

Young Spartacus

NUMBER 95

25 CENTS

X-523

NOVEMBER 1981

Down With Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive!



Young Spartacus Photo

SL/SYL pickets Solidarity office in New York, September 24.

You can't fault Reagan on *one* count—he is certainly putting his money where his mouth is. The man who inaugurated his administration with the shrill cry of "Soviet terrorism" plans to spend \$1.5 trillion over the next five years on the latest in mega-death technology—more than triple the military buildup on the entire Vietnam War.

It's almost as if "Star Wars" special effects and Silicon Valley joined hands. An "invisible" radar-proof "Stealth" aircraft will eventually replace the long range B-1 bomber. A new \$18 billion satellite communications system orbiting at 126,000 miles—halfway to the moon!—will provide "a far more effective and flexible capacity to wage nuclear war, according to senior Administration officials" (*New York Times*, 12 October). The bedrock of upper Michigan will throb with low frequency radio waves from a 56 mile antenna sent to submarines three football fields long, encircling the globe with their superkill nuclear warheads targeted on the USSR. Instead of Carter's nuclear underground railroad, Reagan has opted for a more "modest proposal": 100 MX missiles carrying ten warheads worth 46 Hiroshimas apiece to be deployed in "superhardened" silos. Forty-six thousand Hiroshimas.

Reagan's fanatical anti-Soviet war drive is no joke—he *intends to use these weapons*. No less an authority than Herbert Scoville, president of the Arms Control Association and former Deputy Director of the CIA, commented in the *New York Times* (8 October):

"President Reagan's decision on the MX missile suggests that the United States is now firmly and publicly embarked on a first-strike strategic nuclear policy. This is a prescription for nuclear catastrophe, a disaster unparalleled in the history of mankind."

Unparalleled in scope—but not in deed. It was the U.S. imperialists who first built—and *used*—nuclear weapons.

Under Carter, anti-Communism was cloaked in the garb of "human rights."

Today that veil has been discarded—the new code words are "teach a bloody lesson," as in El Salvador where Reagan is supplying U.S. arms and "advisers" to the blood-drenched junta. Reagan's fulmination about the "aberration of communism" and his declaration that the imperialists' defeat in Vietnam was "a noble cause" are the ideological counterparts of the MX and the B-1. The U.S. bourgeoisie has long thought of moving from "containment" to "rollback"—to erase what remains of the gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. And Reagan thinks he can do it.

For Unconditional Military Defense of the Soviet Union!

The reason is that the imperialists lost a lot in 1917—one sixth of the globe was torn from the grip of capitalist plunder. The Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky, led the war-weary Russian working class to power behind the banner of "Land, Bread and Peace." Not only was the tsarist autocracy smashed, but the whole capitalist framework was dismantled as well. The holdings of the landlords and "captains of industry" were expropriated by the Soviets (councils) of Workers and Peasants. Rather than being governed by each individual factory owner's avarice, insolvency or incompetence, the allocation of capital, raw material and labor was determined by the elected representatives of the working class. For the first time, the economy of a country was rationally planned—freeing the Russian workers from the scourge of unemployment and the cycles of capitalist boom and bust.

The revolution brought about a profound social liberation as well. The national minorities of the tsar's "prison-house of peoples" were granted full national and cultural rights, including secession from the union of Soviet Republics if they so chose. Abortion was made legal, laws directed against

continued on page 10

**We Are the Party
of the
Russian Revolution!**

see page 6



Workers Vanguard/ Young Spartacus Subscription Drive Success

"If there's three things I hate, it's the Klan, Nazis and Reagan!" With that, a young black man joined hundreds of new subscribers to *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* (YSp). The 1981 subscription drive went over the quota by 25 percent, selling 5,114 points nation-

ally. Over 900 YSp subscriptions were sold. We welcome our new readers.

Selling those subscriptions was harder than usual, reflecting unprecedented harassment of our canvassers by petty campus administration bureaucrats, as well as some shift in the mood on campus: there were a number of self-proclaimed Reaganites. This shift was most marked at "backwater" campuses where we had previously done quite well.

We are proud of our success, achieved through much hard work, in introducing the Spartacus Youth League and our press to so many new students. The University of California system produced a large group of subscribers, particularly UC Santa Cruz (156 points) as well as Davis (94), San Diego (81) and Berkeley (74). Elsewhere as well, big state schools and some elite private colleges were more receptive, led by the University of Massachusetts at

Sub Drive Results

Area	Total	Quota	%
Ann Arbor	111	80	139%
Berk./Oak.	731	630	116%
Boston	571	450	127%
Champaign	80	80	100%
Chicago	611	500	122%
Cleveland	272	260	105%
Detroit	236	200	118%
LA	443	400	111%
Madison	156	120	130%
New York	1132	910	124%
SF	571	470	121%
At-large	200	—	—
TOTAL	5114	4100	125%

SUBSCRIBE!

Marxist Working-Class Newspapers

- \$2/9 issues of *Young Spartacus*
Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.,
Box 3118, Church Street Station,
New York, N.Y. 10008
- \$5/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard*
(includes *Spartacist*)
 New Renewal
- \$2/10 introductory issues of
Workers Vanguard
(includes *Spartacist*)
- \$2/4 issues of *Women and
Revolution*
Make payable/mail to: Spartacist
Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO,
New York, N.Y. 10116

Name: _____ Phone: _____ YSp 95
Address: _____
City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Amherst (199 points), Rutgers (124), Yale (95) and Michigan State (89).

Reflecting an openness to socialist politics among working people worried about Reagan, many subs were sold through door-to-door sales in working-class and petty-bourgeois communities, to trade unionists and on the street. Of the San Francisco street sales, at least 25 percent were sold to blacks.

Trail-blazing trips were done to

Philadelphia (103 points), Pittsburgh (33), Washington, D.C. (48) and the New England area (100).

This year's individual winner was Debbie H. in New York with 78 points. Runner-up was Richie B. (SF) with 77. Honorable mention to Steve R. (Chicago); Jerry A. (NYC), Jeff K. (Berkeley/Oakland), Tom D. (Boston), Gayle (NYC), Janis (NYC) and Mark K. (Chicago) with more than 60 points apiece.

Sam Marcy Plays Pin the Tail on the Donkey

Report from All-Peoples Congress

DETROIT—It was the three-ring circus of class collaboration we predicted it would be. The "All-Peoples Congress" (APC) held October 16-18 in Detroit's Cobo Hall was a zoo dominated by the Democratic donkey and its tail, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF). The APC featured "right-to-lifers" heckling pro-abortion speakers, a mystical "pyramid power" literature table perused by burnt-out New Left-overs, right-wing black nationalists booing gays and people confined to wheelchairs protesting an exhortation from the podium to "stand up and be counted." When William Cousins, president of PATCO Local 321 began to speak, a shouting match erupted over whether or not the striking air controllers deserved a platform due to

PATCO's support for Reagan in 1980. Front for the Democrats...

One result of Marcy's bloc with the party of war and racism was that a threatened fascist provocation by an outfit calling itself the "SS Action Group" not only went unanswered but *purposely unannounced* at the APC. For the previous three days, the Detroit bourgeois press had carried articles on the Nazis' planned march. A small band of race-hating scum actually marched to within five blocks of Cobo Hall before the cops dispersed them. As Marcy's *Workers World* (23 October) admits, "Most participants at the APC were unaware that the Nazis had even attempted to picket." No wonder—the conference organizers refused to so much as inform the participants, much less organize them against the Nazi swine. This shameless abasement before the bourgeois liberals went unchallenged by the myriad of leftist gadflies who fancy themselves to the left of Marcy but nonetheless went all the way with the APC: the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), Revolutionary Socialist League, Revolutionary Communist Party, Freedom Socialist, etc.

Among the Democratic Party endorsers of the APC was Detroit City Council President Erma Henderson who actually sponsored a motion in the Council to allow the fascists a permit. Any threat of a militant mobilization to smash the Nazis would certainly have alienated the Dems and would have split the conference between Democratic Party front-builders and those serious about fighting the fascists. Another Democratic Party pol who endorsed the

APC, Michigan Congressman John Conyers, was candidly accurate in his greetings to the APC: "You are doing the work that ought to be done in the U.S. Congress. That's why I support you."

... But "No Communists Here"

Salesmen of the left press—including YAWF's own—were shunted outside to the street. The Marcyites excluded *themselves* politically; not once did they address the APC in their own name. Larry Holmes, WWP's vice presidential candidate, spoke from the podium as "just another APC activist." The RWL disappeared its most recent paper which contained a long article slightly critical of the APC. Instead, it distributed an uncritical leaflet containing a program to make the APC a fighting, instead of a limping, popular front. After a day of being heckled by us about the strange disappearance of its paper, the RWL managed to "find" a few copies.

Despite YAWF's attempt to orchestrate the proceedings to be one big happy "unity against Reagan" pep rally, "all" the "people" didn't stick together. On Saturday a black nationalist was bureaucratically cut off by the chair and chucked out after making the bigoted statement that "It is criminal that true revolutionaries from South Africa and Namibia have to share the podium with those who want to sleep with their own sex." He returned the next day with several friends and demanded an open mike, a demand taken up by many conference attendees. After several minutes of shouting and a tense face-off between APC marshals (generously provided by YAWF) and the nationalists, the chairman (also

generously provided by YAWF) proclaimed the APC a success and ended it on the spot. The marshals quickly ushered the "all-people" out.

The SL/SYL sold over 350 copies of *Workers Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus* and the pamphlet *Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers*, getting out our revolutionary program of bringing Reagan down through labor action; smashing Nazi/Klan terror through labor/black mobilizations; unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism's mad drive toward World War III. At the "All-Peoples Circus" the only communist answer to Reagan reaction was to be found *outside* Cobo Hall, in the press of the Spartacist League and SYL. ■

Spartacus Youth League UC/Berkeley Film Series

Films of the Class Struggle

Eisenstein's "Strike"
Friday, November 13, 7:30 p.m.

"Harlan County, USA"
Friday, November 20, 7:00 & 9:30 p.m.

2000 Life Science
University of California/Berkeley

For more information: (415) 835-1535

Berkeley

Young Spartacus

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

Editorial Board: Keith Anderson, Bonnie Brodie, Ed Jarvis, Dorothy London, J. Marlow (editor), Amy Rath

Production manager: Amy Rath

Circulation manager: Kate Kelsey

Nine issues yearly; published monthly except December/January and June/July/August, by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7867 (Editorial, Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. Domestic subscriptions: \$2.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

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

No. 95 November 1981

Smash Apartheid - For Workers Revolution!

SYL vs. YWLL at South Africa Confab

Shirley Chisolm, Rev. William Sloane Coffin and Jesse Jackson were there. So were numerous people from the African National Congress and South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), as well as Juan Blanco from the Cuban mission to the UN and assorted Third World representatives. Greetings and endorsements came from such luminaries as Michael Harrington, Angela Davis, John Conyers and Ron Dellums. The event that brought them all together was the "Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa," held in New York on October 9-11, and heavily built by the Communist Party (CP) and Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL). As one observer remarked, it looked like the left wing of the UN.

The politics were certainly no different than what passes in the General Assembly: yet another round of calls for sanctions and divestment. The conference call, openly appealing to American chauvinism, stated clearly: "...the billions of dollars invested by U.S. multinational corporations like IBM and General Motors in the apartheid economy would be better spent on improving the lives of U.S. citizens..." Complementing this call for the capitalists to be more "moral," one AFL-CIO vice president suggested that American workers should fast for a day as a way to give "real tangible" support to black South African workers.

Sowing the illusion that the blood-drenched U.S. government can be pressured to be democratic and fight



Left, SYL's Mike Haines; right, YWLL chairman James Steele.

racism has become stock in trade for the Stalinists. The CP calls on Reagan, the preferred candidate of the KKK, to "ban the Klan"—a classic example of these reformists' reliance on the racist bourgeois state. When the Springboks were scheduled to tour the U.S., the CP pleaded with Reagan to cancel their visas. Some visas actually were canceled—for a Soviet delegation which was to attend the anti-apartheid conference!

This anti-Soviet provocation was protested, but in the name of the Helsinki accords. The CP knew that even a timid attempt to pose defense of the USSR would shatter their "peaceful

coexistence" with the anti-Soviet liberals and social democrats at the conference. While such people may oppose Reagan's open alliance with apartheid South Africa, they all support imperialism's offensive to "roll back" Soviet power, beginning in Poland. To put it mildly, this is quite a problem for the pro-Moscow CP/YWLL.

So, the Stalinists carefully avoided the taint of Russia and revolution. In the workshop on "Support for Youth and Students of Southern Africa" YWLL chairman James Steele spoke about "an historic mass student movement like never before" focused on "comprehensive mandatory sanctions" against

South Africa. In other words, organize students to get the UN to "pressure" the imperialists too!

Cutting through Steele's tepid reformism, a Spartacus Youth League (SYL) spokesman gave a revolutionary perspective. He stated that the SYL is for military victory for SWAPO and for defending Angola against the South African racists. Radical youth should join hands with the South African proletariat and fight for socialist revolution in the whole region of southern Africa. This is the key to a black-centered workers government which can expropriate the wealth they have created and use it to reorganize South African society on a revolutionary basis and smash apartheid forever. The comrade got extra time to finish his remarks, and the audience broke into applause afterwards. Despite the Stalinist misleaders, some of those present wanted to hear a program to win.

While the Stalinists preach divestment and sanctions, Spartacist League/SYL supporters have fought for labor action to stop arms shipments and to force U.S. multinationals to grant full union rights to black workers in South Africa. This is the way labor and its allies can concretely aid the powerful South African black proletariat, the motor force for revolution in all of southern Africa. To smash the racist apartheid state, and the anti-Soviet imperialist system which supports it, requires Trotskyist parties here and in South Africa, uniting labor, radical student youth and all the oppressed in the fight for socialism. Join the SYL! ■

Maoist Running Dogs on El Salvador: "No Comment"

BERKELEY—In the past year campus groups here have defined themselves politically largely by their position on El Salvador. The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) demands: "Military victory to the leftist insurgents! Defense of Cuba/USSR begins in El Salvador!" The reformists, liberals and theology students are for a "negotiated settlement." The rightists and Moonies back the junta's death squads to the hilt. And after being challenged by the SYL, the Progressive Student Organization (PSO) at Berkeley announced at its campus orientation meeting on October 1: "We have no position on El Salvador!"

This revelation must have startled students who took the PSO's self-description as "a broad based, multi-issue group which has been organizing for progressive social change" as good coin. The PSO is in fact a front group of the pro-Peking Stalinists in the League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS), publishers of *Unity*. The SYL's intervention denouncing China's alliance with U.S. imperialism caught the Maoists with their "progressive" pants down and as one young woman told us after the meeting, "I came to the PSO meeting because I was hoping they would be what you are."

The SYL pointed out that "unity" with U.S. imperialism is the line of China—fanatical anti-Sovietism is the

tie that binds the Forbidden Palace to the Pentagon. What this line means in Central America is clear from the pages of *Unity*:

"For their part, the Soviets have been stepping up their infiltration throughout the area. They have used Cuba as their proxy, and Castro has claimed that the Caribbean is Cuba's sphere of influence."

—*Unity*, 28 March 1980

"Soviet and Cuban advisers are active in Nicaragua and have been working overtime to gain influence over the Salvadorean revolution."

—*Unity*, 9 January 1981

Sound familiar? You bet—this is the line of the CIA/Pentagon "White Paper on El Salvador." This is Reagan's line.

The crime is that the Soviet Union and Cuba have *not* given effective aid to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador. The treacherous Stalinists, with their line of "peaceful coexistence" with war-mad imperialism and "socialism in one country," are leaving the Salvadoran masses to face the imperialist-backed junta without adequate arms. Of course, *Unity* opposes the Salvadoran insurgents getting Russian and Cuban arms, presumably preferring to see the workers and peasants shot down like dogs with Pentagon-supplied weapons.

Peking Supports U.S. Imperialism

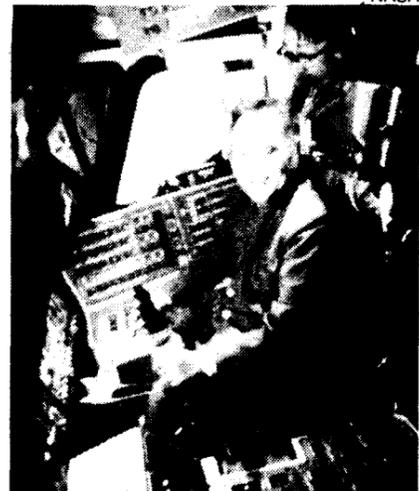
Echoing Reagan's vicious anti-

Sovietism, *Unity* (8 May) states:

"The Soviet threat to peace is a major international concern, including to many people in the United States. Questions frequently asked are: how can the Soviet Union be stopped? What can be done to combat the threat of war?"

Unity joins Reagan, Haig and the bourgeois press in whipping up anti-Soviet frenzy, the purpose of which is to prepare a counterrevolutionary war to restore capitalism in the USSR, threatening humanity with nuclear holocaust. Under Chairman Mao, China made an

NASA



China's Deng in Houston, 1979: all smiles for his imperialist hosts.

open alliance with U.S. imperialism (see the SYL pamphlet *China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism*), one which has been escalated to a de facto military bloc by Deng Xiao-ping. The Peking bureaucracy, echoed by its camp-followers around the world:

—Supports NATO. Supports more missiles, tanks and bombs pointed at the USSR as well as at Eastern Europe, Cuba and Vietnam.

—Supports the draft in the U.S. (see

continued on page 10

Wally McNamee/Newsweek



Racist Witchhunt Defeated

Free Speech Victory at Wayne State!

A victory against minor league Reaganism was won here last month. Student Council (SC) reactionaries—notable not only for budding McCarthyism but blatant white racism as well—hoped to carry out a purge of “political” campus organizations (read: leftist, black) from the budget allocations. The Wayne State Spartacus Youth League (SYL) obstructed attempts at seedy back-room dealing and confronted the council at its September 10 meeting, putting them on notice that this attempt at political censorship would be stopped cold. And stopped it was. After a vigorous campaign including the distribution of leaflets and petitions, speeches to numerous classes and culminating in a united front rally, the SC meeting on October 6 voted funds to a host of student organizations including the SYL and various leftist groups, black, gay rights and women’s liberation organizations. The message to the SC was clear: junior versions of Reaganite budget slashing/anti-communism are not welcome at this inner-city working-class university.

Even political opponents of the SYL felt compelled to take part in the campaign against the SC’s threatened crackdown of leftists and minorities—and to acknowledge our leadership role in the fight. The SYL, as the most active socialist organization on campus, has had occasion to fight racist, anti-communist and anti-labor attacks more than once here. When the editors of the campus newspaper, the *South End*, printed a vile apology for the Klan/Nazi murder in Greensboro, North Carolina, it was the SYL which began and led the fight to unseat the *South End* apologists for racist murder from their posts.

The rally—held on the afternoon of October 6 just before the SC meeting—included as speakers Topaz DuBois, SYL; Frank Hicks, UAW Local 600 Rouge Militant Caucus; Professor David Weinman; Bob Fritakis, co-chair of Wayne State DSOC; Jim Obst, WSU



SYL spokesman Gloria Howze addresses Student Council, September 24.

News and Letters; Dallas Kenney, Friends of the Revolutionary Workers League. A statement was read from Professor Diara from the Center for Black Studies.

That evening, SYL spokesman Gloria Howze addressed the council and pointed to a provocative, unsigned racist leaflet which had been found on the door of the Swahili Club office. The leaflet read “No university funding for the Swahili Club,” a racist sentiment which could only have been inflamed by the recent SC budget-cutting threats. Not for the first time, the cultural nationalists of the Swahili Club preferred to bloc with racist, anti-communist reaction than with black and white leftists. Revoltingly enough, after voting against the SYL’s budget allocation, they launched a shrill tirade against us and, in the best traditions of

Young Spartacus Photo

J. Edgar Hoover, put forward the vile slander that we had authored the leaflet to prove that racism still exists! Their politics are so wretched that they won’t even defend themselves—that’s why the Swahili Club has been conspicuously absent from any fight on the campus or in the city against Klan/Nazi terror.

The misnamed Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) fell all over itself trying to schmooze with the Swahili Club after the meeting. After all, the Swahili Club had voiced the only “principle” guiding the RWL’s existence: anti-Spartacism. Of course, only hours earlier, the RWL had found it convenient to speak from the platform of an SYL-initiated rally to oppose the SC’s racist, McCarthyite witchhunt. While wooing the cultural nationalists who had just made it clear they wouldn’t defend anyone, even themselves, the

RWL proved how seriously it promotes the “line” contained in its own leaflet that “we must defend *all* student organizations against right-wing attacks and budget cuts.”

Such phrases are, for the RWL, meant only for consumption by what it condescendingly believes to be the “masses.” Then the RWL *does* whatever seems most opportune at the moment. For “advanced elements” the RWL has no small amount of petty invective against the SL/SYL. Thus its leaflet, ostensibly discussing strategy to fight the SC reactionaries and budget cuts, calls the rally (which the RWL itself endorsed and spoke at!) a “small publicity stunt[s] by the SL” and goes on to warn unsuspecting innocents of the SL/SYL’s unbounded totalitarianism: “The SL policy is: ‘If we don’t control it—we don’t join it.’” And further, “The internal discipline of the SL is maintained by a climate of intimidation and fear.” The RWLers are not just political charlatans—they are genuinely weird. Wayne State students, beware.

With a campus newspaper which has never retracted its vile apology for Klan/Nazi murder; a Student Council which, if not fought tooth and nail, would have strangled minority, left and other student organizations in a miniature version of Reagan reaction; massive cutbacks, tuition hikes and a steady decrease in black enrollment—the Wayne student population has many fights ahead. The SYL will be there, as we have been in each and every case, to lead those fights. As Comrade DuBois said at the rally:

“The SYL is a communist youth organization that’s been active on the WSU campus for eight years. Unlike the flinching ‘socialists’ in groups like the RWL we do not hide our politics—we’re proud of them. Whether it be organizing students to protest KKK terror or walking the picket lines of striking campus workers, we are always in the forefront of the struggles of workers and the oppressed.”

Join us! ■

Vote SYL at S.F. State!

Hursey Baker, 27, is a sophomore majoring in history. He is running as a write-in candidate to challenge his disqualification under the Associated Students’ (A.S.) policy that candidates must have a minimum 2.5 GPA. This policy blatantly discriminates against minority youth who have not had quality education as well as working students.

As a marine during the Vietnam War he learned first-hand about U.S. imperialism’s bloody crimes and from that experience was won to the SYL’s communist program.

Guillermo Bermudez, 19, is a second-year computer science major. He was won to the SYL program because its program uniquely calls for military victory to Salvadoran leftists.

For Open Admissions to the Universities!

• No tuition—End discrimination in schools, Free quality higher education

for all! For a state paid stipend!

• Fight Reaganomic budget cuts of student financial aid through labor/student mobilization!

• For one campus union of university employees—No cops, No administrators!

Victory to Labor Struggles! Break with the Democrats!

• Victory to PATCO!—Reagan’s unprecedented firing of the air controllers is an attack on all of labor.

• For solidarity strikes to shut down the airports!

• Picket lines mean don’t cross!

• For sit down strikes against mass layoffs—Seize closed plants! Take it, it’s yours.

• Oust the bureaucrats! Break with the Democrats! For a workers party to fight for a workers government!

Defend Democratic Rights—Fight the Moral Majority

The capitalist government stands



Hursey Baker (right), SYL candidate for rep at large.

with anti-busing racists, anti-gay bigots of Anita Bryant reaction, right-to-lifers. The reformists rely on the same courts and Congress that are leading the reactionary backlash. Only a fight by labor can even restore the limited democratic gains won in the 1960s.

• For free abortion on demand!—Free quality 24-hour child care! Pass the ERA! Free, available, safe birth control—Equal pay for equal work!

• Keep the state out of consensual sexual activity. Down with anti-gay laws and cop harassment! Full demo-

cratic rights for gays! No laws against pornography, drug use, prostitution! Down with all censorship!

For a Working-Class Strategy to Smash Klan/Nazi Terror!

• For mass mobilizations of labor and minorities to stop the Klan and Nazis—Not confrontations of little bands of leftists—Not appeals like those of Angela Davis’ CP to the capitalist state to “ban the Klan”!

• No more Greensboros!

• No platform for Nazi/KKK—For

continued on page 9

Young Spartacus Photo

SYL: "Drive DIA Spies Off Campus!"

Ann Arbor "Leftists" Embrace Imperialist Mass Murderers

ANN ARBOR—Assembling for the occasion were Rear Admiral Eugene Carroll, U.S. Navy and spokesman for the Center for Defense Information; David Denoon, U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense; Brent Scowcroft, National Security Advisor to president Ford. What brought such a star-studded cast of bloody imperialist henchmen to the University of Michigan on October 8-9? So-called "progressives" in the student government (including the Young Workers Liberation League [YWLL], youth group of the Communist Party) and in the city council (Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee member Lowell Peterson) as well as liberal pacifists like the Interfaith Council for Peace got together with local academics and politicians to sponsor a "community forum" entitled "What Is National Security?" This polite debate about the relative merits of imperialist militarism and butchery took place at the same time the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) is attempting to set up one of its thinktanks on the U. of M. campus.

The Ann Arbor Spartacus Youth League (SYL) responded in the only possible fashion for socialists worthy of the name: we immediately called on all those who oppose the ugly imperialist drive to anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust, who oppose turning the campus into a factory for the Pentagon, to join us in protesting the "community forum." Ten years ago a line-up of military and Defense Department honchos of this ilk would have called forth widespread, angry protest—particularly on a campus with traditions of radical activism such as Ann Arbor. Now as then, the SYL organizes protest against U.S. militarism and its representatives on the campus as part of our overall opposition to murderous U.S. imperialism and its entire apparatus, including the armed



Young Spartacus Photos

SYL denounces imperialist mass murderers at U of M, October 8.

forces and secret police. Within the rarefied, academic environment of the university—where political swings from left to right can be swift and frequent—it is our task to win those who want to fight the imperialist Dr. Strangeloves rather than politely discuss with them.

Our call for a protest picket line around the slogans "Drive the DIA Off Campus!" and "Down with Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive!" caused great consternation among the so-called "radicals" who were happily participating in the Defense Department publicity stunt. It also riled some petty student bureaucrats who responded by screaming about our refusal to participate in this "balanced, democratic" discussion

and threatening to strangle our campus funding if we dared protest it. Indeed, at the first meeting of the Michigan Student Assembly (MSA) following our protest, a routine allocation of \$91 to the SYL for November operating expenses was separated out from the rest of the budget and voted down. The SYL-led protest was attacked as a "disruption" (of what? The Rear Admiral's digestion?). The MSA vote is in fact a referendum on socialist action against the U.S. military on campus.

YWLL leader and MSA representative Tim Feeman must be singled out for special mention here. We can only suppose that the YWLL thinks it can further its class-collaborationist dream of "peace and détente" by bringing a passel of imperialist butchers onto campus for a little "reasonable" discussion. In any case, Feeman was not about to tolerate any communist opposition. His MSA vote went to fund and sponsor the Defense Department forum and against funding for the SYL. Which side is the YWLL on? *This time, hardly the first, it was with capitalist militarism!*

In a letter printed in the *Michigan Daily* (14 October), the SYL explained that the forum was and could only have been a cynical public relations hype for the architects of mass murder:

"Today Reagan is pushing an enormous military buildup in a rush toward nuclear war. His aim is to destroy the workers' gains in the USSR as well as anyone else who gets in the way. So in the face of this, the speakers spoke of 'cheaper' and less provocative ways of accomplishing this. And these guys know what they're talking about. Admiral Carroll was part of the Navy when the U.S. shelled Vietnamese villages from coastal waters. Brent Scowcroft knew of an even cheaper way to kill. He had a hand in the planning of the Phoenix assassination program in Vietnam.... They only disagree with Reagan on how to carry on his war drive.

"To make this hype more respectable, a few liberals and pacifists were roped in, and most of the campus left willingly fronted for the warmakers. But a

discussion on the relative merits of nuclear war vs. conventional destruction is not a debate. The SYL is not interested in how these guys can best use students as cannon fodder."

One other group joined the SYL and militant students in the protest picket line, the locally based Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). In the typically schizophrenic fashion of centrists, the RWL managed to take *two* positions on the protest. Its front group, the Campus Labor Support Group (CLSG), announced that it viewed the picket line as "informational" and that the CLSG would "support the right of people to enter the forum, particularly for agitational purposes." Translating RWLese into English: if the RWL considered it opportune to go into the forum and join the rest of the left in their despicable "discussion," that would be entering for "agitational purposes." However, the RWL—in its own name—decided it could not make an "effective intervention" on the inside and so joined the protest. Once there, the RWL further distinguished itself by carrying not one sign or uttering one word about defense of the Soviet Union against mad-bomber imperialists.

On October 8 it was clear: students who want to fight Reagan reaction and fight for socialism belong in the SYL. ■

A SPARTACIST PAMPHLET/\$1.00

STALINISM AND TROTSKYISM IN VIETNAM

Basic Documents of the Spartacus Youth League

YOUTH, CLASS AND PARTY!

I Program and Perspectives
II Organizational Rules
III Youth-Party Relations

Reply to the Guardian

The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited • The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited • The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited • The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited

Trotskyism versus Maoism

Why the U.S.S.R. is Not Capitalist

A Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet

Order These Trotskyist Pamphlets!

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

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 3118, Church Street Station
New York, NY 10008

Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam \$1.00

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

Spartacist League Forum

Time Runs Out
in Poland

**Stop Solidarity's
Counterrevolution!**

Speaker: George Foster,
SL Central Committee

Saturday, Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m.
145 Dwinelle Hall
U.C. Berkeley
For more information: (415) 835-1535

Berkeley

The October 1917 seizure of state power by the Russian proletariat, led by its Bolshevik vanguard, was a monumental advance toward world socialism. Even today, despite the usurpation of the Soviet workers' political power by the Stalinist bureaucratic caste, it is crucial that revolutionaries stand solidly for the unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism, combined with the struggle for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and reestablish the proletarian democracy of Soviet rule.

We reprint below a speech given in 1939 by James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism. A founding member of the American Communist Party, he led the Trotskyist Left Opposition's fight in the U.S. against the rising Stalinist bureaucracy. In 1939, Cannon fought in the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party against a faction which broke from defense of the Soviet Union on the eve of World War II. As Reagan prepares for World War III against the USSR, Cannon's powerful speech is as valid today as it was 40 years ago.

by James P. Cannon

Part One of Two

The Russian question is with us once again, as it has been at every critical turning point of the international labor movement since November 7, 1917. And there is nothing strange in that. The Russian question is no literary exercise to be taken up or cast aside according to the mood of the moment. The Russian question has been and remains the question of the revolution. The Russian Bolsheviks on November 7, 1917, once and for all, took the question of the workers' revolution out of the realm of abstraction and gave it flesh and blood reality.

It was said once of a book—I think it was Whitman's "Leaves of Grass"—"who touches this book, touches a man." In the same sense it can also be said, "Who touches the Russian question, touches a revolution." Therefore, be serious about it. Don't play with it.

The October revolution put socialism on the order of the day throughout the world. It revived and shaped and developed the revolutionary labor movement of the world out of the bloody chaos of the war. The Russian revolution showed in practice, by example, how the workers' revolution is to be made. It revealed in life the role of the party. It showed in life what kind of a party the workers must have. By its victory, and its reorganization of the social system, the Russian revolution has proved for all time the superiority of nationalized property and planned economy over capitalist private property, and planless competition and anarchy in production.

A Sharp Dividing Line

The question of the Russian revolution—and the Soviet state which is its creation—has drawn a sharp dividing line through the labor movement of all countries for 22 years. The attitude taken toward the Soviet Union throughout all these years has been the decisive criterion separating the genuine revolutionary tendency from all shades and degrees of waverers, backsliders and capitulators to the pressure of the bourgeois world—the Mensheviks, Social Democrats, Anarchists and Syndicalists, Centrists, Stalinists.

The main source of division in our own ranks for the past ten years, since the Fourth Internationalist tendency took organized form on the international field, has been the Russian question. Our tendency, being a genuine, that is, orthodox, Marxist tendency from A to Z, has always proceeded on the Russian question from theoretical premises to



political conclusions for action. Of course, it is only when political conclusions are drawn out to the end that differences on the Russian question reach an unbearable acuteness and permit no ambiguity or compromise. Conclusions on the Russian question lead directly to positions on such issues as war and revolution, defense and defeatism. Such issues, by their very nature, admit no unclarity, no compromise, because it is a matter of taking

Pathfinder Press



James P. Cannon in 1938.

sides! One must be on one side or another in war and revolution.

The Importance of Theory

But if the lines are drawn only when political conclusions diverge, that does not at all signify that we are indifferent to theoretical premises. He is a very poor Marxist—better say, no Marxist at all—who takes a careless or tolerant attitude toward theoretical premises. The political conclusions of Marxists proceed from theoretical analyses and are constantly checked and regulated by them. That is the only way to assure a firm and consistent policy.

To be sure, we do not decline cooperation with people who agree with our political conclusions from different premises. For example, the Bolsheviks were not deterred by the fact that the left S.R.s were inconsistent. As Trotsky remarked in this connection, "If we wait till everything is right in everybody's head there will never be any successful revolutions in this world" (or words to that effect). Just the same, for our part we want everything right in our own heads. We have no reason whatever to slur over theoretical formulas, which are expressed in "terminology." As Trotsky says, in theoretical matters "we must keep our house clean."

Our position on the Russian question is programmatic. In brief: The theoretical analysis—a degenerated Workers' State. The political conclusion—unconditional defense against external attack of imperialists or internal attempts at capitalist restoration.

Defensism and Defeatism

Defensism and defeatism are two principled, that is, irreconcilable positions. They are not determined by arbitrary choice but by class interests.

No party in the world ever succeeded in harboring these two antipathetic tendencies for any great length of time. The contradiction is too great. Division all over the world ultimately took place along this line. Defensists at home were defeatists on Russia. Defensists on Russia were defeatists at home.

The degeneration of the Soviet state under Stalin has been analyzed at every step by the Bolshevik-Leninists and only by them. A precise attitude has been taken at every stage. The guiding lines of the revolutionary Marxist approach to the question have been:

See the reality and see it whole at every stage; never surrender any position before it is lost; the worst of all capitulators is the one who capitulates before the decisive battle.

The International Left Opposition which originated in 1923 as an opposi-

tion in the Russian party (the original nucleus of the Fourth International) has always taken a precise attitude on the Russian question. In the first stages of the degeneration of which the Stalinist bureaucracy was the banner bearer the opposition considered it possible to rectify matters by methods of reform through the change of regime in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Later, when it became clearer that the Communist Party of Lenin had been irremediably destroyed, and after it became manifest that the reactionary bureaucracy could be removed only by civil war, the Fourth International, standing as before on its analysis of the Soviet Union as a workers' state, came out for a political revolution.

All the time throughout this entire period of 16 years the Bolshevik-Leninists have stoutly maintained, in the face of all slander and persecution, that they were the firmest defenders of the workers' state and that in the hour of danger they would be in the front ranks of its defense. We always said the moment of danger will find the Fourth Internationalists at their posts defending the conquests of the great revolution without ceasing for a moment our struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Now that the hour of danger is at hand—now that the long-awaited war is actually knocking at the door—it would be very strange if the Fourth International should renege of its oft-repeated pledge.

"Conservatism" on the Russian Question

Throughout all this long period of Soviet degeneration since the death of Lenin, the Fourth Internationalists, analyzing the new phenomenon of a degenerating workers' state at every turn, striving to comprehend its complications and contradictions; to recognize and defend all the progressive features of the contradictory processes and to reject the reactionary—during all this long time we have been beset at every

new turn of events by the impatient demands of "radicals" to simplify the question. Thrown off balance by the crimes and betrayals of Stalin, they lost sight of the new system of economy which Stalin had not destroyed and could not destroy.

We always firmly rejected these premature announcements that everything was lost and that we must begin all over again. At each stage of development, at each new revelation of Stalinist infamy and treachery, some group or other broke away from the Fourth International because of its "conservatism" on the Russian question. It would be interesting, if we had the time, to call the roll of these groupings which one after another left our ranks to pursue an ostensibly more "revolutionary" policy on the Russian question. Did they develop an activity more militant, more revolutionary, than ours? Did they succeed in creating a new movement and in attracting newly awakened workers and those breaking from Stalinism? In no case.

If we were to call the roll of these ultra-radical groups it would present a devastating picture indeed. Those who did not fall into complete political passivity became reconciled in one form or another to bourgeois democracy. The experiences of the past should teach us all a salutary caution, and even, if you please "conservatism," in approaching any proposal to revise the program of the Fourth International on the Russian question. While all the innovators fell by the wayside, the Fourth International alone retained its programmatic firmness. It grew and developed and remained the only genuine revolutionary current in the labor movement of the world. Without a firm position on the Russian question our movement also would inevitably have shared the fate of the others.

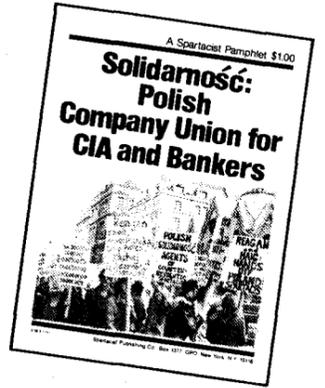
The mighty power of the October revolution is shown by the vitality of its conquests. The nationalized property and the planned economy stood up under all the difficulties and pressures of the capitalist encirclement and all the blows of a reactionary bureaucracy at home. In the Soviet Union, despite the monstrous mismanagement of the bureaucracy, we saw a tremendous development of the productive forces—and in a backward country at that—while capitalist economy declined. Conclusion: Nationalized and planned economy, made possible by a revolution that overthrew the capitalists and landlords, is infinitely superior, more progressive. It shows the way forward.

Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers



Young Spartacus Photo

\$1.00



**Just Out!
Order Now!**

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

Don't give it up before it is lost! Cling to it and defend it!

The Class Forces

On the Russian question there are only two really independent forces in the world. Two forces who think about the question independently because they base themselves, their thoughts, their analyses and their conclusions, on fundamental class considerations. Those two independent forces are:

(1) The conscious vanguard of the world bourgeoisie, the statesmen of both democratic and fascist imperialism.

(2) The conscious vanguard of the world proletariat.

Between them it is not simply a case of two opinions on the Russian question, but rather of two camps. All those who in the past rejected the conclusions of the Fourth International and broke with our movement on that account, have almost invariably fallen into the service of the imperialists, through Stalinism, social and liberal democracy, or passivity, a form of service.

The standpoint of the world bourgeoisie is a class standpoint. They proceed, as we do, from fundamental class considerations. They want to maintain world capitalism. This determines their fundamental antagonism to the U.S.S.R. They appreciate the reactionary work of Stalin, but consider it incomplete, insofar as he has not restored capitalist private property.

Their fundamental attitude determines an inevitable attempt at the start



Lenin and Trotsky, leaders of the Russian Revolution.

of the war, or during it, to attack Russia, overthrow the nationalized economy, restore a capitalist regime, smash the foreign trade monopoly, open up the Soviet Union as a market and field of investments, transform Russia into a great colony, and thereby alleviate the crisis of world capitalism.

The standpoint of the Fourth International is based on the same fundamental class considerations. Only we draw opposite conclusions, from an opposite class standpoint.

Purely sentimental motivations, speculation without fundamental class

premises, so-called "fresh ideas" with no programmatic base—all this is out of place in a party of Marxists. We want to advance the world revolution of the proletariat. This determines our attitude and approach to the Russian question. True, we want to see reality, but we are not disinterested observers and commentators. We do not examine the Russian revolution and what remains of its great conquests as though it were a bug under a glass. *We have an interest! We take part in the fight!* At each stage in the development of the Soviet Union, its advances and its degeneration, we seek the basis for revolutionary action. We want to advance the world revolution, overthrow capitalism, establish socialism. The Soviet Union is an important and decisive question on this line.

Our standpoint on the Russian question is written into our program. It is not a new question for us. It is 22 years old. We have followed its evolution, both progressive and retrogressive, at every stage. We have discussed it and taken our position anew at every stage of its progressive development and its degeneration. And, what is most important, we have always *acted* on our conclusions.

The Decisive Criterion

The Soviet Union emerged from the October revolution as a workers' state. As a result of the backwardness and poverty of the country and the delay of the world revolution, a conservative bureaucracy emerged and triumphed, destroyed the party and bureaucratized the economy. However, this same bureaucracy still operates on the basis of the nationalized property established by the revolution. That is the decisive criterion for our evaluation of the question.

If we see the Soviet Union for what it really is, a gigantic labor organization

continued on page 11



Russian Revolution emancipated women from illiteracy: above, Tadzhik women learning to read. Right, editorial board of Bolshevik journal Rabotnitsa (The Working Woman), 1917.



Harrington Harpooned

Michael Harrington appeared at Harvard and Tufts Universities on October 16 to make his pitch for recruitment to the Democratic Party via his Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). His formula: get an audience of potentially radical youth. Tell them that they should fight for "radical capitalism" instead of socialism; tell them they must not hate the U.S. military, just its "inefficiencies." Tell them that a better world's not "possible," sign them up with DSOC and channel them into the Democratic Party.

But fortunately for anyone who may have wondered about a "socialist" supporting the Democrats, the Spartacus Youth League was also at Harrington's talk, offering the only revolutionary politics to be heard that day. Although Harrington complained that "if I would go to the moon, and I would get off the spaceship, there would be someone there from the Spartacus Youth League," we don't subject ourselves to his drivel just for the hell of it. We will not let Michael Harrington get away with posing as a socialist—we aim to expose him and his organization for the apologists for U.S. imperialism that they are.

Harrington's main appeal to the audience was to paint himself red, white and blue and color it socialism. He argued that "the next step is not, alas, would that it were, socialism. The next step is a much more radical capitalism. I think that's as far as one can seriously politically propose today." Alas forever—this "democratic socialist" has long since written off workers revolution. And his "radical capitalism" answer is nothing short of betrayal—he proposes that socialism can eventually be realized by working within the capitalist Democratic Party, a party which even Harrington admits:

"...has got a lot of the worst people in the world, no question about it. It has got a lot of racists, a lot of union haters, strikebreakers, sexists, you name a reactionary ideology, the Democratic Party has got it. A lot of the worst people in the world."

But join up anyway, Harrington pleads, and work to change it. The fact is, however, as history has shown, that the Democratic Party offers only another version of imperialist militarism, capitalist exploitation and racist



Democratic Party apologist posing as a socialist.

oppression than do the Republica..s. Every war the U.S. fought in the last 70 years was begun by a Democrat. FDR denounced public employee strikes as "unthinkable and intolerable" and was responsible for herding thousands of Japanese Americans into concentration camps during World War II. Truman dropped the atomic bomb on Japan and seized the steel mills and railroads at home in order to break strikes. Kennedy led the reactionary Bay of Pigs invasion, LBJ carpet-bombed Vietnam and Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter invoked the Taft-Hartley injunction against striking coal miners in 1980. And *this* is what Michael Harrington puts forward as the "friends" of labor, blacks and oppressed!

The Democratic Party, like its Republican twin, is no friend of the working class. And it is the duty of revolutionary socialists to fight against any illusions that the American workers have in the strikebreaking, war-making, racist Democratic Party. What is needed in this country is a workers party which is independent of both the Democrats and Republicans and which fights for the interests of the working

class and oppressed. So while the Congressional donkeys and elephants all support Reagan's attack on the PATCO air traffic controllers' strike, a workers party would be fighting for labor action to shut down the airports and win the PATCO strike. And DSOC shares part of the blame for why this has not been done. Their vice chairman is William Winpisinger, head of the Machinists union (IAM), whose members service airplanes. If he had called out his men, the PATCO strike would have been won a long time ago.

At the talk, SYL spokesmen made it clear that Michael Harrington has nothing to offer the working class, minorities and oppressed. When one Spartacist supporter referred to German revolutionist Karl Liebknecht's statement that "the main enemy is at home" and asked Harrington what he thought about it, Harrington went berserk and shrieked, "Is the main enemy at home? God, you've got to get over that old rhetoric!... We're not here because we hate our country, but because we love the best traditions of our country."

These fine "traditions" represent a history that is paved in workers' blood, that is virulently racist and imperialist to the core. And this is what Harrington "loves." He and his organization rabidly support anti-communism, so one week before Harrington's talk, Harvard DSOC members did their bit by calling campus cops to kick SYL members out of a "public" DSOC meeting. And DSOC has nothing but arrogant disregard for the plight of U.S. blacks, as an SYL speaker explained:

"When Tom Metzger was running as a Klansman in the Democratic Party for state office in California a little over a year ago, what was your solution, what did you say to the American working class and to blacks, what to do in the face of a Klansman's threat? You said, 'Vote Republican.' That's DSOC's strategy for dealing with the Klan. Well, the SYL has a strategy. So in 1980, when fascists, the Nazis in particular, wanted to celebrate Hitler's birthday on April 19 in San Francisco, a labor town, we organized and initiated an action which drew 1,200 demonstrators, with the endorsement of 22 unions which turned out their workers. That is not being out of touch with the working class. The fascists did not celebrate Hitler's birthday. DSOC boycotted that movement and that is their strategy for dealing with the Klan: to boycott an anti-fascist demonstration organized

with working-class support. 'Vote Republican.' That's what DSOC had to say."

Harrington's response to the defense of minorities from fascist attacks—a key question for any American socialist—was simply a disgustingly stark dismissal:

"Look, I really don't want to get into pointless points on questions which are not of the deepest interest of most people in American society.... I don't know about the particular demonstration you're talking about, but I must say that given the way in which you organize, the tone of voice and the fact that you on occasion have referred to me as the 'stinking corpse of social democracy,' I really don't see a point in joining the 'stinking corpse of social democracy' in your demonstration. Is there a question about America?"

Stinking is right! What black in his right mind could support an organization like DSOC, which treats the question of black liberation as something so trivial?

The most sinister aspect of Harrington's talks was the backhanded support he gives to Reagan's anti-Soviet drive toward World War III. Time and again Harrington warns of the "Soviet threat" and here it is clear what side he's on. Under a thin guise of "democratic socialism," Michael Harrington and DSOC have jumped on the bandwagon with every bourgeois warmonger in this country. He complains that "one of the greatest problems in America right now is we build marvelous high technology weapons systems which don't work two-thirds of the time." Build 'em better, and they'll be okay in DSOC's book.

To Michael Harrington, communism is a dirty word. But as Trotskyists, we don't need to hear lectures on Stalinist bureaucratic deformations from this social-democratic politician who likes to talk radical. We detest the Stalinist bureaucrats who politically rule in those states where capitalism has been overthrown. But we recognize that socialists must defend what the working class has already won. We defend from imperialism's tentacles the tremendous gains made in the Soviet Union and deformed workers states, gains which exist due to the nationalized property forms and planned economy of those states. We fight for the workers of those countries to oust the bureaucrats through workers political revolution; *not* for Reagan, Haig and their apologist Harrington to make the world "safe for democracy" by restoring capitalist exploitation.

Michael Harrington is not a socialist, and DSOC has no intention of leading the working class in the overthrow of capitalism. That task is left to the Spartacist League and SYL. ■

DSOC vs. Voltaire

Strangling the Last King with the Entrails of the Last Priest

On October 6, Harvard DSOC presented a forum on "Responding to Reagan and the Right." For any students who thought DSOC might offer anything resembling a fighting socialist perspective of mobilizing the working class to smash Reagan, they quickly discovered it would have been quicker and easier to say your prayers and go home to bed.

The featured speaker was Harvard professor Harvey Cox: a "renowned" theologian and long-time DSOCer. This shameless preacher had the gall to quote Rosa Luxemburg, a revolutionary Marxist who politically broke with DSOC's forebears ("the stinking corpse of social democracy") and was later murdered by them. Beware of social democrats who praise Marxists after burying them! Cox concluded his obscurantist ramblings with the an-

nouncement that "I'm not ashamed to be affiliated with the church anymore!" The "gospel" according to Cox reads that the church is "progressive," in fact "in the vanguard" of workers movements around the world.

History has shown, however, that from Islamic reactionary Khomeini to Pius XI who supported fascist dictators Pilsudski and Mussolini to the present anti-abortion, anti-communist pope, religious leaders in the contemporary world are on the side of reaction. Marxists oppose these spiritual opium mongers and parasites of the working class and the oppressed. But not DSOC. DSOC has a Commission on Religion and Socialism devoted especially to recruiting parish leaders of the "religious left." Both DSOC and Vatican chieftain Wojtyla lust for Solidarność's counterrevolu-

tionary goal of capitalist restoration in Poland. Cox went so far as to recommend the pope's encyclical as "excellent" "anti-capitalist" reading!

During the discussion period, an SYL spokesman recommended that students interested in politics put aside the pope's encyclical in favor of Voltaire who wrote that mankind would not be liberated "until the last king was strangled with the entrails of the last priest." The high priest of DSOC became visibly shaken and snapped, "Was Voltaire a Marxist?" to which the SYLer replied, "No, but there was more revolutionary content in his writings than in your talk tonight!" Cox grabbed his hat and fled from his own forum, several shades redder in the face, whining, "I won't take any more of this!" For this "democratic socialist" even the French Revolution of 1789 is too radical!

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

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

Chicago

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

New York City

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

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

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

Vote SYL...

(continued from page 4)

labor/minority defense against right-wing attacks!

Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!

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

- No aid to the bloody junta—U.S./OAS hands off El Salvador!

- No popular front illusions/No negotiations—For workers revolution!

- Russia/Cuba send arms to the rebels!

- Stop the deportations of Salvadoran refugees!

- Defense of Cuba/USSR begins in El Salvador!

Down With Reagan/Haig's Anti-Soviet War Drive!

The SYL is running in the A.S. special election to cut through campus parochialism and reach students who want to fight Reagan's drive towards WWII! We want to win students to a working-class perspective.

U.S. missiles and foreign policy are aimed at restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union. The war budget means wiping out social services, union busting and financing the massive arms buildup on the backs of working people and minorities. No to the draft! Not one penny, not one man for the imperialist army!

As Trotskyists we stand for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. The socialist property forms which resulted from the 1917 Russian Revolution are an historic gain for the working class internationally and must be defended. But at the same time we are irreconcilably opposed to the Kremlin bureaucracy whose narrow, nationalist, conservative rule only endangers the gains of October 1917. The Stalinist bureaucracy must be ousted through a proletarian political revolution which will re-establish genuine Soviet democracy and a revolutionary internationalist foreign policy.

Poland has existed for over a year in a state of cold dual power between the demonstrably bankrupt ruling bureaucracy and Solidarity, the mass workers organization which emerged from last year's general strike. With the first national congress of Solidarity this September, it became amply clear that the decisive elements within the organization are taking the road of bloody counterrevolution in league with "democratic" capitalist-imperialism.

A victory for Solidarity's counterrevolution would not only mean terrible immiseration of the Polish working class and the reintroduction of wage slavery, but would represent a world historic defeat for the world proletariat. A victorious counterrevolution in Poland would put NATO troops on the

Jail the Killer Cops, Murderers of Ron Settles!

LOS ANGELES—The only real question about Ron Settles' murder is whether the cops choked him to death or strung him up alive. Ron Settles, a 21-year-old black running back at Cal State Long Beach was killed this summer in his jail cell in Signal Hill, near Long Beach. Settles had been stopped by the Signal Hill cops, supposedly for speeding, then handcuffed, brutally beaten and hauled off to jail. Two hours later he was dead. Hanged himself, the cops said. No one bought it; even a coroner's inquest ruled it was murder.

The Los Angeles Police Department is one of the most infamous bunch of cold-blooded racist murderers in the country. The American Civil Liberties Union reports that 123 people were killed by the LAPD in a three year period; not one cop was convicted. The tiny Signal Hill police force is a miniature model of the LAPD. The cop who arrested Settles, Jerry Lee Brown, had been fired by the LAPD on misconduct and drug charges and then joined up with Signal Hill. Six

years ago this same Brown arrested one Ruben Carillo who collapsed in a coma from severe brain damage two hours after his arrest and brutal beating; he is now dead. Just one week after the Settles murder a second man, Jack Brown, was found dead in the Signal Hill jail.

The vicious cop murder of Settles has called forth angry protest throughout the Los Angeles area. Fed up with endless accounts of blacks and other minorities being mowed down in the street, beaten to death in the jails, and terrorized by the paramilitary LAPD, several hundred demonstrators—mainly black students—demonstrated in front of the LA county District Attorney's office October 27. "Jail the killers on the hill!" they chanted, "Oink, oink, bang, bang—Every week the same old thing!"

Unfortunately, this militant mood has been squandered by the liberal reformist misleaders of the Settles protests, who only call for a civilian review board of the police, more black cops, more law and order and calls for

"writing your Congressmen." Such faith in the workings of racist, capitalist American "justice" is dangerous. Los Angeles already has a black Democratic mayor and black cops but the killings continue.

Racist terror is rooted in the very core of capitalist society. And under Reagan, the terrorists in blue are emboldened as are union-busters, Moral Majority quacks, fascist scum like the Klan and Nazis. The answer: mobilization of the organized labor movement to join the oppressed to fight the attacks on black and working people by the courts, cops and capitalist politicians. The Spartacus Youth League has actively participated in the protests surrounding the Settles murder. At UCLA, we were invited to address a demonstration called by the Black Student Association and issues of *Workers Vanguard* have been widely circulated at the various demonstrations. Our message: Jail the killer cops! Labor/black mobilizations to smash racist terror! Black liberation through socialist revolution!

Soviet border, a direct threat to the existence of the gains of the October Revolution and a big step toward anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust.

It will take a socialist revolution in this country to do away with this racist, sexist and oppressive system. Students must link up with the only force capable of overthrowing capitalism—labor.

Learn more about revolutionary Marxism! Come to our forums, classes and literature tables. Read and subscribe to *Workers Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus* and *Women and Revolution*.

Vote SYL! Vote Communist! Join the SYL! ■

Reinstate...

(continued from page 12)

Spartacus Youth League (FOSYL). Not coincidentally, two days earlier Alan Compagnon, another "Radical" Student Union member and salesman of assorted Maoist newspapers physically assaulted an SYL member and boasted "the SYL won't be on campus in three weeks." Running dog Compagnon then phoned the administration to complain that we distributed socialist literature in the campus center.

There is no question that what is happening at Amherst is a straightforward case of attempted censorship. We have, three times over, followed each and every one of the ridiculous rules imposed on student groups. Murphy's suspension of the FOSYL was highly "selective" at best—only the FOSYL was singled out for "investigation." Murphy called individual supporters of the FOSYL, subjecting them to an interrogation of when, where and how often they participated in SYL events and took it upon himself to determine who among the FOSYL members were "active." A student supporter of the SYL remarked, "It's Jim Murphy who is not playing according to the 'rules.' Our organization was originally registered as an RSO one year ago. Now, I worked in the Senate office last year and I happen to know that once a group is registered, their RSO status is valid for three years. In fact, one of my jobs in the Senate was to update the RSO files. Jim Murphy had no good reason to even look at our file again, much less review it."

So zealous is Murphy in pursuing his puny power play that while the SYL was organizing students to protest a fascist provocation on campus (see article this issue) he was on the phone, verbally

harassing a clerical worker who had signed a petition protesting the witch-hunt against the FOSYL.

The YWLL hasn't left all the dirty work to the RSU—it helped defeat our demand at the October 14 Student Senate meeting that this blatantly discriminatory attack be reversed. The fight is on and we intend to win! One of those who submitted a statement protesting this petty, bureaucratic attempt to silence us—Tom Laurent—said it well:

"Since 1974 I have been on this campus—as a graduate student, graduate senator, worker and executive board member of the University Staff Association—and I know from experience that the Trotskyist program of the SYL/SL is desperately needed by the working class. To engage in slandering, censorship and strong-arm repression against them is to follow directly in the criminal Stalinist tradition which has been responsible for countless betrayals and defeats. If there are political differences, let them be debated openly and let the progress of events be the judge as to whose program is correct." ■

Smash Fascism...

(continued from page 12)

university administration "amend the Code of Student Conduct" to outlaw "anti-social behavior that manifests itself in violence or the threat of violence as a result of racist, sexist, anti-semitic and homophobic acts." This is nothing

more than a college level version of the "ban the Klan" strategy put forward by the CP/YWLL and liberals who appeal to the capitalist government to outlaw fascists. But a dying capitalism looks to fascism as its last desperate hope to retain its power—it has no interest in outlawing fascists. And every "anti-extremist" law passed by bourgeois politicians has been used first and foremost against leftists.

The newly formed coalition at UMass preaches reliance on the administration as part of the elitist illusion that a college campus is an ivory tower immune from the "real world" of racism and anti-gay bigotry. But universities in this country are part and parcel of capitalist rule and the administration, the hand-picked flunkies for the ruling class, have the job of upholding that rule. So it's not surprising that although the UMass administration pledged to take "swift and sure action" against UTOPIA, Dean of Students William Field would reveal his real intentions in his sinister suggestion to the *Daily Hampshire Gazette* (9 October) that the UTOPIA leaflet "was a devious trick by leftists to get attention." And you can be sure that the administration considers communism to be "anti-social behavior"—so who are they going to go after?

What is needed at UMass is not a moralistic plea to the administration, but *united action to stop the fascists in their tracks!* Defend gay students and the PGA! Drive UTOPIA off campus! For mobilization of labor and minorities to smash the fascists! ■

Greensboro Daily News



Greensboro, 1979: Klan/Nazis murdered leftists in cold blood.

\$2.50

Marxist Bulletin 5

WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

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

Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

homosexuals were abolished, and for the first time women had access to education, jobs and political participation on an equal basis with men. And this was in 1917, when women in the "democratic" U.S. couldn't even vote.

The Bolsheviks showed that the rule of capital and its attendant exploitation and oppression could be broken, and the reaction of the imperialists was quick in coming. All the imperialist powers, including the U.S., sent massive military aid, including troops, to the pro-Tsarist Whites in the civil war which ravaged the young proletarian state. Although Trotsky's Red Army was victorious, the social and economic devastation of continual war from 1914 to 1920 plunged the country into famine and economic collapse. This economic collapse, the decimation of the proletariat in the civil war, the centuries-long backwardness of a largely peasant country and the USSR's isolation after the failure of the revolutionary wave in capitalist Europe were the conditions which allowed the crystallization of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which has usurped political control from the Russian working class. The degeneration of the Communist Party under Stalin was bitterly opposed in the 1920s by Trotsky's Left Opposition, which fought to preserve the program of Leninist internationalism. This culminated in Trotsky's exile, the murder of his supporters and finally his own assassination by a Stalinist agent in 1940.

Sixty years of Stalinist degeneration have dimmed the glow of October; the USSR today is a far cry from the revolutionary beacon it was under Lenin. But historic conquests still remain—the socialized property and planned economy—and these must not perish. We call for unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism; as part of our defense of proletarian property we fight for a political revolution against the Stalinist usurpers to restore the democratic rule of the workers soviets.

Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!

The present crisis in Poland starkly shows the gulf between Stalinism and Bolshevism. The Stalinists have mortgaged the Polish economy to the Western bankers, capitulated to the Church and the small-holding peasants and lorded it over the workers with bureaucratic privileges and corruption. The Stalinists have squandered the socialist tradition of the Polish workers' movement, turning "communism" into a dirty word, and driving the Polish workers, organized in Solidarność, into the arms of the Church, the CIA and the imperialist financiers. With its first congress this September, Solidarność consolidated around a counterrevolutionary program. For example, it called for Poland to join the International Monetary Fund, the notorious imperialist loan shark operation which imposes austerity through police-state terror in Latin America, Asia and

Africa. With its program of "market socialism" and especially its championing of "free trade unions"—long a battle cry of Cold War anti-Communism—Solidarność outlines a course for capitalist restoration.

The imperialists support Polish Solidarity in the name of "freedom." This means "freedom" like in South Africa, whose racist apartheid butchers have become increasingly a prominent part of the "free world." In Solidarność, U.S. imperialism sees an opening to bring Poland back into the capitalist orbit. Solidarity's counterrevolutionary thrust for power in Poland must be stopped at all costs and by any means necessary. The destruction of socialized property relations in Poland would be an historic defeat for the Polish working class while emboldening the power-mad



Austrian and Russian soldiers fraternizing at the front, 1917.

U.S. rulers in their drive toward nuclear holocaust against the USSR.

It is no surprise that the anti-Communist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, forged in the 1950s McCarthy period when "reds" were forcibly purged from the labor movement, is deeply involved in this enterprise. The American union tops are up to their necks in the U.S. government schemes to manipulate the Polish crisis as a spearhead of the imperialist drive to "roll back" Communism. In this the trade-union bureaucrats are joined by the reformist left—notably Michael Harrington's "State Department socialists" in the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and their would-be replacements of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—both of which take an identical line to that of the pro-imperialist labor skates. Trailing along behind the anti-Soviet cabal, DSOC and the SWP embrace the Polish company union for the CIA and bankers.

Reformists Tail Anti-Soviet Liberals

In outlining his budget proposals, Reagan made it clear what his armaments program would mean:

"None of these steps will be easy. We're going through a period of difficult and painful readjustment. I know that we're asking for sacrifices from virtually all of you. But there is no alternative."

—New York Times,
25 September

There is a bipartisan consensus on the necessity of increased military spending—the liberal Democrats agree with

Reagan that the U.S. must be able to counter and defeat the "Soviet threat." Hence, opposition to Reagan's war budget has been narrowly economic—the dispute is over *how* to pay for the guns. Reagan wants to cut taxes while holding down the budget deficit by the wholesale dismantling of social programs. Many Wall Street financiers urge Reagan to raise taxes to cover the deficit, fearing the effect of higher inflation on the already weak bond market. The liberals want to keep *some* of the social programs *and* the weapons, which means either skyrocketing inflation, as in the last year of Carter's administration, or wage/price controls to increase the rate of exploitation.

Meanwhile, the reformist left demands restoration of the budget cuts, with at most a call to trim, not abolish,

military spending. Even the pro-Moscow Stalinists are forced to ignore the *purpose* of Reagan's cutbacks—to finance the anti-Soviet war drive—because they want a bloc with the liberals.

No Illusions in Disarmament!

The Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), following their Kremlin mentors, still push the illusions of détente and disarmament through SALT II, III, IV and more while Reagan with bipartisan support assembles first-strike weapons and pumps CIA money into Poland. "Peaceful coexistence" with imperialism has been the Stalinist Holy Grail for decades. For the Kremlin its high water mark was in 1972 when Nixon signed SALT I. However SALT I did not indicate that the U.S. imperialists suddenly dropped their fundamental hostility to the USSR. Rather the Vietnam War diverted funds from U.S. strategic weaponry and allowed the Soviets to catch up, ending the previous American superiority in that area. SALT I bought time for the imperialists to develop their next generation of nuclear weapons and required the Soviets to dismantle some of theirs. Today, the last thing on Reagan's mind or that of his Democratic opponents is arms limitations.

As for the fake Trotskyists of the SWP/YSA, their leader, Jack Barnes, called for the USSR to disarm unilaterally!

"Think of the stupendous impact it would have on people throughout the

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

—"Correcting Some Errors on Afghanistan," SWP International Internal Information Bulletin, No. 4, December 1980

Barnes and Co. accept the argument that "Soviet aggression" is the reason for imperialist militarism—if only the Russians would pull out of Afghanistan and scrap their nuclear arsenal, then maybe Reagan would become more peaceful too! This is not merely utopian, it is positively criminal. For the Soviets to unilaterally disarm in the face of the most dangerous imperialist power the world has ever seen would be a certain invitation for annihilation.

Violence is inherent in capitalism, it's not an aberration that can be reformed away. As Trotsky wrote in 1938:

"Disarmament?—But the entire question revolves around who will disarm whom. The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers. But to disarm the bourgeoisie the workers must arm themselves."

—"The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International"

This was the path of Luxemburg and Liebknecht who said "The main enemy is at home!" against the social democrats who supported the Kaiser. It was the path of Lenin and the Bolsheviks who disarmed the Russian bourgeoisie through proletarian revolution. It is in those revolutionary traditions that the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League stands today—building the party to lead the working class to victory and end the imperialist war drive for good. ■

Maoists...

(continued from page 3)

Beijing Review, 10 March 1980.

—Supports the woman-enslaving feudal mullahs in Afghanistan against the Red Army.

—Supports Pol Pot in Cambodia. Invaded Vietnam in 1979 as cat's paw of U.S. imperialism. Supports the capitalist monarchy of Thailand—a U.S. puppet where children are bought and sold as slaves to work in sweatshops—against the Vietnamese deformed workers state.

—Lauds Solidarność' drive for counterrevolution in Poland backed by a new "Holy Alliance" of the pope, Wall Street, German bankers and the CIA.

—Embraced the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, granting it a \$58 million loan.

—Together with the CIA, sent advisers to assist the 1975 South African invasion of Angola against the Cuban and Soviet-backed MPLA forces.

The list goes on. So, the position of pro-China Stalinists like *Unity* and the PSO can only be to support the U.S. imperialists and urge them on to ever more violent attacks on the USSR.

Defend the Soviet Union!

Trotskyists stand for the unconditional military defense of the USSR, and all the states where capitalism has been overthrown, from imperialist attack. Reagan has made El Salvador one of the front lines of the increasingly hot Cold War. And the defense of the conquests of the working class worldwide—including the overthrow of capitalism in China in 1949—demands the *defeat* of the bloody Salvadoran junta and the establishment of a workers and peasants government. The PSO's "no comment" means that they would be perfectly happy to see Duarte's butchers crush the Salvadoran masses. Thus, it's no surprise that the next PSO meeting drew only five people. It was the SYL which presented a revolutionary program to new students looking for a fighting leftist youth organization. ■

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

- Title of publication: *Young Spartacus*.
- Publication No.: 01622692
- Date of filing: 1 October 1981
- Frequency of issue: Monthly (except December/January & June/July/August).
- No. of issues published annually: 9.
- Annual subscription price: \$2.00.
- Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007.
- Complete mailing address of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007.
- Full names and complete mailing address of publisher, editor and managing editor: Publisher—Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007; Editor—J. Marlow, 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007; Managing Editor—None.
- Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockhold-

ers owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.)

- Unincorporated association; Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007.
- Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities. (If there are none, so state.) None.
- For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates.
- Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total no. copies (net press run): 8,111. B. Paid circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 6,746; (2) Mail subscriptions: 1,039. C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 7,785. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 38. E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 7,823. F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 2,124. (2) Return from news agents: 0. G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 8,111.
- Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: A. Total no. copies (net press run): 10,500. B. Paid circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 6,746; (2) Mail subscriptions: 1,039. C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 7,785. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 38. E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 7,823. F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 2,677; (2) Return from news agents: 0. G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 10,500.
- I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed) J. Marlow, (editor)

Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

which has conquered one-sixth of the earth's surface, we will not be so ready to abandon it because of our hatred of the crimes and abominations of the bureaucracy. Do we turn our backs on a trade union because it falls into the control of bureaucrats and traitors? Ultra-leftists have frequently made this error, but always with bad results, sometimes with reactionary consequences.

We recall the case of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union here in New York. The bureaucrats of this union were about as vile a gang of labor lieutenants of the capitalist class as could be found. In the struggle against the left-wing in the middle twenties they conspired with the bosses and the A.F.L. fakers. They expelled the left-wing locals and used hired thugs to fight them and to break their strikes. The difference between them and Stalin was only a matter of opportunity and power. Driven to revolt against the crimes of these bureaucrats the left-wing, under the influence of the Communist Party in the days of its Third Period frenzy, labelled the union—not merely its treacherous bureaucracy—as a “company union.”

But this same “company union,” under the pressure of the workers in its ranks and the increasing intensity of the class struggle, was forced to call a strike to defend itself against the “imperialist” attack of the bosses. Workers who had kept their heads, supported (“defended”) the strike against the bosses. But the Stalinists, trapped by their own hastily-improvised theory, having already denounced the union as a company union, renounced support (“defense”) of the strike. They denounced it as a “fake” strike. Thus their ill-considered radicalism led them to a reactionary position. They were denounced, and rightly, throughout the needle trades market as strike breakers. To this day they suffer the discredit of this reactionary action.

To defend the Soviet Union as a gigantic labor organization against the attacks of its class enemies does not mean to defend each and every action of its bureaucracy or each and every action of the Red Army which is an instrument of the bureaucracy. To impute such a “totalitarian” concept of defense to the Fourth International is absurd. Nobody here will deny defense of a bona fide trade union, no matter how reactionary its bureaucracy. But that does not prevent us from discriminating between actions of the bureaucracy which involve a defense of the union against the bosses and other actions which are aimed against the workers.

The United Mine Workers of America is a great labor organization which we all support. But it is headed by a thoroughgoing scoundrel and agent of the master class who also differs from Stalin only in the degrees of power and opportunity. In my own personal experience some years ago, I took part in a strike of the Kansas miners which was directed against the enforcement of a reactionary labor law, known as the Kansas Industrial Court Law, a law forbidding strikes. This was a thoroughly progressive action on the part of the Kansas miners and their president, Alex Howat. Howat and the other local officials were thrown into jail. While they were in jail, John L. Lewis, as president of the national organization, sent his agents into the Kansas fields to sign an agreement with the bosses over the head of the officers of the Kansas district. He supplied strike breakers and thugs and money to break the strike while the legitimate officers of the union lay in jail for a good cause. Every militant worker in the country denounced this treacherous strike-breaking action of Lewis. But did we

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE CLASS SERIES

AMHERST

The Fight for Socialism
Alternate Saturdays, 1:00 p.m.
November 14, 28
Campus Center, 8th fl.
UMass Amherst
For more information: (413) 546-9906

ANN ARBOR

Marxism and the Fight for Proletarian Revolution
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 12, 19, December 3
Conf. Rm. 4, Michigan Union
For more information: (313) 662-2339

BERKELEY/OAKLAND

The ABC's of Communism
(Sociology and Chicano Studies 198)
Wednesdays, 1:00-3:00 p.m.
November 4, 11, 18, 25
Senate Chambers, Eshleman
University of California/Berkeley
For more information: (415) 835-1535

BOSTON

The Fight for Socialism
Brandeis:
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.
November 4, 18, December 2
Conf. Rm. C, Usdan
Harvard:
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.
November 11, 25, December 9
Phillips Brooks House
For more information: (617) 492-3928

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

Toward the World Socialist Revolution
Saturdays, 12:00 noon
November 7, 14, 21, December 3
UI/Champaign-Urbana
For more information: (312) 427-0003

CHICAGO

Toward the World Socialist Revolution
Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 5, 12, 19, December 3
Spartacist Bookstore,
523 S. Plymouth Ct., 3rd fl.
For more information: (312) 427-0003

DETROIT

Marxism and the Fight for Proletarian Revolution
Alternate Saturdays, 4:00 p.m.
November 7, 21, December 5
For more information: (313) 868-9095

LOS ANGELES

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today
Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
November 5, 19, December 3
Rm. 116, Music Bldg.
Los Angeles City College
For more information: (213) 662-1568

MADISON

Marxism and World Revolution
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 5, 19, December 3
Memorial Union
For more information: (608) 255-2342

NEW YORK

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution
Alternate Thursdays
November 12, 19, December 3
CCNY: 12:00 noon
305 Finley
Columbia: 7:00 p.m.
316 Hamilton
For more information: (212) 267-1025

OBERLIN

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 5, 19
Wilder 103
For more information: (216) 774-5501

SAN FRANCISCO

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today
Tuesdays, 12:00 noon
November 3, 10, 17
B-112, Student Union
San Francisco State University
For more information: (415) 863-6963

Trotskyist League of Canada Class Series

TORONTO

Marxism and the Fight for Socialist Revolution
Alternate Thursdays, 4:00 p.m.
November 12
Rm. 2111, Sid Smith
University of Toronto
For more information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 5, 19, December 3, 10
Rm. 215, UBC SUB
For more information: (604) 681-2422



therefore renounce support of the national union of mine workers? Yes, some impatient revolutionaries did, and thereby completely disoriented themselves in the labor movement. The United Mine Workers retained its character as a labor organization and only last Spring came into conflict with the coal operators on a national scale. I think you all recall that in this contest our press gave “unconditional defense” to the miners’ union despite the fact that strikebreaker Lewis remained its president.

The Longshoremen’s Union of the Pacific Coast is a bona fide organization of workers, headed by a Stalinist of an especially unattractive type, a pocket edition of Stalin named Bridges. This same Bridges led a squad of misguided longshoremen through a picket line of the Sailors’ Union in a direct attempt to break up this organization. I think all of you recall that our press scathingly denounced this contemptible action of Bridges. But if the Longshoremen’s Union, headed by Bridges, which is at this moment conducting negotiations with the bosses, is compelled to resort to strike action, what stand shall we take? Any ordinary class-conscious worker, let alone an educated Marxist, will be on the picket line with the Longshoremen’s Union or “defending” it by some other means.

Why is it so difficult for some of our friends, including some of those who are very well educated in the formal sense, to understand the Russian question? I am very much afraid it is because they do not think of it in terms of struggle. It is strikingly evident that the workers, especially the more experienced workers who have taken part in trade unions, strikes, etc., understand the Russian question much better than the more educated scholastics. From their experiences in the struggle they know what is meant when the Soviet Union is compared to a trade union that has fallen

into bad hands. And everyone who has been through a couple of strikes which underwent crises and came to the brink of disaster, finally to emerge victorious, understands what is meant when one says: *No position must be surrendered until it is irrevocably lost.*

I, personally, have seen the fate of more than one strike determined by the will or lack of will of the leadership to struggle at a critical moment. All our trade union successes in Minneapolis stem back directly to a fateful week in 1934 when the leaders refused to call off the strike, which to all appearances was hopelessly defeated, and persuaded the strike committee to hold out a while longer. In that intervening time a break occurred in the ranks of the bosses; this in turn paved the way for a compromise settlement and eventually victorious advance of the whole union.

How strange it is that some people

analyze the weakness and defects in a workers’ organization so closely that they do not always take into account the weakness in the camp of the enemy, which may easily more than counter-balance.

In my own agitation among strikers at dark moments of a strike I have frequently resorted to the analogy of two men engaged in a physical fight. When one gets tired and apparently at the end of his resources he should never forget that the other fellow is maybe just as tired or even more so. In that case the one who holds out will prevail. Looked at in this way a worn-out strike can sometimes be carried through to a compromise or a victory by the resolute will of its leadership. We have seen this happen more than once. Why should we deny the Soviet Union, which is not yet exhausted, the same rights?

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

Amherst: SYL, P.O. Box 176, Amherst, MA 01004, or call (413) 546-9906

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-Urbana: SYL, P.O. Box 2009, Champaign-Urbana, 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 M5W 1X8, or call (416) 593-4138

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8, or call (604) 681-2422

Young Spartacus

For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Smash Fascist Scum!

Daily Hampshire Gazette

SYL Initiates Anti-Fascist Demo at UMass Amherst

When fascist leaflets appeared at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst on October 8, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) immediately launched into action, initiating a demonstration which drew 400 students protesting the fascist threat. The fascists, calling themselves "UTOPIA," plastered the campus with a "let's clean up America" leaflet which went way beyond simple right-wing ideology and amounted to a despicable call for murder: "Private CIA Actions," "Wipe Out Latin American Leftists," "Promote White Supremacy." They said they want to "suppress," "eliminate" and "wipe out" blacks, gays, Iranians and leftists, and called for a rally outside the campus Yom Kippur services. The SYL recognized the UTOPIA leaflet as a serious provocation, so we soapboxed, contacted student organizations and mobilized a militant united protest to keep the fascists off campus.

At the demonstration, an SYL spokesman read the disgusting UTOPIA leaflet, and the crowd shouted "Hell, no!" to each of the fascists' demands. Looking to teach the fascist scum a lesson, the crowd continued yelling, "Not chants—action!" And when a ROTC member attempted to disrupt the protest by threatening the SYL spokesman and accusing the SYL of writing the leaflet for publicity, a student jumped in with a stick to defend the SYL speaker as the crowd picked up our chants of "ROTC off campus!" and sent the ROTC reactionary scurrying away. Just then, the Office of Third World Affairs, which is heavily influenced by the Stalinist Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL, youth group of the Communist Party) arrived with a sound system and rigged up a



speakers list which excluded the SYL, a despicable act of sectarianism which only served to weaken what should have been a united fight against the emergence of fascists on campus.

The YWLL was clearly afraid to confront the Trotskyist SYL politically.

The CP/YWLL calls on the racist U.S. government to outlaw fascism—which is counterposed to the SL/SYL's strategy of mobilizing labor and minorities to drive the fascists back into their sewers. And we have been successful. In Detroit in November 1979, we initiated a demonstration of 500 which prevented the KKK from "celebrating" its murder of five Communist Workers Party members in Greensboro, North Carolina in spite of the threats by Communist Party-supported black Democratic mayor Coleman Young to arrest the anti-Klan protesters. And in April 1980, we initiated a united front protest in San Francisco which drew 1,200 unionists, minorities and leftists, and prevented the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday. The CP/YWLL, meanwhile, tried to sabotage the demonstration, called on anti-labor Mayor Feinstein to revoke the Nazis' rally permit, and were nowhere to be seen when the Nazis were stopped in San Francisco. The CP/YWLL's reliance on bourgeois politicians to "ban the Klan" is a strategy of defeat for all the potential victims of fascist terror.

The fascists did not march at UMass Amherst on October 8, but since then they have been running a campaign of harassment and death threats against

gays on campus. A black gay student received notes signed by UTOPIA and slipped under his door which read, "Fag die" and "You have one week to live." And after moving to another dormitory, he found another note in the office of the Peoples' Gay Alliance (PGA), written on PGA stationery which said, "We know where you have moved to.... Now you have four days left." Also, the Gay and Lesbian Counselling Collective received two threatening phone calls and its office was broken into and the words "Fags die" were scratched into a room divider.

On the same day that the black gay student received the third death threat, an editorial written by one Michael Donoghue appeared in the *UMass Collegian*, defending UTOPIA: "The Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis may not be appealing to us, yet do we censor them or stifle them from expressing their opinions?" Yes, we do "stifle" them from initiating violence! In threatening the life of a black gay student and distributing its provocative leaflet on campus, UTOPIA has made it clear that it means business. Like its big brothers in the KKK and Nazis, UTOPIA is no discussion group: fascists deal in death threats, cross burnings and murder and must be crushed by united action of labor and minorities. Dismissing its actions as "pranks" or "jokes" is to deny the seriousness of fascist provocations—UTOPIA was testing the waters for future racist and anti-gay attacks. And these actions have nothing to do with "free speech": the fascists must be stopped before they grow. It is because UTOPIA has gotten away with issuing death threats that a student felt free to try to place an ad in the *Collegian* announcing that he "and other young men on campus" wanted to join UTOPIA.

The incidents at Amherst are not isolated instances either. Last spring, a cross was burned at Williams College, Nazi leaflets were distributed at Brown University and the president of the Harvard Black Student Association received a series of rape and death threats. And in September at Oberlin College in Ohio, 400 students protested when a cross was burned at the home of a black college employee and four days later an effigy of a homosexual was found on campus hanging next to a sign reading "Exterminate the gays." That fascists have begun spreading their filth on traditionally liberal college campuses is an indication of how far to the right the political climate in this country has moved in recent years. Ronald Reagan has declared war on communists, labor and minorities; the fascists see themselves as the vanguard in this reactionary crusade.

The most widespread response among students at both UMass Amherst and Oberlin right now is to call on the administration to somehow cleanse the "good name" of the college. At Amherst, a coalition has formed which includes the so-called radical groups and lists among its demands that the

UMass: Reinstate Socialist Organization!

A story, perhaps apocryphal, has circulated for several years about how to find a campus YWLL chapter. You approach a table laden with baked goods, plunk down your quarter and are told: "We don't sell cookies to Trotskyites." There is another and much more pernicious sure fire sign that Stalinists—be they the Maoist or pro-Moscow variety—are around. Some "radical" starts acting like the hired hand of the administration and tries every dirty trick in the book to kick your club off campus.

The SYL has come to the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. A

number of campus political opponents don't like it much—which is their right. But their vicious little campaign to legalize our campus organization is a set-up, an attempt to make us vulnerable to anti-communist administrators and cops. For that reason, it must be fought tooth and nail.

It started on October 1 when Jim Murphy, Student Government Association Registrar and "Radical" Student Union member, played "cop for a day" and unilaterally suspended the RSO (recognized student organization) status of the Friends of the

continued on page 9

continued on page 9.