

Young Spartacus

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Carter, Reagan, Anderson

Right-Wing Yahoos Race for White House

Capitalist Candidates Push War with Russia

The capitalist politicians are at it again, pushing their choices for "leadership" for the next four years. Carter? Reagan? Anderson? Some choice! Each one of them is bumbling his way through the campaign with "promises" of economic depression, soaring military spending and a foreign policy of crazy provocations characterized by the theme of "Hate Russia." Carter, Reagan or Anderson—their policies all amount to a declaration of war against blacks, the working class and the poor and a mad drive toward World War III. So when it comes to the 1980 elections, we'll go with "None of the Above."

There's Carter's mounting war drive and Zbigniew Brzezinski's sinister Directive 59 which targets specific Soviet leaders for nuclear murder. There's "I am not trigger-happy" Reagan who scores Carter for letting Soviet troops into Cuba and Afghanistan in the first place.



Three racist, anti-working-class warmongers; we'll go with none of the above!

Americans are faced with a debate over which way to wage "prolonged nuclear war." How long is this war going to last? One week? Two weeks?

The black misleaders and trade-union bureaucrats have dutifully lined up behind Carter. While "ethnic purity," "life is unfair" Carter can hardly be touted as in any way progressive, the threat of a Reagan victory is held over the

heads of the black working masses. Both the Republicans and Democrats know that blacks will determine the outcome of the election, as happened in 1976 when Carter couldn't have won without 94 percent of the black vote, located mostly in the key industrial states. So the Republicans are hoping for what the Democrats are dreading: that blacks stay home on election day. And if they do it's

no surprise.

One out of every four black family heads is unemployed, and the rate of unemployment for black youth is running close to three out of four. The Nazi and Ku Klux Klan scum have been growing at an alarming rate. This year outright fascists have successfully made it into both Democratic and Republican

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A Workers Poland—Yes! The Pope's Poland—No!

For the last two weeks in August the crisis of Stalinist Poland occupied the center of the world political stage. The explosion was bound to come. The gross bureaucratic mismanagement of Edward Gierek's regime brought the country to the verge of international bankruptcy and confronted the working masses with food shortages. And in a deformed workers state distinguished by its exceptionally combative proletariat, a large discontented peasantry, a socially powerful and virulently anti-communist Catholic church and a welter of both social-democratic and clerical-nationalist oppositions, some-

thing had to give. For several weeks after the announcement of meat price increases on July 1, the government was faced with industrial action by important sections of workers in Warsaw, Lublin and Krakow. Then on August 14 the 17,000-strong workforce seized the Gdansk Lenin Shipyards sparking an effective *political general strike* centered on the Baltic coast.

Not only were key factories and ports brought to a standstill, but the Interfactory Strike Committee (MKS) which grew up out of the struggle posed an ever wider challenge to the basis of the regime with its demands. And Gierek had

blundered. In July he had reckoned that a few strikes were an inevitable overhead of his policy. He had hoped that breaking the existing price freeze on the one hand, while granting pay increases to workers who fought for them on the other, was the best way to minimize industrial disruption and social unrest. Moreover, the bureaucracy wanted to reduce the economically disastrous food subsidy which now eats up 8 percent of the total Polish national income.

But Gierek found himself faced with an immensely powerful mobilization of the Polish proletariat and was forced to

settle. Changing a few faces in the government solved nothing and he had to pledge himself to accept "new self-governing trade unions" (conditional on these bodies restricting themselves to "economic" rather than "political" issues). For Marxists the most striking thing about this "settlement" is that it *just can't last*. No Stalinist bureaucracy—a parasitic caste which must monopolize political power to preserve itself—can tolerate independent working-class political opposition. And in Poland today the notion of such organizations "staying out of politics" is plain ridiculous. On top of that further clashes must come because the regime just cannot concede the effective "free lunch" the workers are demanding. Gierek's attempt in the 1970s to boost Polish industry with huge loans from West German bankers, thereby transforming Poland into a major exporter of cheap products, has failed miserably. The country has been left chronically indebted to imperialist financial institutions. While the USSR pours in huge

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Workers Vanguard
While Carter Stews, Soviet Army Rolls Back Afghan Mullahs
Hail Red Army!

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Reagan, Carter?
Oh Shit!

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After SYL Protests Harberger at UC

Poison Pen Polemic Pollutes Campus

It is rare at the University of Chicago (UC) for the Communist Party or its supporters to stir out of their ivy-covered, cushioned armchairs of academia into political action. But last May they invited Arnold Harberger, one of right-wing economist Milton Friedman's "Chicago Boys" and co-architect of mass starvation in Chile, to an "objective" debate on "Market Forces

and Economic Strategies: Chile Since 1973." It was CP supporters like professor John Coatsworth and Primitivo Rodriguez who were instrumental in arranging for Harberger to be on the panel. Rodriguez is a honcho in the Organization of Latin American Students and UC's resident Latin American "Marxist" sage.

In response to this disgusting stab-in-the-back of the Chilean proletariat, the Spartacus Youth League and other left-wing students set up a 25-man picket line outside the debate. This threw "Prima Donna" Rodriguez into a frenzy. He screamed at the demonstrators and waved a hastily scribbled sign which read, "Opportunists like the SYL off campus." Before stomping in to hear Harberger, Rodriguez challenged the SYL to a debate on the role of the Chilean Communist Party in the Unidad Popular, the popular front government of workers parties and "progressive" capitalists that ruled Chile until 1973. The SYL eagerly accepted this challenge.

The next day, Rodriguez not only backed out of the debate, but authored a nauseating, invidious, four-page anti-SYL slander sheet which was circulated on the sly in the backwaters of the campus political milieu. This anti-communist diatribe (complete with cartoon) may have embarrassed even the Stalinist CP. It read in part, "... Rather than a political organization, the SYL

fits the category of a fundamentalist, cultist sect...being an SYL member means never disagreeing with the main line...." At least the CP pays lip service to democratic centralism. In labeling the SYL a "police-type, reactionary organization" the author of this slander sheet tries to write us out of the workers movement and sets us up for political victimization. As a fellow traveler of the CP, Rodriguez has had a real education in slander tactics. He follows in the hideous legacy of the American Stalinists, who during the 1940s called for the prosecution of the Trotskyists under the Smith Act and slandered them as "fifth columnists" for their opposition to the imperialist war.

Why Did Primitivo Blow His Cool?

Through its militant picket, the SYL ripped off Rodriguez' cocky leftist veneer and tarnished his image in front of the campus leftist swamp. The Chilean working class, which has endured untold suffering at the hands of the military junta, would know how to deal with Harberger. The fact is that the Stalinist strategy of class collaboration, defended by Rodriguez, paved the way for the junta's terror and has condemned an entire generation to life (and death) under the gun of the gorillas.

When the Unidad Popular won the Chilean elections in 1970, the Spartacist League warned that collaboration with

the bourgeoisie would mean disaster for the workers and peasants, and that the only road forward was the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat: "Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready" ("Chilean Popular Front," *Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970). Unfortunately, there was no Trotskyist party to influence the course of events in Chile. The Chilean CP joined the popular front government with the bourgeoisie, preached confidence in the "democratic" general Pinochet, supported the disarmament of the workers, and thereby paved the way for the coup that has meant repression and starvation for the Chilean masses. It is second nature for Primitivo Rodriguez and the other Stalinist hangers-on to want to debate the likes of junta collaborator Harberger.

But Harberger must not be allowed to hide behind a cloak of academic respectability. He doesn't just spout reactionary ideas in a classroom—he is an architect of economic policies that have caused the murder, torture, starvation and suffering of thousands of workers, peasants and intellectuals. Students who want to drive imperialist criminals like Harberger off campus, students who want to fight for a socialist future—**JOIN THE SYL!** ■

Young Spartacus

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

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Paul Stewart/Running Times



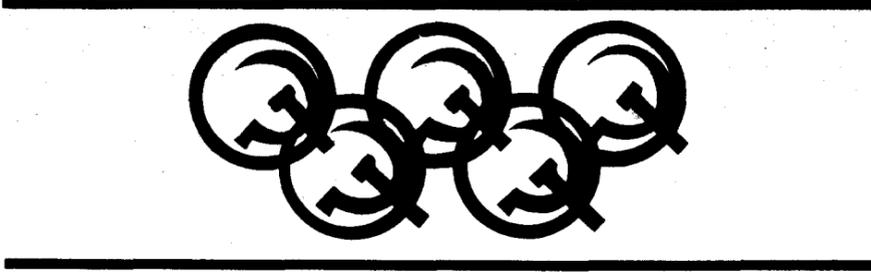
Loser Carter

It took a certain imperialist arrogance for Jimmy Carter to imagine he could stop or disrupt the Olympic Games in Moscow last July. His much-touted boycott, supposedly designed to force Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, was a big flop. Over 80 countries attended, including U.S. NATO allies Britain, France and Italy. This total is only six teams less than the attendance at the 1976 Montreal Olympics. Even Puerto Rico went. Nobody believed, as the administration claimed, that the Olympics were just an East European affair. Lord Killanin, outgoing president of the International Olympic Committee, caught a certain flavor of it when he said, "If football and baseball had been in the Olympic Games, perhaps we would not have had a boycott" (*Boston Globe*, 20 July).

The fact is that most Americans would rather watch the Olympics on television than this summer's boring and irrelevant political conventions. Even domestically the boycott ploy was widely perceived as impotent. Nevertheless, Carter was able to intimidate many sports fans out of attending the Games, though over 3,000 Americans did go. Travelers were forced to cancel reservations early or risk losing 40 to 60 percent of their investment as a penalty. Meanwhile the Administration scrambled to come up with some sort of "alternative Olympics." Plans to hold such an event in Berkeley had to be scuttled when both the athletes and the local population reacted with derision. As Coach Dick Mulvihill of the U.S. Gymnastics Association put it:

"The USGA has been put under a great deal of pressure from that idiot in the White House to hold some sort of meet to make up for our loss of participation in the Olympics.... We are not prepared for it. I don't know of any coaches who are happy about it.... I don't want to (get ready for the meet), but I have to...." (*Oakland Tribune*, 11 July)

One young female gymnast put it this way, "If I had a choice now, I'd go to the Olympics." But she didn't have a choice in Carter's "human rights" USA. Athletes wanting to go to Moscow were under threat of government legal action, kept like hostages in their own country, and shuttled around from one pathetic "free world" Olympics to another. Carter's anti-Soviet crusade has gone a long way in mobilizing for the bourgeoisie's war drive against the deformed and degenerated workers states, primarily the Soviet Union. But many of Carter's anti-Soviet ploys have been seen as cruel and arbitrary. The grain boycott, for example, didn't cause starvation in the USSR, but it did enrage American farmers by lowering prices for their product. This only furthered the popular image of Carter as an inept bungler. The main political beneficiary of all the



Olympic Boycott Flops

anti-Communist hysteria has been Ronald Reagan, who opportunistically opposed the Olympic boycott. His show biz background most likely provided him with the savvy to understand the importance Americans attach to their favorite pastimes.

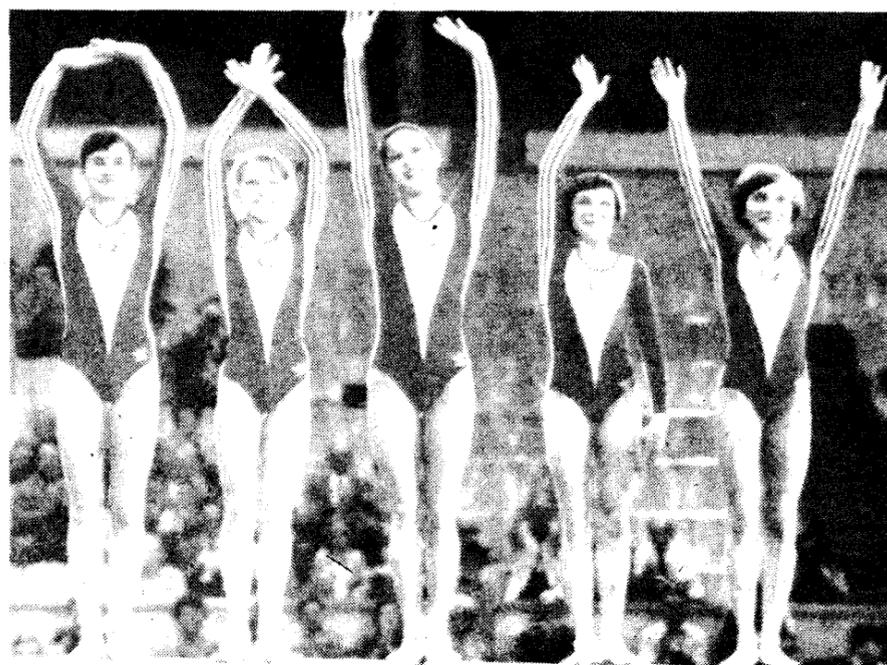
Some of the U.S. post mortems on the Games have carried a bitter sour grapes quality, along the lines of "if only the Americans could have played the Russians, we would have shown them." Already those like Peter Ueberroth, president of the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, are presumptuously boasting that the U.S. will better the Russians in the organization of the 1984 games, thereby proving the "superiority" of the free enterprise system. (Ask the blacks living near Jefferson and Vermont Avenue in the shadow of the L.A. Coliseum, or in the ghetto that stretches for miles southward toward Watts, about the viability of the free enterprise system!) Such braggadoccio rings hollow anyway after the disastrous Olympics at Lake Placid, New York last winter. Talking about the spacious and comfortable living quarters at Moscow's Olympic village, a Swedish official announced, "Compared to the village at Lake Placid," where athletes were housed in buildings destined to become a prison, "these are like suites at the Grand Hotel" (*Washington Post*, 20 July).

Nevertheless, the U.S. tried to gain all the propaganda it could—wherever it could. There was supposed to be "disgruntlement" among Muscovites about the intervention in Afghanistan, akin to U.S. protests over Vietnam. Rumors were passed around about possible defectors from the Afghan

team. In reality, however, the Afghan team received a tremendous and prolonged round of applause at the opening ceremonies. Contrast this to the blood-drenched hypocrisy of the U.S. bourgeoisie which wasn't concerned one iota over the slaughter of part of the Afghan team by reactionary, zealot Islamic guerrillas as that team tried to make its way to Moscow. Nor were they concerned by the massacre of anti-Vietnam War student protesters in Mexico City preceding the 1968 Olympics. A *real* protest took place at that Olympics when two black American medal-winners raised clenched fists in a demonstration of solidarity with the rebellions which were sweeping the ghettos of Watts, Newark, Detroit and Harlem.

In the end no one could deny that the Russians put on an impressive show. Over 1,500,000 spectators from all around the world registered in the first few days. There were 37 world records broken in the first week alone, compared with 16 in Montreal in 1976. Sports fans marveled at the swimming feats of Vladimir Salnikov, who became the first person to swim 1,500 meters in under 15 minutes (as important a feat as breaking the four-minute mile was in its time). There was Russian gymnast Aleksandr Dityatin who won a record eight gold medals, and his female counterpart, Yelona Davydova, Russian gymnast champion and daughter of a Leningrad auto worker. The Soviet Union won a total of 80 gold medals. There were excellent performances put on by the British, East German and Italian teams also.

Throughout the games visitors to Moscow could enjoy any one of four



Soviet gymnasts celebrate triumph.

Durazzi



Winner Davydova

circuses, the ballet, plays, concerts, cultural festivals from around the country, or museums featuring exhibits from Picasso to artifacts of the Revolution. Getting around town was no problem as the subways in Moscow run every 90 seconds!

The Stalinist bureaucracy's slogan for the Olympics, "Oh Sports, You are Peace!" plays into its general theme of "détente" and (illusory) peaceful coexistence with the imperialists. "The peaceful convening of nations with different social systems for a festival of sport proves the possibility of peaceful coexistence," stated Brezhnev ironically at the opening ceremonies. (Remember the "ping pong" diplomacy leading to the U.S.-China rapprochement?) Behind the beautiful show of the Olympics and the blustery failure of Carter's boycott lay the dangerous drive of U.S. imperialism to destroy the powerful Soviet degenerated workers state once and for all, by nuclear first-strike if necessary. Recently Carter announced that he was aiming U.S. warheads directly at the top Soviet leadership. As we wrote in our article, "Bust the Olympic Boycott!":

"Trotskyists have the highest regard for all forms of human cultural achievement, including athletics. We look forward to the day when athletics will be unshackled from the reactionary nationalism of the Olympic 'festival.' But in the meantime we live in a class-divided world, and the class issue has been posed: the Olympic boycott is part of U.S. imperialism's war drive against the Soviet degenerated workers state!"
—*Young Spartacus* No. 81.
April 1980

Standing on the right side of the class line means standing for the defense of the gains of the October Revolution against imperialist attack. The SYL says "Hail Red Army! Smash Islamic Reaction!" because we don't believe women should be swathed in veils and we do believe that little girls should learn to read. It's why we insist to the Stalinists, the social democrats and the pacifists of every stripe that only workers revolution will end the threat of imperialist war. For this reason, a real defense of the Soviet Union involves the necessity of political revolution in the USSR and the deformed workers states to oust the class-collaborationist bureaucracies which substitute détente and sports mania for a Bolshevik program. In a world freed from capitalist exploitation, celebrations like the Olympics will seem pale by contrast. As Trotsky wrote of the world of the socialist future:

"Man will be immeasurably stronger, wiser, subtler; his body will become more harmonized, his movements more rhythmic, his voice more musical. The forms of life will become dynamically dramatic. The average human type will rise to the heights of an Aristotle, a Goethe, a Marx."

Or a Yelona Davydova. ■

Ken Reagan/Newsweek

Why We Joined the Spartacus Youth League

Bob Anderson
Boston, 6 August 1980

Bob Anderson's interest in the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) was sparked by the contributions of an SYL comrade to a course given by Boston University (BU) professor Howard Zinn, one of the BU 5 (professors threatened with firing for refusing to cross picket lines during a campus strike). The communist ideas our comrade presented—the centrality of the working class in fighting capitalist oppression and the need for a revolutionary vanguard party to lead the proletariat in overthrowing capitalism—sharply contrasted with the parochial student powerism pushed by the rest of the BU left.

As a representative in student government, Bob successfully fought for student government co-sponsorship of two working-class militants to speak on campus in defense of the BU 5 and about their own efforts to bring class-struggle politics into the unions.

As a student at Boston University for the past two years, and especially as a member of the College of Liberal Arts student government this past year, I have been involved in various activities supporting striking campus workers and professors. These ranged from walking on the picket lines to helping organize rallies and fundraisers to benefit strikers.

It was this past year when the BU administration, led by right-wing president John Silber, was attempting to dismiss, or at least discipline, five professors who had refused to cross the picket lines of striking clerical workers, that I first came into real contact with the politics of the SL/SYL. Basically, the situation was as follows. The groups and individuals defending the five professors had coalesced around two issues: the dropping of charges against the professors and the dismissal of president Silber. It quickly turned into a predominantly anti-Silber movement. Anyhow, when it came to deciding on the tactics to be used for attaining the two goals all sorts of ideas were advanced, ranging from writing the trustees, to holding teach-ins, to occupying a building on campus.

In contrast to this, the SL/SYL program was to unite all the campus union members, professors and students around the slogans "Defend the BU 5," as the professors came to be known, and "Dump Silber." This program appealed to me because I realized that the unions were the only group on campus with the power to force the administration and the board of trustees to give in to the

demands of campus workers, faculty members and students. Unfortunately, the anti-Silber movement began to dissipate before any serious attempt to implement the SL/SYL program could be made. The reason for this seemed to be that students were becoming increasingly frustrated as they realized that Silber was firmly in power in spite of all their efforts to oust him. In my view this can only strengthen the SL/SYL contention that the only effective way to fight the BU administration is through the unions.

The same thing which is true of the unions at BU is true of the unions throughout this country; they have the power to force change. They have the power to force their employers and the government to improve working conditions, shorten the workweek, give better benefits and raise wages. More importantly, workers have the power to transform the United States into a socialist society, where the needs of all will be provided for. What has been lacking is revolutionary leadership and a revolutionary program for the unions. After having seen the SL/SYL work at BU and having participated in the organization's work for the past several weeks, I am convinced that it is the SL/SYL, and not the ostensibly Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party or any of the other Stalinist/Maoist left-wing groups, which can provide the labor movement this revolutionary leadership.

Therefore, as I understand and agree with the SL/SYL program on all key points, and having agreed to abide by all organizational rules and party discipline, I wish to apply for membership in the SYL at this time.

Therese J.
Madison, July 1980

Therese J. is a student at the University of Wisconsin in Madison.

An active participant in the Madison TAA strike, I knew only the SYL had the strategy to win. After the strike I organized a debate on the left to discuss the lessons of the TAA strike and other political questions. The panel included the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB), March 28 Movement (M-28), Democratic Socialist Alliance and the SYL. Neither the Revolutionary Student Union (formerly RSB) and Progressive Labor/CAR bothered to speak. I was committed to fighting women's oppression; all the groups, except the SYL, judging by their programs, were committed to defending it (by calling the family "a fighting unit for socialism"). Again only the SYL had



SYL contingent at 15 November 1979 demonstration to defend the BU 5.

a winning program, but I had to come face to face with my feminism.

Feminism is no friend of the working woman. The bourgeois variety seeks to replace pro-capitalist male politicians with pro-capitalist female ones. Its aims are to bestow upon a small number of women privileges equal to a small number of men in this society. Eleanor Smeal of NOW, Gloria Steinem & Co. of the Women's Political Caucus and Bella Abzug, Democrat, are committed to giving capitalism a facelift (in their image) but even this rings somewhat hollow with their Jimmy Carter solidarity speeches at the Chicago ERA march. Chicago's Jane Byrne, San Francisco's Dianne Feinstein, Britain's Margaret

legislation off the books but institutionalized community-wide kitchens, laundries, nurseries, restaurants and opened up educational and employment opportunities unheard of anywhere else. The Soviet experiment could not eliminate the biological fact that women bear children, but it did fight to eliminate on a material basis the social and domestic oppression which seemed to flow so "naturally" from it for centuries. While the reformists begged for single issues like legal abortion, communists raise "free abortion on demand" to make the right meaningful to all women. The fight for free 24-hour child care, free contraceptives and health care, all communist demands, will not be had under a profit-

"...workers have the power to transform the United States into a socialist society, where the needs of all will be provided for."

—Bob Anderson

"Feminism is no friend of the working woman."

—Therese J.

Thatcher (and the queen!) and India's Indira Gandhi called out the guards and crushed as many strikes as their male counterparts. And now "CIA Sister" Steinem leads the anti-pornography pack into a censorship bloc with her right-wing sister Phyllis Schlafly.

The basic premises of feminism undermine the much-needed unity of the entire class by drawing a sex line where a class line should be. I realized that all women are oppressed but questioned the feminist conclusion that "all women are sisters" and saw in this their abdication to fight the backward consciousness of men and women (although some feminists seem comfortable guilt-tripping male supporters). Like black nationalism, feminism can only lead to the Democratic Party or defeat, not to the conquest of state power by the working class.

In discussions with the SYL and by attending the Women and Revolution class series I dug into what is really "hidden from history"—how in 1917 the Bolsheviks seized state power and immediately struggled to reorganize society in the interests of the oppressed. The communist program addresses the special oppression of women before and after the revolution, but only when capitalism and profiteering are eliminated can the nuclear family, the source of women's, youth and gay oppression, be replaced through the socialization of women's domestic role. The Bolsheviks did not simply sweep all reactionary

oriented system, but must be raised and fought for in the struggle for a socialist revolution. Not crumbs and "what is possible," but the expropriation of the capitalist class is needed.

Although many of these gains were reversed under Stalin's consolidation of power, the gains which remain—collectivized property forms, a planned economy, the state monopoly of foreign trade—must be defended against imperialism and capitalist restoration. The call for political revolution to oust the Soviet bureaucracy and restore workers rule in the USSR will mean the restoration of the earlier gains under Lenin and Trotsky and opening the road to socialism.

To the feminists who are convinced that men have always and will always oppress women or who take the betrayals of the New Left and the Stalinists of women as good coin for the genuine communist program, you should understand the betrayals of your "sisters" who crossed "male" picket lines, guarded the tsar in the Winter Palace against the Russian masses, marched with their pots and pans against Allende, or remain silent on the oppression of women in Afghanistan.

I hereby submit my application to the SYL. Only the Spartacists are committed to building a revolutionary organization of men and women, blacks and whites, to lead the working class to power. We are the party of the Russian Revolution! ■

Madison Afghanistan Debate

SYL Shreds CARD

When Jimmy Carter used the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as a pretense last winter to reinstitute registration for the draft, the Spartacus Youth League pointed out that anti-draft protesters would soon have to grapple with the primacy of the Russian Question. The U.S. ruling class has made it increasingly clear that it is mobilizing to reconquer the Soviet Union for capitalism, by means of nuclear first-strike if necessary. The fact that it has chosen as allies a motley crew of medieval reactionaries, routinely accustomed to shooting schoolteachers and stoning homosexuals to death, has cut through the "human rights" hypocrisy surrounding Carter's new Cold War. It was under the pressure of these events, and the principled intervention of the SYL into its arena, that the Madison Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (MCARD) felt compelled to accept a debate with the SYL to discuss the issue of Afghanistan.

On August 12 over 60 people came to the debate held at the Madison campus, with the SYL taking the Soviet-defensist line and an MCARD representative defending its plank of "non-intervention." None of the fake-left groups in the coalition, including Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), the Revolutionary Student Union (RSU), and the New Leftist March 28th Movement (M28) had the guts to put forth a speaker in its own right, preferring to hide under the safe blanket of coalitionism.

A few people at the debate still wondered what Afghanistan had to do with the draft, despite the fact that Supreme Court Justice Brennan's decision to override a lower court's ruling to stay Carter's registration was made by citing the U.S.'s need for a response to "Soviet aggression." As an SYL spokesman pointed out:

"...you cannot have an antiwar movement which says that it is against war but supports the reason the war drive is taking place. You have an MCARD position paper which says that 'we condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and are for the right of self-determination.' Well, someone else has that position—Jimmy Carter, Zbigniew Brzezinski, the Pentagon...."

The "Popular" and the "Progressive"

The MCARD speaker, in return, gave his unwitting justification for tailing Islamic reaction by charging that the Soviet intervention is not "one that backs a popular movement." Then he quoted an Afghan "rebel" saying, "Do you suppose we are so stupid that we would oppose a better life for us and our children?" One imagines how "a better life" looks to a little girl traded for a goat into slavery, peering through her veil at the smoke of a burning Russian-built schoolhouse. Can she hear her local mullah's friend, Ayatollah Zbig, promise her that "God is on her side"?

As Dorie Riepe for the SYL pointed out in her presentation:

"Afghanistan is not a society that is nice or quaint, but brutal for women. It is an embarrassment, just like it was an embarrassment to have to argue with the rest of the left about support to Khomeini.... Is Islamic reaction progressive, should it be defended?... When you ask the question, 'What is progressive?' you must ask, progressive for whom? We are concerned about what is progressive for the women, the peasantry and the working class, not what is progressive for the landlords and the mullahs."

An extremely lively discussion followed the two presentations. In the shadowy world of coalition politics it is rare for any group to surface with its real positions. Therefore it was news to many that the RSU (about to fuse with the Communist Youth Organization of the Peking-loyal Communist Party Marxist-Leninist) has the position that the main enemy in the world today is the Soviet Union (and this group is one of the best builders of MCARD)! As the SYL pointed out, "The fight against war is the fight against our own bourgeoisie.

it's not a fair fight. I'm glad the mullahs don't have tanks."

A student from the Near East spoke from personal experience:

"The mullahs don't need tanks and helicopters, they have religion to control the minds with... people could be fighting for something which is bad for them just because of religion, and this happened in Iran."

Not M28, But AK-47

As usual the M28 people were all over the map. "A lot of good points have

capitalism a new lease on life. The reason the bourgeoisie hates the Soviet Union is class hatred, the same reason they hate the unions."

Students in MCARD have the choice of remaining in an organization that can never be more than anti-Soviet and pro-imperialist, chained down by the leadership and program of people like the RSU, who have the same target as the capitalists' war drive. Or they can join with the revolutionaries of the SYL and fight to drive the capitalist warmongers off the planet for good!



Sovfoto



Sovfoto

Above: Young women in Kabul liberated from the veil; right: traditional enslavement of women.

There is an anti-Soviet war coming and you have to decide which side you are on."

Then there was DSOC. These social democrats intervened with tales of Soviet bloodshed, sob stories about how it's not a fair fight and more mullah-sycophancy about the popularity of the clerical-led movement. One DSOCer went so far as to say:

"I have no correct-line politics. My politics are more humble than that. I think that when the left does take correct-line politics it is very unappealing to most workers and to most people in this country."

How virtuous of DSOC not to have any answers! And how true to form for these "better dead than red" State Department socialists to "forget" to mention the question of U.S. involvement in Afghanistan backing the Islamic reactionaries. On the question of a "fair fight" an SYL supporter said, "I'm glad

been made by both sides." But the theory of the "two superpowers" is still attractive to these confusionist muddle-heads. "Afghanistan has the misfortune (!) to sit across the border from the Soviet Union, just as Cuba has the misfortune to sit 90 miles off the coast of the U.S." However, they aren't quite ready to join the RSU in a bloc with U.S. imperialism, saying: "We need a new understanding of what the Soviet Union is. We can't continue with the Cold War definition of what the Soviet Union is." Evidently, the Russian Question is staring M28 in the face.

When a participant pointed out that Afghanistan was being used as a pretext to whip up war hysteria, an SYLer explained:

"The real question is why does the bourgeoisie hate the Soviet Union? In 1917 the capitalists had one-sixth of the world ripped out of their clutches and now they want it back. It would give

As the night wore on the RSU finally responded directly to the SYL:

"We oppose domination from the above, imposing the will of a dominating ideology on people. It seems that this is the basic strategy of the SYL, to intervene to impose the will you have, regardless of how correct it might be. You may have very advanced ideas.... I think this is what MCARD opposes, the domination...be it military or otherwise."

This is crass stuff coming from those who cover for China's reactionary alliance with U.S. imperialism. Apparently the domination of the U.S. bourgeoisie as well as that of reactionary mullahs is OK. And how about China's desire to teach a "bloody lesson" to the Vietnamese?

As a Leninist organization, the SYL has always considered it the job of communists to intervene with a revolutionary program into social struggles. To us it is a question of whose blood will flow, because what we are dealing with is a ruling class that will stop at nothing to hold on to what it has. For all his "human rights" demagoguery, Carter knows that it was the U.S. government that dropped the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

During the debate SYL spokesmen pointed out that we are intransigent political opponents of the Soviet bureaucracy and call for its overthrow through political revolution as the best means to safeguard the gains of the Russian Revolution. When the gains of the first workers state are under attack our response is unambiguous: For military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack!

As comrade Riepe stated in her remarks, "We are for international workers revolution to fight capitalism, and part and parcel of that fight is the defense of the gains that have been made." Smash Islamic Reaction! Hail Red Army—Extend the Gains of the October Revolution to Afghanistan! ■

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) 994-9313

Berkeley/Oakland: 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, Cleveland, 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

Madison: SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 257-2950

New York: SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 732-7860

San Francisco: SYL, Box 11685, San Francisco, CA 94101, or call (415) 863-6963

Trotskyist League of Canada

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

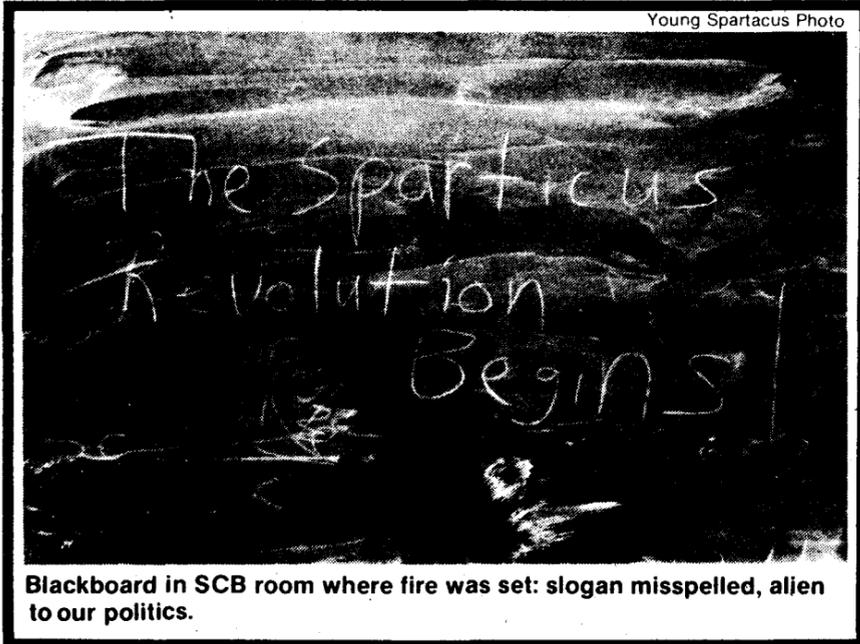
Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 224-0805

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

The Detroit Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League and our supporters in the trade unions have had a discernible political impact on the life of this largely black, union and depression-torn town. In defiance of mayor Coleman Young's ban on demonstrations last November, 500 largely black workers and leftists turned out in Kennedy Square to protest the Greensboro Klan murders and declare: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" The SL/SYL and our union supporters have been the outspoken advocates of strikes and plant occupations against the massive layoffs hitting Detroit auto workers. On the Wayne State campus, it was the SYL which brought the anti-Klan struggle to the students as well as waging campaigns throughout the year against FBI recruiters attempting to recruit black operatives for their dirty work.

So we've made some enemies—some pretty powerful ones—in Detroit. And somebody apparently felt hostile enough to attempt to frame up the Wayne State SYL for arson.

Last June 12, a fifth floor room of the Student Center Building was set ablaze. The arsonists apparently scrawled "The Spartacus [sic] Revolution Begins" on the room's blackboard. Exactly a week later, we heard for the first time of the incident—in a phone call from one Julie Showers, reporter for the *South End*, the Wayne State campus paper. Eleven



Blackboard in SCB room where fire was set: slogan misspelled, alien to our politics.

days after the arson, the *South End* splashed across its front page a story linking the SYL and the arson: "Firebug hits student center; Spartacists cry 'frame-up!'" An editorial, "Truth and repression are strange bedfellows," likewise smeared us. At no time were we ever contacted by police or fire department authorities about the arson. Yet even the cops' disinterest deterred the *South End* not at all from a maximum barrage of outright slander.

The *South End* makes reference to a mysterious secret witness who is alleged to have called the police from the scene of the crime. The witness is quoted by Showers as saying he didn't know about the fire, but "thought a fight was going to start because I've heard a lot about the Spartacus revolution." As far as we know, nobody ever heard of the "Spartacus Revolution" until the arson frame-up; we certainly never have. The witness—if it exists—has some explaining to do. One is reminded of the story, perhaps apocryphal, of an Ulster terrorist who planted a bomb for symbolic effect, then tried to call in a warning only to discover the telephone was out of order. This fire which apparently had no purpose except to frame up the SYL might have had tragic consequences for Wayne State students and campus workers.

The *South End's* sensational coverage in the front-page article and editorial is a provocation and a libel. The

editorial, by one Mike Nuttle, wonders aloud why the SYL might "have some fears" at being framed for arson and compared our threat of appropriate legal action and our "harassment" of *South End* reporters (read telephone calls) to KKK and FBI "harassment of the public." It doesn't take much intelligence to understand why a relatively small communist group which has faced down the Detroit mayor and the KKK and vigorously protested, the FBI might be "concerned" over slimy charges that we are arsonists!

Nuttle's editorial labels us "violent, deceptive hypocrites." This is insidious, willful libel. What he evidently means by this is that (1) we are "violent," i.e., we set the fires; (2) we are "deceptive," i.e.,

we deny it; (3) we are "hypocrites," i.e., we protest the *South End's* orgy of lies and libel.

Two-Bit Reichstag Fire

In 1933 the Nazis set fire to the Reichstag (German parliament) and then pinned the terrorism on the Communists in order to frame them up and ultimately murder them. Whoever set the fire in the Wayne State classroom is using in a crude fashion and on a small scale the tactics of Hitler's stormtroopers. There are no doubt a plethora of right-wing and nutty cultist anti-social creeps capable of this sort of thing. The arson frame-up is also the kind of "dirty tricks" the FBI has used over the years to discredit black, labor and leftist organizations and to justify its bloody repression. Our leaflet of 24 June explained:

"...the FBI is not just responsible for 'dirty tricks,' but for murder. From the little black Sunday school girls bombed to death by the notorious KKK/FBI member Gary Rowe in Birmingham, to the assassination of Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, to the countless set-ups of leftists and black militants; the FBI and its COINTELPRO program is dripping with blood. And can anyone be sure that COINTELPRO is really dead?"

Even assuming that the criminals behind the arson and the malicious or gullible who buy the accusation against us are incapable of reading so much as a

page of our paper, the frame-up attempt is particularly stupid. The struggle for fundamental social change is not advanced by yelling "jailbreak" in high schools or setting fires in trash baskets. The misspelled slogan—"The Spartacus Revolution Begins"—is in flat contradiction to our appetites, aims, intentions and needs. Those even vaguely familiar with the Marxist analysis of capitalism's decay and with the Leninist/Trotskyist concept of the vanguard party as the conscious leadership of the broad proletarian masses know such a slogan to be simply incongruous. It might as well be "the Meth-i-dist revolution begins," for it has about as much to do with those gentle folk as with us.

Moreover, even if we had abandoned all our political principles and turned to isolated acts of terrorism, wouldn't we at least be certain to spell our name correctly?

The Spartacist League is among 16 socialist organizations targeted for "special treatment," the FBI's notorious "ADEX file" hit list. In our press we noted that "The FBI wants to portray the Spartacist League as some kind of criminals, the category of individuals the FBI has a legal license to hunt." We explained the logic behind frame-up, slander and character assassination:

"Unable to feed the hungry or provide jobs for the unemployed, periodically plunging the population into devastating inter-imperialist war, sacrificing every vestige of rationality or decency to its insatiable hunger for profit, the bourgeoisie cooks up a spectre of the revolutionary movement as a criminal conspiracy. With this big lie oft repeated, they attempt to discredit the Marxists in the eyes of the masses and create a climate of opinion favorable to their witchhunting."

—*Workers Vanguard* No. 151, 1 April 1977

Such a "climate of opinion" is suggested in and around the *South End*. Even before their libelous coverage of the SCB arson, the provocative headline "Spartacus rabble again disrupt S-FC meeting" was given to an article reporting on an ordinary debate over campus funding. Mike Nuttle was responsible for that headline. "Rabble," according to Webster's *New Collegiate Diction-*

ary, is "the lowest class of people," derived from the Middle English "rabel" which meant a "pack of animals." As everyone knows, there is good reason to seek to reduce one's opponents to sub-human.

Another indication of this "climate of opinion" is Nuttle's 30 June editorial, "Klansman and Nazi make leftists see red." Nuttle takes great pains to equate anti-Nazi protesters with the Klan and Nazi fascist terrorists, then goes on to place the burden of race war on its intended victims:

"It's sad the left-wingers didn't look beyond their own ideologies to see that they were being duped into acting as promotion men for the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis.

"Perhaps in the future they will learn to think before they commit violent or disruptive acts.

"Otherwise they'll ferment [sic] racial tensions in Detroit this summer to the point where people might be injured in another bloody race riot.

"However, perhaps that's what they want to do." (emphasis in original)

One cannot help notice the similarity between Nuttle's pretentious McCarthyite punchlines in this editorial and those of the 23 June editorial: "Otherwise, they'll perpetuate their public image as violent, deceptive hypocrites."

As Clear as Mud

On June 12 the arson occurred. On June 23, out of the blue, the incident is front-page news in the *South End* and so are we. These people have for some reason decided to go after us.

So inaccurate is the coverage that the two pieces contradict one another on the simplest factual points. Both Showers and Nuttle clean up the arsonist's misspelling of our name—but they can't agree on the rest of the slogan scrawled on the blackboard. In Showers' account it reads "The Spartacus revolution has begun" and in Nuttle's "The Spartacus revolution begins." They agree only to suppress the misspelling which all by itself casts grave doubt on the effort to link us to arson.

Great play is given to the mysterious witness, who is alleged to have called the police for no good reason. Neither at the

SL/SYL targeted for frame-up because we stopped the Klan in Detroit?



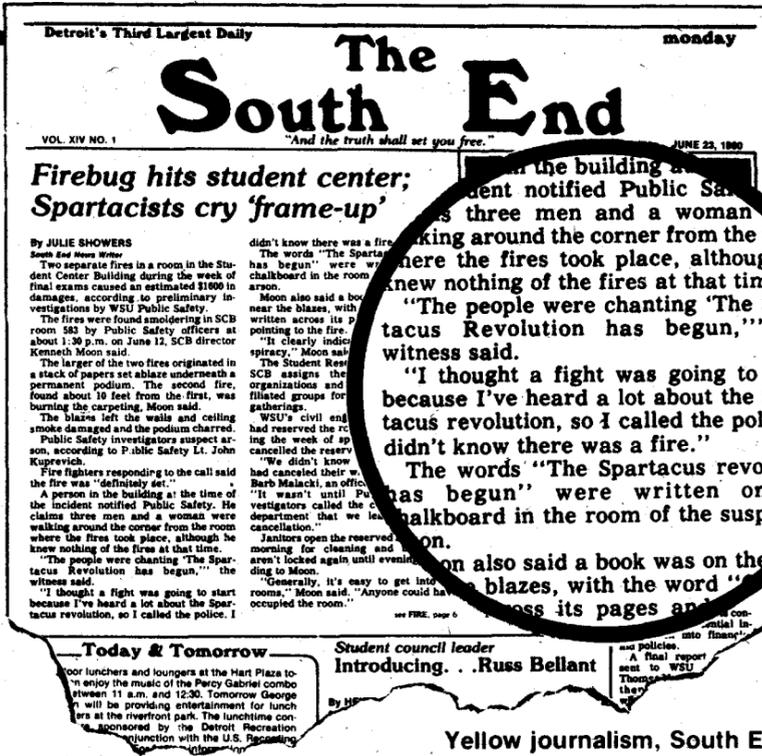
gets SYL UP?

time nor at any time since has the *South End* revealed the name of the alleged witness, much less put us in touch with him/her. Nuttle and Showers don't agree on how many people the witness supposedly heard "chanting" or where exactly he/she heard them. SCB Director Kenneth Moon is alleged by Showers to have said, "It clearly indicates a political conspiracy." But Moon wrote a letter to the *South End* protesting that he had never said anything of the kind. Ignoring his letter, the paper printed a "correction" stating that he had really said "political consortium." Moon tells us he doesn't even know what the word "consortium" means.

SYL supporter Robin Rosen is paraphrased in Showers' article as "contend[ing] the group was not holding meetings in the SCB during finals week." The article correctly notes we had reserved a room on the fifth floor of the SCB for our class series for June 13, the day after the fire. Implication: we lied. However, our comrade had in fact merely said she didn't think a room had been reserved, telling Showers another SYL supporter had the information. Small stuff? Sure—but the whole thing stinks.

Libel, provocation, lies: this was not enough for the *South End*. Next came suppression of the SYL response. To quote Nuttle, truth and repression are indeed strange bedfellows. Not only did the *South End* refuse to print our reply for three weeks, but still has refused to print a petition signed by 80 outraged students, workers, faculty members and key activists in the Detroit labor and left movements, as well as statements by another 20, protesting the *South End's* coverage of the SCB arson and attesting to our principled history of opposing such acts. One of the consequences of the *South End* campaign to smear us is that for the first time in six years the Student-Faculty Council tabled our request for a budget.

The *South End* hasn't stopped, either. The new 2 September issue devotes three front-page paragraphs in a summer round-up article to the same yellow journalism implications of the SYL in



the SCB arson. Just for spice, they throw in that the case is "so far unsolved." But there is no case, and so far as we know, no one trying to "solve" it.

But there is an unsolved question. And that is what motivates the *South End* to aid and abet an obvious frame-up against the only group on campus which initiated anti-FBI protests and mobilized against the Klan, the only group in the city which faced down mayor Coleman Young's ban and defended the democratic right of anti-Klan protesters to assemble? And what motivates the *South End* to blithely ignore the strictures on unproven and unprovable accusations of criminal misconduct which are taken into account by everyone in the newspaper business?

We do notice that the new editor, John Burnett, comes out against workers strikes by both Detroit city workers and Wayne State workers—bemoaning the fact that a strike in Detroit coincidental with the GOP convention would have caused "substantial—perhaps irreparable" "damage to Detroit's international reputation." And that the recently installed campus editor of the *South End* is Marie Lazzari, who in October 1979 wrote an incredible letter to the editor entitled "Sensational Spartacans prove paranoia" which defended the FBI tooth and nail: "Can the SYL PROVE a black FBI agent 'set up' Fred Hampton and Mark Clark? And what does set-up mean?" Lazzari goes on to plead the case for Gary Rowe: "And what about good old Gary Rowe, 'self-confessed KKK killer for the FBI'? Got that? SELF-confessed. Proves nothing."

The immediate response of those familiar with the workings of the FBI is that either Lazzari's statement is an application for employment with the FBI—or her daddy is on its payroll.

Nuttle, Showers, Lazzari. We don't know the connectives. We don't know what they are; we do know the unusual malice of the "rabble" headline. We don't know the inner workings, biases, or possible obligations of these people. All we know is that they are the visible part of something ugly that wants to come after us.

South End Emboldens the Klan

As a responsible socialist organization vying for the leadership of the workers and oppressed, we care very deeply about our good name. While we have the most profound differences with Daniel Patrick Moynihan, presently a U.S. senator, we have on several occasions quoted his words on us in an address at Harvard in 1972. Moynihan favorably compared the SL youth group to other leftists in attendance because "they sail under their own colors." He quoted from a statement proclaiming our aims:

"...to develop young radicals into

lifetime communist militants, and to build a socialist youth organization which can intervene in all social struggles with a revolutionary program based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky."

Moynihan concluded, "It is doubtless perverse to do so, but I happen to find that an honorable statement of purpose" (*Commentary*, December 1972).

This is not an academic question. A militant trade unionist publicly associated with the Spartacist League was dragged from the floor of the Communications Workers of America national convention in Detroit last year to prevent her from speaking against Jimmy Carter, the convention's featured guest. After a union defense committee launched a lawsuit, the unionist, Jane Margolis, received a cash settlement and a formal apology from the Secret Service. This victory, which the *New York Times* termed "unprecedented," was an important defense of the rights of all labor militants. It would

have been far more difficult to win this victory if anyone had really believed what the *South End* professes to believe—that the Spartacist League/SYL is an organization of "violent, deceptive hypocrites" and arsonists.

Nuttle, Showers & Co. are inciting not merely repression but violence against the SL/SYL and those who participate with us in actions like the November 10 anti-Klan rally. The rally's organizers worked closely with the Detroit police, as well as with federal observers and federal judge John Feiken, in seeking to protect the anti-Klan demonstrators against threatened Klan violence. We are not in the business of getting those who follow us killed. But it looks like somebody may be, for what if the Detroit police had believed the Spartacist League was an organization of terrorist "firebugs"?

The Klan/Nazi milieu is deadly dangerous and growing. These race-hate terrorists like nothing better than to find their opponents isolated and vulnerable. Those who seek to strip from the SL/SYL the broad base of support and sympathy among workers and oppressed gained through our antifascist work are setting us up. Nuttle & Co., wittingly or unwittingly, by their libelous anti-Spartacist campaign have become would-be accessories to the murder of socialists, blacks, trade unionists, young and old, men and women. For Nuttle, we and these are "rabble," and the hunting season on rabble is never closed.

Kent State may be 10 years ago, but Greensboro is too fresh. Behind the arson frame-up is the opening for right-wing fascist, terrorist organizations—on the rise today—to engage in more broad daylight massacres aided by the state. Putting a stop to the *South End's* libelous arson frame-up can be a matter of life and death for all who fight for the workers, black people, socialists and against those who would grind us into the mud. ■

Protest Petition to South End

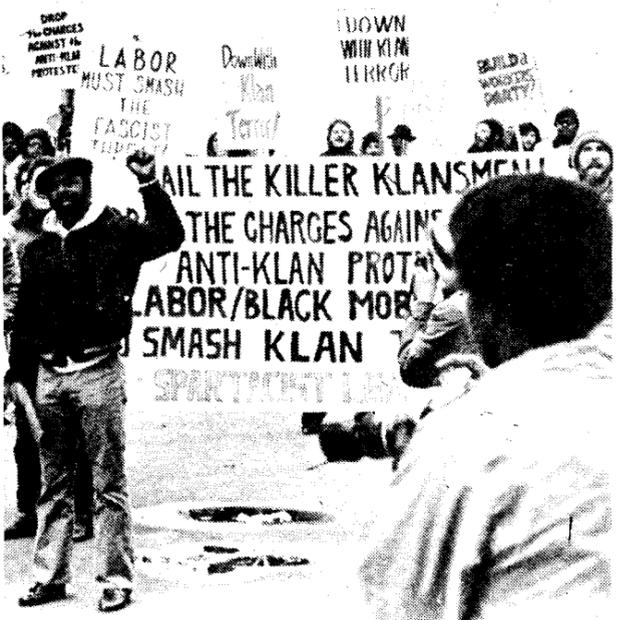
To the Editors of the *South End*:

According to a *South End* reporter, a fire was set in SCB room 583 on June 12. The reporter claims that a witness heard the culprits chanting: "The Spartacus revolution has begun!" Based on our familiarity with the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), we know that such a wanton act of destruction is counterposed to what the SYL stands for. The *South End* has printed an article insinuating SYL participation in this crime and we denounce any allegations that the SYL was in any way involved in the perpetration of this malicious deed.

- Dana N. Ayers, Michigan Organization of Human Rights
- Kevin Azala
- Andrea Battle, *South End* ad secretary
- Anita Belle, Pamoja Tutashenda
- Wesley J. Billup
- Rosemary Black
- Laura Brown, WSU staff
- Anthony Burdick, IWW Local 660
- Garth Christie
- Clericals for a Democratic Union
- Nathaniel Coakly, Congressional candidate, 13th District
- George Corsetti, attorney
- Gerry Courtney, high school teacher
- Claudia M. Davids
- Ella Davies, part-time faculty, WSU
- Doren Day
- Mario DeGuzman
- Schoui Diana, instructor
- Hal M. Dooley
- Esther Farstan, teacher
- Edith Fox
- Peter Friedlander, assistant professor
- Gary Gant, Michigan Organization of Human Rights
- Thomas N. Gaughan
- John Gibbons
- Roy Glenn
- Gloria Graham
- Ella D. Guis, part-time faculty
- Perry A. Hall, Acting Director, Center for Black Studies
- Lois Harmons, Public Health Nurse
- Ernie Haynes
- Karen Haynes
- David Herreshoff, professor, English Department
- Frank Hicks, Rouge Militant Caucus, UAW Local 600
- Rosanne Hostnik, member, Student-Faculty Council
- Ken Johnson

- Jackie W. Jordan, communications technician, AT&T; Executive Board, CWA Local 4050
- Marie Jordan
- Peter Kellog
- H. Samuel Kemp
- Harry M. Kevorkian, President, Ann Arbor Transportation Employees Union
- Virginia B. King
- Eric Klein, AM Fraternity
- Thomas Klug, member, Student-Faculty Council
- James Knight
- Jerry Kosko
- James T. Lafferty, attorney
- Nick Latravis, member, Student-Faculty Council
- Richard F. Lee, Stock Manager (Student Center Building)
- Ray McClymonds
- Roxanne McDuffie
- Julia McMullan
- Jeff Martin, ex-member, Michigan Student Assembly; Black Student Union, U of M
- Dwight Matlock, Student Assistant
- Paul J. Maurice
- Denise Lynn May, Admissions
- Membership Action Committee, AFSCME Local 1583
- Ron Miller
- Don Montgomery
- Keith Moru
- Larry Nelson, Job Service Rep., M.E.S.C.
- Paul R. Payne, Teamsters Local 243
- Louise Rodowich, WSU staff
- Revolutionary Socialist League
- Revolutionary Workers Group
- L. Schinzel, teacher
- Patricia Smith
- Caroline Taylor
- Sandra K. Tomilenko, member, Student Newspaper Publication Board
- James W. Toy, Michigan Organization of Human Rights
- Daniel Uselman
- Bessie Vuhoojac
- Janice Walzy, Student Activities
- Counseling
- George B. Washington, instructor, Labor Studies Center
- Robert F. Williams, author, *Negroes With Guns*
- Tyrone Williams, music critic, *South End*
- Saul Wineman, assistant professor, Weekend College
- Anna Zirinski, designer
- John Zupan, ex-president, AFSCME Local 1497

Organizational affiliation listed for purposes of identification only.



Workers Vanguard Photo

Poland...

(continued from page 1)

subsidies at one end, 90 percent of Poland's hard currency pours out the other to pay off loans.

Whither Poland?

Certainly the privileged and corrupt Gierek bureaucracy is incapable of mobilizing the self-sacrifice of the Polish proletariat in the name of socialist construction, so sooner or later (and probably sooner) a new explosion will come. The question remaining is: *which way will it go?* For Trotskyists only one program offers a way forward for the Polish workers—the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution. When the workers exercise political power directly they will sweep away the mismanagement and privilege endemic to the present regime. And they will place no faith in the Stalinist pipe dream of “socialism in one country”—rather they will seek the road of international extension of socialist revolution which alone can end the domination of world imperialism and replace it with rational international economic planning. Insofar as the recent upheavals have won the Polish workers greater freedom to struggle for such an end *Young Spartacus* supports the strikes and the gains made.

The grievances of the Polish workers are many, real and just. The August mobilizations were overwhelmingly proletarian in composition. But indignation at repulsive symbols of social inequality like special stores for party members, or at vindictive bureaucratic acts (like the sacking of worker militant Anna Walentynowicz just before retirement which is said to have sparked the Lenin Shipyards occupation), have been exploited both by pro-Western dissidents and the Roman Catholic church. And if the Polish priesthood acted with care this time (partly from fear of Soviet intervention and partly from fear of their own ability to control a full-blown uprising based on the proletariat) the hold of the church on wide sections of the masses, and over key strike leaders, was only too evident.

While strikers paraded with pictures of Zbigniew Brzezinski's Polish pope, rabidly anti-communist Wojtyla-John Paul II, they sang the national hymn. And Lech Walesa—Gdansk shipyard leader—threw pictures of the Virgin Mary in the air on his way to meetings and even signed the “settlement” with a one-foot souvenir pen from the pope's visit. (Meanwhile, in case the significance of the Polish events for the U.S. bourgeoisie's anti-Soviet, anti-communist war drive was lost on anyone, Walesa's father, a resident of this country, has been posing for pictures with Ronald Reagan!) And when 150,000 people demonstrated to commemorate the 1920 defeat of the Soviet Red Army by the reactionary bourgeois-nationalist Pilsudski the

contradictory character of the Polish crisis should have been crystal clear to anyone who wanted to see. *In Poland there exist the social bases for either workers political revolution or clerical-nationalist inspired social counterrevolution.* It is this that sharply distinguishes Poland today from Hungary in 1956 or Czechoslovakia in 1968, where the essential choices were political revolution or Stalinist restabilization

in Poland will be built from the ranks of those workers who hate the bureaucracy but are not repelled from the ideas of genuine communism by the perversions and crimes of Stalinism. Such workers will not be taken in by the ravings of priests and pro-imperialist dissidents but will rediscover and uphold the long-standing and proud traditions of Marxism in Poland.

The resolution of Poland's economic

and distribution, and foreign trade from the bureaucracy.

For Proletarian Internationalism and Socialist Planning!

Although the *existing economic base* of the advanced capitalist countries may appear attractive to many Polish workers as dissidents tout the virtues of life in the “free world,” the notion that Polish workers might have a better future under capitalism is a *rotten deception*. *Scientific American* (September 1980) shows the *growth* of the advanced capitalist countries between 1950 and 1976 at an annual average rate of 4.4 percent against 7.7 percent in the East European deformed workers states. And today Polish workers certainly have a standard of living (plus old age pensions, health care, etc.) which compare very favorably with large sections of their West European counterparts and would make most British workers envious. The question is one of building on the existing *socialized* property relations and making further advances. And as a first step a revolutionary government would break with the past disastrous policies of the bureaucracy by repudiating the debt to the capitalist banks. Against the inevitable reaction of (in particular) the West German bourgeoisie to such a measure the Polish proletariat must learn again to place its trust in the strategy of *proletarian internationalism*. To the West German workers and all the proletarians of Europe the Polish workers must appeal: We do not want to be the clients of your masters but your comrades in a new venture—international socialist economic planning in a Socialist United States of Europe! Such was the strategy of Lenin's Bolsheviks and such is the strategy of Trotskyism today.

And it is in the same spirit of proletarian internationalism that the Polish proletariat must address the Russian working people. While all wings of the dissident movement seek to stir up anti-Russian chauvinism in the tradition of Pilsudski the Stalinist bureaucracy has assisted the same process—most directly by hanging the threat of Soviet intervention over even purely economic strikes. And for their part the Soviet masses rightly fear the threat of capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe—to the point where they would support crushing a Polish workers uprising if the Kremlin bureaucracy could present it as a counterrevolutionary upsurge. Such a future outcome will only be counteracted if the Polish proletariat stands firmly for the military defense of the USSR and all the deformed workers states against NATO and the U.S.-led anti-Soviet war drive. Such a strategy alone opens up the prospect of proletarian political revolution in Poland and its extension to the USSR itself—and for the Polish proletariat this is not merely a useful tactic but a question of survival.

- For trade unions independent of bureaucratic control and based on a program of defending socialized property!

- For the strict separation of church and state! Fight clerical-nationalist reaction! Guard against capitalist restorationism!

- Promote the collectivization of agriculture!

- For workers control of production, prices, distribution and foreign trade!

- For proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy—for a government based on democratically elected workers councils (soviets)!

- Break the imperialist economic stranglehold—cancel the foreign debt! Toward international socialist economic planning!

- For military defense of the USSR against imperialism! For the revolutionary unity of the Polish and Soviet working classes!

- For a Polish Trotskyist party, section of a reborn Fourth International! ■



Workers shake Stalinist regime, but kneel before Catholic church.

and openly counterrevolutionary forces never assumed a preponderant role.

A Workers Poland, Yes! The Pope's Poland, No!

The struggle for workers political revolution in Poland demands the construction of a Trotskyist party. And such a party will be forged in implacable struggle against not only the Catholic church, but also dissident groupings like the social-democratic Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) which simultaneously seeks to appeal to Western imperialism, bloc with the church, conciliate the bureaucracy and make workers struggles the instrument of a counterrevolutionary program. Against the demand of the MKS for the free access of the church to the media—the further legitimization of the priesthood as the only legally recognized opposition and its establishment as the effective “state church” of a deformed workers state—Polish workers must be won to reassert a basic demand of the *bourgeois-democratic* revolution: For the strict separation of church and state! The struggle against capitalist restoration in Poland has the struggle against clerical-nationalist reaction as a central plank.

A Polish Trotskyist party will also differentiate between the genuine need for independent trade unions, necessary in a workers state to guard against mismanagement and bureaucratic abuse, and the rotten hypocritical use of the “free trade unions” slogan by people who pick up their politics from the CIA-backed “Radio Free Europe.” If the new “self-governing” unions get under way for any period of time the best Polish workers will fight to ensure that they base themselves on a program to *defend* socialized property. A Trotskyist party

crisis is indeed inseparable from the fight against the power of the church. After the 1956 crisis in Eastern Europe Gierek's predecessor, Gomulka (who was himself deposed by the upsurge of Baltic shipyard workers in 1970), abandoned the collectivization of agriculture. Today farming is chronically inefficient even by East European standards, with 80 percent of agriculture in private hands and a large rural petty bourgeoisie. A third of the country's labor force uses methods literally no more advanced than the horse-drawn plow. Improperishment amid what Marx called the “idiocy of rural life” still provides the powerful social basis for appalling cultural backwardness, mystification and the worship of icons. When Poland has a revolutionary workers government it will promote the collectivization of agriculture—not through Stalinist terror but through giving cheap credits and generous social services to those peasants who pool their land and labor while higher taxes would be imposed on those who seek to retard progress and remain small-time capitalists. Such measures will do more to eradicate Catholicism than thousands of materialist tracts.

Poland's cycle of crises, strikes by both workers and peasants, and the threat of capitalist restoration will continue as long as Stalinist mismanagement is allowed to survive. Escalating wage demands in an economy that can't meet them is no solution. This only generates rationing by long queues and the parallel black market of petty capitalists, while inequality in distribution continues to exist. With a perspective of rational socialist planning through a government based on democratically-elected workers councils the Polish workers must struggle to wrench control over production, prices

Spartacus Youth League Forums

A Workers Poland, Yes! The Pope's Poland, No!

Speaker: Joseph Seymour,
Spartacist League Central Committee

Ann Arbor

September 11, 7:30 p.m.
Michigan League Library, 3rd floor
University of Michigan
For information call: (313) 994-9313

Toronto

September 12, 7:30 p.m.
Hart House, South Dining Room
University of Toronto
For information call: (416) 593-4138

Cambridge

September 25, 7:30 p.m.
Phillips Brooks House, Parlor Room
Harvard University
For information call: (617) 492-3928

Boston

September 26, 12:00 noon
Room to be announced
Boston University
For information call: (617) 492-3928

Yahoos...

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primaries. North Carolina Nazi Frank Covington narrowly lost the Republican nomination for attorney general, and Klansman Tom Metzger won the Democratic nomination for Congressman from Orange County, California. The only *real* alternative for blacks is to politically break with the twin parties of capital, primarily the Democrats to whom they have been tied since Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Black workers have no illusions in the "American Dream" to lose. As the most militant section of the labor movement, black workers are strategic in the fight to break the American working class from the twin parties of capital and forge an independent workers party based on the unions.

Right-Wing Extremism Made Respectable?

The Reagan challenge for the White House is particularly ominous—and the fact that he has a good chance of winning indicates the degree to which the social/political climate of the country has shifted to the right. But Reagan has a shot at the presidency precisely because Jimmy Carter has made right-wing warmongering politics (not to mention "ethnic purity" racism and "born again" fundamentalism) respectable. Only with Ronald Reagan could Carter be passed off as a "lesser evil"—but the Democrats have never looked more evil. It was Carter's "human rights" crusade which promoted the "moral rearmament" of a new anti-Soviet Cold War drive. It was Carter and the Democrats who strove to refurbish the tarnished image of post-Vietnam America and who whipped up a reactionary chauvinist hysteria over the Iran embassy seizure. It was under Carter's administration that Medicaid abortions were ruled unconstitutional, registration for the draft was initiated, "boat people" and anti-Castro criminals were embraced by the U.S. and the police powers of the FBI/CIA were strengthened.

Reagan, however, certainly does sound like a mad-bomber lunatic. During the course of just one week last month, he managed to call for resumption of diplomatic relations with Taiwan (while his running mate, ex-CIA chief George Bush was trying to butter up the Peking government), praise U.S. imperialism's savage genocidal war against Vietnam as a "noble cause" and even announce that there are "great flaws" in the theory of evolution!

Reagan insists that he is not "trigger happy," but his mad quest for "military superiority" over the Soviet Union earned him the endorsement of the right-wing Veterans of Foreign Wars, which has never before endorsed a presidential candidate. In Detroit, a black and union city, Reagan demagogically calls for "more jobs," but his racism and anti-unionism are well-known to the fascist Klan/Nazis, who say Reagan is the man for them! But anyone who thinks that Reagan is just a fringe element or a bad joke is living in a dream world; and Carter paved the way for the acceptance of Reagan's reactionary brand of Republican Party politics.

"Independent Alternative"—What Anderson "Difference"?

The widespread dissatisfaction with the Carter and Reagan camps has spawned considerable interest in the "alternative" candidates who are going after the Kennedy vote: John Anderson and, to a much lesser degree, Barry Commoner. Particularly on college campuses, these "independent" candidates are attracting a following not seen since the "Clean with Gene" McCarthy days of 1968.

Anderson supporters are quick to point to their candidate's support for minimal democratic measures aimed at women and blacks as an indication of his liberal credentials. But the Anderson "difference" is no different. John Ander-

son is actually nothing more than a rightist bourgeois politician whose "credentials" are identical to the racist, anti-working-class policies of his presidential opponents. He is a conservative Midwestern Republican running on the Democrats' program, an "idea man" whose "ideas" consist only of ways to make the workers pay for capitalism's crisis, an "independent" who is so indistinguishable from Carter and Reagan that even he admits there is no reason for him to start a third party.

Anderson puts himself forward as the candidate with the "tough but honest answers," striving for the disaffected Kennedy liberals and the same "honesty vote" which Carter played for with his "I'll never lie to you" pitch in 1976. However, Anderson's whole campaign is one big lie. In order to pass himself off as the last of the genuine liberals, he has to hide or denounce practically everything he has done in his twenty years in Congress.

He has voted against raising the minimum wage and against extending it to farmworkers. He supports the "youth opportunity wage" scheme to pay young workers 85 percent of the minimum wage, has voted against providing black lung benefits to coal miners and is pushing for a 50 cent-per-gallon gas tax. While he now claims to be against the MX missile system, he voted for it a year ago, and he supported Carter's anti-Soviet Olympic boycott. On registration for the draft, Anderson says he is against a "peacetime" draft—which is exactly what both Carter and Reagan say. And not to be outdone on the "born again" circuit, Anderson sponsored the crank "Jesus Amendment" in Congress, designed to submit the United States to "the authority and law of Jesus Christ." Of course, with his new-found liberal constituency (which presumably includes non-Christians), this has become quite an embarrassment for Anderson, and he has since renounced the amendment. Suffice it to say he did submit it to Congress *three* times.

If Anderson has nothing to offer the working class, the only thing that ecologist Barry Commoner's campaign offers is a laugh. "Small is Beautiful" is the theme of Commoner's Citizens Party, with a platform of utopian schemes, small-change gimmicks and nauseating social-patriotism. The eco-faddist supporters of Commoner look back wistfully to the days of free-enterprise capitalism and are fundamentally anti-technology and just as anti-working-class as the other capitalist candidates. "There is nothing wrong with profit, or with private ownership," their founding document insists. The problem is that corporations are "unaccountable" and that, while "protecting the U.S. from aggression is worthwhile," some new weapons are "unnecessary." What these petty-bourgeois offshoots from the Democratic Party offer is an insanely utopian and backward view of the world. In fact, the eco-faddists are simply the petty-bourgeois reflection of bourgeois austerity. If there's not enough to go around under the current system, they argue, then let's go *back*. Whether they like it or not, the days of the windmill and horse-drawn plows are over. The question posed is which class shall control and organize production,

for whom and how will technology be developed? Of course, with the possibility of a nuclear holocaust facing the world, the eco-freaks just may get a chance to find out what "back to nature" really means.

The Only Alternative: A Class-Struggle Workers Party

The elections bear a plain simple message to American youth: there just isn't much of a future in capitalist America. Go to school—to learn the bible's version of "creation"? Graduate—but who can find a decent job? Go out to a movie—but if it's *Deep Throat* the cops might confiscate the film! Have sex—but it had better be heterosexual, married and missionary position, and should you get pregnant, abortions are harder and harder to get, especially for teenagers and the poor. To top it off you'll likely be drafted to fight for Church, Country and Capitalism!

The "choice" between Carter/Reagan/Anderson provokes a general response of "Oh, shit!" because many people know that no matter which one of these nuts wins (and, frankly, Anderson has a snowflake's chance in hell), everything will remain relatively unchanged. Of course, the "parade of personalities" is difficult to ignore. We've got a Southern peanut boss (who's been attacked by a "killer rabbit") trying to hold his ground against an aged ex-TV cowboy and a white-haired professor-type off on one last fling in his political career. And all three are certifiable religious fanatics.

We are told that we *have* to choose from among this ruling-class menagerie. Why? An election is not going to change the fact that the American economy is shot to hell; that the Klan and the Nazis (and government agents) are gunning down blacks, trade unionists and communists in broad daylight; that U.S. imperialism is headed for war with the Soviet Union. Come November 4, laid-off Detroit auto workers will still be standing in unemployment lines. Black unemployment will be even higher. The Equal Rights Amendment still won't be passed. And whoever is in the White House will still be telling us that "life is unfair."

Of the collection of ostensible "socialists" which populate the U.S. left, none are so craven nor in such a ridiculous position as the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. These supposed "practical politicians" who advocate the "left wing of the possible" support the Democratic Party program but not its candidate! If you ever wanted a portrait of impotence, it's DSOC pleading that the Democratic Party (of which they are "active, proud" members) return to the golden days of FDR (and the depression and World War II). If it's cynicism you want, there's the DSOC line that "When America has fulfilled its promise, it's been under Democratic leadership. And—even at times such as these when America's problems threaten to overwhelm its promise—many Democrats speak for hope and most Republicans for fear." Hope? For a future of capitalist "peace and prosperity"? We have no such hope. For that matter, neither do most Democrats.

Unlike DSOC, both the reformist

Socialist Workers Party and the U.S. Communist Party are running "independent" presidential candidates. The SWP campaign was discredited before it began—not only are they running a slate of Andrew Pulley (who scabbed on a strike of railway workers in 1978) and Matilde Zimmermann (who authored their reactionary support to anti-homosexual "age of consent" laws) but these social democrats have turned their back on defense of the USSR and show a touching faith in the reformability of the bourgeois state. From advocating federal troops to integrate Boston schools to calling on the Houston cops to "clean up" the fascist filth (who are often cops in sheets) that attacked the SWP headquarters, from uncontrolled adoration of Iranian mullahs to support for every variety of anti-Soviet "dissident"—these "socialists" tail the "liberal" bourgeoisie (if they can find it!).

The Communist Party, were it to deviate from its usual "guns vs. butter" rhetoric and support for Democratic Party candidates in various local elections, were it to come out in its election campaign for defense of the degenerated Soviet workers state against Carter's war drive, might be worthy of very critical support by Trotskyists. However, the CP has done no such thing. While subjectively much of the CP/YWLL membership may feel elementary solidarity with the Soviet workers against the U.S. war drive, the Gus Hall/Angela Davis campaign has refused to make the military defense of the USSR against the U.S. a campaign issue. While the CP is not supporting Carter, it is not burning its bridges to the Democratic Party in the name of an independent party of the working people. They continue to support so-called "progressive" capitalist politicians like Ron Dellums and Coleman Young who belong to the same party as Carter and Metzger.

The next president will likely launch a capitalist offensive, with unions as the chief target. But while the unions have suffered some important defeats lately, they are by no means defeated. What is needed is the forging of a workers party based on the unions, one which breaks the workers from both the Democratic and Republican Parties and from the labor bureaucrats and black misleaders who keep them tied to the parties of capital. The fight for a workers party and a workers government is the only real alternative to the racism and economic misery endemic to capitalist society.

The American Century lasted only a few decades before being flushed down the drain, and the American Dream has turned into a nightmare. None of the candidates for president can "re-industrialize" the U.S., revive decaying capitalism or prevent imperialism's inevitable drive toward World War III. These tasks require the revolutionary expropriation of the exploiters who live off the sweat of the working masses—a fight against bourgeois rule. It is to this fight that the Spartacus Youth League and Spartacist League are dedicated. If the 1980 elections provide no choice, there is still a choice for those dedicated to social justice and the emancipation of the oppressed: fighting for the forging of a party of the working class to lead all of the oppressed to a socialist future. ■

SYL Class Series

ABCs of Communism

Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.
beginning September 10
Student Union B112
San Francisco State
University

San Francisco

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—Marxist Literature—

Bay Area
Friday: 3:00-6:00 p.m., Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California, phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m., Saturday: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd floor
Chicago, Illinois, phone: (312) 427-0003

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Saturday: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario, phone: (416) 593-4138

Just Opened!

New York Spartacist League Public Office

41 Warren Street
(one block below Chambers
Street near Church Street)

Office hours:
Saturdays: 1:00 p.m.-5:00 p.m.
Tuesdays: 6:00 p.m.-10:00 p.m.
Phone (212) 267-1025

"Baby Dissident"...

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tions over the role of the state in family affairs and the dangers it poses. The 23 July *Chicago Sun-Times* wrote, "There are so many other unanswered questions about the case of little Walter Polovchak that we wonder if the decision to grant him asylum was motivated more by its propaganda potential than by its fairness and justice." The American Civil Liberties Union has intervened on the side of the Polovchaks, denouncing the INS decision to grant Walter political asylum.

Kidnapping for Capitalism

The action of the U.S. state in kidnapping the Polovchaks' child is an outrage, and brings up the question of the state's ability to take away the children of lesbians, members of religious minorities and leftists on the grounds that their particular political or personal views make them "unfit." Any parent could be next.

In 1957, the U.S. tried to steal the four sons of the Kozmin family—the youngest of whom was three years old—when, after years in Nazi slave labor camps, displaced person camps and American mental institutions, the parents decided to return home to Russia, behind the "Iron Curtain." Even in the Cold War reaction of the '50s, this provocation was too outrageous to succeed. The state, however, did succeed in murdering Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in the



Walter Polovchak with new-found "Big Brothers"—U.S. government agents.

consensual sexual activities, and on the other hand seizes a 12-year-old boy from his parents, because like millions of his peers the little brat doesn't want to leave his bicycle! For the U.S. press and their capitalist masters, little Walter is a one-man freedom flotilla. But what can you expect from the same people who lock up thousands of youth who run away from home every year in brutal state reform schools, or cause hundreds of teenage girls to obtain dangerous, illegal abortions because they cannot get one otherwise without parental consent? Laws like the age of consent are not designed to protect children but to give

The Polovchak case is not a cynical maneuver by the U.S. bourgeoisie against a rival "imperialist" state, as the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade portrayed it in an otherwise sympathetic article, "Patriots Slobber Over Soviet Kid" (*Revolutionary Communist Youth*, August 1980). In both the Kozmin and Polovchak cases, the U.S. state has made it clear that, in its implacable hostility to the Soviet degenerated workers state, even the Lindbergh Act is subordinate to the machinations of class hatred. The capitalists don't just want one Soviet kid, they want the whole Soviet Union for their own. And they know that for this, they must crush every vestige of the Russian Revolution, especially the collectivized property forms which determine the proletarian class nature of the state. For them kidnapping the Polovchak child is another ploy to whip up the necessary anti-Soviet hysteria in the U.S. to lay the basis for war with the Soviet Union.

The American Communist Party temporarily sidestepped its slavish appeals for détente to harshly protest the crass hypocrisy of the Polovchak case in the pages of the *Daily World* (1 August).

"...The authorities would have returned the child to his parents without a single question if they were bound for England and the fact is, they would do the same for any right-wing dictatorship like Chile. What about the "freedom" of the Polovchak parents to rear their children without the fear of kidnapping?"

For our part, it would be somewhat appropriate if Walter were sent back to the Soviet Union to grow up and be drafted to fight with the Red Army in Afghanistan, where to take a child's life is a family's right by Islamic law. Give Walter back to his parents! Let him have his bicycle, if he wants. Stop state intervention into families' lives! Down with Carter's anti-Soviet "Human Rights" crusade! ■



Julius and Ethel Rosenberg: framed and electrocuted in Cold War human sacrifice.

electric chair after a sham trial convicted them, with no direct evidence, of releasing defense information to the USSR. The Rosenberg children were not even allowed to keep their parents' name!

Margareth Miller, a lesbian, won custody of her daughter Jillian after a two-and-a-half year court battle in the city of Oakland (see *Women and Revolution* No. 18, Spring 1979). A rare victory, this case is only one of a series of legal fights that have surfaced in recent years where mothers, because of their sexual preference, have been denied custody of their children.

And what about Walter's 17-year-old sister? The Polovchaks are not suing for her custody and nobody else has made a peep about her. (Nobody is screaming about 17-year-olds, except when it's sexual!) The Polovchak case logically raises the question of the effective age of consent and reveals the cruel hypocrisy of the bourgeois state. On the one hand it drives Roman Polanski out of the country (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 192, 10 February 1978), for having

the capitalist state the ability to intervene into the private lives of people to enforce the sexual morality of the nuclear family.

The Anti-Soviet Walter Weapon

The bourgeois state has no right to intervene in the private affairs of people. Right-wing Hungarian emigré Tibor Machan admits that "ordinarily, parents have the right to take their children anywhere they go" (*New York Times*, 28 August), but this is "godless Russia" and Machan wants to wage holy war. Therefore, he continues, "ordinarily, however, parents are not marching off to a totalitarian dictatorship."

The bourgeois state normally doesn't allow deviations from the nuclear family, which exists in bourgeois society to enslave women, repress children and prop up some of the most reactionary aspects of capitalist society. The crass interference and trampling of the rights of the Polovchak family is an exhibition of the lengths to which the state will go in its anti-Soviet campaign.

Anti-Draft Protests ...

(continued from page 12)

equals anti-communism.

Boston area protests against registration were organized by the Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft (BAARD), a coalition dominated by eco-freaks who have perfected the art of "direct action" at their semi-annual "occupations" of the Seabrook nuclear power plant. "Direct action," presumably, is where you lie on your back and wait for the cops to drag your limp-rag body away. BAARD's rally of 300 in Boston Common on July 19 was an opportunity for these no-nukes and their "left" tails to rail against "Soviet aggression." With the rally's largest organized contingent (described by the *Boston Globe* as "a serious looking group"), the SYL cut through the anti-Sovietism of the speakers with its banner: "No to the draft! No to Carter's anti-Soviet war drive! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

The SYL's politics rankled the anti-communists in BAARD, particularly the Shachtmanite International Socialist Organization (ISO), which perpetuates the myth that the USSR is "state capitalist," as bad as, if not worse than, the U.S. Thus prior to the Cambridge rally the ISO fought to exclude the SYL from BAARD meetings. Trying to justify the exclusion, one member of the ISO said, "We're not anti-communist; we're anti-Spartacist." Not anti-communist? Try this one on for size:

"We ask you to listen to Carter and Reagan with the same suspicion with which you hope the Russians listen to Breschnev [sic]. Offer Mobil Oil and Walter Cronkite the same skepticism you offer revolutionaries who pass out leaflets."

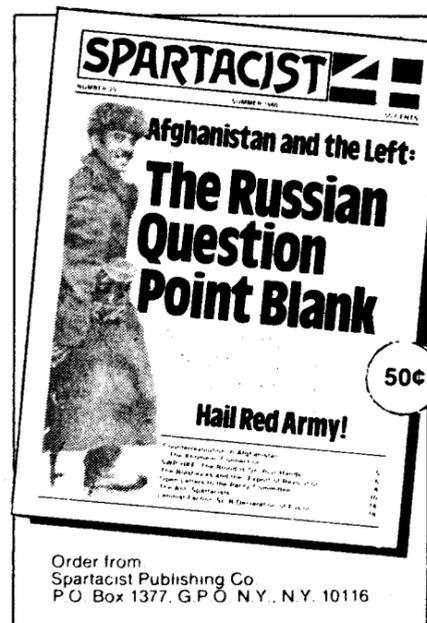
—ISO leaflet, Chicago
21 July 1980

But getting rid of the communist SYL didn't erase the "stigma" of communism. At the Boston Post Office the following Monday (July 21) BAARD was attacked by a group of reactionary construction workers singing "God Bless America." Not to be outdone, the BAARDers started singing it too! Even this "jingo bells" glee-club act didn't persuade the mounted police that BAARD was just a bunch of all-American kids. The cops waded into a small crowd of BAARDers engaged in civil disobedient (and defenseless) "direct action," brutally beating and arresting about 40. Despite the gulf that separates us from the mindless patriotic, pacifist BAARD, the SYL demands that all charges against these anti-draft activists be dropped.

In **Cleveland** the SYL faced a similar exclusion from the Emergency Coalition Against the Draft (ECAD). At a protest of about 250 at the post office in Public Square, the SYL made a significant impact with its Soviet defensist line, while the rest of the participating left organizations simply ducked the issue. The Communist Party (CP) was so intent on avoiding the issue of the USSR that it came to the next ECAD meeting looking for a way to exclude the SYL.

They saw their chance when the SYL refused to endorse ECAD's affiliation with the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) nationally. Their motion to exclude the SYL was seconded by a self-described anti-communist. However, when a CP supporter grossly cop-baited the SYL, he had gone too far even for the anti-communist, who withdrew his second; the motion was resoundingly defeated.

Why does the Stalinist CP go after the only group that defends the USSR? Because under the climate of anti-Sovietism created by Carter's war-mongering, the CP cowardly tries to avoid the entire issue so it can maintain "unity" with the viciously anti-Soviet



Cub Reporter's Shocking Exposé: SYL Recruits Humans!

What makes the Spartacus Youth League tick? Dan Malovany, cub reporter for the *Daily Northwestern*, decided to find out. "Undercover investigation" looked like the only way. So, leaving his pad, pencil and press pass in the safekeeping of a fellow Coho Breakfast Club member, Malovany embarked on his "mission impossible."

After attending a public forum and a party, afterward at the SL/SYL's Chicago headquarters, Northwestern's own Jimmy Olson had enough to blow the case wide open. It was no "Watergate of the left," but his article did reveal the following startling facts: 1) The SYL ensures that all prospective recruits learn its politics by reading and attending classes; 2) SYL members must defend the organization's politics and participate in its activities; and 3) SYL members drink, dance and laugh!

Of course, we could have told Malovany all this and more if he had asked for an interview, and his "exposé" would have been far more accurate. But accuracy wasn't what Malovany was after. Instead he ran to the sneaky social democrats of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) hoping to dig up some mud. DSOC was more than happy to supply him with lies and cop-baits, which Malovany blithely slung around in the interests of God, Country and Yellow Journalism.

According to Malovany the SYL was "virtually unknown" before last year, even though in 1974 Malovany's *Daily* ran a front-page article on a Northwestern Spartacist Club member who ran for Student Government president. Malovany also wrongly asserts that "by the beginning of this year the group had been banned from campus." Not true, despite the efforts of Malovany's DSOC friends. Last year DSOC called the cops to have an SYL member thrown off campus for selling our newspaper, *Young Spartacus!* How ironic then that Malovany couldn't resist repeating the slander that the SYL is a cop front, quoting DSOC's Mike Loftin to this effect.

Also thrown in is the charge that the SYL is "disruptive," like "the German radical Spartacus League." The leaders of the Spartacus League were



Malovany's "scoop."

murdered by agents of the German social democracy, members of the same phony "Socialist" International to which DSOC belongs. The charge of "disruption" is intended to open us up as targets for exclusion, repression and violence. It is a slander which paves the way for gangsterism. Social democrats like Loftin seldom perform such acts in

their own name but instead appeal to the bourgeois authorities to do the dirty work for them, unlike the Stalinists who frequently supply their own thugs. In all cases, however, the charge is motivated purely by hatred for Trotskyist politics. As for Malovany, there's a bright future awaiting him—at the *National Enquirer!*

liberals. As the CP's youth front group, the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), wrote in its *Young Worker*: "The experience of building the March 22 demonstration against the draft shows that some activists would like to inject anti-Sovietism into the present upsurge against militarization.... This serves no purpose but to split the anti-draft movement" (April 1980).

"Some activists"? The YWLL's spokesman at the New York Main Post Office demonstration on July 21 was asked by *Young Spartacus* if he would defend the USSR in a war with the United States. "No," he retorted forthrightly, "but if the U.S. was invaded I would defend the U.S.!" Shades of Eurocommunism? By pushing the class-collaborationist line calling for a "relaxation of tensions" between the U.S. and USSR, the CP/YWLL winds up with... anti-Soviet members! Thus it is the Trotskyists—not the Moscow-approved American Stalinists—who are the only real defenders of the USSR.

In Madison on July 21 some 400 people participated in a demonstration at the main post office. Under the "leadership" of groups like DSOC and the Brzezinskiite Maoists of the Revolutionary Student Union (RSU), the Madison Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (MCARD) ran the protest as a liberal pacifist affair, pushing "two superpowers" rhetoric and "self-determination" for Afghan feudalists against the Soviet degenerated workers state.

Earlier in July the SYL learned that

MCARD was using the strike breaking *Capital Times* newspaper for publicity. The newspaper strike was a major defeat for the Madison labor movement, and *Capital Times* is notorious as a scab outfit. Thus the SYL proposed to MCARD that as an elementary act of solidarity MCARD should break all relations with *Capital Times* and stop having its leaflets printed by scab printers. But the anti-labor "socialists" of DSOC and the RSU fought to preserve MCARD's scabbing on the printing unions! At least in treachery they are consistent: these very same people spent last spring scabbing on the hard-fought Teaching Assistants' strike.

In San Francisco 500 people joined a picket line, march and rally on July 19 organized by Students and Community United Against the Draft (SCUAD). Led by the anti-Soviet League for Revolutionary Struggle (LRS), SCUAD marshals repeatedly but unsuccessfully tried to attack and silence the militant SYL contingent. The SYL's chants of "No pacifist illusions! For Workers Revolution!" and "Hail Red Army! Smash Islamic Reaction!" were seen by the Maoists in SCUAD as a potential embarrassment to their featured speaker, liberal Daniel Ellsberg. It was Ellsberg who embarrassed SCUAD, though, when he questioned the IQs of the youth who were registering and asserted that an army based on the draft would be "a blue-ribbon army of nitwits."

Most of the anti-draft groups called

on youth to individually resist the draft by refusing to register. CARD now asserts that these appeals were successful, and that about 12 percent, or 500,000, of the eligible young men failed to register. Whatever the accuracy of CARD's figure, there was undoubtedly a much lighter turnout for registration than the Selective Service Administration (SSA) had expected.

Given the government's bungling, that's not at all surprising. One SSA official admitted that prior to registration, the government had issued only one piece of printed information—and it was inaccurate! Then the program was "on again/off again" because of a courtroom battle on its constitutionality, with lingering doubts over the law's real force. Now the SSA is getting serious. Citing the stiff penalties for failing to register, SSA assistant director Brayton Harris says, "We'll forgive late registrants. We're not likely to forgive those we find later who haven't registered."

YSA Tails "Don't Register" Illusions

One group, the ex-Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), has been "swept away" by CARD's moralist pacifism. Ever on the prowl for a "mass movement" to tail after, the YSA did a complete flip-flop when it realized that individual draft resistance might be popular. Up to two days before registration began, the YSA advised *against* refusing to register. By early August, however, they sang a different tune.

Listen to one John Wood, a draft-age YSAer:

"As the time for registration approached, it was clear to us in the YSA that something new and important was happening. It's clear that very large numbers of young people, young working people and others, see this [refusal to register] as an effective way to oppose the whole thing."
—*Militant*, 8 August 1980

While some of those who failed to register may have seen this as a political act, it is a petty-bourgeois illusion to believe the draft can be stopped by individual registration evasion. When the imperialist bourgeoisie needs its draft, neither "constitutionality" nor individual resistance will stand in its way. By counseling refusal to register, CARD and its YSA tail are ensuring that a generation of the most politically conscious youth will be removed from social struggle by jail or exile. Nothing could do the bourgeoisie a greater favor—but then, the YSA is willing to pay that price for the sake of a few prospective recruits from CARD!

If drafted, radical youth should go into the army. They should strive to give the soldiers' grievances communist direction and win rank and file soldiers to the side of the working people and the oppressed. You can't prevent imperialist war by copping out and running to Sweden or Canada. Rather, the way to stop the imperialist war machine is to teach American workers and soldiers that their real enemy is at home. It is to this task that the SYL, as the youth section of the Spartacist League, is dedicated. ■

Young Spartacus

Draft Registration Brought Back

SYL Fights Anti-Sovietism at Anti-Draft Protests

On July 21 the U.S. government clumsily reinstated military draft registration. Backed up by the threat of five years in prison and fines of up to \$10,000, Carter's registration law forced millions of 19- and 20-year-old men to offer up their lives for the imperialist aims of the American capitalist class. President Carter used this forced march to post offices across the country as an election ploy intensifying anti-Soviet sentiment among the American populace. Draft registration has thus brought World War III, one step closer.

In anti-draft demonstrations in the major U.S. cities, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) was the *only* left organization that recognized the implementation of registration as part of the anti-Soviet war drive. In a leaflet distributed in Chicago on July 21 we wrote:

"Despite the massive bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state since the time of Lenin and Trotsky and the absence of workers democracy, the economic cornerstones of socialism—a planned economy and collectivized property—still exist. These historic advances must be defended against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. It is the task of the Soviet workers to oust the bureaucratic caste through political revolution."

In contrast the July 21 demonstrations built by the myriad of anti-draft coalitions offered more of the same anti-



New York City anti-registration protest, July 21.

Sovietism that has fueled the war drive. The largest of these protests, a rally of some 2,500 in New York organized by Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC),

revealed blatant anti-communism when one of the featured orators declaimed, "If you want to fight communism you have to fight poverty, illiteracy and disease." But DSOC's demonstration

was only the most frankly anti-communist. By more circuitous routes the other anti-draft actions proved the same point, namely, anti-Sovietism *continued on page 10*

Give "Baby Dissident" Back to Parents

State Department Kidnaps Soviet Kid

"They're kidnapping my boy!" cried anguished father Michael Polovchak in Ukrainian as a Chicago judge awarded custody of his 12-year-old son Walter to the U.S. government July 19. In "Human Rights" America, where "the family that prays together stays together," this ominous intervention is only the latest provocation against the Soviet Union made by an increasingly dangerous and irrational ruling class to mobilize for war.

The Polovchaks, emigrés from the Soviet Ukraine, had decided that life in the U.S. was not all it was cracked up to be—no free medicine, no free housing and mass unemployment. Moreover, working as a janitor and a cleaning woman was probably not their idea of the American Dream as sold to them by their anti-Soviet dissident "friends." So they decided to pack it up and head back home to the Soviet Union.

When little Walter decided he'd rather stick around and ran away from

home with the aid of his anti-communist 24-year-old cousin and the Ukrainian Baptist Church, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the State Department stepped in. Suddenly 12-year-old Walter becomes a front page hero and his parents are made out to be dupes of the Soviet Union (like Soviet ballerina Ludmilla Vlasova, who was held hostage by Carter on an airplane for three days last summer). Julian Kulas, Walter's right-wing Ukrainian-American attorney and member of the Helsinki "Human Rights" Monitoring Committee, uses precisely this slander against the parents:

"He (Polovchak) is confused. It can be scary for them when they come out here to Chicago. But now I am sure he has been brainwashed by the Soviet Embassy about going back, when all they want is to get him back to make propaganda about how life is bad in the United States."

—Chicago Tribune, 21 July

While the Polovchaks are left to twist in the wind, the bourgeois press has had a field day with its freckle-faced "baby dissident," their latest anti-Soviet cause célèbre ("Walter, who said bananas were his favorite food..." etc.). In his first statement to the press, Walter pleaded for political asylum on the basis that "I have new friends, a nice school, a bicycle I fixed myself, and I don't want to be sent back" (*Chicago Tribune*, 20 July).

Don't "Leave it to Beaver"

In Carter's racist, anti-Soviet America, blacks fleeing death at the hands of Haiti's Tonton Macoutes ("Baby Doc" Duvalier's hired killers) are labeled only *economic* refugees and are sent back in leaky boats to Haiti. At the same time a 12-year-old Russian child, who suddenly decides that his bicycle and "new friends" in Chicago's virulently anti-communist "Little Ukraine" communi-

ty are all-important, is snatched from his parents and immediately granted political asylum! The ugly side of the U.S. government's policy on "asylum" is all too clear. Cuban criminals? Cambodian "boat people"—the dregs of Cambodian society—who spend their time eating French poodles in Golden Gate Park? Sure. Afghani "freedom fighters" are on their way as well. But not refugees from right-wing terror by military juntas like Chile. Nor the Jewish survivors of Hitler's death camps. Nor Mexican workers seeking work. The case of Walter Polovchak and political asylum in the U.S. must be seen in this context.

The patent hypocrisy of the state's intervention has made this provocation difficult for a lot of people to swallow. While openly sympathizing with the anti-Soviet propaganda surrounding the case, editorials across the country have registered mealy-mouthed reserva- *continued on page 10*