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# CAMPUS SPARTACIST

25-28 November 1965

Student Committee

Free

## LIBERALISM AND THE ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE

The witch-hunt accelerated in recent weeks by the ruling Establishment against the anti-war movement has its parallels within the movement itself. Endeavoring to preserve their role as respectable advisors to the State Department, right-wing "friends" of the movement such as Michael Harrington and the Socialist Party have unleashed an assault (New America, 31 October; Village Voice, 11 November 1965) upon "Communist manipulators" in the movement (including SPARTACIST) who are uncompromisingly for a victory of the social revolution in Vietnam, against attempts to negotiate a settlement for imperialism, and who fight all attempts to suppress and exclude any militant demands in order to make the movement palatable to the "respectable" public.

From another flank, the pro-Maoist elements dominating the Progressive Labor Party have unleashed a simultaneous public attack on SPARTACIST (the foremost U.S. representative of "counter-revolutionary" Trotskyism) in frightened response to our exposure of the Mao regime and the Stalinist leadership of the Vietnamese liberation struggle (Challenge, 2 November 1965).

### Unholy Alliance

These efforts of the liberals or others to politically police the anti-war movement must be fought. It is noteworthy that, in spite of the SP's official hostility to co-operation with "Communists" and PL's affirmed support of revolutionary victory in Vietnam, in concrete practice, the performance of these and other groups (Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Youth Against War and Fascism, etc.) is similarly opportunist. In New York's October 16 Peace Parade Committee, for example, representatives of all these groups joined hands to permit only a meaningless pacifist slogan in the march, while signing their names to a statement so patriotic that LBJ himself could endorse it.

### United Action--No Witch-Hunts

While struggling for united action among those tendencies basing themselves

upon the interests of the working class, SPARTACIST unconditionally opposes all such efforts to subordinate the needs of the working people to a "popular front" with class forces which are their mortal enemy. Instead, these red-baiting liberals and pacifists must be recognized for what they are and repudiated. In addition, anti-war militants must notify these gentlemen that witch-hunting of any vintage or origins will not be tolerated.

Turn the Anti-War Movement into an Anti-Capitalist Struggle!

We must not permit the movement to be derailed by that section of the capitalist power structure which wishes to save imperialism's "honor" (i.e., foothold) in Vietnam. Our aims have nothing in common with those of the Democratic or Republican parties or businessmen who find it expedient to urge "negotiation." Instead we must concentrate upon winning over sections of the working class to a militant program linking the class interests of workers to the anti-war struggle.

Partisans of the movement must follow the example of SPARTACIST's successful intervention in New York's 16 October parade, and assert their right to advance militant slogans answering the needs of the Vietnamese people and American workers. A protest has been raised against exclusionism and for militancy by YAWF, M2M, and others. This is a step away from their 16 October compromise and is a hopeful sign. We must not retreat from the vital task of overcoming those who would crush the anti-war movement from the inside.

IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. ARMED FORCES FROM VIETNAM!

UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE OF NORTH VIETNAM AGAINST U.S. ATTACKS!

VICTORY FOR THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION-- NO NEGOTIATIONS!

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORKING-CLASS PARTY IN VIETNAM AND U.S.!

# "WE WON'T GO?"

A section of the anti-war movement has adopted the attitude: "We Won't Go!" In this way they think they are interfering with the military machine and therefore helping the Vietnamese revolution. They are seriously mistaken. This form of individual protest has never counted for much in the great social struggles that have convulsed modern society. Recognizing this, some of the anti-draft militants think in terms of a mass movement of draft resistance, yet the fact remains that at this stage such a mass movement is a utopian dream. We may defer the question of under what conditions draft resistance may spread among significant sections of the youth; the real question now is not tactical, but strategic; what must be our orientation toward the army? The answer is to be found in the social composition of the army itself.

## Class, not Caste

To identify the army as a whole with the officers and Special Forces is to give up without a fight what is, for a revolutionist, one of the decisive battles of our movement; the struggle for the political allegiance of working-class soldiers. The army is not a caste standing apart from and hostile to the working class, but is riddled with the same contradictions and tensions that

are characteristic of society as a whole. Moreover, the army at war is a political school where social consciousness may develop rapidly. When petit-bourgeois individuals turn their backs on this arena in personal protest, they sever any tie with working-class youths who are going, and will continue to go, when called up by the draft.

## Working-Class Program

The strategic orientation of the revolutionary and anti-war movements must be to reach these soldiers, not to go to jail in an act of personal defiance. We do not take issue in principle with individuals who dodge the draft. But an organized movement which would use such means to help the Vietnamese revolution risks its cadres and spreads a dangerous illusion; draft-dodging cannot in fact seriously alter the war. Thus army security screenings, which are designed to keep radicals out of the army, are an obstacle to the development of political consciousness in the army.

The millions of workers in the army can be influenced only if militants do not turn away from the army. This strategic orientation will be very flexible in its execution. The crucial point today is to go into the army rather than into jail.

## Read and Support SPARTACIST

Against Exclusionism in the Anti-War Movement! see "New York Peace Parade" in the current issue.

Other contents include:

- "Indonesia: Lesson in Betrayal"
- "Imperialists and Stalinists in Vietnam"
- "Stalin Lives?" -- reply to Progressive Labor
- "The Riots and Spartacist" -- Chicago report
- "Trotsky and the Fate of the Russian Revolution"  
--A Review Article on Deutscher's Biography
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