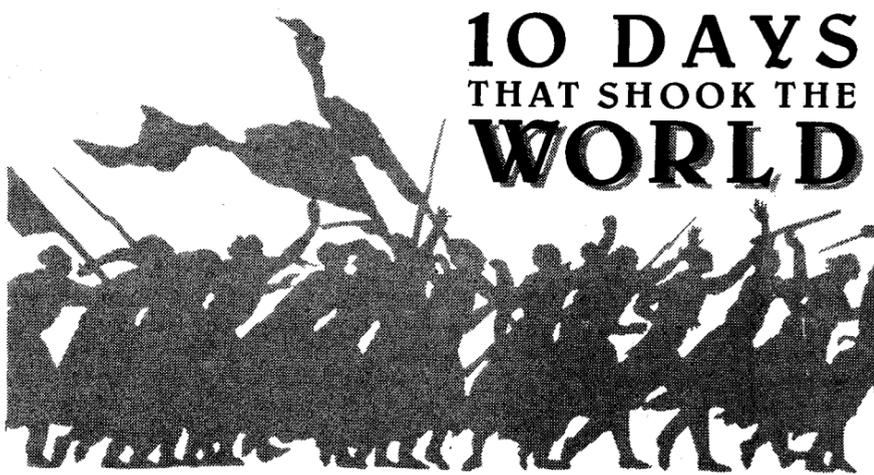
The YSL left wing fought tooth and nail against the pro-imperialist policies of the majority. Their opposition to the fusion with the SP and its backing of capitalist restoration in Hungary was the last straw. Harrington played no small role in the right-wing majority's campaign against the left wing which included the burglarizing of the Berkeley YSL offices and the suspension of left-wing leaders. Some of those who opposed the YSL leadership went on to break with Shachtmanism completely, adopt the revolutionary program of Trotskyism and become founding leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance, a part of the Spartacist tendency's pre-history.

Harrington, however, delivered the majority of the Shachtmanite youth to the party that largely escaped the McCarthyite witchhunt because it joined in the anti-Communist crusade. Let Harrington explain why he fought the left in order to bring new blood to the party of the Second International as its French section was helping to wage the vicious colonial war in Algeria. In 1957 Harrington committed a crime against the working people of this country, and he became an anti-Communist crusader of the most pernicious variety.

Even today DSOC proudly heralds its affiliation to the social democratic Second International of Helmut Schmidt, Indira Gandhi and the unlamented Golda Meir. Ever since the Second International's support to the imperialist slaughter of World War I, it has been nothing but a party of betrayal. The Social Democrats fought against the Russian Revolution, drowned the 1919 German Revolution in blood and (along with the Stalinists) allowed Hitler to come to power without a shot. While Harrington likes to laugh off and dismiss these atrocities as forgotten

continued on page 8

CELEBRATE THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION!
THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE PRESENTS EISENSTEIN'S FILM



Ann Arbor
November 7, 7:30 p.m.
University of Michigan
Michigan Union Assembly Hall

Berkeley
November 2, 7:30 p.m.
University of California, Berkeley
145 Dwinelle

Boston
November 2, 7:30 p.m.
Boston University
College of Liberal Arts Building, Room 12

November 7, 7:30 p.m.
Harvard University
Sever 6

Chicago
November 13, 7:30 p.m.
Northwestern University
Norris Center

November 15, 7:30 p.m.
University of Chicago
Kent Hall, Room 107

Detroit
November 7, 7:30 p.m.
Wayne State University
Room to be announced

Los Angeles
November 2, 7:30 p.m.
University of California, Los Angeles
2209 Bunche

New York
November 1, 7:30 p.m.
Barnard College
Lehman Auditorium, Altschul Hall

Oberlin
November 7, 7:30 p.m.
Oberlin College
YM Lounge, Wilder Hall

San Francisco
November 2, 12 Noon
San Francisco State University
Conference Room A-E, Student Union

Toronto
November 2, 7:30 p.m.
University of Toronto
Cumberland Hall
International Student Center
33 St. George



We Have a World to

Oberlin Confab on South Africa: Platform for Imp

OBERLIN—The Cleveland SYL distributed the leaflet printed below at the end of September in protest against a "Conference on South Africa and Namibia" organized by the Oberlin administration and faculty. The impetus for the conference came from last spring's activities around divestment, including a one-day student strike. Just as the divestment movement relies on the good graces of the U.S. imperialists, so too did the conference organizers: the list of invited speakers included a number of government officials and bureaucrats including newly appointed UN ambassador Donald McHenry. The SYL called for a protest demonstration against McHenry's scheduled appearance October 4; the day our leaflet was produced the conference organizers announced that McHenry had canceled out.

Protest Oberlin Conference: Platform for Imperialists

For the next three weeks a "conference" on South Africa and Namibia is being held at Oberlin. Organized by faculty members and bankrolled by the "Office of the President" this confab is little more than a series of State Department seminars on the noble mission of U.S. imperialism in southern Africa. Anyone who solidarizes with the struggle for democratic rights of South Africa's black people; any partisan of the overthrow of apartheid repression,

capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination should be rightly disgusted by this platform for U.S. imperialist agents. Topping the list is Jimmy Carter's Ambassador-Designate to the UN, Donald McHenry. McHenry comes to Oberlin fresh from JFK airport in New York where he acted as Carter's right hand man in the U.S. hijacking of a Soviet Aeroflot airliner last August 24. For 72 hellish hours Bolshoi ballerina Lyudmila Vlasova, wife of recent defector Alexander Godunov, and 111 other passengers sat sweating in the cramped stuffy cabin, held hostage by an American president desperate to rally public opinion behind his belligerently anti-Soviet "human-rights" posturing. Carter's kidnapping of 112 Soviet citizens, followed by the hysterical hullabaloo over supposed Soviet combat troops in Cuba reveals the essence of his "human rights" crusade, so emulated by the liberals, reformists and fake left: preparing the moral climate for an imperialist holy war against the USSR. The Spartacus Youth League stands for the unconditional military defense of Cuba, the Soviet Union and the other states in which capitalism has been overturned. Soviet troops are not enough! The Soviet nuclear shield must cover Havana! Donald McHenry's appearance is an outrage and must be met with protest by all opponents of U.S. imperialism.

This conference is an attempt to line up the pro-divestment activists on campus to support the new,

"moral" foreign policy of U.S. imperialism in Africa! The brochure promises to "explore courses of responsible action" for those concerned about the horrors of life under apartheid. But it is American imperialism that is the strongest bastion of support to the apartheid regime. When South Africa invaded Angola in 1975 against the pro-Soviet MPLA, it was the U.S. that advised, trained and bankrolled Pretoria's army. Throughout Latin America, Africa and Asia the U.S. supports every reactionary tyrant, including Chile's Pinochet, the Philippines' Marcos, and South Korea's Pak Chung Hi. The shah of Iran was a close friend of Jimmy Carter, and the U.S. propped up his regime until the day he fled. Now Carter sells oil to Khomeini and negotiates billions of dollars in arms sales to prop up the patriarch of Islamic reaction and his vicious repression of women, national minorities and the left.

The brochure implies that the U.S. government, through a "moral" foreign policy is striving to promote "justice and equal citizenship for all." What arrogant hypocrisy! The U.S. imperialists are nothing but a bunch of mass murderers! It was the U.S. that firebombed Dresden. It was the U.S. that atom-bombed Nagasaki and Hiroshima. It was the U.S. that napalmed and aerial-bombed Indochina for years, causing the deaths of over 3 million peasants and workers. Carter blusters about 3,000 Soviet troops in

SYL Demo Hits Warmonger Brown

BOSTON—A spirited picket line of SYLers and friends denounced Carter's Secretary of Defense Harold Brown when he came to Harvard's JFK School of Government on September 24. Chanting "Protest Imperialist Warmonger Brown" the demonstrators made clear their militant opposition to U.S. imperialism's cold war drive ultimately aimed at the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state. While Boston's intelligentsia heard Brown's appeals for the ratification of SALT II as "the only way to constrain Soviet forces," the SYL carried placards reading "Long Live the Spirit of Lyudmila Vlasova—Soviet Ballerina Who Refused to Defect" and "For Unconditional Military Defense of Cuba and the USSR!" As well the picketers chanted "Disarm the Bourgeoisie Through Workers Revolution! Down with SALT!"

The crazed pro-"gang of four" Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party held a separate demonstration (called at the last minute to compete with the SYL) which featured the chant "Mao Tse-Tung Did Not Fail, Revolution Will Prevail" among other inanities. Not unexpectedly, the State Department socialists of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee—which claims 70 members at Harvard—wouldn't be caught dead protesting Brown's anti-Soviet sabre-rattling. After all, the logic of their

position is to side with Jimmy Carter's racist America against "totalitarian Communism" (see article this issue).

Reprinted below is the SYL's leaflet which was widely distributed before the demonstration.

Harvard University, the #1 thinktank for the American bourgeoisie has invited Secretary of Defense Harold Brown to come stump for the SALT II treaty and the White House's disarmament hoax.

The Spartacus Youth League vigorously protests the presence of this imperialist warmonger! Behind Harold Brown stands the U.S. war machine; the arsenal for capitalist counterrevolution and genocide from Chile to Vietnam.

SALT is a hoax. "Human rights" talk of disarmament is simply a propaganda smokescreen for the imperialists while they draw their guns and aim their MX missiles right at the heart of the Soviet Union, the industrial/military powerhouse of that third of the globe in which capitalism has been overthrown. The events of the past few weeks make this issue clear.

"Born Again" Peanut President Carter is watching Congress go wild over Soviet troops in Cuba. Sabre-rattling senators warn that Carter better "get tough

with the reds" or SALT will never be approved. As his ratings dropped in the polls, Carter took their advice and "got tough" with a Soviet ballerina, Lyudmila Vlasova. Carter had a Soviet Aeroflot jet hijacked for 72 hours in a bizarre and outrageous attempt to convince her to join her husband in defecting.

Who does the White House think they're fooling with this sudden "concern" about "foreign intervention" in Cuba? The Dr. Strangelove assassination schemes of the American CIA are well known and will not be forgotten. It was these cloak-and-dagger hit men who tried to poison Castro with everything from Cuban cigars to shoe polish. But the ultimate show of imperialist arrogance and hypocrisy is over the question of troops. Who has a military base in Cuba anyway? It is the *Americans* at Guantánamo Bay!

The hullabaloo over Cuba and the SALT pact is not simply an election year ploy. As the bastion of world capitalism, the U.S. ultimately seeks to overturn the collectivized property forms and reconquer all the bureaucratically deformed and degenerated workers states, most crucially the USSR. The SYL stands for unconditional military defense of these states against imperialism. The Cuban Revolution, the first anti-capitalist revolution in the Western Hemisphere, sent the Mafia-ridden imperialist lackies of Cuba's ruling class swimming to Miami and we hail that historic achievement. We insist that Cuba has the right to defend itself against imperialist threats (à la the Bay of Pigs invasion) with anything they can get their hands on—including Soviet troops, arms and nuclear weapons.

The real crime of the Stalinist bureaucracies in Moscow and Havana is that they sabotage the gains of their anti-capitalist revolutions by making "non-aggression pacts" with the class enemy. These parasitic bureaucracies must be overthrown by a political revolution, led by a Trotskyist party, which would establish a new government of workers democratic soviets. The question of world peace and disarmament is who shall disarm whom? The international proletariat must disarm the bourgeoisie through world socialist revolution! ■



SYL Harvard demo opposes Brown's anti-Soviet sabre-rattling.

Join the Sp

o Win!

Imperialists

Cuba, but it was the U.S. that invaded Cuba in 1961 and launched countless assassination plots against Castro. Besides, who is it that has a genuine foreign military base on Cuban soil? The Americans, of course, at Guantánamo Bay. This conference calls for justice? What about Cuba's right to defend itself from future invasions by bloodthirsty U.S. imperialism, by any means necessary?

Those student activists who seek an end to apartheid in the politics of divestment end up calling on the most reactionary, counterrevolutionary rulers in the world to cleanse themselves of their sins. Groups like OCLSA [Oberlin Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa] or the YSA [Young Socialist Alliance] who appeal to the social conscience of Oberlin's capitalist trustees are simply demanding that U.S. imperialism invest somewhere else, preferably where "our" image won't be so tainted. Divestment supporters must recognize that the logical conclusion of your politics leads you directly into the arms of the State Department. You want a "moral" and socially conscious foreign policy? So does Carter! Only he *explicitly* asserts that the biggest "human rights" violators are the Russians. OCLSA's tacit endorsement of this conference, "commending" its scholarly approach to discovering the ways U.S. imperialism can reassert its role as world cop, contain Communism and help "liberate" South Africa should repel any thinking militant who stands for the smashing of U.S. imperialism.

SL/SYL
protests
Nazi
"bookstore,"
September
1978.



Instead of empty gestures and dead-end moralizing from liberal well-wishers the SYL poses the need of concrete acts of solidarity with anti-apartheid militants. We stand on the principles of the class struggle. We seek to mobilize the social power of the U.S. working class to struggle against apartheid repression and U.S. capitalism. We initiated and participated in protests to demand freedom for anti-apartheid fighters. We launched demonstrations against the murder of martyred Black Consciousness Movement

leader Stephen Biko. We built demonstrations on the docks with class-conscious workers which stopped arms shipments to the apartheid murderers. We back militant auto workers who are for striking GM, Ford and Chrysler in the U.S. to demand recognition of the black trade unions and an end to apartheid in their South African affiliates. Those who are serious about fighting apartheid and U.S. imperialism should join the SYL.

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SYL Routs Mullah Lovers

AMHERST—On September 19 about a dozen Iranian students attempted to disrupt the SYL's forum entitled "For Workers Revolution in Iran" held at the University of Massachusetts. Their efforts proved fruitless when, as in the past, trade unionists enforced workers democracy and kept order in the meeting.

In her presentation SYL spokesman Crystal Colby outlined the SL/SYL's unique position on Iran, pointing out that *only* the Trotskyists opposed both the shah and Khomeini, counterposing the urgent need for workers revolution:

"We did not think that what happened in Iran was any victory. We told the simple truth that *all* the rest of the left denied, that Khomeini was in no way a progressive alternative to the shah. And we fought for a proletarian axis in the fight against the blood-soaked Pahlavi monarchy."

The speaker lambasted the fake lefts who tailed the "Islamic Revolution" and who bear responsibility for the slaughter of the national minorities and for the executions of homosexuals, militant workers and leftists.

During the discussion period a total of five mullah lovers took the opportunity to speak in the most democratic meeting they've ever been in. They used their time to support the murder of the heroic Kurdish partisans, to praise the sacking of leftist offices and newspapers because "they lie" and to laud the barbaric, medieval *chador* as "a weapon for women, a way to protect themselves." Attempting to pass themselves off as the spokesmen for "the Iranian people," the mullah lovers went nuts when an Iranian woman took the floor to say that she opposed the mullahs' regime:

"I don't support Khomeini. . . . [I]f you want to work in the government you have to wear the veil. My sister is in Iran. She lost her job and now she can't get another job because she's not wearing the veil. And also, a woman who had an affair with a guy was executed. This is true! And two girls, they were swimming with bathing suits on, and they got lashes and they went to jail. . . ."

"If I walk with a guy on the street and they ask me if he is my husband or not, and if he's not, then I'm dead. . . ."

I couldn't be free in Iran. . . . And most Persian men who are here, when they go back to Iran they want to marry a girl who wears chador—most of you who are here."

Unable to tolerate the words of this honest, bourgeois-liberal Iranian woman, the Islamic fanatics (including two people who claimed to support the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party of Iran!) tried continually to interrupt her remarks, but they were

quieted by the meeting's chairman. When the next speaker, from the SYL, posed the question point-blank, "You believe that homosexuals should be shot, right?", the Khomeini lovers stood up and shouted at our comrade. The disrupters were then ushered out of the room by the security squad and the meeting continued. Once outside the room they began to chant "Allah Akbar" ("god is great"), but Allah's would-be soldiers were escorted from the meeting area. ■

No to the Draft!

MADISON—As part of a series of "perspectives" on the draft the University of Wisconsin sponsored a panel discussion here on September 13 which included representatives from the Madison Coalition Against the Draft (MCAD), the Quakers, Women's League for International Peace and Freedom and the Spartacus Youth League. In his opening remarks Mark Karol stated that the SYL's opposition to the restoration of the draft had little in common with the liberal/pacifist pro-Democratic Party politics of most of the panelists. The SYL struggles against the restoration of conscription as part of its fight against the entire U.S. imperialist war machine.

SYL speakers exposed the unholy alliance of Young Democrats, Maoists and the *right-wing* Students for a Libertarian Society (SLS) that make up the MCAD. The Young Democrats are caught in a contradiction: they say they oppose the reintroduction of the draft but it has been the Democrats, the "party of war," which instituted conscription each time the U.S. needed cannon fodder, from World Wars I and II to the invasions of Korea and Vietnam. To the Young Democrats' strategy of "write your congressman," the SYL counterposes concrete actions against the draft, ROTC and CIA/FBI recruiters. Given the qualitative-

ly opposed political components of on-going coalitions such as MCAD, they must necessarily be ineffective, and therefore stand as obstacles to real struggle against the instruments of U.S. imperialism like the draft.

The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade's (RCYB) and Revolutionary Student Brigade's (RSB) bloc in MCAD with the right-wing Libertarians is criminal and grotesque. "As far as I'm concerned," said the SLS speaker, "the draft is still better if it's imposed only on men or mostly on blacks or mostly on poor people than if it's imposed on everyone." To be in an anti-draft coalition with the SLS is akin to joining forces with the German Bund during World War II—they too opposed conscription! The RCYB and RSB may have their spat over Mao's "Three Worlds Theory," but such doctrinal disputes do not prevent them from making common cause with right-wing, anti-communist racists.

The SLS, a split from the super-patriotic Young Americans for Freedom, opposes unions and the minimum wage, and its only quarrel with the draft is that it believes that the murderous U.S. military should be used only to defend "our shores" and to enforce the bourgeois order at home. In excoriating this flag-waving, racist garbage the SYL upheld the hard-fought, heroic victory of the Vietnamese Communists and hailed the defeat of blood-drenched U.S. imperialism. "We fought for 'All Indochina Must Go Communist,'" said an SYLer, "and we don't intend to stop there." ■

Spartacus Youth League!

ANN ARBOR

The Fight for Socialism
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
Next Class October 31
Michigan Union Conference Room 2
University of Michigan

For more information call: (313) 994-8051

BERKELEY

Marxism and World Revolution
Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.
First Class November 13
Room 183 Dwinelle
University of California

For more information call: (415) 835-1535

BOSTON

Revolutionary Trotskyism
Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 14, 28, December 5, 12
Sever 6
Harvard University

For more information call: (617) 492-3928

CHICAGO

Fundamentals of Marxism
Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m. (except November 6)
Norris Center
Northwestern University
Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
(except November 8, 15)
Memorial Room
Ida Noyes Hall, 1212 E. 59th St.
University of Chicago

For more information call: (312) 427-0003

SYL Class Series**DETROIT**

The Fight for Socialism
Alternate Tuesdays, 12:30 p.m.
Next Class November 6
580 SCB
Wayne State University

For more information call: (313) 868-9095

EAST LANSING

The Fight for Socialism
Alternate Wednesdays, 8:30 p.m.
Next Class November 7
Sun Porch—Student Union
Michigan State University

For more information call: (313) 868-9095

LOS ANGELES

Trotskyism and the Struggle for State Power
Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
First Class November 8
Cal. State L.A. Student Union

For more information call: (213) 662-1564

WV/YSp Study Group

Wednesdays, 1:00 p.m.
Starts October 31
158 Haines Hall
UCLA

NEW YORK

Lessons of October
First Class November 1, 7:30 p.m.
Lehman Auditorium
Barnard University

For more information call: (212) 925-5665

OBERLIN

Women and Revolution
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
Next Class November 1
YW Lounge, Wilder Hall
Oberlin College

For more information call: (216) 621-5138

SAN FRANCISCO STATE

Marxism and World Revolution
Thursdays, 12 noon
B118 Student Union
San Francisco State University

For more information call: (415) 835-1535

SANTA BARBARA

Trotskyism and the Struggle for State Power
Alternate Saturdays, 12 noon
First Class November 10
Room to be announced

For more information call: (213) 662-1564

SANTA CRUZ

Marxism and World Revolution
Wednesdays, 8:00 p.m.
Next Class October 31
Merrill Room 132
University of California, Santa Cruz

For more information call: (408) 426-3769

Defend Cuba...

(continued from page 1)

against Fidel Castro. The notorious yellow journalism of the *New York Post* (8 October) captured the fervent desire of the gusano thugs: "Castro Marked for Death" was the screaming headline during the Cuban leader's brief visit to the United Nations.

The U.S. bourgeoisie has not given up its appetite to reconquer the Caribbean as an "American lake." Carter's beefing

up surveillance of Cuba, landing Marines at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay and establishing a Caribbean Joint Task Force headquarters at Key West—as well as continuing economic sanctions against Cuba—are clearly aimed at harassing the Castro regime. In the face of these threats we demand a real defense of Cuba against the mass murderers of the Vietnamese, including the use of Soviet troops, tanks, missiles and whatever else they can get their hands on! The presence of the American base at Guantánamo is an outrage. U.S.

troops out of Cuba!

Carter has been staging displays of U.S. military power around the world. Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's sinister national security advisor, is proposing to install more than 500 nuclear-armed missiles in Western Europe, aimed at the Soviet heartland. Brzezinski is also seeking to play the China card against the USSR. Last February's Chinese invasion of Vietnam, undertaken with the clear collusion of the U.S., marked what may develop into an open military alliance between the Stalinist bureau-

crats in Peking and the American imperialists. A "secret" defense department study recently leaked to the *New York Times* laid it out: sharing technological and intelligence data, giving the Chinese advanced U.S. weaponry, even joint military exercises. China: Don't be a cat's paw for U.S. imperialism!

The reformist Socialist Workers Party and the pathetic remains of Third World New Leftism try to claim Cuba as a great "independent revolutionary bastion," while castigating the Soviet Union as a conservative bureaucratic behemoth. This "militant" posture, however, is only a cover for their cowardly refusal to take on the elementary revolutionary duty of defending the USSR against capitalist counterrevolution. Castro shares the illusion of all Stalinist bureaucrats that there can be "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism. But it is not scraps of paper like the SALT fraud or "goodwill" which will stop the imperialists' drive for world domination. All the bourgeoisie's references to the *real* Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 carry an ominous lesson: ultimately the American ruling class will not hesitate to plunge the world into a fiery holocaust to preserve its power.

The Spartacus Youth League stands for the unconditional military defense of *all* the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialist attack, and at the same time points out that the Stalinists' bankrupt cowardice in the face of imperialist threats exposes these states to the gravest dangers. The only real protection for Cuba, Russia and the other states based on collectivized property forms is international proletarian revolution to sweep away both the capitalists and their Stalinist would-be collaborators.

Down with Carter's cold war "human rights" campaign against the Soviet Union! Not détente, but workers revolution! ■

DSOC...

(continued from page 5)

history, the victorious proletariat will not forget its martyrs—nor their murderers.

SP Backs JFK, LBJ: From Cuba to Vietnam

At the beginning of the 1960s the SP was an isolated, faction-ridden, discredited sect, and Harrington remained there for twelve more years. The YPSI managed to recruit a few militant pacifists through the Students Peace Union and work in the civil rights movement, but as the Kennedy administration's foreign policy became more aggressively anti-Communist with the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis, YPSI was quickly outdistanced by more radical forces. But that didn't bother the SP; quite the contrary.

The evening after the launching of the Bay of Pigs invasion, Harrington's mentor Max Shachtman gave a Socialist Party public forum in Berkeley—and came out in support of the CIA-backed forces! Hal Draper did the movement a real service in reprinting this incredible speech in pamphlet form, "Two Views on the Cuban Invasion." Shachtman's position was clear:

"My sympathies...are primarily with these trade union elements, [the Revolutionary Council]... Now did the CIA finance or help to finance this Revolutionary Council movement? I have no doubt... Did they give them arms? I have no doubt of that none at all. That by itself does not determine my position. If there is however a choice I want to orient myself to what constitutes the most likely, most preferable basis for what I would choose. I'd choose socialism, and I do. But I'd take a bourgeois democratic revolution as my preference in Latin America because under it I can develop more or less freely

a trade union movement, a socialist movement. But under the Stalinists, as under the Batistaites, I cannot develop or even think of developing a labor movement or a socialist movement." [emphasis in original]

In the next few days the gory details of the CIA's instigation of the invasion were plastered all over the bourgeois press.

Harrington has subsequently claimed that he opposed the CIA's disastrous venture. But no one would have known it at the time. At least Hal Draper came out publicly against Shachtman's Stalinophobic justification for support to American imperialism's military operation. Harrington never said a word. And he stayed in the SP, Shachtman's party.

By 1962 the YPSI was a floating faction fight. Even Norman Thomas suggested that young people should avoid the sterile YPSI and join the "more native and healthy" Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)! Harrington, however, in his capacity as the League for Industrial Democracy's "link to youth" was fighting the "Communist" influence in the fledgling SDS. When SDS adopted the famous 1962 Port Huron statement which opposed "unreasoning and exaggerated, conservative" anti-Communism, Harrington "became the spokesman for taking harsh organizational measures against SDS: locking them out of their office, firing Al Haber, refusing to put Steve Max on the payroll even though he had been duly elected at Port Huron and so on."

—Harrington, *Fragments of the Century* (1973)

It was the Vietnam war that really did in the State Department socialists. While protests erupted on campuses across the nation, the SP leadership maintained its rigid cold war line. Throughout the war Harrington and the SP refused to call even for the withdrawal of U.S. troops, much less for the victory of the NLF against U.S. imperialism. The SP's only demand was "Negotiations Now."

By 1964, when Harrington et al. supported Johnson as the "lesser evil," the YPSI had had enough and insurrected. The YPSI convention censured the National Action Committee for its cowardly liberalism in publicly expressing grief and mourning at the assassination of imperialist chief Kennedy. The YPSI's voted to ignore SP discipline until the SP prevented its leaders from supporting LBJ. The SP struck back, suspending the organization en masse and nullifying the YPSI conference decisions. YPSI finally fragmented with the left wing joining the Spartacist tendency while the majority of the leadership fragmented, some founding the still-born American Socialist Organizing Committee and later, others around types like Hal Draper and Sy Landy, the Independent Socialist Clubs in the tradition of Shachtman's ISL. Needless to say, Harrington stuck with the SP.

DSOC and the Democrats: Birds of a Feather

Why is it that Harrington stayed behind to police the radical youth movement for the encrusted cold warriors of the SP? That's easy. For well over 15 years now Harrington has had his sights on the American presidency. He fondly remembers the heady days when, as contributor to JFK's "War on Poverty," he could pad along the plush corridors of power in the White House. Rather than fatuously tailing after the New Left, Harrington went for the main chance to make it in bourgeois politics. It was the SP that had the connections to the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, a powerful lobby in the Democratic Party. Harrington picked his shots consciously and carefully.

At the height of the antiwar movement Harrington argued in the arch-Zionist, super-patriotic (both Israel and U.S. imperialism) anti-Communist *Commentary* magazine

that while he preferred McCarthy or even a "Republican dove," he would still support Johnson should the Democrats nominate him. While thousands marched in the streets chanting, "Hey, hey, LBJ, How many kids did you kill today?", Harrington was ready to campaign for this war criminal.

After Nixon handed McGovern a humiliating defeat, the Socialist Party split three ways in early 1973. The right-wing majority changed the party name to Social Democrats USA and became active supporters of Henry Jackson and George Meany. Municipal socialist Frank Zeidler and a small group of supporters retained the Socialist Party label while upholding its tradition of "independent" social-democratic electoralism. (Six years later some young activists who wandered into the SP split and fused with the Spartacus Youth League.) Harrington set up DSOC as a pressure group on the McGovern/Kennedy liberal wing of the Democratic Party, the "left wing of the possible."

In 1976 Harrington helped get out the vote for "ethnic-purity" Carter. After three years of skyrocketing inflation, hundreds of thousands of layoffs, massive cuts in social services, increases in military spending and seemingly endless gas lines and oil crises, Jimmy Carter has the lowest rating in the polls of any president in history. But no one could accuse Harrington of a "loss of faith" in Jimmy. In a recent speech at the University of California at Berkeley Harrington announced that even in hindsight he would *still* have voted for Carter in 1976! For DSOC, Carter's vicious union-busting, his austerity measures and his "life is unfair" racism are simply, as Harrington explained, "unfortunate" policies.

At times like these Harrington occasionally claims that DSOC is not wedded to the Democratic Party. But during the 1976 presidential race Harrington once announced that if the

Defend Keith Anwar!

CHICAGO—Inland Steel Company is out to get United Steelworkers of America (USWA) militant Keith Anwar. A millwright apprentice and member of USWA Local 1010, Anwar was fired May 18 for refusing to cross a picket line set up by striking members of USWA Local 8180, a small local employed inside the East Chicago Inland facility. Steel workers throughout the Chicago/Gary region have come to Anwar's defense, realizing that Inland's firing of a militant for his refusal to cross a picket line is an attack on the entire union.

A high point of the USWA's defense of Anwar came on October 17 at a rally sponsored by Local 1010 and endorsed by Local 65. Addressing 75 steel workers from three different unions Anwar proclaimed: "A picket line is a symbol. Workers are out on strike and saying 'don't cross.' The traditions of labor solidarity are what makes the union strong, and in fact what makes the unions exist today. When the companies combine to divide and conquer, the strongest tradition the labor movement has is to answer in one single voice: an injury to one is an injury to all!" As the official banner at the front of Local 1010's hall put it: "Defend the Right to Honor Picket Lines! Get Keith Anwar's Job Back! Defend the Union!"

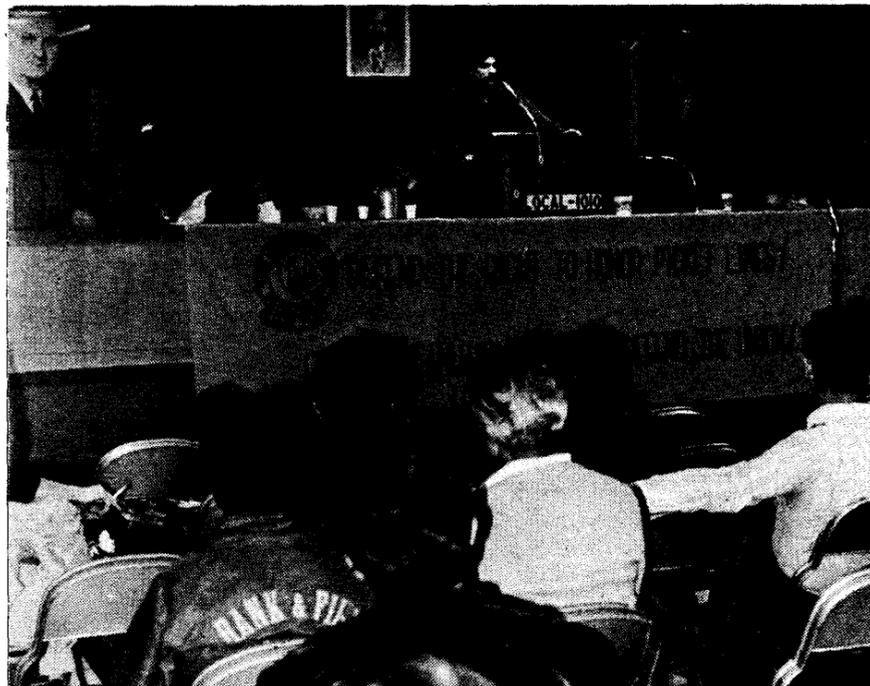
Local 1010's vice president Cliff "Cowboy" Mezo and Joseph Gyurko, chairman of the Local's grievance committee, also underscored the need for labor solidarity and respect for picket lines. Gyurko, active in the organizing drive 40 years ago that forced Inland to recognize the USWA, spoke of the days when a picket line was sacred in the USWA—before the union

leadership signed a treacherous no-strike agreement. He recalled, "It only took a handful from a certain department, and the rest of them would honor that picket line—the problem would be solved in short order... Brother Anwar is fighting for a principle that is endeared to all of us." He continued, "If we cannot support our brothers, they'll defeat us one at a time, weaken the whole labor structure, and we'll all go down the drain together."

Steel workers, including a layer of local officials, are increasingly fed up with seeing union conditions eroded while their hands are tied behind their backs by the no-strike clause and the Experimental Negotiating Agreement. "Almost 450 workers were fired last year at Inland," Anwar told *Workers Vanguard* in August, "hundreds are fired every year without cause. Anger over such firings is one reason my case is a big topic of conversation in the plant."

In addition to honoring Local 8180's picket line, Anwar is known for his refusal to cross the picket line of Bricklayers Local 6 which successfully struck Inland Steel in the summer of 1978. Interviewed by the *Chicago Defender* in late July, Anwar explained, "I just believe it's imperative to reestablish the time-honored labor tradition that picket lines mean don't cross. Strong picket lines built the trade-union movement in this country and without them strikes are often lost."

Support for Anwar has grown dramatically since he was fired last May. The USWA District 31 Conference voted June 30 to demand "that Inland Steel immediately reinstate Keith Anwar with full seniority and back pay" and pledged to "use all available



Fired USWA militant Keith Anwar speaks to 75 steel workers at union rally. Defend the right to honor picket lines!

resources to reverse these attacks by defending all union members victimized for honoring picket lines." The Keith Anwar Defense Committee has collected over \$1,400—mostly from steel workers at plant gates—and has received over 350 endorsements, including many from elected union officials. In addition USWA members have sent over 500 postcards addressed to the union supporting Anwar's case. Ed Sadlowski, former District 31 director, released a statement saying "I hail Mr. Anwar's actions and think they are in the best traditions of trade union solidarity." Local 65 president Alice Peurala termed Anwar's firing "completely unjustifiable" and called for his "immediate reinstatement."

Local 1010, representing 19,000 steel workers at Inland, has challenged the

firing through the union grievance procedure and an arbitration hearing has been tentatively set for November. In addition, Anwar has filed charges against Inland with the National Labor Relations Board. "The most important thing I'm doing now," Anwar told the *Chicago Defender*, "is seeking support from my fellow steel workers. We need help in publicizing the case, more donations and endorsements for the [Keith Anwar Defense] committee, and especially we need to put the pressure from inside the plants where it really counts." *Young Spartacus* urges its readers to send contributions and statements of support to the Keith Anwar Defense Committee, Box 7914, Chicago, Illinois 60680 (phone: 312-768-2233). *Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!* ■

Democrats nominated Mickey Mouse for president... he would vote for him! Unluckily for DSOC, it's not Mickey Mouse but Teddy Kennedy who is slated to salvage the Democratic presidency. In this period of deepening economic crisis the bourgeoisie wants a president who can "inspire confidence," i.e., successfully enforce austerity. So Kennedy is the preferred choice of large sections of the capitalist ruling establishment, the trade union bureaucracy, Harrington and, of course, all those youthful DSOCers sporting Teddy buttons.

DSOC and its youth section have been one of the main movers behind the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft. While the SYL opposes reinstitution of the draft because we oppose U.S. imperialism and its anti-Soviet war drive, DSOC's position oozes with "more butter, less guns" social patriotism. DSOC is actually opposed only to peacetime military conscription. In an article in the fall 1979 *Days of Decision* (publication of the youth section of DSOC) National Youth Organizer Joe Schwartz stated that, "A draft administered by a progressive administration with socially productive government with socially productive alternative service might also be worthy of democratic socialist support [sic]." Does that mean if Teddy gets elected DSOC will support the draft?

Even now Harrington admits that there's no fundamental difference between Kennedy and Carter. So why vote for him? Because, says Harrington, the youngest of the Kennedy clan asks "radical" questions! While Harrington's explanations for his Democratic vote-hustling may border on the ludicrous, the labor bureaucrats who cohabit with him in DSOC are much more effective in getting out the votes. Having lost credibility for their support to Carter, and above all determined to keep working-class discontent within the bounds of bourgeois electoral politics,

labor fakers like Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), Victor Reuther of the UAW and other labor tops are trying to push Kennedy as the new "friend of labor." Winpisinger put it well when he told the *Village Voice* (26 March) that his pro-Kennedy position was perfectly consistent with the social-democratic desire to "fine tune capitalism with a dose of socialism."

Reform or Revolution?

The labor misleaders around DSOC use fake socialist rhetoric as a substitute for militant class-struggle policies. Winpisinger, a vice-chairman of DSOC, with the rest of the IAM bureaucrats didn't lift a finger to stop hundreds of thousands of layoffs in the aerospace industries—except to call for continued production of the B-1 bomber! The UAW tops, many of whom are around DSOC, recently rammed through another rotten contract recognized by auto workers around the country as a sellout. The UAW bureaucrats, however, had the gall to call the contract "momentous" and "historic," while the auto industry continues to lay off thousands.

Harrington's piecemeal schemes for the reform of a decaying capitalist system are of a piece with his support to the ossified, pro-capitalist union bureaucrats. Social-democratic "structural reforms" and the "democratization" of corporations have nothing in common with a program for socialism. In his Berkeley speech Harrington came out for Senator Byrd's offer to give a government bailout to the failing Chrysler Corporation. Byrd and Harrington want the Chrysler workers to take financial responsibility (through a "workers fund") for the bankrupt, decrepit and dangerous Chrysler auto plants which for the last 30 years have been milked of their assets by stock and bond holders. In essence, Harrington calls for the workers to preside over

their own continued immiserization!

In contrast to DSOC's willingness to take responsibility for the crisis of the capitalists and place the burden on the shoulders of the working class, the SL/SYL urged Chrysler workers to *seize the plants* and seize the company's assets, demanding an end to layoffs and jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. The workers should auction off whatever assets are left and split the proceeds among the employees, based on seniority—in addition to receiving full and unlimited unemployment benefits at union rates. But not a penny to the stockholders! A plant occupation could electrify the working class and lead to a massive explosion of class struggle. But Harrington isn't interested in struggle, he's willing to let Chrysler's profiteers off the hook.

DSOC may be for a government handout to failing companies like Chrysler, but these social democrats oppose the expropriation of key sectors of the capitalist economy. Harrington argues that there is not yet a trained managerial pool with a "social conscience." But Marxists have no interest in the managing of capitalist enterprises. Revolutionaries seek to mobilize the working class to end the private ownership of the means of production and the system of profit. The expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class and the utilization of the most advanced and productive industries will lay the foundation for a rationally planned economy and for imposing a "social conscience" on a "trained managerial pool" recruited from the old technical elite and the cadres of the proletarian dictatorship.

The working class is the only force in modern society with the social power to overthrow capitalism. While Harrington and the labor tops tie the working people to the Democratic Party of the capitalists, the SL/SYL fights for the building of a *workers party* based on the trade unions. The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy must be ousted by class-

struggle militants in the trade unions: the key to building a mass Leninist-Frotskyist vanguard party to fight in the interests of all the oppressed. DSOC tells black people and women to put their faith in the party of their oppressors, but only the proletarian seizure of state power can lay the material basis for smashing racial oppression and the elimination of the bourgeois nuclear family. The difference between the SL/SYL and DSOC is the difference between reform and revolution.

The real aim of Harrington's current speaking tour is to exhume the stinking corpse of a sclerotic social-democratic movement whose purpose is to revitalize the trade-union bureaucracy, put Kennedy in office and then to keep him "honest." If students mistakenly join DSOC in the belief that it will fight for socialism, they are in for a rude awakening. But if leftist students compound their original error by believing they can transform DSOC from within, they will be in for an even ruder surprise.

As America's "oldest young socialist," Harrington is practiced in the art of policing social-democratic youth and student organizations with an iron fist. Watergate tactics and the heavy hand of a bureaucratic hack are all DSOC youth can expect if they dare oppose Harrington's reformism and his groveling before the Democratic Party. Before leftist students make the mistake of joining DSOC and someday finding themselves locked out of their offices, they should seriously study the revolutionary politics of the Spartacus Youth League.

The SL/SYL is building a revolutionary party "based on the fundamental premise that it is impossible to reform capitalism in the interests of the working class. Why do the footwork for aging social democrats like Michael Harrington whose only loyalty is to the rotting imperialist order in its final stage of decay? Join the SYL and fight for the cause of socialist revolution!" ■

No to KKK...

(continued from page 1)

After turning in the petitions to Local 600 officials the militants demanded that the union take a stand. "The ball's in the local's court now," Hicks told the *News*, "and we want them to use whatever force must be brought to bear to get them [the foremen] the hell out of the plant." Worried about their credibility, Dearborn Assembly unit head Johnny Vawters, Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi and even UAW vice president for Ford Ken Bannon all came out for firing the foremen. Although these racist foremen have not shown their faces at Rouge, Ford has only agreed to transfer them out of the assembly plant. The 1,000 signers of the petition must stand by their demand: run these hooded thugs out of the auto industry! Don't let the company just shift them around!

The KKK rat pack has been getting bolder in the last few years and only 22 months ago the little Hitlers of the National Socialist Movement opened up a Nazi bookstore in southwest Detroit, just minutes from the Rouge plant. At that time Hicks and other Detroit area auto workers called on their local unions to initiate mass labor-centered mobilizations to "smash the Detroit Nazi threat" and close down their offices. But all they got from the UAW tops were empty speeches and do-nothing committees. The fascists continued to ply their murderous trade. As Hicks recounted to *Workers Vanguard* (12 October):

"They razor-slashed a woman attending a meeting of an anti-Nazi committee set up by our Local; they harassed people in the neighborhood. Just last week it came out that Bill Russell, the two-bit ex-führer of the local Nazis is back with a KKK chapter in Detroit. And now this Klan provocation in Rouge. Every time the labor movement does not mobilize to smash these scum they come back—bigger and more dangerous than before. We must use our strength, the power of organized labor,

to crush the KKK/Nazi vermin in the egg."

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League has pointed out that the fight with the fascists is not a battle of words or ideas. The liberals and fake socialists may whine about the "rights" of fascists to free speech, but for the labor movement, minorities and socialists the struggle against the fascists is one of life or death. The Rouge workers have shown the way. Fascists like the Klan and the Nazis can be smashed by mobilizing the strength of the labor movement. ■

Oberlin...

(continued from page 7)

Unlike the Moscow or Peking Stalinists, or their apologists, whose drive for détente with imperialism causes them to suppress their own workers and betray workers revolutions internationally, we Trotskyists stand for world revolution. We defend the anti-capitalist conquests that have provided genuine gains for the workers, and call for political revolutions to oust the Stalinist castes and establish workers democracy.

Liberation in southern Africa will only come about through the revolutionary mobilization of the powerful black proletariat. Rival nationalist groups such as the ANC/PAC (OCLSA supports both!) or ZANU/ZAPU will never break from imperialism and lead the workers to power. A Trotskyist party, as a section of the reborn Fourth International, and based on the anti-capitalist program of permanent revolution must be forged to play that role. The South African proletariat is the powerhouse of the entire continent. The emergence of South Africa's Trotskyist party will prove the decisive factor in the smashing of apartheid and opening the road to social revolution. Only socialist revolution will bring the liberation of the African masses from imperialism, once and for all. ■

Stop the Witchhunt at Northwestern!

CHICAGO—The Northwestern administration and members of the Student Government (SG), aided and abetted by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) are trying to witchhunt the SYL off campus. Invoking the gutter traditions of the McCarthyite anti-Red purges, SG vice president George McClellan "froze" the status of the Friends of the Spartacus Youth League (FOSYL) on October 25 while the SG "investigates" whether it is a "front group" for the "outside agitators" of the SYL. McClellan threatened that members and supporters of the SYL would be arrested for "criminal trespass" if they demonstrated against military recruiters coming to the campus November 9. McClellan and his cronies in DSOC want to appoint themselves political censors at Northwestern, but we warn them: other tinpot tyrants have tried and failed. When the University of Illinois Circle Campus administration arrested SYLer Sandor John in 1977 on "outside agitator" grounds, the SYL successfully defeated the witchhunt. This new outrageous attack on the SYL must be stopped!

DSOC's Michael Loftin contributed to a vicious anti-communist article in the campus paper and then ran to the SG (and the administration?), charging the SYL with "disruption" of a Midwest anti-draft conference and meetings of the Progressive Student Coalition be-

cause the SYL was "shouting and talking about revolution." Incapable of defending its craven support to the capitalists' Democratic Party and furious that the SYL is gaining a hearing on the campus, DSOC has turned to cowardly, anti-communist purges.

On Friday, October 26, sixteen angry students—including several DSOC members opposed to the anti-democratic "freeze"—confronted McClellan at his office. The SG bureaucrat backed down and lifted the "freeze" on FOSYL status—reiterating the threat, however, that all those who participated in the demonstration against military recruiters would be subject to draconian ID-checks and arrest for "criminal trespass." The SYL-initiated anti-recruiter demonstration is clearly the target of the DSOC/SG/administration lash-up. DSOC actively opposes driving the military recruiters off campus. Instead, they witchhunt the SYL!

The defense of the SYL's right to present its views (as it has for over seven years at Northwestern) is a fight to defend the democratic rights of students and campus workers. All those concerned with democratic rights—workers organizing a union, foreign students' clubs, organizations for women's rights—must demand: Stop the McCarthyite witchhunt! Hands off the SYL! No political censorship! ■

Workers Vanguard Sub Drive Success

A gold Soviet *chervonetz* coin will be presented to Rosalind Garcia, winner of the 1976 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. Comrade Rosalind, the San Francisco Spartacist League (SL) organizer, got many of her 132 points as part of a team which toured the Pacific Northwest and gathered 163 points in Oregon and Washington State.

The five-week drive closed October 18 with all locals having met their quotas. The final national total was 3,697 points (132 percent). In addition to bringing the *WV* subscription list up to 2,480 the drive brought in 586 subscriptions to *Young Spartacus*, monthly paper of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), and 368 to *Women and Revolution*. An additional 247 points in *WV*, *YSp* and *W&R* subscriptions were sold by the Trotskyist League of Canada (167 points in Toronto, 70 in Vancouver and 10 in Winnipeg, Manitoba) for a final total of 3,994 points overall.

Campus work during this year's drive was even more intense than usual as the sub blitzes were combined with an ambitious schedule of public forums organized as part of the current SL/SYL recruitment drive. The relative ease of campus sub-selling this year (especially

among black students) was an index of potential SYL recruitment on particular campuses (and an enjoyable outgrowth of the Socialist Workers Party's "turn" away from campus presence as the SWP's *Militant* replaced its usual fall sub drive by an attempt to increase single-copy plant gate sales).

This year several locals experimented with door-to-door sub sales; best results were obtained in Berkeley (100 points) and in the integrated working-class areas of East Cleveland/Cleveland Heights (50 points). In the San Francisco area, trade-union friends of the SL consolidated a real readership for *WV* among co-workers: 62 points were bought during the drive by ILWU (longshore/warehouse) unionists and 57 by phone workers.

In addition, a record 205 points was received by mail during the drive's five weeks, representing not only the loyal support of readers who sent in subs for friends and a gratifying resubscription rate which has kept the *WV* sub base stable at one sub drive per year instead of two, but also the expansion of bookstore placements (55 during this year's drive) bringing the SL press to new areas.

Area	Quota	Points	Percent	Area	Quota	Points	Percent
San Francisco	400	582	146	Detroit	350	440	126
Los Angeles	350	508	145	Cleveland	220	257	117
New York	440	609	138	Boston	190	205	108
Chicago	365	474	130	at-large	25	40	160
Berk./Oak.	460	582	127	TOTAL	2,800	3,697	132

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FBI Off Campus!



The government hit-men who set up the police murder of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton as he lay asleep in his bed ten years ago are on a recruitment campaign in Detroit. The FBI is running ads on the local black jazz station offering bribes of \$21,000 per year to "qualified" blacks, women and other minorities. A black FBI recruiter is scheduled to be at Wayne State University November 5. These terrorists for the racist ruling class should be driven off campus!

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

San Diego: SYL, Box 2034, Chula
Vista, CA 92012

Santa Cruz: SYL, Box 2842, Santa
Cruz, CA 95063, or call (408) 426-
3769

Trotskyist League of Canada

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

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A,
Vancouver, B.C., or call (604)
733-8848

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

Bloody Bundy...

(continued from page 12)

Let's see them publicly take a stand and mobilize their forces, instead of quietly hoping not to be put on the spot.

Loony Moonies: The South Korea Connection

Coming on the heels of Carter's nationally televised speech on Soviet troops in Cuba, the SYL demonstration included signs demanding "Carter/Bundy: Hands Off Cuba!" and "Sink SALT! Defend Cuba and the USSR!" One of the most popular chants was "Hey, hey, what do you say, U.S. out of Guantánamo Bay!" As a speaker explained at the rally: "The Spartacist League is a Trotskyist organization. The Stalinists who rule in Russia and Vietnam are our bitter enemies. We stand for political revolution in those countries to overthrow the ruling bureaucracies. But we defend those countries 100 percent against U.S. imperialism!"

The 15 provocateurs from Sun Myung Moon's anti-communist Unification Church went nuts at the SYL's defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states. But their howls of "SYL-KGB" and "Communists off campus" were drowned out by the demonstrators who chanted "Crazy Moonies, they may pray, but they're running dogs for the CIA!" and "Down with the Moonies! For a united socialist Korea!" Having come originally to seek to provoke a "rumble," the Moonies decided that discretion was the better part of valor when they were confronted by a number of trade unionists who support the politics of the SL/SYL.

Numerous investigations have documented the Moonies' sinister connections to the South Korean CIA; lately, a detailed exposé by Francine du Plessix Grey appeared in the *New York Review of Books*. The purpose of Moonie outfits is to foment anti-communism in the U.S. and to build public support for an ever more aggressive anti-communist U.S. foreign policy. To this end, Moon and his cohorts have established a "Freedom Leadership Foundation," which conducts right-wing propaganda activities in Washington; a "Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation," which serves as a public-relations outlet for the brutally repressive dictatorship of South Korea's Pak Chung Hi; an "International Federation for Victory Over Communism," which coordinates the Moonies' pro-imperialist activities on a world scale and last but not least the "Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles," which serves as the campus home for people like those who tried to mix it up at the Bundy demonstration.

Moon himself is a multimillionaire industrialist with interests in heavy machinery plants, titanium, marble, shotguns and ginseng tea. Wild-eyed Moonies can be seen on the streets of New York City and at local airports pushing their slick daily newspaper,

News World. This crazy religious right-wing sect is best known for beating up its own members who try to quit. While the Moonies' main activity to date has been to build through the instrument of a bizarre religious sect a machine for anti-communist agitation, it is an ominous sign that they attempted to disrupt a left-wing sponsored demonstration.

Bundy Must Go!

The October 2 demonstration has generated support to drive Bundy off campus as evidenced by a flurry of letters to the NYU student newspaper and coverage in the *Villager*, a local weekly. Radio station WBAI was told by one observer of the demonstration: "I think [Bundy] should have his hands and feet bound and be ridden down the river." Another student wrote to the campus paper to say that "You don't have to be a member or supporter of the Spartacus Youth League to want the likes of McGeorge Bundy out of this university."

It is no accident that the SYL has taken the lead in opposing imperialist war criminals like Bundy. As an SYL leaflet distributed at NYU stated,

"The final revenge for the strategic hamlets and tiger cages will not be tasted until the world working class rises up and sweeps away this system through socialist revolution. The SYL has as its task the winning of students and youth to a lifetime of fighting on the side of the working class in its historic mission, the overthrow of capitalism." ■

YWLL...

(continued from page 2)

crush the heroic 1943 miners strike by threatening to seize the mines, draft the strikers and impose martial law in the coal fields, the CP backed him to the hilt and endorsed his demand for labor conscription. The Stalinists labeled the miners "traitors" and tried to organize scabs to break the strike. "Everything for national unity!" screamed the CP's *People's Daily World* (9 December 1941) as they pledged to hold down wages, speed-up work and not to strike.

Conveniently forgetting the CP's history of class treason, Mercadel made a pacifist pitch about the horrors of nuclear war, and she pointed to the "shameful bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki." What nerve! Doesn't the YWLL know that the CP/USA supported those atomic bombings? Not only did the CP pimp for president Roosevelt against militant workers and wholeheartedly support the imprisonment of the Trotskyists under the anti-communist Smith Act, but they were American imperialism's junior partners in persecution. The CP dropped its Japanese-American members and echoed the ruling class' orgy of vicious chauvinism.

Today the YWLL only calls for a "cut in the defense budget" of U.S. imperialism as they drag out the tired "guns versus butter" rhetoric of liberals. At a time when every major bourgeois politician is calling for vast increases in military spending the YWLL's position couldn't be more ludicrous. The struggle for jobs, social services and a decent standard of living requires the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and its decaying capitalist system. Only the SYL upholds the proletarian internationalist position of "Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist war machine!" And while the SYL has been active across the country in protesting the appearance of military recruiters and American war criminals, the large YWLL student fraction at Ann Arbor hasn't raised a peep of protest against ROTC on the campus.

The whole history of American imperialism has been one of wars directed at smashing the uprisings of the oppressed around the world. For the

last 60 years, ever since the Russian Revolution, the U.S. has sought the destruction of the Soviet workers state. The recent war-mongering threats and the build-up of American military technology should be enough to convince anyone that the parties of the bourgeoisie are united in their appetite to capture the globe for imperialism. The CP/YWLL "answer" is to push for SALT II and chain themselves to the Democratic Party.

The Stalinist bureaucracy that rules in the USSR and their American lackeys are incapable of truly defending the gains of the anti-capitalist revolutions. The Stalinists' support for SALT, their backing of petty dictators like Ethiopia's Mengistu and their playing into the hands of Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade by their suppression of workers democracy only emboldens the imperialists. A real defense of the USSR demands a working class political revolution to sweep aside the Stalinist betrayers, and international socialist revolution to liberate humanity from the fetters of capitalist exploitation. That is the program of the Trotskyists of the SYL. ■

Iran Forums...

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movements which history has ever seen....

"This will give you a picture of the general discrimination against oppressed nationalities in Iran. There are about 50,000 Iranian students in America. This is a 2-year-old figure and now they have increased.... When we start from Iran to America, most of us have some kind of government support, some kind of scholarship, and the rest belong to more well-off families than those who cannot afford to come to this country and to Europe. According to the Iranian population [ratio], there should be three to four Kurds out of every 37 Iranians [who come to the U.S.]. There should be about three Arabs, two Baluchis and one Turkoman out of 37 Iranians.

"But the fact is that out of these 50,000 Iranian students in America, I am the only Baluchi here.... There are not more than 10 Kurds. There are no Turkomans at all. There are about two or three Arabs. Had they been compatible with the shah there would not have been so few in this country. They would have enjoyed all those facilities which the dominant community, which happens to be a Shi'ite Persian-speaking community, [enjoys]. During this last year the figures are getting worse and worse as far as the oppressed nationalities are concerned....

"[In Iran] there is disillusionment and that is why Khomeini has stopped the press and stopped the democratic process. Things will not remain like this. There will be more and more explosions. As the Secretary General of the Kurdish Democratic Party declared, Kurdistan will be the graveyard of Khomeini's Islamic Republic.... I think all Iranians should be proud of the Kurds who challenge this medieval, chauvinistic regime with their blood. Thank you."

After Malek's presentation an Iranian student, a self-professed supporter of the Islamic-guerrillaist Mojahedeen, defended Persian domination and attacked Malek and the SYL for "insulting our culture." This despicable attempt to alibi the slaughter of Kurds, Arabs and other national minorities in Iran brought a response from McAllister:

"Certain words set us off, and one of those things is when you start talking about 'insulting our culture.' What you are really talking about is what currently exists in Iran today, the rule of Islam. All those things that you just said that you don't support, like flogging, the amputations, the beating of women and so forth...is the law of the land in Khomeini's Islamic Republic."

"What would it mean if I got up here and talked about 'our culture' in the United States? Do you know what 'our culture' is? In the South in the early 1960s, if a black walked into a restaurant, or a black went on a bus, they were likely to get lynched. That's 'our culture' in the United States. Or when blacks move into a white neighborhood they're met with burning crosses on their lawn and run out of the neighborhood. That's U.S. culture. That's not *my* culture as a communist. That's the culture of racist U.S. imperialism, and the culture you are talking about as 'our culture' is the culture of racist Persian chauvinism."

The international Spartacist tendency was unique on the left to warn that Khomeini's regime would not be a progressive alternative to the butcher shah's. Alone on the left the Spartacists have unconditionally defended the rights of Iran's national minorities to self-determination, up to and including the right to secede. From the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party to the Moscow-loyal Communist Party to the feuding Maoist organizations, *all* of them hailed the Shi'ite clerical-reactionary movement which brought Khomeini to power and *all* of them have refused to defend the basic democratic right of the oppressed nationalities to self-determination. It is only the Spartacist tendency that is proud to share a platform with an Iranian Baluchi who wants to fight for the Iranian national minorities against the Persian chauvinism of the shah and now Khomeini.

The working class has not been crushed in Iran, and the Kurds continue to fight Khomeini's forces. It is not too late to forge a revolutionary Trotskyist party in Iran armed with a program of permanent revolution: the solution of the basic democratic tasks (the right to self-determination, land to the tiller, equality for women and full legal rights for homosexuals, separation of church and state) requires the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of workers rule. But this is only possible through a merciless exposure of the fake-lefts who bowed to Islamic reaction. As McAllister stated at the conclusion of her talk:

"One of the purposes of our forum tour this fall is to point out that the mullahs' left-wing apostles bear responsibility for the reactionary terror that is being visited on the Iranian masses right now, because they cheered Khomeini on. The Iranians must not forget those people who in Marxist garb brought to power their new tormentors. That is the only way in which we will see a rearming of the Iranian working class and the oppressed, and it is the only way in which there will not be a repeat of this experience in the future—that is, if the lessons of this betrayal are engraved in the memory of the working class." ■

Nicaragua...

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constituent assembly to give free expression to the will of a population kept under enforced silence by Somoza's National Guard. The immediate task of a vanguard party is to oppose the efforts of the Sandinista/bourgeois junta to restore a capitalist state. The working people must keep their weapons and establish proletarian militias independent of the regime. Revolutionaries also demand popular tribunals to deal with the criminals of the Somoza regime and denounce the FSLN's "generosity" in allowing the butchers of the Nicaraguan working people to escape from revolutionary justice.

The situation in Nicaragua today cries out for a workers and peasants government to expropriate all industry and lay the basis for a Central American workers state as part of a Socialist United States of Latin America. Those who seek to be genuine revolutionaries, who do not leave the fate of humanity in the hands of non-proletarian forces, "should," as comrade Silva concluded, "join in the struggle to solve the crisis of mankind—the crisis of revolutionary leadership. Join the SYL!" ■

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