

Young Spartacus

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Obscene Imperialist Coronation

The man who ran for U.S. president on a program of governmental thrift had the most expensive inauguration in American history, a spectacle reminiscent of the Tinseltown extravaganzas of Cecil B. DeMille. And as the capitalist politicians wallowed in luxury and limousine traffic jams, thumbing their noses at the American working class, inflation and unemployment are worse than ever. On January 21, the very first day of the Reagan administration, 10,000 lined up to apply when Inland Steel Company in East Chicago, Indiana announced it was taking applications. They began showing up the night before—only to discover the next morning that there were *no jobs!* Inland was just "updating its applications file."

Reagan's four-day inaugural fanfare cost \$11 million, mostly in interest-free loans from "private sources," to be repaid in part by the sale of \$3 million worth of commercials by American Express, Pepsi Cola and Atlantic Richfield during the Monday night gala televised by ABC. It began with an \$800,000 light show at the Lincoln Memorial, with music by the Army Band and the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, a laser beam show and fireworks which blazed Reagan's portrait across the sky.

The Monday night gala sported Hollywood stars celebrating the ascent to power of one of their own: MCed by Johnny Carson and featuring Bob Hope (the one-man traveling show for American troops in Vietnam), Charlton Heston, Dean Martin and Donny and Marie Osmond. The gala producer was Frank Sinatra, the alleged link to the Mafia prostitution ring which supplied John F. Kennedy during his years in the White House. And Tuesday evening, after innumerable luncheons, concerts, art shows, 21-gun salutes, bell peals and flocks of hot-air balloons—and finally the inauguration ceremony itself—Ronald and Nancy Reagan circulated between nine different balls, held in an atmosphere of glittering fashion and chauvinist fervor over the newly-released American hostages.

Thus the American bourgeoisie crowned its new "king," Ronald Wilson Reagan, the Republican who made his first reputation in politics fighting leftist and communist influence in the Screen

Gary Post-Tribune



"Let Them Eat Cake," America 1981. While new prez and wife in \$25,000 gown dance the night away, 10,000 in East Chicago freeze to apply for zero jobs at Inland Steel.

Actors Guild, who testified to HUAC in the 1950s when Hollywood was black-listing "subversive" performers. This is the man who, in a 1964 speech supporting Goldwater, accused Lyndon Johnson of favoring a "Marxist" system of redistributing the wealth—the progressive income tax! In this same speech—which catapulted him to national prominence overnight—Reagan said that the U.S. was "at war with the most dangerous enemy ever known to man."

A zealous and single-minded anti-communist, he became interested in politics after his "disappointment" with the outcome of World War II. His view of communism seems to come right out of the '50s movie "The Manchurian Candidate." As governor of California, he authorized some of the most brutal repression of the student protests against the Vietnam War and was widely quoted for his call to "drown the universities in blood."

Hostages: Disgusting Imperialist Hypocrisy

The inauguration ceremony took place at the west wing of the Capitol before the largest audience ever.

(George Washington had to borrow the money to make it to his 1789 inauguration in New York City.) The television cameras panned from one historic monument to another amidst a nauseating display of rah-rah America flag-waving and cheering which burst into a frenzy of chauvinist rejoicing when the official announcement of the Iranians' release of the American hostages came through at 2:30 p.m.

Since then, the hostages have had as much TV and radio time and front-page coverage as the new administration—it couldn't have been better timed if it had been deliberately choreographed! Tales of "torture" and indignities suffered by the hostages in Iran have alternated with photos of their crying families amidst battalions of yellow ribbons. Outraged congressmen have threatened to renege on the multi-billion dollar deal Carter worked out with the Iranian government, while the *New York Post* headlines scream, "IRAN'S ANIMALS!" (22 January). And what were these supposed tortures? One man complained that they took away his watch. Their food? Until the American rescue fiasco, the embassy cook prepared the

menu! Afterward, they had to eat greasy potatoes, rice and tea, a better diet than that of the average Iranian. They were locked up, sometimes in solitary confinement. Some were subjected to mock executions or beaten. But for the black youth in America's hellhole prisons, these are everyday events. Black insurance salesman Arthur McDuffie was *beaten to death* by cops in Florida last year—for speeding! The hypocrisy of the American ruling class knows no bounds: *they* are the ones who built the CIA and its corps of expert torturers, who created the "tiger cages" of Vietnam and trained the shah's infamous SAVAK. The "Phoenix" program in Vietnam systematically tortured and liquidated at least 20,000 people—but the only Americans who died a violent death in Iran were the eight Marines in the "rescue" mission, killed because their American military equipment failed!

Reagan "Renewal" Means Renewed Attacks on Labor, Blacks

So what's in it for Americans, besides another hour of Johnny Carson and some off-season fireworks? Nothing good, if you happen to be black, working class or a woman. It's no wonder Wall Street was celebrating, although even some capitalist politicians found the extravagance a bit too much of a slap in the face of the American people, who are watching soaring inflation and wage-gouging eat away their incomes. The theme of Reagan's inaugural speech was "Let Us Begin an Era of Renewal." And what does "renewal" mean to this 69-year-old

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Inauguration of a Workers State

In October 1917, the Bolshevik Party led a Russian proletariat sick of war and poverty in a victorious insurrection against the Kerensky government. The slogan of the revolution was "Land, Bread, Peace"; masses of landless, ignorant, poor peasants, for years the cannon fodder in the tsarist army, also flocked to the banner of the Bolsheviks.

A few days after the insurrection, a Soviet of Peasants and Workers was convened in Petrograd. Lenin, in hiding since the "July Days," when the government hunted down and jailed Bolshevik leaders and revolutionary workers and soldiers, first emerged to address this gathering. This was Lenin's "inauguration," so to speak. Here Lenin's Bolsheviks accepted the reins of power which had been torn from the hands of the landlord class and their capitalist allies. We quote below a passage from Ten Days That Shook the World by John Reed.

Kameniev was reading the report of the actions of the Military Revolutionary Committee; abolition of capital punishment in the Army, restoration of the free right of propaganda, release of officers and soldiers arrested for



Lenin addressing workers two years after Bolsheviks took power.

political crimes, orders to arrest Kerensky and confiscation of food supplies in private store-houses... Tremendous applause....

Other speakers followed, apparently without any order. A delegate of the coal-miners of the Don Basin called upon the Congress to take measures

against Kaledin, who might cut off coal and food from the capital. Several soldiers just arrived from the Front brought the enthusiastic greeting of their regiments... Now Lenin, gripping the edge of the reading stand, letting his little winking eyes travel over the crowd as he stood there

waiting, apparently oblivious to the long-rolling ovation, which lasted several minutes. When it finished, he said simply, "We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order!" Again that overwhelming human roar.

"The first thing is the adoption of practical measures to realise peace.... We shall offer peace to the peoples of all the belligerent countries upon the basis of the Soviet terms—no annexations, no indemnities, and the right of self-determination of peoples. At the same time, according to our promise, we shall publish and repudiate the secret treaties.... The question of War and Peace is so clear that I think that I may, without preamble, read the project of a Proclamation to the Peoples of All the Belligerent Countries...."

His great mouth, seeming to smile, opened wide as he spoke; his voice was hoarse—not unpleasantly so, but as if it had hardened that way after years and years of speaking—and went on monotonously, with the effect of being able to go on forever.... For emphasis he bent forward slightly. No gestures. And before him, a thousand simple faces looking up in intent adoration.

Coronation...

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former actor who was the preferred candidate of the Ku Klux Klan?

Black people know it means "renewal" of racist attacks and further emboldening of the Klan, which wanted to march in Reagan's inauguration parade. The acquittal of the KKK/Nazi murderers of Greensboro, who shot down five left and black protesters in broad daylight, is a green light for any crazed fascist fringe element—and they are multiplying. The token gains of the civil rights movement are being stripped away; "states rights," the old codeword for segregation, is the new trend in Washington. Reagan talks of an anti-busing amendment, while segregation in the wholly inadequate schools is in-

creasing. Even the Voting Rights Act is being challenged.

Reagan speaks of "renewing" the American economy, of balancing the federal budget. His program? Slash social services, eliminate food stamps, cut welfare, end job training for minority youth, throw out rent control. One of his first acts as president was to freeze all federal civilian hiring and order a 5-25 percent slash in budgeting. And on January 22 "pro-life" anti-abortion reactionaries demonstrated in Washington, urging Reagan to act on his anti-abortion stand and throw out the federal law which legalized abortion in 1973.

Cold Warrior Targets Soviet Union

There's one item on the federal budget

which Reagan wants to increase: military spending. In his presidential campaign he vowed to build a military so strong that "no nation on earth will dare lift a hand against us." And what will this huge army—to be manned most likely by the youth who have been registering under Carter's revival of the Selective Service—do? Already the U.S. is shipping millions of dollars worth of aid to the brutal El Salvadoran dictatorship to wipe out the guerrilla revolt there (see article on the back page). But El Salvador is only the first place where Reagan plans to get down to business. His real concern is to intensify the Cold War against the Soviet Union. "Must we let Nicaragua, El Salvador all become additional 'Cubas,' new outposts for Soviet combat brigades?" he asked during the campaign. Behind everything

he sees the "Red Menace." And behind the American intervention into El Salvador lies the possibility of World War III. U.S. Hands Off El Salvador! For the Military Defense of the Soviet Union Against Imperialism!

In this decaying society, where the future seems to hold ever grimmer prospects of more unemployment, inflation, racism, worsening education and housing, and potential nuclear annihilation, Reagan's talk of "renewal" sounds like a sick joke. There is only one kind of "renewal" possible for this society: socialist revolution. When the victorious proletariat holds power in its hands, then the basis will be laid for a new society which will sweep away forever the capitalist class and its political representatives. JOIN THE SYL! ■

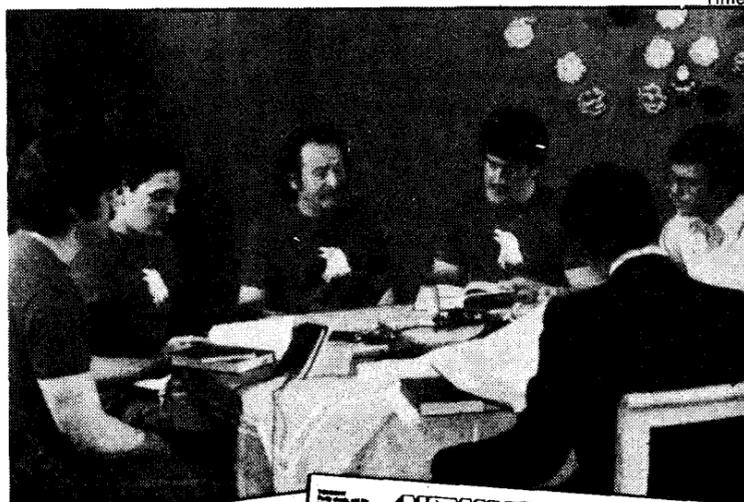
Shah's SAVAK/CIA Torture



The bourgeois press and politicians are working overtime trying to whip up hysteria over the indignities suffered by the American hostages in Iran. A weepy Carter bemoaned the "atrocities" while Reagan called the Iranians "barbarians." Of course, the Islamic fundamentalists running Iran today have indulged in some pretty disgusting barbarism, but hardly against the spies, career diplomats and Marines they held hostage. Death by stoning and other medieval methods of execution are reserved for "deviants" like homosexuals and prostitutes.

The hypocrisy of the U.S. rulers is revolting! It was American imperialism's CIA which trained the notoriously cruel SAVAK, the shah's secret police. Opponents of the U.S.-backed shah were burned with red-hot irons and forced to watch while their children were tortured. They had their fingernails pulled out, they were given enemas of boiling water and were electrocuted. Women prisoners were raped and had electric batons shoved into their vaginas. Not mock executions, but the real thing was part of the everyday terror in the shah's Iran. The Iranian proletariat must avenge the victims of SAVAK/CIA torture!

U.S. Hostages in Captivity



Report From YSA Convention

Reformist Pep Rally

INDIANAPOLIS—In the early morning hours of December 30, the final day of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) national conference, 23 police squad cars, one van, an ambulance and a unit of "canine corps" converged on the Hilton hotel. According to the 16 January *Militant*, "Cops piled into hotel elevators and headed for the seventeenth floor, where some convention participants had been holding a party." The cops demanded that Sam Manuel, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP, parent group of the YSA), "shut down the party or face arrest." Manuel was grabbed and the cops tried to handcuff him. YSA members cleared the room and the cops left; one cop was overheard complaining to another, "I thought you promised me a hot one tonight."

The Indianapolis cops clearly came looking for a head-cracking spree. The racially integrated YSA conference of "outside agitators" looked like a fine target. This massive police assault on the YSA conference is an outrage! We join with the SWP/YSA in protesting this cop provocation aimed at intimidating the left.

The ominous cop attack must have been quite a shock to YSA members given the "what me worry" tone of the convention. Just two days earlier, an *Indianapolis Star* report on the conference captured the theme with the

headline, "Shift to the Right a Myth, Young Socialists Say." According to one of the main convention reporters, Reagan's election is leading to a new "sweeping radicalization." For the SWP/YSA, everything is always leading to a new mass radicalization, of course. Has the YSA really managed to overlook the growth of the Klan/Nazi race-terrorists, the clamor of the "Moral Majority," the stepped-up anti-Soviet war drive, the danger of U.S. imperialist military intervention in Central America? Actually, no—the know-nothing pretense is sheer cynicism. In fact, the convention opened with an announcement—greeted with wild applause—that the El Salvador rebels intended to seize power *before Reagan's inauguration*.

The YSA's limp reformist program rests on the comforting lie that things are always getting bigger, better, broader and more radical. Each YSA conference assumes the character of an orchestrated pep rally. This year's recipients of yelps of YSA approval and standing ovations were the Grenadan nationalists and the Nicaraguan popular-frontists; the high point was Sunday night's "international solidarity" session, which ended with the singing of the Sandinista national anthem! Nobody ever seems to ask the embarrassing question: what ever happened to last year's gimmick? Some

years ago the YSA predicted the anti-nuclear "movement" would grow bigger than the anti-Vietnam War protests. Before that it was "divestment"; then it was the mullahs' "Iranian Revolution." Now it's the National Black Independent Political Party, touted as the biggest thing since the 1960s civil rights movement.

Although the Reagan election does not represent as simple a shift to the right as the crisis-mongering Democratic apologists would have us believe, plenty of workers voted for Reagan. For many of them, the vote indicated less an endorsement of Reagan's conservatism than their desperate dissatisfaction with

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Perspective Mundial, The Militant & Young Socialist invite you to

Visit Grenada March 9-16, 1981
For 2nd Anniversary of Revolution

Perspective Mundial, The Militant & Young Socialist invite you to

Visit Nicaragua
for Sandino Days
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Perspective Mundial, The Militant & Young Socialist invite you to

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YSA "Internationalism": Tourism, not Trotskyism.

Ann Arbor Hug-In

Revolutionaries Cream PUHF

While Ronald Reagan was being inaugurated in Washington, D.C., the Ann Arbor left-liberal "community" wallowed in sour grapes. A motley collection of left groups, notably the Communist Party's Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), came together for a gabfest revealingly titled "Toward 1984: The Challenge for Human Rights." The anti-Reagan "coalition" this bunch is trying to pull together, presumably to back another Democratic proponent of anti-Soviet "human rights" come next election, calls itself People United for a Human Future. PUHF—whose politics are as powerful as its acronym—explained to the assemblage that until 1984 "progressive-minded people" like themselves could do essentially *nothing*.

In contrast to the disoriented and frightened liberal left, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) refuses to mourn the discredited Democrats whose "human rights" campaign was a means to rearm U.S. imperialism ideologically and militarily against the Soviet Union, paving the way for Reagan reaction. And we have a perspective—to break the working class from the twin parties of racist, imperialist capitalism and unchain the power of organized labor in social struggle: economic struggles, anti-fascist mobilizations, anti-militarist action, etc.

The teach-in's keynotespeaker, American Indian Movement leader Russell Means, called (in between anti-homosexual "jokes") for the dismantling of technological society and the

subjugation of mankind to the "spiritual superiority of nature." The noontime "People's Rights Rally" was every bit as silly. Placards reading "Protect Your Mother Earth" and "Control Guns, Not Minds" abounded. After numerous speeches on how profound the day's events had been, it was suggested that everyone give each other a big hug—and they did. Ugh!

PUHF brought clerics to the conference—and not just the bleeding hearts, either. A panel discussion on "Perspectives on the New Right" featured the real thing—right-winger Dr. George Dollar, local Moral Majority maniac who spent his time denouncing immorality and communism and lauding the efforts of Jerry Falwell!

A workshop on women concluded that there is *no* best way to "fight the right" or extend the gains women have won—but the important thing is "women doing it themselves." A workshop on homosexual rights pointed to "coming out" as the most significant "political" act for gay activists. The one workshop where "me first!" was not the rallying cry was on U.S. foreign policy. After listening to presentations on the effect a ten-megaton bomb blast would have on Ann Arbor, most of the audience rolled their eyes skyward and bemoaned the coming doomsday. A spokesman for the mucho macho Revolutionary Communist Party expressed his fear of Soviet first-strike capacities in inimicable RCP gutter guttural. Two SYL spokesmen rose to the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism.

Local luminary Russ Bellant, president of the Wayne State University student government, was forced to make a hasty exit from his own workshop on racism and political repression in the U.S. Bellant is well known in Detroit for his attempts to sabotage SYL-initiated protests against the Klan/Nazis and the secret police. Most recently, he refused to support a broadly-endorsed rally to protest racist "justice" in Greensboro. Bellant became so enraged during the discussion period when his political record was pointed out by an SYL spokesman that he refused to answer and had to excuse himself from the room.

At a "Gay Concerns" workshop, a spokesman for the Ann Arbor cult/sect and master of disguises, the Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG), bragged about the closing down of a theater showing of the film *Windows* and urged people to join a "Gay Service Community Center," adding brightly, "We're writing the bylaws now." We know what that means: yet another front group of worker elves under the omniscient guidance of an RWG theoretician.

The YWLL workshop had as its "organizing" goal a national holiday in honor of Martin Luther King and his refrain of "if there is any blood spilled, let it be our blood." The SYL denounced the Communist Party's sectarian stance toward last April's anti-Nazi demonstration of 1,200 unionists, minorities and leftists in San Francisco. We explained this labor-based rally showed the power of our strategy of mobilizing

organized labor against racism and fascism. This irked the YWLL. Indeed, the mere mention of the words "working class" elicited screeches of "What is this working class?" from YWLL chair Ann Palmer.

The working class is the social force with the power to smash capitalist exploitation and oppression and open the road to a future of "peace and plenty" for all mankind. Young people who would rather change the world than mourn the decline of capitalist liberalism will find in our Marxist class-struggle perspective the way forward. ■

Young Spartacus

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No. 88 February 1981

Classroom No Refuge From Trotskyist Politics

Professor Angela Davis Gets a Lesson

She ran for vice president last year on the ticket of the Communist Party (CP). Her well-known battle against an attempted frame-up has given her a reputation for militancy. Angela Davis is among the most famous black Americans in the world.

In 1968, after studying philosophy under Herbert Marcuse at Brandeis University followed by further studies in Europe, Davis joined the CP and became active in black nationalist circles in southern California. In 1969 she accepted a teaching position in the Philosophy Department of UCLA but was witchhunted and dismissed by the Board of Regents in 1970. Later that year Davis was framed up along with Ruchell Magee on murder charges stemming from the killing of a Marin County judge who had sentenced militant black prisoner George Jackson. Jackson, 28 years old at the time, had been in jail since he was 18 on charges of taking \$70 from a gas station. He was subsequently framed up for the murder of a prison guard. In prison Jackson was killed by the guards. The California Attorney General contended that Davis conspired to murder the judge in order to avenge Jackson.

After spending two months underground as one of the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted Fugitives," Davis was apprehended in a New York City motel on October 13, 1970. She spent over a year in jail before a well-publicized protest campaign resulted in her acquittal in June 1972.

The Spartacist League defended both Davis and Magee from the government frame-up attempt, but the Stalinist campaign on behalf of Davis virtually ignored her less glamorous co-defendant. Like most blacks, Ruchell Magee was no philosophy professor, and so his case did not have the same appeal to the white middle-class liberals who made Angela Davis a cause célèbre. Magee went to prison, and Angela Davis went on the lecture circuit.

Davis is today a professor at San Francisco State University. Last semester students Hursey Bush and Cindy Putnam, members of the Spartacus

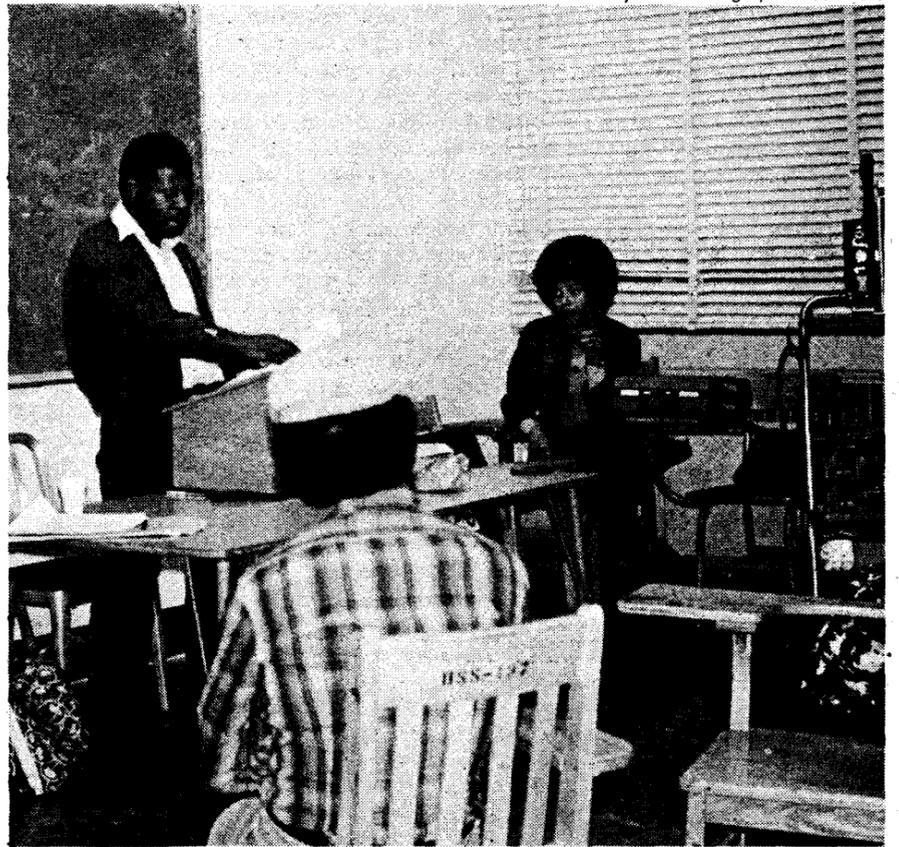
Youth League (SYL), took Davis' class. They challenged her to politically defend the CP's wretched Stalinist reformism, in particular its support to the racist Democratic Party. Davis could only reply pathetically that "I am not teaching this class as a Communist Party member!"

Who Fights Black Oppression?

One of the most heated class discussions occurred when Kendra Alexander, executive secretary of the California CP, came as guest speaker. The CP came out explicitly for support to Black Caucus Democrats, who Alexander argued fight "squarely" in the interests of blacks.

Against the CP's reformism, the SYL counterposed labor/black defense guards and the right to armed self-defense as absolutely necessary to combat racist terror. Alexander indignantly rejected workers defense guards as nothing but "pie-in-the-sky." (What must these people think about socialist revolution?) The SYL pointed to the concrete example of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, organized armed self-defense chapters formed in the 1960s to protect southern civil rights workers. But Alexander claimed that conditions today are different. So, what's changed? Blacks in this country are still the target of the most vicious attacks. The elementary right to bear arms is vital to defend blacks from marauding racists and cop terror.

Later at the same class the SYL took the floor again to challenge the CP position calling on the racist capitalist government to "ban the Klan." At this point Alexander wasn't going to take any more from the SYL. She angrily demanded, "Do you know what these people [SL/SYL] call for? I'll tell you what they call for... SMASH THE KLAN!!! Now what does that sound like to you?" Silence. And then from a mostly stunned class, who must have been thinking, "What the hell's wrong with that?" came a few replies. "Smash the Klan" means "fight them... not tolerate them..." In defending their legalist faith in capitalist "justice," the



Young Spartacus Photo

SYLer Hursey Bush addresses fellow students at SF State as CP honcho and class instructor Angela Davis prepares her next disruption.

CP stood exposed as having no strategy to defend blacks. Alexander tried to regain some credibility by stating that fascism should be "outlawed," but admitted it probably wouldn't change anything. She went on to denounce those with their "armchair" slogans, presumably "Smash the Klan!" But no one was buying.

The continued debate between the CP and the SYL culminated in a presentation in a later class in November by SYL spokesman Hursey Bush. (For an interview with Hursey, see "Interview with Black Ex-Marine: Down With the Imperialist Armed Forces!" *YSp* No. 86, November 1980.) We reprint below excerpts from Hursey's presentation and the exchange that followed.

Hursey: The civil rights movement was a mass movement for integration, but it was tied to the Democratic Party and it fell into the hands of the pacifist, non-violent methods of [Martin Luther] King. I would like to read a quote from King's book called *Trumpet of Conscience*:

"Bomb our homes and threaten our children, and, as difficult as it is, we will still love you. Send your hooded perpetrators of violence into our communities at the midnight hour and drag us out on some wayside road and leave us half-dead as you beat us, and we will still love you."

That's what King stood for to the very end.

Back before World War II, blacks that had sharecrops were spread out. Without any neighbor for thirty or forty miles, the Klan could come in and raid homes and burn up the whole area. Then after World War II, veterans came back from the war, and blacks became urbanized and had better means to protect themselves. Then you had the civil rights movement which King led, talking non-violence, which served to disarm blacks in their defense against Klan terror and police brutality. After a long while the civil rights movement had

won very few gains. This led to disillusionment and explosions within the civil rights movement in the South. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee—SNCC—took a more militant stance. They started to arm black communities against the Klan. Then you had the rise of black nationalism and the militant Black Panther Party. But they had no strategy for achieving black liberation, because the bounds of it were "separate but equal." They were annihilated by the police. They weren't linked to the labor movement so they were bound to be singled out by the FBI and the cops.

After that most of the leaders of the black nationalist movement either became Christians or liquidated into the Democratic Party. You can look at what the left did in this period. The Communist Party was channeling votes to the Democratic Party.

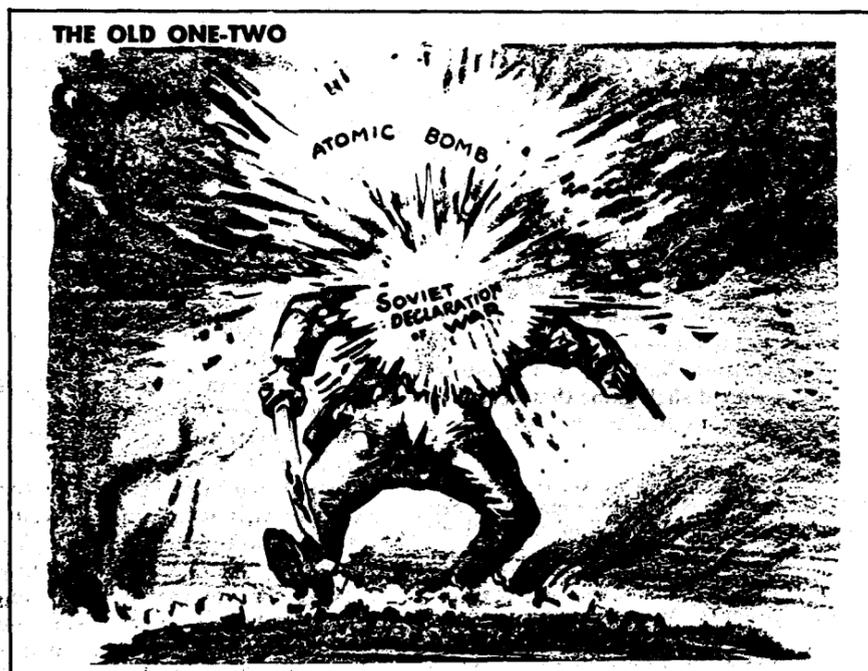
As a result of the vacuum left by the bankruptcy of the civil rights movement, and with the black nationalists no longer in existence, the Klan and Nazis grew. And look at what the left is doing: just last year the Spartacist League held a demonstration of 500, mostly auto workers and people from the black community in Detroit, to fight off a mobilization of the Klan. The Klan had planned to celebrate the killing of five people from the Communist Workers Party in Greensboro. What we came up against in that city was the Communist Party-supported mayor, black mayor Coleman Young, who refused a permit to the anti-Klan rally in Detroit! He also threatened to jail demonstrators for wanting to rally. Then in San Francisco, 1,200 people made sure the Nazis didn't celebrate Hitler's birthday. And you had a boycott by the Communist Party!

Davis: Let me just...

Hursey: And then you had...

Davis: Wait just one second Hursey. You said that you wanted to do a presentation dealing with the civil rights movement.

Hursey: Well, it also has to do with what's going on today and how the civil



CP's Daily Worker hailed World War II A-bombing of Japan. Davis explains "I was not yet born."

rights movement came to shape...
Davis: But if you want to share some ideas with the class I think that it's really important to establish the factual basis of those ideas. Or that the class is interested in listening to you mentioning the work of the Communist Party. And I'm certainly not counting on taking time out to dispute everything that you say.

Hursey: There will be discussion after the presentation... And then you had readers of the Communist Party's paper that wanted to find out why they didn't show up at the mobilization against the Nazis. Back during the civil rights movement, with the fascists still murdering blacks, the Communist Party was talking about "banning the Klan." You know, the courts are not into banning the Klan. The verdict in Greensboro is a glaring example. The courts freed the Klansmen [and Nazis] who murdered five people. The Klansmen are freed; they have a license to kill blacks in this country.

The Spartacist position is for labor/black mobilizations to stop Klan and Nazi terror. And that is the *independent* mobilization of labor, blacks and Latinos. You don't rely on the cops and courts to stop the Klan because they have no interest in doing it. And they have the Democratic Party, which Central Committee members of the Communist Party vote for! This is the party of Tom Metzger, the grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, who ran for Congress in San Diego for the Democratic Party. That's the party of big business and the Klan and conservatives.

I'd like to pose a question to you. Why does the Communist Party channel votes to the Democrats? Some vanguard of workers and blacks, their politics are tied to the Democratic Party! Now, I'd like to lay out...

Davis: It's important to get your facts straight before you pose questions. Let me say something, really, because if it is going to continue like this I think that the time of the class would be better used in discussing matters that are relevant to the course.

Hursey: O.K. I have something that is dealing strictly with the civil rights movement. This is a quote from the *Daily World* of 1 April 1978, when they talked about the civil rights movement and King and said that "he guided the movement for liberation.... He began to see the relationship between the class struggle and the struggle for equal rights. He also saw these struggles as part of the worldwide struggle against imperialism—U.S. imperialism in the first place." I'd like you members of the class to look at what King did. Can you determine where he began to lead the liberation of black people while preaching non-violence and while he supported the Democratic Party? He was bowing down to the capitalist system, talking about how our capacity to endure physical harrassment will wear the enemy down! What kind of position is that against U.S. imperialism?

I'd like to end up on what happened in this country during the presidential elections. The Gus Hall and Angela Davis campaign slogans were "Detente means jobs, return to detente and peace." All this rhetoric about "fight the right" is the same thing the Communist Party ran on years ago. They don't mention anything about military defense of the Soviet Union, which any serious candidate would have to address...

Davis: You should wind it up now so we can have a few minutes left for discussion.

Hursey: There's a lot of things that came out of the civil rights movement that took somewhat of a militant thrust, but you still had the leadership tailing after the Democratic Party. In order to wage any kind of struggle for black people or workers in this country you have to break with the conservative,

racist parties of big business and the fascists. The Spartacus Youth League and the Spartacist League don't think that there will be any gains for workers and blacks unless they break with the mainline parties....

Davis: Thank you. So what about some discussion?

[One student recalls a film about Malcolm X shown to the class.]

Cindy (SYL): I noticed when Malcolm X was talking about the white man sending people to other countries to shed their blood, he gave Germany as one example. The CP was all for the war effort and put the struggle for black rights on the back burner. It was like, segregated units were just fine...

Davis: But what does that have to do, I mean, even if that *were* the case, what does that have to do with the discussion that we're having now? The problem...

Cindy: Because Angela...

Davis: Wait, wait, wait, wait!

Cindy: You sit up there and get away with murder!

Davis: Now just one second. Wait a minute. I am teaching this class, *not* as a Communist.

Cindy: But you are in a party that...

Davis: Now wait just one second. We've devoted two sessions of this class to a

discussion of the philosophical contributions of Marxism and the Communist Party. But I really do not appreciate your efforts to use this class as a platform on which to continually attack the Communist Party. That is not what this class is about. We're dealing with a lot more than the Communist Party in terms of the evolution of black ideas.

Cindy: That's right...

Davis: And it's really disruptive... If both of you continue to...

Cindy: The thing is that you say things that deny your own history. Like last week in the women's sterilization class you brought up Japanese women being sterilized. Well the CP supported the bombing of Nagasaki, they expelled all their Japanese members. You should check out your own party if you don't know these things.

Davis: I know the history of the Communist Party a lot better than you, I can assure you...

Cindy: How can you show any kind of concern for Japanese women being sterilized when you supported...

Davis: I was, I was, ...not yet born at that time.

Cindy: You weren't, but your party did that. For you to stand up there and do one thing...

Davis: Wait a minute. Listen, you're taking class time, valuable class time. And I'm really going to have to ask you to leave if you continue to do that. As I said before, I am *not* teaching this class as a Communist Party member. Of course there are problems with the Communist Party. I'd be the first to mention that. There are things that I criticize the Communist Party for having done in the past and today. But every point that I make in this class I'm not going to let the students in this class know how the Communist Party stands today and has stood throughout [its] sixty year history... that's not the point of the class. And it really is disruptive in terms of our learning process where both [of you] are continuing to do that. And like I said, I sat patiently... I admit I did have to restrain myself a couple of times during your presentation...

Cindy: Well, that's what we do every day!

Davis: I agreed that you could do the presentation because you said you wanted to deal with the civil rights movement. But this isn't going to happen anymore in this class. It isn't. And we're going to talk about the subject that we're scheduled to discuss... ■



Cartoon from Muslim paper, *Muhammed Speaks*. In the 60s black militants despised King's pacifism.

On January 15 tens of thousands marched in Washington, D.C. to demand that the racist U.S. government make Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday. The very same day in Buffalo the Nazis staged a "celebration" of the racist murder that has with increasing frequency terrorized the black community in that city. Three scrawny brownshirts came out under heavy police cover, met by a counter-demonstration of hundreds of outraged protesters.

Mobilizing tens of thousands in Washington to listen to Stevie Wonder preach peace is a hollow gesture. The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), in its paper the *Militant*, hails the Washington demonstration, saying such "protests can be repeated to answer other racist victimizations, political attacks, and Congressional moves" (16 January). This is opportunism in the extreme.

The real defense of the oppressed black population requires mass labor/black mobilizations to smash fascist terror groups like the Nazis in Buffalo. Those who were mobilized in Washington should have been in Buffalo, joined by a hefty integrated trade-union contingent, doing just that.

King's program, embraced today by the "legal, peaceful" SWP, was limited

within the bounds of capitalist society, the economic basis for the oppression of black people. He called on the Democrats to use federal troops—the armed fist of oppression—to protect blacks from nightriding racists.

Such reliance on the bourgeois state is worse than a dead-end strategy, it's a dangerous one. Today, more blacks are murdered by cops than by even the Ku Klux Klan! A graphic example of King's methods and their results was the 1963 march to Birmingham. King wanted it to be peaceful, and he called on the "liberal" Kennedy to protect the marchers. The demonstration *would* have been peaceful had it not been attacked by cops wielding truncheons, dogs and water hoses powerful enough to take the bark off a tree.

Communists would rather celebrate the birthday of Malcolm X, a symbol of militant anti-racism. Unlike Martin Luther King, Malcolm X understood the political shell game that keeps the black masses tied to the Democratic Party:

"Conservatism' in America's politics means 'Let's keep the niggers in their place.' And 'liberalism' means 'Let's keep the Kneecrowns in their place—but tell them we'll treat them a little better; let's fool them more, with more promises.' With these choices, I felt that the American black man only needed to choose which one to be eaten by, the 'liberal' fox or the 'conservative' wolf—because both of

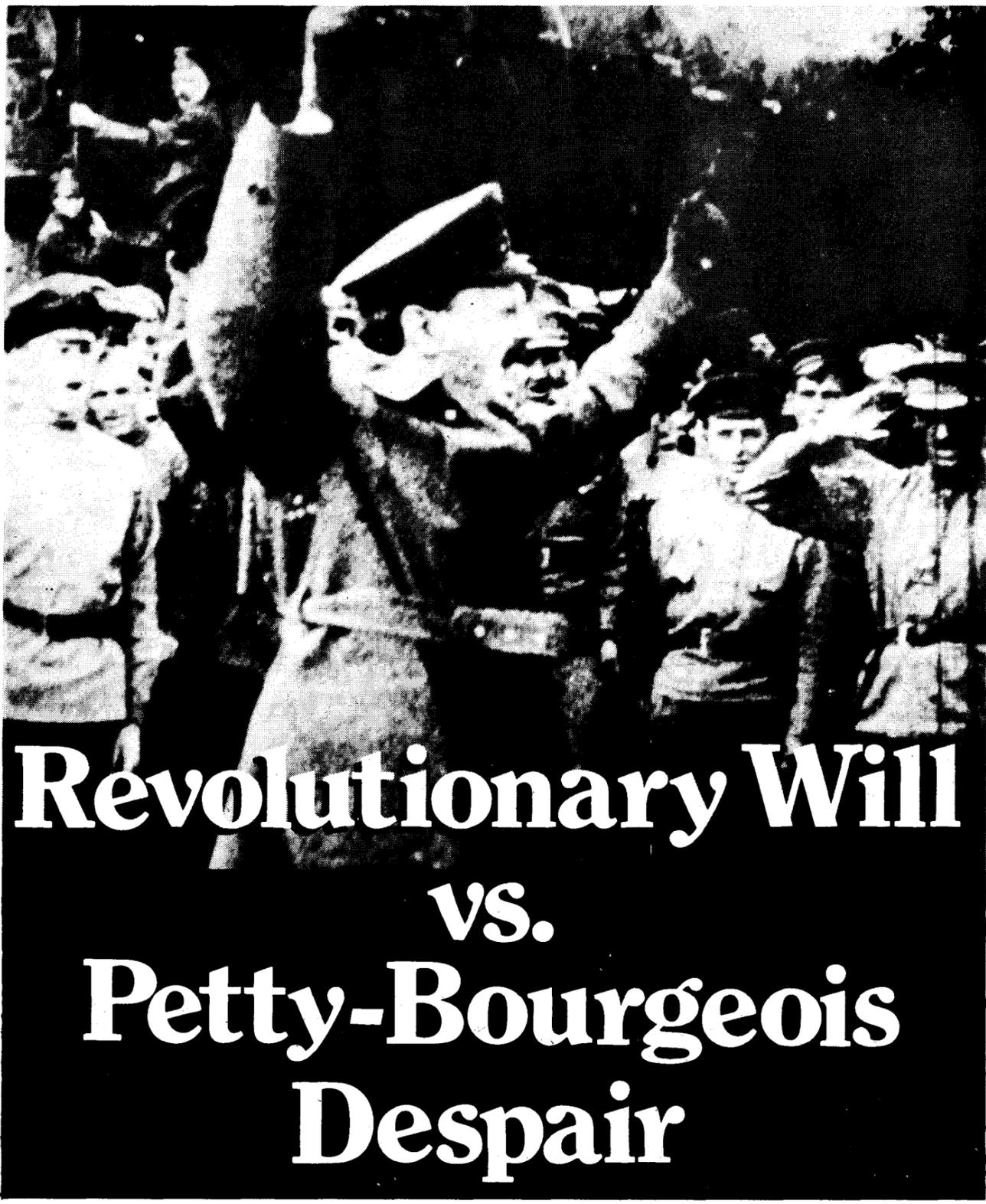
them eat him."

—*The Autobiography of Malcolm X*

King's pro-Democratic Party pacifism proved unable to secure real gains for blacks, many of whom sought an alternative strategy in black nationalism. They turned to militant nationalists like Malcolm X and the Black Panthers. But the nationalist program could only lead to the *acceptance* of existing segregation. "Community control" of the decaying ghettos of capitalist America was a strategy of despair and defeat. Malcolm X correctly pointed out that civil rights liberalism as advocated by King could never lead to the emancipation of black people, and that a revolutionary struggle would be required to bring down the institutions of racism. His assassination put an end to his search for the revolutionary program to guide that struggle.

Blacks are an integral part of the American economy, though thrust into its lowest layers. Black workers constitute a major sector of the industrial working class, and their social power is at the point of production. The black proletariat must play a leadership role in uniting the entire working class in the fight to smash racist capitalism. The "race war" advocated by the fascists must be answered and smashed by the racially united class war of the workers.

Martin Luther King: Martyred Misleader



Revolutionary Will vs. Petty-Bourgeois Despair

A revolutionary party unites into a cohesive political force the collective determination of its members to struggle—through success and setback—for socialism. This determination can be called revolutionary will. It is reinforced by the Marxist understanding that modern capitalist society contains the contradictions tending toward two historical alternatives. Either, on the one hand, the likes of fascism and/or nuclear war will destroy society as we know it and inaugurate a new era of barbarism; or the international working class, led by a conscious vanguard party, will conquer political power and proceed to replace the anarchy of capitalism with a society of peace and ordered economic planning. To the question, "Can we succeed?" revolutionaries reply, "We *must* succeed!"

The Spartacist League (SL) and Spartacus Youth League (SYL) recently received a resignation from a member who had devoted "the best two years of his life" to communism. Its author, Bruce Richard, was a leader of the left-wing Debs Caucus which exited the senile reformist Socialist Party in 1978. Renamed the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency (RMT), the group fused with the SYL in April 1979 (see Richard and Spiro, "How SP's Debs Caucus Was Won to Trotskyism," *Workers Vanguard* No. 225, 16 February 1979). In a declaration adopted prior to the fusion, the RMT wrote:

"...The objective prerequisites for socialist revolution have existed for decades; but the crisis of leadership must be resolved for the proletariat to realize its historic task: to seize state

power, politically overthrow and economically expropriate the bourgeoisie, and establish its own dictatorship as the transition to socialism.

"...The urgent task of revolutionaries is the resolution of this crisis of leadership by the forging of the revolutionary party, based on the program of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism for bringing socialist class-consciousness to the workers...."

—"Declaration of the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency, USA," 13 April 1979

Richard was an alternate to the SYL National Committee at the time of his quit.

As a resignation statement, Richard's document is perhaps unique in the SYL's history. Most resignations boil down to three words: "I give up." Richard argues that *everyone* should "give up," since human beings can't make history, but can only suffer its effects.

In passing he notes that he could have availed himself of the SL/SYL's democratic procedures for internal factional struggle. But he rejected that course because his new worldview obviates factions, struggles, programs and even brains. We reprint Richard's statement in full below, with a reply by *Young Spartacus*.

December 13, 1980

To the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League:

This statement is intended to clarify my present political position, as demanded by the local Party executive committee. It is also my resignation from the organization.

For most of the period of my membership in the SL, I have had doubts concerning the validity of the program and perspectives of the organization. For most of that time I have sought to evade and dissemble, to myself and to others, the political conclusions of these doubts. Recent events, including the demand of the local exec, however, have forced me to confront these conclusions.

I no longer believe, as I did when I joined the SL, that it is possible for a socialist society to [be] built as the immediate historical stage after capitalism; nor do I any longer believe that the construction of a 'vanguard party' with the fundamentally voluntarist perspective of intervening 'to change history' as the 'subjective factor', is either possible, or necessary to the social revolution which is actually taking place in our epoch.

Everywhere that capitalism has been overthrown, not socialism, but a new form of class society has been established. This new society has a ruling class which rules through its management of collectivized property, rather than through individual ownership of the means of production. The reason why this new ruling managerial class is able to come to power is because the toiling masses, as they emerge from capitalism, are in the vast majority without the skills necessary to the administration of the complex plan of a collectivized society. Social administration, then, must be turned over to specialists, both political and technical; once they have the power, sheer material interest, in a society of scarcity, drives

them to acquire and maintain material privileges through their appropriation of part of the collectivized society's social surplus product. As this condition, of the technical and social incapacity of the masses for collectivized administration, exists throughout capitalist society, it follows that wherever capitalism is overthrown, this new society—managerial collectivism—will replace it.

Managerial collectivism is historically progressive relative to capitalism. As Trotskyists know, these post-capitalist societies have made possible an enormous development of the productive forces, far beyond anything decaying capitalism can accomplish. Whole regions of the world which had lived for ages in a condition of feudal or colonial blight have been transformed within a generation or two into modern industrial states.

Social revolutions are determined by the development of objective conditions in human society, not by the intervention of human will. These objective forces find their own particular ideology as the reflection in men's minds of the historical process. The masses do not make social revolutions based on science but on utopian ideologies. The bourgeois revolution was made not in the name of capitalism but of radical democracy; the feudal revolution before it was made not in the name of feudalism but of the City particular revolutions [sic]—all equally are the subjective reflections of the particular historical process going on at the time.

For this reason the attempt to build a voluntarist Trotskyist party to intervene in history, and by sheer force of will lead the masses to go beyond the material possibilities of the epoch, is doomed to failure. This is why the Trotskyist movement, for most of its nearly 60-year history, has continually dwindled in size. And this is the reason for the continual repetition, in the SL itself, or in the iSt, of abusive and/or frenzied local and sectional leaderships; the latter are simply trying to compensate, by organizational means, for the objective-political failure of their program.

As I said above, I have had impulses along these political lines for a long time. When I was still a member of the Socialist Party, I had begun to have questions as to whether a new class society rather than socialism would be the successor to capitalism. I thought that in Trotskyism and the Spartacist League I had found a Marxist answer to these doubts.

It was the Logan affair in August 1979 that resurrected my doubts about the validity of the Trotskyist program acutely. It came out that for years an entire section of the iSt had been run in the name of communism and Trotskyism by a pathological maniac. It became clear to me that if such abuses occurred even within the small remnant of the revolutionary socialist movement that the SL defines itself to be, there must be some serious underlying problem with the politics of the organization itself.

At the same time, I was not yet sure of the nature of the problem. I still believed that by fighting for the SL the cause of socialism was advanced. I wanted to remain in the organization, and so tried to evade the political conclusions of my unease after the Logan affair. This went to the point, a year later, following Cde. Griffin's pre-conference discussion document detailing some of my suspicions of the organization around the mid-1980 Wayne campaign, of writing a document in an attempt to evade the conclusions of my remarks.

The destruction of the Detroit regime at the 1980 conference (and after) saw the repetition of the pattern of an abusive regime suddenly purged. This was a regime which had in the past been held up to us in Detroit as a model, and even after being criticized following the Nov. 1979 anti-fascist campaign, had still been heavily backed by the central leadership. I became increasingly cyni-

cal about the organization's ability to prevent these recurring crises, which boded extremely ill for its prospects of seizing state power and administering society after a social overturn. In this period it became clear to me that the reason for these recurrences was the futility of its chosen task. The objective process of the managerial revolution does not need a subjective vanguard, in the attempt to build such a voluntarist 'agent of history' it is not surprising that some leaders, at least, think that the answer to the failure of voluntarism is more voluntarism. Hence the abuses, etc.

As this became clear to me the organization's activities appeared more and more futile. I can no longer put off the course of action based on these conclusions: to fight inside the SL in the attempt to win a majority to my political position, or to quit.

From my perspective, the quest for an organization to intervene as the 'subjective', voluntarist factor in history must fail. The managerial revolution will continue regardless of the particular shadings and nuances of the various groups which claim the banner of socialism; which group the objective forces work through will be determined by those forces themselves. A faction fight in the organization on my politics, therefore, would be self-contradictory; there is nothing for me to 'win', organizationally speaking. Such a fight could only be for apolitical, subjective reasons, and would serve no historical purpose.

I therefore resign from the SL/SYL. I have the deepest differences with the organization and I do not expect that our relations in the future will be friendly. There are, however, many of you whom I do respect as individuals very much. On a personal level I am sorry that politics drives us apart. But I cannot in honesty remain [in] an organization with whose fundamental principles I disagree.

Ryan
[Bruce Richard]

In January 1943 Adolph Hitler ordered the annihilation of Tito's Yugoslav partisans. During the next six months over 100,000 soldiers of the Wehrmacht and its allies mounted two terrible assaults (the fourth and fifth Nazi offensives in Yugoslavia) against Tito's main force of 20,000 fighters, 4,000 wounded and 1,000 civilians. The partisans were poorly armed, and what heavy equipment they had was lost when a makeshift bridge collapsed. No aid came from the Soviet Union, or from anywhere else. They were doomed, as any "expert" could have seen. By June the partisan dead numbered 12,000. But the Chetniks, Serbian

guerrillas who collaborated with Germany in the offensives, had been dealt a death blow, and the partisans had regained the initiative against an exhausted German army.

The partisans were eventually victorious. According to Richard's schema this outcome was solely "determined by the development of objective conditions." But Richard's dictum flies in the face of reality. Without their determination to succeed, the partisans would have been crushed. It was precisely the "intervention of human

days before leaving office Zbigniew Brzezinski commented, "History is much more the product of chaos than of conspiracy." Of course, that Brzezinski can counterpose only "conspiracy" to chaos is due to his limited experience: as a bourgeois politician, he knows of no other conscious factor. The frustrated bourgeois politician and the demoralized ex-communist are bonded by their fatalistic acceptance of reality *as it is*.

"The point is to change it."

Marx wrote, "The philosophers have

in hand with the most extreme subjectivism. Fatalism very commonly proclaims its own state of mind to be an inevitable law of history." It is not Marxism that elevates history to an automatic "process" and excludes conscious human activity as a factor. At best a vulgar "Marxist" who wraps himself in "objective forces," Richard is at core an idealist. From his puny conjunctural discontentment, Richard derives a worldview of... human puniness! Thus he writes, "... which group the objective forces work through will be determined by those forces themselves." The "objective forces," then, don't just give history its broad outline, they even "determine" which group they will "work through"! If Richard is going to worship the supposedly omnipotent "objective forces," why doesn't he save a step and say that *god* is the Great Determiner? "Which group the objective forces work through" (assuming Richard means which group will *win*) is, in fact, determined by *political struggle* carried on by the members of each group.

Historical fatalism is the common refuge of petty-bourgeois intellectuals who are content to comment upon events from the sidelines. In 1940 Leon Trotsky polemicized against a group of pseudo-Marxist intellectuals who "explained" the defeat of the Spanish revolution in 1937 by reference to the "condition of social forces," thereby excusing the centrist party, the POUM, that helped prepare the debacle:

"The attorneys of the POUM simply deny the responsibility of the leaders, in order thus to escape shouldering their own responsibility. This impotent philosophy, which seeks to reconcile defeats as a necessary link in the chain of cosmic developments, is completely incapable of posing and refuses to pose the question of such concrete factors as programs, parties, personalities that were the organizers of defeat. This philosophy of fatalism and prostration is diametrically opposed to Marxism as the theory of revolutionary action."

—"The Class, the Party and the Leadership," *The Spanish Revolution* (1931-39)

By his account, Richard's despair grew in response to two leadership configurations—one maniacal, the other morbid—in the international Spartacist tendency. Despite the fact that the leaderships in question were either replaced or rebuilt, Richard concluded that "there must be some serious underlying problem with the politics of the organization itself." In fact, bureaucratism and abuse are serious *deviations* from the politics of the organization. A party in which such practices were accepted would be programmatically incapable of leading a successful revolution. The sole safeguard is a membership that defends the revolutionary integrity of the organization. Richard despairs, not of the

continued on page 8

The Role of Personality

Our author substitutes mechanistic determinism for the dialectical conditioning of the historical process. Hence the cheap jibes about the role of individuals, good and bad. History is a process of the class struggle. But classes do not bring their full weight to bear automatically and simultaneously. In the process of struggle the classes create various organs, which play an important and independent role and are subject to deformations. This also provides the basis for the role of personalities in history. There are naturally great objective causes which created the autocratic rule of Hitler but only dull-witted pedants of "determinism" could deny today the enormous historic role of Hitler. The arrival of Lenin in Petrograd on April 3, 1917, turned the Bolshevik Party in time and enabled the party to lead the revolution to victory.

Our sages might say that had Lenin died abroad at the beginning of 1917, the October Revolution would have taken place "just the same." But that is not so. Lenin represented one of the living elements of the historical process. He personified the experience and the perspicacity of the most active section of the proletariat. His timely appearance on the arena of the revolution was necessary in order to mobilize the vanguard and provide it with an opportunity to rally the working class and peasant masses. Political leadership in the crucial moments of historical turns can become just as decisive a factor as is the role of the chief command during the critical moments of war. History is not an automatic process. Otherwise, why leaders? why parties? why programs? why theoretical struggles?

Leon Trotsky, "The Class, the Party, and the Leadership"

will" in the spring of 1943 that was an essential precondition of the Yugoslav revolution.

A political gulf separates us from the insurrectionary leader/Stalinist bureaucrat Tito. What distinguishes us is our political program and the social force we seek to mobilize. Given its Stalinist leadership and peasant base, the best possible outcome of the Yugoslav revolution was the bureaucratically deformed workers state that exists today. Our goal is to mobilize the working class in seizing state power in its own right. But we draw inspiration from Tito's "voluntarist" statement, made during a respite between Nazi offensives, that "If human beings are really determined to do something, they will do it, even if all calculation shows it to be impossible."

Ex-comrade Richard finds himself in strange philosophical company. A few

only interpreted the world in various ways. The point, however, is to change it." Marxists recognize the development of mankind's productive forces, generating *social classes engaged in class struggle*, as the motor force of history. Before the development of capitalist society brought into being the proletariat, history proceeded "in the manner of a natural process" (Engels), not subject to the conscious collective will of any class. Capitalism has raised the forces of production to the point where, for the first time, man can consciously master those forces and, hence, human history. The precondition for this is socialist revolution, itself an act of conscious intervention into history by the proletariat.

In the Marxist classic *The Development of the Monist View of History*, Georgi Plekhanov commented, "Fatalism in general marches frequently hand

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"Experts do not usually take sufficient account of the strength of the human will," asserted Tito. What "expert" would have predicted defeat of

Nazi forces (left) in Yugoslavia? At right, partisans guard column of German prisoners.

Revolutionary Will...

(continued from page 7)

revolutionary party, but of *himself*. Attacks on the alleged "futility" of our chosen tasks are not new to the Marxist movement. Time after time, small revolutionary organizations have been "advised" that principled communist political struggle is fruitless. In late 1916, for example, the French socialist Boris Souvarine argued against Lenin's insistent call for a split with the social-chauvinists ("socialists" who supported their "own" imperialist governments during World War I) and the formation of a new, Third International. Souvarine said of the proposed Third International, "Its activity would be blighted by sterility, for numerically it would be very weak." Lenin countered Souvarine's myopic pessimism:

"The genuine revolutionary internationalists are numerically weak? Nonsense! Take France in 1780, or Russia in 1900. The politically conscious and determined revolutionaries, who in France represented the bourgeoisie—the revolutionary class of that era—and in Russia today's revolutionary class—the proletariat, were extremely weak numerically. They were only a few, comprising at the most only 1/10,000, or even 1/100,000, of their class. Several years later, however, these few, this allegedly negligible minority, led the masses, millions and tens of millions of people. Why? Because this minority really represented the interests of these masses, because it believed in the coming revolution, because it was prepared to serve it with supreme devotion."

—"Open Letter to B. Souvarine," December 1916, *Collected Works* Vol. XXIII

One month later, Lenin told a group of young Swiss socialists, "We of the older generation may not live to see the decisive battles of this coming [European] revolution" (*Ibid.*). But even in his most pessimistic moments, Lenin never made a program of defeatism. In practically the same breath Lenin warned against being deceived by "the present grave-like stillness in Europe." He knew that the proletariat, in one moment seemingly immobile, could in the next moment engage in great convulsive struggles. His central concern was that a revolutionary party would at the proper moment be in a position to intervene in these struggles and lead the working class to victory. That is precisely what the Bolsheviks did ten months later.

"Managerial" Pessimism

The ex-communist Richard would interrupt at this point to inform us that the Bolshevik Revolution was not a victory of the working class, but a "managerial revolution." According to him, history is a string of swindles in which the oppressed are mobilized under demagogic slogans to place other better-off classes in power. During the next entire epoch a "progressive," "new form of class society" called "managerial

Minneapolis general strike, 1934. Top: National Guard arrests V.R. Dunne, Trotskyist strike leader. Middle: striking teamsters win key battle against police, and shut down scab trucking. Bottom: strike bulletin announces victory. "The employers have vast resources and great power: their money, the kept press, the police, the militia... But [Teamster Local] 574 has even greater resources to draw upon: the inexhaustible energy of the working class, its capacity for endur-



ance and sacrifice, the solidarity of our fellow workers in other trades, the sympathy of the great majority of the population, an honest and courageous leadership and—our own daily paper."—James Cannon

al collectivism" will inevitably cover the globe.

Richard's ideas on "managerial revolution" are not original; they have just been collecting dust on library shelves for several decades. It was probably embarrassment that prevented Richard from mentioning James Burnham, the theoretician he plagiarized. Today, Burnham is best known for his years as a co-editor of William Buckley's right-wing *National Review*! Burnham's "managerial" theory was a direct step toward his eventual role as reactionary ideologue.

As a member of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Burnham began in 1937 to seek a theoretical justification for rejecting the Trotskyist program of unconditional defense of the USSR. Under the impact of an anti-Soviet propaganda

barrage following the Hitler-Stalin Pact, a petty-bourgeois opposition in the SWP launched a factional struggle with Burnham as its theoretician. Writing from Mexico in 1939, Trotsky predicted that the opposition would be forced to conclude "that all the revolutionary potentialities of the world proletariat are exhausted, that the socialist movement is bankrupt..." (*In Defense of Marxism*). Trotsky's prediction was fully confirmed. While it took Burnham's co-revisionist Max Shachtman two decades to go from Trotskyist to imperialist apologist, Burnham himself made the transformation in a matter of months.

Burnham walked out of the opposition group a month after it split from the SWP, and soon came out with the first of a series of books that attempted to fatalistically explain world politics. He considered both the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany examples of the "managerialism" that would inevitably replace capitalism. The United States would soon take the same path, and since this "managerial revolution" could not be prevented, it was necessary to help guide it. At the start of World War II, when Germany looked invincible, Burnham leaned toward that imperialist power and predicted its victory over Europe and Russia. Later, as the Red Army marched toward Berlin, Burnham forecast its conquest of the world, claiming sympathy for that outcome. After a short-lived Russo-Japanese treaty was signed in 1944, Burnham's prediction was that these two countries would join forces against the U.S.

Burnham was well characterized in a 1946 essay by George Orwell, who observed that not only were Burnham's predictions wrong, they were each a

continuation of what was happening at the moment. "Now the tendency to do this is not simply a bad habit... It is a major mental disease, and its roots lie partly in cowardice and partly in the worship of power..." ("James Burnham and the Managerial Revolution," *In Front of Your Nose*). After the nuclear annihilation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Burnham's "instinct to bow down before the conqueror of the moment" (Orwell's phrase) brought him down four-square in the camp of U.S. imperialism. By early 1947 Burnham was counseling the U.S. government to take the initiative against the USSR before it could acquire the atom bomb (as a corollary he advocated putting Soviet "fifth columnists," i.e., communists, in concentration camps).

If Richard remains active in politics, he must follow his mentor's motion toward the right. Where and for how long he will sojourn on this political voyage will be determined by "objective forces" outside his control. Were he, let us say, a citizen of the Soviet Union, this power worshipper would sedulously claw his way up the Stalinist bureaucratic ladder. But this is Reagan's America. In a right-wing climate, how long can a fatalist like Richard resist accommodating to reaction? To try would be sheer "voluntarism"! Richard's present aggressively anti-dialectical worldview, projecting the present infinitely into the future, would serve him well for a career in, for example, Solidarity House, as an anti-communist adviser to the United Auto Workers bureaucracy.

No Retreat!

The election of Ronald Reagan has created a mood of retreat in the frightened liberal left. No revolutionary organization is immune to such outside pressure, the effects of which are seldom as sensational as the recantation of ex-comrade Richard. Those who see being a communist as an intellectual game will, in the face of a grimmer reality, pack up their Marxist libraries and leave the movement. For a revolutionary party, though, retreat under such circumstances is liquidation.

The dangers for a left group during Reagan's term in office are very real. As a highly visible, but vulnerable, communist movement, the SL/SYL face the possibility during this period of reaction of legal, extra-legal and administrative attacks. In response, we want to be cautious. Caution, however, is not a policy for the SL/SYL; rather, it is a means to carry out a policy. We will not needlessly endanger the modest gains our organization has made, but we will not retreat from the revolutionary program, from sharp political struggle, from the responsibilities of leadership, or from aggressively intervening in social struggle. Our program, translated into effective intervention in struggle, is the precious capital upon which an international revolutionary party must be built. Given the worldwide crisis of revolutionary leadership, the small international Spartacist tendency represents no less than the future of mankind.

Because "we must!" ■

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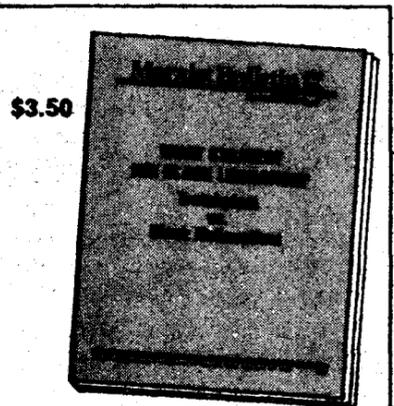
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DSOC Youth Proud to be... "Watchdogs" Against the Left

One hundred and fifty young reformists attended a spoonfeeding of social-democratic pabulum in New York City December 27-28 at the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) Youth Section National Conference. Young DSOC functionaries introduced "respected elders" who lectured, exhorted, but more often bored their audience with arid abstractions and penny-ante proposals for the period ahead.

To be sure, there were some disagreements on the conjuncture. Manning Marable of the newly-formed "black party" stressed the need to unite for full employment legislation, albeit "without immediate revolutionary expectations." DSOC vice-chair Deborah Meir had to take Marable up sharply for his "ultraleftism"—she thinks the task of the left in the '80s is to "decide what the issues are."

Commonweal editor and DSOC national officer Peter Steinfelds delivered a truly scandalous address, calling on the left to support a crackdown on drug use and pornography! Steinfelds claimed that parents have the right to "democratically" determine what books their children will have access to in the public libraries and asked, "Why should there be a boycott of J.P. Stevens and not of *Soap* or the Brooke Shields commercials?"

Lest anyone get the impression that

DSOC has been totally given over to burning dirty books, however, there were a few reminders of the social democrats' main crusade—anti-communism. Norman Birnbaum of *The Nation* warned that the "sectarian left" constitutes "a potential reservoir of domestic terrorism" while ex-

Young Spartacus Photo



"America's oldest young socialist"

Trotskyist renegade Irving Howe stated openly that DSOC must be "a watchdog against the totalitarian left." J. Edgar Hoover couldn't have put it more succinctly!

Even DSOC's "Left Caucus" leader, Bogdan Denitch, declared his preference for "bourgeois democracy" over

"police state communism" in the struggle between "the two imperialist superpowers."

Of course, no DSOC conference would be complete without the ever-folksy Michael Harrington, "America's oldest young socialist." But even Harrington's energetic oratory can't make the Democratic Party, the British Labour Party and United Auto Workers' head Doug Fraser look radical. Harrington hailed Fraser's appointment to the Chrysler Board of Directors (in return for the UAW's acceptance of layoffs and pay cuts) as a step toward "democratization of investment"! No doubt he also considers Chrysler's current round of wage-slashing to be another big "step in the right direction."

Predictably, Harrington played down Reagan's landslide victory. It was, after all, a devastating blow to DSOC, which put all its political eggs in the liberal Democratic basket. But Harrington no doubt plans to exploit the next four years of intensified reaction to help the Democratic Party build for the 1984 elections.

Harrington serves on a so-called Committee for the Defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution recently established by his co-thinkers in the Second ("Yellow") International. Interestingly, the creation of this com-

mittee was hailed by the Castro-faddist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) despite the fact that Harrington is quite forthright about encouraging "moderate elements" in the Sandinistas in order to avoid "another Cuba." Among the other notable "revolutionaries" on this committee are Willy Brandt, Olof Palme and Austrian Prime Minister Bruno Kreisky (*Militant*, 12 December)! We are tempted to think that perhaps the SWP will soon follow its Grenadan "comrades" in seeking formal affiliation with Harrington's Second International. But for their part, of course, DSOC and its Youth Section consider even the self-styled "peaceful, legal" SWP to be dangerously "totalitarian."

For its "cadre," the DSOC Youth Section is a vehicle to get into the labor bureaucracy. For many others, it's a social milieu and an opportunity to feel "progressive" while learning about seemingly "radical" ideas. Unfortunately, the DSOC Youth Section has grown from 400 to 1,200 over the past two years. However, fully half of DSOC's members have done nothing since they joined, and another quarter only attend occasional meetings, according to DSOC's own estimate. Youth who genuinely want to fight for socialist revolution and workers democracy must break from DSOC and join the Spartacus Youth League.

Nuttle Nailed

Young Spartacus readers will recall that we have had occasion to print two substantial articles protesting the reactionary and libelous editorial policy of the Wayne State University newspaper, the *South End*. Last summer, the *South End* aided and abetted an attempted frame up of the WSU Spartacus Youth League (SYL) for arson (see "Nasty Lies or Murder Frame Up?" *Young Spartacus* No. 84, September 1980). Then in November, *South End* managing editor Mike Nuttle authored an editorial entitled "Leftists Hinder Justice at Greensboro Trial"—a vile apology for fascist murder which defended the acquittal by an all-white jury of five Klan/Nazi murderers. The SYL joined other outraged students at WSU to form the Ad Hoc Committee to Oust *South End* Apologists for Klan/Nazi Terror which circulated a petition demanding the removal of Nuttle, editor John Burnett and all those responsible for the racist outrage. Over 1,200 signed the petition, including prominent black, labor and civil rights activists in Detroit. On December 12 the Ad Hoc Committee appeared before the WSU Board of Governors to present the petition and demand Nuttle and Burnett's removal (see "Oust *South End* Apologists for Klan/Nazi Terror!" *Young Spartacus* No. 87, December 1980-January 1981). The board refused to take action.

When school reopened this term, sales of the *Young Spartacus* coverage of the campaign were brisk and there is continuing interest among WSU students in the effort to remove the racist apologists and restore the campus newspaper to the students, teachers and workers it is ostensibly there to serve.

From as far away as North Carolina, student newspapers have also shown an interest in the campaign.

On January 22, in what could only be described as a provocation, Mike Nuttle, author of the racist *South End* Greensboro editorial of 25 November, attended an SYL public talk on "Reagan, Reaction and Racism" given by comrade Reuben Samuels on the WSU campus. Why he came to our public forum is unknown. When asked directly why on earth he wanted to attend our forum, Nuttle replied that he had come for "informational purposes." We can imagine for whose "information." As we have pointed out before, Nuttle's predilection for smear tactics against leftists as well as his disgusting racist apology for Klan/Nazi murder must lead one to suspect his connections.

Below we print excerpts from Nuttle's remarks and comrade Samuels' response.

Nuttle: If I was at a demonstration and the Klan came and shot a bunch of people I was with, would I label the trial a sham?... I know you think the FBI are the investigators of the case but you refuse to cooperate with the prosecution, refuse to cooperate with investigators, refuse to testify at the trial, and then you turn around and say that it's a racist travesty of justice? That sounds pretty hypocritical to me.... You also say it was on videotape. But... a key piece of evidence for the jury was a sound chart, again prepared by the FBI.... The jury could not determine conclusively from the videotape who shot first. That's why they relied on the sound chart. You said that a few of them

may have been carrying arms. Seventeen shots were traced to pistols that were fired by the CWP members and 22 shots were traced to the rifles carried by the Ku Klux Klansmen. Now it is a question of who shot first then.

Samuels: So Mike Nuttle came to this meeting of a group which he characterized as "violent, deceptive hypocrites" and was accorded his democratic rights; he was not excluded, he was not attacked. One thousand two hundred students signed a petition protesting your editorial and this petition was submitted to the *South End*. The editor of the *South End* responded by calling the police on the delegation of students.... The students have been deprived of their democratic rights by you

and Burnett....

Now there are right-wing journalists, there are left-wing journalists, there are ultra-left journalists, there are all kinds of journalists. But then there's the Whittaker Chambers and that's not journalism. And I think it's that school of ostensible journalism of which you are attempting to become a practitioner on a small scale.

Now we have here a question about the trial. Who shot first is not material evidence in a murder case. It has absolutely no relevance to what happened in Greensboro. Because what happened in Greensboro was that a group of Nazis and Klansmen drove 100

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YSA...

(continued from page 3)

Carter's policies. But the election of the Klan's preferred candidate is fueling the fires of race-terrorism, further emboldening the fascists who understand that last November's Greensboro verdict (the acquittal of the Klan/Nazi murderers who shot down leftist protesters in broad daylight) constitutes a hunting license for their lethal terror against blacks, unionists and leftists.

It was no accident that the YSA conference steered clear of debate on strategies for opposing the rise of fascism. The SWP/YSA, for years the best defenders of the fascists' supposed "democratic rights," has earned a reputation as the most abstentionist organization on the U.S. left, absent from and hostile to major militant anti-fascist mobilizations. While "ultra-left" blacks and unionists are rallying to confront the Klan/Nazis, the SWP/YSA is busy "debating" Klansmen, as it did in the San Diego congressional election this fall.

The YSA's real answer to fascist activism is the National Black Independent Political Party, a shell-game "party" of black estranged Democrats seeking to pressure the Democratic Party tops. We described the NBIPP's Philadelphia "founding conference": "Not surprisingly, the organizers are pork-barrel politicians with no pork, black 'unelected officials' and ghetto community hustlers—camp followers in the unfought war on poverty" (*Workers Vanguard*, 12 December 1980). Its perspective is to clean up the image of the discredited Democrats. Ron Daniels, National Black Political Assembly leader and one of the movers behind the NBIPP, put it succinctly:

"We lean towards progressive elements in the Democratic Party, such as Conyers and Ron Dellums. We have in the past and will always have close working relations with them."

At the Philadelphia meeting, SWP 1980 presidential candidate Andrew Pulley even supported a "loyalty" clause whose evident purpose is the exclusion of leftists. At Indianapolis, a new YSA member proudly announced she would build the NBIPP first and then the YSA.

For the fifth year in a row, YSAers heard glowing reports on the SWP's "turn" to industry. The main reporter claimed that in the wake of the Reagan victory the working class is moving left. So how come SWP/YSA trade-union

tactics are still moving further right? Indeed, they have now decided to drop the nominal "critical" qualifier from even their obsequious version of "critical support" to trade-union bureaucrats.

Afghanistan Line Change

Not up for discussion was the month-old SWP line change on Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, which many YSAers heard about first from *Young Spartacus* salesmen. From its earlier soft-core anti-Sovietism on Afghanistan ("the issue is not Soviet intervention") the SWP/YSA has now opted for hard-core denunciation of the Red Army. In his document, "Correcting Some Errors on Afghanistan" (SWP *International Internal Information Bulletin* No. 4, December 1980), SWP head Jack Barnes was appalled that there might be some common ground between the SWP's earlier mush-mouthed opposition to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries and the Spartacist League/SYL slogan "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan," which forthrightly posed the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism. The new line makes sure the social-democratic SWP will not come into conflict with the escalating Carter/Reagan Cold War rearmament: "There was nothing whatsoever progressive about the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan." This puts the reformist SWP/YSA simply on the same side as Brzezinski, the Pope and the Afghan mullahs and landlords who are fighting to preserve mass illiteracy, the veil and the bride price.

Barnes even thought he scented Cuban opposition to the Soviet intervention. Ironically, no sooner had the SWP published its line change than the Cuban Communist Party Congress came out for "unequivocal" support to the Red Army in Afghanistan (*New York Times*, 22 December 1980). Castro's speech on this question was probably the first one in a year not to be reprinted in the *Militant*!

And here is Barnes' proposal for "world peace":

"Think of the stupendous impact it would have on people throughout the world, the vast majority of humanity, if Brezhnev were to go on television and announce that the USSR is destroying a big part of its nuclear arsenal and propose to Washington a schedule to destroy the rest at short intervals. Wouldn't that put Washington on the spot?"

It would probably put Brezhnev in the

nearest Soviet insane asylum!

The Cuban regime certainly understands that without the armed might of the Soviet Union behind it, it could not last a month 90 miles off the Florida coast. While the YSA cheers popular-frontist insurgency in Nicaragua and El Salvador, collects eyeglasses to send to Nicaragua and sponsors tour groups to Managua and Grenada for those who want to feel radical and get a suntan at the same time, it ducks the central question posed by the threat of U.S. intervention into Central America: the imperialist war-mongering aimed ultimately against the USSR. As we noted in our last issue:

"And they [the SWP/YSA] leave you with the impression that the MX missiles are aimed at Havana, not Moscow. Thus, the SWP's May resolution on 'The Coming Showdown in the Caribbean' doesn't once mention the USSR's role as economic and military guarantor of the Cuban deformed workers state against Yankee imperialism. Yet when Reagan threatened to blockade Cuba last year it was over Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, not over Grenada."

—*Young Spartacus* No. 87, January 1981

While revolutionists militantly defend the leftist insurgents in the Caribbean and Central America from U.S. imperialist military intervention, we place no confidence in the political program of the left-nationalist formations currently in control of the revolutionary struggles. What is required to break the grip of imperialism and brutal exploitation on the toiling masses of Central America is a workers revolution mobilizing the masses in insurrectionary action for clear class goals, which must spread throughout Central America or face bloody defeat. The SWP-supported Sandinistas however are busy appealing to Reagan's government for foreign aid in the hope of stabilizing a capitalist regime in Nicaragua. The SWP/YSA's much touted "solidarity" with revolutionary struggle in Central America means opposition to the independent mobilization of the workers and peasants to seize power. Whatever the petty-bourgeois leaderships do is okay with the SWP/YSA. Indeed, so slavish is the SWP/YSA's idea of "solidarity" that the big debate at the YSA convention was whether to emulate the El Salvador popular-frontists in seeking to recruit nuns and priests!

Given the dearth of real perspectives, discussion or political debate provided at the YSA convention, it is hardly surprising that the YSA leadership felt compelled to keep their newer members away from contact with the SYL sales team. Goons repeatedly harassed our comrades and threatened to have them removed from the hotel; YSA "escorts" keeping tabs on new YSA members sometimes went so far as to follow them to the bathroom. The intimidation tactics used against our *Young Spartacus* and *Workers Vanguard* salesmen are of a piece with the SWP/YSA's standard practice of exclusion of our comrades from "public" forums, aimed at keeping the SWP/YSA membership sealed off from Trotskyist criticism.

Young people who want to struggle against imperialism, racism, fascism can forget about the YSA. If you have any interest in the critical political questions facing the socialist movement today, from anti-fascist action to real internationalism, you will find this hollow youth front group of a reformist party a screaming, bureaucratic bore. ■

Nuttle...

(continued from page 9)

miles into a black housing project, into a demonstration which was peaceful, legal and orderly. They parked their cars, they opened their trunks, they took out semi-automatic weapons—rifles, shotguns. At that point who shot first is immaterial. When you're attacked with a gun in the United States, when your home is broken into, when you're assaulted on the street, you have a recourse to self-defense.

I think our comrades and friends in the audience spoke eloquently to the character of this trial and North Carolina "justice" in particular, which is notorious in the United States for being, especially around the question of race but also around labor questions, the most backward state in the Union. A system of "justice" where the population is more than a third black and they cannot find any black jurists to sit on this trial? Where the prosecutor is related to the defense attorney? Where the evidence used by the defense was mandated by the prosecution? Where the defense [evidence] was prepared by the FBI, who had an informer in the first car of the caravan? Where the prosecutor as well as the defense attorney made gratuitous attacks on communism and leftists throughout the trial that had no material bearing and this was not ruled out of order by the judge? You're going to tell me that the leftists hindered justice at the Greensboro trial because they refused to cooperate with a prosecution they saw as fundamentally no different from the defense. I think that that's something hypocritical and deceptive whose purpose is violence.

What you serve to do is to try to target groups like the CWP as the violent group while their comrades fall bloody before the housing project... and there can only be one reason for this. That is to pave the way for more Greensboros. And our campaign against you is to see that there are no more Greensboros. Our campaign is not a personal vendetta as you well know. It's against what you represent. Because what you represent is the clarion call to the Nazis and the Klan to march, to ride, to carry out their cross burnings...

So this campaign will be pursued until it is victorious. You are probably not, although I do not know this for a fact, a Ku Klux Klanner, but it is your brand of journalism that conditions the environment in which fascist murderers can walk the street free and for that reason we conduct this campaign against you.... ■

Letter

Berkeley
19 January 1981

Dear Editor:

In issue No. 87 of *Young Spartacus* you printed a montage of campus editorials condemning racist "justice" over the Greensboro verdict freeing the Klan/Nazi murderers [see "1,200 Students Say: Oust *South End* Apologists for Klan/Nazi Terror!" *YSp* No. 87, December 1980/January 1981]. One of the "editorials" was in fact an opinion piece in the 26 November 1980 *Stanford Daily* "Opinions" column by one Don Willenburg. While not as out-and-out vicious as the *South End* Nuttle article, Willenburg's "Only Justice Suffered at Greensboro" conveys the same anti-communist message. While admitting that there was "little sympathy for the CWP in the Guilford County Court," Willenburg tries to blame the verdict on the CWP: "By refusing to testify, the CWP helped guarantee the acquittal of the Nazis and Klansmen, and now seeks to take advantage of the outrage generated by that acquittal.... If these verdicts (Greensboro, Miami, Chattanooga) are, in fact, a signal that 'it's open season on

niggers,' the CWP has been giving away hunting licenses."

Really now! Miami, Chattanooga... so now leftists are responsible for all racist expressions of justice in capitalist America! Willenburg's article seeks to identify communists and fascists together as extremists. According to him, the "commies" probably deserved it. This apologia for the state's incitement to racist terror is as infuriating as Nuttle's hate sheet was. I believe that *YSp* should disavow promoting it in its pages.

To give the *Stanford Daily* its due, its editors printed a separate opinion article a few days later condemning the scandalous Willenburg piece. I believe it better expressed the feelings of most students that the victims of fascist murder are not responsible for their own executions. This is the criminal lie of the state: that the fascists killed in self-defense! I can tell you that many students at UC Berkeley were damn glad that somebody (the SYL) had the guts and principles to stand up and protest this monstrous atrocity.

Comradely,
Jeffrey K.

Young Spartacus

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YSp 88

El Salvador...

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out for blood. In 1932 this oligarchy and its military leaders slaughtered some 30,000 people to put down a communist-led peasant uprising. Today the ruling butchers casually talk of murdering 200,000 people to crush the current revolt. The failure of the first phase of the guerrilla offensive to overthrow the junta caused the U.S. imperialist press to pronounce the FMLN defeated. But the guerrillas have not been routed and the initial round of fighting proved only that more and bloodier battles still lie ahead.

"Reform by Death"

The roots of the current insurrection in El Salvador are to be found in fifty years of continuous military dictatorship and in the almost unbelievably savage oppression of the working people. In El Salvador, the most densely populated country of the Americas, 2 percent of the population owns 60 percent of the farmland while 60 percent of the people spend less than \$10 a month to feed, clothe and house themselves. While the traditional "fourteen families" enjoy their mansions and swimming pools in San Salvador and Miami, the landless agricultural laborers who make up the biggest sector of the population find work only at harvest time and live the rest of the year in squalid cardboard shanty slums.

All illusions in the reformability of the landlord-military regime were smashed in 1972 and 1977 when the army used blatant vote fraud to steal elections from Christian Democrat politicians. The guerrilla left grew in size, alongside mass-based worker-peasant-student coalitions linked to the underground militants. When in 1979 the guerrilla campaigns of kidnapping and assassination gave way to mass popular mobilizations against the Romero dictatorship, the U.S. State Department stepped in and authorized a "human rights" coup.

The "reform" junta promised democratic rights and land to the peasants. Instead they produced mass terror. Troops and paramilitary rightists assassinated their opponents, and others as well, at a rate which sometimes reached 50 people a day. Then it got worse. Under the cover of a "land reform" scheme masterminded by the CIA front "American Institute for Free Labor Development," the army moved onto the haciendas to exterminate peasants sympathetic to the left. The "reform" is nothing more than a counterinsurgency program on the model of those carried out by the U.S. military in Vietnam. In that war "pacification" meant annihilation of whole villages to keep the peasant masses from supporting the Communist-led forces. No wonder the program is known in El Salvador as "reform by death."

Break With the Bourgeoisie!

Unlike in Nicaragua, where an entire country lined up against a one-man dictatorship, in El Salvador there is a line of blood drawn between the tightly-knit landlord bourgeoisie and its military, and the worker and peasant masses. But this sharp class polarization is being obscured purposely by the class-collaborationist strategy of the FMLN leaders, who have formed a "Revolutionary Democratic Front" (FDR) with what tiny groups of middle-class reformers exist.

The leader of the FDR is one Guillermo Ungo, a "social democratic" bourgeois politician who was once in the junta and whose "party" is so small that, as the *New York Times* observed, it "would fit into a Volkswagen and leave room for a chauffeur." But despite their negligible social weight, Ungo and his ilk dictate the limits of the FDR's pro-

capitalist reform program and stand to head any government which would succeed the junta, should it fall.

The strategy of the popular front, the alliance of all "democratic forces" against "fascism," has time and again led the working class down the road to bloody defeat. From Spain in the 1930s to Chile in the 1970s hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants have died because their reformist misleaders refused to arm them militarily and

against U.S. aid to the junta testifies to the existence of liberal opposition to Carter/Reagan's policies. But in the solidarity demonstrations and meetings being called across the country the Spartacus Youth League alone is championing revolutionary working-class solidarity with the struggle in El Salvador, participating in rallies with the slogans, "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents," "No U.S. Intervention in El Salvador," "Boycott Military

spirited picket line which included such chants as "SWP: Debates Fascists, Excludes Communists" and "Break with Bourgeois Politicians, For Workers Revolution in El Salvador."

While the SWP excludes communists from forums and rallies, it wholeheartedly supports the FMLN, enthusing over the Salvadoran "peoples movement" and providing an ideological cover for treacherous class-collaborationist policies. But then this is the same organization which offered nothing but glowing tributes to the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, even abetting the FSLN's expulsion of leftists from the country. In championing the anti-leftist and anti-working class repression unleashed by the FSLN and its capitalist partners, and by supporting the popular front programs of the FSLN and FMLN, the SWP acts to build the illusion of a "third road" between proletarian revolution and banana-republic neocolonialism.

What is needed in El Salvador is a *workers revolution*, one which must, because of the closely-related struggles throughout the isthmus, spread to every part of Central America or face defeat at the hands of a "united front" of military regimes. All opponents of junta terror must call for the military victory of the leftist insurgents against this barbarous U.S. puppet regime! U.S./Latin American Bourgeoisie Hands Off El Salvador! No U.S. Aid! Labor: Boycott Military Shipments to Central American Rightist Dictators! Break with the Bourgeoisie—For Workers Revolution in El Salvador! For Workers and Peasants Governments Throughout Central America! Defend Cuba and the Soviet Union Against Imperialism! ■



Bernadette Devlin Shot—Outrage!

Fifty people demonstrated outside the British Consulate in New York City on January 19 to protest the attempted murder of Irish Republican militants Bernadette Devlin and Michael McAliskey by right-wing Loyalists three days earlier. Devlin went into a coma following surgery and her husband's condition was listed as serious. Protesters at the rally called by the Spartacist League chanted slogans including "British Troops Out of Northern Ireland" and "Orange Thugs Will Not Escape the Wrath of an Irish Workers State!" Similar demonstrations called by other sections of the international Spartacist tendency were held in London on January 23 and in Sydney, Australia the following day.

politically for a victorious *class* struggle against all wings of the capitalist class. This must not happen again in El Salvador!

The capacity of popular frontism to disorient and paralyze the revolutionary struggle was shown at the time of the October 1979 coup, when much of the left now grouped in the FDR took a "wait and see" attitude toward the junta or even joined the government briefly. Today the FDR leaders plead for negotiations with the U.S., even as it ships the bullets to kill them to their junta enemies. They are looking for an internationally brokered diplomatic deal, not a revolutionary victory. They rely on liberal senators and such "allies" as capitalist Mexico and Panama and not on the revolutionary strength of the workers and peasants.

It is to the FDR's diplomatic maneuvers that U.S. liberals are rallying, not the cause of socialist revolution. That 52 Harvard professors and even the often reactionary student newspaper, the *Harvard Crimson*, came out

Goods to El Salvador," and "No to the Popular Front—For a Workers and Peasants Government."

It was our opposition to the popular front and our call for workers revolution in El Salvador which sent supporters of the FDR and its cheerleaders in the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) into an uproar at a demonstration in Berkeley on January 17; here SWPers joined with the Salvadoran nationalists in excluding SL/SYL supporters from marching in the demonstration. And in New York on January 31, the SWP, afraid of confronting revolutionary Trotskyist politics, excluded the SL/SYL by restricting attendance to "one representative" to its supposedly public forum on El Salvador. The exclusion was met with a

Demo...

(continued from page 12)

the United States that its role in El Salvador is "wrong." But what CAUSE is appealing to are the backers of the Somoza regime in Nicaragua, the launchers of the Bay of Pigs invasion against Cuba and the bombers of Vietnam; no amount of liberal "urging" is going to stop U.S. imperialism from aiding the vicious attacks on the El Salvadoran working masses. For workers revolution throughout Central America!

As we go to press, the Madison SYL has announced that a united front rally around the slogans "U.S. Hands Off El Salvador!" "Stop U.S. Aid to Murderous Junta!" and "Military Victory to Left-Wing Insurgents!" will be held Wednesday, February 4 at 12:30 pm in the UW Library Mall. Endorsers of the rally include Professor Harvey Goldberg, Stuart Levitan of the *Daily Cardinal*, president of the Wisconsin Student Assembly Teddi-Michelle Beam, the SYL and MEChA. ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

Ann Arbor: P.O. Box 89, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 994-9313

Berkeley/Oakland: SYL, Box 273, Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (415) 835-1535

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Young Spartacus

Military Victory to Left-Wing Insurgents!

U.S. Hands Off El Salvador!

Break With the Capitalist Politicians! For Workers Revolution in Central America!

Ronald Reagan ran for president as an extreme Cold War hardliner, pledging to get tough with the Soviets, roll back "Communist expansionism" and avenge the U.S.' military and diplomatic humiliations in Vietnam, Angola and Iran. The guerrilla rebellion against the U.S.-backed military junta in El Salvador, launched on the eve of Reagan's inauguration, gives American imperialism's new commander-in-chief his first chance to make good on those campaign promises. The Reagan foreign policy team has pledged full support to the bloody-handed "free world" dictators of Central America, and in particular to the Salvadoran junta, which is responsible for the murder of 12,000 workers and peasants last year alone.

Carter in his final days briefly withheld U.S. arms to the murderous Salvadoran junta to make a gesture of liberal indignation over the rape/murder of three U.S. nuns and a lay missionary. But as soon as the guerrilla offensive got under way all the "human rights" baloney went out the window and \$10 million worth of helicopters, ammunition and "advisers" were rushed to the butcher junta. Reagan, for good measure, cut off all U.S. aid to Nicaragua, which he accused (without evidence) of aiding the Salvadoran rebels. Should it prove necessary to crush the



U.S. supports junta bloodbath.

rebels, Reagan will not shrink from ordering in the Marines, perhaps under the cover of the U.S. "Ministry of Colonies," the Organization of American States.

Behind El Salvador, in Reagan's mind, stands Nicaragua; behind Nicaragua, Cuba, and behind Cuba the Soviet Union. "I think we are seeing the application of the domino policy," he told NBC news last year, "and I think it's time the people of the United States realize that under the domino theory,

we're the last domino." So Reagan's game is the attempt to push the falling dominoes in the other direction. As Trotskyists, we fully support the military victory of the leftist insurgents in El Salvador and demand that U.S. imperialism and its Latin American capitalist junior partners keep their hands off Central America. Not only is it a life-and-death question for Salvadoran working people, the battle for El Salvador is the front line in U.S. imperialism's Cold War against Cuba

and the Soviet Union.

Revolutionary Trotskyists oppose the Stalinist bureaucrats who run these deformed and degenerated workers states. But the necessary political revolution against the bureaucratic parasites is a task for the working class. Reagan and the U.S. capitalist ruling class couldn't care less about "democracy" in Cuba or Russia—they want to overturn the tremendous gains made by the October Revolution in Russia and the Cuban Revolution: nationalized property, a planned economy and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. If the U.S.' puppets drown the Salvadoran masses in blood it will only embolden the imperialists for further counterrevolutionary assaults. The defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union begins in El Salvador!

Guerrilla "General Offensive"

On January 11 the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), the coalition guerrilla army named after the founder of Salvadoran communism, launched what it described as a "general offensive" against the military regime headed by civilian figurehead José Napoleón Duarte. Cities and towns throughout the Massachusetts-size country of five million people were the scene of fierce fighting between the rebel forces and the junta's army. Several important cities were briefly held by the guerrillas and a number of army officers went over with their troops to the FMLN.

The junta, backed up by renewed U.S. aid, answered the FMLN's supporters with vicious terror. White phosphorus bombs, napalm-like in their effect, were dropped on the shanty town slums around several cities. Neighboring military regimes in Honduras and Guatemala rushed to aid their fellow dictators, as did contingents of troops formerly employed by ousted Nicaraguan strongman Anastasio Somoza. The ultra-reactionary sectors of the Salvadoran military and bourgeoisie are

Chicago SYL Demo— Defense of USSR/Cuba Begins in El Salvador!

CHICAGO, February 1—The SYL called a demonstration to protest Senator Charles Percy's appearance at the University of Chicago to speak on "United States Priorities in the Upcoming Period." The 30 protesters who participated in the demonstration, called in opposition to the U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador, chanted such slogans as, "Percy, Reagan, OAS: Hands Off El Salvador!", "Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents!", "Defend Cuba, Defend the USSR! U.S. Hands Off El Salvador!" and "No Popular Front Illusions! For Workers Revolution!"

Percy, the Republicans' newly-appointed head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, spoke as a representative of the Reagan administration, supporting the rightist El Salvadoran dictatorship. But while the protesters outside chanted, "No Debate with Percy!", a small group from the Coalition Assembled to Unite in Solidarity with El Salvador (CAUSE)—who had refused to participate in the rally—went inside to present Percy with a petition to "urge"

SYL protests U.S. aid to junta butchers.



the end of U.S. involvement in El Salvador. Citing "agreement with the judgment of the UN General Assembly, Amnesty International, the National Council of Catholic Bishops"

and the acting and late Archbishops of El Salvador, CAUSE's petition reeked of the liberal moralistic belief that they would somehow be able to persuade

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