

Young Spartacus

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SEPTEMBER 1981

Union-Busting and Racist Reaction

Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive Comes Home



PATCO picket line at Oakland airport. SL/SYL demands: "Labor: Shut down the airports!"

Young Spartacus Photo

Ever since 1917 the world's capitalist rulers have dreamed, intrigued and planned to destroy the gains of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, the greatest victory for the working class in history. Today the United States—the most powerful imperialist country on earth—is ruled by fanatics intent on wiping out the "aberration" of communism with a wave of mushroom clouds across the Soviet Union. And Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive also means war against the American working class. The two are inseparable.

This basic truth, scoffed at or piously denied by liberals and reformists, is now demonstrated in the starkest way in the air controllers strike. Reagan has fired all 12,000 striking controllers and declared that their union, PATCO, no longer exists. The American labor movement has not faced this kind of massive, savage union busting in half a century, since the rise of the CIO in the 1930s. Just as Reagan is seeking to overturn the greatest victory of the working class internationally, the Russian Revolution, so he wants to reduce the American working class to the weak condition before the creation of mass

industrial unions.

Unlike the usual union-busting attempts, Reagan's attack on PATCO has nothing to do with dollars-and-cents economics, with driving down wages to increase profits. The government will have to spend an enormous sum to train thousands of new controllers and in the meantime the airlines will lose money due to reduced flights. What Reagan wants is a *political demonstration* that he will be completely ruthless and brutal to *anyone* who defies his will.

And this demonstration is all the stronger in that the controllers had thought they were Reagan people. Overwhelmingly white, many Vietnam vets, the controllers regarded themselves as middle-class "professionals" rather than as blue-collar workers. In the anti-Soviet hysteria following the intervention in Afghanistan in late 1979, New York controllers "boycotted" an Aeroflot jet carrying Russian ambassador Dobrynin, threatening a possible crash. PATCO, with its socially conservative membership, was one of the few unions to endorse Reagan for the presidency.

In the science-fiction novel *The Mote*

in *God's Eye* one character is a commander notorious for destroying an entire planet to suppress a rebellion. When non-human intelligent beings are discovered, this commander is put in charge of the expedition to their planet because, if he is that ruthless toward his own species, he certainly won't be soft toward non-humans. This captures Reagan's attitude in the controllers strike. If he will do this to Middle America types, his own people so to speak, imagine what he will do to blacks, radicals and foreigners!

Faced with Reagan's massive union-busting attack, the immediate gut response of every worker should be: Solidarity Strikes to Shut Down the Airports! Yet predictably the cowardly union bureaucracy has done nothing, absolutely nothing, to support the controllers strike. And it is not just the right-wing Meanyite neanderthals like AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland who are allowing Reagan to make the air controllers a horrible example of what will happen to all those who defy him.

America's most prominent "socialist" labor leader is William Winpisinger, president of the Machinists union

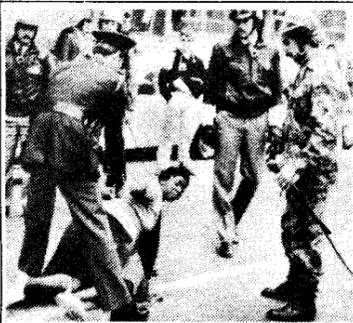
(IAM) and vice-chairman of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. It just so happens that the Machinists are a *key* union in the airlines industry. It was a strike by IAM airplane mechanics which in 1964 broke the Kennedy/Johnson wage guidelines. By calling out his men Winpisinger could win this strike in days, dealing a powerful blow against Reagan reaction on all fronts. Instead this big shot social democrat has given the go-ahead to IAM members to service planes guided by scab controllers.

This is not just a conflict over wages and benefits. What is at stake is the very right of the 20 million public employees in this country to strike, that is, to have real trade unions. This is a life-and-death struggle which will affect the entire labor movement, indeed, all aspects of political life for the coming period.

Carter Paved Way for Reagan Reaction

It is not only the air controllers who are surprised to find themselves the

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Racist Reagan Backs Apartheid Butchers

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What Spartacists Fought for in the Vietnam Antiwar Movement

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From "Hail Khomeini" to "Hate Khomeini!"

Iranian Left in Turmoil

No sooner had the dust settled from the spectacular June 28 bombing of the Islamic Republican Party (IRP) headquarters in Teheran than Khomeini's firing squads swung into high gear. Well over 500 opponents of the "imam's" theocratic dictatorship have been shot, including not only supporters of ex-president Bani-Sadr, but also those of the Moslem populist Mujahedin Khalq and left-wing organizations like the Fedayeen Khalq. Thousands more have been thrown into the dungeons built by the now-dead shah, where they are tortured by former agents of his notorious secret police, the SAVAK, who are now "following the imam's line."

With the sword of Islam hanging over their heads, Iranian leftists, populists

and their student supporters abroad—who all hailed Khomeini's ascent to power—now chant "No to the reactionary regime in Iran!" Mujahedin supporters took over the Iranian interests section in Washington, D.C. on August 7, shouting "Death to the Khomeini regime!" At New York demonstrations, the Maoist Peykar, the Iranian Student Association-Left Platform and supporters of the guerrillaist Fedayeen around Ashraf Dehghani chanted "Down with the monarchy! No to Islamic Republic! Long live revolution!" In late July, Iranian students chained themselves to the Statue of Liberty, while their European counterparts attempted to seize Iranian embassies in protest against Khomeini's savage repression, just as they did previously to demonstrate against the shah's white terror.

Two years ago the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) warned that Khomeini would be no less reactionary than the shah and demanded "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" Those who hate Khomeini today denounced us in 1979 as being inspired by the CIA and SAVAK and attempted to physically break up our public meetings on Iran. Only now when Khomeini's hands are drenched with blood do they issue belated "warnings" and denounce the mullahs' repression.

Those Iranian leftists who seek Marxist clarity must critically examine the political premises which led them to embrace Khomeini as "progressive" and "anti-imperialist." Specifically, this means the Menshevik/Stalinist dogma of the two-stage "revolution," which indefinitely postpones the socialist revolution, subordinating the interests

Iranian fake-lefts look to Bani-Sadr, Khomeini's loyal servant for two decades.



Gamma

and political independence of the working class to the so-called "progressive," "democratic" and "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie. It is this very dogma that has repeatedly beheaded the working class, from China in 1927 to Chile in 1973.

Today the pro-Moscow Stalinist Tudeh party gives groveling support to Khomeini. In recent bloody street clashes between the IRP and the Iranian left, Tudeh members manned the barricades on the side of the mullahs. While excoriating Tudeh for this treachery, Iranian leftists do not call into question the two-stage methodology of which Tudeh is the historical exponent in Iran.

Khomeini's main target so far has been the Mujahedin, who claim to combine the Koran with the *Communist Manifesto*. Seeking a more "democratic" Islamic republic, they have turned to

none other than Bani-Sadr, the ayatollah's "secular" front man for two decades and later president of the "Islamic Republic." Until his downfall, he loyally served his "imam" and Great Persian chauvinism—witness the brutal suppression of the Kurds and Turkomans, and the Iran-Iraq war over Khuzistan. Bani-Sadr and Mujahedin leader Massoud Rajavi were flown—by the shah's personal pilot!—to asylum in France, where they set up an exile government. Many of those now around Bani-Sadr are big bourgeois seeking a capitalist "modernizing" alternative to Khomeini who will play the role to which the shah aspired but failed.

The Fedayeen has split into a "majority" which, in alliance with Tudeh, bows to Khomeini; a "minority," which while claiming to be a "communist" left split, has dropped criticism of Bani-Sadr for a

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Young Spartacus

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

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No. 93 September 1981

Angola Invasion Kicks Off Springboks U.S. Tour

Racist Reagan Backs Apartheid Butchers

South Africa's Springboks rugby team, pampered showpiece of racist apartheid, will be in the United States this month. The matches scheduled for Chicago, Albany and New York are a demonstration of Reagan's growing anti-Soviet alliance with the white-supremacist Pretoria regime. Even the *New York Times* (14 August) recognizes that the purpose of this athletic tour is "to demonstrate a new friendliness toward South Africa." The intended fruits of this alliance are the preservation of apartheid, South Africa's annexation of mineral-rich Namibia and the toppling of the Cuban-backed government in Angola. The Springboks' mission is an affront to American blacks and all who detest South Africa's apartheid oppression and seek its destruction.

A Springboks tour through New Zealand in August provoked massive protests, including a one-day strike by ship workers. And for good reason. The team (which is 95 percent white) is a symbol of the apartheid system, which deprives non-whites—80 percent of the population—of citizenship rights; herds millions of blacks into barren and poverty stricken bantustans; and excludes the black populace from access to education, culture, athletics, etc.

The American tour comes at a time when the crimes of the apartheid butchers are glaringly obvious. Last week South Africa launched a major invasion into Angola, annihilating whole towns as the forces sweep toward Soviet-installed radar and missile installations. Internally, the regime's repression of anti-apartheid fighters has intensified in recent months with mass jailings of black trade unionists, the exiling of thousands of urban blacks to "homelands" they have never seen and death sentences against nationalist guerrillas.

While the dirty work of arranging the Springboks tour is in the hands of an obscure rugby club, the real host is the Reagan administration. Having scrapped Carter's "human rights" hypocrisy, Reagan is reaching out to any "authoritarian" dictatorship that will join his war drive against the Soviet degenerated workers state. The sedulous work of mending U.S. ties to the Pretoria regime of P.W. Botha has included meetings with the South African foreign minister and a series of secret consultations with South African military leaders. Haig's call in January for placing South Africa under NATO's protective shield and Reagan's repeated efforts to repeal the Clark Amendment (which hampers open U.S. military aid to pro-imperialist guerrillas in Angola) underscore the military basis of this deepening alliance. Today the guns are pointed at the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the Cuban troops in Angola and the petty-bourgeois government in Luanda. But the ultimate target of the U.S./South Africa axis is the Soviet degenerated workers state. Down with the Washington/Pretoria Alliance! Smash Apartheid! Springboks Out!

Reagan's pro-apartheid diplomacy needs its fig leaf, the illusion of progres-

sive change in South Africa. The assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Chester Crocker, has sought to provide that fig leaf by referring to "autocratically imposed reforms" that are supposed to lead to the eventual dismantling of apartheid (*Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1980-81). What "reforms"? Crocker points to the removal of certain barriers to "black economic opportunity" and "mobility," while others glowingly tout the new "legality" of black trade unions.

These "reforms" are a sham! The pressure of an intense shortage of labor—especially skilled labor—has induced the Botha regime to institute certain changes designed to *strengthen* apartheid by making it more consistent with the demands of capitalist exploitation. The trade-union "reforms"—which continue to ban multi-racial unions and give white unions veto power over industrial agreements—were instituted to clamp a lid on growing black worker militancy. While passing laws for the legal "recognition" (read shackling) of black unions, the government is quietly drawing up plans for busting the more militant black workers' organizations that are "determined to be outspoken on political issues" (*New York Times*, 10 August).

Black Proletariat Will Smash Apartheid!

The dramatic guerrilla actions of the African National Congress (ANC)—recently in the heart of Afrikanerdom—have acutely embarrassed the Botha government. But random bombings and attacks on police stations by petty-bourgeois guerrillas will never bring down the powerfully armed apartheid regime. The white ruling class correctly sees its main threat in politically conscious black workers. In 1980 black union membership tripled to over 200,000, and this year strikes have averaged one per day. In July thousands of mine workers struck for the first time in several years, heralding the imminent spread of black unionism to that key section of the working class. Most disturbing to the ruling class has been the dramatic growth of the unions which refuse to register with the government or accept its straitjacket "reforms."

The black proletariat of South Africa holds the hammer that will smash apartheid. The black and "coloured" workers in the mines and the factories have tremendous social power, the power to deprive the capitalists of their profits. This strategic position within the country's economy will enable the black and coloured proletariat to topple the apartheid regime and struggle for a black-centered workers republic. This end requires the construction of a revolutionary vanguard party. For a Trotskyist party in South Africa!

Namibia: Another Hot Spot in Reagan's Cold War

Reagan's blatant support for apartheid has evoked debate within the U.S. ruling class. The *Washington Post* wrote in April that "the major problem with the new Reagan policy is not that it lacks sensitivity [!] but that it is certain

to cost more than it is worth" economically and politically. A Rockefeller Foundation report recommended a different approach from Reagan's: appeasing South African blacks is the best way to protect U.S. investments and counter the USSR in Africa (*Guardian*, 10 June). All wings of the U.S. bourgeoisie embrace the same goal: defeat social revolution in Africa.

South Africa is more than willing to be Reagan's cat's paw against the Cuban troops in Angola, where SWAPO has bases. Reagan's election accompanied a widening of South African operations in Namibia, which the apartheid rulers have every intention of keeping as their colony. With the president-elect's tacit support, they scuttled the January Geneva negotiations with SWAPO and launched an attack on SWAPO positions in Angola the next day. There are now over 100,000 South African troops and police in Namibia and some 40 military bases along the southern border of Angola.

In April the Reagan administration came up with a "solution" to the war in Namibia that sounded more like a declaration of war: Cuban troops should withdraw from Angola, and Jonas Savimbi, UNITA guerrilla leader and pro-South African quisling, should be included in Angola's government! And South Africa is marching to this tune of provocation. Pretoria recently announced a 40 percent increase in its military budget to counter "external threats." In August the commander of South African forces in Namibia declared that a newly installed Soviet-built radar system and missile facility would not prevent continued attacks into Angola, and he went on to threaten conventional war against Angolan or

Cuban troops if they attempt to defend SWAPO. On August 25 South Africa launched its large-scale invasion of Angola, which Reagan's mouthpieces promptly excused by referring to "Cuban combat forces" and "Soviet-originated arms."

The U.S.-encouraged invasion was aimed at SWAPO, the nationalist government in Luanda and the Cuban military forces that back it. We call for the military victory of SWAPO over South African imperialism, but independence for Namibia will be shelved for years if South Africa—in its escalating military adventures—defeats the forces of Angola and of the Cuban deformed workers state. Furthermore, a South African victory would encourage Reagan's global war drive against Cuba and—most fundamentally—the Soviet Union. While giving no political support to the Castro and Brezhnev bureaucracies which must be overthrown through workers political revolution, Trotskyists unconditionally defend Cuba and the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialist attempts to restore capitalism. Let the MPLA, SWAPO and Cuban forces make Angola into a graveyard for the apartheid state's army!

The Main Enemy Is at Home!

Contrary to the claims of liberal moralists, the U.S. government has always been an enemy of the oppressed South African black. The "democratic" imperialists won't lift a finger to change apartheid, the system that guarantees their superprofits. Unlike liberal moralists who call on companies like Ford to give up their profits and close their plants in South Africa, we call on the black workers to *take over* those plants through socialist revolution!

Reformist outfits like Youth Against War and Fascism now call on the U.S. government to revoke the Springboks' visas. Such appeals perpetuate the lie that the U.S. bourgeoisie is more democratic and fair-minded than those butchers in Pretoria. But who dropped nuclear bombs on two Japanese cities? Who killed millions in Vietnam? Who sponsors massacres in Central America? We don't call on the super-criminals to punish their junior partners. Rather, we seek to drive the Springboks out through mass protest and labor action. And we eagerly work toward the day when those super-criminals are brought to account by a workers government in North America. ■

ADN.GDR



Pretoria's May 1978 Angola invasion—mass grave was "final bantustan" for 600 men, women and children.

SL/SYL Sue California Attorney General Deukmejian

Spartacist League: Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!

We print below the statement by Al Nelson of the Spartacist League Central Committee at an SL/SYL protest demonstration and press conference on July 23 outside offices of California state attorney general George Deukmejian in San Francisco.

Today, legal papers were served on California Attorney General George Deukmejian at his San Francisco office. Press conferences and demonstrations are being held outside Deukmejian's offices in San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles and San Diego.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League, Marxist political organizations, are suing Deukmejian for wrongfully including and characterizing us as "terrorists" in his 1979 "Report on Organized Crime in California."

In Part II on "Terrorism," Deukmejian makes clear who is targeted. The report whitewashes the KKK and Nazis. It downplays their threat to blacks, Chicanos, Jews and the labor movement, instead focusing on so-called "extremists of the left." According to this report the real danger of the KKK/Nazis lies not in their racist terroristic actions, but "in their ability to create trouble by attracting violence from those on the extreme left."

This report is a classic attempt to use the terrorist right as an excuse to go after the left and the labor movement. In it we are described as "a dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal." We are described as a species of outlaws, terrorists and criminals and are lumped in with the Manson Family, the SLA, Hell's Angels, Mexican Mafia, Aryan Brotherhood and Black Guerrilla Family. Deukmejian's aim is clear. The Spartacist League is proclaimed to be outside the law. We are labeled as dangerous people to be dealt with militarily, "mad dogs" to be shot down. Ten years ago this report would have included the Black Panther Party. In its best days the Black Panthers attracted a serious layer of young militants who tried to form a movement for black social liberation. They were destroyed by a coordinated governmental campaign of slander, provocation and murder. This has been well documented. Deukmejian's report is a murderous effort to set the Spartacist League up for

this same kind of government violence. We do not intend to meet the fate of the Black Panther Party. We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims who can with impunity be blown away in the night.

The efforts of the Spartacist League in California and elsewhere are to organize a workers party to struggle for the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class. *The working class and its party have the right to organize.* But Deukmejian willfully confuses Marxist education with terrorism. Socialists who believe that the Soviet Union is right in Afghanistan, who are for the victory of leftist insurgents in El Salvador, have the right to say so in the labor movement without being labeled as terrorists. The intent of this report is to restrict us from carrying out our activities by the not so implicit threat of murder.

Deukmejian wants to muzzle free speech. He expects a new lease on legal witchhunting. Diane Watson's Senate Bill 267, written with the guiding hand of Deukmejian, is a new version of the notorious Smith Act of 1940. The Attorney General speaks openly of the need to "infiltrate" the "violence prone" groups and do "police undercover work." This bill, which purports to be aimed at the Klan and Nazis, will not be used against these fascists. Instead, it will be used to persecute and harass the left and labor movement.

We are not terrorists, but Marxist revolutionists, Trotskyists, who oppose terrorism as a futile, despairing strategy that has turned away from the working class struggle to abolish capitalism. We will not be branded as terrorists and

criminals. We demand that our names be removed from this report. With all our political, legal and moral resources, we will fight this sinister effort to set us up for government persecution and violence. ■

Young Spartacus Photo



SYL/SYL demonstrations in four major California cities protested Deukmejian's labeling Trotskyists as "terrorists."

—from the California attorney general's annual report, "Organized Crime in California—1979," Part 2 "Terrorism," Section "Political Terrorism":

"Left-Wing: Extreme left-wing groups, primarily the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the International Committee Against Racism (INCAR), the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the Communist Workers' Party, along with the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), the Spartacist League and various self-proclaimed militant caucuses of labor unions emerged in

1979 as yet another dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal. So close are their radical ideology and advocacy of violence that members of one group often are also members of several others. They exploit issues of public concern in attempts to incite the populace and create violence wherever possible. Their propaganda literature is highly inflammatory, and their activities range from counter-demonstrations against right-wing extremists to urging violent and criminal activities in labor disputes and occupation by force of federal office buildings. Members

often travel widely in California and out-of-state in order to attend rallies sponsored by their groups, and many of them have been convicted several times for assaults on peace officers, inciting to riot, battery and carrying concealed weapons. Thirty-eight subjects claiming to be members of the Communist Workers' Party, when arrested on November 11, 1979, in Greensboro, North Carolina, for carrying concealed weapons, were found to be in possession of rifles, shotguns and pistols, mostly high caliber. Several of those arrested were in possession of three handguns each."

EASTBAY TODAY

The Los Angeles Daily Journal

Marxists claim official has defamed group

SACRAMENTO (UPI) — A Marxist political group Thursday... George Deukmejian... attacking them as violent in a 1979 report

Oakland Tribune Marxists sue Deukmejian

SAN FRANCISCO — Members of the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League...

Group Sues AG Over 'Terrorist' Label in Report

Los Angeles Times

The Valley Times

Marxists protest 'terrorist' label

Marxists Sue Deukmejian Over Report

By PATT MORRISON, Times Staff Writer

A California Marxist group filed suit in Sacramento Thursday against Atty. Gen. George Deukmejian, claiming they were wrongfully labeled "terrorists" in Deukmejian's 1979 "Report on Organized Crime in California."

"We're saying we don't belong in that report because we're not criminals and not terrorists," said Rachel Wolkenstein, attorney for the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League.

persecution and intimidation by law enforcement and right-wing organizations."

The suit demands a retraction and efforts to ensure that the amended version be sent to those on the report's distribution list, among them legislators and law enforcement agencies.

Gina McGuinness, spokeswoman for Deukmejian, said, "We stand by what we said in the report," the first public and the

that, in the words of the report, "exploit issues of public concern in attempts to incite the populace and create violence wherever possible."

That the Spartacist League is not included in the 1980 terrorist report indicates a "lack of activity" by it, McGuinness added.

Wolkenstein said the listing was an attempt by Deukmejian "to use the climate of law and order... as a means of whipping up

(AP) — A small Marxist group... al George Deukmejian Thursday... terrorist" organization, saying... ng after left-wing groups as part... governor... eague and its youth branch, the... ague, demanded a retraction that... as widely as Deukmejian's 1979... n California" report, which con... eference... sted among "extreme left-wing... report said, "emerged in 1979 as... is faction with which law enforce... deal."

SL Suit Needs \$\$\$

The Partisan Defense Committee is raising funds for the SL/SYL suit against Deukmejian. Such suits can be costly. Already the PDC is in debt thousands of dollars to cover lawyers' fees and other costs necessary to file the suit. And many thousands more will be needed before it's over. The PDC urges YSp readers to send generous contributions to help support this important case. Make checks payable to the PDC and send them to:

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 99
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

Young Spartacus Supplement to YWLL Convention:

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!

The Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), youth group of the Communist Party (CP), held its Fifth National Conference in New York City June 26-30. Conference participants were treated to boring speeches, orchestrated applause and workshops where CP/YWLL leaders pushed "détente" between the Soviet Union and war-crazy Reagan. While the most intense discussion inside the conference was about the use of bake sales and discos to help YWLL youth pay for trips to Moscow and Cuba, many participants got a lesson in politics outside the conference.

As soon as SYL supporters arrived to distribute our literature, CP/YWLL honchos called on Columbia University security guards to move us away from the conference entrance, hoping to seal off YWLLers from our Trotskyist politics. Collaboration with the cops against the communists isn't new to the Stalinists. In Chicago on May 30, the CP called on the notoriously racist, murderous city cops to physically intimidate and exclude the SL/SYL from a march and rally protesting U.S. involvement in El Salvador! A letter by a CP member in Iowa to the CP leadership protesting this criminal atrocity was distributed to conference attendees by the SYL (see Workers Vanguard No. 283, 19 June, for a full reprint). This protest, which had been suppressed within the CP/YWLL, was eagerly read by many members of the YWLL.

Despite the Stalinists' police-assisted effort to prevent conference participants from having access to Trotskyist politics, the SL/SYL sold over 60 pieces of communist literature and distributed close to 1,000 copies of "We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution," a Young Spartacus supplement reprinted below.

Reagan and Haig have chosen El Salvador to be the front line of their bloody war drive against the Soviet Union. In demonstrations across the country demanding an end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador, only one organization has vigorously campaigned in defense of Cuba and the USSR against U.S. imperialism. Was it the Communist Party? No! It was the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL)! One and only one tendency has intervened in demonstrations this spring to call for the military victory of the leftist insurgents in El Salvador against the Reagan-backed junta butchers. The Young Workers Liberation League? Wrong again! It was the Trotskyist SL/SYL!

So what has the CP/YWLL done? They've tried to silence the real revolutionaries with goons. And when that failed they brought in the same cops who killed Black Panther leader Fred Hampton to do their dirty work for them! All the CP/YWLL's talk about "peace, jobs and equality" can't disguise the truth: the Stalinists are willing to bloc with the most repressive forces of capitalist society to defend their dead-end "alliance" with liberal imperialists like Bella Abzug.

But the young workers and students attending their first YWLL conference do have a choice: the real communist program of the SL/SYL. If you think



Anti-Imperialist Contingent, Washington, D.C., May 3. Trotskyists said "Defense of Cuba, USSR begins in El Salvador!"

picket lines should be built and not crossed; if you are for smashing the Ku Klux Klan through labor/black mobilization; if you are for defending the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism and ousting the Stalinist bureaucracy through political revolution—in short, if you are for working-class revolution instead of Stalinist reformism, then you belong in the ranks of the Spartacus Youth League!

El Salvador: "Which Side Are You On?"

Only one side can win in the civil war which today rages in El Salvador between the sadistic U.S.-backed junta and the leftist-led insurgent masses. For American leftists the question is simply: *which side are you on?* In the recent protests against U.S. involvement in El Salvador, the elementary anti-imperialist demand for Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador was taken up only by Anti-Imperialist Contingents organized by the SL/SYL. The task of defending Cuba and the USSR—posed point blank in Central America today—was taken up only by the Trotskyist SL/SYL. The SYL is organizing radical youth against all wings of U.S. imperialism and we've been successful. You don't have to be a seasoned Marxist theoretician to see that the alternatives for the insurgent Salvadoran masses are *revolution or death*.

The Communist Party, the Young Workers Liberation League and a host of no less reformist organizations *refuse* to take a side in the Salvadoran civil war, a betrayal not only of the Salvadoran masses who have fought and died for such victory but also of the fight to stop the anti-Soviet war drive *where it counts*. The reformists consciously tailor protest actions in order to befriend a tiny handful of Democratic Party "liberals" who oppose some of Reagan's policies for their own (bourgeois) reasons. These liberal luminaries would no more march for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and its henchmen in El Salvador than they would organize workers revolution against their own class here.

The CP/YWLL does not simply

"differ" with genuine anti-imperialism and Soviet defensism—it is actively hostile to such politics. To prove just how far it will go to protect the anti-revolutionary, liberal domination of El Salvador protests, the CP called on the viciously racist Chicago cops May 30 to cordon off our contingent. Mounted police and club-wielding foot patrols sexually harassed, racially taunted and threatened the 150-strong Anti-Imperialist Contingent marching in the Chicago El Salvador demonstration called by the CP and supporters. So vile was this action that it evoked protest within the CP itself. CP member Michael Messina wrote to the Iowa CP: "The SL marched under the banners 'Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents,' and 'Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador'. As a communist I support these slogans, and if I had been in Chicago I would have been found under that banner. *But*, even if I did not support the SL's slogans, I would still support their right to express themselves without police oppression, and when that oppression is instigated by the Communist Party, then I believe we have a major scandal on our hands. I am writing this letter to express my outrage and to protest the action of the Party in the strongest terms I can."

—Letter to Tim Yeager, Iowa CP, 8 June 1981

No leftist demonstrator was safe that



May 30—CP Stalinists called on Chicago cossacks to exclude revolutionaries.

day, thanks to the CP. The Chicago Red Squad didn't call out the troops merely as a favor to the CP; certainly the CP gave the go-ahead to the cops, but the whole operation stinks of the FBI.

"Put the Butchers on the Run! Leftist Rebels Need Russian Guns!"

While the CP/YWLL acts as loyal waterboys for the mythical "progressive" bourgeoisie in the U.S.—calling cops on those who demand battlefield victory of the Salvadoran insurgents, refusing to raise the urgent question of defense of the USSR and Cuba—its mentors in Moscow and Havana pursue this suicidal class collaboration on a world scale. Call it *détente*, call it "peaceful coexistence," what it means is selling out anti-capitalist struggles the world over. In El Salvador the code word for this sellout is "negotiated settlement" or "political solution." Asked about Soviet arms to the Salvadoran rebels, Brezhnev spokesman Zamyatin replied: "The Soviet Union does not provide El Salvador with arms. It never has. It never will." That is nothing less than an outright statement of treachery! Brezhnev & Co. believe that such "reasonableness" can seduce U.S. imperialism into *détente*. What a dream! Defense of the USSR requires the *defeat* of the butchers wielding Reagan's guns and flying Reagan's helicopters under the guidance of Reagan's Green Berets. Russia: Send arms to the rebels!

Should the U.S. get its victory in El Salvador the results will far exceed the mass slaughter sure to take place in El Salvador itself. It will embolden Reagan/Haig in their primary objective: overturning the revolutions in Cuba and ultimately the USSR. As we explained in *Young Spartacus* ("Defend Cuba!" May 1981):

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

continued on page 11

Workers Vanguard Photo



Printed below is the first portion of an edited transcript of a talk given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at the Spartacist Educational Weekend in New York City on June 6. The speech was originally titled, "Vietnam: Bourgeois Defeatism, Détente, Cold War II." Its conclusion will appear in the next issue of Young Spartacus.

Part One

This rather posh Central Park South surrounding (well, this particular room is not all that posh) should not disguise the fact that this educational takes place at a time when the government of the most powerful capitalist country on earth, namely this one, is on a straight course toward war with the Soviet degenerated workers state. The Reagan administration came into office intent on recapturing the dominance which the U.S. had in the world before its defeat in Vietnam. And since the United States does not, in fact, have the economic and military capacity to achieve this, we live in very dangerous times indeed. That sets the background for this talk.

In the past few months we've seen what comrade Norden has called "a flurry of scared liberalism," mainly centered on El Salvador. There are warnings in the liberal press and by liberal spokesmen that Reagan's policies will lead us into "another Vietnam." The reformist organizers of the El Salvador protests either proclaim the need for or proclaim the beginning of another Vietnam antiwar movement. Today the old Vietnam antiwar movement is held up as the great success story of rad-lib activism in American politics. It is held up as a model to be emulated.

I suppose the official rad-lib version goes something like this (with a little polemical exaggeration, as we say in the trade): Somehow by accident the U.S. government stumbled into this terrible, senseless war in Southeast Asia. But never fear, pretty soon all men of good will—first, wise college professors and their idealistic students, and also Sunday school teachers and their even more idealistic students, and housewives—all got together in this inspiring movement. They sent letters to their congressmen and held peaceful vigils. And soon they won over the more intelligent, more humane members of the ruling establishment; the Bobby Kennedys and Eugene McCarthys saw the light. And this wonderful movement grew and more people were won over. In the end even Nixon and Kissinger saw the light and they pulled the U.S. out of Vietnam. And that was the end of the war.

Well, it didn't happen that way. U.S. imperialism was driven out of Vietnam, defeated on the battlefield by the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese. In January 1968 there occurred what was known as

the Tet Offensive. A few months later Eugene McCarthy announced that he would run against Lyndon Johnson as an "antiwar candidate." Then Bobby Kennedy announced that he too would run against Johnson as an "antiwar candidate." Johnson announced he would not seek re-election and would begin negotiations with the North Vietnamese. This piece of timing was, as we say, no accident.

In the Tet Offensive the North Vietnamese army captured the major northern city of Hué. The Viet Cong captured large sections of Saigon. A Viet Cong suicide commando group actually captured for a time the U.S.

And the antiwar movement basically was a support group for the liberal wing of the American ruling class.

We in the Spartacist League (SL) did not for this reason turn our backs on the antiwar movement, which involved the radicalization of hundreds of thousands, mainly of student youth. Quite the contrary, we sought to transform the antiwar movement into an anti-capitalist movement. We said it was not possible to strike a decisive blow against U.S. imperialism from within without mobilizing the power of the working class, without going after the central contradiction in

Telegram to Ho Chi Minh

Sunday, 7 February 1965

President Ho Chi Minh,
Democratic Republic of Vietnam
Hanoi, North Vietnam

Spartacist in fullest solidarity with defense of your country against attack by United States imperialism. Heroic struggle of Vietnamese working people furthers the American revolution.

Spartacist Editorial Board

embassy in Saigon. And American casualties went soaring. Between 1961 and 1967 U.S. soldiers killed in Vietnam totaled about 16,000. In 1968 alone 15,000 American soldiers were killed, mainly in the first half of the year. It was these numbers, not the numbers on the big peace crawls, which decided U.S. ruling-class policy toward the war.

Initially the Johnson administration claimed that the Tet Offensive was a great defeat for the enemy. To this Bobby Kennedy replied that a few more victories like this and we're done for:

"Our enemy, savagely striking at will across all of South Vietnam, has finally shattered the official illusion with which we have concealed our true circumstances even from ourselves...."

"First, that a total military victory is not within sight or around the corner; that, in fact, it is probably beyond our grasp...."

So Kennedy concluded that "a political compromise is not just the best path to peace, but the only path" (*New York Times*, 9 February 1968). It took another five years of a losing war before the American ruling class in general accepted that line.

The "doves" like Kennedy and McCarthy were that wing of the American ruling class which believed that U.S. imperialism would be stronger overall if it cut its losses, and I emphasize the term losses, in Vietnam.

this society. We raised the slogan: "Victory for the Vietnamese Revolution! All Indochina Must Go Communist!" We agitated for labor strikes against the war. We demanded: "Bourgeoisie Out of the Antiwar Movement! Break with the Imperialist Doves! For a Workers Party!"

However, the war did not end that way. It did not end with the U.S. forced out of Vietnam by an upsurge of class struggle at home. Rather in early 1973 Nixon/Kissinger negotiated a political compromise, the best they could get given their weakness on the battlefield. At that point the Vietnam antiwar movement simply collapsed, although the war itself went on for another two years.

From the "Vietnam Syndrome" to Cold War II

Comrade Marx used to say that our business was not just to understand the world but to change it. So I don't want to focus this talk primarily on the objective factors, military and economic, which caused U.S. imperialism to withdraw from Vietnam after ten years of war. Rather I want to focus on the subjective factors which crippled the antiwar movement. Why was the Vietnam radicalization so superficial and so transient? Basically I want to address

From Protes What Spa Fough in the V Antiwar IV

the negative lessons of the antiwar movement, so that the next time around, which is this time around, we will change things for the better.

Now, it's important for those of you who didn't live through it to get some sense of the political climate of the early '70s because it was very, very different from what we face today. At no point since the beginning of the Cold War in the mid-1940s has there been a greater rejection of and opposition to anti-communist militarism than in the last years of the Vietnam War. All of the anti-communist sentiment and fervor which had sustained the Cold War for 20 years was slowly drained away in the swamps of Vietnam. By 1970 probably an absolute majority of the American people wanted to pull out of Vietnam no matter what, even if this meant a Communist victory. Antiwar activism had begun to extend beyond its original campus base. If Nixon had re-escalated the war sharply on the ground or had the war dragged on another couple of years, there probably would have been labor strikes against the war. We were just at the edge of that.

In Vietnam itself the morale of the army simply collapsed. The soldiers turned into a bunch of spaced-out potheads who would just as soon or even sooner frag their officers than fight the Viet Cong. That's one of the reasons the draft was abolished right after the U.S. pulled out.

So the Nixon/Kissinger so-called détente policies were quite popular because people believed that better



Saigon, April 1975: Victorious Viet Cong tank flight from U.S. embassy.

st to Power artacists t for Vietnam Movement



relations with Russia, improved relations with China would guarantee that there would be no more Vietnams. When Brezhnev visited the U.S. in 1973 a few months after the withdrawal from Vietnam and said that the 25 years of Cold War were giving way to a new era of cooperation between the two countries, he was telling the American people what they wanted to hear. Not because they suddenly loved Russia, but because they understood that an aggressive anti-Soviet foreign policy led to war and they were sick to death of war.

But things changed. With the fall of Saigon in 1975 one sees a rising line of anti-Soviet bellicosity on the part of the American government. After the Angola war of 1975-76 Washington dropped the term "détente" from its official diplomatic vocabulary. Carter came into office intent on overcoming the "Vietnam syndrome" and his "human rights" campaign was a very deliberate and largely successful effort to re-establish the moral authority of U.S. imperialism, that is, to re-create the image of the "free world vs. Communist totalitarianism." Then we have the election by a substantial majority of a new president who is an unrepentant Vietnam hawk and wants to wipe out the "humiliation" of Vietnam by waving the red, white and blue over mountains of corpses in Central America. And he is undertaking an arms buildup far greater than the military buildup in the Vietnam War.

A key question we must address is why was the "Vietnam syndrome" in

Vietnam no matter what, tens of thousands supported a victory of the Communists over the U.S. forces. And that was something new. Writing about the climate of opinion when he entered the White House in 1969, Henry Kissinger had this to say:

"The hitherto almost unanimous conviction that the Cold War had been caused by Soviet intransigence was challenged by a vocal and at times violent minority which began to insist that it was American bellicosity, American militarism and American economic imperialism that were the root causes of international tension."

—White House Years (1979)

Well, where are all these people now that we need them? Where are all the anti-imperialists of yesteryear? They're not dead. They were very young people at the time. Yet they are nowhere to be seen today. At the May 3 PAM [People's Antiwar Mobilization] rally, which was promoted as the beginning of a new antiwar movement, not a single speaker denounced U.S. economic imperialism as the root cause of violence and the threat of war. Not a single speaker defended the Soviet Union in any way, shape or form. Quite the contrary, whenever we show up at one of these El Salvador demonstrations with the slogan, "Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in El Salvador," we get red-baited, we get Reagan-baited, they call the cops on us, they go absolutely ape.

One of the ways of looking at the present Cold War situation is that it has three hot fronts—El Salvador, Afghanistan and Poland. On El Salvador the

antiwar radicals of the '60s deny that the question of the Soviet Union is at stake. And in Afghanistan and Poland—the two situations are very different—they find themselves on the imperialist side of the barricades. One question it is important to address is why the tens of thousands of young radicals who supported Vietnamese Communism against their own imperialist state have today found their way back into the liberal wing of the U.S. imperialist camp.

Origins and Nature of the War

However, before we can discuss the nature of the antiwar movement here, we have to discuss the nature of the war there. The Vietnam War, actually the second Vietnam war, grew directly out of the defeat of French colonialism by the Stalinist Viet Minh. In World War II the French were driven out of Vietnam by the Japanese, who occupied the country. Later the Japanese were defeated by the Americans and pulled out of Vietnam in 1945, leaving a power vacuum. The Stalinists led by Ho Chi

ment. So began an eight-year war which ended with the defeat of the French in the historic battle of Dien Bien Phu.

As French imperialism became progressively weaker, U.S. imperialism moved in even before the war ended. In the last years of the war the U.S. financed about a third of French military expenditure in Indochina. More ominously, during the battle of Dien Bien Phu, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of



Ta Thu Thau, Vietnamese Trotskyist leader murdered by Ho Chi Minh's Stalinists in 1946. At left, Trotskyist press of the 1930s.



Minh, who were the largest but by no means the only force in the country, sought to fill the power vacuum, declaring themselves the government. Their purpose, however, was not to overthrow capitalism or even to liberate the country from French imperialism. Rather they sought to work out a neo-colonial deal with the French, who were preparing to re-invade.

Vietnam was one of the few countries on earth where the Trotskyists actually had a mass base. In the revolutionary situation of 1945 the Trotskyists, in bloc with certain nationalists, led a workers' insurrection with the purpose of preparing the masses to resist the reconquest of the country by the French. This insurrection was suppressed by the Stalinists along with whatever British and French troops were on the spot. Following this, the historic leadership of Vietnamese Trotskyism was largely murdered.

On that basis Ho Chi Minh worked out an agreement by which the French army was allowed to return. Needless to say, once the French army came back in force, it turned on the Stalinist govern-

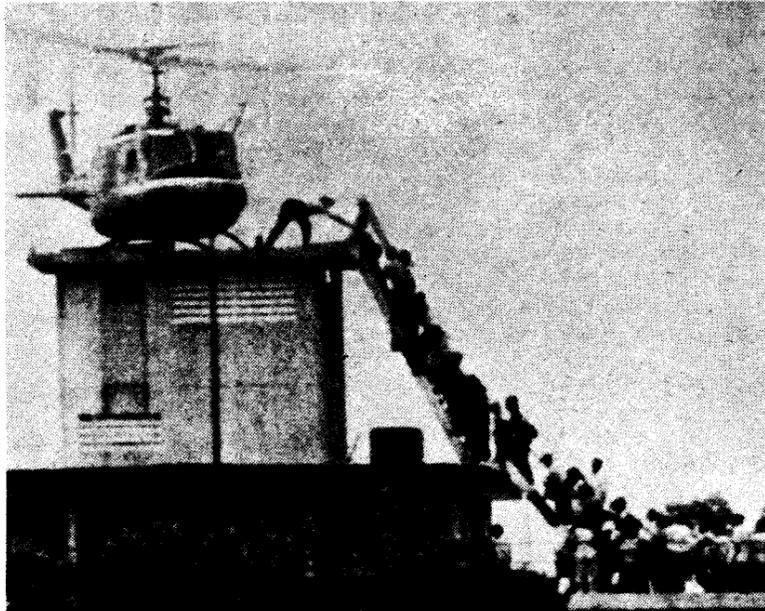
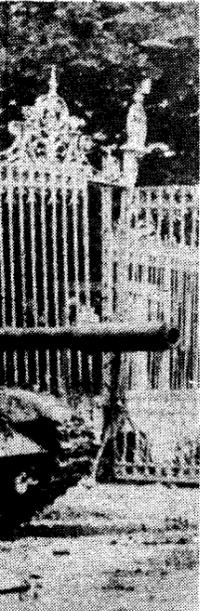
Staff seriously proposed, and then Vice President Richard Nixon agreed with the proposal, to use nuclear weapons against the besieging Viet Minh forces. However, Eisenhower thought that such a drastic action might lead to war with China and/or the Soviet Union and that risk wasn't worth taking. So Western imperialism felt it had to reach a compromise with the Vietnamese Stalinists.

That compromise was achieved at the 1954 Geneva conference. When the Viet Minh went into the Geneva conference, they controlled almost all of northern Vietnam and most of southern Vietnam and their allied forces controlled Laos and Cambodia. When they left the conference, they controlled only North Vietnam, which quickly became a deformed workers state. The imperialists controlled South Vietnam (the country was partitioned), Laos and Cambodia.

One of the main reasons the Vietnamese masses lost at the negotiating table what they had won on the

continued on page 8

Vietnam News Agency



nk rolls into presidential palace.... Panic-stricken CIA flunkies scramble for last

Vietnam...

(continued from page 7)

battlefield was the pressure of their great-power allies, Russia and China. The motives of the Kremlin and Peking were somewhat different, which had a significant portent for the future. The Soviet bureaucrats were not especially concerned with what happened in Indochina as such. Rather they wanted good relations with Western imperialism on a global scale and were willing to sacrifice their Vietnamese comrades to that end. The Chinese Stalinists, on the other hand, tended to regard Southeast Asia as their own sphere of influence. They did not want a strong Vietnam, even, or perhaps especially, a strong Communist Vietnam. This made them even more conciliatory toward the imperialists. At one point when Chou En-lai proposed that the southern border of North Vietnam be moved north a few hundred kilometers, the head of the Viet Minh delegation, Pham Van Dong, was so enraged that he stalked out of the room.

After 1954 what happened in American-dominated South Vietnam? As a result of the present Polish crisis, we've been having to argue among self-styled Marxists that the Roman Catholic church is not on the side of the angels—that it is a reactionary institution and formidable ally of U.S. imperialism. And that truth is nowhere more evident than in Vietnam. Because Vietnam was long a French colony, a section of the native ruling class, the most pro-imperialist section, converted to Catholicism while the religion of the masses remained Buddhism. So when the U.S. wanted a reliable anti-Communist dictator, it chose the personal protégé of New York's Cardinal Spellman, Ngo Dinh Diem, whose brother was archbishop of Saigon. One of the main forces driving the U.S. under John F. Kennedy into the Vietnam War was the American Catholic hierarchy, which literally had its man in Saigon's presidential palace. (A few years later when Diem became too much of an embarrassment, the CIA had him assassinated. But that was under Lyndon Johnson, who was a Southern fundamentalist Protestant. So score one for the Reformation.)

The Diem regime immediately began a mass terror campaign against the thousands of old Viet Minh cadre in the South who had liquidated their armed forces and laid down their arms. During the long war against the French the peasants had seized much of the land from the old landlord class. The counterrevolutionary Diem regime attempted to seize back this land, giving it to its own officials, many of them former landlords. Fortunately for us, there was significant resistance to Diem's reactionary regime and the beginning of a peasant-based insurrec-

tion led largely by old Viet Minh cadre. The Hanoi Stalinist regime did not encourage, in fact discouraged, this insurgency. But the Diem regime was so universally unpopular, so weak that the insurgency grew and the Hanoi bureaucrats figured that if they didn't dominate, it would grow out of control altogether. So in 1960 the Vietnamese Stalinists set up the National Liberation Front (NLF) in the South.

As the insurrection grew and since the local state apparatus was too weak to crush it, the U.S. armed forces were gradually built up, reaching 50,000 in early 1965. In early 1965 the U.S. began the terror bombing of North Vietnam, not, as was claimed at the time, to force the North Vietnamese army to withdraw from the South. In 1965 the North Vietnamese army wasn't present in the South in any significant numbers. The U.S. bombing was to force the North Vietnamese leaders to use their *political*



My Lai massacre, 1968—Reagan calls imperialist butchery in Vietnam "a noble cause."

influence to liquidate the insurgency in the South. But at that point the insurgency had reached such a level that the Hanoi Stalinists probably couldn't have called it off, even if they had wanted to. So the war went on for the next ten years.

It's important to get a sense of the scale of American atrocities in Vietnam, important among other reasons for understanding the temper of the antiwar movement here. Most of you have probably seen the movie about El Salvador, *Revolution or Death*. Maybe you found it harrowing. *Revolution or Death* is a light comedy compared to any TV news report during the Vietnam War. Every day for eight years you would turn on your TV set and see massive terror bombing; U.S. soldiers setting fire to defenseless villages; thousands of refugees, many burned by napalm, being driven into concentration camps. The U.S. killed two million out of 40 million Vietnamese and most of these people were not killed in battle. These were defenseless people killed by the terror bombing North and South, many died of drowning when the dykes were bombed, many died of disease and starvation. What the U.S. did in Vietnam was quite comparable to the Nazi war atrocities. You'd better understand that.

There were two important misconceptions about the nature of the Vietnam War in the U.S. antiwar movement. The war was seen as a national liberation struggle waged by South Vietnamese guerrillas. It was never essentially a national liberation struggle and while it began as a guerrilla insurgency in the South, it did not end that way. The Vietnam War was not a case where the population rose up against a foreign colonial army in order to achieve an independent state. It was fundamentally dissimilar to the Algerian or Angolan wars of independence or the present conflict in Namibia. South Vietnam was an independent state. What happened was a peasant-based

insurrection against a weak neo-colonial bourgeois regime in which the imperialist army came in to suppress that social revolution. Certainly no one will argue that when the U.S. forces pulled out in 1973, South Vietnam thereby attained national liberation. In one sense one can say that national liberation was achieved two years later when the North Vietnamese army smashed the U.S. puppet regime, leading to a deformed workers state.

However, the false notion that the Vietnam War was a struggle for national self-determination played an extremely important role in the U.S. antiwar movement. It enabled many left liberals to demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops or even to support the Viet Cong without facing the question of social revolution, of communism versus capitalism. In this way the mainstream antiwar movement never broke from the ideological framework of liberalism, but

Ronald Haeberte

workers and peasants government. Well, I suppose the implicit program of the early antiwar movement was a doctoral candidates' and street gangs' government.

In 1966 Isaac Deutscher gave a speaking tour in the U.S. And he made some astute comments on the left from his own grounding in the East European proletarian socialist movement. Now, Deutscher was not hostile to the New Left. Quite the contrary, he welcomed the leftward motion of the young intelligentsia in the imperialist heartland. In the most pedagogical way he tried to nudge them toward proletarian socialism. But at times the intellectual arrogance and elitism was too much even for Deutscher and he lashed out. Something he said to the 1966 Socialist Scholars Conference in New York will give you a sense of the political ethos of the antiwar movement at the time:

"Do you really take such a contemptuous view of your working classes that you think that you alone are so sensitive or so noble as to be dissatisfied with this degrading society and that they cannot find it in themselves to be dissatisfied? Do you really believe they are so much more prone, and by nature conditioned, to be corrupted by the meretricious advantages of this war-flourishing capitalism than you are?"

—"On Socialist Man" in
Marxism in Our Time (1971)

Well, most of his audience did in fact believe just that.

On another occasion Deutscher looked at his audience and said something like this: "You're all nice boys and girls and I know you mean well, but I would trade all of your teach-ins, all of your sit-ins and all of your demonstrations for just one dock strike against the war."

The question was not simply that strikes are a more effective tactic than demonstrations. It was *how* the antiwar movement polarized American society. Because the movement saw itself and was generally seen as a movement of petty-bourgeois moralism, many people who did not support the war still despised the peaceniks. Right-wing demagogues like George Wallace were able to take advantage of this resentment. The 1968 Wallace presidential campaign was not simply based on pure racism, pure national chauvinism—centrally, but not entirely. Wallace was able to tap into the resentment of many older white workers against these pampered, privileged, snotty peaceniks, who didn't have to fight anyway since they had 2-S student deferments, who had never done a day's work in their lives and who were utterly contemptuous of everything ordinary working people believed was important.

Of course, a few years later after the impact of the French May '68 events many of these same student elitists, like Carl Davidson, became the most extreme workerists, pandering to the most backward prejudices. Many of the same people who in the mid-'60s condemned the white working class as hopelessly racist in the early '70s actually joined with racist vigilantes in opposing school integration in Boston, Louisville and elsewhere. As comrade Lenin said, the only thing stable about petty-bourgeois radicalism is that it is unstable.

The Draft: You Will Go!

Petty-bourgeois moralism was not only an ideological posture but affected

rather condemned the U.S. government for violating its own professed democratic principles.

Closely related to this was a strong tendency in the antiwar movement to deny or at any rate to underplay the military role of the North Vietnamese army. After the 1968 Tet Offensive the brunt of the fighting was borne by the North Vietnamese regulars. It was the North Vietnamese army which made the final offensive against the Saigon regime in 1975, the Viet Cong irregulars playing a distinctly subordinate role. But even in the last years of the war there was a marked tendency among U.S. antiwar activists to speak of the NLF or Viet Cong. It was one thing to support something called a National Liberation Front; it was quite something else to support a Communist state against one's "own" government.

The Antiwar Movement and Petty-Bourgeois Elitism

Now we come to the American antiwar movement. It is fairly well known that the antiwar movement began and to a large extent remained a student-based movement. What is perhaps not so well known today is that the antiwar radicalization, especially in its early stages, was associated with intellectual arrogance, snobbism and moralism. It's not merely that the antiwar radical of the mid-'60s ignored the working class; they were openly contemptuous and even hostile toward it. Their basic ideological posture was that the white American working class was hopelessly racist, hopelessly chauvinist, hopelessly corrupted by the fruits of imperialist plunder, in short, hopeless. There was a rejection of traditional (Old Left) proletarian socialism and the presumption that the new revolutionary vanguard would be student youth, who were supposedly above the mundane interests of the consumer society, and black lumpen youth, who were supposedly below it. You've all heard of a

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the activities of the antiwar movement. One of the ways it did this is particularly relevant today when the draft is once more on the agenda. One of the main activities of the antiwar movement in its early stages was organized draft-dodging, dignified by the term "draft resistance." Behind this was something very characteristic of the New Left, that is, a lightminded attitude toward the bourgeois state. The bourgeoisie is not going to let its armed forces be dodged away from it. If a majority of people refuse to be drafted, this is called a revolutionary situation. In the absence of such a situation someone who "resists" the draft goes to prison, he becomes a fugitive on the run, he ceases to be a functioning member of society.

So draft "resistance" was by its very nature restricted to a small number of footloose petty-bourgeois youth. It was not a real option for working-class youth, even black ghetto youth, who were overwhelmingly hostile to the war. What working-class youth is going to rip up his life and spend the rest of his days in Canada? No offense meant to the Toronto comrades, but this is not an appealing prospect. What working-class youth was going to hide out in some pad in Haight Ashbury, even assuming he could find it?

Secondly, draft "resistance" had the effect of ideologically purifying the army. In the first years of the war the draft boards screened radicals out of the army, while most radicals screened themselves out. Well, both couldn't have been right.

One of our early fights for a working-class orientation in the antiwar movement was our fight against draft-dodging. In 1967 we presented a document to the SDS national convention entitled "You Will Go!" (reproduced in *Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968). At that time it was a damned unpopular position to take. We said, if drafted, you will go into the army, you will obey legal orders while exercising your constitutional right to express your views on the war to your fellow soldiers. We also warned that the army is not a campus and that the kind of shenanigans you can get away with at Columbia or Harvard will land you in the stockade *muy pronto* in Fort Bragg.

Around 1969 the situation as regards the army had changed somewhat. The army reversed its policy and began drafting known radicals. There were simply too many of them. At the same time many soldiers became radicalized as a result of their experience in Vietnam. So there was a certain amount of antiwar agitation within the army itself.

In this period some of our comrades and contacts were drafted and they put out an antiwar paper called *G.I. Voice*. The editor had a unique military career in which he never left the island of Manhattan. When I gave this educational in Chicago, he said, "Well, Manhattan was never invaded, was it?"

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Toronto, Ontario
Phone: (416) 593-4138

Iran...

(continued from page 2)

political bloc with the Mujahedin; and a wing which continues to follow the heroic but primitive guerrillaism of Ashraf Dehghani. Peykar has a position on the Iran-Iraq war which approximates Leninist revolutionary defeatism, but their anti-Sovietism is equaled in Iran only by the IRP. But no matter how eclectic or confused, all these groups share the two-stage methodology.

At the same time, the Iranian left is agnostic or rejects the Leninist vanguard party, substituting instead capitulation to the backward consciousness of the Iranian masses. In 1979 Khomeini was overwhelmingly popular—if only because the shah was so widely detested—and this is still used to justify the Iranian left's criminal prostration before the ayatollah. Today, of course, his reactionary regime is the recognized oppressor of the working class, the peasantry and the national minorities. In contrast to the behavior of the Iranian left, a revolutionary vanguard party has the responsibility to *lead*—to tell the truth no matter how unpopular—rather than tail the inevitable shifts in the mood of the masses. Like the Bolsheviks, who were attacked by workers who supported the tsar's war in 1914, revolutionaries must be able to swim against the stream. Precisely because the Bolsheviks swam against the stream in 1914, three years later they were able to lead the war-weary masses in the greatest revolution in modern history.

Counterposed to the two-stage revolution is the perspective of the proletariat, led by its class-conscious vanguard, mobilizing the oppressed toiling masses

We called for a servicemen's union based on an antiwar and anti-militarist program. We opposed low-level economist organizing around gripe issues, while at the same time warning against adventurism in what was the core of U.S. imperialist state power, even if it was becoming demoralized.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Detroit...

(continued from page 12)

defend Detroit would be felt from here to Washington. And you can bet there won't be any more Klansmen burning crosses in our backyards.

The defense of Detroit can't stop at the city limits. Sitdowns against layoffs and strikes against pay cuts could spark a nationwide union offensive to dump the sellout Frasers and get the labor movement off its knees.

Saving Detroit?

From the Ren Cen come proclamations of a "New Detroit." The same bankers, auto barons and their Democratic errand boys who have looted this city now cynically offer plans to "save" it. Mayor Young talks about a Detroit "renaissance" with the same purpose that Ronald Reagan talks about the "reindustrialization" of America. Who believes it? When these guys start producing "survival plans," watch out.

The plain truth is that Detroit can't be saved in capitalist America. It's capitalism that is killing us. This city and its working residents are the direct victims of the vampire capitalists who have bled Detroit for generations. This really is the motor city, and the auto bosses drove the industrial base to hell. The Fords' boom-bust cycle has finally busted our city.

And what is the capitalists' "solution" to economic agony and social decay? A fancy new building amid dilapidated housing. More racist, sadistic cops on the streets while they try to strip the working people of our right to armed self-defense. And a black mayor who is Henry Ford's yes-man. Young tells

Free Anti-Khomeini Protesters!

On August 5, 67 Iranians, mainly students, were arrested in an early morning police raid at a home in Englewood, New Jersey. Seized without a search or arrest warrant, they refused to give authorities their names and addresses, fearing reprisals against their families in Iran. The group was taken by the INS to a Federal Detention Center in Otisville, New York where they were initially held on \$20,000 bond each. The Iranians had been among 200 Mujahedin supporters waging a

hunger strike to protest Khomeini's mass executions in Iran. The six-day hunger strike culminated in a march on the United Nations the day before the raid. As of August 19, all 67 were still imprisoned and had resumed their hunger strike in protest (*New York Times*, 20 August). Those who cannot (or refuse to) present proof of legal status face deportation hearings, and if deported to Iran, they face death before the mullahs' firing squads. No Deportations! Free Jailed Iranian Protesters!

to shatter the chains of imperialist domination and feudal backwardness as it struggles for its own state power—the perspective of Trotsky's permanent revolution. In Iran Trotskyism has been hideously besmirched by the supporters of the United Secretariat, especially the followers of the American Socialist Workers Party, the HKE. Hailing the veil and lauding the "Islamification" of the universities, these reformists who campaigned for "intellectual freedom" under the shah have proved no less servile to Khomeini than the Stalinists. Even today, the HKE calls upon their "imam" to stop the executions only in order not to hinder the chauvinist war with Iraq!

That the iSt could see the threat inherent in Khomeini while the Iranian left blindly tailed the mullahs was no lucky guess. The Trotskyist program of permanent revolution allowed us to correctly analyze the unfolding reality in

Iran and to offer a positive alternative to imperialist domination and Islamic reaction. As one of several Iranian comrades who recently joined our tendency wrote:

"The bitter truth is that Khomeini is doing what he promised to do. When, in line with the anti-Marxist theory of two-stage revolution, the left supported Islamic reaction, the Spartacist tendency was saying that there isn't any anti-imperialist bourgeoisie and so there is not an anti-imperialist bourgeois-democratic revolution. In the century of imperialism, the historic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, as well as national emancipation, cannot be carried out except through a proletarian socialist revolution."

—*Workers Vanguard* No. 287,
14 August

Any serious leftist who doesn't want to condemn the Iranian proletariat to yet another defeat must turn to the politics and program of Trotskyism embodied in the iSt. ■

workers to "choose": layoffs, pay cuts, or tax hikes. Solidarity House, anxious to "save" Detroit for the bosses, has its own "solution": economic warfare against the auto workers of Japan, hoping the Japanese can be pressured into developing a product as inefficient and expensive as an Imperial. And if economic warfare doesn't work, there are other kinds.

Of course the reformists who call themselves socialists have their "solution": guns vs. butter rhetoric and "tax the rich" schemes. Always the same plea for the capitalist state to reform itself and "shift its priorities." "People Before Profits," they say. But you don't have to be a socialist to know that the capitalists will never put anything before their profits. You just have to live in Detroit.

The fight to defend Detroit is part of the struggle for socialist revolution. This is not only the historical imperative; in Detroit it is obviously also the only solution that makes sense.

As the U.S. capitalists take America toward depression and world war, they try to set black and white workers at each other's throats. Racism and race war are their perspectives for Detroit's working people. This city, at the center

of the black proletariat, can be the motor of revolutionary struggle in America or its counterrevolutionary model of racist destruction. Whether Detroit's working people fight each other or fight together against their common enemy—the racist, imperialist ruling class—depends on the struggle to forge a revolutionary leadership in Detroit and throughout the world.

Here in Detroit we see the crisis of the entire capitalist system most starkly revealed, most advanced in decay, most anarchic in irrationality, most painful in social consequences. Detroit's skilled proletariat would be the most valuable resource of a rational society—the class that can build a socialist America.

We know well that socialist revolution is not just around the corner. But neither is it some election pipe dream. It is the culmination of a *struggle for power*—working-class power—in Detroit and elsewhere. It is to that struggle, and to the construction of a mass workers party to lead it, that the Spartacist League is dedicated.

From this election platform we raise our revolutionary program: For a socialist fight to defend labor/black Detroit! ■

**Spartacus Youth League
Class Series**

BOSTON

"The Fight for Socialism"
Brandeis: alternate Wednesdays,
Beginning September 23
Harvard: alternate Wednesdays,
Beginning September 30
For more information: (617) 492-3928

DETROIT

"Marxism and the Fight
for Proletarian Revolution"
Alternate Saturdays,
Beginning September 26
For more information: (313) 868-9095

LOS ANGELES

"Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today"
Los Angeles City College
For more information: (213) 662-1564

**Spartacus Youth League
El Salvador Weeks**

Univ. of California/Berkeley—October 2-9
S.F. State Univ.—September 21-25

Film showings:

**"Revolution
or Death"**

Tuesday, September 22, 12-2 pm
Conf. Rm. A-E, Student Union
San Francisco State University
Thursday, October 1, 7:30 pm
105 Oakes
University of California/
Santa Cruz
Friday, October 2, 8:00 pm
2000 LSB (Life Science Building)
University of California/Berkeley
For info. on other events: (415) 835-1535

Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

victims of the right-wing onslaught. Forty-four percent of unionized voters pulled the lever for Reagan. And if one subtracts black workers, who knew the preferred candidate of the KKK would be pure poison, about half the AFL-CIO membership went for the Republican right-winger last November. How come so many workers abandoned their traditional support to the Democratic Party?

In Carter's last year the inflation rate reached Latin American banana-republic levels, slashing real take-home pay by 10 percent. One of the main reasons workers couldn't keep up with the inflation was that the union bureaucrats, to help out their Democratic friends in office, clamped wage controls on their members. And while living standards were being decimated by inflation, the bottom dropped out of the economy last spring, throwing millions out of work. Under Carter the old New Deal liberalism became totally bankrupt. The liberals themselves had nothing to offer and nothing to promise working people except more of the same. And the same was intolerable.

Small wonder then that many workers viewed the Republican opposition as the lesser evil. Reagan denounced Carter for trying to cure inflation through unemployment and said he would not do this. Having learned something from the Goldwater debacle in 1964, he solemnly pledged not to touch Social Security entitlement benefits, which working people have paid for all their lives. Not that many workers really believed Reagan's campaign promises to cut inflation to the bone while achieving full employment,

but after Carter they were willing to give the Republican right its licks. Many white workers figured Reagan would get tough with black welfare mothers, take food stamps away from hippie-student types, but would not do anything particularly bad to them. Like the air controllers, they were in for an awful shock.

Certainly Reagan has lived up to his advance billing as a man whose program could have been written by the wizards of the Ku Klux Klan. Voting rights in the South, banning job discrimination for government contractors, all the minimal and even token gains of the civil rights movement are now being dismantled or are under attack. This is an administration which is literally and quite openly taking milk from the mouths of black ghetto youth to pay General Dynamics for Trident submarines. But Reagan cannot buy nuclear first-strike capability against the Soviet Union just by starving poor black women and their children. He could throw everyone in the country off welfare and scarcely save enough money to build half a dozen B-1 bombers.

Despite the savage cuts in social programs, Reagan's runaway military budget spells inflation. This much distresses the bankers of Wall Street, who are demanding the president stop paying for his neutron bombs and cruise missiles by running the printing presses. The influential capitalist organ *Business Week* (31 August) states bluntly: "The \$37 billion cuts in the fiscal 1982 budget—painful though they were—are simply not enough to eliminate the inflationary impact of federal spending." And so it insists on "the absolute necessity of more major cuts in federal spending." But where are these more major cuts to come from? Reagan has

Drop Charges Against Draft "Resisters"!

The Justice Department announced July 20 that it is proceeding with the "investigation and prosecution" of 134 young men who have not registered for the draft. The imperialist army needs its cannon fodder and now Reagan plans to use the cops and courts to whip the estimated 360,000 who haven't registered into line. To these outrageous prosecutions the Spartacist Youth League (SYL) answers, "Drop all charges! Not a penny or a man for the imperialist armed forces!"

Unable to provide jobs and education to working-class and minority youth, the U.S. rulers offer instead "today's action Army"—a "career" as hired guns, napalmers and torturers for imperialism's world-wide Murder Inc. The tiger cages, strategic hamlets, "Phoenix" programs and the blood of a million Vietnamese exposed for all time the cynical lie of the imperialists to stand for "democracy." If the masses of American youth are not today consciously anti-imperialist, neither are they willing to spill blood for El Salvador's 14 Families.

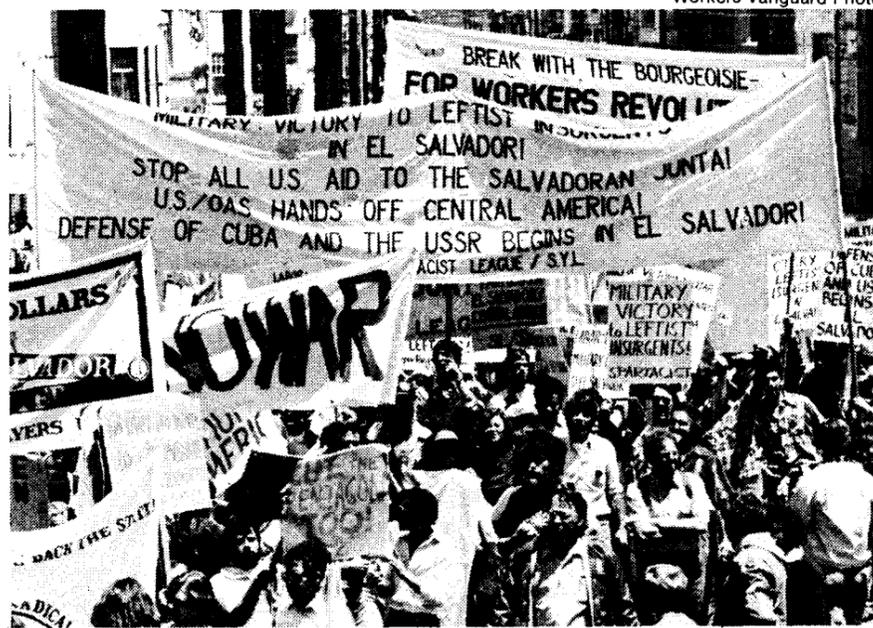
While defending those who refuse to register for the draft from prosecution by the imperialist state, the SYL insists that the "strategy" of individual draft resistance is futile. The capitalist army cannot be boycotted out of existence. If drafted, SYL members will go into the army as we did in Vietnam—to exercise our constitutional right to express our antiwar views to our fellow soldiers.

As we wrote when Jimmy Carter introduced draft registration last year, "Our opposition to the draft is not based on pacifism—but on our commitment to working-class internationalism and the defeat of U.S. imperialism" (*Young Spartacus* No.

79, February 1980). Thus we support compulsory military service in the Soviet degenerated workers state, whose nationalized property and planned economy are an historic gain for the world's workers. We answer the social democrats' concern for a "strong national defense" of the U.S. with the call for unconditional military defense of the USSR.

The SYL takes a stand against all forms of race, class and sex privilege, opposing student deferments and demanding non-exclusion of women from the draft. Failure to do so, as in the case of the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance, reflects adaptation to the petty-bourgeois anti-draft milieu. Unlike the liberals and reformists, the SYL also opposes the existence of the so-called volunteer army which draws its recruits largely from the ranks of impoverished black youth desperate for a job.

Candidate Reagan claimed to oppose the Carter-initiated draft registration as "unnecessary" and his "Defense" Secretary recently stated Reagan's belief that "...resuming the draft to meet manpower problems would lead to public unrest..." (*New York Times*, 21 July). However, the needs of imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive come first—so Reagan will push for MX missiles and men. Most of the left has capitulated to the imperialist Cold War—from "political solutions" in El Salvador to "Soviet troops out of Afghanistan." In contrast the SL/SYL has intervened in anti-draft protests and El Salvador demonstrations with a program to channel the "unrest" that Reagan fears into proletarian revolution to do away with the imperialist war machine once and for all.



Spirited SL/SYL contingent at July 19 Bay Area El Salvador demo. Militant revolutionary politics won new recruits to the SYL.

already indicated he intends to take the ax to Social Security benefits, the only component of social expenditure anywhere near large enough to offset the arms buildup. The anti-Soviet war drive means dismantling the minimal economic security programs the American working class won through the mass struggles of the 1930s.

For example, one little-publicized provision of the new budget effectively does away with extended unemployment insurance benefits after 26 weeks. One laid-off Michigan machinist admits, "I voted for Reagan because I believed he'd be the best one to get me out of this unemployment line." Then he adds in the spirit of gallows humor, "Looks like he's going to do it, too" (*New York Times*, 25 August). As workers like this, driven by economic desperation, turn hard against Reaganism, the union bureaucrats and their reformist hangers-on will once again try to sell the Teddy Kennedys and the Fritz Mondales as "friends of labor" or at any rate as lesser evils.

For Workers Revolution, Not Popular Frontism

The reformists who long to collaborate with bourgeois liberalism against Reagan whetted their popular-frontist appetites earlier this year in the protests around El Salvador. Kowtowing to such Democratic Party luminaries as Bella Abzug, John Conyers and Paul O'Dwyer, the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM), a vehicle of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism and the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP), went to great lengths to oppose the elementary demand for military support to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador. In order to appeal to the more "enlightened" wing of U.S. imperialism, PAM and the CP begged Washington to withdraw its support to the bloody Salvadoran junta and bemoaned the prospect of "another Vietnam." Unable to tolerate the call for "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents" raised by the Spartacist-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingents, PAM and the CP resorted to violence against us, notably in Washington, D.C. on May 3 and Chicago on May 30, when they used the notorious Chicago cops against the Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

Particularly galling to these camp followers of U.S. "liberal" imperialism was our slogan, "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador." It is obvious that Reagan's policies from El Salvador to South Africa to the Social Security cutbacks to the air controllers strike are integrally linked to the global strategy for a war to destroy the Soviet bureaucratically-ruled workers state. The reformists like the Marcyites and CP, however, acutely fear that opposing Washington's anti-Soviet war drive will surely send anti-communist labor bureaucrats, black establishment figures and Kennedy/Abzug Democrats scur-

rying away as fast as possible. Any talk of an "antiwar movement" which does not center on defense of the Soviet Union and unwavering opposition to all wings of U.S. imperialism is just so much liberal-pacifist hot air.

Having betrayed the Central American working masses for the sake of a bloc with the "liberal" wing of U.S. imperialism, the PAM reformists are now turning their attention to workers, blacks and other oppressed minorities at home. An "All-People's Congress" scheduled for October under PAM's auspices calls on "all the people who have participated in the thousands of past protests for social justice" to "unite around one common program." Just whose common program PAM seeks to unite all people around is no mystery. Although the bourgeois endorsements for the All-People's Congress are slim (just the Abzug/O'Dwyer/Conyers gang), the program is just as tailored to the "liberal" wing of the U.S. ruling class as in the El Salvador protests.

The PAM reformists' opposition to class struggle abroad or at home is demonstrated anew by the air controllers strike. Just as they opposed the elementary demand for military victory to the Salvadoran leftist insurgents, so they now oppose the elementary demand for solidarity strikes to shut down the airports. Instead they go along with the do-nothing policy of the labor bureaucracy. In an article on the PATCO strike in *Workers World* (21 August) Sam Marcy maintains that the key to victory is to build the AFL-CIO protest in Washington of September 19 (more than a month after the strike began!): "The first step by the AFL-CIO is to redouble its own efforts for the Sept. 19 demonstration.... This is how PATCO can win." This demonstration, called against Reagan's massive cutbacks, is intended by the labor tops as a pressure tactic on behalf of the Democratic Party opposition.

Here Marcy's reformism incidentally goes beyond merely tailing the Meanyite bureaucracy. Displaying incredible legalist cretinism, he actually calls on the American judiciary "to show their independence from the executive." Marcy lectures that, "the court can take upon itself what is its duty, to declare the federal anti-strike laws unconstitutional, because they are obviously discriminatory against workers"! Why doesn't he call on the Supreme Court to declare capitalism unconstitutional since it too is obviously discriminatory against workers?

The PAM reformists no doubt hope to get some big-time labor endorsements for the All-People's Congress. Not very likely. The present U.S. labor bureaucracy was crystallized through the anti-red purges at the beginning of the Cold War in the late 1940s. Throughout the world Meany's and Reuther's men have served as the advance guard for Washington's export of counterrevolution. In Latin America the U.S.-run labor operation is so notorious for supporting

Workers Vanguard Photo

bloody rightist juntas that it is commonly known as the "AFL-CIA." Deeply committed to imperialist anti-Sovietism, the U.S. labor bureaucracy will not even defend the basic gains of the American workers movement. The air controllers strike shows this in the most dramatic way. What is urgently needed is a class-struggle opposition in the unions to the reactionary bureaucracy, a new leadership which will fight Reagan and all the other union busters and will build a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Against all manner of reformists, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League has insisted that effective opposition to Reagan's austerity and union busting, to Moral Majority social reaction and to Washington's fulsome support to right-wing dictatorships everywhere must be grounded in defense of the Soviet Union against American imperialism. Defense of the gains of the Russian Revolution also demands a *political revolution* against the nationalistic, parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy, which is committed to "peaceful coexistence" with world capitalism. It is no accident that the Communist Party USA, one of the most Kremlin-loyal Stalinist parties in the world, has for decades served as a slavish if at times significant supporter of the "progressive" wing of the American imperialist ruling class (read Democratic Party).

Reagan reaction cannot be fought by supporting the same Democratic Party which paved the way for the victory of the right-wing fanatics. It cannot be fought by selling out the Salvadoran leftist insurgents and the striking U.S. air controllers. The blows which decaying capitalism rains down on the working masses everywhere and its inexorable drive toward World War III

can be fought only by a militant labor movement organized and led by intransigent proletarian revolutionists. We in the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League are dedicated to building a party that will lead such a movement to victory, a victory over capitalism's attacks on the working class, violent racism and its drive toward nuclear holocaust. ■

YWLL...

(continued from page 5)

exploitation and oppression. It means the extension of the gains of the October Revolution of 1917 to the workers of the world."

"Remember Bay of Pigs! Remember Vietnam! Democratic Party—We Know Which Side You're On!"

The CP/YWLL has a more sophisticated class-collaborationist program than most reformist organizations who aspire to be the brokers of that pie-in-the-sky "anti-monopoly coalition." The Stalinist "logic" is that all those who are for good things (peace, jobs, equality) can be "united" against all those who are for bad things (war, unemployment, racism). And for the CP, the most critical component of the "good" side is the "progressive," "anti-monopoly" bourgeoisie. The problem is that no "progressive" bourgeoisie exists and demanding that the struggle *against* war and racism be tied to the *party* of war and racism—the Democratic Party—necessarily means betrayal of the struggles of the working class and oppressed.

Which party presided over the escalation of U.S. troops, massive bombing,

terror in Vietnam? Who engineered the CIA invasion of Cuba in 1961? Who reinstated draft registration, who began the saber rattling over Afghanistan and who paved the way for today's anti-Soviet war drive? Answer: the Democrats! The CP/YWLL will look in vain for one "liberal" who has not embraced the most reactionary, clerical, anti-socialist elements in Poland as "freedom fighters" against Soviet "totalitarianism." The Abzugs, Kennedys, Conyers, McGovern don't join "progressive" movements—they get the movements to join them!

When the domestic reflection of Cold War II exploded in the bloody streets of Greensboro, North Carolina in the broad daylight Klan/Nazi murder of five anti-Klan trade unionists and avowed communists, the Spartacist League and SYL organized the *only* significant working-class protest. The CP marched with preachers and liberals or did nothing at all. But when the Klan threatened to march in the black proletarian center of Detroit, the Spartacist League and militant, mainly black autoworkers organized a 500-strong counterdemonstration and the Klan did not show even one hooded head in the Motor City that day. The major roadblock to the anti-Klan demonstration was none other than "progressive" mayor Coleman Young, darling of the CP, who threatened to arrest the anti-Klan protesters.

When the Nazis threatened to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday in the traditional union town of San Francisco, it was the Spartacist League along with significant official trade union support and the support of minority, Jewish, gay groups who built the 1200-strong rally to stop the Nazis. Since strikebreaking SF mayor Diane Feinstein, the Democratic

Party, the cops and the bourgeoisie as a whole opposed the anti-Nazi rally, so did the CP. It tried splitting (calling another rally days before the Nazis intended to march) and pulling away from the anti-Nazi rally what few endorsements it could. When all else failed, the CP simply boycotted it!

Want to Fight for Socialism? Join the SYL!

Whether it's defending the Soviet Union, Cuba and the other deformed workers states against imperialist attack; taking a side in a civil war between the rulers and the toilers; fighting the Klan/Nazi threat; building a real anti-imperialist youth movement whose struggle is linked with that of the world working class—the YWLL has nothing to offer. But the Spartacus Youth League fights for all these things, as part of an overall struggle to bring the working class to power in the U.S., in El Salvador and throughout the world. When Carter foamed at the mouth about Soviet "expansionism" in Afghanistan, it was left to the Spartacists to respond: "Down with the Bride Price! Down with the Veil! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" When Klan/Nazi terrorists threatened to bring Greensboro to Detroit and SF, it was the SL/SYL which organized labor/black defense to smash the fascist threat. And today over the burning issue of El Salvador, which the U.S. imperialists have chosen as today's target in their mad drive toward thermonuclear war against the Soviet Union, it is the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League who have organized hundreds of students and workers for: Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists! Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador! ■

Stars & Stripes Stalinists: YWLL Courts USSA

The red, white and blue brochure proclaimed "we will organize students and show the country that *education is truly our best defense.*" Young Americans for Freedom? No, it's the announcement for the United States Student Association (USSA) congress, held in Madison, Wisconsin in early August. Apparently not bothered by this pro-imperialist flag waving, the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), youth group of the Communist Party USA (CP) was there in force. But long having oriented to "progressive" student bureaucrats in its mostly-behind-the-scenes campus work, it was natural for the YWLL to make a bid for the USSA.

Perhaps the YWLL is trying to recreate the halcyon days of the 1930s when its predecessor, the Young Communist League (YCL) ran the American Student Union (ASU), a nationwide organization of left/liberal students. Under the YCL's popular-frontist, pro-Roosevelt leadership, the ASU eventually supported the second imperialist war, abandoning its earlier antiwar radicalism. Today, the YWLL chases after the student bureaucrats of the USSA, but if a genuine radical student movement developed in this country, the YWLL would try to derail it, just as the YCL did 40 years ago.

All the YWLL's "fight the right" anti-Reagan rhetoric is simply a cover for support to a more liberal brand of U.S. imperialism. For example, the USSA, backed by the YWLL, is pushing a student voter registration drive with the obvious goal of returning a Democrat to the White House. The main USSA resolution bemoans U.S. support to military dictatorships since when they are overthrown, "the new leaders will resent U.S. aid to a Government they view as repressive." In other words, Reagan's hardline policies are wrong

because they might drive "new leaders" away from U.S. imperialism into the Soviet orbit, as in the case of Castro's Cuba! Latino students couldn't even get a vaguely worded statement defending Cuba past the conference organizers.

As typical Stalinists, the nominally pro-Soviet YWLL showed its true colors when it made no opposition to any of the anti-Soviet pronouncements of the conference. Lining up with the U.S. State Department, the USSA passed a resolution opposing "all outside interference in Afghanistan"—and they don't mean the CIA! While the YWLL went along with this support to the CIA-backed reactionary Afghan mullahs, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) observers sold issues of our press with the headline "Hail Red Army!" In the midst of Reagan's new Cold War, defense of the USSR against imperialism is an acid test for revolutionaries—a test the YWLL repeatedly flunks.

Domestically, the YWLL emulates the reformist strategy of its CP mentors, who for decades have tailed the "progressive" wing of the pro-capitalist American trade-union bureaucracy. These Stalinists seek to channel the workers' growing hostility to Reagan reaction back into the racist, strike-breaking Democratic Party. The YWLL's (and CP's) favorite union misleaders, long schooled in class-collaboration, have done *nothing* in the face of massive layoffs, plant closings and Reagan's attack against striking air controllers.

In fact, after a motion in support of the controllers was met with booing and hissing, the conference decided it had too much "important business" to deal with the PATCO strike—and the YWLL abstained! This (not surprising) failure to give even nominal support to PATCO also rests with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee

(DSOC) which, though not as visible as the YWLL, is a political force in the USSA. After all, DSOC's national vice-chairman, William Winpisinger, is the president of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), and he could win the strike in a hurry if he called on IAM-organized mechanics to stop servicing aircraft guided by scab controllers. But since Winpisinger (as well as DSOC and the YWLL) doesn't want to upset his Democratic Party friends, his militancy will remain strictly verbal.

The USSA conference was not without comic relief, however. One major dispute revolved around whether or not to ban alcohol during the sessions! Fortunately for bored participants, the YWLL lost the vote (in the face of determined opposition of Illinois and Wisconsin beer drinkers). These latter-day prohibitionists also found themselves on the wrong side of the conference's own labor dispute. The

YWLL voted with the majority *against* allowing a representative of the USSA hired staff to speak on proposed organizational changes which would affect jobs and working conditions. To the YWLL's embarrassment, the staff walked out in protest, bringing conference proceedings to a halt!

As revolutionary Trotskyists, SYL observers at the conference could only express relief when it was over. In contrast to the pro-Democratic Party "student power" politics pushed by the YWLL, our task is to build a disciplined youth section of the communist vanguard, the Spartacist League. The SYL has recruited many militant activists recently on the basis of our positions on the fundamental class questions of the day: "Military victory to Salvadoran leftists! Defend Cuba and the USSR! Labor/black mobilizations to smash the Klan and Nazis! Defend picket lines, don't cross them!" Join the SYL! ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

SYL National Office: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008

Ann Arbor: SYL P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 662-2339

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

Champaign: SYL P.O. Box 2009, Champaign, IL 61820, or call (217) 356-1180

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 32028, Detroit, 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

For a Socialist Fight to Defend Labor/Black Detroit!

When the wreckers' ball demolished Chrysler's Dodge Main, more than a building was destroyed. With it the livelihoods of thousands of Detroit auto workers were reduced to rubble. An entire workforce scrapped. And so it goes in this dying city: 30,000 jobs at Chrysler, wage-cut blackmail for city and county workers. Black and white working-class youth get up each morning with nothing productive to do. And now it's starting to look the same to their fathers. The *Free Press* runs feature stories on how families can learn to live on unemployment and welfare. No wonder Detroit workers search the "help wanted" section of the Houston dailies.

And now Reagan's Cold War budget grinds down the cities even more. On imperialism's way to World War III, Reagan and Haig want to stop the "Soviet menace" in El Salvador or maybe Angola. Reagan thinks he can pay for nuclear aircraft carriers by cutting back Aid to Dependent Children, food stamps; if that won't work, he's got plans for Social Security. To the poor and black, the president says: let them eat bullets. Schools, hospitals, libraries, CETA are down the tubes; Detroit cannot live by tank plants alone.

On the fringes of Reagan's Cold War drive, Klan/Nazi terrorists thrive: a black family burned out of its home in Romulus, Cynthia Steel firebombed on the far west side, Nazi provocations against Jews in Southfield.

So what is to be done? First, working people have to stand up and fight. As the saying goes, in Detroit we do mind dying. And we don't mind fighting for our future. But the labor movement

Vote Andrews/Weekley



Spartacist Candidates for City Council!

which has the power to fight and win is paralyzed by the union bureaucrats who are tied to Coleman Young and the bosses' Democratic Party. So UAW contracts are torn up before our eyes, the unions do nothing and the open traitor Doug Fraser sits on Chrysler's

Board of Directors.

Candidates for city council Don Andrews and Ann Weekley stand for an end to groveling class treason. They stand for the beginning of the defense of labor/black Detroit based on the power of the union movement. That's the fight

that Detroit needs urgently, and the one the bosses fear.

From the lily-white suburbs of Michigan to the halls of Congress, the Reaganites and the Democrats want Detroit to die quietly, without making too much trouble about it. That is Coleman Young's job. That is the job of both capitalist parties, of all the Democratic city councilmen who want to fill Young's shoes. It is the job of the union bureaucrats and the so-called "leaders" of the black community.

But Andrews and Weekley say that taking it lying down is a crime against every worker and poor person in Detroit. To the capitalists who say Detroit doesn't matter because it's just blacks and auto workers, we say that is exactly why Detroit matters. And that is why Detroit can be a powerhouse when labor and black organizations mobilize to win.

Coleman Young says there is no money. He says Detroit must live on less and less. Well, that's his answer. The people of Detroit need to defend themselves with militant mass action. What we need is some old-fashioned class struggle, the kind that built the unions in this city. When the bosses hit us with mass layoffs, the powerful labor movement should hit back with sit-down strikes. When they try to blackmail us with plant closures, the workers should take the plants and hold them for ransom. Let them dare try to close an auto plant when tens of thousands of workers and blacks are massed outside. And the same kind of mass actions can defend our schools, welfare centers, hospitals. A working-class fight to

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Smash the Klan!

From Greensboro to Romulus, the KKK and Nazis have grown bolder, fueled by economic crisis and Carter/Reagan's anti-Communist war drive. If their rule over working people is threatened, the capitalists will turn to these fascist storm-troopers. Labor/black Detroit *can* defend itself from these union-busters and race-terrorists.

For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Smash Klan/Nazi Terror!

- For labor/black defense squads against right-wing attack!
- Disarm the cops!
- Abolish gun control!—For the right of armed self-defense!
- Jail the Greensboro KKK/Nazi murderers—Free the anti-Klan protesters!

Fight the Moral Majority!

The anti-busing racists, bible-thumping bigots and right-to-lifers are no longer the fringe. They are in the White House, the courts and both sides of the aisle in Congress. They want to take away black people's right to vote, black children's right to education, women's right to abortion.

For Working-Class Defense of Democratic Rights!

- End discrimination in schools, housing, jobs!

For a Socialist Fight to Defend Labor/Black Detroit!

- Free, quality higher education for all!—Open admissions and free tuition with stipend!
- Free abortion on demand!—Free quality health care! Pass the Equal Rights Amendment!
- Keep the state out of the bedroom!—Down with anti-gay laws and cop harassment! Abolish all laws against pornography, drug use, prostitution! Down with censorship!
- Stop the deportations!—Full citizenship rights for foreign workers!

Fight the Layoffs!

Militant labor struggles of the 1930s turned Detroit into a union town. Now tens of thousands of auto workers are thrown out on the streets with no jobs, no benefits, no hope. The bankers, auto barons and Democratic Party politicians are turning Detroit into a poverty town. What we need are the militant tactics of the 1930s, but this time with the leadership to fight all the way to socialist revolution!

For Sit-Down Strikes Against Mass Layoffs!

- Seize closed plants—take it, it's yours!

- For unlimited unemployment compensation at full union wages!
- No to chauvinist protectionism! No to bailouts!
- For federal programs to triple welfare! For massive public works under union control! For low-rent, integrated, quality public housing! Build mass transit!
- Organize the unorganized! Jobs for all: 30 hours work at 40 hours pay! Penny-for-penny COLA in every contract! Not union-busting "affirmative action" but special union programs for upgrading, recruiting, training of minorities and women!
- Strike to win!—For labor solidarity! Bust the union-busting president—defend air traffic controllers' strike! For the right to strike for all government workers! Picket lines mean don't cross! For mass pickets against scabbing! No pay cuts!—No givebacks!
- Oust the bureaucrats! Break with the Democrats!—For a workers party to fight for a workers government!

Fight the War Drive!

Reagan/Haig are hell-bent on provoking nuclear war with the Soviet Union. They are capable of blowing up the

world in order to undo the 1917 Russian Revolution when workers expropriated the capitalist class and formed their own government. As Trotskyists we defend the social gains everywhere capitalism has been overturned, from Cuba to Vietnam. Our movement has fought for more than 50 years against the Kremlin's usurpers, their counterrevolutionary policies and their suppression of workers democracy. Our call for the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucrats through proletarian political revolution is part of our uncompromising opposition to imperialist appetites to restore capitalism.

Defense of USSR/Cuba Begins in El Salvador!

- No aid to the bloody junta!—U.S./OAS hands off!
- Liberals'/reformists' "political solution" means a bloodbath!
- Military victory to Salvadoran leftists!
- Stop the imperialist provocations over Poland!
- Down with Islamic reaction! No to the veil! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! For workers revolution in Iran!
- Smash Zionist terror!—For Palestinian and Hebrew right to self-determination in a socialist Near East!
- Smash apartheid in South Africa! For international labor action in defense of black trade unions! Military victory to SWAPO—Independence for Namibia! For African self-destiny!