

Young Spartacus

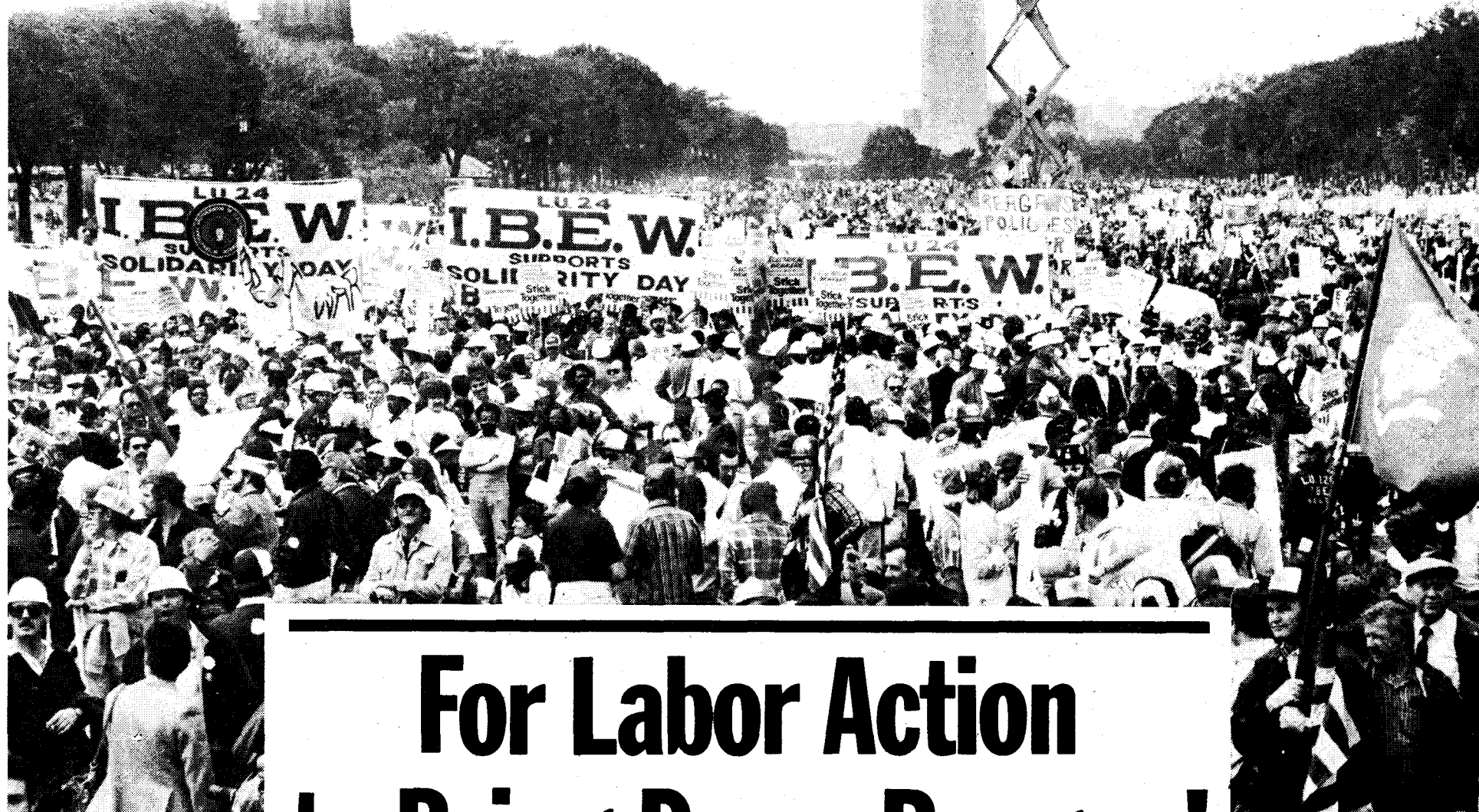
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Reagan: Strikebreaker, Anti-Soviet Warmaker



Young Spartacus Photo

For Labor Action to Bring Down Reagan!

Thousands of buses, seven special trains and countless private cars rolled into Washington, D.C. on September 19. In the largest labor demonstration in U.S. history, as many as 500,000 workers from the East Coast, Midwest and the South came to demonstrate their hatred of Reagan. One after another, massive contingents of machinists and auto workers, government workers and miners marched down Constitution Avenue shouting, "Reagan's gotta go!" They certainly had ample reason to be angry: savage attacks on the PATCO strikers, massive budget cuts in everything from unemployment compensation to school lunches, and now, an attempt to eliminate union-scale wages at federally financed construction sites.

Far more important than the size of the demonstration was its class character—it was proletarian, representing the social power to bring down Reagan through class struggle. However it wasn't for class struggle that the union leaders brought hundreds of thousands of workers into the streets. AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland called the massive protest to deflect working-class outrage into electoral support for the bosses' Democratic Party "alternative." September 19 was "the first step in the 1982 election," said one union bureaucrat.

Their backs to the wall, caught between Reagan's all-out war against labor and the restlessness of the union memberships, the labor bureaucrats were forced

to bring out the union ranks. But they were careful to stay as far as they could from the real issues posed: the PATCO strike and the need for concrete union action against union busting, "austerity," falling real wages, unemployment and the desperate condition of minorities. As an angry steel worker remarked, "We should have been here during the week to shut down Washington." It is because of sentiments like these, the danger that things could "get out of hand" and turn into a class struggle against the capitalist government, that such mobilizations are called by the union tops only under extreme pressure.

The demonstration was a rare opportunity for revolutionaries to reach masses of workers with the

program of class struggle. Over 8,000 copies of the Spartacist League's newspaper *Workers Vanguard* were sold. *WV*'s powerful and popular slogan "Shut Down the Airports!" contrasted sharply with the Communist Party (CP) and Workers World reformists whose handouts merely echoed the bureaucrats' program of class collaboration with the Democratic Party. PATCO strikers bought extra copies of *WV* to hang up on their union bulletin boards. Later, one *WV* salesman told how workers would gather as he soapboxed about the need for militant labor action. He sold over 200 papers, a dozen at a time, by handing them around as he talked, then collecting the quarters

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What Spartacists Fought for in the Vietnam Antiwar Movement

See page 6

Sam Marcy in Bed with Bella

"All-Peoples" Congress— Class-Collaborationist Scam

The "All-People's Congress" (APC) scheduled to take place in Detroit this month claims it will organize mass action to "Overturn the Reagan Program of Cutbacks, Racism and War." Sound good? Well, hold on to your wallet because the APC's purpose is to unite "all anti-Reagan" forces behind the party of racism and war: the Democratic Party.

The APC is sponsored by People's Anti-War Mobilization (PAM) which in turn is dominated by Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism. A combination of old-fashioned Rooseveltian "liberal/labor" coalitionism and New Left sectoralism, the APC is likely to more closely resemble a three-ring circus than a serious popular-front "alternative" to Reagan. Every single-issue group under the sun is supposed to be represented: welfare rights, anti-nuke, anti-draft, tenants, feminists, black nationalists, gays, as well as a sprinkling of "progressive" trade-union bureaucrats, all tied to the Democrats. A glance at the National Advisory Board of the APC gives a hint as to just whose program will be in command in Detroit—among others, "liberal" Democratic hucksters Bella

Abzug, Paul O'Dwyer and Ramsey Clark sit on the board. "New endorsements are rushing in!" declares the 25 September issue of *Workers World* and it's more of the same: black Democrats from Congress to the Detroit City Council. The Marcyites' opportunism is exceeded only by their pretentiousness, that the All-People's Congress will be an important mobilization against the Reagan administration. In fact, it is likely to be a first-class organizational mess with every "constituency" vying with each other for their place in the sun.

Well-known for organizing the May 3 protest over U.S. involvement in El Salvador last spring, PAM is already an old hand at tailing the Democratic Party, class enemy of the workers and oppressed. While bloody civil war rages in El Salvador between the worker and peasant masses on the one side and the U.S.-backed butcher junta on the other, PAM has refused to take a side, i.e. it refused pointblank to call for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and its allies. To make this crystal clear to its liberal bloc-partners, PAM consciously sought to draw a bloodline between the Spartacist League/SYL-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent and the

"official" Democratic Party-dominated rally. PAM marshals set up a human chain in an attempt to keep demonstrators from attending the Anti-Imperialist rally organized around the call for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents" and "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador," herding them quickly away to hear Bella fulminate about "visiting electoral punishment" on the Republicans.

Even from their origins as a pro-Stalinist split from Trotskyism in 1958, the Marcyites have come a long way down. While WWP/YAWF's "militancy" was largely restricted to verbal cheerleading for every kind of Third World nationalism a decade ago, even its occasional criticisms of the "official antiwar movement" could today be directed toward WWP/YAWF itself. In an editorial, "Lessons of the Washington Demonstrations," Marcy had this to say about "antiwar" Democrats:

"For the Muskies, the Fulbrights and the McGoverns are in truth only opposed to the war (and here we may also mention the Hartkes, the Abzugs and the Lindsays, as well) because it is being lost....

"By surrendering their [CP, SWP, etc.] own program and adapting at the

demonstrations the program of the bourgeois liberals, they have renounced any claim to representing the socialist interests of the working class."

—*Workers World*, 7 May 1971

Today we find this very same Sam Marcy in bed with Bella!

Nowhere in the APC literature can one find so much as the word "imperialism." In fact, El Salvador is only mentioned in passing in the APC brochure, noting that "anti-war activists fighting to prevent future Vietnam wars in El Salvador" should attend the congress. Revolutionists, of course, do not prate about "no more Vietnams" since U.S. imperialism met a humiliating defeat in Vietnam at the hands of the victorious NLF/DRV forces. But defeating U.S. imperialism is not on PAM's agenda.

Just what is on the PAM/APC agenda is difficult to discuss since the APC literature contains nothing besides a lot of vague rhetoric about "the people" fighting for "social justice" through "united mass action." Suffice it to say there is no mention whatsoever of urgently needed class struggle to put a screeching halt to Reagan's union-busting, budget-slashing, strike-breaking attacks. When the air traffic controllers struck and received the full force of Reagan reaction, *Workers World* fell in line behind the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's refusal to act. While the SL/SYL called for the only winning strategy—that labor shut the airports down tight—Marcy praised the September 19 demonstration as a first step (!) toward winning the PATCO strike. A peculiar "first step" indeed, since the September 19 march occurred over a month after the controllers went out! Hobnobbing with the Democrats seems to have affected Marcy's basic sense of reality as well—he suggested that mobilizing the bourgeois courts in a show of "independence from the executive" to overrule anti-labor legislation might be a key to PATCO's victory as well!

PAM's gross class-collaboration is no block to a host of other fake-left groups working within it. With all the dignity and scruples of used car salesmen, they're trying to cash in on the hoped-for action. The reformist Communist Workers Party (CWP)—which has announced its open support to Democrat

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Ex-YAWFer Joins SYL

I was a member of *Workers World* for about a year and a half. I left that organization six months ago when it became apparent that *Workers World* was not trying to build a revolutionary party with roots in the trade unions but was instead putting their efforts into building "broad-based coalitions" whose politics are essentially those of the Democratic Party.

In order to appeal to feminists and blacks, *Workers World* applauds liberal affirmative action programs which are an attack on union seniority rights and which can be revoked at the whim of the bourgeoisie. They are sacrificing revolutionary perspective in order not to offend liberals, nationalists and pacifists.

When *Workers World* started talking about setting up PAM I got

disgusted. PAM was set up to organize the largest number of people around the smallest amount of politics. They might as well become organizers for the left wing of the Democratic Party. *Workers World* is now preparing to build for "national days of resistance" to Reagan's cuts in social services. They are calling for women, blacks, the unemployed and all who are affected by the cuts to join together in demonstrations against them. These demonstrations will undoubtedly consist of appeals to the liberals in the government to please save food stamps and social security. Revolutionaries should be calling on the trade unions—not the capitalist politicians—to take up this fight. When I left *Workers World* I was so disgusted with them that I wanted to stay out of politics forever.

Workers Vanguard Photo



New York City, June 6: Panicked plank-wielding goons (left), pushed aside by SL/SYLers protesting PAM's class collaboration.

Workers World cheerleads the FDR in El Salvador, a popular front that ties the working class to bourgeois organizations, and which is furthermore led by a former member of the junta! The SL/SYL calls for military victory to the leftist FMLN and a break with the popular front which can only lead to a bloody defeat for the working class.

The SL/SYL also calls for political revolutions in all the deformed and degenerated workers states (states which *Workers World* calls "socialist"). *Workers World* has no clear position on what should be done in the Soviet Union. The whole time I was in *Workers World*, I never once heard the phrase "Political Revolution." I was discouraged from reading Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*, which is a key document of the Trotskyist movement.

For Military Victory to the Left Wing in El Salvador and for political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy while unconditionally defending the workers states against imperialist attack were the two clear revolutionary positions which first attracted me to the SL/SYL. I was won over to the SL/SYL by their consistent rejection of reformist politics and constant efforts to build a mass, working-class revolutionary movement and fight for the rebirth of the Fourth International.

I am applying for membership in the SYL as I agree with its program and agree to abide by its discipline.

Sara H.
Boston
September 21, 1981

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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October 1981

Luxemburg/Lenin Not Walesa/Wojtyla!

Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!

Poland has existed for over a year in a state of cold dual power between the demonstrably bankrupt ruling bureaucracy and Solidarity, the mass workers organization which emerged from last year's general strike. With the first national congress of Solidarity this September, it became amply clear that the decisive elements within the organization are taking the road of bloody counterrevolution in league with "democratic" capitalist-imperialism. Looking to such virulent enemies of the working class as the Vatican, the anti-Semitic Polish Catholic church and the Western imperialist butchers, Walesa & Co. have embraced the "free world" and the slogans of the Cold War and are charting a counterrevolutionary course leading straight to the restoration of capitalism in Poland.

The deepening economic crisis and the virtual paralysis of Stalinist rule in Poland are powerful arguments for the need for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist usurpers. A revolutionary proletarian opposition to the Stalinist regime would fight for strict separation of church and state; unconditional military defense of the Soviet bloc against imperialism; the revolutionary unity of the Polish and Soviet proletariat; the immediate cancellation of the debt to the blood-sucking Western banks; the establishment of a workers government based on workers councils (soviets) to carry out socialist economic planning (including the collectivization of agriculture).



New York City, September 24: SL/SYL protest at Solidarność U.S. "Information" office.

But what has emerged in Poland has nothing in common with the internationalist, socialist aims of authentic Marxism! Solidarity's program could be briefly summarized as "nation, church and 'the free world.'" This is the meaning of the Solidarity congress' provocative call for the organization of "free trade unions" throughout the Soviet bloc—a slogan long associated with the Cold War intrigues of the CIA and its highly-placed friends in the U.S. labor bureaucracy. And Solidarity underscored the sinister implications with an invitation to U.S. labor Cold

Warrior Lane Kirkland, who was to have delivered a keynote speech to the conference's second session, until he was denied a visa by the Polish government. Kirkland was to have been accompanied by "Mr. AFL-CIA" himself, one Irving Brown, who personally supervised the fight against Communist influence in the West European trade unions after the war—a fight for "free trade unions" bought and paid for by the CIA.

In the same vein, the call for "free elections to the Sejm [parliament]" boils down to advocating capitalist restoration under the guise of parliamentary

government. This was made explicit following the congress' first session when prominent social democrat and adviser to Solidarity Jacek Kuron called for a counterrevolutionary "council of national salvation" to take power. This council would consist of Solidarity, the Catholic church and "moderate" Communist officials.

Solidarity's economic program—the abolition of centralized economic planning, election of enterprise managers by the workers and enterprise autonomy on the basis of market competition—would lead to immediate mass unemployment, facilitate imperialist economic penetration and greatly strengthen the forces pushing toward bloody capitalist restoration. Significantly, Solidarity spent much of last winter/spring forcing the legal recognition of Rural Solidarity, an organization of peasant smallholders whose social attitude was summed up by British journalist Tim Garton Ash: "It is the conservative Catholic peasants of South-Eastern Poland who would overthrow communism at the drop of a Cardinal's hat" (*Spectator*, 14 February).

As the crisis in Poland intensified and Solidarity's anti-Soviet/pro-imperialist direction consolidated, the imperialists hovered closely like so many hyenas smelling fresh meat. Reagan announced in June that events in Poland signified "the beginning of the end" for Communism. Deeply involved in fomenting anti-Communist reaction in Poland—

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Spartacist Campaign in Detroit City Council Elections

"Labor/Black Defense Against Klan Terror!"

Over 2,000 people voted for the revolutionary Spartacist League (SL) program in Detroit's September 15 primary elections. This amounted to roughly 2 percent of the vote going to the Spartacist candidates for city council, Don Andrews and Ann Weekley. The Andrews and Weekley campaign called for a "socialist fight to defend labor/black Detroit." Their campaign literature referred in particular to the example of the 10 November 1979 labor/black mobilization initiated by the SL and militant auto workers which brought out 500 to prevent a Klan march in Detroit's Kennedy Square.

The Spartacist campaign intersected the growing working-class anger against the Democratic Party. Democratic mayor Coleman Young's wage-gouging attacks on city workers have blatantly revealed the capitalist character of his administration. At the Labor Day rally in Kennedy Square, one Democratic politician after another was put up to speak by the union bureaucrats, only to be heckled and booed by the workers. The Spartacist League organized a contingent in the Labor Day march behind a banner reading: "Break With the Democrats! Build a Workers Party! Vote for Andrews/Weekley—Labor Candidates for City Council!"

Unlike the reformist campaigns of the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Andrews and Weekley did not present a fake plan to "save" Detroit under capitalism. They told the truth, that schemes to "tax the rich" and "shift priorities" are cynical

rhetoric to conceal the necessity of overthrowing capitalism, "the only solution that makes sense," as their campaign brochure put it.

Andrews, a long-time fighter for black rights and member of the SL Central Committee, brought the call for "some old-fashioned class struggle" to auto workers at Ford's River Rouge plant. Speaking at the September meeting of United Auto Workers Local 600 Dearborn Assembly Plant unit, Andrews said:

"Detroit today is being pushed off the cliff. Mass layoffs, plant closings are destroying workers' jobs, homes and families by the thousands. Before Dodge Main was closed the Spartacist League fought for militant labor action—sit-down strikes—as the only answer to the destruction of a huge section of the working class....

"Reagan will blow up the world to get the Soviet Union back into the orbit of capitalism. At home he is trying to hack to pieces the PATCO union and the labor movement while its leaders are sitting passively by. We say shut down the airports, fight Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive with hard class struggle!"

The Spartacist campaign fought for the class-struggle strategy to defeat fascism. In recent years the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis have been getting bolder and more active in the Detroit area. The response of liberals and reformists like the SWP has been to call for "free speech" for fascists. SWP city council candidate Liz Ziers even challenged Nazi Gerald Carlson to a debate after her house had been firebombed by the fascist scum! In contrast the SL fights for mass labor/black mobiliza-

tions to *smash* the fascists.

In November 1979, the Spartacist League and auto worker militants showed what a socialist fight to defend labor/black Detroit looks like in practice. The Klan announced a march in Kennedy Square to "celebrate" the cold-blooded massacre of five anti-fascist activists in Greensboro, North Carolina. But the United Auto Workers militants and the Spartacist League organized a show of labor/black force on November 10 that kept the Klan from showing their faces.

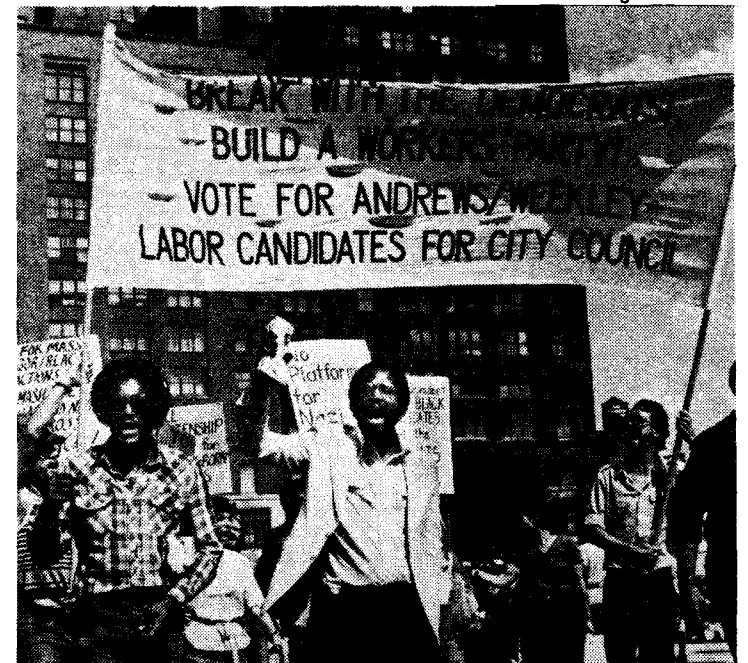
That victory is still remembered in Detroit. Weekley, a Spartacus Youth

League activist at Wayne State University, told *Young Spartacus*:

"The first time we campaigned at Belle Isle Park, three black youths motioned me over to find out what our red banner was all about. I explained our campaign and that it did not start or end in casting a ballot on election day. Our campaign is about November 10, 1979. It turned out that one of them was at that demonstration, and he and his friends grabbed hundreds of leaflets. And they came back for more. One said, 'This is the kind of campaign we can support!'"

The task now is to organize and recruit class-struggle militants from Detroit's largely black working class and youth to wage the fight for socialist revolution. ■

Workers Vanguard Photo



Don Andrews (center) at Detroit's September 7 Labor Day march.

McCarthyites in Racist Censorship Drive

Free Speech Fight at Wayne State

DETROIT—Reagan, like Carter before him, has brought massive budget cuts and tuition hikes to the inner-city Wayne State University (WSU) campus here. Financial aid and academic programs benefiting black and working-class students in particular have been slashed. Now, some WSU Student Council (SC) members (including at least one real live Young Republican!) want to practice some sandbox Reaganomics of their own.

The word got out in early September that the SC was considering denying funds to *all* campus political organizations! To counter a seedy behind-the-scenes deal with the Budget Committee, the WSU SYL immediately confronted the Council at its September 10 meeting to put them on notice that this political censorship would be vigorously fought. Council member William McKinney's simple democratic statement urging allocation of "privileges and services to any organization, equally" was narrowly defeated by a 7 to 6 vote.

The newly elected SC's ominous threat to the functioning of *any* student organization must be stopped now. The SYL is circulating a petition demanding that the "SC stop the McCarthyite witchhunt to deny funds to student political organizations." In addition to the SYL, outraged representatives from the campus DSOC branch, *News & Letters* Youth Committee and Organization of Arab Students appeared at the following SC meeting and forced the reluctant SC to hold one well-publicized meeting for *all* student budget requests.

On top of budding McCarthyism this Council has exhibited blatant white racism: for the first time, the Council broke with tradition and did not elect as

its president the student who got the most votes. Why? The two highest vote getters in last spring's election were black!

The heightening climate of reaction in the U.S. has had its effect at Wayne State: increased economic hardship for

the fight to unseat the apologists for Klan/Nazi murder from their editorial dictatorship of the *South End*, we are again fighting for the rights of *all* student groups to exist, organize and express their views at WSU. We reprint below the statement delivered Septem-



Workers Vanguard Photo

SL/SYL-led anti-KKK rally, Detroit, November 1979. Today Wayne State McCarthyites seek to muzzle SYL fight for labor/black defense against fascists.

students; a campus newspaper which ignored the sentiments of the majority of WSU students and vilely apologized for the Klan/Nazi Greensboro massacre; and now a number of young reactionaries on the SC who think they can get away with Reagan-style policies on this black and working-class campus.

Just as the SYL was in the forefront of

ber 10 to the SC by SYL spokesman Gloria Howze:

My name is Gloria Howze, and I'm a member of the WSU Spartacus Youth League.... We have come here today because we understand that some members of this Student Council intend to stop funding for any organization on

this campus that makes a political statement. We in the SYL talk a lot of politics on this campus, revolutionary working-class politics. We are Trotskyists. We want to see the workers rule this country, and we support Andrews and Weekley in the election campaign for Detroit City Council on September 15. They are the only candidates who stand for labor/black mobilizations to smash the Klan/Nazi threat in this town.

Do you mean to tell me that with racist firebombings a regular occurrence and the Nazis marching in Detroit on August 22, we can't speak out against these outrages? Do you mean to tell us that in this labor/black town you're going to deny funding to the only people who want blacks and workers to stand up and take what is rightfully theirs? UAW [United Auto Workers] president Doug Fraser sits on the Chrysler Board of Directors while tens of thousands of laid-off auto workers languish on welfare and unemployment. We want auto workers to use the same militant tactics that built the UAW—sitdown strikes—to fight the layoffs and save their union! Your buddy Ronald Reagan is leading the most threatening drive towards World War III in recent memory, and you're saying that we don't have the right to speak out against this reactionary saber rattling? And just look at the effect that the Reagan reaction has had on the Wayne State campus! Massive cutbacks, tuition hikes, and already there is a 10 percent drop in black enrollment.

We won't remain silent, despite the attempts of the budding young McCarthy on the Council!

It's not our views alone that the Council is trying to silence. This political censorship is clearly aimed at leftist organizations such as ours, but it goes beyond us. Any organization making a political statement could be targeted. How could any programming focusing on history or current events fail to be political? What about journalism? Has the Council-funded *South End* ever made a political statement? What about black-oriented programming? Is Black History Month political? How could it not be? Who do you people think you are anyway? Even Ronald Reagan knows that he can't rip up the First Amendment right now. Do you think you're running a South African bantustan where you can toss anyone you don't like into the bush? And what's next? Pass laws? Maybe the Council, like your buddy in the White House, supports these policies too! We in the SYL oppose the recent South African invasion of Angola, and we intend to tell everyone on the campus of our stand.

If the Council goes ahead with their attempted McCarthyite political censorship we will build a free speech movement on the campus. We may have disagreements with many of the organizations on campus but we will unite to fight this attack on democratic rights because this issue affects everyone on the campus.

The role of the SC ought to be to facilitate the programming of student organizations, not to suppress it.

What is going on here is a purge in the service of anti-communist reaction. But it will be stopped. As the most active socialist youth group on campus, the SYL has had to fight this kind of crap before. We'll do it again. ■

SL/SYL Subscription Drive

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Young Spartacus

Union-Busting and Racist Reaction
Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive Comes Home

[Reprint of an article from Young Spartacus magazine, featuring a photo of a protest and columns of text.]

[Small text at the bottom of the reprint, including 'Respect Reagan's Apartheid' and 'What Spartacists Fought for in the Vietnam Antiwar Movement'.]

Daily Cardinal



Madison SYL Calls United Front Demo

"CIA Spies Off Campus!"

A successful rally and picket line against CIA recruiters was held September 28 on the University of Wisconsin (UW) Madison campus, initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL). This action gained support from the Iranian Student Association (ISA, supporters of the Fedayeen Minority), the Arab Student Union, the Teaching Assistants Association (TAA), the Wisconsin Student Association (WSA), Professor Prospero Saiz, the General Union of Palestinian Students, various labor representatives and other individuals. The basis of the united front was common agreement on the demands: "CIA Spies Off Campus!" "Protest CIA's Murder Inc. Terror in El Salvador and Latin America" and "Abolish the CIA/NSA/FBI!"

At its peak the rally attracted 300 people to listen to speakers from the endorsing groups. Particularly significant was the participation of Iranian students, who know firsthand the CIA's bloody role in bringing the hated shah and his secret police (SAVAK) to power. Today many CIA-trained ex-SAVAK agents aid the reactionary Islamic regime's campaign of extermination against the Iranian left. As the CIA and their friends in the AFL-CIO leadership spread their counterrevolutionary tentacles from El Salvador to Poland, a demonstration exposing the CIA's criminal conspiracies against the world working class is especially timely. But the campus fake-left—the Communist Party (CP), the Democratic Socialist Alliance (DSA) and the Progressive

Student Organization (PSO)—more hostile to the SYL than to the CIA, boycotted the demonstration (although a CPer and a DSAer did participate as individuals). Far more sinister, however, was the response of the Progressive Labor Party (PL), a gangsterist, anti-Soviet sect. As an ISA representative began addressing the crowd, 15 to 20 PL members and sympathizers arrived to *disrupt* the anti-secret police protest!

When PL attempted to drown out the speakers with a powerful bullhorn, SYL marshals waded into the PL contingent and put their bullhorn out of commission in an elementary act of workers democracy. PL resorted to these hooligan tactics after an attempt to call their own separate demonstration, counterposed to the SYL-initiated united front,

had failed.

Why would an ostensibly "revolutionary communist" organization seek to disrupt a rally against the CIA? For PL, there is more than simple organizational sectarianism involved. Like Reagan and Haig, PL defames the Soviet Union as an "imperialist" and even "fascist" country. PL does *not* defend the Polish deformed workers state against CIA-aided counterrevolutionary plots and does *not* support a leftist military victory in El Salvador. Earlier this year PL began counseling its members to *voluntarily* enlist in the U.S. army and the National Guard, supposedly to transform them into "anti-racist" institutions! Surely PL knew that its provocation would bring in the cops, endangering the entire demonstration, particularly the many foreign students there—who could be deported if arrested. But provocation flourishes in the culture of a diseased and hysterical sect such as PL.

After the disruption was dealt with and PL marched off to hang the CIA in effigy, SYL/SYL speakers addressed the crowd pointing to the need for large, militant protests linked to generalized opposition to capitalism and the current Cold War drive. Concretely this means defending the Cuban and Russian workers states against imperialism, despite the Stalinist deformations.

Following the rally, the SYL led 75 to 100 protesters in a march to Science Hall where the career placement center is located. The protesters took up chants like "CIA/FBI spies off campus!" and "CIA/NSA murderers of Che!" as a handful of PLers looked on.

The protest was widely discussed on campus and received extensive coverage in the local press, TV news and radio, including the campus *Daily Cardinal*, the local papers in Madison and even the *Milwaukee Journal*. While PL's antics allowed the media to focus on "leftist in-fighting," the many people who built and joined in this united action against the CIA know that it is the Trotskyist Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League which is pointing the way forward in the class struggle against U.S. imperialism. ■

Madison, September 19

Stalinist Exclusion Misses the Bus

MADISON—On September 19 workers, minorities and students from across the country massed in the hundreds of thousands to protest Reagan's vicious union busting and budget slashing. However, the University of Wisconsin (UW) Madison Solidarity Day "steering committee"—composed of the Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League (CP/YWLL), Progressive Student Organization (PSO) and Democratic Socialist Alliance (DSA)—instead tried to use the demonstration to politically slander and isolate the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) on campus. The "steering committee" voted to expel socialist militants in the SYL from the student government/campus union-financed bus to Washington, anonymously informing the SYL of this decision at 1:00 a.m. only two days before the trip. But when the campus bus rolled out of Madison on Friday afternoon, seven members and supporters of the SYL were on board—while YWLL, PSO and DSA members were eating crow!

It wasn't easy to overturn the anti-socialist exclusion. Under the influence of an ex-PL "Solidarity Day" supporter in the student senate, one Mark Shaf-

roth, the student government was at first simply going to ignore the exclusion. But Shafroth had the unmitigated gall to ask the Teaching Assistants Association (TAA) at their September 16 membership meeting for additional funds to compensate for vacant seats created by the SYL's exclusion! The TAA responded with the following amendment to the funding motion, introduced by an SYL supporter, which passed almost unanimously: "Given the Solidarity Day Committee's stated intention to exclude the SYL from the WSA [Wisconsin Student Association] financed bus, that the TAA demand that all left and labor organizations be allowed to ride the bus." Two hundred dollars additional funding was then made conditional upon a reversal of the anti-communist, anti-democratic exclusion.

When publicly challenged, PSO member and "Solidarity Day" spokesman Bill Silver whined that "the steering committee does not like the SYL's attitude." As one disgusted TAA member put it, "I thought we went through all this stuff in 1951." TAA unionists know McCarthyite witchhunting when they see it! During the 1980 campus

strike, the TAA knew that it could depend on the SYL to help build and defend picket lines—while PSO and DSA members waltzed across them. And as for the CP/YWLL, they were

nowhere to be seen during the strike.

The SYL responded to these "thought police" in a protest statement: "Now these self-appointed political censors
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Spartacus Youth League Directory

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Printed below is the second portion of an edited transcript of a talk given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at the Spartacist Education Weekend in New York City on June 6. The speech was originally titled, "Vietnam: Bourgeois Defeatism, Détente, Cold War II."

Part Two of Two

When people speak of the antiwar movement what they have in mind are the big demonstrations. That's the conventional understanding of it. Now, you must understand that from their very inception in 1965 these demonstrations were intended by their reformist organizers as a pressure tactic upon and, if possible, a bloc with the liberal wing of the American ruling class. The first big demonstration, which took place in New York in October 1965, was organized by the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee. Significantly, the *only* slogan of that demonstration was *not even* the minimal acceptable demand from a purely bourgeois-democratic standpoint, that is, immediate and unconditional withdrawal. Rather the demonstration called for: "Stop the War in Vietnam Now!" Well, Lyndon Johnson too wanted to stop the war in Vietnam now; he wanted to win the war now. It was a deliberately ambiguous slogan.

In preparing for this educational I went back and reread the statement we made when we withdrew from this committee. And it's quite uncanny that if you replace Vietnam with El Salvador and Johnson with Reagan, we could pass this same statement out to PAM (People's Antiwar Mobilization). Like PAM today, there was the same refusal to take a side in the conflict, the same misuse of and hiding behind "national self-determination," the same appeals to the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie in "our" national interest. Here is what we said in 1965:

"We are not simply for stopping the war, but rather for the victory of the social revolution that is taking place in Vietnam.... We are not neutral in this. What is involved is not simply a matter of self-determination or moral indigna-

tions and Eugene McCarthys—supported the war. They had their criticisms, but they supported the war. So the liberal bourgeoisie were not represented in the flesh as it were but rather by their preachers, their doctors and their professors. The keynote speakers in the early antiwar protests were the Rev. Martin Luther King, the baby doctor Benjamin Spock, William Sloane Coff-

National Guardian



New York City, 1966: Spartacists demanded defense of USSR, China and victory of Vietnamese social revolution against U.S. imperialism.

tion or national security or the honor and reputation of the American people as the [Committee] Call indicates. The best defense of the Vietnamese revolution is to build a militant antiwar movement strong enough to compel the United States to get out of Vietnam!" [emphasis in original]

—"Spartacist Breaks with New York Parade Committee," *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965

Bourgeoisie Out of the Antiwar Movement!

In the first years of the war the ties between the antiwar movement and the liberal wing of the U.S. ruling class were somewhat disguised because the big liberal politicians—the Bobby Kenne-

fin, the chaplain of Yale. And if the student peaceniks were moralistic, these guys were truly insufferable. If there is a Marxist purgatory the American Stalinists and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) members should be sentenced to listen for several centuries to the collected speeches of Martin Luther King and Benjamin Spock. That would be a fitting punishment.

However, after the 1968 Tet Offensive it was all out in the open. When you went to demonstrate in Washington, you were addressed by senators and congressmen, mainly Democrats but also some Republicans.

Today if you tell an SWPer that in the antiwar movement they did the donkey

work for the liberal Democrats, he'll reply, "Only the crazy sectarian Sparts say that." But at the time everyone knew that the SWP, along with the Communist Party (CP), constituted the extreme right, pro-liberal wing of the antiwar movement. Probably the most authoritative testimony to the SWP's pro-Democratic Party line in the antiwar movement comes from the country's leading pro-Democratic Party "socialist," Michael Harrington. Writing about a 1971 antiwar demonstration in the *New York Times Magazine* (30 May 1971), Harrington observed:

"...to the extent that the Trotskyists [i.e., the SWP] did influence the event, they carried out one of the most remarkable exercises in dupery in our political history; they duped themselves. For they are sworn opponents of the 'class collaborationists' in the Kennedy and McCarthy movements and bitter foes of the notion that Democratic Congressmen can end the war—and yet they helped to assemble a gigantic audience which demonstrated in favor of just such an approach."

They did not, of course, dupe themselves. They knew quite well what they were doing. It's called popular frontism.

One of our main struggles was for bourgeois politicians out of the antiwar movement. This was not a moralistic question. Many of the imperialist "doves" were enemies of the labor movement, and their presence tended to prevent in a very palpable way a class-struggle antiwar movement. Take New York mayor John Lindsay, for example. Lindsay was a Republican and the personification of a "limousine liberal." He was elected in 1965 and sought to break the power of the public employees unions, which had always been close to the Tammany Hall Democrats. Practically his first act was to provoke a transit workers strike and then pull the union into court as strikes by public employees were illegal. A few years later he, along with some black nationalist hustlers, attempted to break the largely Jewish New York teachers union, demagogically appealing to "communi-

ty control." So Lindsay was rightly hated by New York City trade unionists, and he was the keynote speaker at all the antiwar rallies. And this was also the case with many other imperialist "doves."

On this balmy spring day ten years later, the question of popular frontism in the Vietnam antiwar movement may seem abstract and even academic. For those of us who were at a certain SWP-sponsored antiwar conference in July 1971 or in Chicago last week, this question is not at all bloodless. The reformists are quite prepared to draw the line in blood against revolutionaries in order to maintain their ties to the imperialist bourgeoisie. Ten years ago in New York City, Democratic senator Vance Hartke was addressing an SWP-organized antiwar conference. We and the then left-Maoist Progressive Labor group shouted him down. So the SWP and CP goons threw us out, beating us up along the way. One of the comrades got his nose broken. Last week in Chicago the CP called the cops on us at an El Salvador demo. Why? Because we carried the slogan, "Defense of the USSR, Cuba Begins in El Salvador," and that would repel the liberals. Fortunately there was no serious violence, but there could have been since the Chicago cops are notoriously trigger-happy.

For an Antiwar Friday!

Around 1967 you began to see a certain kind of left/right polarization in the antiwar movement. The more militant activists became frustrated spending all their time organizing rallies for Benjamin Spock. Go hear Benjamin Spock sometime and you'll see why. So there began a tendency toward confrontationism. The antiwar militants who rejected the SWP's "peaceful, legal" parades would deliberately clash with the police, try to take over government buildings, hold the dean of students hostage for 48 hours, that kind of thing.

From Protest to Power



What Spartacists Fought for in the Vietnam Antiwar Movement

We argued that small-group confrontation against the state power was not the answer. Instead we raised the call for an "antiwar Friday"—not a Saturday or Sunday, but a work day. We agitated for a one-day general strike of factories, offices, ghetto neighborhoods as well as universities. Thus, we counterposed labor action against the war to the pro-liberal peace crawls on the one hand and the growing tendency toward small-group confrontation with the forces of the state on the other.

The Poison of Stalinism

Around '68 there developed another kind of left/right polarization in the antiwar movement. The incredible heroism of the Communist-led forces in Vietnam caused many antiwar militants to positively solidarize with them. You began to hear in the antiwar rallies the chant, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, NLF is gonna win!" This was a two-edged development. It certainly represented subjective revolutionary motion as many of these same people had supported Lyndon Johnson only a few years before. At the same time, the fact that this radicalization took the form of identification with a Stalinist movement could not but derail and eventually demoralize the young militants involved. In 1968 we wrote:

"There has been an understandable but nevertheless unfortunate tendency on the part of the American left to idealize Ho Chi Minh and the leadership of the NLF, and for radicals to turn their correct demands for military victory against imperialism and its puppets into uncritical support for these leaders and their politics. This is a grave error, for not only do these would-be revolutionaries not understand the deformities of those they support—and are extremely likely to feel personally betrayed when the inevitable occurs—but are likely to carry over the Stalinist hallmarks of class-collaboration and murderous opportunism into the American revolutionary movement."

—"NLF Program: Fetter on Victory," *Spartacist* supplement, May 1968

In late 1967 the NLF brought out a widely publicized program. This program did not call for a socialist revolution but rather for a "neutral" capitalist state in the South and a coalition government with so-called "third forces." There was much speculation at the time that these "third forces" were represented by a military out-clique headed by one general Big Minh, who was the liberal wing of the CIA's candidate for president of South Vietnam. Now, the Stalinist notion that there exists some "progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist" wing of the bourgeoisie is always and everywhere a dangerous illusion. But in South Vietnam in the late '60s one couldn't even dignify this with the term "illusion." The South Vietnamese ruling class wanted only one thing, the permanent occupation of the country by the U.S. armed forces. They were that scared and that weak. All wings of the South Vietnamese ruling class had only one program vis-à-vis the Communists: their physical extermination, along with much of the rest of the Vietnamese population, carried out by the U.S. army. So the war

**Telegram:
Defend the DRV-NLF!**

The following telegram was sent as the U.S. imperialists mined Haiphong harbor and the North Vietnamese coast. At the time Soviet bureaucrats were preparing to receive Nixon in Moscow just as their Chinese counterparts a few months earlier wined and dined him in Peking as he terror-bombed Vietnam.

Embassy of the U.S.S.R.
Washington, D.C.

U.N. Mission of the
People's Republic of China
New York, N.Y.

On behalf of the urgent revolutionary needs of the international working class and in accord with the inevitable aims of our future workers government in the United States, we demand that you immediately expand shipment of military supplies of the highest technical quality to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and that you offer the DRV the fullest all-sided assistance including necessary Russian-Chinese joint military collaboration.

No other course will serve at this moment of savage imperialist escalation against the DRV and the Indochinese working people whose military victories have totally shattered the myths of the Vietnamization and pacification programs of Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon.

signed:
Political Bureau,
Spartacist League of the U.S.
8 May 1972

copies to: DRV and NLF delegations, Paris

went on.

But let's assume that the Vietnamese Stalinists had been able to realize their "peace" program. Let's assume that they laid down their arms, that the North Vietnamese army withdrew from the South in return for the promise of a coalition government. That would not only have been an enormous betrayal of the revolutionary aspirations of the South Vietnamese masses, but also would have opened the way to a bloodbath comparable to that in Indonesia in 1965, where the Stalinists were in coalition with the "anti-imperialist" Sukharno.

There is another important aspect to the Stalinists' inherent hostility to proletarian political power. The Vietnam War was a social revolution but it was not a proletarian socialist revolution. The two main agencies of the revolution were the peasant-based Viet Cong guerrillas and the North Vietnamese army, a disciplined instrument of the Hanoi Stalinist bureaucracy. In 1975 the South Vietnamese cities were liberated from without and the working class subjected to military-bureaucratic rule. That's why we call it a deformed social revolution. We actually predicted this outcome seven years before it happened:

"On balance, and assuming the critical point that the Yankees and their agents leave, it is likely that the NLF will simply bypass its program and will then set out to make a limited, distorted and bureaucratic revolution from the top...."

If the Hanoi Stalinists did not believe in proletarian revolution in what was then the weakest bourgeois state in the world, South Vietnam, they certainly didn't believe in it in the strongest, the United States. The Hanoi Stalinists all but endorsed McCarthy/Kennedy/McGovern. No doubt they would have formally endorsed them except they figured this would cost them more votes than they would gain from among antiwar radicals. Here's what Radio

Hanoi said of McGovern's nomination: "The McGovern phenomenon primarily reflects the American people's strong, latent antiwar sentiment" (*New York Times*, 20 July 1972). Referring to McGovern's call for unconditional withdrawal, Radio Hanoi stated: "These points set forth in the Democratic Party platform are the American people's demands." If that's not an

something like this: We Vietnamese cannot tell you Americans how to make your revolution. The important thing is to work for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and not to antagonize or alienate anyone who is against the war. Petition your congressman to introduce a bill for the withdrawal of U.S. troops. And so forth. This is what the Vietnamese Stalinists told the New Left radicals. A lot of them were moving sufficiently leftward that they disregarded this advice. But to the extent the Vietnamese Stalinists used their considerable moral authority in the U.S. antiwar movement, they used it to promote extreme forms of class collaborationism.

Black Workers Key to Antiwar Struggle

The identification with Vietnamese Stalinism fostered class collaboration in the U.S. radical milieu of the day in another less obvious, but perhaps more insidious way. There was an utterly utopian attempt to transpose the national liberationist ideology of the Vietnamese Stalinists onto the internal political terrain of the United States. This was especially the case with regard to the black question. It was commonplace among radicals to view blacks as an "internal colony," so that the goal of revolutionaries was somehow to create a "liberated zone" in Harlem or Chicago's Southside. Read George Jackson's prison letters and you'll see he regards the Black Panthers as simply the black American analogue of the Viet Cong, the military-political vanguard in a

Flax Hermes



Bay Area, 1967: Heroic struggle of Vietnamese against racist U.S. imperialism struck responsive chord among American blacks.

endorsement, what is? The U.S. Communist Party and their Marcyite tailists naturally utilized the moral authority of the Vietnamese Stalinists to justify their class collaboration.

When I gave this talk in Chicago, comrade Lisa Miguel, who had been a mainstream New Left activist, recounted how disappointed her friends were when they finally met with Vietnamese NLF spokesmen in Canada or Europe. Here, they thought, were the real revolutionaries who would tell them how to make the American revolution. Instead the Vietnamese NLF told them

struggle to free the black nation from imperialist subjugation.

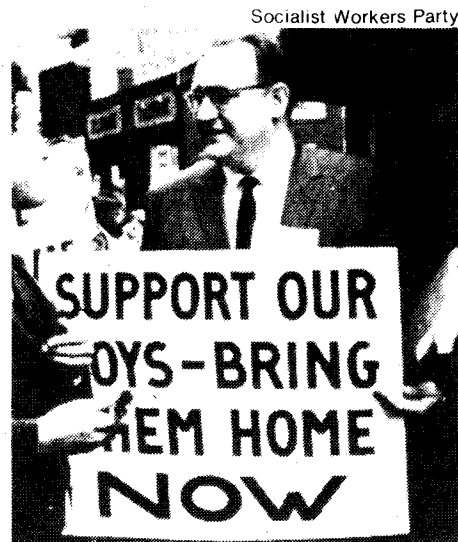
But it was not only blacks who were seen as an "internal colony." This notion was applied to Puerto Ricans, women, homosexuals, etc. This was the era of pan-national liberationism, the heyday of the "liberation league." There was the Jewish Lesbians Liberation League, the Dominican Masochists Liberation League. You name it, there was a liberation league for it. Only middle-class WASP males were held exempt from the need for liberation. But, of course, since one really couldn't liberate all these sectors from the rest of American society, most of the "liberation" movements spent much of their time trying to liberate themselves from one another. There was no love lost between black nationalist males and white feminists in the late '60s.

The black question was decisive and here an historic opportunity was lost. The road from the Vietnam War radicalization into the proletariat was largely a black road, but it was a road that was not taken. This period was also the period of the greatest divisiveness between black and white radicals and would-be revolutionaries. This was the one point in recent American history when organized black nationalism loomed large in the left and large in the political life of the black people. And

continued on page 8



At 1971 NPAC conference, SWP goons attacked SL and PL for opposing presence of imperialist "dove" Hartke. Right: SWP NPAC honcho Fred Halstead echoed bourgeois liberals who opposed Vietnam War because U.S. was losing.



Socialist Workers Party

Bulletin

Vietnam...

(continued from page 7)

this separation had tragic historic consequences because all classes of the black people, including the industrial proletariat, were deeply antiwar. When Muhammad Ali, who was not a radical, said, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger," he was expressing the feelings of millions of blacks in this country.

In the late '60s-early '70s there were probably a few tens of thousands of black workers in auto, in steel, in transit who hated the war, sympathized with the Viet Cong, hated capitalism-imperialism insofar as they understood what this meant. These workers would have joined a revolutionary communist party had one existed with sufficient credibility. If the Spartacist League had had 50 hard black cadre in the late '60s, the history of the American left and perhaps even of the country as a whole would have been very different.

But we didn't have them. The black nationalists had them and they wasted them. Most of the nationalist groups, like the Panthers, never touched potentially revolutionary black workers. They had a ghetto-lumpen orientation. Even the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit wrote off the *entire* white working class as "an aristocracy of white labor which gives white labor a huge stake in the imperialist system, and renders white labor unable and unfit to lead the working class in the U.S."

The black nationalists paid a terrible price—personally paid a terrible price—for their isolation from the labor movement. The Reutherite bureaucracy in the UAW was able to break the League by appealing not only to backward white workers but also to older, conservative black workers who saw in the League's dual unionism a threat to their hard-won, however bureaucratically limited and deformed, trade-union gains. The Panthers paid an even higher price as the police and FBI were able to murder or imprison almost all of their militants.

Much of our political struggle during the Vietnam War years was in a sense very elementary. We said: only a united working class by overthrowing capitalism and establishing a planned, socialized economy can lay the basis for ending all forms of social oppression. But this very elementary premise of Marxism was rejected by the overwhelming majority of leftists, including those that called themselves "Marxists." Likewise, we were among the few groups which fought for the basic Leninist principle that a proletarian revolution requires a vanguard party united not on the basis of race, ethnicity or sex but on the basis of revolutionary program.

New Left Anti-Sovietism

The discussion of New Left national-liberationism touches on an important issue I raised earlier, the attitude of 1960s radicals to the Soviet Union. It's important to emphasize that in part—but *only in part*—the New Left's hostility toward Brezhnev's Russia was from the left not from the right. The Vietnam War period was one of a rising line of détente. And everyone knew—this was no well-kept diplomatic secret or unique Trotskyist insight—that one

of the prices for détente was that Moscow would pressure North Vietnam to liquidate the revolution in the South. This did not exactly make American antiwar radicals think well of the Soviet Union and its role in world politics.

No left group at the time was more savagely condemnatory of Moscow's treachery toward the Vietnamese Revolution than was the Spartacist League. But as against the New Left, we never lumped together the Soviet Union with U.S. imperialism. On the contrary, we attacked the Soviet leadership precisely for *not* defending Vietnam. In 1965 when the U.S. first started bombing North Vietnam we picketed Soviet diplomats with the slogan, "Soviet Nuclear Shield Must Cover Hanoi!"

John White/Chicago Daily News



Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton (right) was murdered in his bed by vicious Chicago cops.

And in 1972 when the U.S. mined Haiphong harbor and resumed bombing the North, we sent an open letter to both Moscow and Peking demanding that the best military equipment be given to Hanoi and if the North Vietnamese request, there should be joint military intervention against the U.S. imperialists. The Stalinists ritually denounce Trotskyists as splitters and wreckers of the workers movement. Well, during the Vietnam War when the Russian and Chinese Stalinists were vying with each other to win the friendship of Nixon's America by showing who could best sabotage the Vietnamese Revolution, we were the only ones to agitate for the unity of the international workers movement to defend the Vietnamese Revolution against imperialism.

Remember I said that only in part was New Left hostility to the Soviet Union a leftist response to the Kremlin's policies toward the Vietnam War. In many ways the New Leftists of the 1960s never really broke with the basic Cold War notion that the Soviet Union is a predatory expansionist power. If they regarded the U.S. as the number one enemy of the world's peoples, the Soviet Union was still regarded as a lesser enemy. The New Leftists viewed "imperialism" and "Communism" through the prism of an essentially *national* not a class ideological outlook. The basic global conflict was seen as one between the backward countries (the "Third World") and the advanced countries regardless of social system. When the Vietnam War ended and the Cold War was revived in the late '70s, many of these same people found their way back to the liberal imperialist camp. This is especially clear over the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

As Trotskyists we have always maintained that the Soviet Union is a bureaucratically ruled workers state, as are China, Vietnam, Cuba, etc. Moreover, due to its objective economic-military strength the Soviet Union is the main obstacle to imperialism's global domination. Thus, at the time of the Sino-Soviet border clashes in 1969, when everyone considered Maoist China rabidly, fanatically, implacably hostile to U.S. imperialism, we project-

ed the possibility of an alliance of the U.S. and China against the Soviet Union. The beginning of that alliance was one of the factors which shaped the 1973 Paris Peace Treaty and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Détente and the Paris Peace Treaty

By 1970 U.S. imperialism found itself in deep trouble. The war was clearly unwinnable and was draining the strength of the U.S. militarily, economically and politically. Militarily, it enabled the Soviet Union to catch up in the decisive sphere of strategic nuclear weapons. At the time of the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 the U.S. had about



UPI

2,000 strategic nuclear weapons while the Russians had about 60, which is one of the main reasons the Cuban missile crisis ended as it did. By the time of the SALT I agreement ten years later the Russians had achieved parity. One of the reasons for this was that so much of the American military resources were spent trying to bomb Vietnam back into the Stone Age.

It's common to talk of guns vs. butter. But for U.S. imperialism, the Vietnam War came to represent guns vs. missiles. Even many hard right-wing militarists favored pulling out of Vietnam because they wanted to spend more money on Trident submarines and MX missiles directed at Russia, which was seen as the main enemy. They were willing to risk "losing" South Vietnam rather than risk losing a strategic nuclear advantage over Russia.

Economically, the war generated a sharp inflation (though not by today's standards) which undermined the dollar in world currency markets and in 1971 finally destroyed the so-called Bretton Woods international monetary system. The inflation also produced a significant strike wave in the U.S., highlighted by a long General Motors strike in 1969 and a nationwide postal workers' wildcat in 1970, the first strike ever against the federal government.

I want to emphasize that these labor struggles took place as the war was becoming increasingly unpopular. At the time of the 1970 Kent-Cambodia crisis for the first time there was a labor/student antiwar rally in New York City. True, the union bureaucrats involved were not so much responding to pressure from below as acting as agents for the ruling-class "doves" like McGovern. But still one was reaching a situation in which the war threatened an internal social explosion going well beyond campus-based protest.

Faced with this situation, Nixon/Kissinger developed a three-pronged strategy to extricate the U.S. from the war in the least damaging way. First, they drew down the number of U.S. troops in Vietnam. But unlike the "doves"—and this is important—they were not going to withdraw unilaterally. They were not going to accept immediate and unconditional defeat. Nor were

Nixon/Kissinger willing to allow the U.S. army to be overwhelmed militarily by the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong. They would have fought on rather than accept outright defeat, even at the risk of a domestic explosion in the U.S.

Second, the Nixon administration stepped up its détente maneuvers with the Russians. They offered the Kremlin better economic relations, diplomatic recognition of East Germany, etc. Third, and most significant, in 1971 Nixon/Kissinger reversed the traditional U.S. enmity toward Mao's China, secretly offering the Chinese Stalinists a bloc against the Soviet Union. At the same time, the threat of better relations with China was used to extract concessions from the Russians and also the North Vietnamese. American antiwar radicals accepted the official line that China and North Vietnam "were as close as lips and teeth." The Vietnamese knew better. They knew the real relationship was more like teeth on throat, as is now obvious to everyone.

All the threads of Washington's "triangular diplomacy" were pulled together in the Paris Peace Accords of January 1973. The U.S. agreed to withdraw its troops in return for an in-place cease-fire and a promise by the North Vietnamese to recognize the Thieu government in the South.

As soon as the U.S. troops pulled out, the antiwar movement simply collapsed. Because it was not an antiwar movement, it was an anti-U.S.-involvement-in-the-war movement. A very different thing. The broader New Left radicalization tended to dissipate into the "me generation." By the time Saigon fell to the North Vietnamese army in 1975, the majority of the American people couldn't have cared less. The Vietnam War had become a remote foreign conflict. In this way the deepening social crisis in the late '60s-early '70s was overcome, giving U.S. imperialism a valuable period to recoup and recover.

Che Guevara, who was an idealistic Stalinist—he had a bad program but was a heroic and honorable man—once said he envied American revolutionaries because we live in the belly of the monster. In the Vietnam War the monster was wounded not by us who live within, but by the Vietnamese from without. But the monster survived, recovered somewhat and is now screaming for vengeance. So we have our work cut out for us. The real lesson of the Vietnam War is that there is no victory but victory. On May 3 we marched, like we will in the future, not simply for victory for the Central American leftist insurgents or the southern African leftist insurgents or the Southeast Asian leftist insurgents, but also for a victory of the American working class, of the black and Hispanic poor, of the exploited and oppressed of this country, a victory over the American imperialist ruling class, which is truly the monstrous enemy of the world's peoples. ■

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Is There Sex After Reagan?

There is actually *one* social program Ronald Reagan isn't trying to eliminate. Twenty-seven centers which *previously* provided birth control and abortion information to adolescent women will still be funded, but with a Reaganesque switch. The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee allocated \$30 million a year through 1984 to promote "self-discipline and chastity and other positive family-centered approaches" among teenagers. The bill's sponsor, Jeremiah Denton, the senator from the Moral Majority, wants to prohibit the centers from referring pregnant teenagers to abortion clinics and require parental permission before teenage girls could receive birth control information or devices. Denton questions "such relatively new developments as the sexual revolution." "You can have a great time with these bills," he said. "You can say we are going back to 1450."

This ayatollah from Alabama isn't kidding. Reagan and the Moral Majority offer little more than what a peasant in 1450 heard from his parish priest: live on prayer and for the hereafter. Certainly their ideas for the here and now aren't too appealing—especially if you are young, black and/or working class. Social services are being slashed, inflation and unemployment are soaring—and ketchup has been declared a vegetable in federally sponsored school "lunches"! Maybe the "right-to-life" crowd—which supports the death penalty!—figures kids will be too hungry to think about sex.

At an administration-sponsored conference, one participant addressed the soaring teenage pregnancy rate: "Why don't we teach the boys not to ask as well as the girls to say no?" Even Barry Goldwater was skeptical of the Moral Majority's attempt to suppress sex: "Oh, God. There's no way. How the hell could you regulate that?" Good question, but that won't stop the

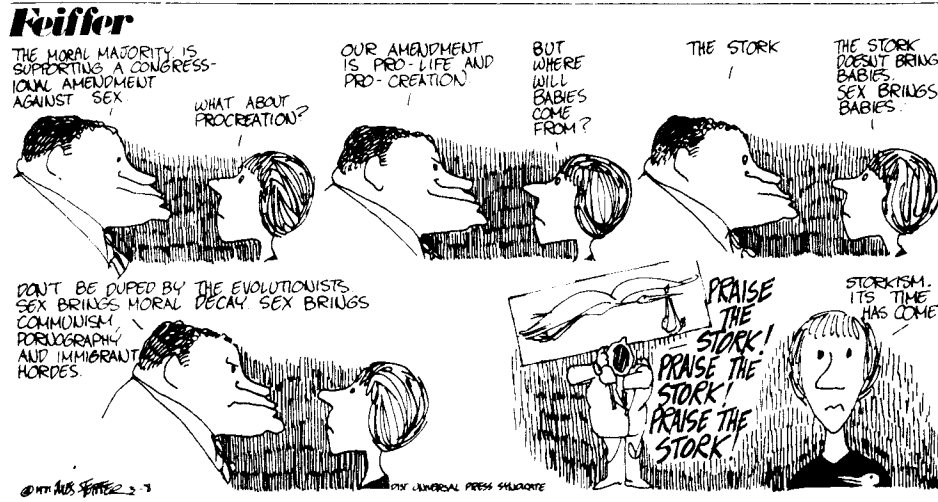
life starts at conception, with full constitutional rights!

So today abortion becomes murder one, sex education is reduced to a two-letter word (no!) and "biological creationism" is back in the schools of several states. One hundred years after Darwin and half a century after the Scopes Monkey Trial these yahoos want to go back to Genesis.

There's a lot of hypocrisy here too. Some congressional Moral Majority-ites don't practice what they preach for everybody else. In *My Capitol Secrets*, Rita Jenrette, ex-wife of an Abscam Democrat, mentions Bob Bauman who would "stride on to the floor of the House and pound the desk and carry on an antigay tirade in the manner of Anita Bryant. Then he'd go out at night carousing in gay bars." Cops who'd been following him caught him "molesting an underage boy."

This poisonous climate of "decency" has led to an increase in censorship and outright persecution of so-called "deviants," particularly homosexuals. On July 11, two members of the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) were arrested in Long Island, charged with sodomy and sexual abuse. Others have been arrested in New York, New Jersey and New Hampshire—more have been "questioned." NAMBLA supports the sexual rights of gays and children but in Reagan's America that's a crime: in a vicious state witchhunt, the cops accuse NAMBLA of operating a "sex ring." Government out of the bedroom! Drop the charges against NAMBLA!

We say people have the right to write, paint and film what they want, read and watch what they want, and sleep with whomever and whatever they want, provided the other one(s) agree. Free abortion and birth control on demand! No censorship or pornography laws! Abolish all age-of-consent laws! ■



latter-day guardians of virtue. New Jersey "aborted" a nine-month-old (!) bill funding sex education in the schools and a January 1981 California law requires doctors to report to the state any "underage" girls "suspected" of having sex. A congressional bill would not only outlaw abortion but make doctors liable for prosecution for *murder*, since it decrees that human

But over and above the gross interference in people's private lives, all of this means a terrible increase in human misery. No birth control, no education in basic biology means more unwanted pregnancies, more venereal disease and more back-alley abortions. It is literally a sentence of death or maiming for thousands of young women.

Madison...

(continued from page 5)

(and scabs to boot) seek to deny the democratic rights of genuine socialists and they're even using student and union funding in an attempt to carry out a political exclusion... don't let these petty tyrants deny SYL supporters seating on the bus to Washington! We already paid for our tickets—reverse the exclusion!"

After gaining the TAA's support for our democratic rights, we mobilized 20 people for the WSA senate meeting the following night. Since the WSA was twice matching TAA contributions for the bus, the "Solidarity Day" committee was faced with losing big bucks if it chose to carry out its exclusion. Political principle is alien to these cowardly reformists—but money talks. Caught with their pants down, the "steering committee" backed off. And the final blow came when the WSA voted to endorse the SYL-initiated united front protest against CIA recruiters—unlike the CP/PSO/DSA "steering committee," who cover their cowardice by labeling us "sectarian disrupters." The response in our protest leaflet to this absurd accusation still stands:

"Last February 4, the SYL initiated the first protest demonstration on campus against U.S. involvement in El Salvador and it supported the military victory of

the Salvadoran left... a united front of various campus organizations which drew over 400 students. Where were these 'solidarity' groups then?... And where will they be on September 23 when the SYL and other campus groups take part in a united front demonstration against CIA recruiters? Calling us 'sectarians'—from the sidelines once again."

The response of unionists in Washington on September 19 to the SL/SYL's Trotskyist program made the successful outcome of this fight all the more worthwhile. Over 8,000 copies of *Workers Vanguard* were sold featuring an article outlining a class-struggle strategy to win the PATCO strike. Despite arriving late in D.C., Madison comrades sold 124 papers. One UW student decided to sell *Workers Vanguard* at the demonstration after reading it and talking with the SYL on the bus. He has now decided to join the SYL! On the bus ride home, "Solidarity Day" organizers couldn't even answer their own question, "What do we do next?" Only the SYLers could express the need for a class-struggle leadership in the unions, led by a Leninist party, that would genuinely fight in the workers' interests. The SL/SYL is dedicated to building this new leadership. Join us! ■

Springboks...

(continued from page 12)

"1-2-3-4, smash South Africa's racist war; 5-6-7-8, defend the Soviet workers state" and "Military victory to SWAPO! Independence for Namibia!" among them.

Under a shroud of secrecy, the Chicago game was held in the early morning hours of September 19, 70 miles away in Racine, Wisconsin to avoid protesters from Chicago. Word spread quickly around the black community in Racine the morning of the game, and a couple dozen protesters with makeshift placards arrived shortly after it started. Two protesters were arrested when they were attacked by white spectators—500 racists secretly

bused in from Chicago. Mimicking their apartheid friends, Racine cops reportedly restricted the movements of blacks in and out of their neighborhoods while the game took place!

The Albany game was held at the last minute after a federal judge overruled an earlier ban by New York's Governor Carey. Despite the short notice, over 1,000 protesters, including a contingent from the SL/SYL demonstrated in a heavy downpour. Protesters far outnumbered the 200 or so spectators at the game.

Reagan/Haig want a bloody military showdown with the Soviet Union by proxy in Africa. South African troops play the role of a surrogate for direct U.S. intervention. Haig's call for placing South Africa under NATO's "protective" shield and Reagan's repeated efforts to repeal the Clark Amendment (which stands in the way of overt U.S. military aid to pro-imperialist guerrillas in Angola) underscore the military basis of this pernicious alliance. (Sending the heavily black U.S. army to fight nationalist guerrillas in southern Africa would certainly be a problem for Reagan.) Today South African guns are pointed at the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the Cuban troops in Angola and the petty-bourgeois government in Luanda. But the apartheid regime's gloating over its murder of heroic Soviet advisers in Angola underlines imperialism's ultimate target—the Soviet degenerated workers state. We are on the side of the Russians and Cubans in Angola not only because they are defending Angolan independence from South African imperialism, but because what's at stake here is part of the global war between two incompatible social systems: imperialism, and the material foundations for a socialist future in the degenerated Soviet workers state.

As anger about South Africa's attacks on SWAPO and invasion of Angola escalate, liberals and reformists like the CP will undoubtedly try to channel anti-apartheid sentiment into the liberal quicksand of divestment. Calling on

corporations, universities and the government to divest themselves of South African interests simply asks the racist capitalist class to conduct its business in a more "moral" manner. Like the SART/CP's demand that *Reagan* cancel the Springboks' visas, divestment schemes imply that somehow U.S. imperialism is tainted by its alliance with the apartheid butchers. In fact the American imperialists who atom-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki and carpet-bombed Indochina have far more blood on their hands than the despicable South African ruling class.

Although the South African racists are junior partners in Reagan's anti-Soviet axis their crimes are by no means small. Today the apartheid regime forcibly exiles thousands more blacks to overcrowded, disease- and starvation-ridden "homelands" they have never seen. The vicious South African security forces routinely murder blacks in the streets and in the jails, while 100,000 troops and police occupy Namibia, attacking SWAPO.

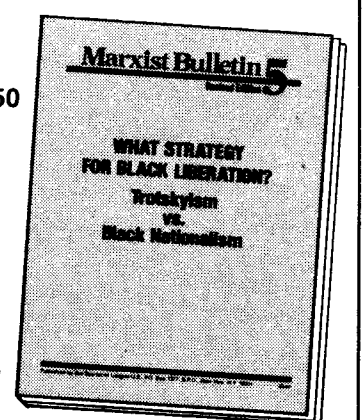
The apartheid regime will be smashed once and for all when the powerful black and "coloured" proletariat uses its power to smash the apartheid regime with struggle for a black-centered workers republic. ■

Spartacus Youth League
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All-People's Congress...

(continued from page 3)

Frank Barbaro for New York City mayor—lost out in organizational skirmishes over mailing lists and similar questions of “principle” and was expelled from PAM's National Board. Charges and counter-charges of “racism” and “chauvinism” have been hurled back and forth between the CWP and WWP/YAWF. In its “Open Letter to PAM” the CWP descends into simple anti-communist race-baiting:

“Workers World, after 20 years of their proven inability to lead the fight of oppressed national minorities, and being overwhelmingly a white organization, is trying to use the APC to pimp off the minorities to serve their own narrow aims.”

—Workers Viewpoint, 26 August

Last but not least is the Ann Arbor-based anti-Spartacist League calling itself (this year) the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL)—also cozily ensconced in PAM. In Ann Arbor, the RWL in fact constituted the organizational core of PAM for a while. Its to their “credit” PAM exists at all there. Its article “Where is PAM going?” (*Workers Struggle*, September 1981) is quite revealing of the character (or, more accurately, the lack of it) of PAM's loyal left opposition. The beginning of the article is devoted to lusting after the organizational potential of working within PAM; for instance: “...despite WWP domination, PAM was able to mobilize large numbers of students and others to demonstrate against the capitalist attacks on May 3.” The RWL does not bother itself with the fact that those enticing “numbers” were brought out by PAM to march under the banner of liberal bourgeois opposition to Reagan. Feeling no shame in sharing the same bed with Sam Marcy, Bella Abzug, Ramsey Clark, *et al.*, the RWL simply tacks on some slogans which we are to believe PAM could conceivably take up: “break completely with the Democratic Party,” (ha!) “for a workers' party based on the unions” and of course—an RWL favorite—for “democratic structures and bylaws.” This is the classic trick of centrists—pursue what-

ever opportunist course available in the real world and print a few “socialist”-sounding words in one's newspaper. Mix it all up, the RWL figures, and no one will notice that its actions are no less treacherous than those of its other PAM buddies.

As opposed to this popular-frontist betrayal, there is the perspective of mobilizing the working class around a revolutionary program of action to defend against imperialist-capitalist attack the USSR and those states where capitalism has been overthrown, to build a workers party to fight for a workers government and put an end to the program of racism and nuclear war of both capitalist parties once and for all through victorious socialist revolution. It is the program of the SL/SYL and there's not a hint of it in the All-People's Congress. ■

Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

when he finished.

The bureaucrats called it “Solidarity Day.” But their failure to reverse Reagan's attack on the air traffic controllers union (PATCO) is simply betrayal, not solidarity. Real working-class solidarity means shutting down the airports—something several unions could easily have done to win the PATCO strike way back in early August. Among those who refused to do so is William Winpisinger, president of the powerful International Association of Machinists (IAM, whose members service the planes) and a leader of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). In a “united front” against the strikers, whose action should be the front line of a labor drive to bring down Reagan, the AFL-CIO tops forced PATCO to march in the rear of the Washington protest, where their chants of “Strike! Strike! Strike!” would not be recorded by the TV cameras.

Bureaucrats Make “Solidarity” a Dirty Word

Steel workers from the Midwest sang as they marched: “Solidarity forever... for the union makes us strong!” Lane Kirkland's idea of “solidarity,” however, comes not from the old labor tune,



“Strike! Strike! Strike! Strike!”

but from Polish Solidarność which has now consolidated on a course of capitalist restoration in Poland. Meeting just after Reagan “fired” 12,000 air traffic controllers, the AFL-CIO Executive Council adopted a declaration on “the common defense.” Defense of the labor movement against Reagan's all-out war on the unions? Hardly! The statement calls for “a strong national defense” and “military strength” against “totalitarian expansionism” (*American Federationist*, September).

The American socialist Daniel De Leon called the reformist union leaders “labor lieutenants of capital,” because they function within the labor movement to maintain the system of capitalist exploitation. Kirkland and Winpisinger strive to maintain class peace and support capitalist national “defense,” in particular the increasingly hot anti-Soviet Cold War. Today Kirkland and his bunch are the “labor” arm of the U.S. State Department in aggressively egging on the counterrevolutionaries

leading Polish Solidarity.

Revolutionaries must defend the gains of the international working class. One of these gains is the nationalized property forms and centralized planned economy created after the Red Army liberated Poland from the Nazis. An essential element of defending the Polish deformed workers state from capitalist restoration is the program of political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy, which through its repression and bureaucratic mismanagement has driven the majority of the Polish proletariat into the arms of the counterrevolutionaries. We unconditionally defend Poland and the USSR, the industrial/military powerhouse of those states in which capitalism has been overthrown, against imperialism and capitalist restorationism, just as we defend the unions in spite of their bureaucratic leaders.

Labor Has the Power to Run Society

The AFL-CIO tops conservatively predicted a turnout of around 100,000. Instead possibly five times that many came out. On September 19 the labor movement literally took over the streets and subways of D.C. The power of labor was obvious wherever one looked. Bus transportation was well coordinated, and the subways were rented to provide free transportation at peak capacity all day long. There were even enough toilets! The union contingents, each member displaying his union emblem, were impressive in their size and discipline. It was a lesson to everyone there: Labor has the power to organize society.

The one element necessary to bring that about was strikingly absent: revolutionary leadership. Under present conditions a small revolutionary party with a few thousand followers in the labor movement could have brought 100,000 workers to Washington and blown a gaping hole in the bureaucrats' class-collaborationist stonewalling. With revolutionary leadership the labor movement would become the tribune of all the oppressed. In place of the AFL-CIO's pro-capitalist policy of using the government's attacks on blacks, the unemployed, the poverty-stricken, the students and the aged to feed votes to

SYL v. Univ. of Illinois Chicago Circle

Settlement Breaks “Outside Agitator” Ban

After three years of litigation, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) settled its lawsuit against the University of Illinois Circle Campus (UICC) administration. The settlement stipulated: (1) no prior authorizations or censorship of literature distributions, (2) no distinc-

tions between students and non-students, (3) no registration of persons distributing literature, and (4) no proceeds of literature sales to be turned over to UICC. In 1977, SYL member Sandor John was arrested for distributing Trotskyist literature in violation of UICC's anti-democratic “outside agitator” ban. All criminal charges against John were dropped in 1978 when a judge ruled that since UICC is a public institution, non-students have the same First Amendment rights to political expression as students.

As part of a vigorous and well-received campaign to stop this McCarthy-style witchhunt, the SYL sued to have the ban overturned. However, the UICC administration continued to defend its “obligation” to shield students from socialist politics. On April 2, 1980 federal judge James Moran struck down the UICC regulations as unconstitutional. He issued a preliminary injunction establishing the right of “outsiders” to leaflet, petition and speak—a significant victory for students, teachers and campus workers (see “‘Outside Agitator’ Ban Defeated,” *Young Spartacus* No. 82, May 1980).

Such victories are not irreversible, as shown by the recent court decisions reversing the civil rights concessions of the 1960s. The same federal court which

issued the injunction endorsed UICC's “revised” policy, which simply applies anti-democratic restrictions on literature distributions and other political activities to students and non-students alike. The SYL settlement won the right of students and non-students equally to engage in political activity on campus—and the university picked up the tab for all attorney fees and court costs. But the court's endorsement of the revised policy means that exercising that right will be subject to the “reasonable” (read: arbitrary) restrictions of the UICC administration.

That the SYL won the limited victory it did was in spite of the sabotage of gutless liberals, ever eager to prove their loyalty to the capitalist state. The civil libertarians of the ACLU purged Communist Party supporters from their membership during the 1950s witchhunts, defended the Nazis' “right to march” in Skokie, Illinois in 1978, and were more than willing to compromise the First Amendment when dealing with leftists. They withdrew their reluctant support to the SYL suit when we refused to accept an earlier settlement offer which would have retained restrictions on non-student distribution of literature at UICC.

Democratic rights are routinely set aside by the courts in deference to the

“compelling interest” of the bourgeois state. This was the legal justification for the internment of Japanese Americans in concentration camps in World War II, as well as draconian anti-labor laws (e.g., the Taft-Hartley Act and New York's Taylor Law) used against striking miners, transit workers and air traffic controllers. The courts—whose own crimes include exonerating racist killers, whether they wear blue uniforms or white sheets—are an integral part of the repressive bourgeois state apparatus. They are no less an enemy of workers, blacks and all who defend democratic rights than Congress, the cops or the military.

We have no confidence in the capitalist courts, especially in defending the exercise of democratic rights by labor and socialist organizations. But at the same time a militant, class-struggle defense policy seeks to use all available means including legal defense in championing the rights of the labor movement and its allies.

We will not be silenced! The SYL remains at UICC to disseminate our politics and recruit to a perspective to win: uniting students behind the power of the organized working class to smash the repressive bourgeois state, expropriate the capitalists and establish a workers government. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

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

Chicago

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

New York City

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

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

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

Democratic "friends of labor," labor would draw all the oppressed behind it through class struggle to smash Reagan reaction.

The fight to defend all the oppressed is inseparable from the fight for revolutionary leadership of the working class. But DSOC and the CP have provided invaluable assistance to the union bureaucrats by making "socialism" look like maintenance of the unbearable status quo. DSOC brought over 1,000 youth to Washington to march with the IAM. Likewise the CP's role was to help the bureaucracy revive the discredited liberal-labor coalition. Such "leftists" play into the hands of the Reagan reactionaries, who came to power after the Democratic Party had lost its backing among millions of workers through its strikebreaking, rampant inflation and severe unemployment.

As *Workers Vanguard* No. 289 said in "For Labor Action to Bring Down Reagan!":

"Reagan can be brought down, not by waiting for the 1982 elections to replace him with a strikebreaking Democrat, but through hard labor struggle. In 1968 Lyndon Johnson's administration was rendered impotent by the North Vietnamese Tet offensive. We need a Tet offensive by the U.S. labor movement to bring Reagan to his knees. And that requires the leadership of a socialist vanguard party with a Marxist (Trotskyist) program of workers revolution. Smash union busting and social reaction! For militant labor action to bring down Reagan!" ■

Poland...

(continued from page 3)

especially through the AFL-CIO bureaucracy—the Reagan administration also tried to provoke the Soviet Union into military intervention. Reagan/Haig yearn to see Polish workers hurling Molotov cocktails at Russian tanks in order to fuel the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive to a white heat.

The bourgeois press churns out pious editorials about the Polish workers' struggle for "freedom" at the same time striking air traffic controllers' union leaders are being dragged off in chains for daring to strike against the Reagan government. It is notable that Solidarity has not had a word to say about the all-out campaign to smash the PATCO union here. What else is happening in the "free world" of which Solidarity wants Poland to become a part? In Afghanistan, the CIA is arming feudal-tribesmen (who buy and sell women

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October 3, 17, 31
Campus Center, 8th fl.
UMass Amherst
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October 1, 15, 29
Conf. Rm. 4, Michigan Union
For more information: (313) 662-2339

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The ABC's of Communism
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University of California/Berkeley
For more information: (415) 835-1535

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Alternate Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.
October 7, 21, November 4
Conf. Rm. C, Usdan
Harvard:
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.
September 30, October 14, 28
Phillips Brooks House
For more information: (617) 492-3928

CHICAGO

Toward the World Socialist Revolution
Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
October 15, 22, 29, November 5
Spartacist Bookstore,
523 S. Plymouth Ct., 3rd fl.
For more information: (312) 427-0003

DETROIT

Marxism and the Fight for Proletarian Revolution
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For more information: (313) 868-9095

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

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Saturdays
October 24, November 7
UI/Champaign-Urbana
For more information: (312) 427-0003

LOS ANGELES

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

MADISON

Marxism and World Revolution
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
October 8, 22, November 5
Memorial Union
For more information: (608) 255-2342

NEW YORK

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution
Alternate Thursdays
October 15, 29
CCNY: 12 noon
305 Finley
Columbia: 7:30 p.m.
316 Hamilton
For more information: (212) 732-7860

BERLIN

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
October 8, 22, November 5
Wilder 103
For more information: (216) 774-5501

SAN FRANCISCO

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today
Tuesdays, 12 noon
October 6, 13, 20, 27, November 3
B-112, Student Union
San Francisco State University
For more information: (415) 863-6963

Trotskyist League of Canada Class Series

VANCOUVER

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
October 8, 22, November 5
Rm. 215, UBC SUB
(except October 8—Rm. 205)
For more information: (604) 681-2422



like cattle) in order to strike a blow at the southern border of the USSR while Soviet troops act as social liberators. Vietnam is under constant menace of renewed attack from China—now overtly militarily allied with U.S. imperialism. The racist South African apartheid regime is becoming a central part of the "free world," too, acting as an American surrogate in attacking Angola with Israeli-supplied weapons. In El Salvador, American war materiel and Green Berets are maintaining a kill-crazed junta busy exterminating large sections of its own population.

A victory for Solidarity's counterrevolution would not only mean terrible immiseration of the Polish working class and the reintroduction of wage slavery, but would represent a world

historic defeat for the world proletariat. A victorious counterrevolution in Poland would put NATO troops on the Soviet border, a direct threat to the existence of the gains of the October Revolution and a big step toward anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust. Only one generation after 600,000 Soviet soldiers died liberating Poland from the horror of Nazi occupation, Solidarity tells the Polish working class to line up against the defense of the Soviet bloc against imperialism. We say no! *Solidarity's counterrevolutionary course must be stopped!* And if the Kremlin bureaucrats, in their necessarily brutal, stupid way, intervene militarily to stop it, we will support this.

We stand by the statement of James P. Cannon to the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party in 1939:

"We always said the moment of danger will find the Fourth Internationalists at their posts defending the conquests of the great revolution without ceasing for a moment our struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy."

The present situation in Poland could only have come about in a political vacuum reflecting the destruction of the tradition of international communism in Poland through savage persecution, both capitalist and Stalinist. It is the most damning indictment of Stalinism that after three decades of so-called "socialism" a majority of the Polish working class is so fed up as to embrace the program of Cold War imperialism. As we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* No. 289 (25 September):

"It is the Stalinists with their crushing censorship and endless falsifications, their corruption and gross economic mismanagement, their suppression of democratic rights always accompanied by cynical promises of 'democratization' who have driven the historically socialist Polish proletariat into the arms of the Vatican and the 'AFL-CIA'."

The SL/SYL seized the opportunity to protest Solidarity's counterrevolution on September 24 at the opening of its first public headquarters outside Poland. Not surprisingly, Solidarność chose the premises of Albert Shanker's United Federation of Teachers (UFT) for this dubious honor. The UFT serves as the main organizational base for the Social Democrats, U.S.A.—"State Department socialists" who are more

rabidly anti-Communist than most bourgeois politicians. Shanker's reactionary outfit was, for example, hawkish in the Vietnam War till the bitter end, after even Nixon gave it up as a lost cause. Along with Lane Kirkland, Shanker is a supporter of the right-wing militarist Committee on the Present Danger which is striving for nuclear first strike capability against the Soviet Union. Such are Solidarity's American friends.

The SL/SYL demonstrators carried slogans recalling the socialist traditions of the Polish workers movement and exposing the pro-imperialist aims of the social-democrats and labor traitors who are Solidarność's American patrons. Among the slogans carried on our placards were: Don't Sell Poland to the German Bankers! Reagan and Haig: Hands Off Poland! Polish Solidarność—Running Dog of Imperialism! For Class-Struggle Workers Parties in Poland and America! Death to Pilsudskiite Anti-Semites! Long Live the Party of Luxemburg, Jogiches, Warski, Waleki and Wera Kostrzewa! Favorite chants of the protesters included: "Reagan Smashes PATCO, But Loves Solidarność!" "Kirkland/Shanker/Brown—CIA Stooges!" and "No Capitalist Restoration in Eastern Europe!" *Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!* ■

Stop Deukmejian Witchhunt!

SL California Suit Needs \$\$\$

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League urgently needs financial help to support its lawsuit against California attorney general George Deukmejian. The suit demands that Deukmejian retract the inclusion of the SL/SYL in the 1979 report on "Organized Crime in California—Part 2, Terrorism." The report brands us as "yet another dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal"—a species of outlaws, terrorists and criminals.

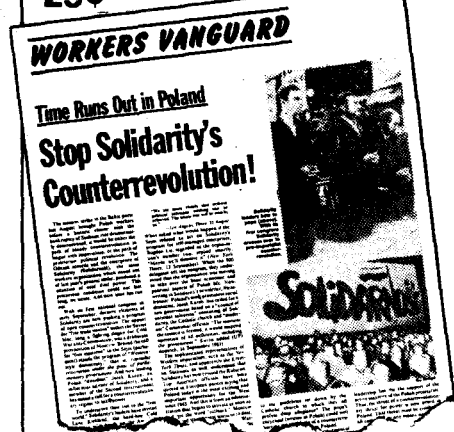
Deukmejian and his right-wing coterie have sinister plans for labor and its allies. Unless they are stopped, their attacks on the right of the working class to organize will be incorporated in new repressive legislation. The climate of McCarthyite witchhunting will be turned against the entire left, the labor movement and minority organizations. The time to fight back is now!

Protest demonstrations have been held across the state of California

against this smear. The suit has already received widespread publicity. Reportage on the just-released 1980 report featured the fact that the SL and SYL were not included. While our absence from the 1980 report is a shameful admission that we are not "terrorists," a spokesman for the attorney general's office said it stands by its 1979 report! Our organizations remain in grave danger from its lies!

Law suits against the state are costly. But if you defend the right of a workers party to organize, you have a stake in this suit. The Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal-defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, is collecting funds to support the suit. Make your check payable to the PDC and send everything you can to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

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Young Spartacus

Down with Anti-Soviet "Rugby Diplomacy"!

Smash the Racist U.S./South Africa Axis!

For the first time ever, the Springboks—the "national" rugby team of the hated South African apartheid regime—toured the United States last month. The timing of the tour was hardly an accident; it occurred right on the heels of the South African invasion of Angola on August 24. The much publicized tour was intended to gain public acceptance for Washington's newly reformed alliance with the vicious apartheid racists, part of Reagan's global war drive against the Soviet Union and its allies.

From its inception, the Springboks tour was widely opposed. Even the *New York Times* editors objected that "their tour is a crude test of this nation's anti-apartheid sentiment and an effort to clean up South Africa's image" (September 18). The same editorial revealed that the Springboks tour was engineered by one Louis Luyt, a South African "with close ties to his Government" who gave the obscure Eastern Rugby Union \$25,000 for the invitation, and who "was involved in a South African effort to buy influence abroad in 1974."

Before their American stint, the Springboks had toured New Zealand where their appearance sparked some of the most violent confrontations between cops and demonstrators in that country's history. Riot police faced down helmeted protesters with shields, who were able to cancel at least one game by occupying the playing field. Scores were injured and over 1,000 of the estimated

Demonstration against Springboks, Chicago, September 12. SL/SYL contingent protests invasion of Angola by apartheid butchers.



400,000 New Zealanders who participated in protests were arrested during the two-month tour. The government was almost forced to call an election on the issue!

The Springboks U.S. tour was originally scheduled to hold matches in Chicago, Albany and New York City. The appearance of these ambassadors for apartheid was such an insult and provocation to American blacks and all those who hate racist oppression that

the notoriously racist mayors Byrne of Chicago and Koch of New York, fearing mass protests, had to cancel permits for games in city facilities.

In Chicago 300 people demonstrated against the planned tour on September 12. The action was organized by Stop the Apartheid Rugby Tour (SART), a coalition of black, liberal and reformist groups supported by the Communist Party (CP). SART's role has been to plead with bourgeois politicians, includ-

ing right-wing yahoo Reagan (!) to cancel the tour. It is truly obscene to appeal to the man who gave South Africa the green light for its invasion of Angola to dissociate himself from South Africa's apartheid! In contrast to SART's liberal bellyaching, a militant contingent of 35 Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League supporters raised slogans that take a clear side against Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive:

continued on page 9

San Francisco: 5,000 Protest Salvadoran Junta Terror "Duarte Asesino!"

SAN FRANCISCO, September 27—Over 4,000 angry demonstrators, many of them members of the Salvadoran refugee community, picketed the Jack Tar Hotel today where Jose Napoleon Duarte was lunching. Duarte, head of the blood-soaked military junta in El Salvador, was accompanied by Colonel Vides Casanova, director of the Salvadoran National Guard. These two butchers have murdered countless thousands of Salvadoran workers and peasants and the purpose of their provocative U.S. tour is clear: more guns, more bombs, more money for their filthy war of extermination.

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) contingent of 100 was the largest organized presence at the protest, our signs and banner reading "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents!" "Stop All U.S. Aid to the Salvadoran Junta!" "U.S./OAS Hands Off Central America!" and "Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in El Salvador!" Large

numbers of our signs were taken by other individuals at the demonstration. Demonstrators also enthusiastically chanted with us: "1, 2, 3, 4 — Leftist Rebels Win the War; 5, 6, 7, 8 — Nothing to Negotiate!" The official demonstration soundtrack picked up our chant "Abajo la junta—Obreros al poder!" until stopped by a CISPES monitor.

Inside the hotel, the assembled Salvadoran absentee landlords and capitalists lunching with the junta butchers got a surprise: seven out of thirty servers from Hotel and Restaurant Employees Local 2 failed to show up to serve Duarte. Two waitresses were outside demonstrating.

Riot-equipped cops on horseback, bikes and on foot were looking for trouble. A counterdemonstration of anti-communist Moonie provocateurs was given a prominent spot in front of the hotel and repeatedly pushed into the crowd of protesters in an attempt

to provoke fistfights. At least three times, the cops charged the anti-Duarte demonstration—swinging nightsticks and chasing protesters down the street. Several people were injured, including a member of a video crew, and several women standing at a bus stop were knocked over by the club-wielding bullies.

When the situation began to look ripe for serious injuries at the hands of the club-happy SFPD, Spartacist organizers approached the CISPES marshals and suggested a well-coordinated, disciplined march to a

nearby cathedral where a rally was to occur. The bulk of the marshals agreed to this timely suggestion, and most of the demonstrators went to the cathedral. Those remaining at the hotel were driven away by the cops.

At the cathedral, CISPES organizers voted against our proposal for a democratic rally with speaking rights for all. However, the SL/SYL contingent had the last word and the rally concluded with a spirited singing of the *Internationale*, anthem of the international party of working-class revolution.



SL/SYL demands "Smash the junta! Workers to Power in El Salvador!"

Young Spartacus Photo