

Young Spartacus

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ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONTINGENT-MAY 3 Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists! U.S./OAS Hands Off Central America!



March with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, May 3!

The wholesale slaughter of Salvadoran workers and peasants by the vicious U.S.-backed military junta makes My Lai look small by comparison. There can be no question that *civil war* rages in the Central American statelet of El Salvador. On one side stands the minuscule oligarchy—the “14 Families”—and its sadistic military apparatus, backed by the bloodiest ruling class on the face of the earth, the U.S. imperialists. On the other side stands the mass of hideously impoverished workers and

peasants fighting to rid themselves of starvation and white terror which has become everyday “life” in El Salvador: **which side are you on?**

As wholehearted partisans of the insurgent masses in El Salvador, the Spartacist League (SL) and Spartacus Youth League (SYL) have organized an Anti-Imperialist Contingent for the May 3 demonstrations in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco. It is the duty of all those who oppose U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive, all those who

stand for the victory of the leftist insurgents against the blood-soaked junta, to take a stand now! The voices of genuine anti-imperialists must be heard over the droning of Democratic Party hustlers and anti-communist “liberals.” A real internationalist statement must be made loud and clear on May 3: **Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents! Stop All U.S. Aid to El Salvador! Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador! March with us!**

Reagan/Haig have taken a clear side:

it is in El Salvador that the U.S. chooses to have its “showdown” with the Russians. Behind Reagan's threats to invade Nicaragua, blockade Cuba and hydrogen bomb the Soviet Union is the imperialists' determination to overturn the social conquests which began with the October Revolution in 1917. U.S. imperialism intends to draw the line in Central America—and like the other wars “against Communism” that line is drawn in the blood of workers and

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Defend Cuba and the USSR!

See pages 6 and 7

Anti-Imperialist Contingent...

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peasants.

The junta is now armed with over \$170 million in U.S. economic aid. Yankee imperialism has sent 686,400 pounds of bombs, bullets and machine guns to El Salvador—as well as U.S. “advisors” and Green Berets. In the first three months of 1981 alone, 5,000 Salvadorans died at the hands of the right wing/government death squads, backed and blessed by Uncle Sam.

Despite a concerted cover-up campaign by Haig's State Department (aided by the bourgeois press) news of some of the grisly massacres has nonetheless reached the U.S. At least 50 were killed on March 18 while trying to flee the country across the Lempa River, recalling last May's Sampul River massacre in which National Guardsmen killed 600. Nearly 1,000 peasants fleeing government troops in the province of Morazan were killed by aerial bombardment and artillery fire or sealed up and left to die of suffocation in the La Sentada cave in which they sought refuge. A survivor reported to Radio Venceremos in El Salvador that among those murdered were 600 old people, 700 women and 150 children! Not only did the State Department attempt to deny the whole story, but it denied the existence of the cave itself! Unfortunately for these liars, the Salvadoran government had invited officials from the UN, Red Cross and OAS to visit the cave “whenever they want.” (*Uno Más Uno* [Mexico], 15 April). In a rare occurrence, the Salvadoran government admitted that the some 30 killed in the San Salvador suburb of Soyopango earlier this month died at the hands of Treasury Police. “Leftist Rebels Must Win the War! Avenge the Blood of El Salvador!”

Anti-Imperialist Contingent Takes A Side!

Reagan/Haig have been coming on like something out of *Dr. Strangelove*—threatening us all with irradiated barbarism, putting aside Carter's “human rights” hypocrisy and overtly support-

“I believe there is a need to inject into the movement a revolutionary political platform....”

George Binette
member of the Coalition
Against U.S. Intervention in El Salvador, Boston University

ing any murderous right-wing dictatorship which can be passed off as a bulwark “against Communism.” The reaction to stepped-up support of the Salvadoran junta in the U.S. recalls the early days of the Vietnam antiwar movement—El Salvador has become the focal point for protest in the U.S.



Salvadoran guerrillas, May 1980.

Over 5,000 in New York and 4,000 in Los Angeles turned out April 18. Rallies have been held on every major campus in the country—many of them initiated by the SYL. Undoubtedly there will be thousands marching on May 3—but for what?

If it's left up to the initiators of the May 3 actions—the People's Antiwar

“A military victory by the left-wing insurgent forces is necessary to overthrow the oligarchy once and for all and to make revolutionary change for the Salvadoran working and oppressed masses.”

Tom Janota, former spokesman for Community Action on Latin America, Madison, Wisconsin

Mobilization (PAM) and May 3 Coalition—these protests will be campaign rallies for imperialist “doves” like Teddy Kennedy, the same politicians who brought us the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the Gulf of Tonkin. PAM/May 3 Coalition (dominated respectively by the Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism [YAWF] and the Communist Party [CP]) have called for a peace crawl which neither takes a side in the Salvadoran civil war nor defends the Cuban and Russian workers states against imperialism.

Of course, under the impact of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, PAM is

now belatedly muttering, “We're all anti-imperialists here.” While PAM and Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) persist in their support to HR 1509, a Congressional bill to stop military aid to El Salvador which says not one word about the critical millions of economic aid which keeps the junta going, they have recently decided to call for an end to all U.S. aid. They may even chant “Victory to the People,” but all reformist groups agree that the May 3 demonstration will not take a side in the Salvadoran civil war or the anti-Soviet Cold War.

Meanwhile, the reformists are squabbling among themselves over the rally site, speakers, and money—but not over politics. Most despicable has been the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which, in a fit of pique, joined Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) in baiting the tepid May 3 PAM action as potentially “violent” and “confrontationist” (see article on page 10). This despicable behavior feeds right into a new outburst of right-wing witchhunting. The *Boston Globe* (17 April) reports that new Congressional hearings by Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton about “terrorism” are planned to begin with an investigation of the groups behind the May 3 march!

The Anti-Imperialist Contingent will be the *only* group on May 3 to make the simple, necessary demand for the battlefield victory of those fighting the Salvadoran junta. For liberals, “No More Vietnams” means no more *losing* imperialist wars. Contrast this bourgeois defeatist slogan to Che Guevara's exhortation for “two, three many Vietnams”—imperialism was badly *defeated* by the Vietnamese NLF. In the context of the Cold War drive, the demand for “nonintervention” consciously seeks to equate imperialist intervention with aid to the rebel forces from the Soviet Union, Cuba, etc. But those who want the junta smashed by victorious insurgent forces must demand that the rebels receive more military support from the Soviet bloc countries as well as from wherever possible!

The remarks of celebrity Ed Asner, emcee at the Los Angeles April 18 rally, indicate the real content of “non-intervention”:

“We are not here to talk about Afghanistan. We are not here to talk about the USSR. We are not here to talk about Poland. To hell with the Russians! We are here to talk about our business.”

To those who bleat, “But we can't tell the Salvadorans what to do!” we respond: Marx and Engels had no compunctions about taking a side in the U.S. Civil War against slavocracy! Germans they might have been—but the

fight against slavery was their fight. The fight against a U.S.-backed oligarchy is *our* fight, as it is the fight of workers the world over.

Hop on the Bus, Gus!

Well known as anti-imperialist fighters capable of mobilizing hundreds of students on campuses throughout the country on the El Salvador issue, the SYL along with the Spartacist League is undertaking a national mobilization for May 3. The erstwhile “anti-imperialists” who stood to the SWP's left in the antiwar movement—YAWF and the Maoists—no longer occupy that political space. What remains of the Maoists (not much) is so rabidly anti-Soviet they are quite capable of coming out for *more* aid to El Salvador to stop “Soviet social-imperialism.” Once the radical sounding cheerleaders for every third world insurgency, YAWF is now trying to play the role the SWP did in the antiwar movement: limiting protest to liberal, social-patriotic calls for the U.S. to be good guys and get out, period.

Meanwhile, the small “far-left” opportunist groups that pollute the U.S. political scene are climbing over each other to capitulate to PAM and the May 3 Coalition. Thus the Ann Arbor-based Revolutionary Workers League has shed its “orthodox” skin to be “at one” with the masses in PAM. And in Los Angeles, another group called the Revolutionary Workers Front (RWF), followers of a Latin American fake-Trotskyist chameleon named Nahuel Moreno, refused to have an organized presence of any sort at the April 18 rally. That this liquidation confirmed their capitulation to the CISPES popular front was further underscored when the RWF later offered the CP and SWP an unprincipled propaganda bloc for a May Day demonstration. Needless to say, the RWF refuses to mobilize to politically confront the Stalinists on May 3.

Contrary to the belief of such petty-bourgeois tailists, just getting “out into the street” is not enough. What's needed is hundreds and thousands marching for military victory to the left-wing insurgents, and the labor movement using its power to stop the Pentagon warmongers and State Department MacArthurs. Only the U.S. working class can destroy American imperialism at its roots. **Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!**

In New York and Los Angeles on April 18, organizers of the Anti-

“The Spartacist League is the only group that has fought the screaming anti-Sovietism of Ronald Reagan's bloody drive to smash the revolutionary movement in El Salvador.... The SL defends Cuba and Russia against the attacks of these war-crazed nuts in the White House.”

Ronny Buni, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana

Imperialist Contingent rallied new supporters to its banners, distributed leaflets and sold hundreds of newspapers. Buttons and posters emblazoned “Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents” are being distributed across the country. Rallies, forums, impromptu soapboxing and energetic interventions into the Salvadoran protest milieu on campuses are getting out the word on the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. Every day counts—sign up for the contingent buses! A new generation of political activists is getting its first lesson in

Got a Buck?
Get a Button!



Build for May 3!

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Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, NY, NY 10116

EVENTS FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONTINGENT

Tour for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent

El Salvador Eyewitness

A report and slide show by Tom Janota, the last Peace Corps teacher to leave El Salvador

A speaker from the Spartacist League

Tom Janota witnessed the October 1979 coup which brought the "human rights" junta to power. He saw the "reform by death" pacification program and brutal massacres of worker and peasant protests. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League are sponsoring this tour to build support for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the March on the Pentagon May 3. Don't miss this

first-hand account of the struggle against junta terror.

Ann Arbor

University of Michigan
Michigan Union, Kuenzel Room
7:30 pm, Wednesday, April 22

Detroit

Wayne State University
Student Center Building, Hillberry C
7:30 pm, Thursday, April 23

Cleveland

St. Alban's Church
2555 Euclid Heights Blvd.,
Cleveland Heights 7:30 pm,
Friday, April 24

Oberlin, Ohio

Oberlin College
Wilder Hall, Room 110
7:30 pm, Sunday, April 26

Boston

Boston University
College of Liberal Arts (CLA),
Room 214
12 noon, Tuesday, April 28

Harvard University
Phillips Brooks House
7:00 pm, Tuesday, April 28

Brandeis University
Kutz 2
7:30 pm, Wednesday, April 29

New York

St. Marks Cinema
133 Second Ave. at St. Marks Place
Double bill with "Revolution or Death"
7:45 and 9:45 pm showings
Thursday, April 30

Madison Events

Benefit

Speaker, Music, Beer
\$2 Donation
Le Chateau Co-op, 636 Langdon
8:30 pm, Friday, April 24

Rally

University of Wisconsin
Library Mall
12:30 pm, Tuesday, April 28

Forum

El Salvador: Military Victory to Left-Wing Insurgents
University of Wisconsin
Memorial Union
7:30 pm, Thursday, April 30

Berkeley/Oakland Forum

*The Civil War in El Salvador—
Military Victory to
Leftist Insurgents!*

Thursday, April 30, 4:00 pm
101 Morgan, University of California
at Berkeley

Speakers:

Paul Costan, Steward, Communications Workers
of America Local 9410*
Professor Jeff Lustig, Faculty Committee for
Human Rights in El Salvador*
Bob Zimmerman, Spartacus Youth League
Deborah Macguire, Spartacist League

Slide show on El Salvador
(*organization listed for identification purposes
only.)



revolutionary politics.

Our work has already given rise to some heated debates. In February the Madison SYL organized a 400-strong united-front rally demanding "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents." It was for speaking at this rally and openly criticizing the popular-frontist Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) that Tom Janota—the last Peace Corps worker to leave El Salvador and eyewitness to the 1979 coup—was expelled from the local Latin America solidarity group, now affiliated with CISPES. Janota has since thrown himself into helping build the Anti-Imperialist Contingent—giving his eyewitness account and slide show of El Salvador to campus audiences throughout the Midwest and East Coast (see Calendar for scheduled talks). Unable to defend its politics in open political battle, CISPES resorted to excluding SYL supporters from its general meetings this month. Our leaflet protesting the exclusion points out:

"The SYL was the only group on this campus or any other campus which built militant demonstrations calling for Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents in El Salvador. Where were all of you on February 4? Where was CALA, M28, PSO, DSA and the Communist Party? CISPES and these organizations boycotted the demonstration because they oppose our call for Military Victory."

This was confirmed on April 17 when the following exchange took place at a CISPES forum featuring FDR spokesman Carlos Pegaño:

Q: (CISPES member) How's the left doing militarily? What are their chances?
A: (Pegaño) We have a stalemate now. We don't want to push for military victory at this point. We want to keep an arena open for a negotiated settlement.
Q: (SYL) Why not a military victory?
A: (Pegaño) The social cost of military victory is too high.

The FDR, the reformist U.S. left, Germany's Willy Brandt, Mexico's

HOP ON THE BUS, GUS!

- | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Ann Arbor
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(608) 255-2342 | Detroit
(313) 868-9095 | San Francisco
(415) 863-6963 |
| | | | | Vancouver
(604) 254-8875 |

Call the above numbers for transportation and information about the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the May 3 demonstration. Look for our banners in Washington and San Francisco!

Portillo and the Second (Yellow) International all call for a "political solution," but "political solution" is not what's happening. The Salvadoran oligarchy and U.S. cold warriors want blood to flow in rivers, they want El Salvador safe for imperialism and the 14 Families. The "social cost" of not smashing the junta is continued mass terror and slaughter. Thousands of Salvadoran insurgents, workers, peasants have shed their blood for an end to the wretched poverty and repression—not in order to repeat the vicious cycle of "reforms" and coups which gave birth to the current junta. It is with these heroic

insurgents that the Anti-Imperialist Contingent will stand.

In their quest for the "political solution" the reformists have not only attempted to silence communists, but have welcomed onto their platforms spokesmen for the State Department, like Robert White—former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador who, under Carter, presided over the 1979 "reform junta"—and in Cleveland even a spokesman for the notorious CIA front, AIFLD (American Institute for Free Labor Development)! The several hundred Harvard students who marched against AIFLD El Salvador honcho Roy Prosterman—not to debate him but to chase him off campus—set an example for how such swine should be "greeted." After the Harvard incident, Prosterman was afraid to show his face in public and would appear at a previously scheduled debate only under guard in the privacy of a radio station.

As part of building for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, the Ann Arbor SYL is organizing a united-front protest against war criminal Henry Kissinger and former CIA head William Colby (who cites Vietnam in 1968-72 as a model for U.S. intervention in El Salvador!). Invited to a commemoration of the new Gerald Ford Library, these "notables" must be greeted with resounding protest! As we go to press, a

number of campus groups have endorsed, including Ann Arbor PAM, the newspaper *Black Perspectives*, the Graduate Employees Organization and an Arab student group. The demonstration to be held on April 27 will demand: "Protest War Criminals Kissinger and Colby!" "U.S. Out of El Salvador!" "Asylum for Salvadoran Refugees!"

Which Side Are You On?

While the PAM/CISPES reformists hold polite discussions with the likes of AIFLD, light candles, cheer for the few bourgeois politicians who oppose U.S. support to the junta and pretend that the Soviet Union and Cuba are not central to the U.S. war drive, the SYL is mobilizing young radicals in opposition to their "own" bourgeoisie. A group of anarchists from Santa Barbara joined our contingent in Los Angeles because it took a side; a student co-op in Madison is sponsoring a fund raiser for bus tickets
continued on page 10

RALLY

**Protest War Criminals
Kissinger and Colby!
U.S. Out of El Salvador!
Asylum for Salvadoran
Refugees!**

Tuesday, April 28, 8:30 am
Gerald R. Ford Library
North Campus
University of Michigan

Partial List of Endorsers: Ann Arbor PAM;
Organization of Arab Students; Ann Arbor Anti-Draft Network; Spartacist League; Spartacus Youth League; Suleman, Abdul-Azeez.
Managing Editor *Black Perspectives*
For more information call: (313) 944-9313

ANN ARBOR

Young Spartacus

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

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We Have a World to Win! Join the SYL!

Letters from New Members

Stalinism to Trotskyism

Having been born and raised in the East Bronx, it has been obvious to me for quite a while that capitalism is an inhuman system which exploits and oppresses the majority of society. This led me to a position of being very sympathetic toward the Soviet Union, for the following reasons. Firstly, it is undeniable that because of the overthrow of capitalism in Russia in 1917, the people of the Soviet Union have been able to enjoy such benefits as the absence of mass layoffs, free education and medical care, and a relatively egalitarian distribution of wealth. Economic and military aid from the Soviet Union had enabled Cuba to remain free of imperialist domination, and was the

federal troops to be sent in, assuming that the capitalist state would somehow play the uncharacteristic role of defending blacks against racism. The Revolutionary Communist Party, on the other hand, actually opposed the busing plan, capitulating to the general ideological backwardness of the white working class. But the Spartacist League showed that it took the Marxist theory of the capitalist state seriously, and opposed the involvement of federal troops. The SL supported busing and integration as a means of improving the educational opportunities for blacks, and their call for "labor and black defense guards" to protect the bused students against racist attacks pointed out an alternative to the suicidal reliance on the capitalist state.

Despite such realizations, I was still very much put off by the "Trotskyist" aspect of the SL. I had read anti-Trotskyist propaganda such as *The Great Conspiracy* by Sayers and Kahn,

My involvement in various political campaigns led by the SL and SYL convinced me that it was possible to reach large segments of the working class with a militant and revolutionary program. Last April 19, the SL mobilized 1,200 workers, blacks and gays in a demonstration which successfully prevented a planned Nazi rally at San Francisco's Civic Center. And in last fall's Board of Supervisors elections, over 7,000 San Franciscans voted for Spartacist Diana Coleman, running on a platform of political independence for the working class and unequivocal military defense of the Soviet Union.

Although it is somewhat too complicated to get into in this article, I have found that the Trotskyist analysis of Stalinism explains the deformations which exist in the Soviet Union and the other workers' states, while at the same time offering a strategy for defending and extending the important advances

groups, and since I considered myself a Marxist even at that time, I was unable to commit myself to these narrow causes. I was searching for something which put forth a socialist perspective while actively working towards change.

At this time I was introduced to the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), and became one of the founding members of the Berkeley campus chapter. They seemed, then, to be exactly what I was looking for. They claimed to be socialists and to be working towards a socialist society, and their concept of "socialism of the possible" appealed to me. Being pretty politically naive and historically ignorant, I believed their lies and saw their reformism as the best we could hope for, at least at this time. I always felt, however, that a revolution was what was ultimately needed, and naively believed that other DSOCers felt the same.

I quickly realized, though, that this was not the case, and that most of them had no intention of working for anything beyond minor reforms through the Democratic Party. DSOC itself boasts of having 5,000 paper memberships with only a few activists in its ranks. What kind of a track record is that? How can they expect to change anything when all they have is 5,000 guaranteed votes for the Democratic Party! My conception was that the Democratic Party would be used as a vehicle to influence the workers who were members, but DSOC merely makes concessions to the labor bureaucrats and capitalists. Many members of DSOC claim to disagree with much of what Michael Harrington says, but like it or not he is the self-appointed spokesman for the organization, and he does represent what DSOC stands for—collaboration and compromises with the bourgeoisie.

While I was a member of DSOC the question of reform or revolution kept popping up, and I was unable to justify remaining in an organization which I could no longer answer for. Confronted by opponents of DSOC, I argued without really believing what I was saying because I realized that DSOC, as well as other left groups I've encountered in the past, have no intention of defeating the bourgeoisie and leading the workers to victory. Many of these groups even talk of revolution, but have no program for actually accomplishing it. I then met some members of the SL/SYL when they attended a study group on socialism-feminism sponsored by DSOC. The positions the SL/SYL presented were many I had felt for a long time, but I had found no one else who held these beliefs. Primarily, I was intrigued by and in accordance with their views on the Soviet Union, Cuba and El Salvador, which are unique positions on the left. Talking further with the SL/SYL, I found that I was in alliance with many of their other positions as well.

However, I did have problems accepting their total program, particularly concerning the role of the Vanguard Party. Like most others from a social-democratic background, I believed that the splitting of the left was the worst possible tactic. I felt that the left must all unite together in order to win. The



AP
Pro-busing demonstration at Columbia Point in Boston, 1975. SL/SYL called for labor/black defense of black schoolchildren. Reformists counseled reliance on cops!

crucial factor in the defeat of American militarism by the workers and peasants of Vietnam.

At the same time, I was troubled by many aspects of Soviet foreign and domestic policy. Although most of the more brutal practices of the Stalin era had been discontinued, it was clear that there was still no free exchange of ideas in the Soviet Union, and that political power was concentrated in the upper echelons of the Communist Party. Soviet support to bourgeois nationalist politicians such as Nasser, Qaddafi and Manley was also difficult to accept. And I slowly began to realize that the American Communist Party's policy of begging the bourgeoisie for minor concessions, obviously carried out with at least the approval of the Kremlin, could never lead to the establishment of socialism.

Of all the other groups on the left, the Spartacist League stood out as the most serious, and the most consistently Leninist in its politics. The Boston-school busing controversy of a few years back served as a good illustration to me of the differences among the programs of the ostensibly socialist groups. The Socialist Workers Party called for

and naively thought that no one would say such terrible things about Trotsky if there were not at least some truth behind the accusations. The large number of 1930s Trotskyists who later became anti-socialist and anti-Soviet, such as Irving Howe, James Burnham, etc., also made me wary. Most important, though, was my very limited and distorted impression of the nature of the "socialism in one country" controversy; this debate seemed to be partly an academic exercise in semantics (i.e., the definition of "socialism"), but I also mistakenly interpreted Trotsky's position as one of defeatism and pessimism.

About a year and a half ago I got in contact with the SYL in the East Bay, and decided to undertake a more serious study of their politics, and the Trotskyist tradition. I have since realized that it was actually Stalin's position which was defeatist, in that he had no faith in the ability of the working classes of Europe and Asia to make a revolution. The program of the Left Opposition was the one which could have allowed for the extension of the gains of October 1917 to the rest of the world, at the same time furthering the economic development of the Soviet Union itself.

which have been made in those countries. The international Spartacist tendency is the only organization in the world capable of leading the working class in the creation of a new and better society.

Robert Z.
Berkeley
April 17, 1981

Breaking from DSOC Reformism

When I first became involved in politics I was drawn to single-issue groups, such as those working against nuclear power and apartheid, because I saw them as the "correct" progressive stands to take. However, I became quickly disillusioned with this form of activism because the real issues were always avoided, and there was no coherent ideology which guided their actions. A strong anti-communist sentiment was also prevalent among these

historical consequences of social democracy evaded me, and the need for a unified left seemed most important. Also, I was afraid that the Vanguard Party would inevitably lead to elitism and a Stalinist bureaucracy. I didn't really understand the role of leadership in building for a revolution, and felt that somehow it was not needed.

By talking with the SL/SYL over a period of time, however, I have come to realize the necessity of building a Vanguard Party and a revolutionary leadership. I feel that I have resolved the original differences I had with their program, and have, therefore, decided to submit my application for membership to the SYL.

Claire C.
Berkeley
April 16, 1981

From YSA to SYL

This letter is concurrent with my formal application for membership in the Spartacus Youth League.

My involvement in socialist politics spans several years. As a very young member of the latter part of the anti-Vietnam War movement, I quickly became disillusioned with liberal Democratic politics and began to investigate Marxism. I soon became absorbed in the Russian Revolution, believing it to be the historical watershed for all communists. While my sympathy with Lenin's Bolshevik Party and the workers' revolution it made in 1917 was a crucial factor in my turn to communism, the question of what occurred in the Soviet Union after Lenin died remained a mystery to me. I had no sympathy at all for Stalinism, and I saw in Leon Trotsky and his Fourth International an alternative to the grotesque political degeneration which had occurred in the Stalinized Bolshevik Party. This led me to join the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), in 1974. (A photograph of Trotsky reading a copy of the SWP's newspaper *The Militant* was fixed in my mind.) I considered myself a Trotskyist and was eager to enter the organization of Trotsky and Cannon.

My membership in the YSA was brief and disenchanting, however. I joined the organization by mail—an application was printed in their newspaper *Young Socialist*—all that was required was to fill it in, clip it out, and send it off and *voilà*, one was a Trotskyist! I was not required to attend any classes or educational seminars and thus had not



Initiated by SL/SYL, April 19 Committee Against Nazis sponsored labor-centered rally to stop Hitlerite "birthday party" in San Francisco, 1980. CP, which calls on government to "ban" fascists, tried to sabotage rally. SWP supports "free speech" for Nazis, challenges KKK to debate.

the slightest inkling of what the contemporary program of the SWP/YSA was. I soon found out.

Some comrades dropped by my college in upstate New York and set me about organizing support for their plan to have the military apparatus of the upholder of international racism and imperialist oppression—the United States government—implement busing in Boston. "Federal Troops to Boston!" was their slogan. So we called a meeting which was attended by about 20 people and my comrades began to explain why good socialists should make so un-Marxist a demand. Basically, this amounted to a lot of gibberish about how the bourgeois army can be pressured by the masses into acting as a progressive force. (Tell it to the Vietnamese!) The one point of Leninist clarity came when a member of the Spartacus Youth League patiently explained to my comrades and me that Marx, and someone closely associated with him, Engels, and even some more recent figures of whom the YSA might have heard, Lenin and Trotsky, all defined the bourgeois state as an instrument of class oppression. The SYLer pointed out that the bourgeois

state is not neutral in the class conflict, that history bears this witness, and, not insignificantly, an understanding of the oppressive nature of the bourgeois state is a fundamental pillar of Marxism! To the SWP's treacherous call for federal troops in Boston, the Spartacist League counterposed the clearly Trotskyist program of labor/black defense guards to protect black schoolchildren from racist attacks. Of course, the SYL member was hysterically shouted down by my SWP/YSA comrades, but a ringing point in favor of Leninism had been made.

I quit the YSA shortly thereafter, convinced that it was not a revolutionary Trotskyist organization but a reformist one, full of little Second International liquidators, willing to march under the banner of any popular single-issue liberal campaign, flagrantly discarding, submerging and betraying the politics of Lenin and Trotsky on which its parent organization, the SWP, was directly based. Today, the SWP/YSA debates fascists while excluding communists from their meetings, calls for more police in Atlanta, while accusing the same cops of complicity in the child murders, and shamelessly tails

after clerical reaction in Iran and Poland:

Yet today we have, in the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, an authentic Trotskyist organization. I am joining the SYL because I am able to see in its program the revolutionary politics of Lenin and Trotsky. Instead of debating fascists, the SL/SYL mobilizes labor, blacks and Jews to stop them. Rather than tailing after the "progressive" bourgeoisie in El Salvador, the SL/SYL calls for a workers' revolution in that country, and is conspicuous in its opposition to the historical gravedigger of the working class, the popular front. And, very significantly, the SL/SYL stands for an unconditional defense of Soviet Russia against imperialist encroachment.

In the present period of capitalist reaction it is important for all young people who want to see a workers' government in this country to arm themselves with a strategy for victory, the program of the Spartacus Youth League.

Rick B.
Bay Area
April 16, 1981

Young Spartacus



SYL activists campaign at Berkeley.

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YSp 91

From the Arsenal of Marxism

Defend the USSR!

On June 22, 1941 Hitler's armies invaded the Soviet Union. Within the short span of a few months, the German troops, tanks and bombers penetrated to the outskirts of Moscow itself. The Soviet degenerated workers state appeared to be on the brink of destruction. Such an event would have been an incalculable setback to the international working class.

At this moment of peril, the Trotskyist movement—true to its program—fought for the class-struggle defense of the Soviet Union. One day after the Nazi attack, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) Political Committee issued the Manifesto reprinted below (from *Fourth International*, July 1941). For the SWP, these were not idle phrases: Many SWPers in the merchant marine, for example, lost their lives as volunteer seamen transporting critically needed supplies—and smuggling Trotsky's "Letter to the Workers of the USSR" as well—to Murmansk.

This tradition of Soviet defense is alive today only in the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). The iSt originated as the Revolutionary Tendency, expelled from the SWP in 1963 after fighting against that organization's abandonment of revolutionary politics. Once the revolutionary party in the U.S., now the SWP openly ridicules the Trotskyist program of defending the Soviet Union (see "SWP Slanders James P. Cannon," *Workers Vanguard* No. 278, 10 April). The SWP tries to justify its anti-Sovietism (e.g., opposing Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, aligning with church-led forces in Poland) by falsifying its revolutionary, Soviet-defensist past. Thus the social-democratic reformists of today's SWP seek to bury and forget such documents as the following Manifesto. We are proud of it—it's ours!

Manifesto of the Socialist Workers Party June 1941

The Soviet Union is in mortal danger! Under the most adverse conditions the Soviet masses are heroically defending the Workers' State against imperialist invasion. The Second World War, which could have been prevented only by victorious socialist revolution and destruction of world capitalism, men-

aces the very existence of the isolated Workers' State. All the warnings of Lenin and Trotsky have come true.

German imperialism seeks to overthrow the October Revolution and to restore the capitalist system in its degenerate fascist form. This is the essential meaning of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union. Every worker who realizes the significance of this attack will have no hesitation in accepting the slogan of our party: **Defend the Soviet Union at all costs and under all circumstances against imperialist attack!**

The Russian working class in October, 1917, established a government of Soviets which took the land from the landlords and gave it to the peasants, and took the banks, industries and railroads from the capitalists and placed them—as nationalized property—under the management and control of the workers. Thereby the Soviets abolished the system of private property which permits a handful of capitalists to own the wealth of a country and to exploit the vast majority of the people. This achievement of the October revolution is the greatest advance ever made by any people. It proved, beyond any refutation, that the working class is capable of taking its destiny into its own hands. The unprecedented development of this nationalized property proved for all time the superiority of socialist methods of production over capitalist anarchy.

The productive forces were nationalized by the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. Those Soviets no longer exist. They have been destroyed by the Kremlin bureaucracy, which has usurped all political power. But the productive forces are today still not in the hands of private owners. This means that, in spite of the damage done to the revolution by Stalin and his Kremlin clique, the essential conquest of that revolution survives.

It is this nationalized property that we call upon the workers of the world to defend against every enemy. It is this nationalized property which the capitalists of Germany, represented by Hitler, are out to seize and transform into capitalist property. Today, therefore, the main enemy of the Soviet workers is German imperialism. Against this enemy must be pitted every worker conscious of the tremendous advance which the October revolution made in the progress of mankind. Every blow of

SWP Telegram to Stalin

This telegram was sent to Stalin on July 1, 1941. It is reprinted from the *Militant*, 5 July 1941.

Trotskyists all over the world, now as always, are solidly for the defense of the Soviet Union. In this hour of grave danger to the achievements of the October Revolution, we demand that you release all Trotskyist and other pro-Soviet political prisoners who are now in jails and in concentration camps, to enable them to take their proper place in the front ranks of the defenders of the Soviet Union. Your crushing of workers' democracy has increased the terrible danger to the Soviet Union. We demand the revival of Soviet democracy as the first step in strengthening the struggle against German Nazi imperialism and the capitalist world.

**James P. Cannon
National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party**



Anti-draft demonstration, March 1980. SL/SYL stood alone in hailing Red Army against feudal reaction in Afghanistan. Under pressure from anti-Soviet Cold War, revisionist SWP has now repudiated its earlier tepid support for the Soviet intervention.



In the Vietnam antiwar movement, SL stood with Indochinese workers and peasants against U.S. imperialism, fought for labor political strikes against the war. SWP called for "peaceful, legal" action with Democratic Party to "bring our boys home."

the Red Army against German imperialism is a blow for the socialist future of mankind. It is the duty of every worker to aid the Red Army to victory.

What We Do Not Defend

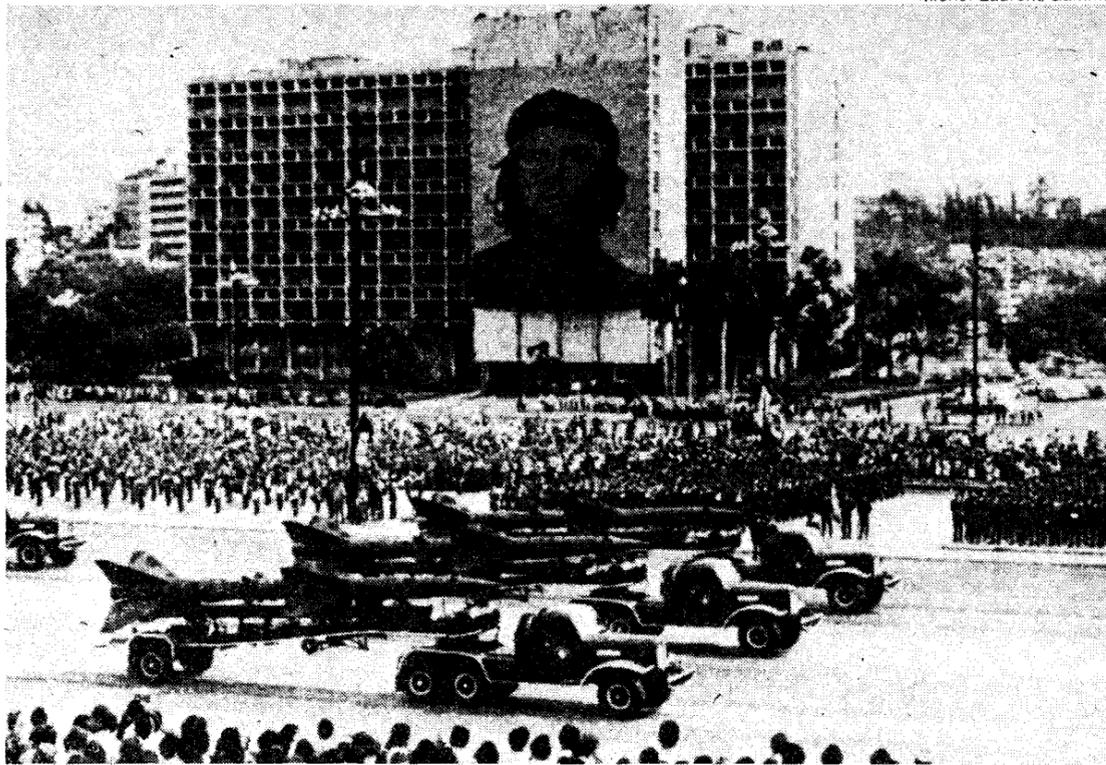
The Soviet Union and Stalin's regime are not at all identical. The October revolution was not made for the bureaucrats who have usurped the seats of power. In defending the Soviet Union, we do not defend these usurpers. Stalin and his clique have brought the Soviet Union to a point where Hitler feels confident that he can in a short time conquer it. Within the Soviet Union the Stalinist bureaucracy has destroyed every form of workers' democracy established under Lenin and Trotsky. The Cain in the Kremlin has murdered the best, the most devoted and most capable Bolshevik leaders of the Soviet workers, and at this very moment keeps imprisoned in his dungeons hundreds of thousands of revolutionary workers upon whom he now perpetrates the last indignity of all—he prevents them from defending the Soviet Union arms in hand. Outside the Soviet Union, Stalin strangled the

Chinese revolution and led the whole European labor movement to catastrophic defeats. Thus the Soviet Union was deprived of its only reliable allies.

By his pact with Hitler, his collaboration with the Nazis in dismembering Poland, his 1939 attack on Finland, and his leaving Hitler free to master Europe, Stalin has alienated from the Soviet Union the sympathies of tens of millions of workers.

Not for one moment do we suspend our struggle against the Kremlin dictator and the bureaucracy which he represents. For the fact is already evident, and will become more so with each day, that the Soviet workers must rid themselves of this bureaucracy and re-establish workers' democracy in order to assure victory against the Nazi armies. The overthrow of Stalin by the workers is demanded by the needs of the struggle to save the Soviet Union. We are confident that the Russian workers who made three revolutions in the space of twelve years—1905, February 1917, October 1917—will rise again to the level of their great revolutionary traditions.

Stalin must be overthrown—but only
continued on page 8



Michel Laurent/Gamma

Soviet rockets on parade in Havana in early '70s.

Twenty Years After Bay of Pigs

Defend Cuba!

As the U.S. ruling class nerves itself up for naked military aggression in Central America, the workers and peasants of Cuba are celebrating the 20th anniversary of their satisfying victory over American imperialism at the Bay of Pigs. Under that "great liberal" John F. Kennedy, the CIA had trained some 1,500 Cuban counterrevolutionaries in Somoza's Nicaragua and Guatemala, while E. Howard Hunt (later to gain fame for bungling the Watergate break-in along with some of his Cuban buddies) tried to scrape together a "government in exile" in Miami. On April 18, 1961 the "freedom fighters" hit the beaches at the Bay of Pigs—and stayed there. American navy ships had escorted the mangy flotilla of Cuban exiles offshore, where their landing boats promptly smashed into coral reefs; the radio signals broke down; the B-26 planes that were

supposed to wipe out Castro's tiny air force had been pulled off; the ammunition never arrived; the mountains the invaders were supposed to "melt away" into if worst came to worst didn't exist. Within hours of the "landing," the world knew that Yankee imperialism had tried to invade Cuba and failed. The "popular uprisings" against Castro which the Americans had hoped to spark were instead a vast outpouring of support by the Cuban working people for the defense of their country and their revolution.

"Self-criticism" was heard from various American bourgeois quarters, not least the *New York Times* (which had fronted for the invasion with a news blackout), after the debacle. The bourgeois "dove" chorus squawked even louder over Vietnam, and for the same reason: they saw it was no-win; unless the U.S. was prepared to take on Russia

directly, there was no way to reverse the Vietnamese social revolution, and the losing effort merely ruined the U.S. army as a fighting instrument and alienated a lot of draft-age youth (some of whom remain to this day committed socialists). Now the "doves" are starting up again over El Salvador: bypass this adventure, they say, wait a little, build up the American economy so that we will be in a better position to assume our rightful burden as world policeman against Communism.

All wings of the U.S. bourgeoisie remain committed to the American Empire, first and foremost in "our hemisphere." And they are united in their fundamental appetite to reconquer Cuba and all the deformed workers states for capitalist plunder. For the ruling class, every struggle of the oppressed for freedom and social justice anywhere in the world raises the "Russian question." General Haig announces that the Russians (who in the suicidal illusion of "peaceful coexistence" refuse to militarily aid the insurgent masses of El Salvador) are really "international terrorists" responsible for every affront to imperialist arrogance; it takes the liberal *New York Times* just a couple of weeks to transform his sci-fi rantings into a fake-factual Sunday-magazine "exposé." The fundamental problem for the American ruling class and its apologists is how to destroy the military/industrial powerhouse of the non-capitalist states, the USSR, and still live to tell the tale.

The following article, "Defend Cuba and Russia," is excerpted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 241 (12 October 1979). Its purpose was to warn of the Carter administration's effort to whip up anti-Soviet fervor with fabricated scare stories of "Soviet military build-up in Cuba" as a pretext for threatening the USSR through the intermediary of Cuba. Now again over El Salvador, the U.S. is floating the idea of overt acts of war (e.g., a naval blockade) against Cuba. The article recalls the Bay of Pigs adventure and the Cuban missile crisis of 1962—a game of nuclear "chicken" in which the Russians flinched.

We no less than our enemies must recognize the international implications

of the civil war in El Salvador. In calling for the military victory of the leftist insurgents and the spreading of anti-imperialist revolution throughout Central America, we fight also for the defense of Cuba, the USSR and all the deformed workers states against U.S. imperialism, which is ever more boldly flirting with the prospect of nuclear holocaust to preserve its empire.

But a real defense of Cuba is not, as Castro would have it, a "political solution" in El Salvador, cheating the workers and peasants out of the victory they are shedding their blood for, leaving the regime's terror apparatus intact to extract a terrible vengeance. Appeasement only emboldens the rapacious imperialists, as the Cuban missile crisis and its aftermath showed. A real defense of Cuba and Russia means the defeat of U.S. imperialism, the wresting of the working people of the world from the grip of capitalist exploitation and oppression. It means the extension of the gains of the October Revolution of 1917 to the workers of the world.

Defend Cuba and Russia!

REPRINTED FROM
WORKERS VANGUARD NO. 241
12 OCTOBER 1979

The hysteria over the "discovery" of 2,000-3,000 Russian "combat troops" in Cuba was almost universally recognized as an American domestic electoral ploy. In fact, it was all too obvious by the eve of Carter's ballyhooed speech that the troops had been there for 17 years and were no big deal. The only "evidence" of sinister Soviet designs was an "exclusive" full-color photograph published by *Time* magazine of a "Soviet-built intelligence station." This turned out to be (shades of Adlai Stevenson's infamous fake "Cuban B-26 bomber" photos during the Bay of Pigs) an ITT Cuban telephone relay station built in 1957.

Carter's "measures"—Marines charging ashore at Guantánamo, beefing up American Caribbean forces, a unified military "Task Force" at Key West, increased surveillance of Cuba—are intended to harass and humiliate the Castro regime and demonstrate to Latin America that U.S. imperialism has not lost its capacity (or will) to police the Western Hemisphere. However, it was quite clear that the whole affair was aimed primarily at the Soviet Union. The instant connection and comparison to the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 were on everyone's mind.

But Carter's crisis-mongering should not be dismissed as simply the wild flailings of a politically drowning man. Despite the bizarre aspects of his recent anti-Soviet provocations, including his August commando-style hijacking of an Aeroflot jet at Kennedy airport, the threats are real. The whole thrust of his "human rights" policy is an ideological cover for the most vicious anti-communist crusade; meanwhile the American war machine is being ostentatiously geared up to reassert U.S. military dominance, not only in the Caribbean but worldwide. In the face of these threatening war maneuvers, we demand a real defense of Cuba against bloodthirsty imperialism—including the use of Soviet troops, planes, missiles and whatever else they can get their hands on! The presence of the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo is an outrage. If all the talk of sovereignty had any meaning, so long as the Americans stay in Guantánamo the Cubans should be entitled to a base with a good harbor on the U.S. Gulf Coast.

"Americanologists" in the Kremlin say they're at an absolute loss in trying to figure out what's going on. The Kremlin's American experts are willing
continued on page 9



Castro released Bay of Pigs survivors for \$53 million in food and medicine. The next week Kennedy received gusano flag at Orange Bowl. "I can assure you that this flag will be returned to this brigade in a free Havana," he said. He told CIA pilot, "You better believe there's going to be a next time."

Defend USSR...

(continued from page 6)

by the working class. His overthrow by Hitler would mean restoration of capitalism. For the sake of the Soviet Union and of the World Socialist Revolution, the workers' struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy must be subordinated to the struggle against the main enemy—the armies of Hitler Germany. Everything that we say or do must have as its primary object the victory of the Red Army.

The Soviet Union can be best understood as a great trade union fallen into the hands of corrupt and degenerate leaders. Our struggle against Stalinism is a struggle within the labor movement. Against the bosses we preserve the unity of the class front, we stand shoulder to shoulder with all workers. The Soviet Union is a Workers' State, although degenerated because of Stalinist rule. Just as we support strikes against the bosses even though the union conducting the strike is under the control of Stalinists, so do we support the Soviet Union against imperialism. Despite imprisonment and repression, our comrades in the Soviet Union, the hounded Trotskyists, will prove to the Soviet masses that the Trotskyists are the best fighters against the capitalist enemy.

Defense of the USSR Against Its Capitalist Allies

Churchill has indicated that he will consummate some form of military alliance with the Kremlin. When the United States reaches the "shooting war" stage, Roosevelt will likewise enter into a formal alliance.

The Soviet Union is now compelled by sad necessity to seek these alliances. That is necessitated by the isolation and weakness of the Soviet Union. What, however, shall be the attitude of the working class toward the Soviet Union's capitalist allies? The Communist International today evades answering the fundamental question; tomorrow it will answer it as in the period of the Franco-Soviet pact—calling upon the workers to support the imperialist war of the "democracies."

We warn the workers: the "democratic" ally is just as hostile to the nationalized property of the Soviet Union as is the fascist enemy. Roosevelt and Churchill will seek two things at the same time: the defeat of their German imperialist rival, and also to prevent the Soviet Union from strengthening itself through victory. Even at the cost of weakening their fight against their imperialist rival, Roosevelt and Churchill will try to hold down the world working class, including the Soviet Union.

The chief contradiction in modern society, we have said since 1917, is between the Soviet Union and the imperialist world. That still holds true. Special circumstances now, as during the time of the Stalin-Laval pact, bring about an alliance between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries. Not the least of these circumstances is that

Stalin's reactionary policy lessens capitalist fears of the revolutionary role of the Soviet Union and weakens the effect of the example of the October revolution. But only for the time being is the fundamental antagonism between the Soviet Union and Anglo-American imperialism relegated to the background.

The fundamental antagonism remains and will come to the fore precisely if the "democracies" begin to win. Only a week ago the sober spokesman of American monopoly, the *New York Times*, said about the Soviet Union: "The democracies, having got rid of dictatorship in Germany, would hardly support dictatorship elsewhere." The *Times* has not unsaid this vicious threat, any more than Churchill unsaid his enmity to the Soviet Union. Kerensky, the representative of Russian "democratic" capitalism, hails the democracies for agreeing to "help" the Soviet Union; "a victory of the democracies," he says, "would end in the collapse of the Soviet regime"—that is, in the restoration of capitalism. The Vatican announces it is training priests for work in Russia in case of a "change"—which it anticipates whether the fascist or the democratic imperialisms become masters of Europe. Irreconcilable proletarian opposition to the imperialist allies of the Soviet Union offers the only guarantee that the workers will be on guard to save the Soviet Union from destruction at the hands of the victorious "democracies."

Even during the course of the war, Churchill and Roosevelt, in the name of greater efficiency in the prosecution of the war, may attempt to intervene in the economic life of the Soviet Union. The already grave economic crisis in the Soviet Union—caused by capitalist encirclement and the uncontrolled mismanagement of the bureaucrats—will grow ever more profound under the stress of war. The Kremlin bureaucracy will tend to yield to close collaboration with the "economic experts" of Roosevelt and Churchill. For their "services" the capitalists will demand immediate payment in the form of economic concessions which would undermine the nationalized property. It is unquestionable, we repeat, that the "democracies" are just as anxious to destroy nationalized property as is Hitler....

On guard against the capitalist allies of the Soviet Union! That is the only possible position of the real defenders of the Soviet Union: irreconcilable opposition to all the imperialist powers, whether "allies" or enemies.

For Revolutionary War

To rally the utmost energies of the Soviet masses, to rally around the Soviet Union the masses of all countries, to arouse in the German proletariat the determination at all costs to undermine and sabotage the Nazi war machine—these tasks of the hour require a policy in the Bolshevik spirit of Lenin and Trotsky, tribunes of the people summoning the whole world to revolt. Nothing could be further from this than the statement of [foreign affairs minister] Molotov upon the outbreak of hostilities.

It could have emanated from the most conservative capitalist regime in the world. There is in it not a word of appeal to the world masses; nor a word about socialism or the traditions of the October revolution. Molotov seeks to inspire the Soviet masses by reminding them that "This is not the first time that our people have had to deal with the attack of an arrogant foe." That is true. Enshrined forever in the hearts of the working class are the successes of Trotsky's Red Army in beating back on twenty-two fronts the armies of the imperialist world. But that is not the tradition that Molotov is talking about! His tradition now is "our people's reply was war for the fatherland"—against Napoleon! In this avoidance of the traditions of the October revolution, Molotov reveals the character of the Kremlin regime, its fear of the masses and their revolutionary heritage.

In everything it does the Stalinist bureaucracy indicates its lack of trust in and fear of the great masses. It is to the capitalist masters that the Kremlin looks for aid. In his policy Stalin finds a place for the masses only as so many pawns whom he can yield to the bourgeois masters as payment for collaboration. The Soviet broadcasts of Churchill's speech omitted Churchill's anti-Communist statements; Stalin is already dressing up the leader of British imperialism.

The Kremlin bureaucracy is interested only in maintaining its privileges, at no matter what cost to the Soviet and world masses. Stalin gave Hitler everything that he could, so long as these concessions did not directly involve the surrender of the power and position of the bureaucracy.

In the light of his fundamental policy, Stalin surely will not carry on this war as it ought to be carried on—as a war in which the Soviet Union, though taking advantage of all aid from Hitler's imperialist enemies, plays the independent role of a Workers' State, rallies the world masses to the banner of socialism, calls upon the working masses of Germany to overthrow Hitler and capitalism and to join in an alliance with the Soviet Union. Stalin represents the antithesis to such a revolutionary policy; he has crushed that policy wherever he could, inside and outside the Soviet Union. He has murdered its best representative, Leon Trotsky.

Workers and peasants of the Soviet Union! We appeal to you in the name of our martyred leader, Comrade Trotsky. His voice would now be urging you on to revolutionary war against Hitler. This was the hour of danger which Trotsky was destined to turn into the hour of proletarian triumph—but his noble and heroic mind was crushed by Stalin's pickaxe. Since he has been

denied the happiness of participating in your decisive battles and final victory, let Trotsky henceforth participate invisibly in your struggle. Let his voice, stilled by Stalin but living on in the movement which bears his name, advise you in your struggle for a better world. Avenge his death by destroying Hitler, overthrowing the Cain in the Kremlin, and reviving the Soviet democracy which in the heroic years of the October revolution made possible the victory over imperialist intervention....

The Main Tasks of the American Working Class

Every worker must defend the Soviet Union as a class duty. The revolutionary worker cannot accept the corrupt and opportunistic line of the Stalinists. He defends the nationalized property of the Soviet Union and not the Kremlin bureaucrats. He defends the Soviet Union because capitalism has been overthrown there. He can under no circumstances support the imperialist war of Britain and the United States, no more than he would support the imperialist war of Nazi Germany. The revolutionary worker understands that if Churchill and Roosevelt find themselves allied to the Soviet Union that does not change by one iota the reactionary character of the war that Churchill and Roosevelt are waging.

The workers must fight fascism to the death—but the imperialist war of Britain and the United States is not a war against fascism, it is a war against their imperialist rivals. The only way the workers can fight against fascism is to take the power and establish a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States. Only such a socialist government would be a real ally of the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile the method to defend the Soviet Union is to continue the class struggle against the imperialists. Defend the workers' rights against government strikebreaking! Build the power of the working class until it becomes the governmental power. That is the best service which the American workers can render to their brothers in the Soviet Union.

Defend the Soviet Union! Defend the conquests of the October revolution!

Down with the Stalinist bureaucracy that weakens the Soviet Union!

Revolutionary war to the death against fascism!

Against all the imperialists in this war!

On guard against the capitalist allies of the Soviet Union!

For a Workers and Farmers Government, the only reliable ally of the Soviet Union!

Long live the world socialist revolution!

June 23, 1941

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Defend Cuba...

(continued from page 7)

to make allowances for electoral "Russian devil" rhetoric. But Carter's apparently willful rush to self-destruct opens up a period of ominous instability in their view. After all, for "peaceful coexistence" to work, the other side is supposed to make at least a pretense of being "responsible" and "peace-loving"—and it's the phony SALT II treaty to which the Soviets have pinned their hopes.

The truth, however much the Kremlin would like to evade it, is that there is indeed a resurgence of American imperialist aggressive designs against the Soviet Union, on which all wings of the currently squabbling bourgeois factions are united. What's going on domestically is essentially a struggle over imperialist *tactics vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union and secondarily Cuba and Latin America.

The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is angling for a class-collaborationist bloc with "enlightened" bourgeois politicians who merely oppose a stupid, meaningless military adventure. The SWP makes a peculiar distinction between Castro and the Moscow bureaucrats only in order to *evade* taking up the necessary socialist defense of the USSR against U.S. imperialism. Their line on Cuba and Nicaragua is simply that of the liberal Democrats (and even some more sophisticated Republicans): American aid to Nicaragua and "normalize relations" with Cuba. U.S. aid to Nicaragua is precisely Carter's policy, aimed at buying off the Sandinistas and saving Nicaragua for capitalism.

The Cuban Missile Crisis and "Peaceful Coexistence"

Yearning for the "good old days" of U.S. imperialist domination, bourgeois commentators were irresistibly drawn to comparing the Soviet troops hubbub with the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, when the U.S. was actually prepared to unleash nuclear holocaust to maintain its unquestioned hegemony in Latin America. The *Washington Post* (1 October 1979) devoted a front-page major article to that American "triumph of the will," and in general, the media's comparisons of Carter's "phony crisis" to "the real thing" had a curiously nostalgic, glowing quality, whose dark meaning is obvious: ultimately American imperialism will stop at nothing to reconquer the deformed workers states for capitalist exploitation.

The fundamental lesson of the missile crisis for revolutionaries is that when the crunch came, the détente-minded Stalinists and all their "progressive" Third World nationalist "friends" had no answer to the threats of a flailing imperialism. To be sure, Castro was furious when Khrushchev withdrew the Soviet missiles—kicking the wall, swearing and smashing a mirror, according to Che Guevara—but in 1975 he told Senator George McGovern, when it looked like a deal with U.S. imperialism was in the works, "Khrushchev was older and wiser.... I was wrong."

CORRECTION

In our last issue we reprinted an article by Leon Trotsky on his comrade, Georgian Bolshevik Kote Tsintsadze ("A Revolutionary Fighter," *YSp* No. 90, April 1981). We cited the date of Tsintsadze's death as 1931. This is contradicted in "Memoirs of a Bolshevik-Leninist," a manuscript circulated underground in post-Stalin Russia and printed in *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition* (Monad, 1974). The "Memoirs" report an encounter with Tsintsadze in a Soviet prison cell in 1933, and state that he was shot on Stalin's orders in 1937.

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A real defense of the conquests of the degenerated/deformed workers states rests on international extension of the revolutions and requires the ouster through workers political revolution of the Stalinist ruling bureaucracies that desperately seek to balance between imperialism and the proletariat. Today Castro proclaims (to the applause of the SWP) that the OAS vote against a U.S. motion to send a "peacekeeping" intervention force to Nicaragua heralds the

ning defeat: the only thing the American bourgeoisie really thinks is immoral is failure.

Of course the mad bombers, war-mongers and assassins of the American Empire are still in place and still at work, stocking up their arsenal of weapons and refurbished "dirty tricks." Yankee imperialism has not abandoned its appetite to reestablish the Caribbean as a strictly "American lake." Major General Smedley Butler admirably

Paris Match



CIA-trained gusano invaders on their way to prison. Kennedy expected counterrevolutionary uprising; instead masses mobilized to defend gains of Cuban revolution.

formation of a "democratic, pro-independence and anti-interventionist front" including the bourgeois governments of Panama, Mexico, Jamaica, etc. This is just a repeat of Castro's attempt in the early 1960s to "defend" the Cuban Revolution through an alliance with liberal regimes such as Goulart's Brazil and Araujo's Ecuador. But as Trotsky pointed out, the bourgeoisies of the backward capitalist countries are inextricably bound to the imperialist system. Thus during the 1962 [Cuban missile] crisis *every single one* of those "progressive" Third World stalwarts instantly acceded to U.S. demands.

Remember the Bay of Pigs!

There is a "Cuban crisis" which the American bourgeoisie would be all too happy to forget—the April 1961 CIA invasion of the Bay of Pigs. Naturally today all wings of the bourgeoisie dismiss it as an obvious mistake, a youthful aberration, an unfortunate excess of "machismo" and so on. But that's only because it was a fiasco, just as all the soul-searching over Vietnam stemmed from U.S. imperialism's stun-

City Bank boys to collect revenues in... Looking back on it, I feel that I might have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was operate his racket in three districts. I operated on three continents."

By the time John F. Kennedy took office in 1961 *he* was taking tips from the Mafia on how to bump off Castro. He also launched the Bay of Pigs invasion—all in all, a truly spectacular disaster at every level.

Even then, in the midst of the blatant, bloody U.S. invasion of Cuba, the SWP revealed its liberal-pacifist appetite. The *Militant* (24 April 1961) did *not* raise the call for military support to the Cuban army—it posed the question purely as one of national self-determination and not the defense of the anti-capitalist social revolution occurring in the "backyard" of U.S. imperialism. The Revolutionary Tendency [precursor of the Spartacist League] wrote in an urgent 18 April 1961 letter to the *Young Socialist* editorial board:

"So let's have a bold, bloody over-the-masthead headline about Yankee Imperialist Rape or Solidarity with Every Soviet-supplied Bullet Entering the Bodies of CIAists, or similar...."

Needless to say, we haven't changed our views since then.

The international Spartacist tendency is the only organization which stands for the unconditional military defense of *all* the deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialism. We called for "Soviet Nuclear Shield to Cover Hanoi" during the Vietnam War, raised the call "China: Don't Be Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism" when Peking invaded Vietnam last spring. This is the only policy for revolutionaries: intransigent exposure of the Stalinists' bankrupt counterrevolutionary cowardice in the face of imperialist threats, and the fight for international proletarian revolution to sweep away both the capitalists and their rotten Stalinist collaborators and establish a world socialist order. ■

On the Move?

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May 3: Look for the Egg on Their Faces

SWP Violence-Baiters Outmaneuvered

An entertaining side show to the May 3 Washington demonstration organized by the "People's Antiwar Mobilization" (PAM) has been the wild acrobatics of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). First the SWP reformists tried to outflank PAM with a counterposed "legal, peaceful" march on May 9 tailored to "respectable" liberals. Then, lacking support for this endeavor, they were prompted to indicate grudging support to May 3. Now the SWP again opposes PAM's tepid slogans *from the right!*

Behind the maneuvering and the here-today-gone-tomorrow coalitions is a not-too-secret battle for hegemony as the sellout popular-frontist organization in the American "left." Whoever wins in the end—whether it's the SWP, the Communist Party (CP) or the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF)—the result will be the same: subjectively anti-imperialist youth led into the blind alley of reliance on the liberal wing of the imperialist, racist Democratic Party.

The "People's Antiwar Mobilization" is a creature of the reformist YAWF, which itself seeks a niche as a left pressure group on the Stalinist CP. YAWF began in January to solicit endorsements for its May 3 march from such notable "peace-lovers" as

California Democrat Ron Dellums, New York City councilman Gilberto Gerena Valentin and William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists (IAM). The demands of the demonstration—such as "Money for Jobs, Human Needs, Not for the Pentagon"—were carefully tailored to attract support from left liberals in the Democratic Party. PAM carefully refrains from coming out officially for victory to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador. And while they throw in demands like "End All Forms of Racism, Repression and Bigotry," they purposely avoid the question of *what to do* about these evils; even bourgeois politicians condemn "racism, repression and bigotry" *in the abstract!*

However, when IAM president Winpisinger found out that he had been roped into supporting a YAWF-initiated demonstration, he blew his top. At this point the SWP stepped in to offer Winpisinger a chance to regain his "antiwar" credentials. The SWP began organizing a separate demonstration for the following weekend at the Capitol. At one of the final sessions of the February 14-15 conference of the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft (NCARD) held in Detroit, the SWP pushed through a motion supporting its

splinter march. The ill-fated "May 9 Mobilization for Jobs, Peace and Justice" featured essentially the same demands as the PAM-sponsored May 3 march on the Pentagon, minus any reference to racism.

The SWP then embarked on an anti-YAWF violence-baiting binge in the style of Chicago's mayor "Shoot to Kill" Daley. The SWP's misnamed *Militant* (27 March) charged that the "disruptive," "confrontational" May 3 march to the Pentagon would be "almost guaranteed to result in a violent confrontation with the police or army." Such disgusting statements, designed to assure the government of the SWP's respect for bourgeois legality, would make great evidence for the prosecution in future witch-hunts of the left.

Through the mouthpiece of the Detroit NCARD chapter, the SWP moaned that PAM's tame reformist slogans would alienate "elected officials and union leaders" as well as "churches and community groups." But as church, community-group and low-level labor-faker support for PAM mounted, it became clear that the SWP had been outmaneuvered.

The final blow came when various Communist Party front groups (e.g., the U.S. Peace Council and the Women's International League for

Peace and Freedom) as well as various groups in the pacifist milieu, such as SANE, the War Resisters League and the Unitarians, endorsed May 3. The SWP was forced to backhandedly support the May 3 demonstration, admitting that "May 9 is not viable" (*Guardian*, 8 April). Still the SWP continued its violence-baiting of PAM, demanding further guarantees of a "peaceful, legal" demonstration!

This squalid infighting between the various reformists goes on. In an apparent fit of pique, the SWP has absented itself from May 3 planning meetings; and although it praised the April 18 rally at the UN in the *Militant*, it was well-nigh invisible at that demonstration. Meanwhile, on the West Coast the CP has succeeded in wresting organizational control of the May 3 demonstration from YAWF.

While the opportunists jockey for organizational advantage as "best builders" of reformist-dominated marches, the only red flags flying May 3 in Washington, D.C. will be those of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent being organized by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. All who want to take a stand unambiguously on the side of the working class and oppressed should join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent!

Anti-Imperialist Contingent...

(continued from page 3)

so that as many students as possible march in the Anti-Imperialist Contingent May 3. University of California students in Santa Cruz are coming in to San Francisco to march with us there. A Boston University CISPES member asked to march in the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. When asked why, he responded: "While I do not necessarily subscribe to many aspects of Spartacist activism in the U.S., I am much more comfortable marching under that explicitly anti-imperialist banner than with a group which has failed to cleave itself from the Democratic Party, a capitalist party, which indeed under the Carter administration initiated economic and military aid to the junta."

But a University of Illinois student speaking at the SYL-called rally in Champaign-Urbana perhaps said it best:

"Now if you go to Washington on May 3, you have several choices. You can march with the churches, with the priests and nuns and Quakers or what have you. You can march with the liberal Democrats who naturally refuse

to pose the question of 'which way for revolution in El Salvador?' because they are opposed to revolution in El Salvador. You can march with the liberal defeatist ideologues or the FDR, whose program will ultimately lead to the victory of the Salvadoran ruling class, more cycles of awesome death and oppression and of course, more oligarchy. Or, you can march with the revolutionary Marxists of the Spartacist League who have been the only ones to see through all the crap.... Now it takes some guts to stand up for what's right sometimes. But I think some of you have guts. If you do, and if you have any revolutionary sentiment, I urge you strenuously to march with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent on May 3."

If you don't have your ticket yet—get it now. All Out For May 3—Build the Anti-Imperialist Contingent! ■

PL...

(continued from page 12)

possibilities of the anti-draft milieu, and announced a complete turnabout. Instead of opposing registration, PL and its front group, the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR), are now advocating joining the U.S. Army *voluntarily*. In a leaflet entitled, "Build InCAR in the Military," PL proposes that if you can't get into the Army, you should join the National Guard; if that dreary option fails, why not investigate the "split option" your college might offer? On top of all this, PL urges students to throw military recruiters off campus, presumably to allow PL a monopoly on military recruitment for the U.S. Army!

Why such a sudden, drastic change in line? Well, PL says, they made a mistake. Contrary to their expectations and the exhortations of the myriad NCARD chapters, a lot of youth actually *did* register for the draft. In addition, PL notes that a certain percentage of young people, especially black youth, are unable to find jobs in Reagan's America; some are attracted to a stint in the military as an alternative to unemployment. While some youth may look to the military as a means to learn a skill, those whose older brothers were drafted during and survived the Vietnam War know that napalm,

defoliation and "kill ratios" are the "skills" offered by the U.S. military.

You WILL Go, But Not Voluntarily

During the Vietnam War, the Spartacist League (SL) and the Revolutionary Communist Youth (forerunner of the Spartacus Youth League [SYL]) called

for victory to North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front. We opposed such dead-end tactics as exile in Canada or going to jail as ways to protest U.S. intervention. We stated that the position, "Hell no, we won't go" (which PL advocated in SDS until 1968), only did the bourgeoisie a favor by removing potential militants from the antiwar

SWP Welcomes Mr. "Reform by Death"

CLEVELAND—Believe it or not, the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and CISPES-affiliate the Cleveland Central American Solidarity Committee (CASC) brought the CIA here to speak on Salvadoran "land reform"! In what must be a new low for the Salvadoran protest movement, the "Conference on El Salvador" called by CASC and heavily built by the SWP welcomed onto its platform one John Haberle, Chief Information Officer for the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

What are Haberle's qualifications? AIFLD is a notorious AFL-CIO front for CIA dirty work in Latin America. According to the reliable *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* by ex-CIA operative Philip Agee, AIFLD is a "CIA-controlled labour center financed through AID," and both one-time AIFLD head Serafino Rumaldi and current executive director William Doherty are "CIA agents." Anti-communist AIFLD "unions" in Chile were active in the 1973 Pinochet coup. In El Salvador, AIFLD is heavily involved in the Duarte junta's "land reform," known by the Salvadorans as "reform by death." The AIFLD-backed program differs little from the "strategic hamlets" in Vietnam; in fact, AIFLD activities in El Salvador are guided by Ray Prosterman who learned it all in South Vietnam during the infa-

mous Operation Phoenix in which 30,000 "Vietcong suspects" were murdered.

Conference organizers demanded that all questions be submitted in writing in order to, as one CASC spokesman put it, keep "radicals from foaming at the mouth." The SWP really outdid itself—SWP goons inspected everyone who entered the auditorium and posted a squad around the podium to protect this spokesman for imperialist mass murder. At the end of the conference, SWPer John Powers *shook hands* with Haberle! CISPES spokesman Phil Wheaton had to admit there was some agreement with Haberle: anti-communism. Upon hearing the AIFLD swine denounce "intervention" by any outside power, Wheaton chirped: "That's precisely why we in CISPES call for self-determination and we don't want the Soviets in there and we don't want the Cubans in there and we don't want the U.S. in there."

Only the SL/SYL protested the scandalous appearance of Haberle at a conference presumably opposed to U.S. dirty work in Latin America. As one comrade put it, "It's like calling a conference on racism and inviting the Ku Klux Klan." If you are revolted by this embracing of Yankee imperialism's representatives—march with us May 3 in the *Anti-Imperialist Contingent!*

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struggle.

Revolutionaries, if drafted, go into the army to give the soldiers communist direction and fight to win them to the side of working people and the oppressed, to the understanding that the real enemy is at home! We do not hide behind student deferments; or other special class privileges, but stand with the working class, which does not have ready access to such advantages. Individual draft resistance has never been an option for poor and working-class youth, who are unable to ride out wars in the shelter of the campus but are forced to fight the dirty battles of the ruling class. The working class can only escape the draft by overthrowing "its own" bourgeoisie, as in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, which both took the Tsarist empire out of World War I and put it out of commission for good!

But communists never advocate *volunteering* for the armed forces, the heart of the bourgeoisie's power! PL does not consider cops to be part of the working class, yet it recruits for the imperialist police of the U.S. ruling class—in the middle of a war drive! Will the 200 or so black and white youth that turned up at the February 28 InCAR conference in Chicago end up fighting the "Communist Threat" in El Salvador? Or will PLers be among those National Guardsmen who—bayonets affixed—put down future ghetto explosions? Or smash the coal miners' strike?

PL's Road to U.S. Imperialism?

PL did not always seek inclusion in the ranks of the imperialist bomber squadrons, the strikebreaking brigades, the counterrevolutionary armed forces. PL was not always willing to prostitute

itself for a few recruits. In fact, when it emerged some 20 years ago from the Communist Party (CP), its politics and size enabled it to attract a virtual generation of subjective revolutionaries. PL originated in a left split from the CP, with a primitive working-class orientation. But lacking a consistent programmatic basis, PL was unable to follow its original confused leftist impulses to the only program capable of realizing them, Trotskyism.

The Spartacist League was too little and too late to provide a revolutionary pole in the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), so that PL was able to present itself as the pro-working-class tendency in this key organization. Crude as its "base-building" concept was, PL fought hard against such Maoist New Leftists as Mike Klonsky and Bob Avakian, who at the time were waving the banner of "Third World" nationalism. PL accrued a lot of authority and large numbers of subjectively revolutionary youth from its work in SDS, but without a programmatic basis and without genuine roots in the working class they frittered it all away. PL must have run through thousands of youth open to revolutionary politics, and where are they now? What's left of them are "picking up the gun" for Uncle Sam.

PL's theoretical and programmatic deficiencies have gotten them into trouble time and again. They've zigged and zagged, willy-nilly, from one thing to another, picking up a few people, losing a few people. They tried vigor, they tried sincerity, they tried the proletarian nuclear family and having babies, they tried "30 for 40," they tried the left-center coalition. After each



SL/SYL contingent at March 20, 1980 anti-draft demo, Washington, D.C.

flashy campaign ground to a halt, PL would publish another "Road to Revolution" and try something new.

But PL's "join the Army" campaign is not just one more gimmick. This time PL has fallen into the embrace of the most reactionary elements of American society. PL wraps its pro-imperialist campaign in the banners of anti-racism. But an anti-Soviet army is not an "anti-racist army." On the contrary, the heightening attacks on the black population, begun by Carter and intensified by Reagan, are the domestic counterpart of the anti-Soviet war drive. The increased militarization of American life, as in the imperialist wars of the past, will signal an intensification of racial oppression. PL's "anti-racist army" is as racist as they come.

The revolutionary tasks of defending the Soviet Union and fighting for black

liberation are intertwined in the U.S. Only the SL/SYL has the program and the will to carry these struggles to the victory of proletarian revolution. When the KKK threatened to celebrate the Greensboro massacre with a march in the heart of Detroit, it was the SL, the SYL and union militants who mobilized 500 to stop them. When the Nazis announced that they would celebrate Hitler's birthday in San Francisco last April, once again it was the SL and militant union activists who initiated a broadly endorsed union-supported rally that prevented it. And on May 3 in Washington, where all fake left groups will be ducking Reagan/Haig's attacks on the USSR for its "terrorism" in El Salvador, it will be the SL/SYL's Anti-Imperialist Contingent alone that will call for the defense of the USSR and Cuba and proclaim that the real terrorists, the real enemy is at home! ■

Maoist/Black Nationalist Campaign Defeated

SYL Wins Student Charter at Laney

OAKLAND—A rabid campaign by the black cultural nationalists and anti-Soviet Maoists of the League for Revolutionary Struggle (LRS) to keep out the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and make Laney College their private political turf was soundly defeated on April 3 when the student government, Associated Students of Laney College (ASLC), voted 6 to 1 to grant the SYL charter as a recognized student organization.

The LRS, publisher of *Unity* newspaper, is a West Coast-based Peking-loyal group that recently merged with the virulent labor-hating cultural nationalist organization of the strikebreaker poet Amiri Baraka. The local result of this merger has been an unstable, seemingly separatist bloc whose white supporters do anti-draft work at the Berkeley campus (at the same time as they support the Reagan/Haig anti-Soviet war drive which will necessitate a new draft), while their black nationalist supporters at Laney range very far afield from communism in a different way. At a February 19 Black Student Union (BSU) forum and "cultural hour" on anti-black genocide, LRS leaders recited these lines to the accompaniment of their bongo drums: "The great Jewish conspiracy brought down Andrew Young," and "The white man is turning the black man into a bunch of faggots."

The LRS operated through their front group, the Laney United Progressive Alliance, and the *Unity*-dominated Black Student Union to get the ASLC to deny the SYL student status. Since the start of the semester, the LRS has tried to stop us from speaking at public meetings; they organized individuals to write anonymous and slanderous statements to the ASLC labeling us outside disrupters; and on February 20 they

physically threatened us for selling our press at the entrance to a public BSU meeting, and then called the hated campus cops on us. They were on a campaign to seal off the predominantly black student body at Laney from revolutionary Trotskyist politics. But it didn't work.

When LRS supporters sneered to SYLers that we wouldn't get student status at the next ASLC meeting, the SYL organized a campaign of its own. We got 12 instructors, including some Ethnic Studies and English teachers soon to be laid off due to budget cuts, to sign a petition stating: "We the undersigned demand that the Friends of the SYL be granted their student charter at the upcoming student council meeting. It is essential that all left, labor and minority groups be allowed to exercise their democratic rights on the Laney campus."

Then we mobilized 20 people to attend the next ASLC meeting on April 1 where our charter was to be on the agenda. But the LRS Maoists on the ASLC sabotaged the meeting to prevent a quorum and a vote on the charter by falsely telling other ASLC members that the meeting had been canceled! This was a big insult to those who came to address the body, including the SYL's faculty adviser, Miguel Angel, and Paris Senegal, president of both the Merritt College Black Student Union and Associated Students of Merritt College. In a statement to the ASLC, Senegal had written:

"...I recommend the proposed chartering of the Friends of the Spartacus Youth League (FSYL) as a student group at Laney College. I have known the FSYL as a student group at Merritt over the past year, and while I do not necessarily agree with their political views, their honesty in fighting for the cause of workers and minorities is

without question... If it should be necessary, I would be happy to speak on their behalf in a meeting of the Laney Student Council."

Two ASLC members were impressed by the turnout and organized a special meeting of the body two days later to vote on the charter.

In the face of this support for our democratic rights, the dirty Maoist campaign collapsed. When the ASLC did meet on April 3, the charter passed with one LRS sympathizer present casting the sole "no" vote. The ASLC member who organized the special meeting introduced it by noting, "The SYL has already been here three times trying to get their charter and we should have already given it to them." One other member attempted to introduce a motion for a charter on the condition that "they participate in no more disruptions," in the great tradition of

"When did you stop beating your wife?" But the other council members rejected this, noting that there had been no disruptions, and voted a simple motion to grant the charter.

Why the big deal over a normally routine student charter? The LRS politically supports the winning faction in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP); they supported the reactionary 1979 Chinese invasion of Vietnam and like the CCP supports increased U.S. military "readiness" against the Soviet Union, including the beefing up of NATO. Thus the LRS does not want our Soviet defensist politics heard.

The small democratic victory of SYL today also belongs to the black, Asian, Chicano and all students at Laney College who have the right to read and hear revolutionary politics without censorship or interference by Stalinist or nationalist goons. ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

Ann Arbor: P.O. Box 8364, 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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Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 662-1564

Madison: SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 255-2342

New York: SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 267-1025

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

Trotskyist League of Canada

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

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 681-2422

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

Young Spartacus

Victory to the Miners' Strike!

The Miners' Fight Is Our Fight!

U.S. capitalism is going down the tubes and Reagan wants all of us—workers, students, welfare recipients—to pay. In this situation the strike by 160,000 coal miners in the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) can deliver a powerful blow to Reagan's austerity plans, spearheading a fight by the labor movement in defense of the living standards of all the oppressed. The coal miners have a history of militant struggle which serves as an example and inspiration for all of us. Three years ago they defied Taft-Hartley injunctions and court orders for 110 days to beat back the bosses' union-busting drive.

As in 1978, rank-and-file miners are mobilizing in the coal fields to shut off scab coal. On April 7 about 200 miners rallied to protest Ohio Coal Company's continuing operations and half that number made a "show of force" at the mine, resulting in its closure. Strong picket lines in West Virginia and Pennsylvania have reportedly stopped all movement of coal in those two states, enabling miners to hit scab operations in Kentucky and Maryland.

Solidarity actions by other unions, specifically hot-cargoing *all coal*, is key to victory for the miners. An official of the National Maritime

Union has confirmed that his union will honor miners' picket lines. On April 10, the unionized crew of a towboat lashed to Consolidation Coal barges refused to cross a floating picket line set up by miners on the Monongahela River. Particularly crucial are the rail unions, whose members will be without contracts by the end of April. *A joint national coal/rail strike would be a powerful one-two punch that could really bust the union busters!*

UMWA president Sam Church dares not call for such action, however, because like Arnold Miller before him he is the government's man—installed in office with the assistance of the Labor Department. And like the high-living bureaucrats who head up the other unions, Church has a real material stake in preserving class peace. Revolutionary socialists seek to oust these labor fakers in order to bring the tremendous power of the working class—miners, steel workers, auto workers and others—to bear in behalf of the living standards and democratic rights of all the oppressed. We support the militant unionists who fight for their unions to take action to stop shipments of military goods to right-wing dictatorships, to break all ties with the CIA-connected American Institute for Free Labor Development in Latin America, to mobilize to stop racist provocations by the Klan and Nazis, and to defend civil rights for blacks and minorities, women, gays and all the oppressed.

If it weren't for the power of the working class Reagan & Co. could walk right over all of us. With a class-struggle leadership labor could go on the offensive. The miners' fight is our fight—Victory to the Miners' Strike!



Miners "vote" against sellout contract—and the strike goes into gear!

PL "Picks Up the Gun" for Uncle Sam

"Can't find a job? Join the regular Army. Or join the National Guard, find out about the 'split-option' program for college students."

—"Build InCAR in the Military! Open Letter to All InCAR Members and Friends."

"Same enemy, same fight—Workers of the world unite!" is a favorite chant of the Progressive Labor Party (PL). It's a nice rhyme, but for PL it's devoid of any but the most abstract meaning. Ask them about a *real* situation concerning the workers of the world, like El Salvador: PL doesn't take a side in that civil war, in which a U.S.-backed junta is ruthlessly killing off thousands of workers and peasants.

In an article on El Salvador (*Challenge*, 18 March), PL tells the U.S. to "get out," but then it goes on to ominously list all the imperialist "crimes" in Latin America committed by...the Soviet Union! A few of PL's examples: building dams, increasing

trade, buying grain from Argentina. The article's thrust comes dangerously close to the Moonie slogan: "USSR out of El Salvador"! While refusing to take a side in the Salvadoran civil war, *Challenge* writes:

"The heroic struggle of the Salvadoran workers, peasants and students must not be allowed to become a pawn in the rivalry for world domination between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists. Nor must they change one oppressor for another."

PL goes on to say that they *understand* why the U.S. is getting desperate and might start World War III. PL's conclusion seems to be that the Soviet Union is driving the world inexorably to the brink of world war by provoking a U.S. military response to its vicious programs of building dams and buying grain in Latin America! PL has the gall to print this bunch of hogwash without even one word about the malicious U.S. grain boycott, not to mention the MX missile system, the military-oriented space shuttle (presumably to be armed

with nuclear warheads) and vastly increased U.S. military spending.

USSR: Reagan's Main Enemy; PL's, Too?

Over the past few years PL has slid ever closer to the view that the Soviet Union is the "main enemy in the world." Sound familiar? Reagan/Haig and Carter/Brzezinski have been saying it for years. As with all proponents of the theory that Russia is "state capitalist" and therefore not worthy of defense from imperialism, PL is discovering that there is no easy way to avoid the Russian question. Under pressure from the U.S. ruling class' anti-Soviet Cold War campaign, PL is finding out that its "plague on both houses" position is untenable. It is being forced by life itself to take a side in the historic conflict between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet degenerated workers state.

Is it mere coincidence that PL recently—amidst daily condemnations of and military threats against the

USSR by the U.S. government—came out for enlisting in the U.S. armed forces?! PL's mindless workerism has in the past led it into countless reformist dead ends. But its call to workers, students—everyone!—to join the imperialist war machine is qualitatively more right-wing than anything PL's workerist opportunism has produced before. Unless this pro-enlistment campaign is abandoned, its logic will lead PL openly into the imperialist anti-Soviet camp.

"What's My Line?"

Just last fall PL was in the thick of the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft (NCARD) swamp, busily advising youth to individually resist draft registration while refusing to address the very reason it existed: the U.S. bourgeoisie's war drive against the Soviet Union. When the projected hundreds of new members for PL did not materialize, PL then apologized for its error in calculating the recruitment

continued on page 10