

Young Spartacus

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March 27 El Salvador Protest



Our "Political Solution": Workers Revolution!

March 27: in El Salvador pathological killers "campaigned" in the electoral farce as rebel forces continued to fight pitched battles in the working-class suburbs of San Salvador. The bloody civil war still raged and the guerrilla forces had the junta on the run. In Washington, D.C., thousands massed to protest U.S. support to the junta butchers and were met with the spectacle of SWAT teams, mounted police, cops on cycles and on foot surrounding the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent. Our banners demanded "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents! Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!" Aided and abetted by the March 27 Coalition, organizers of the "official" protest, the D.C. police used an awesome display of power to seal off the revolutionaries from the rest of the march.

The March 27 Coalition action was called to support a "negotiated settlement" in El Salvador, to beg Reagan and Duarte for a deal. For the Democratic Party "doves," who oppose Reagan's policies precisely because they fear the workers and peasants will win and the U.S.-backed junta will lose, "negotiations" is an attempt to head off revolution. Comprised mainly of ostensible "left" organizations—notably Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP)

and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—along with the liberal Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), the Coalition was intent on using the protest to build the "respectable" bourgeois opposition (Teddy Kennedy sent greetings to the

rally). That meant sealing off the communists by any means necessary.

The reformists were in a politically indefensible position—the call for a negotiated settlement increasingly flies in the face of reality. The call for military victory is both obvious and

Cops Seal Off Left



attractive. So the March 27 Coalition leadership resorted to anti-communist slanders, exclusion, calling on and hiding behind the cops. By 7:00 a.m., 30 to 40 Coalition goons, mostly from Workers World Party, lined the entrance to Malcolm X Park, the demonstration assembly site. Shortly after 8:00 a.m., Park Police prevented a group from the Anti-Imperialist Contingent from entering the park as had been previously arranged, stating that they were acting on instructions from the Coalition. Between our Contingent and the assembly site stood a cordon of motorcycle cops, joined later by cops on horseback. Spartacist spokesmen argued strenuously against this violation of basic civil liberties. After we made clear our willingness to take mass arrests if necessary to enter the park, the cops backed down. CISPES organizers were unwilling to sign a statement that our presence in the park would constitute a danger. At 11:00 a.m., the Spartacist-led contingent marched into the park chanting "Junta No! Obreros Si! Overthrow the Bourgeoisie!"

Shortly following our entry into the park, our Contingent was again cordoned off—this time by a short-lived line of WWP and SWP goons and "marshals" recruited from the crowd by a variety of slimy means. One such

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Jail Richard Moss!

Eco-Racist Stabs Black at SF State

On February 26 a black student, Doris Collum, was stabbed for *smoking* by Richard E. Moss, a white graduate student and employee at San Francisco State University (SFSU). Collum brought a lit cigarette onto an elevator, there was a brief argument, and Moss plunged a 4-inch hunting knife into the woman's chest. Moss claimed, "I meant to stab her in the arm so I could breathe. But my aim may not have been terribly good" (*San Francisco Examiner & Chronicle*, 28 February). Moss was charged with assault with a deadly weapon and freed on \$3,500 bail. Both the bourgeois and campus press portrayed this racist atrocity as a militant non-smoker gone berserk—with no mention that it was a white man stabbing a black woman. In fact, what the Doris Collum stabbing represents is an intersection of a political climate of racist attacks, encouraged by the White House, and eco-faddist life-stylism for which San Francisco is a veritable Mecca.

Moss had been known to harass blacks in the cafeteria for smoking, but not whites in the office where he worked. One black student noted: "If it were me stabbing a white woman, I'd still be in jail. But since Moss is white and Collum is a black woman, he is still free on the streets again" (*S.F. State Phoenix*, 11 March). In fact, any black man accused of stabbing a white woman could very easily end up dead in a filthy jail cell, lynched by his racist cop jailers.

The SFSU administration first tried to give Moss a two-week *paid* leave.



San Francisco State: Hundreds of angry students demonstrated March 5 to protest racist stabbing of Doris Collum.

This racist arrogance prompted a militant demonstration on March 5. Several hundred angry students, mobilized primarily by the Pan Africanists, marched on the administration building demanding that Moss be fired and banned from employment within the California State University system. Moss was subsequently fired, and the administration claimed that its decision had nothing to do with the hundreds of students who occupied the fifth floor of the administration building. But firing is not enough! This knife-wielding racist

still walks free. The SYL says: Jail Richard Moss!

The SYL participated in the March 5 protest in solidarity with the predominantly black crowd which chanted "An attack on one is an attack on all!" as well as contributing to Doris Collum's legal/medical fund. But the Pan Africanist leaders wanted to monopolize the protest and especially didn't want communists around. Unable to argue politically against our program for integrated black and white struggle to stop racist and fascist attacks, the

wretchedly sectarian Pan Africanists tried to seal off the black students from the SYL and repeatedly attempted to racially polarize the protest. Goons were sent to force us to take down our signs, and a campus newspaper reporter who was interviewing a black SYLer was dragged away. The Pan Africanists' attempts to keep blacks physically and politically isolated can only increase the racial polarization at SFSU and encourage racist backlash and more Richard Mosses.

Eco-Racists: "Don't Smoke or Else!"

It is notably bizarre that only in California do racist murderers justify their acts on the basis of "clean air." In a sympathetic interview in the *S.F. Examiner & Chronicle* (28 February), Moss defended his murderous assault in "non-aggressive" eco-speak: "She attacked me and forced me to defend myself. She thought she had a right to pollute my air." And while Doris Collum was still in S.F. General Hospital, Moss claimed that *he* was the real victim.

Reaction to the stabbing showed that Moss is not alone—there are others who apparently believe that anything, including murder, is justified in the fight against Demon Nicotine. A lawyer listed in the phone book as Richard E. Moss received about 15 telephone calls, about a third of which were from "people who wanted to congratulate me for showing smokers that non-smokers

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EDITORIAL NOTES

The First Lady's New Clothes

As the saying goes, if you've got it, flaunt it. "First Lady" Nancy Reagan did precisely that at a recent white-tie dinner given for the Washington press corps. To pooh-pooh criticism over "gifts" from leading fashion designers (which are donated to museums after she wears them), she took part in a spoof. A reporter impersonated Nancy

Jim Nachtwey/Black Star



Second hand clothes?

Reagan singing "Second Hand Clothes," ending with "So what if Ronnie's cutting back on welfare. I'll still wear a tiara in my coiffed hair" (*Daily News*, 29 March). Not to be upstaged, Nancy Reagan followed with her own rendition, dressed in a red and yellow flowered skirt, a navy polka-dotted blouse and white pantaloons complete with blue butterflies. The assembled elite had a good laugh—those welfare people just don't know how to dress, do they.

It's enough to conjure up images of the court of Louis XVI feasting on peacock tongues while the French peasants starved. And while White House dinner guests nosh off \$1,000-a-plate china, Nancy Reagan's designer Adolfo has his creations manufactured by a sweatshop outfit which has been repeatedly fined for violations of labor laws. Maybe Nancy Reagan was thinking of the Chinese and Hispanic women who slave all day (and night) for less than minimum wage when she included the following in her ditty: "Even though they tell me that I'm no longer queen, Did Ronnie have to buy me that new sewing machine?" Amid shouts of "Bravo!" she smashed a plate on the stage to finish her act.

What drama! What glamorous decadence! What crap. We look forward to the day when the victorious American proletariat will usher this decadent ruling class into the dustbin of history. Then, Adolfo's sub-contracted wage slaves will have the last laugh. ■

Would-be Hit Man for Chilean Junta

Jail Paul Harberger!

On January 28 Paul Harberger attempted to mow down students and leftists, protesting against his father, Arnold Harberger, who was speaking that night at the University of Chicago. Arnold Harberger, along with Milton Friedman and his "Chicago Boys," is an architect of the murderous Chilean "shock treatment" and adviser to the Pinochet junta. While the elder Harberger spoke about how starvation increases profit, his son tried to run over a Spartacus Youth League (SYL)-organized picket line with his car.

The SYL has been seeking an assault conviction against Paul Harberger. On March 9 the case went before the Chicago criminal court for a determination on the SYL's motion to increase the charge against Paul Harberger from simple assault to aggravated assault, the highest misdemeanor in Illinois. Contradicting numerous eyewitness accounts, Harberger's counsel ludicrously claimed that "his car skidded, that one wheel, the left rear wheel went over; that there was no approach even to individuals." The judge ruled that there was enough evidence for the case to go to trial and granted the SYL's motion.

Perhaps Paul Harberger thought he was in Chile, where it's open season on the left and labor. Amnesty International recently described the treatment that the three-year-old daughter of a trade unionist received at the hands of the

junta: "They undressed her and whipped her with a leather whip. They put her in a barrel with ice water until she almost drowned. They threatened to rape her and whipped her again. This was repeated four times a day for four days." These scum are Harberger's friends, and the SYL will continue to protest the vicious junta and all of its sinister accomplices. We will not be intimidated by the demented progeny of Pinochet-lovers. Jail Paul Harberger! ■

Young Spartacus

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

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April 1982

NYC Anti-Imperialist Rally

El Salvador: Revolution or Death!

A benefit showing of "Revolution or Death" sponsored by the Anti-Imperialist Contingent was held at the Machinists' Hall in New York City March 20. The program featured a slide show by Tom Janota, the last Peace Corps teacher to leave El Salvador. Janota, New York-area trade unionists and Spartacist League speakers urged the 180 attendees to take a side in the Salvadoran civil war and join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent in demonstrating in Washington March 27 for leftist military victory.

The rad-lib Guardian refused to publish a paid ad for the film showing (see illustration). This anti-democratic act was part of a concerted effort by "left" apologists for the liberal wing of imperialism to suppress the expression of anti-imperialist views in the El Salvador protest milieu.

We publish below some edited excerpts from the remarks of Workers Vanguard editor Jan Norden at the New York meeting.

The Spartacist League has initiated the Anti-Imperialist Contingent to march in Washington, D.C. on March 27 for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador." Why military victory? There's a civil war going on there; you have the workers and

The reformists and liberals say they're for a "political solution" with the junta. What does that mean? You know in the American Civil War they had people who were for a "compromise" like that with the slave South. They called them "Copperheads." These were the "peace Democrats," and they had a saying describing these traitors to the Union cause: "A rattlesnake rattles, a viper hisses, an adder spits, a black snake whistles, a water snake blows but a copperhead just sneaks!" Sounds sort of like Jack London's definition of a scab, doesn't it? Why were they so hated? Well, just think what it would have meant for slavery if there had been a "political solution" with Jefferson Davis! It was necessary to win that civil war—there were fundamental questions at stake as in El Salvador today, and you have to take a side. Which side are you on, that's the basic question here.

I want to say a couple of words about Vietnam. Remember when radicals used to chant, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, NLF is Gonna Win!" and Che Guevara's slogan "Two, Three, Many Vietnams!" Well today the ex-radicals who are organizing the El Salvador protests are saying "No More Vietnams!" This slogan really tells the story of who they are—the equivalent of the Democratic Party "doves" of yesteryear. The pro-



Workers Vanguard Photo

Nearly 200 people rallied for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the Machinists Hall in New York City March 20.

teams of gusano thugs; they're planning a blockade of Nicaragua and talking about mining the harbor in Havana—which could unleash a third world war, let's be clear about that. And these turkeys in CISPES claim it's just a question of "self-determination," communism's got nothing to do with it! We as Trotskyists don't ignore the imperialists' Cold War drive—we oppose it, from El Salvador to Poland. Despite the Stalinist degeneration and deformation of the Soviet bloc, we defend it against imperialism. And we say exactly where we stand.

At bottom, on the issue of military victory, on defense of Cuba and Russia, it's the question of workers revolution. We're for it and they're against it. For example, the last argument that they give you is "the Salvadorans" are for a "political solution," so who are the Spartacists to object? Well, who are "the Salvadorans"? Are the FDR leaders who are sitting in Mexico or Washington, or are they the guerrillas out in the hills fighting to liberate their people. And I can name you one Salvadoran who was for a workers and peasants' victory. His name was Farabundo Martí, the Communist leader of the 1932 peasants uprising that the military butchers drowned in blood in the infamous *La Matanza*, or massacre.

Today the FMLN guerrilla leaders usurp his name, but here's what Farabundo Martí called for in 1932:

"The Communist Party calls all poor workers and peasants of El Salvador to bloody struggle against the national bourgeoisie, who are unconditionally allied to Yankee imperialism."

That isn't exactly calling for a "negotiated settlement" with the junta! Can you imagine the CISPES "doves" saying that today? No, they would denounce it as "ultra-leftism." The man was obviously a Spartacist plant in El Salvador! And by the way the Salvadoran revolutionary poet Roque Dalton wrote a poem called "Ultralefts" in honor of Martí which is very much to the point.

Why are the minor league capitalist politicians of the Salvadoran FDR opposition opposed to victory for what is supposedly their side? One of them, Rubén Zamora, told *Newsweek* that they opposed military victory because it would make the U.S. "completely hostile" and the "business community" would leave, making "pluralism" impossible. Well, he has a correct perception of what the consequences would be. It would threaten the possibility of a reformed capitalist system, without the death squads but with the army.

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Workers Vanguard Photo

Campaigning to build the Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

peasants on one side pitted against a dictatorship of pathological killers in uniform protecting big landowners who live like feudal lords. And we want the workers and peasants to win the war. It's as simple as that.

How can anyone who considers themselves a leftist or socialist be for anything else but military victory? Do you think that the masses of the people of El Salvador are fighting only to put in a bunch of "democratic" landlords and "moderate" politicians who curry favor with Uncle Sam? No, they want to free themselves from decades of oppression by a landlord-capitalist regime and the longest-lasting military dictatorship in the Americas—half a century the Salvadoran colonels have been in power. As the title of the film we've seen tonight puts it, the choice is "Revolution or Death." We're for the former.

That film is a year old now, and what has changed? Mainly what's changed is that anybody who today calls for a negotiated solution looks more and more like fools, or people who are trying to sabotage the struggle. The rebels just defeated a junta offensive on the Guazapa volcano only 20 miles from the capital, and now there's fighting in the working-class suburbs. What's posed now is to take San Salvador! But you aren't going to find the official organizers of the March 27 march—CISPES and all the reformists, CP/SWP/Marcyites and so on—calling to "Take San Salvador!" It wouldn't please Teddy Kennedy.

imperialist "doves," I should say, because what they object to about Vietnam is that it was a *losing* military adventure by the United States. That's what the Teddy Kennedys object to. And the reformists want to keep the El Salvador protests "ready for Teddy," just like they kept the Vietnam antiwar movement "clean for Gene" McCarthy. Well, we're revolutionaries. We have an opposite program. Our slogan is "Vietnam was a Victory—Two, Three, Many Defeats for Imperialism!"

Another point about Vietnam: the victory came in 1973-75 when they drove the American army and its Saigon puppets literally into the sea and they became boat people. But there was a "political solution" in Vietnam, the Geneva Accords of 1954. It was a "compromise." They divided the country in half, leaving the South to the Duarte of the time—his name was Ngo Dinh Diem. And it took another 20 years and over a million dead in Indochina before they were able to drive the imperialists and the landlords and their corrupt torturing generals out. That "political solution" was a *betrayal* of the Indochinese revolution, and if it happens in El Salvador today, it won't be any different.

Now the same reformists and liberals object to our slogan, "Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in El Salvador." They want to duck the question of Russia at the very time that Haig is "drawing the line against Communism" on "America's doorstep." The U.S. is sending in Green Berets and CIA hit

The ad the Guardian refused to print. The "independent radical newsweekly" wouldn't run it because Military Victory isn't an acceptable "principle of unity"—and it's "bad for business" too!

RALLY

El Salvador: Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents

Movies—"Revolution or Death"

"El Salvador: Which Side Are You On?"

May 3 Anti-Imperialist Contingent marches in Washington D.C.

Slide Show—EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

Tom Janota, last Peace Corps volunteer to leave El Salvador

—and Speakers—

Saturday March 20 7:30pm

Machinists Hall 7 E.15th St. New York City

Build the Anti-Imperialist Contingent in Washington D.C. March 27!

BUS TICKETS CALL SPARTACIST: (212) 267-1025

"Blacks Don't Cry for Polish Solidarność!"

Black Marxist Speaks on Fighting Reagan Racism

We print below the edited speech given March 6 by Ed Kartsen at Howard University in Washington, D.C. Kartsen, a New York City transit worker, was the guest speaker at the SL/SYL-sponsored forum.

Reagan is trying out, right now, a vicious attack against the minimum, token demands of the civil rights movement. He's carrying out a policy of rollback across the line, rollback of these minimum gains, rollback of the gains of the labor movement, and rollback of what he considers to be those countries around the world which are outside the direct control of American imperialism. There's been manifest hypocrisy on this question of Poland's Solidarność. Reagan talks about human rights, freedom and dignity for the masses of Polish oppressed at the same time he's carrying out unparalleled attacks against labor and black people in this country. The examples are raised time after time in the newspaper about how communism is an unworkable system because the Poles are in line for a cut of steak and if they don't get it they riot, while in this country they have cheese lines. People have to present documentation to prove that they need cheese, as if standing out in the cold and freezing to death for a piece of stale cheese isn't enough. Reagan has a campaign for "human dignity" in Poland while his attitude toward the Haitians represents genocidal practice. He's taking these Haitians who are attempting to flee from the American-supported dictatorship in Haiti across shark-infested waters and sending them to Lake Placid, one of the more freezing cold points of the United States, the American Siberia.

He cries about repression against these Solidarność counterrevolutionaries while at the same time he pushes the advocates of law and order and states' rights around this country. Anybody who remembers states' rights remembers what that meant during the period of civil rights. It meant that the local racist authorities had the right to basically use their police departments and state troopers to maintain racist law and order, Jim Crow. Reagan's policies embolden racist terrorists throughout this country, and his campaign to abolish the Voting Rights Bill resulted in intimidation of black people at the polls and terror, including the arrest of the black women in Alabama who were attempting to carry out voter registration. Reagan wants to make segregation an official policy of the government. He calls for tax exemptions to schools that practice racism. Not only is he opposed to any busing plans that would extend the access of black children to equal education, but he's gone on a campaign to roll back the buses. Existing busing plans are being virtually annihilated.

What he has made clear is that the liberal illusions in reform, of black liberation within the system, are nothing but a utopian illusion. Not only in respect to education and jobs, but across the board, across the country, there has been an intensification of open and blatant terror against blacks, on the part of both Klan terrorists as well as the police. One recent example is the Ron Settles case, where a black football player was grabbed on some minor violation outside of L.A., thrown in jail and found dead the next morning. The cops responsible for this got off scot-free.

Black people, as part of the general attacks against the working class in this country, are being driven into pauperism, driven out of production, driven out of jobs. One of the most stark illustrations of this fact is what's going on in Detroit, where you have plant closures, massive layoffs and a capitulatory union leadership which negotiated to give back many rights, many jobs to the companies. Black unemployment is over 17.4 percent, over 50 percent for black youth, and in Detroit blacks with over ten years' seniority, skilled as well as non-skilled labor, are being thrown out onto the streets.

Bankruptcy of Liberal Black Establishment

Responsibility for the lack of leadership that black people have today must be squarely placed on the liberal-pacifist illusions which tied the civil rights movement to the Democratic Party. It was this whole policy which concretized the whole theme of the civil rights movement, which was that it is possible for blacks to achieve the same upward mobility as all other ethnic groups, to simply acquire a certain amount of rights, of access to higher education and through that process gain more and more access to better-paying jobs, eliminating the extreme inequality and impoverishment of black people. What this meant in more concrete terms was reliance on the federal government, reliance on federal troops for protection against race terror. And under those conditions blacks were subjected to repeated attacks.

Some people may be familiar with instances where federal troops went into the South, supposedly to defend blacks



Ed Kartsen

against racist terror. But if you look at the actual examples you will find that the opposite is true. In Little Rock 1957, the desegregation orders were given at a school by a local judge. There was a month of racist attacks against black students who came and attended the school. And it was only after blacks came out armed that Eisenhower sent troops in. The troops were used to roll back the integration of the schools that was going on at that time. In fact the judge who ordered the integration was replaced by a segregationist. And the heads of the civil rights commission were stacked with Dixiecrats.

In Birmingham 1963, after a series of bombings where several black children were killed, blacks could no longer tolerate the non-violent advocacy of their local preachers and politicians and Democratic liberals. The point was reached where blacks began to appear armed and organized in the streets. Then Kennedy sent in the troops.

The few gains that blacks have won are being ripped back. It's a clear demonstration that reform within the context of capitalism is temporary. The Spartacist League's 1967 document "Black and Red" is based on a revolutionary program with respect to black liberation. It called for the mobilization of workers both North and South, black and white, and civil rights caucuses within the labor movement. It fought for the organization of the unorganized, to tie the labor movement to the whole fight within the black community for jobs. It raised demands which spoke concretely to the economic roots of black oppression, a sliding scale of black oppression, a sliding scale of

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Iran, Afghanistan Down with the Veil!

Following Ed Kartsen's presentation, a Maoist rose to support the Polish and Afghan counterrevolutionaries fighting "Soviet imperialism." The "democracy" sought by these reactionaries certainly doesn't include women—the Polish Catholic nationalists' vision is the pregnant wife in the kitchen with the kids, and the Afghan mullahs fight to maintain a system where women are bought and sold. Below we print SYL member Therese Johann's reply.

When I first came around the Spartacus Youth League one of the questions that was big was Afghanistan. And in Afghanistan your "freedom fighters" are one of the most reactionary backward bunch of garbage mullahs that you could possibly get.

So what was going on in Afghanistan was a civil war. There was a Soviet-supported government in Afghanistan which was making some reforms. It was saying women have got the right to learn to read and write. They have got the right not to wear these veils that let not even one eye

show! They should have access to the political life of the country.

The bride price was reduced—little girls there are sold. And you know what's considered the best? A girl before she has her [first] menstrual period, to get her into the house of the men, it's considered the best thing. Men have the right to beat them, they have the right to do anything that they want to those women. The mullahs and landlords who got a cut off of these little girls being sold, they're parasites.

These are the "freedom fighters" that you support, the "freedom fighters" that the CIA gives money to for guns—against the "social-imperialism" of the Soviet Union. Well, the Soviet Union did not go in there for altruistic reasons. U.S. imperialism has ringed the USSR with missiles to attack Moscow, to overthrow those gains in the Soviet Union, like the planned economy. So they went in there because one of their borders was being threatened and we did support it.

If you look at Uzbekistan, which is right across the border from Afghani-



Islamic veil: prison for women

stan, it used to have the same Islamic customs before the Russian Revolution. Now, women there are doctors, they're lawyers, they learn to read and write, they're political, they win gold medals at the Olympics. They can get divorced; they don't have to be beaten to death. These are real gains, and let me tell you: that alone shows that your politics are completely reactionary!

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

Friday: 5:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph 3rd Floor (near 17th Street),
Oakland, California
Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago

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

New York City

Tuesday: 6:00-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 12:00-4:00 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

French Trotskyists vs. CP on Poland

Anti-Soviet Thugs Foiled at Tolbiac Campus

ADAPTED FROM LE BOLCHÉVIK
NO. 32, APRIL 1982

Since the Polish countercoup against Solidarność' attempt to seize power, French campuses have seen numerous anti-Communist attacks reflecting the Cold War hysteria whipped up by the Mitterrand government. During the university elections at the Tolbiac campus of the Panthéon-Sorbonne University in Paris, ten members of UNEF-Renouveau, one of the student groups of the Communist Party (PCF), were forced to take refuge in a campus office by an attack of goons from the social-democratic Lambert group. A similar incident was reported by the UEC (Union of Communist Students) in Aix-en-Provence.

In January, the Ligue Trotskyste (LTF, section of the international Spartacist tendency) proposed to the Union of Communist Students at Tolbiac a public debate on Poland. When the UEC rejected the proposal, claiming the LTF "doesn't represent anything," the Trotskyists announced an "open-chair debate" to be held March 2. The meeting took place under a virtual state of siege as 30-40 goons of the "left" groups tried to storm the door of the lecture hall to bust up the meeting. Defenders of the meeting maintained a degree of order and a lively discussion on Poland took place. But after the meeting, the *vigiles* (campus cops) joined with goons drawn mainly from the *autonomes* (anarchists) in a vicious assault on some 20 comrades as they were leaving. The *vigiles* were seen kicking an LTF supporter in the head and two comrades had to be treated at a hospital after they had been tear-gassed by the ultra-dubious *autonomes*.

Perhaps the emboldened social-democrats expected the LTF to disappear leaving the campus to them. Instead, teams of LTF supporters distributed thousands of leaflets at Tolbiac and circulated a protest petition among students, faculty and campus unionists.

Warning that "when the campus cops impose political censorship on campus, watch out," the campaign successfully exposed and isolated a small hard core of enraged anti-communist provocateurs and reaffirmed the LTF's right to organize around its political views at Tolbiac.

"Will the UEC Dare to Take Its Seat?"

The mood of Cold War hysteria has the PCF on the run. The fundamental class collaborationism of the PCF, a mass workers party which is no less reformist than Mitterrand's Parti Socialiste (PS) but which continues to enjoy the support of the most advanced workers, disarms the PCF in the face of a "socialist" government headed by one of Europe's leading anti-Soviet Cold Warriors. The Polish events capped by

the imposition of martial law in December fueled social-democratic moods of anti-Sovietism to white heat. With Mitterrand in office and the PCF in the "ghetto" of isolation, anti-Soviet crusaders including the social-democratic "left" and the extremely suspicious *autonomes* feel the wind in their sails.

The LTF, a small Trotskyist organization, has fought back. Exposing the Solidarność "free trade union" as a *company union* for the CIA and German/U.S. bankers, the LTF forthrightly opposes the imperialists' plans for capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe, expressed through the clericalist/nationalist Solidarność. On the campuses the LTF fights to break students from support to the capitalist Mitterrand government and win pro-socialist youth to the internationalist perspective of Trotskyism. Over Poland

the LTF has campaigned on the slogans: "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution! Not the Pope's Poland but a Workers Poland! For Revolutionary Unity of Polish and Russian Workers Through Political Revolution!" The LTF's perspective is for a working-class vanguard party in Poland based on the Polish proletariat's recovery of its proud socialist traditions, systematically destroyed by Stalinism.

It was as part of this political campaign that the LTF challenged the Tolbiac UEC to a public debate over Poland. The debate challenge dated 15 January (see box) sparked considerable interest among the young Stalinists on campus and one UEC honcho complained that the LTF had done such a good job getting the challenge into the hands of rank-and-file UEC members

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11 December 1981: 400 French and immigrant workers, students and leftists marched in LTF-organized anti-fascist mobilization in Normandy town of Rouen.

Le Bolchevik

Ligue Trotskyste Debate Challenge to Tolbiac UEC

Ligue Trotskyste de France
International Spartacist tendency
Paris, 15 January 1982

To the sectional office of the UEC-
Tolbiac/Jussieu

Comrades,

As you know, after the countercoup that short-circuited Solidarność' counterrevolutionary attempt to take power in Poland, the right wing and the social-democrats began a hysterically anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign which had particularly serious effects on the campuses. Some, like the OCI (notorious for its anti-communism), went as far as gangsterism. Unfortunately, this campaign did not encounter any unified defense reaction on the part of those who declared themselves against Solidarność' counterrevolution and for defense of the Soviet Union against

imperialism's Cold War campaign, as we have already pointed out to several UEC militants to whom we proposed a military bloc to defend the sales of our respective newspapers.

Worse yet, we observe that at least part of the Tolbiac UNEF [National Union of French Students] got carried away by the anti-communist current and took part in the demonstration in favor of Solidarność on December 14. Nevertheless we know from discussions we have had that there are militants in the UEC who declare their intention "to recruit on the basis of the defense of socialism in Poland." These militants are probably asking themselves a number of questions that are in our opinion crucial for anyone calling himself a communist: Why have millions of Polish workers, exasperated by the bureaucracy's incompetence and parasitism, been pushed into the camp of counterrevolution? Why were

the development of capitalist elements in the campaigns and the extension of the Catholic church's influence tolerated and even encouraged? How is it that the Polish economy is hostage to the imperialist banks? How did it happen that the noble traditions of the Polish Communism of Rosa Luxemburg and Felix Dzerzhinski were destroyed, leaving in their place the empty shell of the PUWP?

We have answers to these questions. Of course, you have other positions. As some of you must know, the Ligue Trotskyste is the organization which had intended to give critical support to Marchais until the racist incident at Vitry which prevented it; which had the slogan "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" two years ago; which proposed a united front to defend a UEC meeting on Afghanistan at Tolbiac last year after a fascist attack; and which denounced Walesa's capitalist-

restorationist program in Poland when he visited Paris last October.

We are convinced that the confrontation of our respective political programs over the question "How to defend the social gains in Poland?" would be tremendously useful in clarifying the question. In addition, such a debate, jointly defended by a monitors' squad from both organizations if necessary, would be a way to make a concrete counterthrust to the anti-Soviet campaign presently being organized on the campuses. We are of course prepared to consider any proposals you make as to how such a debate can best be organized, and toward that end we propose a meeting of representatives from our two organizations to discuss the formalities of the debate.

Communist greetings,
Ligue Trotskyste de France

TAKE A SIDE! JOIN US!



At the Anti-Imperialist Contingent rally, SYL National Committee member Alison Spencer stressed the need for rally participants to continue to take a side—not only with the Salvadoran rebels, but also with the working class at home and against the Reagan/Haig anti-Soviet war drive—by joining the Spartacus Youth League. We print below excerpts from comrade Alison's speech.

You all know why you're here today, why you joined the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, why we're marching for military victory to the leftists in El Salvador. But what I want to ask you is where are you going to be tomorrow? When we go home from D.C., the struggle still continues. Reagan and Haig haven't given up their war drive to soak the workers in blood in El Salvador, to return capitalism to the Soviet Union and Cuba. And the workers who spoke here today go back to the plants and they still face layoffs and plant closings. So it's not the question of just one protest in Washington, it's the question of building a class-struggle workers party here at home.

During the Vietnam War, a lot of people just demonstrated to bring the American boys home. Well, our boys were the North Vietnamese and they drove the Americans home by winning on the battlefield. The antiwar movement collapsed as soon as the American boys came home. But did the Pentagon collapse? No! We've got Reagan and Haig in power today. They haven't collapsed—in fact they're rearmed and they've picked El Salvador to be their winnable example.

CISPES and PAM are into the old one-shot protest politics: you go to Washington, plead with the Democratic Party, stump for your congressman and then go home. Well, we have a different kind of politics—we are building a party. Mark from Harvard talked about the demonstration against Marine recruiters that the

Spartacus Youth League built on that campus. The Marines had a slogan that they were looking for a few good men. Well, I don't think that it's such a bad slogan. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League are looking for a few good men and women. So you should join us.

The kind of demonstrations we want to see in Washington are thousands and thousands of union workers—and not on a Saturday but on a Wednesday or a Thursday when they shut down their factories, march through D.C. and tell Reagan and Haig that if they don't stop the war against their class brothers in El Salvador, there's going to be no work here at home. They're going to shut down those factories. The kind of politics that the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League put forward is for labor to hot cargo all military goods to the Salvadoran junta, concrete acts of labor solidarity.

The demonstrations the Spartacus Youth League builds on the campuses against the draft are not "save my middle-class ass" like CISPES and PAM talk about, but we take a side. We say no draft, class war! We take a stand with our brothers and sisters in El Salvador to defeat U.S. imperialism at home and abroad. Students in El Salvador don't have the luxury of participating in a protest action one day a year because every day is a class war for them. When they go to school, they find the bodies of their friends and classmates along the roadside. And we want to put an end to that, and the only way is a military victory of the leftist insurgents in El Salvador.

So in El Salvador 30,000 have died in less than three years and a lot more will die if there's a negotiated settlement. Why? Because the FDR tells them to lay down their guns. But the workers and peasants know it's revolution or death. There's been no shortage of struggle, but there has been a shortage of leadership. We

need a Salvadoran Spartacist League to tell them to fight it through to the end, to take San Salvador.

In this country, as workers are facing plant closings and layoffs and the union bureaucrats say, "Hey, it's bad times for the bosses, you know; we gotta give up all our wages to ensure job security," we need militants in the trade unions to say, "Sit-down strikes against layoffs! Break with the Democrats—for labor action to bring down Reagan!"

The reformists who marched by us today with their putrid green flags of liberal concern and their pleading with the Democratic Party, they say that working people and students aren't ready to win—it's only time to write your congressman. Well, I'm pretty young, but I've seen enough struggles lost and I think it's time to win both in El Salvador and here at home, to bring down Reagan through labor action. And the way that's going to be done is by building a revolutionary party and its youth league, the Spartacus Youth League.

If what's happening in Central America makes you mad, and if you're pissed off at the layoffs and plant closings and the rise of the KKK and Nazis, there is something you can do about it. But we're the only people who tell you what to do about it. So I want you to join us. Sign up on those lit tables and join the organization. We've had enough of defeats; it's time for victory.

I'll tell you something else, time is running out. Reagan and Haig sit on top of the biggest nuclear arsenal in the world. And they don't have those weapons to shine them up and put them in the Smithsonian 20 years from now. Before 20 years from now they intend to use them. And if there's a nuclear holocaust, we're never going to be in Washington for another protest action. So the question is to be active and red with the SYL or radioactive and dead—take a stand today and join us!

Our "Political Workers F

(continued from page 1)

recruit to the marshal squad wrote us that he and others had been lied to and told that "you [the SL/SYL] were 'crazy,' 'CIA provocateurs,' and that your recent young recruits were 'hot-heads who could not be controlled by the older party members...'" (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 302 for the complete text of March 27 Coalition marshal Stewart Baldwin's letter). We removed this anti-communist chain of linked-arm liars and dupes with dispatch.

The cops immediately moved in again and effectively turned our Contingent into a temporary detention center. People attempting to get in or out of the area were brutally hassled by the cops. For the rest of the afternoon, scores of riot cops and mounted police did the job WWP/CISPES were unable to do—sealing off the Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

"There's something over here that the police didn't want you to hear... whatever they don't want you to hear, I want to hear.... I agree with military victory to the insurgents."

gent, while another line of CISPES goons slunk behind the police.

Now the reformists, attempting to cover their shameless collusion with the D.C. cops in the service of their bankrupt pro-Democratic Party politics, are churning out fictionalized smear stories. The Socialist Workers Party has several tales: its publication for international consumption, *Intercontinental Press* (5 April), shamelessly seeks to co-opt our military victory slogan:

"...protesters consciously identified with the rebels the U.S. government seeks to crush...."

"It is a strength of the new antiwar movement in the United States that a large component consciously supports the victory of the rebel forces."

A "large component" of the March 27 demonstrators may well have supported the demand for rebel victory, but the SWP was not among them. It was on the other side of the barricades, drawing a hard physical line against the only organized contingent that "consciously supports the victory of the rebel forces."

While the *Intercontinental Press* account omits any mention of the Spartacist-led contingent or the massive police cordon, the SWP's American paper, the misnamed *Militant* (9 April), has no pretensions in the direction of "rebel victory." It takes the same tack the SWP took in Washington. Our slogan "No negotiations with butcher Duarte" is singled out as an example of ultra-leftism run amok. Managing not to mention the police line keeping us from the assembly site, the *Militant* relates that "the Spartacist League stood across the street from the demonstration and harassed people for joining it." Then the *Militant* descends to lies to justify having acted as cops: "disruption," "...a group of Spartacist goons physically attacked several demonstration marshals."

A similar account appears in the letters column of the "independent" radical *Guardian* newspaper (7 April). One "K.D." writes that:

"about 15 of its [the SL's] biggest goons... then charged our security line. I want to emphasize that their attack was totally unprovoked."

"Political Solution": Revolution!

Just what this "security line" was doing there K.D., like the *Militant*, does not tell his readers, nor does he take note at any point of the March 27 Coalition-abetted, cop-enforced exclusion of our Contingent. We are, presumably out of the blue, "escorted into Malcolm X park by the police." He concludes his slanderous "account" with "It was like chore-

"There's a ring of police keeping people out.... Now there's a whole ring of marshals as well.... They're trying to limit the size of this contingent, it seems to me."

ography—co-produced by the cops and the Spartacists."

Thousands were witness to the massive police cordon thrown around our Contingent all day and know that the "choreography" involved was that of the WWP/CISPES goons and the men in blue. Many at the assembly site did not wish to have their exposure to revolutionary politics censored by the Coali-

Workers Vanguard Photo



tion or their freedom of expression and assembly to be at the tender mercies of D.C. SWAT. *Young Spartacus* interviewed some of the protesters who joined us despite the awesome display of police power and the tireless efforts of the organizers of the "official" rally. Pete from Delaware told us:

"It just seemed pretty ridiculous that these cops won't let the people come over... that there's something over here that the police didn't want you to hear

"I don't think that the guerrillas can exist along with the right, the death squad people, the owners of the great estates. I mean, it's either-or, isn't it?"

and that sounded pretty good to me, whatever they don't want you to hear, I want to hear.... I agree with military victory to the insurgents."

Another protester from Pittsburgh was incensed:

"There's a ring of police keeping people out.... Now there's a whole ring of marshals as well.... They're trying to limit the size of this contingent, it seems to me."

Ed from southwestern Michigan crossed the police lines to join the Contingent and explained:

"I want the people to win. I want the junta out and a real democracy for them.... I don't think that the guerrillas can exist along with the right, the death squad people, the owners of the great estates. I mean, it's either-or, isn't it?"

"The march organizers have to answer some real serious questions as to why a certain tendency is cut off like that," noted a marcher from Cleveland. "It's obviously got something to do with the politics...."

Reports from these and other demonstrators who attempted to cross the cop barricades to join us confirm that, had they been free to do so, many more protesters would have taken a side on March 27 and joined with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. While the cops certainly served the March 27 Coalition's purpose, the massive scale of the police mobilization indicates that far more powerful forces than the miserable WWP/CISPES reformists had put a fix in against the SL/SYL contingent.

We had reason to expect that our contingent would face some organized force intent on exclusion or worse. Marcy's WWP has since last May 3 sought to seal us off with whatever it takes. CISPES, the SWP and the Communist Party have similarly engaged in exclusionism—invoking or provoking police intervention. An unprecedented level of rumored threats of violence against the Spartacist-led contingent circulated previous to March 27, and with Reagan in the White House, even liberals had reason to fear cop or extra-legal right-wing provocation. On March 16, we sent to the Coalition a letter offering:

"that our respective steering committees should make contact to acquaint each other with the relevant practical information on our plans, in the hope that such coordination in advance and on March 27 will enable us to avoid unintended clashes. We make this proposal in the interest of protecting the rights and safety of all protesters."

Following the receipt of this letter both in Washington and New York as well as several visits by SL delegations to the CISPES offices, the Coalition organizers made no reply.

The "unity" the March 27 Coalition desired was not with the reds, or even with the thousands who came to Washington to demonstrate their solidarity with the rebel fighters in El Salvador. Rather, the reformists long for a bloc with the Teddy Kennedys, with that wing of the bourgeoisie which deeply shares Reagan's war aims against the Soviet Union but differs tactically on how to draw the line in Central America. Our insistence that in El Salvador today is posed the defense of Cuba and the USSR against U.S. imperialism sends the reformists into violent frenzy. To be "ready for Teddy" they must suppress any support to or defense of the Soviet bloc states while draping themselves in the red, white and blue. Thus the preponderance of American flags, pro-Solidarność slogans and explicitly anti-Communist banners at the official March 27 demonstration.

While the organizers of the March 27 Coalition like to compare themselves to the Vietnam antiwar protesters, they copy only the worst aspects of that movement. It was broadly understood that the Vietnam War was the outcome of two decades of American Cold War policy directed at containing "Soviet expansionism" and the radicals of the 1960s denounced anti-Communism as the ideological justification for U.S. imperialist militarism. The early days of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) were marked by the dropping of the anti-Communist exclusion clause in its charter. At one of the first protest demonstrations in November 1965, SDS spokesman Carl Oglesby declared:

"Our [Washington's] problem then is to justify this system and give this theft another name, to make kind and moral what is neither.... The challenge was met with a most ingenious solution: the



Workers Vanguard Photo

Labor Contingent Marches For Rebel Victory

An official contingent of phone workers from Oakland CWA Local 9415 joined the 150-strong Anti-Imperialist Contingent in a March 27 El Salvador demonstration in Oakland. With its chants for "Military Victory," the Anti-Imperialist Contingent sharply polarized the demonstration of 3,000 called by the CISPES-initiated March 27 Coalition. The phone workers, whose local voted to march for Salvadoran leftist victory, were also joined by phone militants from other California locals.

ideology of anti-communism....
"So we call revolution 'communism.'"
—National Guardian,
4 December 1965

The slogan for "two, three, many Vietnams" recognized that Vietnam was a victory for the world working class and a humiliating defeat for U.S. imperialism. But the WWP/CISPES reformists embrace the slogan of the bourgeois "doves" and call for "No More Vietnams." They may as well demand "no more revolution" and that is exactly what the call for a negotiated settlement in El Salvador means.

As the "official" demonstration filed past Farragut Square, participants in the anti-imperialist rally listened to speeches from militant trade unionists, fighters for black liberation, socialist students, Latino Marxists—partisans in

the global class war who take a side in the civil war in El Salvador and in the Cold War. The protesters marching with the March 27 Coalition were herded like so many cattle to the pro-Democratic Party rally. They were blocked from the anti-imperialist rally by two lines of cops as well as a WWP/CISPES chain; they were pushed, pulled, jabbed by billy clubs, harangued. Despite this, some people did evade the massive police cordon to attend our rally. Two starkly counterposed actions took place, representing opposite sides of the class line: the reformists' "stop the war" rally looked to the Democrats; the SL/SYL "win the war" rally to the Salvadoran masses and American proletariat.

continued on page 8

Spartacist Educational Weekend

Topics:

From El Salvador to Detroit—
Smash Reagan Reaction!
Break with the Democrats—
For Labor Action to Bring Down Reagan!

Defend the Gains of the Russian Revolution!
Political Revolution, Hungary 1956 vs.
Solidarność Counterrevolution, Poland 1981

Spartacist Internationalism:
**Hail Rosa Luxemburg—
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(New York, Chicago)

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Berkeley/Oakland
May 1-2
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Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League • registration fee: \$5 (students \$3)

Harvard SYL: "Marines Off Campus!"

Chanting "Down with the Junta! Workers to Power!" and "Marines Off Campus!" 40 demonstrators marched through Harvard Yard on March 23 to protest the presence of Marine recruiters at Harvard. The rally and picket, initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), linked military recruitment to the civil war in El Salvador and U.S. threats against Nicaragua and Cuba. The SYL demanded: Marines Off Campus! Reagan/Haig/CIA: Hands Off Nicaragua! Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists! No Negotiations—Workers Take San Salvador! As SYL speaker Alden Cavanagh explained at the rally, "The blood-soaked junta in El Salvador has friends here on campus today—the Marines. The elite front-line troops of U.S. imperialism are here today to recruit for international genocide. And we are here to stop them!"

The protest received coverage on local television and in the press. There was some opposition present including Dean of Students Archie Epps (whose favorite pastime seems to be harassing the SYL) and the Harvard-Radcliffe Conservative Club. And Harvard "progressives" in the Peace Alliance and the Committee on Central America (COCA) steered clear of the rally and showed up at the picket only to watch from across the street. But it's not surprising that these liberals had no interest in opposing the armed fist of U.S. imperialism. The night before, while SYL supporters were building support for the demonstration, Peace Alliance and COCA members attended the Conservative Club's anti-"Soviet Imperialism" rally, hobnobbing with the conservatives and Archie

Right: A slight Harvard graduate John Reed would have liked—anti-imperialist banners in Harvard Yard. Below: SYL and militant Harvard students tell it to the Marines, March 23.



Epps!

A dozen Conservative Club members counterdemonstrated, waving an American flag, chanting "Down with Gucci communists!" (?) and carrying signs that read "Long Live the Marine

Corps" and "We Remember Iwo." And they were with Archie Epps, who informed a Spartacist League supporter, "You keep your people on your side of the street and I'll keep my boys on this side with me." The lines couldn't

have been drawn more clearly. On one side were Epps and his "boys," the odious little scum destined to be the ruling class. On the other side were the SYL and other anti-Marine protesters, chanting "No Draft, Class War! U.S. Out of El Salvador!"

Unlike the do-nothing "progressives," the anti-Marine protesters marched at Harvard to take a side against U.S. imperialism and its patriotic allies in the Conservative Club. As Harvard freshman Mark Glimcher told the demonstrators in a rousing speech:

"We're here to protest the military group who teaches others to slaughter innocent peasants!... The Marines are a threat to workers and peasants everywhere! But here at Harvard, we have our own threat—the Harvard-Radcliffe Conservative Club. The Harvard-Radcliffe Conservative Club, a tool of Reagan, Haig and Dean Epps, has vowed in its rag, the *Salient*, to turn in all non-registrants for the draft to 'speed their martyrdom.' Well, I say, speed your own martyrdom! Why don't you drop out of college, why don't you go in training for the Marines? Why don't you go to Paris Island, run through a swamp at midnight, and then maybe if we're lucky, you'll get your heads blown off in El Salvador!"

We'd shed no tears for Harvardians cast ashore in El Salvador with only Dean Epps to lead them against the hungry *campesinos* and workers who are already winning the war. But we doubt the Conservative Club would risk leaving Harvard Yard—they'd rather draft ghettoized blacks and working-class youth to fight Reagan/Haig's wars. Not a penny, not a man for the imperialist army! Military off campus!

Workers Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

Lori from Boston spoke to us about her decision to take a side:

"It started at the last march for U.S. Out of El Salvador in Boston. And we were marching with more or less the liberals at that time and realized that our political ideas bent more toward the Spartacists and how we found that out was through an argument that happened between the Spartacists and liberals.... That's when it dawned on me that maybe they have something to say that I wanted to hear.... From there on we read some literature and we decided that we'd rather be fighting for a cause instead of just being with the throngs of liberals...."

Her friend Coleen added, "We don't believe in the Democratic Party and we decided today that we'd march with the Spartacists...and we've also decided that once we've read more literature, to join the Spartacist group."

Reagan/Haig want World War III. To lead an effective opposition to

Reagan reaction, from San Salvador to Detroit, requires more than the occasional protest. It requires the organization of the U.S. working class by a revolutionary party dedicated to the destruction of the capitalist system and its replacement by a proletarian socialist government. The time to fight, and fight to win, is now. As comrade Alison Spencer, SYL National Committee spokesman at the anti-imperialist rally, put it: "You can be active and red or radioactive and dead." Join the SYL! ■

Revolution or Death...

(continued from page 3)

This week *New York Times* reporter Alan Riding reported that the opposition leaders are now ready for a negotiated settlement which would preserve the "institutionality" of the army. My god! In the first place, Marxists know that the officer corps is the armed fist of the capitalist state, and if it remains intact it will defend that state and crush you again. If you don't believe it, just look at what happened in Chile in 1973, where all the "constitutional" and "democratic" generals united to crush the workers movement. Besides which, the Salvadoran armed forces are something else again, they're run by kill-crazy psychopaths. It's like calling for a "political solution" with the Nazis while leaving the SS in place!

That brings me to the anti-communist exclusions, and there has been a series of them. First last May 3, PAM tried to link hands [to prevent people from attending the anti-imperialist rally at the Pentagon]; then on June 6, right out in front of this building, they used broken bottles and planks, trying to draw a blood line against the revolutionaries.

And when that didn't work they resorted to the ultimate weapon of all reformists—they called the capitalist cops on the reds. It's not exactly the first time. Remember in the movie *Reds* how the reformist social democrats called in the police to throw out the majority led by John Reed that supported the Bolsheviks? It's the same today. And when they don't literally call the cops they try to provoke them to intervene with their goon squads. That's what happened here on February 20—a conscious, planned provocation. But they're not going to stop us with these goons for the Democrats.

So they want to pressure the Cold Warriors in Washington; we want to bring Reagan and his junta down. They look to the Democrats; we look to the working class. We say Reaganism spawns fascism, from El Salvador to Detroit. And the same reformists who call for a "negotiated settlement" in El Salvador look to the capitalist government to protect them from the race terrorists while the Spartacist League

calls for labor/black mobilizations to stop them in their tracks, as happened in Ann Arbor today.

To finish, let me remind you of when Nixon's secretary of "justice" John Mitchell—or maybe it was Martha Mitchell—was looking out the window on some Vietnam antiwar protest and commented that it looked like the Russian Revolution. Well, that was a considerable exaggeration, but it's what they should have seen, because that's the only real answer to imperialist war. You put in the Democrats and what do you get? Under FDR they were "good neighbors" to Latin America and put in the dictator Somoza. Under Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" they organized the Bay of Pigs, and so on. So when Reagan & Co. look out of their windows on March 27, what are they going to see? Teddy Kennedy and the people who follow him? It's up to us to see that there's a bright red Anti-Imperialist Contingent that sends the message of workers action to bring Reagan down. ■

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No. 302, 2 April

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Tolbiac...

(continued from page 5)

that the UEC would have to make a formal public response, for a change. To nobody's surprise, the response was: no.

Of course, the Stalinists are in no hurry to debate the crucial questions posed by the Polish crisis. More than three decades of Stalinist rule imposed from the top down on a country which never underwent an indigenous proletarian revolution have alienated every section of society from Polish "socialism." The economic mismanagement and corruption, the mortgaging of the planned economy to Western bankers, the inequities of bureaucratic privilege, the capitulations to the Catholic Church and the smallholding peasantry, the fostering of reactionary nationalism including feeding virulent anti-Semitism—these are among the crimes of Stalinism which have pushed an evident majority of the Polish working class into the arms of pro-imperialist Solidarność. The UEC has no answers for how this situation could have come about and no program for what to do about it.

But it is not just Poland that the UEC is afraid to confront. For half a century the French Stalinists have sacrificed any vestige of class principle to the aim of "unity" with the so-called "progressive bourgeoisie." Seeing themselves as a "militant" pressure group on Mitterrand, for whom they of course hustled votes in the presidential elections, they are in no position to mount an opposition to his Cold War offensive. Under their disgraceful slogan of "socialism in French colors," they can hardly masquerade as internationalist defenders of the Soviet bloc against French imperialism. They can mutter against Mitterrand but they cannot mobilize against him.

At bottom, the PCF "perspective" is one of passivity and defeatism. Despairing of the possibility of breaking French workers from their "own" imperialism, they dare not campaign for the defense of the gains of October but must simply retreat before the Cold War tide. At Tolbiac, they retreated from the campus in the face of Lambertist-led provocation, with an apparent "perspective" of hiding out in the cafes until "détente" comes back into fashion. Seems to us they might have to wait a long time.

The LTF reissued the debate challenge to the UEC as a leaflet and on 23 February announced an "open chair debate" in a leaflet titled, "Will the UEC Dare to Take Its Seat?" which linked the PCF's domestic class collaboration with its bankruptcy over Poland:

"The PCF is sick over Poland. Its militants are debating between the grotesque 'solution' of reforming the PUWP [Polish Stalinist party], the 'solution' of extending the Berlin Wall from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and the 'solution' of embracing social-democracy. How can you reconcile 'defense of socialism' in Poland with four [PCF] ministers endorsing the anti-Soviet, anti-communist politics of Reagan's lieutenant in Europe, Mitterrand; with supporting the war machine draped in the national 'colors of France'; with co-administering the anti-working-class austerity program?"

The leaflet reaffirmed the offer to share the platform with the UEC:

"Trotskyists struggle for clarity and political debate.... We will hold our public meeting and will leave an open chair at the podium so that the UEC and its members may come forward to defend their position. The opportunity for political debate is offered to them; will they take it?"

The March 2 meeting was held without the benefit of a UEC spokesman at the podium, but some individual UEC supporters attended along with a couple dozen other students.

LTF Campaign Against Anti-Communist Violence

A barrage of anonymous phone calls and threats had not deterred the LTF



The Polish proletariat needs a Trotskyist vanguard party imbued with the internationalist spirit of Polish socialist martyr Rosa Luxemburg.

from attempting to hold its meeting on March 2. The savage gangster attack on LTF supporters as they left the meeting was intended to effectively intimidate the Trotskyists where threats had failed and drive them off the campus. Though the sinister *autonomes* and the campus cops were the spearhead of the violence, the way had been prepared for them by the social-democrats—who are simultaneously a reformist working-class current and a reservoir of irregular troops to defend a capitalist government in power—through their anti-Soviet hysteria over Poland. The LTF responded with an aggressive campaign to mobilize student support for our democratic rights. A leaflet dated 5 March described the attack in detail and laid the responsibility at the door of the PS and its "left" camp-followers, the Lambert group and the LCR of Ernest Mandel:

"You are politically responsible for this violence. You slander the revolutionists to cover your support to Mitterrand's Cold War. Your miserable *union sacrée* goes from the 'far-left' to the far-right! Now it's clearer than ever: behind your talk about 'democracy' in Poland stands white terror!"

The energetic work of the LTF established the facts of the incident and rallied student opposition to anti-communist violence. Although the *vigiles* had started self-serving slander stories about the incident, claiming for example that the LTF had attacked an LCR member forcing the cops to intervene, these lies got no currency on campus and were soon dropped.

Within days after the attack, the LTF was circulating a petition against the anti-communist violence. LTF supporters were able to make presentations on the petition to eight classes on the campus, gathering dozens of signatures from these students. More than a dozen professors also signed the petition and several campus union officials asked for an accounting from their Lambertist-dominated organization.

Although the LTF is too small to cover the Tolbiac students on a one-to-one basis, the petition campaign enabled the Trotskyists to discuss the incident with many hundreds of students. This proved an extremely valuable barometer of student opinion. As befits the petty-bourgeoisie, the sector of society which is generally quickest to pick up and articulate the prevalent bourgeois moods, most students seem quite strongly anti-Communist and few are sympathetic to our view of Lech Walesa's Solidarność. But perhaps half the students we spoke with were willing to sign our petition. Thus the mood at Tolbiac is still a far cry from the situation which prevailed on American campuses in the 1950s, when politics was a dirty word and the mass of

students were unwilling, often aggressively unwilling, to defend the rights of free speech and assembly for avowed communists. Tolbiac students who sharply disagreed with our views on Solidarność were not averse to signing the petition and many seemed pleased with the chance to discuss Poland with the LTF petitioners.

The goons who expected Tolbiac students to rally 'round them when they targeted the LTF for physical attack found themselves isolated instead. The provocation which they had thought would win them support in their hoped-for role as the students' thought-police had to be condemned even by their co-thinkers.

Indicative was a phone call made to the Tolbiac organizer of the PS youth group. "After the incidents," he told us, "we asked everyone to calm down a little," thereby implicitly disavowing his own supporters. "I hope that this campus does not become the battleground between people who may not agree but can respect each other's rights," he added.

Indeed, the PS is shrewd enough not to take responsibility for the indefensible, preferring to claim for example that individuals involved in the attack were really Lambertists wearing PS buttons. But the treacherous LCR was too stupid to take refuge in hypocrisy. They embraced the role of lawyers for anti-communism, painting the gangster campaign against the LTF as a spontaneous reaction of outraged "masses." After giving us the runaround for a couple of days, an LCR spokesman was finally pinned down for comment on March 4. "In light of the positions that you have on Poland," he told us over the telephone, "we think that it is quite possible that in some places you could be thrown off the campuses or the high schools, etc...the masses could throw you off the universities." As a public

service in the interests of the workers movement, the LTF published the complete transcript of the phone call as a leaflet on the campus.

The UEC of course instructed its Tolbiac members not to sign our petition. The official line as stated by the UEC leader at Tolbiac was that the LTF meeting should have been banned in the first place: "The administration is not fulfilling its responsibilities. You're just anti-communists, provocateurs; you're cops!" But at least a dozen UEC supporters, far-sighted enough to recognize the attack on the LTF as a trial balloon of anti-Soviet repression, signed the petition anyway. And many more are grudgingly admiring of the Trotskyists for having stood our ground against numerically stronger forces. The UEC leadership has proclaimed discussion of the LTF a taboo subject, but the questions raised by the LTF around Poland and political defense work will not go away.

Cop-baiting is a PCF reflex, to put it mildly. But it's also a confession of Stalinist political bankruptcy.

UEC militants must break from the reformist defeatism of their leaders. They must recognize that the courage displayed by the LTF supporters in refusing to yield to intimidation and thug violence was *political* courage, confidence in the Trotskyist program and the ability of that program to actively combat the anti-Soviet "consensus" by mobilizing the working class and its supporters in defense of the gains of October. They must broaden their outlook to an understanding of Stalinism as the "great organizer of defeats," from Hungary in 1956 (when the Russian army intervened to smash a *pro-socialist* workers revolution) and France in 1968 (when the PCF criminality sold out a pre-revolutionary situation, ordering ten million strikers back to work) to today, when it undermines the foundations of socialist property in Poland and ties the French workers to the class enemy through popular frontism.

The LTF, because of its intransigent defense of socialist property in Poland and throughout the Sino-Soviet states, remains a visible target for Cold War crusaders and thugs at Tolbiac and elsewhere. But the LTF's determined defense of its democratic rights at Tolbiac must be accounted a rousing success. In the immediate aftermath of the campaign, the LTF held a public forum on El Salvador on the campus on March 25 without untoward incident.

The LTF campaign is a victory for the democratic rights of Tolbiac students against attempted political censorship by the administration and an isolated gang of frenzied anti-Soviet goons. As we said during the campaign:

"We Trotskyists have the right to organize and express our ideas. Marxists who believe that the USSR is on the right side in Afghanistan, who opposed Solidarność' counterrevolutionary coup d'état, who are for the military victory of the leftist rebels in El Salvador, have the right to say so without being the target for an anti-communist witchhunt. And we will fight to defend that right!" ■

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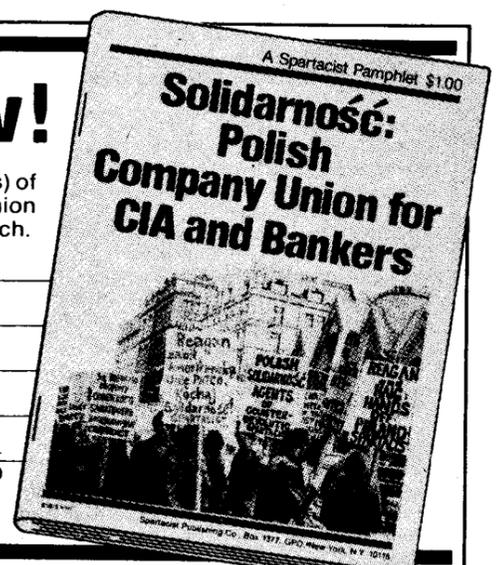
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Nazis Run Out...

(continued from page 12)

echoing the liberals' "violence" slanders against the Spartacist League. Indeed, the RSL/RWL spent more energy trying to sabotage the Committee through lies than they did trying to build support for their own "Coalition."

The Committee to Stop the Nazis repeatedly tried to draw the RSL/RWL into a united action against the fascists. But the Coalition let their sectarian hatred for the SL outweigh the need to build a mass anti-Nazi rally in their own home town. They showed up at City Hall on March 20 with their own competing and equally loud sound system, intending to drown out the labor-backed rally. Their action didn't give the Committee mobilization any choice, and the effort of the Coalition to drown out the rally organizers was promptly scotched.

Since failing in their attempt to wreck the March 20 action, the RWL and RSL have become hysterical, distributing slanderous statements against "SL thuggery" at the March 27 El Salvador protest in Washington, D.C. The RWL leaflet carried a version of the March 20 rally which can only be described as an elaborate piece of fiction. The RSL threatened that it "will henceforth consider the SL an organization of agent-provocateurs and will deal with it accordingly." However, in spite of its macho slanders, the RSL apparently wasn't too worried about "SL thuggery" when it showed up at the SL/SYL-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent rally and freely handed out its leaflet to rally participants. These little sectlets care nothing about an important anti-Nazi action—their only concern is that we did not allow them to disrupt the demonstration.

Stop the Nazis in Detroit!

At an April 3 forum in Ann Arbor, Rouge Militant Caucus member Frank Hicks summed up:

"We did what we said we would do on March 20. We stopped the Nazis. It was the largest anti-fascist mobilization in this area in decades... [and] organized labor endorsed, built and in part attended. It's the first time probably since the rise of the CIO in this area, when 50 organizers of the CIO were killed by the Silver Shirts and Klan and Henry Ford received his Iron Cross from Hitler.

"Gerald Carlson, who is a so-called 'former Nazi' who ran for Congress said, 'We want to get the Communist-led unions that defend blacks.' ... They know that labor has the power to stop them in their tracks and rout them out of their holes and they fear it. The organized working class has the power to smash them. They know it, and the Committee to Stop the Nazis on March 20 knows it.

"Why do the Nazis and the Klan even dream they can get away with their genocide in a place like Detroit? Two reasons, and they're sort of the flip side of one another. Reagan is on the warpath against everybody in this room—against unions, against the poor, the blacks, the Latins, the gays,



Veteran union militant Alphonso Wells: "They came in goose-stepping, they went out turkey-trotting."

the old. He's on the warpath at home. But that is simply the reflection of his war drive abroad, which is pointed foursquare up the ladder at El Salvador, Poland and the Soviet Union. That's where the Nazis get their green light. That's where they get the confidence to go out and goose-step in towns like Ann Arbor. Reagan and the bosses would like to impose a death sentence on towns like labor/black Detroit and these fascists yearn to be the executioners."

March 20 was a big defeat for the Nazi "SS Action Group." The only reason they escaped from the angry crowd was the police protection they received. But now führer Ted Dunn thinks his little gang should stage a "successful" racist provocation to overcome its demoralization—and they're planning to hold a rally to "free Rudolf Hess," convicted Nazi war criminal, in Detroit on May 9!

The Nazis must not march in Detroit on May 9! When the Ku Klux Klan attempted to "celebrate" the murder of anti-Klan and leftist activists in Greensboro, North Carolina by threatening to march in Detroit in November 1979, they were stopped cold by a labor/black mobilization initiated by the SL/SYL and trade-union militants. And the same must be done now with the Nazi "SS Action Group." Keep the Nazis on the run! All out on May 9 to stop the Nazis in Detroit! ■

Reagan Racism...

(continued from page 4)

wages controlled by labor. That means wages which correspond to purchasing power of the dollar, so as not to promote the increased destruction and exploitation of the working class through massive inflation. It's a fight for a shorter workweek for all, to divide up the work among all workers. That strikes at the foundations of massive unemployment of blacks and also at the foundations of capitalism. This policy opposed all forms of tying blacks to the

Democratic Party and called for a Freedom-Labor Party. It called for the establishment of a workers government. In other words it was a revolutionary program that went beyond the bounds of capitalism, which was needed, and which is needed, in order to respond effectively to the struggle for black liberation.

By the mid-1960s pacifism could no longer contain black militancy. It was the end of the civil rights movement, and the beginning of the "black power" movement. What we attempted to do was lend the meaning of black power to that of workers power. Black power emerged in opposition to liberalism, in opposition to Democratic Party control, in opposition to pacifism. And it's exactly those impulses which were the basis for linking up a section of the civil rights movement to the program of revolution, the program of authentic black liberation. Because of the lack of black Trotskyists at that time black power became dominated by nationalism, by separatism. Black power began to mean black capitalism, it began to mean black versus white.

There were real attempts to create a revolutionary trend for black people under a name of nationalism, and one of them was the Black Panthers. But that attempt to accomplish revolution was based on the very weak, unstable masses of unemployed poor black youth. The FBI was able to infiltrate, promoting factional war with the use of weapons and extreme cruelty. It also set up hits. One of the more famous ones was in Chicago, where they busted into the Black Panther headquarters in the early dawn and shot Black Panther leaders in their sleep.

Reagan Racism and the Cold War

Today black people again are effectively leaderless in the face of Reagan

reaction. The final tokens for black people have been destroyed. Busing was killed in Boston. In April 1974 20,000 racists demonstrated on the streets of Boston, and attacks occurred against black schoolchildren at Columbia Point. There were a number of blacks who were open to the idea of organizing labor/black defense against racist violence and for protection of the schoolchildren. But the leadership of that movement was dominated by liberal Democrats whose call for federal troops was of the same reactionary character as that during the civil rights movement. Because of that leadership the racists were successful. That set the tone for the rollback of integration in terms of school busing nationally.

There are real roots for racism in capitalist America. Racism is pushed, it's advocated, it's consciously a drive on the part of the ruling class in this country. As I said before, it's a policy of rollback across the line, attacks against labor and black people in this country, against revolutionary movements in the former colonial world and against the Soviet Union. Reagan's policy in El Salvador is basically a total slash and burn in order to ensure that America can step in without any resistance whatsoever from the indigenous population. There stands one major military obstacle to Washington's dreams of total global dominance—the USSR. Unfortunately in El Salvador there are few Cuban and Russian guns going in despite what Haig says.

But a good example is rather in southern Africa. A few years ago, during the Angolan civil war, there was an armored column of South African tanks rolling toward Luanda, the capital of Angola. Cuban- and Soviet-trained troops provided the technical know-how and the military might to stop that. America's policy was support of the South African armed forces, and that was made clear in a secret memorandum during that time, calling for following a policy of working with the South African army. On the other side were Cuba and the USSR, which prevented a military success by the South African armies.

Russia does not simply present a military obstacle. In October 1917 the Russian workers and peasants overthrew a capitalist regime and established a workers government. That was a political victory for every working-class and oppressed person throughout the world. And the gains of that revolution belong to the poor and oppressed everywhere including black people in this country. Ever since then the USSR has been the target of worldwide imperialist counterrevolution. Reagan articulated that very recently with his call to get rid of the communist "aberration" in hopes that Poland was to be the point which was going to effectively roll back working-class property forms.

Labor Endorsers for "Stop the Nazis" Mobilization

AFSCME Local 2733

Phil Carroll, member, AFSCME Local 2733
Fred Chase, President, CWA Local 4011
Louis Gates, former president, Frame Plant, UAW Local 600, Detroit

Roy Greer, Business Manager, Laborers International Union Local 959

House Officers Association Executive Board, University of Michigan Hospital
International Association of Fire Fighters Local 1733

Willie Jenkins, Recording Secretary, Laborers International Union Local 334
Jackie Jordan, Executive Board, CWA Local 4050

Josephus King, President, AFSCME Local 23

David Moore, UAW International Representative; Participant in 1932 Ford Hunger March (retired)

Dwight Newman, President, AFSCME Local 1583

Doug Packer, Vice President, SEIU Local 31M
Keith Phelps, Business Manager, Laborers International Union Local 1165

Armando Pizana, District Committeeman, UAW Local 600, Detroit

Rouge Militant Caucus, UAW Local 600
Jimmie Terrell, Committeeman, UAW Local 900 (retired)

Gene Tolot, Michigan Building Trades Council

Transportation Employees Union, Local 171 of Transport Workers Union

UAW Local 735, Ypsilanti
UAW Local 1776, Willow Run

Washtenaw County Local Building Trades, AFL-CIO, Board of Directors

Organizational affiliation listed for purposes of identification only.

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) 384-7793

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 48232, 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

But the imperialists were capable of affecting the internal situation in the USSR. The defeat of the German revolution in 1923 resulted in a weakening of those who supported the program of world revolution inside the USSR. Also, the most heroic Russian Bolsheviks were killed in the fighting to defend the USSR against the imperialist armies which invaded the country after the 1917 revolution. That resulted in an opening for a right-wing section of the party to come in and take over. The concept of "socialism in one country" was established, which meant that other revolutions throughout the world were expendable.

During World War II Stalin gave instructions to the Communist Parties around the world to support their imperialist bourgeoisies in the war. That included the Communist Party in this country, which gave up the fight for black equality in the army, the fight for black freedom, as well as the fight for the advancement of the working class. Many black nationalists point toward this as the example that proves the racism of communism. What in fact it is the policy of Stalinism.

Today Stalinism poses one of the most serious dangers to the gains of the Russian Revolution. So the gains that exist in the USSR, which belong to the workers and oppressed of the world, have to be defended ultimately through political revolution against the Stalinists. And that means the most dedicated defense on the part of Trotskyists of the gains of the October Revolution. It means *no* to the illusions in détente and peacefully laying down arms with the imperialists. Détente is similar to the policy which the Communist Party establishes toward the Klan, which is to call for the government to ban the Klan, sowing illusions in the bourgeois government. If Reagan makes anything clear it is that that concept is ludicrous.

If the black movement is to re-emerge in an effective way it must take on the question of defense of the gains of October as linked up to the fight for black liberation in this country. Reagan sees that those questions are linked. He sees that every black right, the right of armed self-defense, the right to achieve education, jobs, etc., behind all of these questions he sees Communism. The questions are one: socialist revolution and black liberation.

Capitalism is in a period of decay. In Nazi Germany it was necessary for the German ruling class to give a free hand to the Nazis, who organized the extermination of millions of Communists, Jews, Slavs, etc. It was necessary for them to establish that kind of barbarity within that country to prepare to go to war with Russia. The same kind of movement is being prepared today in this country.

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Anti-Communism means anti-black. Today the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan have training camps, openly training for racist terror. Their anti-communism, their anti-Sovietism, their anti-Semitism is a necessary aspect of carrying out the anti-Soviet war drive in this country.

The Nazis and the Klan both can be stopped and must be stopped. In 1979 the Klan/Nazis were planning to come to downtown Detroit to celebrate the murders at Greensboro. The Spartacists initiated a demonstration that brought out 500 blacks and workers, defying the local Democratic Party politicians who said everybody coming to demonstrate was going to be arrested. They came out to the same spot the Nazis and Klan were supposed to be and stopped them. They did not demonstrate that day—they were afraid of that mobilization of blacks and labor. The demand which has been put forward by the Spartacists of mobilizing to smash Klan terror, mobilizing labor, mass mobilizations of the left, mass mobilizations of students, is the only effective strategy that can work as far as stopping this slime, which right now represents the shock troops of Reagan's policy toward black people.

Another key aspect of the struggle for the liberation of blacks, in summation, is the necessity to mobilize labor as active endorsers, supporters of black liberation as part of the struggle to free labor from capitalist oppression. What that means is a break with the present

conservative bureaucracy, which today is giving up many of the gains that workers have made, as was seen in the UAW as well as with the Teamster contract. It means a fight for revolutionary leadership, it means a fight to defend the organizations of labor, it means a fight to advance the sanctity of the picket line. And in fact the picket line means: Do not cross. As Lenin says, the only real weapon the working class has is its organization. The linking of these two is codified in the demand that labor and blacks can and should mobilize today to bring down Reagan.

So I'd like to conclude by saying that the time to act is now. And what I outlined in my forum is basically three fundamental political positions which are essential for effective political action today: mobilize to smash the fascists, defense of picket lines, picket lines mean don't cross, and defense of the USSR. Understanding and agreeing on these three major points is essential in order to take revolutionary action. ■

Eco-Racist Stabbing...

(continued from page 2)

weren't going to take it anymore" (*Phoenix*, 4 March). Letters in the campus press overwhelmingly sided with Moss, railing against "rude" smokers and arguing that the main issue was not racist violence but "respect for the health and welfare of other beings" (*Phoenix*, 11 March).

The ultra-moralistic eco-faddists and liberal do-gooders say that they know what's good (and bad) for you—and they want their ideas enforced. No smoking, no pornography, no cars, no guns—these have become the slogans of some despairing petty bourgeois marching lock-step with the capitalist austerity drive. It was no accident that Richard Moss' victim was black—racism is part and parcel of the capitalist system the eco-faddists wish to rescue. And it is perhaps also no accident that contemporary eco-faddism shares with fascist ideology the cult of "back to nature" primitivism and a commitment to social "cleansing."

We're on the other side. The working class needs cars and we don't need anyone telling us not to smoke or what movies to see. As for firearms, the SYL says, "No to gun control—No guns for cops! For the right of self-defense!"

The vicious stabbing of Doris Collum comes on the heels of recently revealed fascist death threats against Associated

Students president Yvette Terrell, the first black woman elected to that post at SFSU. Last February Nazis openly distributed a white power newsletter on campus. And a white union organizer working with black and white hospital workers in Castro Valley received vicious Klan threats: a brick thrown through his window and "KKK" written on his car.

These actions are not "sick jokes" to be lightly dismissed or politely discussed. There can be no debate with fascists! Their "viewpoint" is *action*: organizing to bomb, burn and kill, and today they are training paramilitary shock troops in "secret" camps. Liberals and reformists wring their hands and tell blacks to ignore the Klan or to rely on the racist cops to stop the fascists. This is suicidal: the cops are routinely used to protect the fascists, and not a few trade their blue uniforms for white sheets at night. As the SYL wrote in a letter to the SFSU *Golden Gater* (2 March):

"Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive and racist budget cutting have given fascists a green light. Across the country they are growing, becoming bolder and bloodier. As the capitalist economy continues to decline, the ruling class will likely resort to openly employing these armed thugs to terrorize and murder minorities and the workers' movement. "In April, 1980 when the Nazis made plans to stage a provocative 'celebration' of Adolf Hitler's birthday in the San Francisco Civic Center...[T]he SYL helped organize students for the 1,200-strong April 19th Committee Against the Nazis (ANCAN) demonstration which made sure no Hitlerfest took place in San Francisco. "Ultimately, the complete overthrow of the decaying capitalist system is the only real guarantee of ending the threat of fascism. Relying on their own strength, for their own self-interests, black and white workers must organize against their common enemy—the racist imperialist ruling class—and sweep the bloody fascists off the streets in the process." ■

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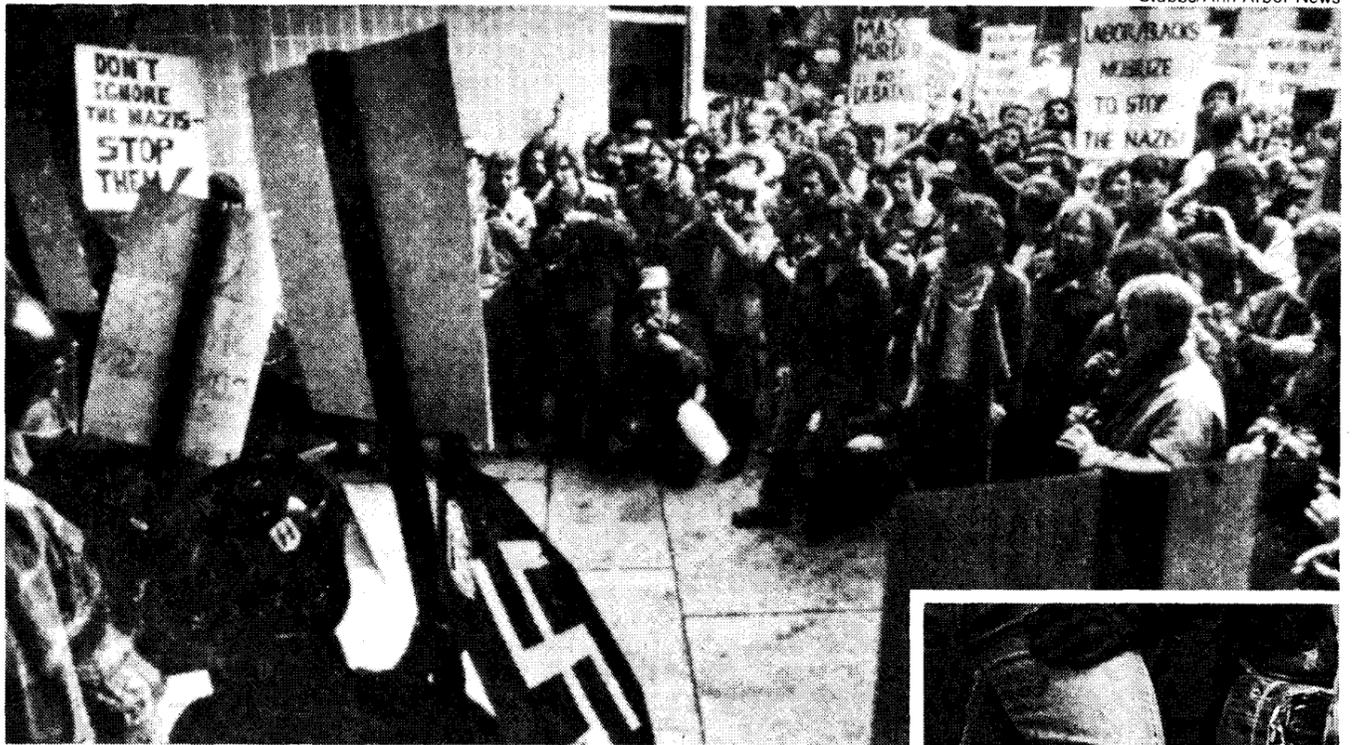
The Nazis said they were going to march in Ann Arbor on March 20. But in an important victory, their provocation was stopped cold by a militant crowd of 2,000 who ran the 15 Hitler-lovers out of town. The anti-Nazi protesters, organized by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League-initiated Committee to Stop the Nazis on March 20, mobilized in response to the Committee's call that "All enemies of fascism must gather in a massive demonstration at the same time and place that the Nazis want to march."

When the storm troopers got to the City Hall rally site on March 20, they saw hundreds of militants—labor, minorities, students and leftists—gathered with banners and signs that read "No Greensboros in Ann Arbor!" and "Don't Ignore Nazis—Stop Them!" Undoubtedly realizing what would happen to them if they dared to wave their swastikas at City Hall, the Nazis took off for another spot. Significantly, they chose to rally at the Federal Building, the site of the mayor's "peaceful rally for human dignity," created to channel just outrage against the fascists into an empty liberal protest.

But as word reached the protesters that the Nazis were at the Federal Building, the crowd began to rush over there. They pinned the fascists against the locked doors of the Federal Building, pelting them with chunks of ice and anything else that could be thrown. In an attempt to escape, the Nazis shattered a door to the Federal Building, but were prevented from fleeing inside by a single black armed guard. Even after the police arrived to protect the Nazis from the crowd, the protesters continued to press against the fascists until they were driven off in a police bus amidst a barrage of bricks, rocks and shattering glass. As Committee endorser Alphonso Wells, an executive board member of UAW Local 1776, put it, "They came in goose-stepping, they went out turkey-trotting."

The mass turnout at the rally was a tribute to the deeply felt outrage at the Nazis' intention to set up their race-terror operations right in the midst of the people they hate: blacks, Jews, leftists, gays and labor. And the confrontation with the Nazis was, as *Workers Vanguard* (2 April) reported:

"...a spontaneous outpouring of mass rage against the Nazis with all of the left organizations present tailing behind. Some SLers, fearing that the crowd was being hustled out by some adventurists for a bash with the cops, at first urged them not to go. It's too bad that the Spartacist League was slow, for in the minutes when the crowd stood face to face with the Hitler-lovers before the cops interceded, leadership was lacking."



Need for leadership on the spot: The crucial moment passes. (Right) Nazi emblem gets well-deserved stomping.

After the storm troopers were sent "turkey-trotting," the victorious protesters gathered back at City Hall and applauded Committee spokesman Al Nelson's statement that "the Nazis got their asses kicked and whoever was involved in that deserves credit for it."

Labor Support Key to Victory

Two thousand people rallied at Ann Arbor City Hall because they wanted to stop the Nazis. The turnout was a clear vindication of the SL/SYL program for labor/black mobilizations to stop the Nazi/Klan terror. But in building for the rally, the Committee had to overcome the liberal call to "ignore the Nazis" and the lesser efforts of local centrist sectlets to slander and sabotage the Stop the Nazis campaign.

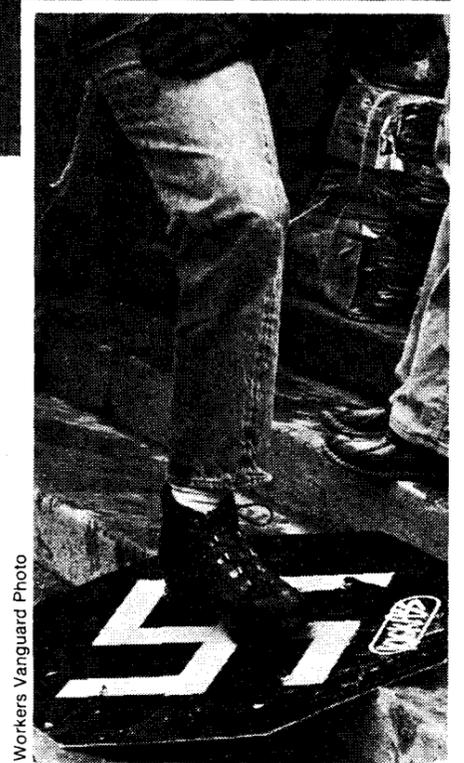
Union support was key. Several local labor officials worked to secure an impressive list of union endorsements for the rally (see box, page 10) in spite of active redbaiting by local Central Labor Council head Fred Veigel. Roy Greer, business manager of Laborers International Union Local 959, lined up the endorsement of the local Building Trades Council. He broke his leg pursuing the fascists and was hospitalized. But in a message to the March 27 Anti-Imperialist Contingent rally in Washington he said, "If I had to, I would gladly do it again!" The Committee also gathered broad support from students, relatives of Holocaust survivors and

from Ann Arbor's small black community.

Over 65,000 "Stop the Nazis" leaflets were distributed and thousands of posters lined the streets of Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti and the largely Jewish community of Southfield. Merchants and bus drivers took stacks of leaflets to distribute, and students at area colleges went out of their way to get to Committee literature tables. Hundreds of students signed up to work with the Committee, and many enthusiastically went to auto plants at five in the morning to distribute leaflets to auto workers. When Committee members went to Eastern Michigan University to build for the rally, they discovered that leaflets had already been posted around the campus. At an AFSCME (county workers) meeting, an enthusiastic nine-year-old black child encouraged his mother to take more leaflets and told her, "This is going to be the quickest stop the Nazis ever had. We're going to run them out of town."

Centrist Sabotage Spiked

Everyone recognized that the overwhelming majority of the anti-Nazi militants who rallied at City Hall on March 20 were mobilized by the work of the Committee to Stop the Nazis. But two small centrist groupings, the Ann Arbor-based Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and the Detroit Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL)



Workers Vanguard Photo

launched an underhanded campaign of slander and sabotage in an attempt to undermine the SL/SYL-initiated Committee. The RSL and RWL set up a "Coalition Against the Nazis," designed to "protest" the fascists rather than stop them. They tried to walk the line halfway between "Stop the Nazis" and the mayor's line of "ignore the Nazis," rejecting a proposal for a "broad united-front demonstration to drive the Nazis out" as "divisive" and claimed it would "alienate" people.

The RSL/RWL capitulation to the liberals got them nowhere, and their jealous frenzy mounted as support for the Committee grew. So they resorted to

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