

Young Spartacus

NUMBER 92

25 CENTS

X-523

SUMMER 1981

Hundreds March in Anti-Imperialist Contingent

Leftists Must Win in El Salvador!

Young Spartacus



The streets of U.S. imperialism's capital city were filled with tens of thousands protesting U.S. support to the bloody Salvadoran junta. "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents! Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!" proclaimed the banners of the 500-strong Anti-Imperialist Contingent built by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL). A red flag color guard proudly marched at its head. Fists clenched, the marchers demanded: "Abajo con la junta! Obros al poder!" The Associated Press photo of the contingent was flashed around the world. Salvadoran insurgents fighting the U.S.-backed right-wing death squads may now know: we take your side!

Students, trade unionists and black militants traveled hundreds of miles to march in the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. Anti-Imperialist busloads came from Madison, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Boston, New York. Another 350 anti-imperialists marched in San Francisco and Seattle. They knew which side they were on and wanted to make sure that the red flag of international proletarian solidarity flew on May 3. Had it not been for the Anti-Imperialist

Contingent, the pale green flags of liberalism and class-collaborationist "unity" with the racist, strikebreaking Democratic Party would have had the day. No way! From Washington to the Bay Area, marchers enthusiastically chanted, "Bay of Pigs, Vietnam—Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!"

PAM: Counterrevolutionary Waterboys For Imperialist "Doves"

Dispatching buses for Bella and keeping the protest "clean for Conyers," the People's Anti-War Mobilization (PAM) mobilized for Democratic politicians leeching off the outrage engendered by Reagan's Cold War drive and anti-labor, anti-poor economic programs. PAM's real job was to insure that the youthful marchers were kept "uncontaminated" by communism as they were herded off to hear the same lies about "peace" the Dems have been spewing at such rallies for years. That's why PAM marshals obstructed the march route of those who might prefer to attend an anti-imperialist rally and hear a revolutionary socialist perspec-

tive for El Salvador.

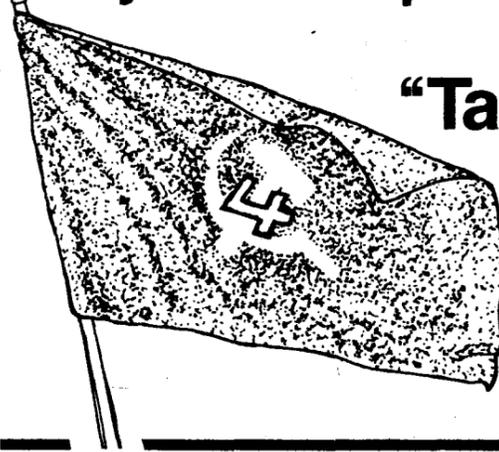
The PAM rally was a *counter-demonstration* against the call for military victory to the Salvadoran leftists! It's too bad these goons for the Democratic Party didn't get a taste of their own medicine, as they badly need a lesson in workers democracy.

Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism

(WWP/YAWF)—the main group behind PAM—is pleased to trumpet its anti-communist tuggery in the pages of its paper. Deliberately lumping the Anti-Imperialist Contingent in with a right-wing Moonie provocation, an article titled "Two Disruptions That Fizzled" admits that PAM "guides" formed a "barrier between the disrupters

continued on page 4

May 3 Anti-Imperialists Join SYL



"Take a Side— Join Us!"

see page 6

Me-Decade McCarthyism at Columbia

Spectator Lies Refuted

The following letter was submitted to the Spectator, Columbia University's student newspaper, protesting an article which appeared in its Broadway edition on April 30. The Spectator refused to print it, imposing a 250-word (!) limit which made effective response impossible. The Spartacus Youth League then issued the letter in full as a leaflet.

10 May 1981
To the Editor:

We are writing to protest an article in the 30 April Broadway titled, "Spart." Written in the form of a personal profile of Steve Miles, a member of the Spartacus Youth League and a Columbia student, the article seriously misrepresents well-known political views of the Spartacist League and SYL.

It is doubtless futile to rebuke the snotty innuendo and personal slur that is the stock-in-trade of gutter journalists and their Ivy League slummers. Our purpose is to clear the record of the words put into the mouth of Steve Miles as a representative of the SYL. We will therefore take up only the flat misrepresentations of our politics.

The very first sentence of the article:

"Steve Miles wants to overthrow the United States government." Simple. False. And dangerous for us. This is exactly the definition the FBI uses as its license to spy, "disrupt" and destroy the livelihoods and sometimes lives of members of socialist, black and labor groups. Are Broadway readers to believe that Steve Miles armed with his bundle of newspapers is planning a putsch against Reagan's White House? As we have written: "Any organization that fits the FBI's conspiratorial definition would have to be a group of suicidal psychopaths" ("FBI Targets the Spartacist League," *Workers Vanguard* No. 151, 1 April 1977). But that is precisely what the Broadway article implies about the SL/SYL. There is going to be a revolution in the U.S. Only a Moonie or Scientologist could predict the nature or even the form of ruling class government when such a revolution takes place. Marxism deals with its class content.

The article attempts to sketch the outlines of a violence cult. Writing of Steve's relationship with his army recruiter father, the author claims Steve said: "I would try to organize soldiers not to carry out the orders of their officers." This is absurd. The views we

formulated during the Vietnam war (an imperialist war which we intransigently opposed, struggling politically among antiwar activists and union militants for class solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and peasants against U.S. imperialism) remains an effective reply:

"In dealing with the army, we are touching on the very core of governmental power.... People who write casually, 'Let's organize in the army' apparently yearn to see the inside of Leavenworth.... Bourgeois democracy exists in this country, but it is brittle. We are not out to organize sedition; we simply urge antiwar draftees to maintain their beliefs and exercise their constitutional rights.... Illegal orders, like 'torture that prisoner,' do not have to be obeyed; refusal of legal orders invites swift court-martial and almost sure conviction."

— ("On Draft Resistance: You Will Go," *Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968)

The Broadway article makes the judgement that if Steve Miles "happened to see John D. Rockefeller walking along the street he would have a hard time restraining himself." This is an obvious attempt to make one SYL member appear to be some kind of terrorist on the edge. It is false and dangerous. As Marxists we have a long-

standing opposition to individual terrorism.

And what is the effect of such an article? As we wrote of the inclusion of our organization on the FBI's ADEX file: "The attempt to slander Marxism as some kind of violence cult is far more than an abstract anti-communist propaganda campaign. It is the cynical rationale for the ADEX file and the concentration camps which wait in the wings, for the FBI assassination squads that are the ultimate disruption" ("FBI Targets the Spartacist League").

Only those who falsely imagine they need not live in a political world can fail to see the grave possible consequences. With Reagan whipping up an anti-communist witchhunt in the name of fighting "international terrorism," the last thing the SL needs is this kind of Me-Decade McCarthyism from a college newspaper.

Why not do an article that truly represents the SL's views and work? Why not an article on our labor-centered demonstrations which stopped Klan and Nazi terror in Detroit and San Francisco? Why not an article on the SL's organizing the anti-imperialist contingents of many hundreds which marched on both Coasts on May 3 for military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador? Although such material was offered to the writer of the Broadway article, it was not chosen for publication. Why not?—Perhaps the writer intends employment as a PR man with the assassins and butchers who tried endlessly to murder Castro, and whose Phoenix program terminated tens of thousands of Vietnamese militants, and who blow up airliners believed to contain communist militants along with the other passengers, and who train the secret police agencies of the world, etc., etc. There are murderous swine in this world and we seek a world cleansed of them.

The May 3 contingents were of more interest to the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. In fact, the most honest presentation in "Spart" was the photo of Steve Miles with a *Young Spartacus* headlined: "March with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent!"

The Broadway has sought to damage the SL/SYL. Fortunately our organization is well known, and those who know us and our 15-year history will not believe your article.

An outraged Steve Miles and his comrades and friends on the National Bureau of the SYL.

Sales Drive Success Builds Anti-Imperialist Contingent

The month-long sales drive just concluded by all the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League locals was a booming success: total sales of the revolutionary press topped 11,000! The concerted effort to get *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* into the hands of newly radicalized students and others opposed to Reagan's anti-Soviet warmongering climaxed at the May 3 El Salvador demonstrations. In Washington, D.C., San Francisco and Seattle, over 1000 demonstrators went home with *Workers Vanguard*, and 400 bought *Young Spartacus*. With most other left organizations carrying banners for the imperialist "doves" of the Kennedy/Abzug ilk, the SL/SYL's anti-imperialist stance attracted the attention of activists who solidarized with the insurgent Salvadoran masses.

The sales drive coincided with the campaign to build the Anti-Imperialist Contingent for the May 3 demonstrations. At the April 18 El Salvador demonstration in Los Angeles, 203 *WVs* and 109 *YSp*s were bought by protesters drawn by our banners proclaiming "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents!" At the University of Illinois campus in Champaign-Urbana, SYLers and friends—while building for a campus rally on El Salvador—sold 40 *YSp*s in front of the Student Union during a single lunch hour. And when the SYL visited Ohio State University's Columbus campus, students eagerly bought up almost 100 papers in two days.

The death of hunger striker Bobby Sands provoked large angry demonstrations against the murderous Thatcher government, and there also our sales teams found hundreds eager



Sales Drive Results

Local	WV Sales	YSp Sales
Ann Arbor	231	179
Berkeley/Oakland	1070	338
Boston	583	416
Chicago	936	374
Cleveland	554	331
Detroit	510	223
Los Angeles	895	339
Madison	244	135
New York	1764	670
San Francisco	728*	253
May 3 Demo (Washington)	709	367
Total	8224	3625

*Final figure not available for San Francisco.

to read a press that is implacably hostile to British imperialism in Northern Ireland. 584 copies of *WV* and *YSp* were sold over four days of such protests in New York City.

With such increased interest in the proletarian socialist politics of the SL/SYL, it wasn't difficult to surpass, in some cases nearly twice over, the sales quotas set for each local.

Subscribe Now!

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

YSp 92

\$3/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)

New Renewal

\$2/9 issues of *Young Spartacus*

Women and Revolution

For *YSp*, make checks payable/mail to: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. For all others: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

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.

Editorial Board: Keith Anderson (Managing Editor), Bonnie Brodie, Ed Jarvis

Production manager: Amy Rath

Circulation manager: Kate Kelsey

Nine issues yearly; published monthly except December/January and June/July/August, by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7867 (Editorial, Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. Domestic subscriptions: \$2.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 92 Summer 1981

"Revolution or Death!"

- **A civil war is raging in El Salvador.** The workers and poor peasants, slum dwellers and agricultural laborers are on one side. On the other side are the landowners, the coffee barons and factory owners, the military and the right-wing death squads, led by the U.S.-backed junta.

- **The junta and its right-wing death squads** have killed more than 18,000 people since October 1979. Torture, rape, decapitation are the fate of suspected "subversives." In one recent massacre in a San Salvador slum, uniformed soldiers dragged more than 20 people out of their homes and shot them. Associated Press reported that the street ran with their blood (*Oakland Tribune*, 8 April).

- **Central America is the front line in Reagan's anti-Soviet cold war.** El Salvador has been chosen as a "winnable" example of Washington's drive to "stop the expansion of Communism throughout the world," said top Reagan aide Edwin Meese (*New York Times*, 1 March). Reagan and Haig are capable of launching a thermonuclear World War III to achieve their counterrevolutionary goals.

- **Cuba is threatened** with increased sanctions, and administration spokesmen hint darkly of throwing a "cordon sanitaire" around the island. General Haig warns that "a military option should not be excluded." The State Department blames that El Salvador is "a textbook case of indirect armed aggression by Communist powers through Cuba." More than 40 U.S. warships were sent for "exercises" in the Caribbean. Meanwhile, U.S. aid to Sandinista Nicaragua has been terminated. Somozaist exiles train for an invasion.

- **Reagan's aim is to topple the "dominos"** from El Salvador to Nicaragua to Cuba to Poland and the USSR. National Security Council aide Richard Pipes blurted out Washington's real policy when he said the Soviets face a choice of "changing their Communist system in the direction of the West or going to war. There is no alternative" (*New York Times*, 24 March). The gains of the October Revolution of 1917 are the ultimate target.

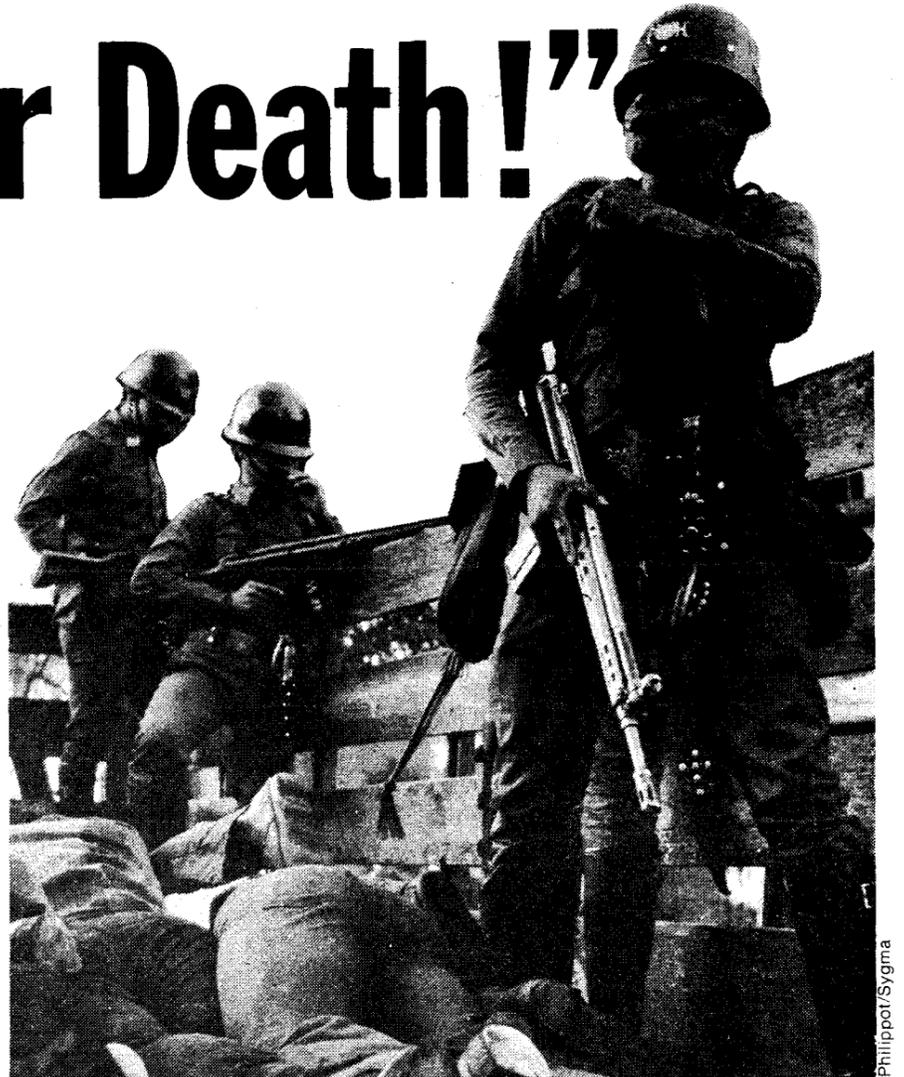
"Human Rights" Coup

- **The current Salvadoran junta** toppled bloody military ruler General Carlos Romero on October 15, 1979. The coup was preceded by a visit from Carter's special envoy William Bowdler, who urged Romero to resign. Bowdler,

a counterinsurgency expert since 1956, was in charge of the State Department's Cuba desk from 1961 to 1964 and helped plan the capture and murder of Che Guevara in Bolivia in 1967 (*NACLA Report*, July/August 1980). The new military junta installed by the U.S. talked of "human rights" but its troops soon launched even more brutal repression than under the hated Romero.

- **The Carter administration immediately embraced the junta**, sending "riot-control" instructors and equipment and \$300,000 for training Salvadoran troops in U.S. military schools—on top of the \$5.7 million already reprogrammed for El Salvador in April 1980. Carter's ambassador, Robert White, acted as a proconsul, issuing orders to the military junta and its Christian Democratic puppet front man, Napoleón Duarte. Meanwhile Washington patched things up between the rival armies of Honduras and El Salvador. Financed by the U.S. they both began cooperating with Guatemala, also under military dictatorship, to crush the Salvadoran rebels in "Operation Sandwich."

- **Now Reagan is sending more Huey helicopters, M-16 rifles, M-79 grenade launchers, plus Green Beret "advisers"** and millions more in military and economic aid to the junta. In February \$10.4 million in military aid was rushed to El Salvador. Reagan plans to send at least \$34.6 million in military aid in fiscal 1981. Economic aid from the U.S. is to total about \$144 million while the International Monetary Fund is adding approximately \$100 million to bolster



killed by the death squads. Many do not survive the trip from the San Salvador airport into the city. In fiscal 1980, nearly 12,000 Salvadorans were sent back to face the junta's assassins (*New York Times*, 2 March). The SL/SYL was the first organization in the United States to hold a demonstration calling for a halt to the deportations.

- **Washington pretends the junta is a**

EL SALVADOR FACT SHEET

the junta (*New York Times*, 1 March and 14 March; *Oakland Tribune*, 18 April). Israel has provided jet fighters and other weaponry. Argentina, Uruguay and Chile provide crucial military training support.

- **The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service is running an airlift to death.** Every week they send back hundreds of Salvadoran refugees to be

"center reform government" opposed to the right-wing death squads as well as to the leftist insurgents. This is a lie. The death squads are run by the military. As new U.S.-supplied weapons come in, the army gives the old arms and ammunition to ORDEN, the rightist terror organization (*Washington Post*, 15 April).

- **ORDEN's death squads** "were conceived, like the Peace Corps, as a brain-child of the Kennedy-Johnson era." Their leader, Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, was trained in torture techniques by U.S. specialists run by the Agency for International Development (*Harper's*, March 1981).

- **The so-called "Land Reform"** is called "Reform by Death" in El Salvador. It's really a counterinsurgency program, designed for the CIA-front American Institute for Free Labor Development by Roy Prosterman, an architect of the mass-murder Phoenix program in Vietnam. "Reform" means driving the peasants off the land and turning it over to ORDEN members.

A History of Poverty and Massacres

- **The rulers of El Salvador continue to be the "14 Families"** and their U.S. overlords. Two percent of the population owns 60 percent of the land (*NACLA Report*, July/August 1980). Oligarchic families like the Hills and the Alvarez-own huge coffee plantations, amassing enormous fortunes while

paying their workers only a few dollars a day. U.S. corporations like Folger's, Esso, Dow and Ralston Purina control key industries, while U.S. clothing manufacturers ship apparel parts to be assembled in El Salvador and re-imported to the United States.

- **For the masses of workers and peasants, starvation is the rule.** Life has become worse in the last 20 years: the official unemployment figure rose from 10 percent in 1960 to 25 percent in 1979, while in the countryside half the population is out of work eight months out of the year. From 1961 to 1975, the percentage of peasants without land rose from 11 percent to 40 percent. In the mid-'70s the average urban wage was \$4.00 a day. Eighty percent of the population live below the subsistence level. Ninety percent of the population earn less than \$100 a year. Seventy-five percent of the children suffer from malnutrition (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, April 1981; *NACLA Report*, March/April 1980 and January/February 1981).

- **The savagery of the oligarchy** in repressing the struggles of the working people was shown in "La Matanza"—The Massacre—of 1932. When the predominantly Indian coffee workers in western El Salvador joined urban workers in a Communist-led insurrection, the government of General Hernández Martínez crushed the revolt in blood. Thirty thousand were killed—4 percent of the entire population, or one person out of every 25.

- **The ruling class has declared war to the death** on the workers and peasants who fight for a better life. If the landlords and capitalists win, they will carry out a bloodbath on the scale of 1932. Their slogan today: a "peace of 100,000 dead."

Popular Front Disarms the Masses

- **For the workers and peasants, the choice is revolution or death.** To stop the reign of terror they must smash the capitalist armed forces. To give land to the peasants they must seize the estates and coffee plantations. To provide a decent life for themselves the workers must expropriate industry and establish a planned economy as part of a socialist federation of Central America. Only a workers and peasants government can carry out these burning tasks.

- **Trotsky's theory of permanent**

continued on page 10



March 30, 1980: At least 40 were slaughtered and hundreds wounded when Salvadoran military fired upon 50,000-strong funeral march for assassinated Archbishop Romero.



Building the Anti-Imperialist Contingent

Left: SL/SYL supporters work on a banner in Chicago. Top right: Over 400 lined up in New York to see the documentary "Revolution or Death" and slide show by Tom Janota, last Peace Corps volunteer to leave El Salvador. Bottom right: Berkeley SYLers use literature table in Sproul Plaza to sign up students for Contingent and win new members to the SYL.

May 3 Demo...

(continued from page 1)

and the anti-war protesters" (*Workers World*, 8 May). The article goes on to charge that the demand for military victory is a "cover" for the SL/SYL's "political hostility to the Salvadoran liberation forces."

Everyone at the May 3 demonstration knows which contingent took the side of the workers and peasants of El Salvador by calling for the military victory of the insurgent forces. That's why the flag of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) flew in our color guard. Our hostility is directed at the political strategy embodied in the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), which ties the workers and peasants to the "progressive" capitalists and contains the seeds of their defeat. The FDR's perspective of a "deal" with the junta—which YAWF alibis—would lead the toiling masses into a bloodbath by leaving the junta's army and death squads intact. These bodies of bourgeois terror must be *smashed*. YAWF's lumping together of the right-wing Moonie provocateurs and the Anti-Imperialist Contingent only exposes its contempt for the Salvadoran working masses, who are supposed to lay down their lives for another popular front betrayal. O.K., Bella; PAM's safe—no anti-imperialists here!

An accurate picture of what the PAM/May 3 Coalition march was really all about—and why the Anti-Imperialist Contingent was a burning necessity—can be found in a PAM resolution passed at the Detroit City

Council on April 22 endorsing the May 3 action. PAM proudly distributed this resolution on its letterhead stationery. It complains about U.S. industry lagging "behind the Japanese and Germans" due to excessive U.S. military spending. Added to this imperialist jingoism is the observation that the U.S. is "entering another no-win, Viet Nam-type internal conflict in El Salvador...." Key word: "no-win." Many a Democratic Party huckster came out against U.S. intervention in Vietnam only because it was a *losing* war for U.S. imperialism. Anti-imperialist revolutionaries want the imperialists to lose! We want the workers and peasants to *win*—from Vietnam to El Salvador.

The key to victory is international working-class solidarity. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the National Maritime Union, the railway workers must stop cold the shipment of arms and aid to the junta. The bureaucratically deformed and degenerated workers states of the Soviet Union and Cuba *should* be sending as much military aid as possible to the Salvadoran left. Because the left-wing insurgents are starved for arms, 18,000 workers and peasants have been slaughtered in the last year and a half.

Students Join with SYL to Take a Side

Students who only dimly recall the stormy campus protests against U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam have been politically awakened by the Salvadoran events. Many decided it was time to take a side on May 3. Across the

country, SYL locals went on campaign footing to build the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. Hundreds of young activists were introduced to revolutionary politics for the first time, press sales of *Young Spartacus* and *Workers Vanguard* rocketed and the buses filled up with many going to their first major demonstration.

A report from the Detroit SYL recounts how the Anti-Imperialist Contingent was built:

"Those on board [the bus] came from varied backgrounds, reflecting the working-class character of our bus. We had militants from the River Rouge Ford plant, from Pontiac's GM plant, laid-off Chrysler workers, students from Wayne State, Oakland University, University of Michigan, Canada and one who had hitchhiked for nine hours to be on *our* bus."

One young couple from Detroit explained how they chose to march with us: "We were attracted by the slogan 'Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents' and compared it to the apolitical CARD poster. That's when we knew we had to make a decision on the spot, since the buses were leaving the next day. So we called up the Spartacist League." A young activist met at the PAM office was convinced that he should march for military victory and in turn convinced his friend. When he announced his decision, the PAM organizer looked at him "as though he had been struck by the curse of the vampire."

The Anti-Imperialist Contingent was a roaring success at the University of California at Berkeley. The Berkeley SYL decorated a homemade kiosk with posters, leaflets, buttons and pictures. Our reporter in Berkeley writes:

"The table and the kiosk immediately became a center of political discussion and activity in Sproul [Plaza].... Students offered to leaflet their classes; they helped make signs and banners; they helped the Anti-Imperialist Contingent gain a hearing in places we otherwise might not have reached. Over 75 students signed up for the contingent."

Spartacus Youth candidates for the UC Berkeley student government campaigned as the only champions of military victory for the Salvadoran leftists. At the May 3 demo in San Francisco, the sizable Berkeley contingent (over 35 students) marched behind the Berkeley banner) was joined by contingents from San Francisco State and UC Santa Cruz as well as by high school students from as far away as Mendocino County. Others joined our

contingent on the spot—like the young man who picked up a "Military Victory" sign at the beginning of the demonstration and walked off to march elsewhere. An hour later, he returned—somewhat befuddled. "Every time I go into a contingent people kick me out. Why is that?" The reformists' hostility to the demand was explained, and he gladly joined the ranks of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent! "Best news for last," our Berkeley correspondent writes, "within a week five new people were attending SYL meetings and there are certainly more on the way."

From Los Angeles comes a story about those nearly invisible "best-builders" of broad mass movements—the Socialist Workers Party and its youth creature, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). A former member of the YSA joined the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, and much discussion on the politics of the SWP took place on the ride up to San Francisco. By the time the bus arrived, she was eager to engage her former comrades in political debate. She looked high and low for some sign of them...but to no avail! The SWP could not be found, so minuscule was its presence.

Defend Cuba/USSR Against Imperialism!

As a number of letters of application to the SYL demonstrate (see centerfold) a critical and hotly debated question posed by the Anti-Imperialist Contingent is the need to unconditionally defend the Soviet Union and Cuba against imperialist attack. In Central America today this need is starkly posed by the Dr. Strangelove-style anti-Soviet, anti-communist war drive emanating from Washington. Our Boston reporter describes:

"It was quite interesting when we practiced the chants; although there were a few people on the bus who 'weren't sure' about our position on the Russian question, you'd never have guessed it when we started shouting 'Defend the Soviet workers state'—everybody chimed in! Especially exciting was the reaction of one of the participants, whom we have just invited to meetings. He was one of those who had doubts and questions about the Russian question. But on the bus he began contacting a Brandeis student, explaining to him the reasons for the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the importance of defending it against imperialist attack. Another one won over!"

A number of reformist outfits claim to stand for the defense of the Russian and Cuban workers states—YAWF, the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party among them. But when the U.S. bourgeoisie is on the warpath against "Soviet terrorism," when Reagan/Haig demand a bloody lesson to the workers and peasants in El Salvador as the centerpiece of their anti-Soviet war drive, these political scoundrels dive straight for the cover of the "liberal" and equally anti-Soviet politicians of the Democratic Party. The feeble, treacherous response of the reformists to the fact that defense of Cuba/USSR is posed pointblank in El Salvador is to ignore the imperialist threat and willfully obscure the *class* question with catchphrases about "let the people of El Salvador decide." In the current context such a slogan is simply a capitulation to the saber rattling over alleged "Communist backing" of the Salvadoran left.

There is only one organization—the Spartacist League and its youth section the Spartacus Youth League—which proudly carried the banners of Soviet defensism on May 3. On the campuses, the SYL is unique in fighting for our position on the Russian Question—defense of the Sino-Soviet states against imperialism through proletarian revolution against capitalism and working-class political revolution in the deformed workers states—a position which has the power to win new members to the revolutionary Trotskyist movement. ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

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

Chicago

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

New York City

Tuesday: 6:00-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y.
Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

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

"Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home"

Speeches at Anti-Imperialist Contingent Rally Washington, D.C. May 3

Allison Spencer

Spartacus Youth League National Committee

The Spartacus Youth League helped to build this Anti-Imperialist Contingent not only because we don't want to be the cannon fodder for Reagan's imperialist war drive but because we take a side. Students here may feel



Young Spartacus

Allison
Spencer

threatened by registration for the draft, but the students and youth of El Salvador face something quite different. Like the tortured corpse of a classmate dumped by the roadside, or a severed head tossed into the classroom—that's what goes on there every day. And when they join up with leftist workers and peasants to struggle against a U.S.-backed military dictatorship which has sucked their blood for over fifty years, we say, "Their fight is our fight!" And we take a side—military victory to the left-wing insurgents!

On campuses across the country students have rallied around the SYL slogans. From protesting Kissinger, an imperialist warmonger and criminal, in Ann Arbor to the National Security Agency spies at Brandeis, students have rallied to the SYL's demonstrations, demonstrations like this in solidarity with our class brothers in El Salvador. Over there, the People's Antiwar Mobilization [PAM], CISPEs, and their cheerleaders on the left, they don't want you to take a side. They say, "Let the people of El Salvador decide," and what that means is they are just ducking the question of which side must win this war. There's a war going on there, and these people really do not care who wins, as long as the Green Berets aren't doing the killing. Well, we're internationalists, and we do care, and we intend to do something about it. We intend to fight like we did today with the class-struggle politics that pose the only real challenge to the warmakers and strike-breakers in power here in the United States.

The liberals today are saying, "No more Vietnams," because that's a war that they lost, and the only thing they think is immoral is failure. And during the war they said, "Bring our boys home." But leftist students chanted,

"Two, three, many Vietnams" and the Spartacist League raised the slogan "All Indochina Must Go Communist," because our "boys" were the North Vietnamese. And they won! They defeated imperialism on the battlefield, not marching hand in hand with the imperialists here. And there's a lesson in that: It takes a fight to get what you want. The coal miners know that, the Viet Cong knew that, and the Spartacus Youth League knows that too.

But liberal pacifists think that nothing is worth fighting for because they don't have any alternative to offer. So when the U.S. pulled out of Vietnam the antiwar movement simply collapsed. But did the Pentagon collapse? No, it didn't. And they're back today, rearmed, to renew their anti-Soviet war drive.

But the Spartacus Youth League does have an alternative to offer and something that is worth fighting for, and that's a socialist future. Because capitalism offers us a future only of unemployment, of more Greensboros, of cutbacks in every social service for women, minorities, the poor and the working class. A future of war and nuclear holocaust. A long time ago Engels said mankind faced the choice of socialism or barbarism, and I'll tell you with the Dr. Strangeloves in power today it's posed even more starkly. You can be active and red with the SYL, or radioactive and dead. So if you want a future, join the organization that has a world to win. Join the SYL!

Bill Hampton, message of solidarity
Brother of murdered Black Panther leader, Fred Hampton.

It's important that people are here to oppose U.S. imperialism and to call for the victory of the left in El Salvador. What U.S. imperialism is doing in Central America should be strongly opposed by blacks, poor and working people because that same U.S. government that stands behind the bloody murderers of the junta is attacking our living standards in the United States. The killers of Fred Hampton and many leaders of the Black Panther Party, the same government that exonerates, covers up and supports Klan murderers such as the scum in Greensboro, is determined to repress and exterminate those who stand for social justice throughout the world. Reagan wants to take away unemployment benefits, food stamps, and let the welfare recipients and old people starve. This U.S. government is the imperialist beast that threatens to chew us all up. I want to congratulate the Contingent on being a

part of the international struggle against the imperialist monster.

Ronny Buni

Anti-draft activist at the University of Illinois (Champaign/Urbana).

When I decided to march in the Anti-Imperialist Contingent I didn't encounter a whole lot of difficulty in making that decision for the simple reason that the Spartacist League takes the only revolutionary position on El Salvador, they have the only program that can lead to the genuine victory of the workers and peasants of that country. Today the Salvadoran masses are engaged in a civil war with the brutal, oligarchical Salvadoran junta and a good part of the American left doesn't take sides in that struggle. Well the Spartacist League takes sides. They call for the military victory of the leftists and they stand for the workers and peasants establishing a workers and peasants government, with their slogan "For Workers Revolution in El Salvador and Throughout Central America."

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. They recognized that Jimmy Carter's "human rights" was just a precursor to Ronald Reagan's "anti-terrorist" campaign, again directed against the Soviet Union. So the Spartacist League defends Cuba and Russia against the attacks of these war-crazed nuts in the White House.

I for one was damn proud to march with them today in the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. And when I get home the first thing I'm going to do is put in a letter of application to the SYL and if it's accepted I'm going to continue to march under that banner.

Mark Lance

Labor reporter for Workers Vanguard, just returned from a tour of the coalfields of Pennsylvania and West Virginia where he interviewed and worked with striking miners.

Today is the 38th day of the 1981 coal miners strike. It's a strike against King Coal and that means Big Oil, the steel companies, the energy trusts, and behind them the labor-hating Reagan government. The White House is on war footing, not just in Central America but right here in this country—against blacks, the poor, the unions. The United Mine Workers of America are once again at the forefront of American labor in a bitter life and death struggle.

Some say the solution in El Salvador is some type of negotiations where the leaders of both sides sit down with some neutral arbitrators. You know, "neutrals" like the leaders of the capitalist

governments in West Germany or Mexico or maybe even a "neutral" from the U.S. State Department. Well the miners know something about neutral arbitrators. They're the ones who rewrite the contract every time there's a grievance at the mine. Or take three years ago. The membership forced the rejection of one contract, so the "neutral" Labor Department handpicked the negotiators for the next one. When the ranks voted that one down, here comes Jimmy Carter to invoke Taft-Hartley. The miners tore it up and threw it in his face.

Now we've got Reagan. Mine safety and black lung benefits are already under attack. They've already got state troopers out in Virginia. Indiana called out the National Guard in the last strike, and it's ready to do it again. And so are other states. One mine workers' official has already been shot on a picket line in Kentucky, and the other day two mine guards shot up a union district office in West Virginia. As any union militant can tell you, every serious struggle with the bosses inevitably leads to a conflict with the state, their cops, their courts, their gun thugs. But if you don't stand up to their government you don't get nothing.

I'm sure all the people over there at that Pentagon demonstration wish the miners well. But let me tell you something. The mine workers union and the CIO weren't built with good wishes and letters to Congress, but with bitter class struggle. Go down to West Virginia, the UMWA stronghold, or Kentucky; talk to the old-timers and they'll tell you about the mine wars in Cabin Creek and Paint Creek and Bloody Harlan. The Army, the machine guns and the murders. That's where that song came from, "Which Side Are You On?"

The Spartacist League has a slogan too. It goes like this: "Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home." Reagan knows this. His war drive, aimed ultimately at the USSR, means butchery in El Salvador, cutbacks, layoffs, broken strikes and docile unions at home. But we say no! From the Sierras in Central America to the Appalachians of North America we know which side we're on. Military victory to the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador—Victory to the miners strike!

Spartacist League/Britain, message of solidarity

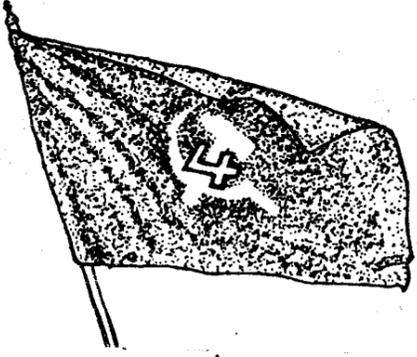
The Spartacist League/Britain, section of the international Spartacist tendency, sends its greetings to your protest against imperialist-backed junta terror in El Salvador. Margaret Thatcher's Tory government here in Britain has backed to the hilt Ronald Reagan's anti-communist offensive over El Salvador

continued on page 9

Young Spartacus

Mark
Lance





May 3 Anti-Imperialists Join "Take a Side - Jo"

Since May 3 dozens of youth have joined the Spartacus Youth League. Young Spartacus presents excerpts from some of their membership applications.

Bree C.

Chicago, Illinois
May 15, 1981

The SL/SYL polarized the left with the slogans, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the Gains of October to Afghan Peoples!" and "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!" We stood alone on the side of Afghan and Iranian women against fanatical mullah reactionaries. This is of particular importance to me, coming as I did from a feminist perspective.

And now in response to a bloody civil war being waged in El Salvador, the SL/SYL mobilized a 500-strong May 3rd Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the Washington, D.C. demonstration. I am proud to have participated in the Anti-Imperialist Contingent which was in such contrast to the liberalism of the rest of the march. We were the only organization on the left that called for the victory of the El Salvadoran leftists and that recognized that defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador. We are the only U.S. organization on the left that sees U.S. imperialism as the main enemy. I seek membership in the Spartacus Youth League because it seems that outreach to young workers and students on college campuses is primary to the growth of the vanguard party. The youthful orientation provides a challenging environment for new members that allows for political growth. I will be proud to be a member of the Spartacus Youth League.

Jeffrey K.

Madison, Wisconsin
May 11, 1981

I was raised in a small rural community, just 30 miles north of Madison. I can remember watching the news reports of the protest demonstrations during the Vietnam War. When I moved to Madison in June of 1979 I expected to find the city teeming with communist revolutionaries. It has taken me two years to find them.

My latest involvement with campus politics was a brief stint with the Maoist-dominated Progressive Student Organization (PSO). At their first meeting they banned the SYL. I attended the next meeting and when I arrived there were four members of the SYL in the hallway. They came to propose a united front demonstration centered around the slogans: US/OAS



Washington, D.C.: Anti-Imperialist Contingent chants, "1, 2, 3, 4—Leftist Rebels, Win the War! 5, 6, 7, 8—Nothing Negotiate!"

hands off El Salvador; Stop all aid to the Junta; and Military victory to the leftist insurgents! The PSO would not let the SYL members in to speak, but they would read and discuss the proposal. The endorsement for the demonstration was rejected for purely sectarian reasons, except for two pacifists who objected to the word "military."

When I defended the SYL on the grounds of democracy and solidarity with the Salvadoran struggle, I was chastised for not being a "respectable leftist."

I began to help build the Anti-Imperialist Contingent for the Washington march. I feel that U.S. hands off is not enough. A civil war is raging, and any "solution" short of a military victory will mean that thousands have died for nothing. Imperialism is not just a policy that can be straightened out by some conscientious bourgeois politician. It is the backbone of U.S. capitalism and it can only be smashed through workers' revolution. The gains of the Cuban and

Soviet revolutions must be defended against the frenzied attacks from the U.S. State Department. I was proud to march under the revolutionary banners of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, instead of groveling before bourgeois politicians pleading for deliverance.

Alan T.

Berkeley, California
May 12, 1981

Having been politically educated and active in the anti-Leninist milieu of the Socialist Labor Party [SLP], the road from syndicalism to revolutionary Trotskyism proved most difficult for me to travel. I did not agree that the leadership of a vanguard party was crucial to the success of workers revolution. In fact, I asserted that vanguardism must inherently result in Stalinist bureaucratization and the suppression of workers' democracy. Having only recently been fired from my job at the National Office of the SLP and subsequently expelled from the party for "plotting" to democratize it, I was particularly cynical with regard to internal democracy in the SL/SYL. Soon, however, I found myself at an SL forum during the Diana Coleman Supervisor campaign. It was undoubtedly the most democratically run event I had ever attended.

As I continued to study Leninism, Trotskyism, and the Bolshevik Revolution, it became increasingly patent that only the iSt [international Spartacist tendency] offers the international working class the revolutionary leadership it will need in order to successfully carry out worldwide socialist revolution. Likewise, working to help build the May 3 Anti-Imperialist Contingent demonstrated that my place in history is in the ranks of the SYL, not on the sidelines of the class struggle. We have a world to win!

Kent R.

Champaign-Urbana, Illinois
May 14, 1981

Not aware of the dynamics of revolutionary socialism, I held no hope that the oppressed people of the world one day could rule in their interests. Largely because of my brief encounter with the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party and the cultist/Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, I remained extremely cynical in my attitude toward revolutionary organizations.

I learned of the failed revolutions of Germany and Italy and the period of revolutionary potential in the United States during the world-wide capitalist crises of the 20s and 30s. History demonstrates through these examples and others the necessity of a consciously revolutionary Leninist vanguard party to bring the working class to power. This was crystallized for me by participating in the revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Contingent in the May 3 march on the Pentagon. All other "left" groups capitulated to "respectable" liberal objectives. I must now make my contribution by joining the youth section of the party of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, the Spartacus Youth League.



Lenin: "Recruit More Widely and Boldly"

"... We have yet to convert our moral strength into material strength. The Mensheviks have more money, more literature, more transportation facilities, more agents, more 'names,' and a larger staff of contributors. It would be unpardonable childishness not to see that. And if we do not wish to present to the world the repulsive spectacle of a dried-up and anaemic old maid, proud of her barren moral purity, then we must understand that we need war and a battle organization. Only after a long battle, and only with the aid of an excellent organization can we turn our moral strength into material strength...."

"We need young forces. I am for shooting on the spot anyone who presumes to say that there are no people to be had. The people in Russia are legion; all we have to do is to recruit young people more widely and boldly, more boldly and widely, and again more widely and again more boldly, *without fearing them*. This is a time of war. The youth—the students, and still more so the young workers—will decide the issue of the whole struggle. Get rid of all the old habits of immobility, of respect for rank, and so on. Form *hundreds* of circles of *Vperiyod*-ists from among the youth and encourage them to work at full blast. Enlarge the Committee *threefold* by accepting young people into it, set up half a dozen or a dozen subcommittees, 'co-opt' any and every honest and

energetic person. Allow every subcommittee to write and publish leaflets without any red tape (there is no harm if they do make a mistake; we on *Vperiyod* will 'gently' correct them). We must, with desperate speed, unite all people with revolutionary initiative and set them to work. Do not fear their lack of training, do not tremble at their inexperience and lack of development. In the first place, if you fail to organize them and spur them on to action, they will follow the Mensheviks and the Gapons, and this very inexperience of theirs will cause five times more harm. In the second place, events themselves will teach them *in our spirit*. Events are already teaching everyone precisely in the *Vperiyod* spirit.

"Only you must be sure to organize, organize, and organize *hundreds* of circles, completely pushing into the background the customary, well-meant committee (hierarchical) stupidities. This is a time of war. Either you create *new*, young, fresh, energetic battle organizations everywhere for revolutionary Social-Democratic work of all varieties among all strata, or you will go under, wearing the aureole of 'committee' bureaucrats."

—V.I. Lenin, 11 February 1905, "A Letter to A.A. Bogdanov and S.I. Gusev," *Collected Works*, Vol. 8

SYL "Join Us!"

Selim E.
Boston, Massachusetts
May 11, 1981

I first became interested in revolutionary politics as a reaction to the programs of the various political groupings I heard around me. Many of the proclaimed goals of these groups were quite noble. But unfortunately, as history has often quite cruelly shown, the noblest of intentions are meaningless without the guidance of a party. Both the strategically crucial role of the working class in leading a revolutionary struggle to victory and the need for an organized party, developed and strengthened over time by drawing on the lessons of history, has been proved by the Russian Revolution, executed by a united working class under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. It is precisely the ability to build this quality of leadership that I see in the SL/SYL today.

Karen P.
Chicago, Illinois
May 13, 1981

While I was in Washington, D.C. marching with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, I had a chance to see the other "Socialist" groups in action. I have read how reformist and wretched they are in articles in *Workers Vanguard*, and at the demonstration saw their so-called program in action (i.e., trying to break up our contingent and exclude interested people from coming down to our rally and hearing the truth, the only program for Workers Revolution in El Salvador). These self-proclaimed "champions" of democratic rights thought they had the "democratic right" to keep communist politics from being heard. What they need is a lesson in workers democracy. The rally was exceptionally inspiring and impressive.

I was very proud to march with the Contingent on May 3, and I would be very proud to be a member of the organization.

Penny D.
New York City
May 17, 1981

My introduction to the SYL was an article entitled "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan" in the SL publication *Women and Revolution*. As a woman, I have a special sensitivity to the profound need of all women of every race and nationality throughout the world to be masters of their own destiny. The Spartacist League was the only group to recognize the Soviet invasion as a possible opportunity for the heightened status of women in Afghanistan and the only group to stand by our sisters in opposition to the religious anti-freedom fighters. It was this global view that first interested me in the SYL.

I was proud to march with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent on May third in Washington, D.C. It's about time someone called for military victory to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador. The PAM-sponsored rally, which was filled with people who have a grudge against winning, marched like sheep to a slaughter. On that day it was clear to me which side I was on. I want to live!

Peter R.
Berkeley, California
May 14, 1981

The hardest part of coming into the SYL was accepting the need to support the Soviet Union. It is easy to support the workers, to oppose the capitalists and the imperialists, and to be for an international workers movement. It is easy to support abstract ideas. The difficulty comes in trying to make these ideals a reality.

And so I initially came to the SYL convinced that one cannot rely on the state, wanting a military victory to the Salvadoran leftists, agreeing with all of its positions except an unconditional defense of the Soviet Union. And now, contrasting the Soviet Union and the U.S. internationally, I see that in Afghanistan the bride price is reduced, the women can learn to read and the people move forward; in El Salvador, in Vietnam, in Iran the people are butchered. Internally I see a repressive bureaucracy. But the line is drawn between communism and imperialism and I must stand on the side of the workers. The present U.S. government is trying to whip the world into an anti-communist, anti-Soviet hysteria. Any "political" solution that comes from the imperialists will not be any different from the Salvadoran junta's proposal of 100,000 dead. There is



San Francisco: Over 300 marched in Anti-Imperialist Contingent. One dismayed bystander moaned, "I didn't know there were that many Sparts in the world!"

no possibility of "niceness" for they want to destroy the workers' gains. Against "imperialist encroachment" I stand on the side of the workers, in unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, despite its bureaucracy. Against the Soviet bureaucracy, I still stand on the side of the workers.

Ronny B.
Champaign-Urbana, Illinois
May 17, 1981

My interest in politics began about two years ago when I chanced to encounter the feminist movement. In response to my growing class consciousness and my desire for consistent analysis, I sought an organization whose politics encompassed both class consciousness and feminist consciousness. Lo and behold, there was NAM, the New American Movement. I joined them readily. After all, they were exactly that for which I was looking. They were "socialist-feminists." In my year-long experience with NAM at college I was to find out what a glaring contradiction in terms "socialism-feminism" really is. I was supposed to hate nukes, dirty books and men. I didn't want to hate those things, but I tried, thinking that the "conspiratorial male culture" had seduced me into its hateful decadence.

With my class consciousness heightened, I began to see that consistent feminism and socialism are utterly mutually exclusive because feminism denies that class antagonism is the fundamental point of juncture for social transformation and the struggle to achieve that end. I finally said good riddance to feminism, hail to the Red Army, and I joined the SYL.

David C.
New York City
May 17, 1981

When I was asked to film the Spartacist League Anti-Imperialist Contingent in Washington, D.C. on May 3, I eagerly said yes, because I am a film student. A few days later I worried that I was going to D.C. as a filmmaker and not as a member of the Contingent. As I thought about it longer, I questioned whether I even wanted to be a member. After seeing the film *Revolution or Death*, I knew that I must go to D.C., but it was not until I heard the speakers that I knew I had made the right decision to march with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. I was told that the film will be used as a recruiting tool. Ironically, the film has already recruited one new member—the filmmaker. ■

Spartacist Educational Weekend

- American Communism: 1915-1980
- Vietnam: Bourgeois Defeatism, Defense, No War II
- Lessons of the 1905 Revolution
- El Salvador: Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents

For more information, contact:

San Francisco Bay Area
May 23-24

P.O. Box 935
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Chicago
May 29-31

Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

New York City
June 6-7

Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Spartacist League/Spartacist Youth League • registration fee: \$5 (students \$3)

Black Liberation...

(continued from page 12)

Blacks are a race-color caste, subjected to lumpenization and intensive unemployment and police terror, particularly in areas like the ghettos in this city... "While blacks are in general integrated into the lowest sections of the industrial working class, they are strategically located in key positions in this society, for example in steel production, auto production, transportation. This is where the power of black people is key—as part of a racially united proletariat which can overthrow capitalist society, laying the basis for a planned economy within which full racial emancipation is possible. The black working class must play a key role in the American revolution. This is the perspective of *revolutionary integration*."

For Labor/Black Mobilization to Smash the Klan!

Estis, for his part, attempted to keep the debate as abstract as possible, treating the brutal oppression of blacks in capitalist society as a purely academic issue (the professor interrupted him at one point to inquire if the CWP was a revolutionary organization!). The fact is that the CWP has nothing to show in the way of successes in the fight against racist attacks. After the tragic massacre of five CWP supporters by Klansmen and Nazis in Greensboro, North Carolina, the CWP, classically idiot-sectarian, refused to join in Spartacist-initiated demonstrations to protest the fascist murders. The flip side of their refusal to work for united anti-fascist mobilization is their reliance on the capitalist cops to "protect" black people, expressed in their calls to "Ban the Klan."

The SYL could proudly point to a winning strategy. "We have no faith whatsoever in the police North or South to defend the communist movement and labor against the fascist terrorists. They provided the way for these fascist creeps in Greensboro... our policy has been instead the mobilization of labor to smash the fascists," Jarvis explained. He cited two successful Spartacist-initiated mobilizations which prevented the KKK/Nazis from spewing their racist filth. In November 1979 in Detroit, 500 protesters, many of them black auto workers, stopped the Klan from "celebrating" the Greensboro massacre. And in San Francisco the following April, the Spartacist-initiated April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) mobilized 1200 unionists, blacks, gays, Jews and leftists to prevent the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday. Both demonstrations took place despite major efforts by the city governments to squelch the protests. And both demonstrations—organized for the same time and place as the announced fascist gatherings—succeeded because of the mobilization of minorities and unionists.

The CWP can speak only of defeats. Jarvis observed:

"Counterpose that [the Detroit rally] to the CWP's mobilization in Kokomo, Indiana, where... the Nazis and Klan got away with demonstrating under the

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE CLASS SERIES

ANN ARBOR

ABC's of Marxism
Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.
Next class May 27
Michigan Union
University of Michigan
For more information: (313) 994-9313

BERKELEY/OAKLAND

Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
Thursdays
May 28, June 4, 18
For more information: (415) 835-1535

BOSTON

Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.
June 10, 17, 24, July 1, 8, 15, 22
Phillips Brooks House
Harvard University
For more information: (617) 492-3928

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
Alternate Saturdays, 11:00 a.m.
June 13, 27, July 11, 25, August 1
Room 275, Illini Union
University of Illinois
For more information: (217) 384-1079



CHICAGO

Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
June 10, 17, 24, July 1, 8, 15, 22
523 S. Plymouth Court
For more information: (312) 427-0003

CLEVELAND

Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
Beginning mid-June
For more information: (216) 621-5138

LOS ANGELES

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution
Alternate Tuesdays, 6:30 p.m.
June 2, 16, 30, July 14
Student Faculty Lounge
(Next to cafeteria)
Los Angeles City College
For more information: (213) 662-1564

MADISON

ABC's of Marxism
Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
June 4, 18, July 2, 16, 23, 30, August 6
Memorial Union
University of Wisconsin
(see "Today in the Union")
For more information: (608) 255-2342

SAN FRANCISCO

Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.
June 2, 16, 30, July 14, 28, August 11
For more information: (415) 863-6963

protection of riot police. And the only thing the CWP could do was get in a scuffle with the cops, trying to substitute themselves for the power of the labor movement. When the Spartacist League offered to the CWP in San Francisco to join [ANCAN]... they not only turned down joining with the united-front demonstration, they appealed to the mayor, the city council, to get the cops out to stop the fascists. When that was a failure they had a demonstration far from the sight of the actual fascist demonstration... "Characteristic of the CWP is they gave up struggling before the struggle even came down to it... In these adventurist small actions like Kokomo they attempt to substitute themselves for the proletariat. In San Francisco, they appealed to the liberal strategy of reliance on the cops to stop the fascist threat. Both are sides of the same lack of faith in the revolutionary potential of the working class... We will continue to mobilize labor and blacks and the left on battlefields where we can win!"

An index of the CWP's demoralization is that the same organization that was shouting "Death to the Klan!" in Greensboro now apparently views the slogan of "Smash the Klan" as "extremist." When the Harvard *Crimson's* report on the debate erroneously quoted Estis as having said, "We must smash the hell out of them [the Klan]," Estis was quick to protest that the quote came from the SYLer. He whined: "When unable to find something in my presentation that sounded extremist and crazy the reporter simply found a more 'suitable' quote and attributed it to me." No left posturing here!

CWP Opportunism: Tailing the Democrats

Less than a year ago, the CWP correctly denounced classless calls for "new independent black politics" as "a movement to secure comfortable positions for a handful of poverty pimps and elected officials" (*Workers Viewpoint*, 9 June 1980). But at the debate, the CWP's main focus was to push for support to the out-of-power black Democrats:

"We do support mass fighting black organizations, nationalist-type organizations, if they're taking up the struggle and fighting against monopoly capitalism, against imperialism. For example, the National Black United Front. That's an important formation... If they want to have a nationalist organization, we're going to go in and help them struggle to make it against monopoly capitalism so that their struggle can really help to change the whole economy... Also the National Black Independent Political Party we support, which is a nationalist-type organization organized by people all over the country..."

The SYL pointed out that these

organizations are built and run by would-be "black elected officials" who currently feel snubbed by the Democratic Party. Seeking to build up their base and further their careers, the Rev. Daughtreys and Ron Daniels are deeply anti-communist demagogues who certainly have no interest in "fighting against monopoly capitalism [and] imperialism." To rely on these black misleaders is to strengthen the black masses' illusions in the racist, strike-breaking Democratic Party.

An exchange between Estis and an SYL supporter illustrated where the CWP is heading:

SYL: "...So what's the story on the Democratic Party?"

CWP: "I don't think the Democratic Party is the means for black people in this country of achieving liberation. So I don't think..."

SYL: "Why are you working with them, then? The NBIPP is a wing of the Democratic Party, so's Daughtrey."

CWP: "How many NBIPP meetings have you gone to?"

SYL: "What's the point?"

CWP: "Because I've been there and I haven't met anyone from the Democratic Party. Daughtrey is not in the NBIPP..."

SYL: "You had the correct analysis of it a couple of months ago. These were Democrats who were kind of betrayed by the majority of the Democratic Party so they were trying to put new pressure on it. It's still a wing of the Democratic Party, and you are traveling right in to the Democrats."

CWP: "...I know the people who are in it... These people are not active as or frontmen for the Democratic Party."

SYL: "They are not open activists..."

CWP: "Even if they are! Even if they are! This is the thing. You see, I don't have no principles against being in the Democratic Party."

Black and Red

Many of the questions raised by the students involved the role of whites in the fight for black liberation. The class had been studying the history of the American Communist Party, and many wondered if its betrayals of blacks were inevitable—after all, aren't all whites, even white communists, racists?

The AAPRP spokesman tried to capitalize on black distrust of whites, slandering both the CWP and SYL as "white organizations." Estis hedged. Though he occasionally spoke of the need for "black and white unity," he ducked all the implications and continually stressed black "leadership"—of liberal pro-capitalist pressure groups:

"We support black self-determination. That means that [since] there's a Black Independent Political Party that gets together and organizes their leadership

of black people, then we'll go in there and help them do it. We'll help them raise the politics, we'll help to struggle for a higher level of unity..."

It was left up to the SYL to dispel the charges that revolutionary organizations are necessarily "run by whites" and to insist that *class solidarity can overcome* the crippling racial division in the U.S. proletariat. One Spartacist speaker observed:

"A basic question in this debate is whether blacks can lead whites, whether black workers as members of an integrated revolutionary vanguard can lead their white class brothers. The Spartacist League says yes, that blacks can lead whites, they can lead the American revolution. Each in their own way the Pan-Africanist and the ostensible Leninist [CWPer] say no. On the one hand you have a utopian, do-nothing strategy and on the other hand, you [the CWPer] now look toward the liberal wing of the racist bourgeoisie and its black frontmen."

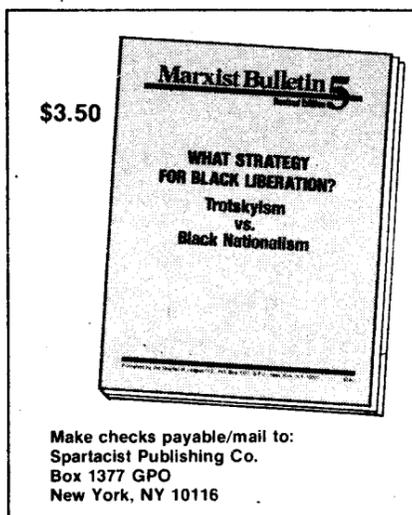
The notion that white workers are one big racist mass, Jarvis said, is a formula for defeat rooted in despair. When one student asked how we could call for labor/black defense against the Klan when the Klan recruits white workers, Jarvis replied:

"To grant them [the Klan] that every white worker is a member [of the Klan], is a fascist, is to give them victory before they've won. What we seek to do is split away any potential mass basis for fascist murder... The only hope for a victory in the struggle against capitalist reaction in this country is that the revolu-

CORRECTIONS

Young Spartacus No. 91 (May 1981) contains a photograph with the caption, "Pro-busing demonstration at Columbia Point in Boston, 1975. SL/SYL called for labor/black defense of black schoolchildren. Reformists counseled reliance on cops!" The rally was in fact held on October 13, 1974 in downtown Boston.

The *YSp* No. 91 lead article on May 3 incorrectly reported that a united front rally initiated by the Ann Arbor SYL to protest war criminals Kissinger and Colby was endorsed by the Graduate Employees Organization (GEO) and the newspaper *Black Perspectives*, and that the demonstration was taking place April 27. In fact the demonstration took place April 28, and it was the steering committee of GEO and the managing editor of *Black Perspectives* who endorsed, along with some 30 other organizations and individuals.



tionary party has to mobilize around the issue of smashing the Klan and their anti-labor and anti-black program, on the basis that that program is against the interests of the entire white labor, as well as black labor, movement."

The flip side of the idea that whites are a homogeneous racist mass is the notion of a "black community" which is free of class conflict, of oppression and exploitation of blacks by blacks. As one SYL speaker put it:

"So the CWP talks about the black community. What is the black community? You have [Detroit mayor] Coleman Young, who is now going after the black workers in Detroit saying they should take a pay cut. This is the black community? There are class differences in it."

In his opening presentation, Jarvis had called attention to the fact that the CWP Maoists propagate the view that the Soviet Union is "social-imperialist" and as bad as, if not worse than, U.S. imperialism. In this way the CWP feeds into the present right-wing, anti-communist mobilization and its "fringe," Klan/Nazi terror. An SYL speaker pointed to the connection between the CWP's inability to recognize the class divisions in the world and its tailing of black bourgeois politicians in the U.S.:

"You say the Soviet Union is 'social-fascist' or 'social-imperialist.' You don't know where the class line falls. And you try these get-rich-quick schemes to socialism, which you're never going to get by tailing after the poverty pimps and black elected officials who have been proven traitors to the working class and the fight for socialism in this country."

She returned again to the theme that the enemy of black people in Reagan's America is not the white working class; the enemy of blacks and of the entire working class is the capitalist system:

"Being a socialist in this country, a Marxist, ultimately means that what we're after is a question of power. We want to take the power out of the hands of the capitalists, the Rockefellers and the Fords and their corporations. We want to put it in the hands of the exploited masses in this country, and put an end to capitalist exploitation with a planned socialist economy!"

"That's why the Spartacist League goes to the working class—not because we think they are inherently revolutionary, that there's no racism in the working class. That's not true. There are white racists in the working class. It's a question of power. They [the working class] are situated at the point of production in capitalist society where they can bring it to a grinding halt. And it's the only place in this racist society where you have integration—at the point of production."

Against the fantasies of the black nationalists and the class-collaborationism of the Stalinists, the Spartacist League/SYL pointed the way forward for black freedom through class struggle. ■

May 3 Speeches...

(continued from page 5)

as part of the imperialist Cold War drive against the Soviet Union. At the same time her government is today engaged in direct imperialist butchery of its own in the streets and prisons of Northern Ireland.

Bobby Sands and three other Irish Republican prisoners on hunger strike in the H-block of Long Kesh concentration camp have been effectively condemned to death by the Westminster government. Thatcher & Co. arrogantly refused to grant them the elementary justice of political prisoner status or even more humane prison conditions. And at the same time a British army of occupation continues to make sweeping arrests, wantonly shoot down and kill unarmed H-block protesters and Irish nationalist fighters on the streets of Belfast and Derry.

Just as you are marching in support of those fighting against U.S. imperialism

Young Spartacus



Keith Anwar

in El Salvador today, so we in Britain are protesting vigorously against the vicious terror of our own ruling class in Ireland. The international working class movement must stand foursquare in defense of Bobby Sands and the other nationalist fighters in Ireland and say: Smash H-Block! Free All Victims of Imperialist Repression! British Troops Out of Ireland Now! For an Irish Workers Republic in a Socialist Federation of the British Isles! Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents in El Salvador!

Dan Johnson

SYL member and one of 24 people who came 900 miles from Madison, Wisconsin to march in the Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

In Madison the campaign to build the Anti-Imperialist Contingent has had a very real impact. That's important because Madison is a town with a history of militant student protest against the war in Vietnam. On February 4 we initiated the first rally on El Salvador in Madison, a rally which drew 400 people. And we went before the first legislative hearings on El Salvador, which were held in Madison, where we called for military victory to the insurgents.

The bloody line of the class struggle is drawn in El Salvador. On one side is the murderous junta and on the other side are the workers and peasants. We drew that line politically in Madison. And we found that a lot of people were on our side of that line, the side of the workers and peasants of El Salvador. But when we called our February 4 rally we found that CISPES, PAM and the groups within them were not on that side. These groups refused to endorse that rally, and they were willing to expel militants like Tom Janota from their ranks because he *did* endorse and speak at that rally. These groups went on campaign footing to discredit this contingent, but they have not succeeded. We got a lot of fine people from Madison who decided that the leftist insurgents must defeat the junta and a lot of people who don't like Reagan's insane campaign of provocations and threats and war preparations against Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Keith Anwar

Union militant fired by Inland Steel in May 1979 for refusing to cross a picket line of striking fellow Steelworkers. His case is now before the National Labor Relations Board.

Ninety-five years ago today an event on the South Side of Chicago led to what is now the proletarian holiday, celebrated ever year—May Day. When striking workers, on the third day of a strike for the eight-hour day, were picketing in front of a plant, the cops came and shot workers down in cold blood. The next night there was a protest meeting in Haymarket Square. The police again marched in, hundreds strong, prepared to bust up that rally. A bomb landed among the police—those who survived shot down the workers who had gathered to protest the atrocity of the previous day. And in the aftermath of that was the trial of the Haymarket martyrs for conspiracy to

commit murder.

Samuel Gompers refused to defend the Haymarket martyrs, who had led the strike for the eight-hour day, a strike which Gompers himself had called. And I would submit that there's more than a little bit of Gompers alive today, in organizations like YAWF, Socialist Workers Party and so on, who try to pretend that "unity" with the class enemy in these betrayal "fronts" is something that the working class has a stake in defending.

I'd like to give an example of the kind of international labor solidarity that I think is needed. Labor solidarity is not some kind of catch-all phrase, as this exemplifies. In 1919 the Seattle longshoremen were supposed to unload 50 boxcars that had come in, and they were going to be shipped across the Pacific to Vladivostok. And the crates inside these boxcars were labeled "sewing machines." Now why the hell were sewing machines going to Vladivostok when there was a civil war raging in Russia between 20-some imperialist powers plus the White Russian forces against the Bolshevik Revolution?

Accidents will happen, and one of these crates busted open on the dock, and what spills out are Enfield rifles. There's 50 boxcars of arms destined for the White Russian forces in Vladivostok. Those longshoremen declared that cargo "hot"—too hot to handle. It would not go anywhere! And they said any pier that handled it would face a permanent boycott from the longshoremen. I think that's the kind of international solidarity that we're talking about in this Anti-Imperialist Contingent!

Ruth Lopez

Member of Ann Arbor SYL. Her speech was given in Spanish.

The U.S. aids the junta not only through millions of dollars of military

and economic aid but by deporting thousands of Salvadoran refugees into the hands of the murderous junta. Every month, hundreds of Salvadorans who are seeking refuge from the white terror of the junta are rounded up by the INS and sent back to El Salvador. The SL/SYL took the initiative in demanding asylum for these refugees. In Los Angeles we held the first rally in the country protesting the deportations and demanding asylum for the refugees.

The SL/SYL built the May 3 Anti-Imperialist Contingent because it is not enough to call for U.S. hands off El Salvador. When there is a civil war raging the crucial question is which side are you on. Well, we know we are on the side of the workers and peasants in El Salvador, and we want to see the junta smashed. The people over there—PAM—don't want to take a side because they think they can pressure the Democrats to liberalize imperialism. They've got an assortment of Democratic Party mouthpieces and liberals—the kind that say, "No more Vietnams." Well, we stand with Che Guevara when he said, "Two, three, many Vietnams,"

Workers Vanguard



Ruth Lopez

because it is the United States that was defeated in that war.

The SYL is an active communist youth organization that wants to fight for world socialism. We stand on the side of the leftist insurgents against the junta in El Salvador. We stand for the defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism. And those of you who want to see a socialist future should join us. We have a world to win! ■

A SPARTACIST PAMPHLET/\$1.00

Trotskyism versus Stalinism

Basic Documents of the Spartacus Youth League

Order These Trotskyist Pamphlets!

Stalin School of Falsification Revisited \$.75
 Why the U.S.S.R. is Not Capitalist \$2.00
 Youth, Class and Party \$.25

Make checks payable/mail to:
 Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
 Box 825, Canal Street Station
 New York, NY 10013

Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam \$1.00

Make checks payable/mail to:
 Spartacist Publishing Company
 Box 1377 GPO
 New York, NY 10116

Fact Sheet...

(continued from page 3)

revolution teaches that the capitalists in the backward capitalist countries are so bound to imperialism and so afraid of the masses they brutally exploit that they will not even establish elementary democratic rights. That is why El Salvador has suffered five decades, half a century, of military rule. The urgent demands of the working people in underdeveloped countries can be met only when the working class seizes power and establishes its own class rule. *The workers and peasants must win the class war!*

• **But the opposition Revolutionary**

officers will accept, i.e., the system of private property, the popular front opens the way for the triumph of reaction.

• **The president of the FDR is Guillermo Ungo, leader of the MNR, a bourgeois liberal party that is part of the social-democratic Second International.** Ungo was the running mate of current junta chief José Napoleón Duarte, a Christian Democrat, in 1972. Together with other liberal figures, Ungo joined the October 1979 junta. In January 1980 he resigned—but not before the army had massacred striking workers at the Lido, Diana, Arco Ingeniero and Apex plants and machine-gunned peasants in Morazan, Chalatenango, San Miguel and other

Stern



Reagan rushed American arms (top) to fight left-wing insurgents.

Democratic Front (FDR) is based on class collaboration, not on class struggle. The FDR is a coalition between leftist guerrillas, the Communist Party and tiny bourgeois parties like the MNR (National Revolutionary Movement) and the MPSC (Popular Social Christian Movement, a dissident splinter of the Christian Democracy). While the capitalist parties have virtually no popular support, they embody the principle of private property, ensuring that the struggle will be confined to the bounds of capitalism.

• **The platform of the FDR calls for a government of "the working class, the peasantry, and the advanced middle layers, ... small and medium-sized industrialists, merchants, artisans and farmers. ... Also involved will be honest professionals, the progressive clergy, democratic parties such as the MNR, advanced sectors of the Christian Democracy, worthy and honest officers of the army who are willing to serve the interests of the people. ..."** In other words, a capitalist government. Even sections of the officer corps—carefully selected and trained for decades in the bloody suppression of the working masses—are invited to join this projected government.

• **The popular front** (coalitions between workers parties and bourgeois parties) has led to bloody defeats for the working class from Spain in 1936-39 to Chile in 1973. It was from within Allende's Popular Unity cabinet that the military planned the bloody Chilean coup of 1973. By chaining the workers movement to the framework of what the "liberal" capitalists and "progressive"

provinces. Two other members of the seven-man FDR leadership were members of the first cabinet under the present junta.

• **A "political solution"** is called for by various liberals and the Socialist International. The FDR has declared itself "open to political solutions which do not betray the interests of our people" (March 1981 Declaration of FDR Politico-Military Commission) and has called for "dialogue with the U.S. government" (Declaration of 7 February 1981). But any "political solution" with elements of the junta or other bourgeois forces *must* be against the interests of the workers and peasants because it will not *smash* the bloody officer corps and the capitalist system it defends. The army would be free to prepare future massacres. The only "solution" to the civil war is:

Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents!

• **The Soviet Union and Cuba are unfortunately telling the truth** when they plead innocent to Reagan's charge that they are arming the Salvadoran leftists. The Stalinist bureaucrats' utopian/reformist program of "peaceful coexistence" and "socialism in one country" stands in the way of providing the desperately needed arms. If the insurgents were adequately armed, there would not have been 18,000 victims of the junta.

• **The People's Antiwar Mobilization**, which has called the May 3rd demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco, takes no side in the Salvadoran civil war. Liberals like Teddy

Kennedy and social-patriotic reformists say: Let the Salvadorans fight it out themselves; U.S. money should be spent in the U.S., etc.

• **The Kennedy-sponsored Bill S-728** puts "conditions" on continued U.S. aid to the junta. In other words, it stands for the U.S. financing this bloody war of extermination, as long as the junta cleans up its image! The liberals preach "non-intervention" because they would prefer that the Salvadoran workers and peasants be crushed without the fuss and expense of direct U.S. military involvement. They would prefer a CIA-organized and -supervised "Reform by Death." In the 1930s, the governments of the U.S., France, England and the Soviet Union proclaimed "non-intervention" in Spain as they watched Franco defeat the Republic and smash the workers movement.

• **Liberals and reformists who say "No more Vietnams"** are opposed to revolution. They do not want the U.S. imperialists to lose. An opinion piece titled "Peace in El Salvador" by Pierre Schori, a leader of the Swedish Social Democratic Party and the party's liaison with the Second International, says, "It would indeed be an irony of fate if the Reagan administration embarked upon a policy that would lead to a situation that would fulfill 'Che' Guevara's call for creation of 'one, two, several Vietnams' in Latin America. ... The longer that peace efforts are postponed, the bloodier and more radical the ultimate solution will be. Why not give peace a chance?" (*New York Times*, 28 February). This just means giving Reagan and the junta a chance to wipe out the workers and peasants.

• **The battle lines are drawn. The civil war is already on.** It must be won by the workers and peasants. And you can help them defeat imperialism.

• **Join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent**, initiated by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. The Anti-Imperialist Contingent says:

IF you are on the side of the Salvadoran workers and peasants fighting against their oppressors;

IF you want the military victory of the leftist insurgents and the defeat of the bloody junta;

IF you are for militant struggle against imperialism, to defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution and to smash Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive:

Join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent May 3!

—Spartacist League/U.S.
24 April 1981

H-Block...

(continued from page 12)

Orange state should be smashed.

The origins of this protest go back a long way, to 1972, when the British government concluded a truce with the Provisional IRA. A status was created for Republican prisoners called Special Category Status, which gave them five rights—the right to wear their own clothes, to abstain from penal labor, to free association between prisoners, to educational and recreational activities, and restoration of remission on sentences. In March 1976 the Special Category Status was withdrawn, and the prisoners refused to accept prison discipline, refused to wear prison clothes. The only thing that was left for them to wear was the blankets provided in their bedding. Every single piece of furniture, reading material, recreational activity and so forth were withdrawn, so they were basically in 24-hour solitary confinement without exercise.

Now, the first thing revolutionaries have to say about Northern Ireland—and particularly it's the immediate responsibility of our British organization which has the job of fighting the British imperialist bourgeoisie directly—is that we're for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British troops. The British troops are in Northern Ireland for one reason only—

they're there to prop up the domination of the Protestant population over the Catholics.

But we don't think that if the British troops are withdrawn, everything is going to be wonderful and rosy. Because you do have a situation where the Protestants and the Catholics, in the framework of Northern Ireland, are competing for the same territory. They live mingled amongst each other, and the Protestants currently have marginal privileges over the Catholics which they are very determined to defend. Under the current circumstances, if the British troops were withdrawn tomorrow, it very likely would result in a bloody communal civil war, which would probably engulf the whole of Ireland in a short time and might possibly spread to parts of the British mainland. We don't desire to see a communal civil war, and the program we put forward addresses that question and provides a perspective for the seizure of power by the working class, which we believe is the only possibility for a just, equitable solution of the entangled national question in Northern Ireland.

IRA Nationalism Writes Off Protestant Workers

Now, I want to say something about the Provisional IRA, because they are the principal force that is carrying out resistance in a military sense to the presence of British imperialism in Northern Ireland. Although the Provos occasionally talk about socialism, and their formal program mentions it, the essence of their program is petty-bourgeois nationalism—for the creation of a united, independent Ireland; that is, for the integration of Northern Ireland into the Republic. As far as what the IRA says and does, the Protestants either might as well not exist, or they are simply en bloc lumped together with British imperialism as the necessarily permanent oppressors of the Catholics. The IRA has no program or perspective for working-class unity in Northern Ireland, no way to lead the Protestant workers away from the extremely reactionary Loyalist politicians.

The military actions of the IRA fall into two camps. On the one hand, it's been the organization that has militarily defended Catholic ghettos against police and Protestant paramilitary riots in the past, and has carried out attacks on the forces of British imperialism and on leading political representatives of British imperialism. Now, we don't think that the strategy of individual terrorism, of bumping off this or that imperialist politician, is an effective strategy for defeating British imperialism, which requires the political mobilization of the working class. However, when the IRA kills Lord Mountbatten—a consummate symbol of British imperialist oppression, the architect of the partition of India that resulted in a communal bloodbath which took hundreds of thousands of lives—that act is defensible.

On the other hand, the IRA has been responsible for attacks that have had simply a communal or sectarian character, attacks against Protestants or British simply because they are Protestant or British—such as the Birmingham pub bombing in 1974 that left 21 dead and many more injured. The result of that bombing was an anti-Irish witchhunt that swept through the Birmingham auto plants. The National Front, the British fascist organization, was able to pull workers out on a reactionary strike in protest, and Irish workers couldn't go into those plants for days on end for fear of being lynched. It's very interesting to note that when Lord Mountbatten got blown out of the sea, in those same car plants—where anti-IRA sentiment in the British working class is probably most concentrated—there was a joke circulating that went like this: How many members of the royal family can you fit in a Mini Metro? Answer: The queen

Ann Arbor Sect Endorses Pop Front on El Salvador

RWL: We Know Which Side You're On!

The civil war raging in El Salvador directly confronts revolutionists in the U.S. with the simple question: "Which side are you on?" At the May 3 march on the Pentagon, the line was clearly drawn! Either take a side for the military victory of the leftist insurgents and for defense of the USSR and Cuba by joining the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, or join the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) on the side of the imperialist Democratic Party—the party which gave us the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Cuban missile crisis, the Vietnam War and the "Human Rights" junta that murdered 14,000 Salvadorans in the last year of Carter's administration.

The most cowardly response on the left to the Salvadoran civil war has come from the Ann Arbor-based cult/sect, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). Until May 3, the RWL had written not one word about this crucial question, including in the most recent issue (February!) of its misnamed paper, *Fighting Worker*. This is the same outfit that generated hundreds of pages attempting to justify its crossing of picket lines! But El Salvador, like the picket line, poses the question, "Which side...?" And on May 3, the RWL once again chose the bosses' side, by marching with PAM and imperialist "doves" like Abzug and Dellums.

For years, the main focus of the RWL's work has been disorganizing clerical workers at the University of Michigan (U of M) at Ann Arbor, where its various front groups have gotten the clerical union decertified and lost two union certification elections (see "RWL/OCC Strikes Out in Ann Arbor—For a Campus-Wide Union!" *YSp* No. 89). In the process they have established a reputation for themselves as scabs, from crossing picket lines of striking AFL-CIO affiliated campus workers in 1977 to scabbing on this spring's nurses' strike at the U of M hospital! Those who can't find the class line under their noses in Ann Arbor aren't likely to see it in El Salvador.

The Politics of Subrelevance

To survive as a campus-based cult/

sect masquerading as Trotskyist, the RWL tries to escape from the burning questions of world politics like El Salvador by building front groups around campus-parochial, sectoralist, sub-minimal issues. As the Ann Arbor Spartacus Youth League (SYL) put it in a leaflet issued just before the May 3 mobilization:

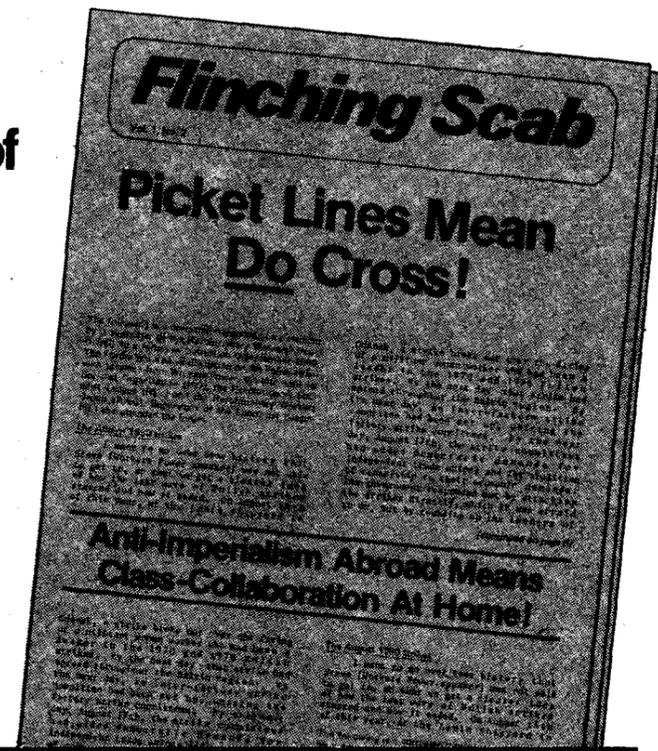
"On cutbacks, the RWL's front group, the CLSG, called for a 'large and militant movement' in which 'Reagan could be forced to spend less money on the military and more on programs for human needs' (*Line*, April 1981)! According to the RWL we can have a little butter along with the imperialist guns and keep Ronnie too if only we are 'militant'! For the RWL it is more important to solidarize with the sinister campaign of their feminist sisters to 'Take Back the Night' through more police or women's vigilante squads than it is to solidarize with the heroic Salvadoran leftists laying down their lives to smash the mass violence perpetuated by U.S. imperialism."

—"Where Does the RWL Stand on El Salvador?" 27 April

RWL Crawls to the Democrats

But the politics of the real world inevitably invade RWL hiding places. At a meeting of the RWL's sandbox Gay Community Services (GCS) before May 3, RWL leaders of the GCS voted to endorse PAM rather than endorsing the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. And finally on May 3, the RWL lifted its press blackout on El Salvador by issuing a joint leaflet with the Socialist League (Democratic-Centralist), a group that has never formally renounced its positions that women's oppression doesn't exist and that gays are "sick." While the leaflet abstractly calls for the "military victory of the workers and small farmers" (carefully sidestepping the phrase "leftist insurgents") and defense of the USSR, there is *not one word* in the leaflet about PAM or the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. Showing how little they care about what they put on paper, the RWL didn't even bother to distribute this leaflet to the hundreds of independent militants in the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. So while they have the gall to say, "No coalitions with

Shades of things to come, RWL?



the 'liberal' bourgeoisie' to the workers of El Salvador, the RWL is busy building a coalition with its own imperialist bourgeoisie by endorsing and marching with PAM. Already notorious for its line that "picket lines mean *do cross*," the RWL can now add to its arsenal the slogan, "anti-imperialism abroad means class collaboration at home."

In 1935, Trotsky wrote: "In reality the People's Front is the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism." In the 1930s, some of the centrist groups Trotsky polemicized against entered popular front governments or coalitions because they capitulated to the pressure of the masses of workers, who believed that the class collaborationism of their reformist leaders would get them somewhere. But

the only pressure that sent the RWL running to hide under the skirts of PAM and the Democratic Party was the pressure of not wanting to be associated with the revolutionary politics of the SL/SYL. So no matter how much abstract "Trotskyist" verbiage the RWL fills its infrequent newspapers and leaflets with, the test of a revolutionary organization is not merely what it says, but what it does.

In its leaflet the SYL posed the alternatives facing the RWL:

"The RWL can go to Washington with PAM and help build a platform for the party that played godfather to the present Salvadoran junta.... Or the RWL can put its tail between its legs and slink into the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. Or it can play it safe and stay in Ann Arbor."

On May 3, the SYL took a stand for the defeat of U.S. imperialism. On May 3, the RWL crawled to the Democrats. ■

and Prince Philip in the front seat, Prince Charles and Princess Anne in the back, and Lord Mountbatten in the ashtray.

For United Class Struggle!

There is a basis for mobilizing the Protestant and Catholic workers in common struggle. When we say the Protestant workers are marginally privileged, that means you've got 20 percent unemployment as opposed to 30 percent. Marginally privileged means that it's your police force patrolling streets where the houses were built in 1850 and don't have indoor toilets or baths. We think that some of the demands of the Trotskyist Transitional Program have a particular power and applicability in the situation of Northern Ireland—that the democratic questions of no discrimination against the Catholics are necessarily inseparable from the social questions that face the proletariat as a whole. Demands such as for a sliding scale of wages and hours to attack unemployment, and for an integrated, anti-sectarian, anti-imperialist workers militia to defend the Catholic community from the British army and to defend both the Catholic and Protestant communities against sectarian terror from both sides.

There have been a number of in-

stances in Northern Ireland where the intervention of Trotskyists could have intersected embryonic proletarian unity. Last year when the British army sent some soldiers to the Royal Victoria Hospital in Belfast and one of these guys let off a magazine of machine-gun bullets—it's lucky he didn't kill anyone—Catholic and Protestant workers at the hospital came out on strike against the presence of the army at the hospital and stood on the same picket lines. The Loyalist politicians moved in to destroy that unity, but it was an indication of the possibilities.

Perhaps most striking were events that took place during the Depression. In 1933 there were common demonstrations by Protestant and Catholic workers in Belfast on the question of unemployment benefits, which weren't being received then. Workers from the Shankhill area of Belfast, which is solidly Protestant, also came out to celebrate the Republicans' annual commemoration of the United Irishmen uprising of 1798, which had been led by Wolfe Tone. The IRA instructed its men to let these Protestant workers march only if they kept their banners furled. I want to read what *The Republican* wrote about what happened:

"Their banners bore the words, 'Wolfe Tone Commemoration 1934, Shankhill

Road, Belfast' and 'Break the Connection with Capitalism' and 'James Connolly Club, Belfast United Irishmen of 1934.' It was then that I heard a shout... 'Come on, the Shankhillers. They battled their way to lay a wreath on Tone's grave.' Many of the IRA lads broke their ranks."

Well, that's the perspective and that's the history that we want to struggle for. Because we want to hear that shout, "Up

the Shankhill!" not in the mouths of the Ian Paisleys and the Loyalist politicians. We want to hear that shout resound again in the struggle against capitalism and for a workers republic. And we want to see the IRA lads break their ranks and come over to the struggle that will genuinely end the oppression of the Catholics—the struggle for the Trotskyist program of workers revolution. ■

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Trotskyist Debates CWP, AAPRP

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

"I think I'm kind of in between these two, in more ways than one," squirmed Communist Workers Party (CWP) spokesman Aaron Estis. Seated to his left was Spartacus Youth League (SYL) National Committee member Ed Jarvis; to his right, a representative of Stokely Carmichael's All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP). The occasion was a debate on "What Strategy for Black Liberation?" sponsored by Harvard University's Afro-Am Studies class in "Communism and Marxism in Black American Life" on April 15.

The CWP Stalinists and the AAPRP nationalists displayed their lack of revolutionary perspective for black militants: the AAPRP's program despairs of revolutionary struggle in this country and suggests that American blacks should go "back" to Africa, while the hapless CWP kept trying to find some "safe" middle ground between the nationalist and the revolutionary. The SYL presented our strategy for effective

struggle against the murderous rise of Klan/Nazi fascists through working-class mobilization. Comrade Jarvis showed how the "community control" separatism of the black nationalists (tailed by the CWP, which has opposed busing, for example) feeds into the "separate-but-equal" doctrine of the racists and deflects the struggle for black liberation. It was a lively debate, in which most of the students' questions were directed at the SYL speaker.

Jarvis began by counterposing to black nationalist defeatism the Spartacist program of black liberation through socialist revolution:

"Nationalism is a reactionary utopian political ideology. What it does is it stands in opposition to the progressive historical impulses on the part of blacks to be integrated into a socialist egalitarian society—not a capitalist society, which cannot integrate blacks. Blacks are not a nation dispersed throughout this country in the industrial centers.

continued on page 8



Last year's April 19 Committee Against Nazis—initiated by SL and union militants—mobilized 1,200 blacks, Jews, unionists and kept fascists off the streets of San Francisco. CWP appealed to the racist city government to "ban" Nazi rally, then organized a separate sectarian rally, which flopped.

Smash H-Block! Avenge Murdered Hunger Strikers!

British Troops Out of Northern Ireland Now!

Reprinted below are excerpts from a forum given at the Ann Arbor campus of the University of Michigan on April 16 by Alan Gilchrist, a member of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League/Britain. Bobby Sands, who was lying in a coma on his deathbed in Long Kesh prison when this forum was given, has since died, murdered by "civilized" British imperialism. Within days Frankie Hughes, Raymond McCreech and Patrick O'Hara, other nationalist hunger strikers, left Long Kesh in coffins. And for every martyr, another grimly determined Republican blanketman takes his place on the grisly queue. Vowing no concessions, butcher Thatcher would like to see every last Republican come out of Long Kesh and Armagh a corpse. The left and labor movement must raise an outcry of protest at this slaughter and vigorously demand: Free the IRA prisoners! For the blanketmen in the H-block hell-holes, it's a matter of life or death.

I want to start off with something that happened a week ago. Bobby Sands, who is the most senior Provisional IRA member imprisoned in the Long Kesh



SL/SYL called for united class struggle against British imperialism at protest against the murder of Bobby Sands in front of the British consulate in New York on May 5.

jail and who's been the camp commander of the Provisional prisoners, is coming to the end of the sixth week of a hunger strike demanding political status for the Republican prisoners. He was

elected to Westminster as a member of the House of Commons by thirty thousand votes, by a majority of one thousand. This is an individual who is in jail on the basis of a number of alleged

charges—firearms offenses—but is imprisoned simply for the fact that he is a member of the IRA, which is a criminal offense in Northern Ireland and Britain.

Now, although we don't give any political support to the program of the Provisional IRA, which is a program of petty-bourgeois nationalism, there's a certain piquancy in seeing this man, who at the present time is the symbol of the resistance of the Catholics of Northern Ireland to the oppression which has been meted out to them by the Orange statelet and British imperialism, elected to the imperial Parliament. Leaving aside the very severe weaknesses of the nationalists' strategy, I want to make it clear that the Spartacist tendency not only considers it a supportable demand that these prisoners should have political status, but we don't believe that they should be in those jails. We call for the freeing of those prisoners. They've been put in prison for fighting against British imperialism. We believe that the Long Kesh and Armagh jails, the interrogation center at Castle Reagh, and the rest of the repressive apparatus of the

continued on page 10