

# Young Spartacus

NUMBER 100

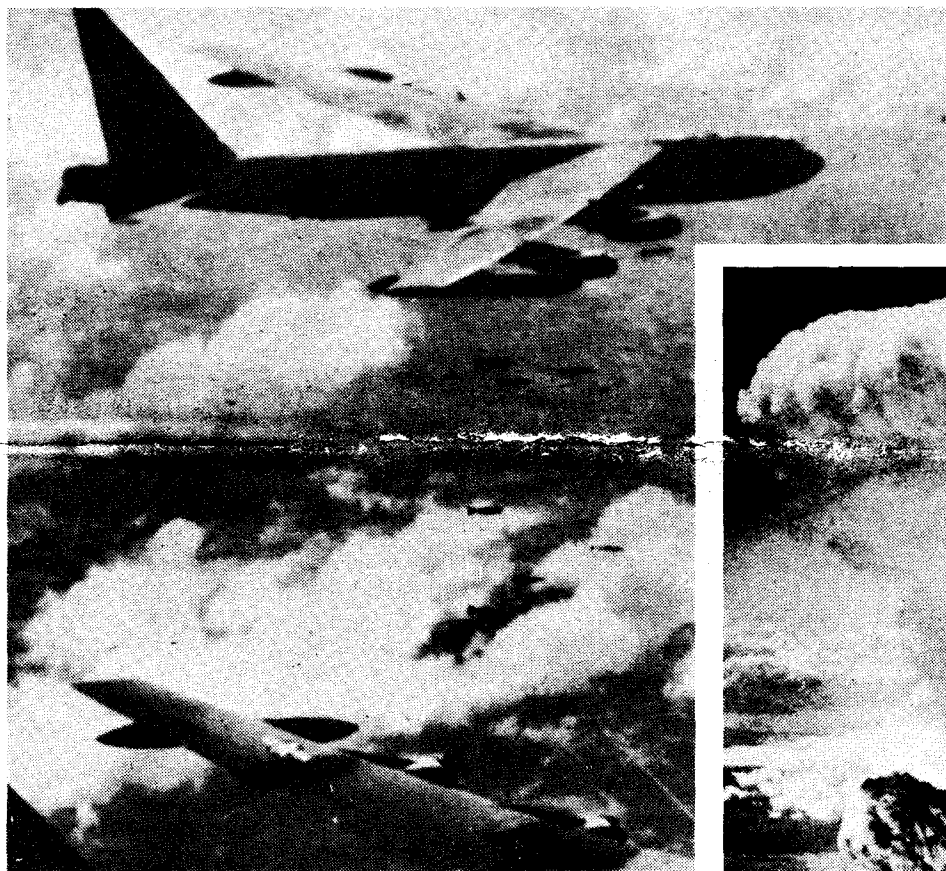
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MAY 1982

## Only Socialist Revolution Can End Imperialist War!

# War Criminals Lead Cold War "Peace" Movement



**Vietnam 1972**



**El Salvador 1981**



**Nagasaki 1945**

From Billy Graham to the Quakers, from Los Angeles multimillionaires to the Communist Party, from Robert McNamara to Meryl Streep—the nuclear “freeze” campaign has indeed been mushrooming. The bourgeois media has played it up as quite the rage, the new “grass roots” movement in America. Spokesmen on the “left” have tried to pass off the “freeze” and “Ground Zero” hullabaloo as a “peace movement.” Some peace movement! Led by certified Vietnam War criminals and aspiring imperialist top cops, the “freeze” campaign is an economic/technological debate among the bourgeoisie, utterly and explicitly within the framework of massive anti-Soviet military buildup. “National defense” and military “preparedness” to wage an anti-Soviet war are not at issue in this intrabourgeois debate. The disputed point is *how* to prepare U.S. imperialism militarily. As the California “freeze” ballot initiative states: “... the safety and security of the United States must be paramount in the concerns of the American people....”

To view the bourgeois proponents of nuclear freeze or “no-first-use” as leaders of a peace movement is like putting Rudolph Hess at the head of the Anti-Defamation League. There’s the none-too-subtle presidential bid by “freeze” proponent Ted Kennedy. Too,

McGeorge Bundy, former national security adviser to John F. Kennedy and Johnson, and Robert McNamara, their defense secretary, have come out against nuclear “first use” in Europe. Their article in *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1982), written in consultation with Kennedy and cosigned by Nixon’s arms control negotiator Gerald Smith and George Kennan (a key negotiator of the Cold War in the later 1940s now turned détente “liberal”), calls for a more powerful conventional military presence in Europe. Bundy and McNamara were the very imperialist butchers who carried out mass murder in the dirtiest war of modern history. These “doves” dropped the equivalent of two Hiroshimas a week on the largely defenseless population of Indochina. That “conventional” war—fought with napalm and the likes of Lt. Calley—was ended only by the victorious workers and peasants of Vietnam who seized power and sent the imperialists packing.

The position of the imperialist “doves” in opposition to Reagan/Haig’s nuclear policy can be concisely summarized as “more bang for the buck.”

Dissatisfied with the massive arms buildup which is fueling record-high interest rates and falling industrial investment, they seek to put the U.S. war arsenal on sounder economic footing—a leaner, meaner military centered on, but not limited to, the thermonuclear doomsday machine. It’s no accident that businessmen have marched in prominent contingents at “freeze” demonstrations in Chicago and elsewhere. “Businessmen, unite!” says

Business Executives Move (BEM) member Erwin Salk. “You have nothing to lose but high interest rates,” (“Who’s Who in the Movement,” *Newsweek*, 26 April).

Furthermore, more “rational” members of the bourgeoisie shudder at the nuclear “high-noon” statements by Reagan and Haig. Talk of “winnable” nuclear war, “limited” nuclear war and “demonstration” bombs have scared millions of Europeans out of their wits, thereby putting increasing strains on the NATO alliance. Kennedy, Bundy & Co. would like to present to the world something less frightening than the

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### Hail Rosa Luxemburg! Poland's Communist Tradition

See Page 6

## Squalid Chauvinism Explodes Anti-Soviet Alliance

# Falklands War Blows Up in Reagan's Face

No matter who wins the sordid squabble over the Falklands, U.S. imperialism loses. Reagan/Haig have been forced to choose between their two staunchest anti-Communist allies in Europe and Latin America. Neither Haig's sorry imitation of his mentor Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy, nor Reagan's hour-long phone calls to Argentine strongman Galtieri could prevent a shooting war. In the present conflict Marxists are revolutionary defeatists—it would be a good thing if these two viciously anti-working-class regimes were to sink each others' fleets. Both the blood-drenched Argentine junta and the despised Thatcher government can be brought down as a result of humiliation in war.

As it stands now, Argentina's cruiser *General Belgrano* and "Her Majesty's" destroyer *Sheffield* are at the bottom of the South Atlantic. It's poetic justice—British torpedoes sinking the U.S.-built cruiser and a French-built missile blowing away one of Thatcher's most modern warships. Naturally, "intelligence sources" have been feeding the gutter press lurid tales of supposed Soviet involvement (like the *New York Post's* 7 April headline, "Soviet Subs to Falklands"). But all the Russians have done is to give a slight diplomatic tilt to Argentina, their main trading partner in the Western Hemisphere, and sit back and watch the show. One dejected Western diplomat in Buenos Aires summed it up by noting that the Soviets "are the only winners in this crisis. Everyone else winds up with egg on his face" (*Newsweek*, 26 April).



Reagan's warring anti-Soviet allies. Left, Argentina's Galtieri; right, Britain's Thatcher with Haig.

Reagan tried to be friends with both sides, but finally came down on Britain's side. It must have been an excruciating choice. Since taking office, the Reagan administration has been wooing the anti-communist butchers in Buenos Aires. Galtieri had offered elite troops to help overthrow the petty-bourgeois radical Sandinistas in Nicaragua and crush the leftists in El Salvador. No doubt he figured that he'd get the Malvinas Islands (aka the Falklands) in return for services rendered to the Central American front of imperialism's Cold War II. But Reagan has bigger fish to fry—namely the Soviet Union—and he can't afford to lose "Iron Lady" Thatcher if he ever wants to keep some semblance of NATO unity to roll back the "Iron Curtain." Reagan's inability to



prevent his two friends from fighting is eloquent testimony to the decline of U.S. imperialism as the self-styled leader of the "free world."

It's also a testament to the rot permeating capitalism: in the name of national chauvinism, there is a war being fought over some of the most god-forsaken real estate on this planet. Thatcher claims she's defending the rights of the 1,800 Falklanders. This, of course, is a cover to rally the British working class behind the imperialist government which has driven them into the poorhouse. It's also pretty cheeky—Thatcher's elite troops are in Northern Ireland suppressing those same rights, and she's all in a tizzy because the bourgeois Dublin government called on the Common Market to lift its sanctions

against Argentina in the wake of the sinking of the *General Belgrano*. For Galtieri, the seizure of the Falklands was a desperate bid to quiet working-class anger at home. Just a few days before, 15,000 workers demonstrated in Buenos Aires and were suppressed by large-scale arrests. Galtieri's move was a *nationalist diversion*, both to defuse the class struggle and outflank the *Peronistas*.

In the U.S. the reformist left has leapt into the fray, wrapped in the Argentine blue-and-white. What makes this even more despicable is that they admit that the Falklands seizure is a "cynical, desperate attempt to divert attention from Argentina's economic crisis" (*Guardian*, 21 April), and then hail the same cynical, desperate diversion! The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* (23 April) went so far as to draw an analogy between the Argentine junta and a reformist trade-union bureaucracy forced to lead a strike!

Unlike the petty-bourgeois radicals and reformists cheerleading for Third World nationalism, we say the working class has no interest in the victory of either Thatcher or Galtieri. As we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* (No. 304, 30 April):

"The Argentine proletariat must not be taken in by the nationalist diversion over the Falklands, but must continue the struggle to smash Galtieri's bloody junta. And the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the international Spartacist tendency, calls on British workers to fight for their own class power, eradicating the last vestiges of Britain's sordid and brutal imperialist history. The main enemy is at home!" ■

## West Coast, Boston Locals Pace Spring Circulation Drive

In March and early April, members and supporters of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) participated in a special spring drive to increase the circulation of *Young Spartacus* and *Workers Vanguard* among students and workers. As in previous spring sales drives, the comrades were seeking to increase single-copy sales of *YSp* and *WV* by about 50 percent over normal. In addition, the SYL and party branches adopted quotas for subscription sales

as part of the campaign, making this the first time in several years that we have supplemented our annual *WV* sub drive held each September-October with a sub campaign in the spring.

The 21 February circular sent out by the Central Office noted the tendency toward increased openness to revolutionary politics among workers and blacks and projected that local branches should seek new readers in

key industrial locations as well as among student youth. The circular described the pressing tasks confronting the youth and party organizations as "establishing subscribers and regular readers in various industrial concentrations, leading to *WV* readers' circles; black recruitment both in the factories and on the campuses; strengthening our student youth operations locally and regionally. A good part of translating these objectives into recruits hinges on aggressive press circulation."

The circular noted that in most areas a fairly even distribution between campus and industrial sales targets was expected. "This is not a 'point-oriented' drive but an attempt to increase circulation of our press among those sectors which we have set out to win over in Reagan's America."

The drive's results were mixed, with subscriptions sold by the locals reaching only 75 percent of the national quota of 920 points; with the addition of 201 points from at-large subs and resubscribers the final total was 886 points, or 96 percent. Of these points, 219 were subscriptions to *Young Spartacus*, which brings our current subscription base to 1,381, four hundred more than last year at this time.

On the single-copy sales side, an impressive 2,986 copies of *YSp* No. 98 were sold nationally, representing 166 percent of the normal *YSp* sales quota. But the *Workers Vanguard* single-copy sales were less than expected; the sales of *WV* No. 300 did not exceed the

normal *WV* sales quota of 2,790, while the good sales results for No. 301 (4,287 copies sold nationally) owe much to sales at the March 27 El Salvador protests.

The drive was affected by the unusually high level of activity by the comrades in March, not only the El Salvador demonstrations but also the successful "Stop the Nazis" mobilization in Ann Arbor on March 20. Other Midwest locals had trouble meeting their quotas as numerous SYL and party members piled into Michigan over the preceding week to assist in distributing leaflets and posters and speaking to unions and community groups. As part of the campaign, 751 copies of *WV* were sold in Ann Arbor in three weeks.

Meanwhile, throughout the month, comrades were organizing hundreds of people to participate with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent on both coasts on March 27.

Among the locals, the West Coast branches led in subscription sales (320 points) while Boston comrades sold the most single copies per capita (916 *WVs* and 424 *YSp*s in March). The diversity in kinds of targets showed up in the results: Los Angeles sold 37 of its 119 points at UCLA campus and 25 to telephone workers; Oakland/Berkeley sold 41 of its 94 points at in-city literature tables, while San Francisco sold 51 of its 107 points at area campuses; Cleveland sold 22 of its 46 points through regional work at Oberlin and Pittsburgh.

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# SL/SYL Wins Eyewitness to Salvadoran Popular Front Betrayal

The last Peace Corps teacher to leave El Salvador, Tom Janota was expelled from a Madison-area CISPES affiliate after publicly criticizing the FDR popular front in El Salvador and endorsing an SYL-initiated rally for military victory to the Salvadoran insurgents. To build for the SL/SYL-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingents in Washington on May 3, 1981 and March 27, 1982, he twice toured the Midwest and East Coast, and spoke at both Anti-Imperialist Contingent rallies. From his firsthand experience in El Salvador, and through working closely with the SL/SYL, he became convinced that we alone have the program for the victory of the workers and peasants, not only in El Salvador, but throughout the world. Below, we print his application for membership in the SL.

I first came around the Spartacist League in the fall of 1980. Having recently returned from a two year Peace Corps stint in El Salvador, I was searching for an analysis to put that experience in perspective and a program that could bring about the social transformation so desperately needed there. It was evident to me in El Salvador that piecemeal reforms such as those promoted by the Peace Corps could never break the cycle of poverty, disease and illiteracy in which the masses of Salvadoran workers and their



Tom Janota addressing Anti-Imperialist Contingent rally in Washington, D.C., March 27.

families live. So I stopped by a Spartacus Youth League literature table, curious for a communist interpretation of events in El Salvador and the world.

The comrades immediately questioned my support for the FDR, the popular front coalition, grouping bourgeois political retreats, like Guillermo Ungo, with the professed radical popular organizations which now make up the FMLN. I accepted the FDR as a necessary alliance to defeat the bloody

military-Christian Democrat junta and open the way for basic structural change in El Salvador. We argued, but I could not answer the historical evidence against the popular fronts of Spain and Chile as actually paving the road for the defeat of the peasants and workers. The popular front's commitment to preserving capitalism allows the bourgeoisie along with its military allies to organize for counter-revolution.

Another issue of contention was

support of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan which I saw as an imperialist attack akin to the U.S. invasion of Vietnam and Cambodia. Knowing very little about Afghanistan, I was unable to counter the fact that the struggle there was triggered by limited attempts by the left bourgeois-nationalist government in Kabul to liberate women from the veil, bride price, and illiteracy. I've come to see a military victory for the Soviets and their Afghan allies as a necessary first step towards social emancipation for women and men in Afghanistan, creating the possibility of extending the social gains of the October Revolution to them as well.

My contact with the SYL continued, and though I was not won over immediately, the SL analysis and program regarding El Salvador (and elsewhere) made more and more sense to me. At this same time I was involved with a local CISPES affiliate called CALA (Community Action on Latin America). Their politics were poorly defined beyond a call for an end to U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran junta.

An opportunity for clarification came on January 22, 1981 at an El Salvador forum preceding the showing of the movie *Revolution or Death*. I was invited to give a background talk on El Salvador. At the end of my historical

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## Still Fronting for "State Department Socialism"

# You Haven't Come a Long Way, Gloria

If you laugh at those "You've come a long way, baby" ads, Gloria Steinem's April 19 speech to a crowd of over 1,000 at Oberlin College would have had you rolling in the aisles. Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine and member of the National Advisory Committee of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC; now the Democratic Socialists of America [DSA]), was scheduled to speak on "Women and the Reagan Administration." But from her speech, it was clear that Steinem thinks she's still living in the rad-lib dream world of the sixties:

"We have together made a great deal of progress.... All of the issues raised by the black movement, the Hispanic movement, the women's movement, all of the great organic movements for social justice now have a majority approval in the public opinion

polls.... And that is an enormous accomplishment...."

It's no wonder that a large portion of the audience didn't buy this gibberish. This is 1982, right? Reagan and the Moral Majority are pushing the Human Life Amendment and the Family Protection Act, and even a token statement of democratic rights like the ERA is essentially dead and gone.

The fact is that Steinem, a self-proclaimed "revolutionary feminist," doesn't give a damn about the fate of working women, minorities and the poor in Reagan's America. Her glossy *Ms.* magazine carries articles on "great vacations" and the latest diet fads while poor women make trips to back-alley abortionists and their food stamps are cut off.

Steinem has *not* "come a long way," as Spartacus Youth League (SYL) spokesmen pointed out at her talk. From 1959-62, she was a full time employee of the "Independence Research Service," one of several foundations which laundered CIA money and recruited students to spy for "the Agency" at international youth festivals in Vienna (1959) and Helsinki (1961). And how did this "revolutionary feminist" react when the CIA connection was uncovered?

"Far from being shocked by this involvement I was happy to find some liberals in government in those days who were far-sighted and cared enough to get Americans of all political views to the festival [in Vienna]."

—*New York Times*, 21 February 1967

Liberals? This is the CIA we're talking about, an organization whose idea of a "festival" was smashing the labor movement in the 1954 overthrow of Arbenz in Guatemala, reinstating the

shah in 1953, and running the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

Today, Steinem is a prominent member of the DSA, the anti-communist social democrats who look to the Democratic Party for "progressive change" and who have jumped into the anti-porn/anti-sex censorship crusade alongside feminists and the Moral Majority. When an SYL supporter noted the banning of *Deep Throat* at Harvard in 1980 (a move which DSOC supported), Steinem lined up with this censorship, replying that Linda Lovelace "had been a literal prisoner during this entire period of the making of that film and you can see the bruises on her in the film." So, it's OK for Steinem to see *Deep Throat*, but the state must prevent minds less enlightened than hers from doing so!

Steinem's sickening elitism parallels that of the DSA across the board. For all its "grassroots" baloney, the DSA's "ties to labor" are embodied in the pro-company union bureaucrats. Machinist union president and DSOC leader "Wimpy" Winpisinger, whose union membership services aircraft, refused to lift a finger when Reagan smashed the PATCO union. And when SYL supporters denounced DSA hero Doug Fraser's sellout auto contract, Steinem responded with a smear:

"...what I don't understand exactly about the Spartacist League is why don't you take on the Teamsters?... It always seems to be the most progressive among those few progressive groups that the Spartacist League takes on, which leads me to feel paranoid."

Steinem insinuates that the SL/SYL ignores reactionaries while chomping at the bit for a chance to "take on" leftist



Gloria Steinem—ex-CIA frontperson

groups. How about the Nazis, Gloria—are they a "progressive" group? Where were Steinem and her friends in the DSA on March 20 when the SL/SYL organized an anti-fascist demonstration which chased the Nazis out of Ann Arbor, Michigan? While we were mobilizing 2,000 trade unionists, minorities, students and leftists under the slogan "Stop the Nazis!" DSA member Lowell Peterson was sitting on the Ann Arbor city council which built for the mayor's diversionary rally to "ignore the Nazis." Steinem and the DSA certainly deserve each other. There could be no better home for this aging radical-chic dilettante who used to take money from the CIA than an organization which is so immersed in anti-Sovietism and allegiance to the stars and stripes that it refuses to participate in an important anti-fascist mobilization for fear of "tarnishing" its image by working with communists. ■

## 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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## Youth Join at Spartacist Educational Conferences Build the Revolutionary Party!

During late April and early May, Spartacist educational conferences were held in New York, Chicago and the Bay Area. About 150 people attended each of the three, including a significant number of people attracted to the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) following recent significant political actions. On March 27, SL-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingents called for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!" and "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!" And in Ann Arbor on March 20, an SL-initiated demonstration of 2,000 workers, minorities and students drove the Nazis out of town.

The SL/SYL stands as the revolutionary pole. The intensity of bourgeois anti-Sovietism and Reagan reaction has sent our fake-left opponents chasing after an anti-Reagan popular front with the Democratic Party. At the educational conferences, the left's degeneration into hustlers for Teddy Kennedy was addressed by comrade Reuben Samuels, who counterposed the SL/SYL's call for labor action to bring down Reagan. Comrade Joseph Seymour focused on the SL/SYL's unconditional military defense of the USSR and the necessity for political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy, in particular contrasting the 1956 Hungarian Revolution to Polish Solidarność's bid for counterrevolution. Comrade Marjorie Stamberg spoke on the great Polish revolutionary socialist Rosa Luxemburg (see page 6).

With Reagan in power, the SL/SYL

faces dangers but also opportunities. This isn't the 1950s when anti-communism was pervasive in the population. There has been an increased openness toward our politics among workers and blacks, pushed to the wall by Reagan's attacks and the economic crisis. The SL/SYL's successful anti-fascist actions demonstrated that our program works in practice and can recruit. Over ten people joined the SYL at the educational weekends.

Below we print excerpts from comrade Brodie's recruitment speech, comrade Samuels' summary remarks on the American left and from some of the applications from our new comrades.

**Bonnie Brodie:** This is a recruitment speech, in case the message did not come clear in the discussion. It's a preparation for the actual placing of those little red boxes that go into all of our brains and connect us up with Moscow Center, as some of the zanier elements of the U.S. bourgeoisie and our opponents would have it.

It's a good time to join, particularly when you're young. You're more open-minded, less fettered from work and so forth, you're malleable. There is another important thing about the youth organization. It's not just a source of new blood for the party. There is a struggle that we've been waging in the student/youth milieu on the campuses around the country—the Cold War proponents are in fact engaged in a very strong

ideological struggle for the minds of American youth.

It is no accident, for instance, that from Harvard to Yale to Princeton to Dartmouth that people like William Simon and Irving Kristol are bankrolling conservative newspapers with a strong anti-Soviet, anti-communist ideological thrust. It is no accident that at Wayne State University, open fascist apologists had control of the editorial staff of the newspaper for a period of time. It is also no accident that we, the SYL, were the people that eventually kicked them off.

So, an immediate concern is building the party and recruiting explicitly against the popular frontists, i.e., those who would just as soon see us offed in order to pave the way for Teddy Kennedy. Comrades have spoken to revolutionary optimism. It is one of the major differences between us and the servile and fearful reformists: we do not believe that either workers or students are in an iron-clad grip of bourgeois ideology and anti-communism. We believe that when Marx said, "Workers unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains," that that retains its full validity today. Likewise we think that the Bolshevik Revolution which brought the workers to power over a venal, corrupt imperialist regime, is not something either to revile, or to simply note as a quaint historical occurrence that you give lip service to. It is in fact our guide to action.

As we point out often and honestly, we are a small propaganda group. We are not, and we do not pretend to be, a mass workers party. But we intend to be a mass workers party. The point is, that when the American working class does, as it necessarily will, go into massive battle against the attacks on it, that there be that revolutionary party with sufficient strength, sufficient roots and sufficient cadre to intersect the working class in battle—not to have another Spain, another Chile, but to have a successful leap from the nucleus of the vanguard party into a mass workers party.

To be a Marxist means that you realize that all these good ideas that we have, and this program, means nothing without the party to implement it. In this period where it is so starkly posed, socialism or barbarism, there is really no useful way to spend one's life other than to take part in the struggle. Comrades may have seen that letter from the ex-marshal for the March 27 CISPES goon lines. He wrote to us that one of the slanders used to recruit him to that particular line was that we had a number of hot-headed youth members whom the older party members could no longer control. Now that is in fact a slander. But a certain amount of hot-headedness when it comes to defending

Young Spartacus Photo



New SYL members: Left, comrade Laurie (center) as her application letter is read. Right, comrade Cindy speaking at educational in New York.

Young Spartacus Photo



### Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

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the Soviet Union, when it comes to not crossing picket lines, and when it comes to smashing the Klan and the Nazis, that we can use. So, join the SYL and fight for socialism!

\*\*\*

Cindy B.  
New York City

The reason I joined the SYL was because I decided nine months ago to become a true Marxist. One month ago I decided that the only way to become a true Marxist was to join the Spartacus Youth League—youth group of the Spartacist League.

I hate the bourgeois, the reformists, the fake-leftist cowards and traitors of all types. I want to help rid the working class of these monsters and help the working class rule the world until we achieve a classless society—world communism.

To all new comrades like myself who have just joined the SYL, feel proud, because we will lead the working class to the final conflict, the revolutionary socialist victory of the working class. No matter what sacrifices we shall make, it will all be worth it in the end—whether we live to see the final outcome of our work or not.

The SYL functions as an independent organization but politically subordinate to the Spartacist League because the SYLers lack a certain amount of years of political-Marxist experience. Yet this subordination to the party of the youth league allows the new and older youth members to learn from mistakes and experience through political struggle to become Spartacist League members and finally revolutionary leaders of

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SYL National Secretary Bonnie Brodie

the proletarian socialist revolution internationally.

The SL/SYL are politically fundamentally and theoretically the revolutionary organization capable and willing to lead the working class to our victory over the oppressive yoke of capitalism.

I joined the SYL because I feel the SYL can fully train me for revolutionary leadership responsibility through political, fundamental and theoretical experience. The other reformist and fake-leftist groups don't give a damn about the working class and would rather see us crushed by the bourgeoisie than see the working class attain world power, because they are self-centered, narrow-minded, petty-bourgeois utopianists who coin themselves left, radical, socialist and even communist(!) because it sounds "chic, or deep." But deep down they are cowards only alive in thought and action enough to recite revolutionary phrases and to memorize quotes without even grasping, never mind learning, what it is to be a revolutionary Marxist.

To all thinking about joining the SYL, you should join if you truly believe that the workers of the world must unite

to gain political/economic world power—then you must join the SYL.

I joined the SYL because I want to help fight and win the proletarian revolutionary socialist victory—and not just dream about it. If any youth or older adult agrees with me, you should feel proud and join too!

Remember, you have nothing to lose but your chains! Workers of the world unite!

Mary V.  
Ann Arbor, Michigan

On behalf of other potential comrades who may be considering joining the SL/SYL, I would like to explain what happened to prompt me to join recently.

On March 20 here in Ann Arbor, due to efforts of the local SL/SYL forces, 2,000 people turned out to stop the Nazis from marching through our city. The victory was complete, and I'm proud of my comrades for having put so much thought and work into the mobilization in spite of the apathy and opposition they faced.

Shortly after the Stop the Nazis demonstration I attended the SL/SYL's forum on fascism, at which event it became obvious how closely my own political ideas paralleled theirs. Since then I have been accepted into the SYL and am looking forward to many years—if not a lifetime—of labor and learning in its ranks and later in those of the SL.

I have no doubts that the friendliness and the dedicated revolutionary work I have already seen here is replicated throughout the U.S. and the world, wherever SL/SYL branches are found. I am glad to be one of you now, and I hope that many others will join soon.

Laurie W.  
Amherst, Massachusetts

In the past three weeks I have acquired a broader understanding of what capitalism breeds in the United States and the brutality it stands for in other areas of the world. Recognizing that capitalism is the cause of workers' exploitation, crime and much oppression is the first step in my motivation of wishing to participate in the fight against capitalism. I believe that the Spartacus Youth League puts forth a consistent program in that fight. I firmly support the working-class struggle, the struggle of the Spartacus Youth League.

Previous to my interest in the Spartacus Youth League, I was involved in the "Peacemakers" group at UMass Amherst, whose program is the question of nuclear disarmament. I had thought this a very important question and wanted to involve myself in solving it. It wasn't until I became interested and read more about the politics of the Spartacus Youth League that I realized that the question of disarmament is a superficial one in that it doesn't touch the root of the problem and cause of why nuclear arms exist. I now view the question of the arms race as being that Russia possesses arms in its defense while the U.S. builds the arms race imperialistically to promote capitalism and to overthrow the gains of the Russian Revolution. The position one must address oneself to is whether one wants to support communism or capitalism, whether one wants to fight for the workers' gains or for capitalism. Before, I had believed that a peaceful settlement and agreement between Russia and the U.S. could be reached regarding nuclear weapons. My attitude has changed drastically in regards to this issue. I understand that there is a fight that needs to be fought. Peace cannot be reached in our country by groups trying to apply pressure to a government whose purpose for possessing nuclear weapons is to destroy the Soviet Union. There will not be a reduction of arms

## SL/Britain Educational Conference a Success

LONDON—An examination of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and the Bevanite movement in the Labour Party of the 1950s were the main topics of discussion at a successful semi-public national educational held by the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) in mid-April. The choice of these topics was aimed at furthering the organisation's understanding of key aspects of the last Cold War period in order to better arm for the tasks and opportunities facing Trotskyists today. It was the opportunities facing the SL/B today that were given an encouraging reflection in an attendance of roughly 80 comrades. The impact the Spartacist intervention is having, particularly among CP youth, was reflected in the attendance at the educational of a group of black youth active in and around the Young Communist League as well as older CP trade unionists.

During the weekend application

letters were accepted from seven new members and a new SL Organising Committee chartered in Liverpool. The backgrounds of these new recruits represent a wide range of political experience. One, a former Communist Party member who had served in the apparatus of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Prague, had experienced and been repelled by Stalinist treachery at first hand. Another, a woman comrade from Iran, had been won to the Spartacist League as the only party with a program to lead a proletarian revolution in Iran. One young comrade also applying to join wrote how beginning to understand the Russian Revolution had won her toward the Spartacist League. "...at first I still found everything confusing and could not get a picture in my mind. Then one day I sat down and read some books on the Russian Revolution. Many things became much clearer to me after this."

because the U.S. won't budge from its position and it's a futile cause to persist in. When the workers overthrow capitalism, that is when the threat of nuclear war can be eliminated.

In becoming a member, I will work to uphold the principles of the group, which are to build picket lines and not to cross them, to defend the USSR workers' state at all times against imperialism, that the defense of the Soviet Union and Cuba begins in El Salvador, and for the mass black/labor mobilizations to further unite the workers' movement and to smash fascist terror.

Brian L.  
Champaign-Urbana, Illinois

From my experiences and observations of today's international situation, I have come to the conclusion that American imperialism and capitalism abroad is both unreformable and the cause of our world crises. From black slavery in America to the atomic bomb in Hiroshima, no lie is too absurd, no action is too barbaric. There can be no compromise on this point.

There was a demonstration in Washington, D.C. on March 27 which I attended. The organizers of the march protested U.S. aid to a blood-drenched El Salvador and called for a negotiated settlement. The Anti-Imperialist Contingent called for military victory to the leftists and a workers revolution. The only winnable solution presented that day was by the Spartacist League/

Spartacus Youth League, and it could not have been made any more obvious to the 30,000 marchers by the line of goons and police that attempted to silence us.

Accept this application for membership in the SYL as a personal commitment to the principles of the party, to which I fully agree, and, therefore, I am entirely responsible to the discipline of the party.

\*\*\*

Reuben Samuels: Several years ago during the Vietnam War we had McNamara and he was real bad. Then we got Kissinger and we thought, boy, that's really bad. Then, we got Carter/Brzezinski; then we got the present team. The degeneration of imperialism is producing its corresponding leaders and it's having a corresponding effect on the left as well. The left is running scared in a panicked fashion, very far to the right.

Now in 1968 there was a Democratic Party convention in which a lot of these people who are today gooning our flags out of the demonstrations went up against the Chicago police trying to carry NLF flags in front of the Chicago Democratic Party convention. We're dealing with unstable petty-bourgeois formations without roots in historical struggles in reality that have shaped other tendencies, especially the Communist Party [CP].

I want to address the question of physical violence and confrontation. In 1970, in NPAC [National Peace Action

continued on page 9

Workers Vanguard Photo



Ann Arbor, 20 March 1982—2,000 demonstrators drove Nazis out of town. SL-initiated committee involved many youth new to political struggle.

We print below the first part of an edited transcript of a presentation given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Marjorie Stamberg at a Spartacist Educational Conference in Chicago on April 24-25. In this section, Stamberg discusses Rosa Luxemburg's struggle to build a revolutionary internationalist party in Poland. Today Poland's greatest revolutionary socialist is belittled by the Stalinists and reviled by pro-imperialist Solidarność, while only Trotskyists honor her memory. The concluding section of comrade Stamberg's presentation will appear in the Summer issue of Young Spartacus.

### Part One of Two

**A**s part of the glorification of Solidarność as the standard-bearer of the "free world," the Western commentators, Susan Sontag, the whole "god that failed" crowd once again proclaimed the "death of communism" in Poland. What they do, you see, is present the bankruptcy of the Stalinist bureaucracy as the bankruptcy of communism. Now, the regime is bankrupt, and not just politically. This band of venal, corrupt bureaucrats, who have

Young Spartacus Photo



Marjorie Stamberg displays "Spartacus," published by Luxemburg and Liebknecht during World War I.

made a holy mess out of the country and not incidentally brought it to the brink of counterrevolution, are justly hated. But to the bankruptcy of Stalinism they project Solidarność as the only alternative—that company union for the CIA and bankers, steeped in the traditions of Catholic nationalism and all of it presented as a great "democratic" movement.

As we have stressed over and over again, that is the tradition of bourgeois Polish nationalism crystallized in the figure of Marshal Pilsudski, the fascistic dictator of interwar Poland, whom Solidarność honors. Indeed last year for the first time since World War II, the date of the "independence" of the Polish bourgeois republic was celebrated in Poland—a commemoration of Pilsudski, who was commander in chief of the army and who in 1920 led the attack on Soviet Russia. You know, a lot of leftists denied this was possible when we first said it, but here is a poster put out by Solidarność—a bust of Pilsudski with one of his most famous quotes.

But there is a socialist tradition in Poland which has not been bankrupted politically. They tried to exterminate it physically—through the joint efforts of the Nazis and Pilsudski, and also of the Stalinists. This is the tradition of the early Communist Party of Poland. Above all, this is the tradition of Rosa Luxemburg, who was the founder of the socialist party in Poland, which became the core of the early communist party. And the whole tradition of Rosa Luxemburg and her comrades in the

Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL) was the tradition of the most militant internationalism. It was a party steered in the struggle against Pilsudskiite petty-bourgeois nationalism. That is the reason why the heritage of Rosa Luxemburg—a communist, a woman and a Jew—is suppressed by both the Stalinists and Solidarność.

You see, what's happening today in Poland is, in the course of creating the myth of Solidarność, they're going back and reinterpreting all of Polish history—as if it was one long uninterrupted struggle for national destiny against Russian communism. The well-known Polish literary figure, Jan Kott, who returned to Poland in 1979 after 13 years in exile, describes how pervasive is this world view. In the 1960s he wrote, when one member of his "dissident" circle died, he had an agnostic burial and they sang the Internationale over his grave. Now, he was shocked to find, such occasions were celebrated with a funeral mass and the anthem "Still Poland Hasn't Perished." And then he was appalled as he sat down to discuss with his old friends from the student struggles of '68:

"Three names were passionately emphasized: Dmowski, Pilsudski and Daszyński. [Dmowski was a National Democrat who preferred the Tsar to the Kaiser's Germany and Daszyński was another right-wing member of the 1918 government.] For a time I simply couldn't grasp what was going on. I rubbed my eyes. What did this recall? In which emigration in London, in which anachronistic Warsaw did I find myself? Before the war... but before which war, the second? No, before the first! I had the impression that time had stood still. History was running backwards. In the space of those thirteen years while I had been away, quite different chapters of Polish history had returned. This furious dispute, in which names were brandished like evocative signs, was about the choices and alternatives of 1979."

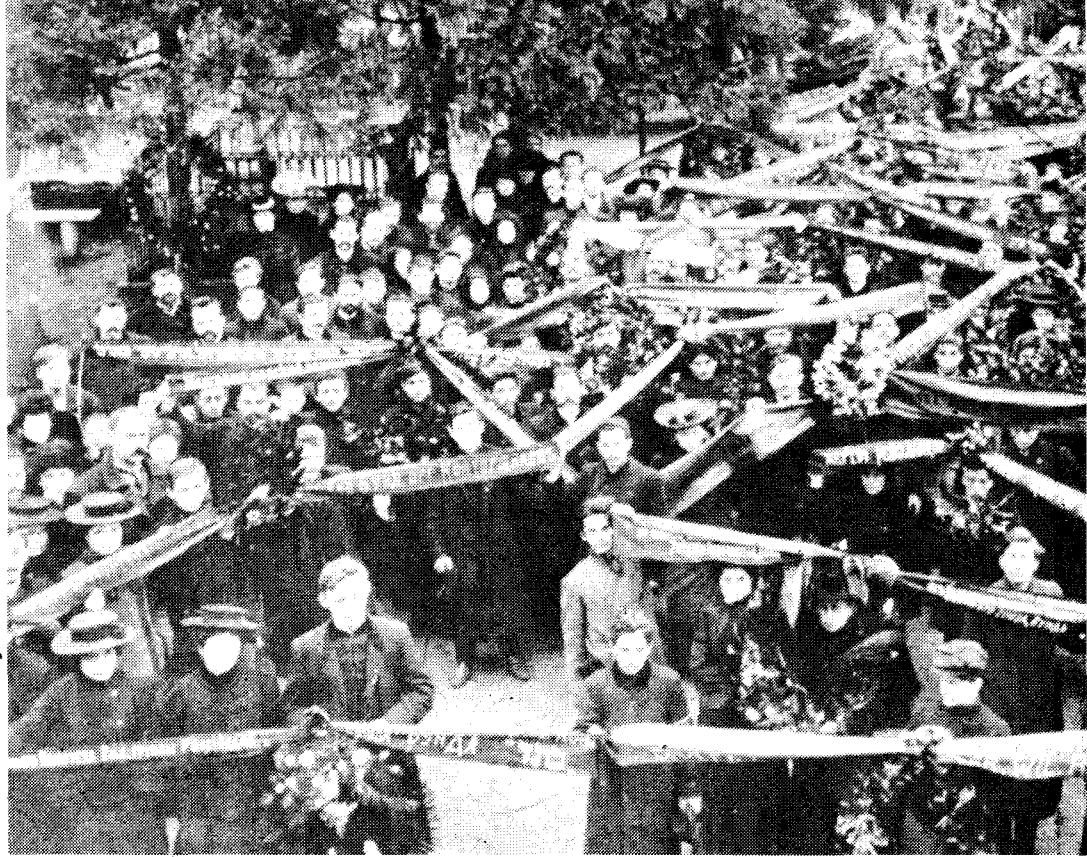
—quoted in Neal Ascherson, *The Polish August* (1981)

Today the Polish workers are at a crossroads. This is a period of reflection following the imposition of martial law. Various journalists have reported on such conversations as the workers who were overheard asking each other, "How did it go so wrong so fast?" The answer is, you were *against* all the right things, but what were you for? While the counterrevolutionaries are rewriting history to push their catechism of Polish nationalism, we Trotskyists seek the creation of educational and propaganda cells based on the tradition of socialist internationalism. In searching for this



Above: Rosa Luxemburg. Titlepiece: Proletarian internationalism—Russian and Polish workers carry banners in Russian, Polish and Yiddish commemorating the victims of a pogrom in 1905.

# Poland's Communist Tradition



# Hail Rosa Luxemburg

tradition, the Polish workers will re-encounter their own past.

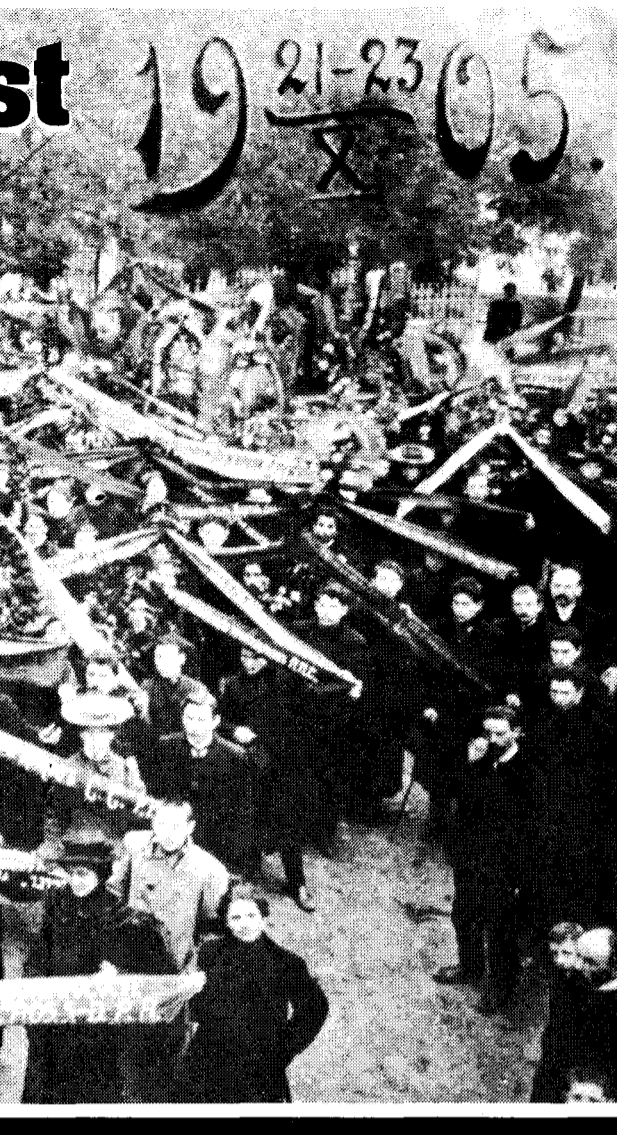
It's curious, you know. In the 1960s, Rosa Luxemburg was very popular in the American "left"—particularly among what we call the "third camp" social democrats, who refused to defend the Soviet Union against the imperialists. They wanted to give themselves

Desch

something of a left cover. (Today of course, now that they're tailing Solidarność, you don't hear much about Rosa Luxemburg.) So they picked up various writings by Rosa Luxemburg that were critical of Lenin, and based on them, called themselves Luxemburgists. And this is something I'm going to stress in this talk—there is no Luxemburgism in opposition to Leninism. This was invented after her death by her enemies—first by the social democrats, who wanted to separate themselves from Leninism and still look kind of left-wing. And also a creation by the Stalinists, who also wanted to separate Luxemburg out from Lenin—in order to smash her heritage of internationalism as the "Polish form of Trotskyism."

So if you listen to these people, you would think that Rosa Luxemburg spent all of her life fighting with Lenin on one thing or another. Which, as we shall see, is a completely distorted view. Most of Rosa Luxemburg's life was spent fighting *together* with Lenin against the right wing of social democracy—in Germany, Poland and Russia—which eventually went over to open counterrevolution at the time of World War I.

Throughout her life, Rosa Luxemburg's struggle was for internationalism. She understood that the key to the success of the revolution in Poland was the unity of the Polish and Russian workers, and also the German workers. Today, Solidarność and the West try to present the picture of "poor little Poland" caught between the two giants of Russia and Germany, and therefore destined always to suffer a tragic fate. Well, from a bourgeois nationalist perspective, they've got a point. But



# Rosa Luxemburg!

from the point of view of revolutionary internationalism, Poland is a vital connection between the two great revolutions that will determine Europe-

an history—the Russian and the German.

And you can see this very concretely in the life of Rosa Luxemburg, a woman who played an important role in the 1905 Russian Revolution—as a major leader of the left wing of German Social Democracy and as a founder of the party which formed the core of the Polish CP. You can see it also in the “Three Ws.” You know, some people find it comical that we raise the “Three Ws.” We had a sign at our March 27 El Salvador demonstration, “Long Live the Party of Warski, Walecki, and Wera Kostrezewa.” Alexander Cockburn in the *Village Voice* thought this sign was evidence of our Marxism-Leninism-Bonkerism—reflecting on his part more than a touch of Anglophile chauvinism. You know, how could anybody with so many “Ws” in their names be relevant to us? (Of course, they’ve got their own “Three Ws”—Wojtyla, Wyszynski and Walesa—the pope, the primate and the puppet.)

Well, the “Three Ws” are plenty relevant. There was a saying in the Comintern: the German party is the biggest, the Polish party is the best. In fact, this was one of the few parties that protested over the campaign of the troika against Trotsky in 1923. The letter they sent at the time stated:

“For our party, nay for the whole Comintern, for the whole revolutionary world proletariat, the name of Comrade Trotsky is insolubly connected with the victory of the Soviet revolution, with the Red Army, with Communism.... “We refuse to admit any possibility of Comrade Trotsky being put outside the ranks of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party and those of the Communist International.”

This was the party of the “Three Ws.” It was the party built on the traditions of Rosa Luxemburg. And it was so solidly internationalist that Stalin did something to it unique in the history of Stalinism—for the Polish CP, purges weren’t enough. In addition to murdering hundreds of its central cadre, Stalin had to literally *dissolve* the entire party in 1938 as a nest of “Trotskyite saboteurs” shot through with the influence of Rosa Luxemburg.

## Rosa Luxemburg

So let’s see why the reformists and counterrevolutionaries have so much trouble with Rosa Luxemburg. She was



SL/SYL demonstrated September 24, 1981 against the opening of a Solidarność office in New York City.

born in 1871 in the province of Lublin, which was then under Russian rule. She came from a middle-class Jewish family—her father was a timber merchant. Her family was very assimilationist and they took little part in Jewish politics. When Rosa was two years old, the family moved to Warsaw. There she went to a girls’ high school where she was one of the very few Jewish students, in fact one of the very few Polish students, since most of the places were reserved for children of Russian officials in Warsaw. In high school she graduated first in her class, but did not receive the gold medal because of her “rebellious attitude toward the authorities.” She always had a little trouble with that.

Now, it’s important to understand that there was no Polish state in those days. Poland was carved up between Russia, Prussia and Austria. For the Tsarist Empire, Russian Poland was a key industrial region with the textile factories in Lodz and the center of Warsaw and so forth. This was also a period of big economic boom for the Russian Empire—industrial production was soaring—this is one of the main reasons that at the time almost nobody but the nobility was for creating a Polish state.

Rosa’s first known political activities were in high school, where she joined one of the last remaining cells of the party *Proletariat*, just before it was smashed. *Proletariat* was the first socialist organization in Poland and its founder, Ludwik Waryński, rejected

the program of a national uprising as “harmful” and called for proletarian social struggle against the bourgeoisie, not just tsarism. *Proletariat* was closely aligned with the Russian Narodniks. During the years Rosa was in high school, many members of party *Proletariat* were rounded up by the tsar and sentenced to many years’ hard labor or execution. Waryński was arrested at this time and died in prison. In 1889 Rosa, learning her own arrest was imminent, went to Zurich, Switzerland.

But by the late 1880s, the strike movement was actively beginning to pick up. Much of this was under the influence of another group with whom Rosa Luxemburg would soon be closely linked: the Union of Polish Workers. In 1893 this group joined together with the remnants of *Proletariat* to form the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland. They saw themselves following in the traditions of *Proletariat* in rejecting the call for the restoration of the Polish state. They wanted an all-Russian party even before there was a Russian party—the Russian Social Democracy Labor Party, RSDRP, of Lenin was not formed until 1898. In 1899, Felix Dzerzhinsky put the L in SDKPiL, when the Lithuanians attached themselves, and it became the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania—SDKPiL.

Around this time also, another group was formed—the Polish Socialist Party (PPS)—also out of some remnants of

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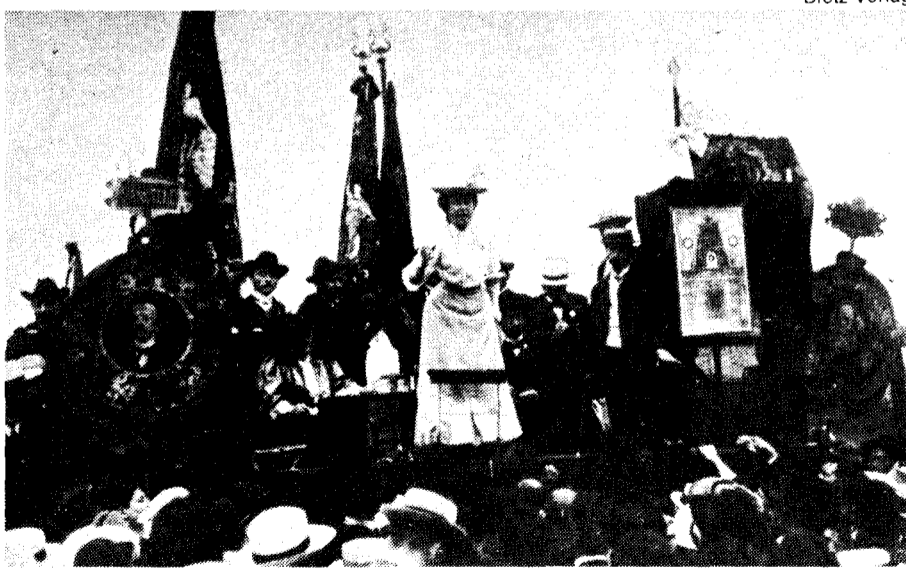
## Rosa Luxemburg: The Road to Peace

Dietz Verlag

Rosa Luxemburg wrote “The Road to Peace” in 1911 to denounce the fraud of “disarmament” under capitalism. A leader of the revolutionary wing of the German Social Democracy (SPD), she eventually split with the SPD majority, which supported the Kaiser’s war effort, and went on to found the German Communist Party. As Luxemburg did, revolutionaries today must stand forthrightly for the defeat of our own bourgeoisie and for the military defense of the Soviet Union, which despite Stalinist degeneration continues to embody the social gains of the Bolshevik Revolution. This translation appeared in the October 1958 *Young Socialist*, organ of what became the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party while it was still a revolutionary organization.

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YOUNG SOCIALIST,  
OCTOBER 1958

What is our task on the question of peace? It does not consist merely in vigorous demonstrating at all times that the social-democrats love peace, but first and foremost, our task is to make clear to the masses of people the



Rosa Luxemburg addressing an anti-militarist rally in Germany in 1907.

nature of militarism and to bring out, sharply and clearly, the difference in principle between the standpoint of social democracy and that of the bourgeois peace enthusiasts.

In what does this difference consist? Certainly not merely in the fact that bourgeois apostles of peace rely on the influence of fine words, while we do not depend on words alone. Our very point of departure is diametrically

opposed: the friends of peace in bourgeois circles believe that world peace and disarmament can be realized within the framework of the present social order, whereas we who base ourselves on the materialist conception of history and on scientific socialism, are convinced that militarism can be abolished only with the destruction of the capitalist state. From this follows the essential differ-

ence in our tactics in spreading the idea of peace.

### Counterfeit Peace

The bourgeois friends of peace endeavor—and, from their point of view, this is perfectly logical and explicable—to invent all sorts of “practical” projects for gradually restraining militarism and are naturally inclined to consider every outward and apparent sign of a tendency toward peace as the genuine article, to take every expression of diplomacy in this vein at its word, to exaggerate it into a real basis of earnest activity. Social-democracy, on the other hand must consider it as its duty in this matter, just as in all matters of social criticism, to expose the bourgeois attempts to restrain militarism as pitiful half-measures and the expression of such sentiments on the part of the governing circles as diplomatic make believe, and to oppose bourgeois claims and pretenses with the ruthless analysis of capitalist reality.

From this standpoint, the tasks of the social-democracy with regard to the declaration of the kind issued by the British can only be to expose the

*continued on page 9*

# Hail Luxemburg!...

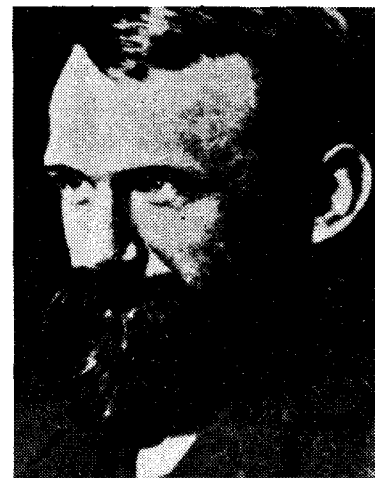
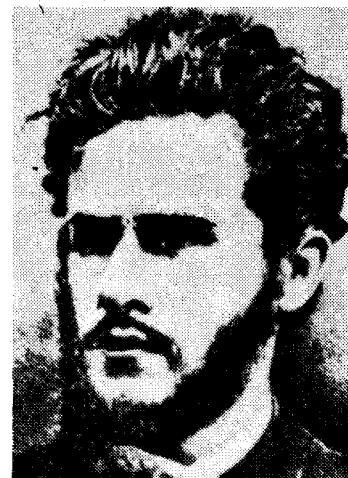
(continued from page 7)

*Proletariat.* They were for restoring the Polish state. And soon to emerge as their historic leader would be Josef Pilsudski. For the next 25 years PPS and SDKPiL would be locked in combat against each other to win the allegiance of the Polish masses and to decide what the future course of Polish history would be.

Now you don't hear much about SDKPiL, for reasons that were stated earlier. But it was a very real party which produced a number of leaders who played major roles in the Russian and German communist movements as well as in Poland. Besides Rosa Luxemburg there were: Leo Jogiches, the man who was to be associated with her most of her life. Jogiches was a Jewish Russian emigré who fled to Switzerland after escaping military service in the tsar's army. Jogiches had organized Jewish workers in Vilna. He went on to become one of the principal organizers of SDKPiL and he was also the main organizer for the Spartakusbund when Rosa and Karl Liebknecht were in jail. There was Felix Dzerzhinsky, who went on to become head of the Cheka—the Bolsheviks' state security apparatus. There was Julian Marchlewski, who also became a prominent Comintern leader. And Adolf Warszawski—who was Warski of the "Three Ws." Also Karl Radek, who, although he much later capitulated to Stalin, was during World War I Lenin's closest collaborator in the German left, and who was also one of the first figures to go over to Trotsky's Left Opposition. It is not unimportant that many of these original founders and leaders of SDKPiL were Jewish. At the time, Poland had a huge Jewish population—about 10 percent of the population until World War II.

## The 1905 Revolution

By the beginnings of 1900, SDKPiL had a few hundred, maybe 600 members and nuclei in most of the major industrial areas. But it was the 1905 Russian Revolution which was the major event in the development of SDKPiL and also the major event in the consciousness of the revolutionaries and socialists. By 1904 all over Russian Poland, revolutionary ferment was mounting; strikes and demonstrations were spreading throughout the country, sparked by Russia's losing war against Japan. And then in St. Petersburg on 9 January 1905, a demonstration led by Father Gapon ended with the massacre of hundreds. This of course was Bloody Sunday, signaling the outbreak of the revolution. Almost immediately after Bloody Sunday the Poles came out in a spontaneous response to the events in Russia—and with equal fervor. A general strike started in Warsaw and soon spread to all major industrial centers. The civil administration almost collapsed; a state of siege was proclaimed; there were huge clashes be-



From left to right: Felix Dzerzhinsky, Adolf Warski, Leo Jogiches and Julian Marchlewski. Proletarian internationalists, all were leading members of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania.

tween demonstrators and police, street battles, armed skirmishes.

Now this was of tremendous significance for Rosa Luxemburg and for SDKPiL, for they had always insisted on the need for the Russian and Polish workers to join forces, while the PPS had opposed an all-Russian movement. So in 1905, when the Russian Revolution surged forward, it was the vindication of all that SDKPiL had envisioned. The connection between Russia and Poland was there for all to see—instead of acting like separate entities, the workers of both countries behaved as if no ethnic barrier separated them.

No wonder SDKPiL was the main beneficiary of these events. The resulting upheavals turned SDKPiL into a small mass party as the layers of radicalized youth and workers swept up in the revolutionary process streamed into the party. As Rosa Luxemburg's biographer, J.P. Nettl said, "By February 1906, the party had some 30,000 members, artisans and proletarians, in spite of the fact that its activities had been plunged once more into illegality after a brief fortnight of open agitation." So the party went from 600 to 30,000 in little more than a year! Meanwhile, PPS was splitting down the middle as its members had to decide whether to support the Russian Revolution or abstain from struggle.

Pilsudski, who did *not* want to support the Russian workers, instead started organizing armed cadres for a nationalist uprising—these were the Fracy detachments. The PPS-left supported the revolution and the mass action of the workers. It was in opposition to Pilsudski's putschist nationalist bands that Rosa Luxemburg fought for the mass strike of the Polish workers.

Now the question of nationalism or internationalism was posed not only in the common fight of the Polish and Russian workers, but also within Poland itself over the anti-Jewish pogroms. In late 1905 the tsar was employing one of his standard tactics to split the workers movement—tsarist agents were instigating the Black Hundreds fanatics into attacking Jewish ghetto communities throughout Eastern Russia. These were eventually brought into Poland by Dmowski's National Democrats—but they were stopped,

crushed by the revolutionary action of the workers. Joint Polish-Jewish workers defense guards sprang up and stopped the pogromist terrorists in their tracks. Rosa Luxemburg commented on this development, writing from Warsaw in 1906 that "the instigation of pogroms was impossible where enlightened workers groups existed—the persecution of Jews was impossible in Poland, Petersburg, Moscow, Riga and all important centers of the revolution."

And there is a powerful description of these workers defense guards by Horst Mendel, who wrote "Memoirs of a Jewish Revolutionary." Horst was a young boy at the time and later became

Polish nationalists at best turned their backs and others betrayed the Jews.

Now, when the Russian Revolution broke out, Rosa was in Germany. And by the time she was able to get to Warsaw on a lengthy circuitous route in the dead of winter, things had slackened off. The third general strike in a year had finally gone down to defeat and the Bolshevik-led Moscow insurrection was also over. For Rosa Luxemburg the Russian Revolution and the mass strikes were a powerful confirmation of the revolutionary possibility of the workers movement, and when she returned to Germany, she fought for them against the ossified trade-union bureaucrats and party center apparatus of Kautsky. I'll take that up more later.

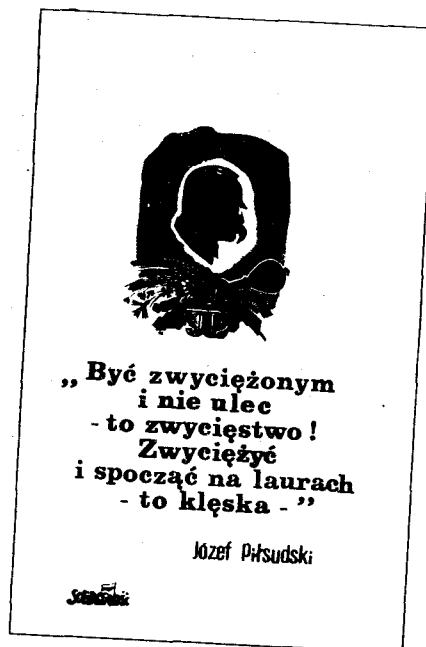
So by March of 1906 it was clear the revolution was ebbing. A wave of arrests fell over the cities; police spies were everywhere. Now there were lockouts rather than strikes. SDKPiL lost most of its leadership in the police dragnet. Marchlewski was arrested. Jogiches was arrested. (Here's an irony of history—Jogiches was arrested and sentenced to eight years hard labor in Siberia for advocating the independence of Poland! Boy, he must have been pissed, but the tsar didn't recognize these subtle differences.) Luckily, Jogiches managed to escape before his transport actually left for Siberia. Rosa was arrested on March 4, 1906. She and Jogiches were both held in the notorious Pavillion X of the Warsaw Citadel, the fortress for dangerous criminals where years earlier the members of party *Proletariat* had been held.

## Rosa Luxemburg and the Bolsheviks

When Rosa was released from prison she went off to Finland to talk with Lenin and the Bolsheviks on evaluating the Russian Revolution. During the time she was in jail, the SDKPiL had joined the RSDRP at the Fourth ("Unity") Congress. And while in 1903, Rosa's bias had been toward the Mensheviks, the revolution changed all that, and she came out of 1905 much closer to the Bolsheviks. She was strenuously opposed to the Mensheviks' orientation to "make the bourgeoisie fight" and their policy of tailing the constitutional monarchists, the Kadets. Both Luxemburg and Lenin were convinced that the working class would be the main force in the revolution.

Now the social democrats and Stalinists have tried hard to conceal this. But the fact is that for the next seven years SDKPiL and the Bolsheviks worked pretty much in tandem. Lenin and Luxemburg collaborated on a whole host of things—together the Bolsheviks and Rosa struggled against militarism within the Second International—for instance at the 1907 Stuttgart Conference where they put up a joint resolution and where Lenin even gave her the Bolshevik mandate to cast in that discussion. Luxemburg and Lenin fought together in the fight in the Russian party against the Mensheviks; and Lenin and Luxemburg fought together against the PPS and Pilsudski in Russian Poland.

Back in 1904 Rosa had written a



Solidarność poster extols the fascist Polish nationalist dictator Pilsudski.

a member of the Polish Trotskyists in the mid-1930s.

"I concluded that there couldn't be any indigenous Poles [among the pogromists] from the fact that in the self-defense organizations there were also Polish workers involved. In Pawia Street, in fact, there were more Polish than Jewish workers in the self-defense organization. The Polish workers assured us constantly that Poland was not Russia and there would be no pogroms here.

"Every apartment house had its committee. There was also such a committee in our area. At night the door was locked and the self-defense groups would gather at certain points, while spotters would go through the streets. I remember that from time to time when the alarm was spread, the self-defense groups would rush into *droskys* [sort of horse-drawn cabs] which were standing ready especially for this purpose—and tear off to the threatened places.

"In addition to the active self-defense groups, there were also auxiliary groups including all the residents of the apartment complex, especially the Jews. People were armed with whatever they had—with axes, hatchets, knives. Every trade came armed with their work tools.

"My father was also in such an auxiliary group. When the door to the courtyard was shut, they stood in the door entrance and waited. It was their task in case of an attack to defend the door. I stood for whole nights next to my father and looked at him."

This heroic action by the workers during the Russian Revolution was a far cry from the hideous experience in 1943 of the Warsaw ghetto uprising when the

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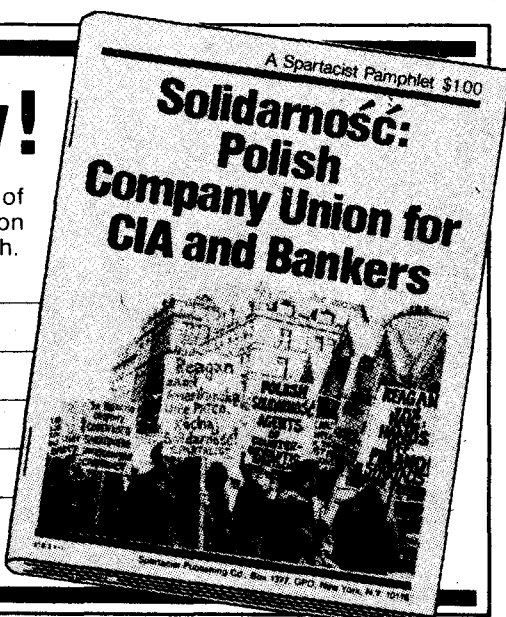
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sharp polemic against Lenin on his position for a communist vanguard party. It was quite sharp, it was quite wrong, and for this reason of course social democrats and Stalinists have seized upon it. Now this question of Luxemburg and Lenin on the party question has been incisively analyzed in comrade Seymour's pamphlet, *Lenin and the Vanguard Party*, which was included in the readings for this talk. But I want to go over some of the ground, briefly.

We first have to understand that until the outbreak of World War I, all the parties—Lenin, Luxemburg, everybody had Kautsky's position on the doctrine of the "party of the whole class" or "one class—one party," by which was meant that all tendencies of socialism belonged in one party. In practice, however, Lenin strove to create a disciplined, programmatically homogeneous vanguard party. This was a case in which his revolutionary thrust ran ahead of his theoretical generalization. And as our pamphlet says, the resolution of that dialectical contradiction is one of the elements creating Leninism as a world-historic doctrine in our epoch.

You see, Lenin as early as 1903, saw the need for a hardened homogeneous party and that was crystallized in the fight over the membership rules. But *at the time* he saw the split with the Mensheviks as a split that was Russian specific. And he did not see the Mensheviks as a current within the working class, but as the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. It was not until the outbreak of World War I that Lenin had fully worked out his concept of the party and understood that the opportunist current in the Second International as a whole was counterrevolutionary, that it was a reflection of the labor aristocracy created by imperialism, and therefore a split within the workers movement and a cohering of a separate communist vanguard was needed to successfully carry out a socialist revolution.

So, in 1904 when Rosa wrote "Organizational Questions of the Russian Social Democracy" she attacked Lenin's conception of professional revolutionaries as "Jacobinism" characteristic of a bourgeois party. And she was quite acerbic, writing that "Nothing will more enslave a young labor movement than this bureaucratic straight-jacket." Now, in this period you could also cite Trotsky's Menshevik polemic here, "Our Political Tasks." But the point is they transcended these views. Trotsky did so explicitly, Rosa in practice—as early as a year later when she saw the role of the Bolsheviks in the 1905 Revolution and by the very nature of the SDKPiL which was always a highly centralized and hard party. And of course, Rosa went on to become one of the founders of the KPD—the Communist Party of Germany in 1918.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

## Luxemburg on Peace...

(continued from page 7)

idea of a partial limitation of armaments in all its impracticability, as a half-measure, and to endeavor to make it clear to the people that militarism is closely linked with the colonial politics and that, therefore, the nations of today, if they are really serious and honest in their wish to call a halt to competitive armaments, would have to begin by disarming in the commercial and political field, by giving up predatory colonial campaigns, by abandoning the international politics of spheres of influence in all parts of the world—in a word, in their foreign as well as domestic politics, they would have to do the exact opposite of everything which the nature of the present politics of a capitalist state demands.

### A Legitimate Child

And thus would be clearly explained what constitutes the kernel of the social-democratic conception: that militarism in both its forms—as war and as armed peace—is a legitimate child, a logical result of capitalism, and that whoever honestly desires world peace and freedom from the tremendous burden of armaments must strive for socialism. Only in this way can real socialist education and propaganda be carried on in connection with the armaments debate.

Such work, however, will be rendered somewhat difficult and the attitude of the social-democrats will become obscure and vacillating if, by some strange exchange of roles, our party tries, on the contrary, to convince the bourgeois state that it can quite well limit armaments and achieve peace and that it can do this from its own standpoint, from that of a capitalist state.

### Scientific Basis

It has hitherto been the pride and the firm scientific basis of our party that not only the general line of our program but also the slogans of our practical every day policy were not compounded out of indiscriminate odds and ends just because they sounded desirable but that we always relied on our understanding of the tendencies of social development and made the objective trends of development the basis of our attitude.

For us the determining factor has hitherto been not possibility from the standpoint of the relation of forces within the state but possibility from the standpoint of the tendencies of social development. Limitations of armaments, the retrenchment of militarism, does not coincide with the further development of international capitalism. Only those who believe in the mitigation and blunting of class anta-

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gonism and in the reduction of the economic anarchy of capitalism can believe that these international conflicts will permit of slackening, mitigation and elimination.

For the international antagonisms of the capitalist state are but complements of class antagonisms and world-political anarchy, but the reverse side of the anarchic system of capitalist production. Both grow together and must be overcome together. "A little order and peace" is, therefore, just as impossible, just as much a petty-bourgeois utopia, with regard to world politics as it is with regard to the capitalist world market, with regard to the limitation of armaments as it is with regard to the restriction of crises. ■

## Build the Party...

(continued from page 5)

Coalition], the SWP [Socialist Workers Party] on its own gooned for Vance Hartke and the Democratic Party. The SWP has moved to the right since then and occupies a position relatively analogous to the CP, as do these other groups, which is to use the police to goon for it, that is, to bring the police into the workers movement. And of course in order to justify that, they must say that we are not in the workers movement. The slander corresponds to the program and not the other way around.

The main purpose is not that they can't take us on physically, but they don't want to take us on physically because they have another program which represents their integration into bourgeois politics. They rely on the bourgeois state now to deal with their opponents just as they rely on the bourgeois state to deal with El Salvador. So, we wanted to conduct a polemic in Washington, D.C. [at the March 27 El Salvador protest]. We want military victory in El Salvador. We wanted a negotiated solution in Washington. We were there to make propaganda and agitation. We were not there to have a military confrontation. We took every measure, and I mean every measure, to facilitate a peaceful, non-confrontationist posture without totally disappearing the opportunity to reach this march with our propaganda and agitation. These groups responded with their own polemics. Their polemics were

mounted on horses and motorcycles. They carried riot gear and shotguns. Let's not forget that.

I don't know what to say about the line of the left over Poland—the more I think about it, the more it puzzles me. It's true the Catholic Church is reactionary. But Archbishop Romero was not gunned down because he was a reactionary. Solidarność, this great clerical-nationalist movement, had nothing to say about that murder, did they? Nor did the pope. Because that would have been an implied criticism of the agents of U.S. imperialism.

This group, the RWL [Revolutionary Workers League], which is an unstable formation which came into existence as an anti-Spartacist League serving very little other historical purpose, is responding to the Cold War, to the witchhunt, as the vanguard. The workers who went out to Washington [on September 19, 1981] did not cry for Solidarność, even though it was called Solidarity Day. The blacks do not cry for Solidarność. Who cries for Solidarność are those who have joined in the Reagan anti-Soviet war drive, because it is the common denominator of the so-called political consensus in this country and an extension of the historical popular front relationship between the Democratic Party, the trade-union bureaucracy and a certain liberal social-democratic environment. And that's why we call them Shachtmanites more than just simply state capitalists; namely that they've become the left wing of the anti-Soviet war drive.

In the Reagan years, in this period of repression and the threat of repression, a period of economic crisis and defeats on the part of the working class, the rapid rightward motion of our opponents, there's this climate of hysteria that the left-liberal milieu has created against the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League. Let me point out, by the way, some of the consequences of this. Over Afghanistan, we almost had a comrade in Germany killed, comrade Fred. So this hysteria has got to be fought, because it means ultimately the survival of our tendency.

So it's not easy to join the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League in this period. It is only very, very important. As other comrades have spoken to it, it's a question of socialist revolution or nuclear annihilation. And it is necessary to fight and it is necessary to prepare the proletarian vanguard party, the workers party in this country and internationally for the battles we all know lie ahead. ■

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

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# War Criminals...

(continued from page 1)

trigger-happy cowboy image of the current occupant of the White House.

The "freeze" campaign cannot be compared to utopian pacifist movements which wrongly believe imperialist war can be ended short of workers revolution; it cannot even be compared to "ban the bomb" protests. It calls for neither an end to bombs or war. As war criminal "dove" Bundy writes in his article on the H-bomb:

"I am not even suggesting that the avoidance of thermonuclear warheads would have been an unmixed blessing. Where we are now, there are some things about these kinds of warheads that can be helpful to a sober and moderate policy of deterrence."

—"The Missed Chance to Stop the H-Bomb," *New York Review of Books*, 13 May

## Down With Cold War "Pacifism"!

The bourgeois consensus that the Soviet Union must be militarily conquered for capital or, as General Haig puts it, "the essential values of Western civilization," is fully reflected in the "freeze" actions. Even the *Village Voice* (20 April) noted this in an article on the internecine squabbles among the New York organizers of the upcoming June 12 freeze demo:

"Its call is equally critical of the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals, makes no mention of big power intervention in the third world, much less U.S. intervention in Central America, and tiptoes past the issue of racism implicit in the American arms build-up."

There can be no "neutral" movement for peace (which is more than the freezers aspire to in any case). Any genuine opposition to imperialist war is necessarily linked to the unconditional defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism. The call for Soviet disarmament is but a call for unbridled imperialist militarism. Leon Trotsky pointed out in 1934 that:

"Every big war, irrespective of its initial motives, must pose squarely the question of military intervention against the USSR in order to transfuse fresh blood into sclerotic veins of capitalism."

—*War and the Fourth International*

The 20 April issue of the *Voice* also carries the announcement of a "blockade the bombmakers" action—sit-ins at the U.S., Soviet, French, British and Chinese missions to the UN. A sit-in at the Soviet mission to demand nuclear disarmament? Moscow, Havana and Hanoi would have been long ago reduced to smoking, radiating ruin, were it not for the fact that the USSR has its own nuclear weapons. The barbaric incineration of the populations of Nagasaki and Hiroshima was a message to the Soviet Union, the first



Time  
Young Russian soldier guards Soviet World War II memorial. SL/SYL defends Soviet nuclear arsenal, opposes imperialist "peace" schemes to disarm the USSR.

"shot" in the Cold War.

U.S. imperialism is the most rapacious and kill-crazy on earth. Truman "twice considered using the threat of nuclear war against China and the Soviet Union as a means of ending the stalemated Korean War and forcing Moscow to free East European satellite countries" in 1952, according to the 3 August 1980 *New York Times*. Truman's 27 January 1952 memorandum stated:

"This means all-out war. It means that Moscow, St. Petersburg [Leningrad], Mukden, Vladivostok, Peking, Shanghai, Port Arthur, Darien, Odessa, Stalingrad and every manufacturing plant in China and the Soviet Union will be eliminated."

A decade later, John and Robert Kennedy brought the world to the brink of nuclear holocaust during the Cuban missile crisis. Khrushchev backed down when the U.S. "quarantined" Cuba with a naval blockade and threatened massive retaliation. And today Reagan is openly striving for "military superiority" (read first-strike capability) over the USSR.

## CP on the Freeze Bandwagon

Despite the evident commitment of all wings of the U.S. bourgeoisie to anti-Soviet "rollback," the Kremlin Stalinists doggedly pursue their treacherous pipe dream of "détente." With Kennedy heading up the Orwellian "peace movement for war" hoax, the Communist Party USA is naturally all doves and olive branches. "End the Arms Race, Not the Human Race," the CP coos as it glances a hungry eye toward what Gus Hall calls the "mass electoral tidal wave powerful enough to sweep away all the

Reaganites." No doubt the CP is plenty "ready for Teddy." But only the servile CP hacks could imagine Teddy has anything in store for them other than anti-communist persecution.

For any self-proclaimed socialist to tail along behind the mad bombers of Vietnam, lining up with one wing of warmongers against another, is shameful. But while most of the reformist American left has embraced Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland and tails Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive from the "left," the CP must time and again confront the fact that the "peoples front" is unified around anti-Sovietism. While it shirks the fight to defend the Soviet Union at every turn, the CP is nonetheless the Kremlin-loyal U.S. party. Having sacrificed any vestige of class principle to the aim of "unity" with the so-called "progressive bourgeoisie," the CP is in no position to mount opposition to the Cold War offensive and must simply retreat before it.

The war criminals "peace movement" has attracted to it an overwhelmingly lily-white and petty-bourgeois following, replete with groups like "Parenting in a Nuclear Age," concerned psychiatrists spouting off about "psychic numbing," "die-ins" and "swim-ins." Dealing with a far better crowd than the freezers, Trotsky derided:

"The petty bourgeois policy of ostentatious demonstrations, showy parades, Potemkin villages. On the morrow of the blatant protests against war in general, the heterogeneous elements artificially brought together by backstage manipulation will scatter in all directions and will not lift even a little finger against the particular war."

—*War and the Fourth International*

While the "freezers" can't be dignified with the term pacifism, it is certainly the case that they don't lift a little finger against the particular war in El Salvador. Conspicuously absent from the "freeze" protests is any mention of the bloody civil war today raging in El Salvador and the vast amount of U.S. "conventional" military and economic aid pouring in to aid the butcher junta.

This is hardly an accident; the "freezers" consciously seek to dissociate themselves from anything too radical, red or black. The national campaign director for Greenpeace, up to its fins in the "freeze" campaign, put it succinctly:

"A significant issue was trying to attract middle America. I think it's fair to say that if anything significant is going to happen on disarmament, this rally can't be too far left.... I personally would like to see more right-wing and conservative groups involved, since they are also concerned about the arms buildup because it causes deficits."

—*Village Voice*, 20 April

So while thousands of workers and

peasants die at the hands of the sadistic U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador, this "peace" movement has nothing to say.

## Only Workers Revolution Can End Imperialist War

With Reagan and Haig's fingers on the trigger, there's ample reason to fear nuclear war. But, the equally pro-war "freeze" campaign offers nothing except perhaps a ticket to the White House for Kennedy and a more efficient American armed forces. The position of revolutionary socialists regarding this "movement" can only be one of intransigent opposition linked to an effort to intersect anyone genuinely interested in ending imperialist war with the only program capable of that task: workers revolution.

As the history of this century has shown, world imperialism has no rational solution to war, it is endemic to decaying capitalism. (The only kind of capitalist disarmament possible is that taking place right now in the Falklands, as the British and Argentines reduce the size of each other's navies.) We, however, do have a solution, the only one that has ever worked. The carnage of World War I was ended for the toiling masses of Russia by the Bolshevik Revolution. At the same time the winning of the proletariat by the Bolsheviks to the understanding that the main enemy is at home and workers of all countries are class brothers paved the way for the successful revolution. We are for peace and for disarmament—peace which can only be won through class war and the disarming of world imperialism by proletarian revolution.

The SYL's predecessors in the 1930s, the Spartacus Youth Clubs, presented a statement to a Chicago antiwar conference held in December of 1932 which said:

"At this moment, before our very eyes, a war is in making. The antagonism between the capitalists of all nations has become so acute, that only a spark is needed to set off another imperialist war, the bloodiest in the history of man. Before our very eyes preparations are under way for an attempt to destroy the Workers Government of the Soviet Union by bloody capitalist intervention. Should the capitalist plans succeed, the working class will be reduced to an even more wretched position, and society set back for years and decades....

"Pacifism of all shades is impotent in the face of the war problem. The League of Nations, disarmament plans, peace treaties, peace conferences and passive resistance, have not and cannot stop imperialist war. War is an integral part of capitalism and all pacifists are, in the last analysis supporters of the present system. The history of pacifism is a history of opposing war in peace time and a rush to the colors in war time....

"Only one solution exists and this is the Communist solution of world revolution to be achieved by the proletariat."

—*Young Spartacus*,  
January 1933

We are dedicated to the task of forging the revolutionary party capable of leading the U.S. working class against this wretched, violent, oppressive system which promises nothing but economic crisis and nuclear holocaust. Join the SYL! ■



CP shopping for a deal with U.S. imperialism: *Daily World* (28 April) lauds Vancouver "peace" rally. Banner proclaims Reagan's Canadian ally as "Brave Neutral Mediator."

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## March 20 Anti-Nazi Demo a Victory!

# Stop Liberal Witchhunt!

On March 20, some 2,000 militant anti-Nazi protesters drove the fascist "SS Action Group" out of Ann Arbor. In the wake of this successful demonstration, organized by the SL-initiated Committee to Stop the Nazis, the liberals, "left" and the press have directed their fire at us in print, the cops have harassed us with summonses and we have received a number of calls from local businessmen demanding removal of our anti-Nazi posters. What angers all these people is that the anti-fascist demonstration was led by "reds"—now they want a witchhunt. We will not be silenced! We reprint below a leaflet distributed by the Ann Arbor SYL in response to this McCarthyite campaign.

The Ann Arbor Police and the University of Michigan are carrying out a witchhunt against the initiators of the March 20 mobilization to stop the Nazis. In a concerted campaign to harass, intimidate and silence socialists, city cops have been hounding us on the campus and in the downtown area. On March 21, supporters of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) were issued summonses by Ann Arbor cops for distributing literature and discussing the anti-fascist protest with students at Alice Lloyd dormitory. Subsequently an SYL supporter was slapped with a summons for distributing the socialist newspaper *Workers Vanguard* on the Diag. To date, five summonses have been issued. Yes, Virginia, you can get a ticket for talking socialism in the "liberal paradise" of Ann Arbor.

They are trying to gag us because we organized to stop the Nazis. The SL/SYL-initiated Committee to Stop the Nazis insisted that the intended victims of Nazi violence rely on our own united strength to stop them, and place no

reliance on the courts, cops, or politicians to do that for us. Seven union bodies and a number of labor officials responded to our call, and March 20 was a red letter day for Ann Arbor: The exploited, the oppressed, and students were organized in a united fashion and accomplished something—stopping the Nazis. That hasn't happened for a long time and the Mayor and his pals don't like watching it happen now. They particularly don't like the fact that this important demonstration was led by "reds."

In retaliation for March 20, the "democratic" minded honchos in the city government and University Administration are now carrying out cop harassment and legal persecution of socialist activists. It's begun with us, the "reds," but it won't stop with us if allowed to continue. For this reason it is particularly shameful that "so-called" socialists like the Revolutionary Workers League and others, motivated by sectarian hatred of our program and jealous of our success, have issued reams of slander sheets against us.

The liberals have put up quite a hue and cry about civil liberties for race-terrorist Nazis in the aftermath of March 20. The *Daily* and the *Ann Arbor News* bemoan "mob violence" and supposed "manipulation" by radicals. But March 20 was not about preventing civil rights, but stopping murderers before they could kill. The same cops who stood between 2,000 members of the angry Ann Arbor community and the Nazi scum, the same cops who herded the Nazis to safety and worked to protect the Nazis' "rights" are now trampling on the rights of those who organized the anti-Nazi protest.

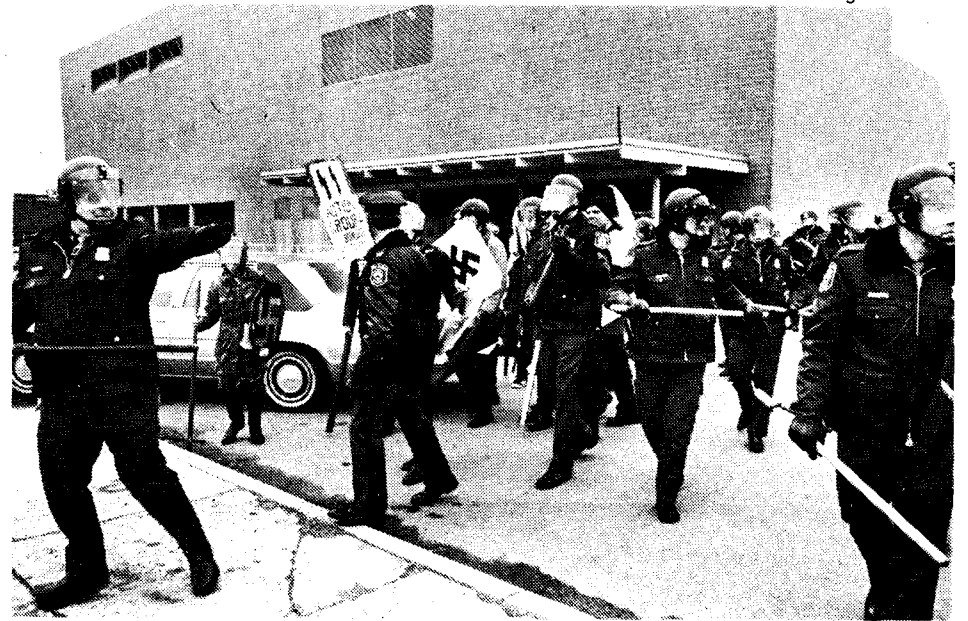
Even according to Ann Arbor city statutes, these summonses are illegal. They certainly violate our elementary

democratic right of free speech. But for the "liberal" city fathers, there are rights and there are rights: They protect the "right" of a motley crew of race terrorists, who try to bring a Greensboro massacre to Ann Arbor. The cops were also out in force protecting the scabs who crossed the picket lines of striking AFSCME workers here in 1977—ever ready to defend the "right" to break strikes. When militant students fought against ROTC, and other symbols of imperialist war during the anti-Vietnam war protests, the cops were there too, arresting demonstrators, and bashing heads.

No doubt the city and university worry that actions like March 20 may well lead to other challenges to the decrepit status quo—the grinding economic misery and unemployment of

masses of Southern Michigan workers, Reagan/Haig's anti-Soviet war lust in Central America, the "rollbacks" on even minimal gains for women, youth, black people, and other minorities. We certainly believe that such a worry is well-founded. We have made it clear that the Nazis must be stopped and not ignored, but there has been such a rush on campus to defend the Nazis that we have tried to initiate a public debate on "Ignore the Nazis" vs. "Stop the Nazis." This would be an important event for the campus and the community although we have found no takers thus far. In any case we intend to vigorously defend our democratic rights to distribute our literature and discuss our ideas. The police harassment, the city/university witchhunt against the SL/SYL supporters must stop! ■

Workers Vanguard Photo



Cops shield Nazis in Ann Arbor, March 20. Next day, cops harassed communists of SL/SYL who organized anti-fascist demo.

## Eyewitness to Betrayal...

(continued from page 3)

sketch describing the sources of the civil war, I also identified the current leader of the FDR, Guillermo Ungo, as an enemy of the working class for having approved of the massacres of workers and students that occurred just days before he entered the military government which ordered them. I also exposed the popular front, pointing out the defeats for the working class it caused in Spain and Chile.

This criticism of the FDR popular front sparked a heated discussion at the next CALA meeting and the definition

of its position regarding El Salvador: No U.S. military or economic aid to the junta and, after much debate, military victory to the leftists (an internal position long since abandoned). They told me it was okay for me to oppose the popular front in internal discussion, but not to do so in public. One member told me, "We shouldn't wash our dirty linen in public."

Just how committed they were to even this limited program was shown a week later when they refused to endorse an SYL-initiated rally called under those same slogans (U.S./OAS Hands Off El Salvador, Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents). Their dislike for the SYL kept them from joining a united front to oppose U.S. policy in El Salvador. I could see no reason for not endorsing the rally, and did so as a member of CALA. The rally, held on February 4, attracted some 350-400 students. The fact that I participated in the rally led to my summary expulsion from CALA at a meeting held while I was out of town. Evidently Trotskyist politics for those liberal reformists is a dangerous disease which must be stamped out without debate.

It became obvious to me that CALA (and similar pseudo left groups) were not interested in revolutionary social change, but rather in cheerleading popular front coalitions that preserve the status quo at the workers' expense. They reject the call for military victory to the leftists, as it is counterposed to their wholehearted support of the FDR and its efforts to preserve capitalism in El Salvador along with capitalism's

bloody defenders, the military. To anyone who has been to El Salvador, it is clear there will not be change for the workers and peasants until the institution responsible for 50 years of repressive rule is destroyed root and branch. It is equally clear that the exploitation of Salvadoran workers will not end until capitalism is overthrown, that is, until the 14 families and their allies are expropriated. Any solution to the civil war in that country short of these objectives only prepares the way for capitalist counterrevolution and a second *Matanza* (massacre) of the working class in El Salvador.

It became apparent to me that the only group with a serious program for change in El Salvador is the Spartacist League. Since then I've been a close

sympathizer of the SL and have had the opportunity to campaign with the SL for military victory to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador. Those campaigns introduced me to committed, enthusiastic comrades across the U.S. who are working to build the party that fights for the interests of workers from El Salvador to Detroit, Afghanistan to Poland. After a long time on the fence unable to decide about membership, I have decided that I must join those dedicated people who are actively trying to change the world, armed with the formidable analysis and program of Trotsky.

I hereby apply for membership in the Spartacist League, in full agreement with its program, and agreeing to abide by its discipline.

Tom J.

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# Young Spartacus

## El Salvador: "AIFLD, Labor Front for the Bourgeoisie"

### SYL Protests Pro-Junta Rightists at Harvard

When the Harvard University Conservative Club announced they would offer "Another Perspective" on the Salvadoran civil war, the Spartacus Youth League figured that this would be a "perspective" that needed to be vigorously protested. So on April 19, while a panel of ultraright-wing junta apologists and CIA operatives actively promoting counterrevolution in El Salvador assembled inside Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, 30 demonstrators energetically picketed outside with chants of "Leftist rebels must win the war, the line is drawn in El Salvador!"

The panel which the SYL-organized picket protested would have been more aptly titled, "Long Live Death." There was a representative of Social Democrats, USA, a rabidly anti-communist organization which attacked even Nixon for being soft on Russia; and there was a spokesman for the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a well-known CIA "labor" front in Latin America and the U.S. proponent of the junta's murderous land reform program known as "reform by death." Also appearing on the platform—perhaps for a touch of "authenticity"—was one Francisco



Zaldena, a trade-union hoaxer who heads a pro-junta union and is affiliated with the ICFTU and ORIT, identified by former CIA operative Philip Agee as the principal mechanisms for CIA labor operations in Latin America.

Not unexpectedly, most of the campus "progressives" of the Committee on Central America (COCA) decided that they were going to participate

in this very dirty soiree by "asking hard questions" of the panelists. We can't help but wonder what kind of "hard" questions would be asked by COCA, a group which is too squeamish even to use the word "imperialism" in its propaganda! The "labor" front men for Reagan and the Salvadoran junta invited by the Conservative Club are the front-line organizers of bloody counter-

revolution. They speak not in the interests of the Salvadoran workers and peasants, but on behalf of their executioners. There is *nothing* to debate with these proponents of mass murder!

To his credit, the president of the Harvard South Africa Solidarity Committee (SASC) canceled a SASC meeting so that he could participate in the protest. And a member of COCA (who had originally planned on attending the SASC meeting) also joined the picket line, but when offered the bullhorn, spent most of his speaking time distancing himself from the SYL while calling for "unity of the left." He noted that if CIA spokesmen had appeared on campus ten years ago, they "would have been chased away by a group considerably larger than the Harvard Spartacus Youth League."

In fact, during similar protests ten years ago, the Spartacus Youth League was then, as it is now, in the forefront of protesting U.S. imperialism's war criminals and murderers. It is the rest of the left (not to mention the liberal "progressives") who have shifted steadily to the right. So at Harvard, in the past year alone, it's not surprising that only the Spartacus Youth League has exposed in its press the dirty linen in Harvard's past and present; has mobilized students to march in Washington, D.C. for military victory to Salvadoran leftists; and has organized a protest against the presence of Marine recruiters on campus. Unlike the rest of the left and the "progressives" at Harvard, we know which side we're on and we're not afraid to say it. As the SYL spokesman at the April 19 protest explained:

"The working people of El Salvador know that 'AFL-CIA' unionism equals bloody capitalist/landlord repression and junta rule. It is in solidarity with our class brothers in Central America that we picket these CIA stooges tonight. No to the 'democracy' and 'free trade unionism' of CIA assassins, Reaganite strikebreakers and death squad apologists! To avenge the blood of El Salvador, leftist rebels must win the war! No sellout! Break the popular front! Forward to military victory! Workers take San Salvador!" ■

## SYL Protests Reagan's INS Raids

Chants of "Defend Haitian Workers, Down with the INS!" rang through New York's Federal Plaza on April 30, as 25 protesters demonstrated against the unprecedented roundup of foreign-born workers by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). One thousand were seized nationwide on the first day of this week-long government dragnet, supposedly designed to "recapture high-paying jobs for unemployed American citizens." But in reality, this is a racist campaign of terror which tries to scapegoat undocumented workers for the skyrocketing unemployment resulting from Reagan's economic policies, a war against the working class, minorities and the poor.

The New York demonstration was the third organized by the Spartacist League/SYL nationally, previous protests having taken place in Los Angeles and San Francisco. Later, the Spartacist-organized demonstrators marched to Foley Square to join a smaller group protesting the INS raids. A handful of Communist Workers Party, Revolutionary Socialist League and Friends of Haiti members were present, as well as unaffiliated individuals, some of whom joined in our chants against Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. Stop the INS Raids! No Deportations!

New York City, 30 April 1982—  
SL/SYL demonstration protests INS raids. Reagan scapegoats "foreign" workers for capitalist unemployment.

