

Young Spartacus

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Milner/Syigma



Zionist Blitzkrieg rolls through Lebanon.

Gilles Peress/Magnum



Marines in Beirut. Smash Pax Americana from Lebanon to El Salvador!

Imperialists, Israeli Butchers: Get Out!

When Israel launched its genocidal invasion of Lebanon on June 6, Menachem Begin claimed he wanted only to clear Palestinian guerrillas from the 25-mile region along Israel's northern border. Eleven weeks later, west Beirut lay in ruins, the head of the fascist Phalange was installed as Lebanon's president and U.S., French and Italian troops were supervising the "withdrawal" of the PLO. It is the elementary duty of every opponent of the imperialist subjugation of the Near East and the subjugation of the Palestinians by the Zionists and their Phalangist allies to demand: Defend the Palestinians—Imperialist/Israeli Troops Out of Lebanon!

For two weeks, 7,000 Palestinian fighters trapped in west Beirut held off Israeli tanks with small arms and rocket-propelled grenades. Armed to the teeth by U.S. imperialism—\$1.5 billion worth this year alone—the Israelis carried out the siege of west Beirut in ways only describable in terms of the Nazi holocaust. Infants burned alive by phosphorus shells; whole apartment buildings pulverized by 2,000-pound bombs; total cutoff of food, water and electricity; canvas stretchers covered with blood and flies.

"From 20,000 feet, the terrified people of the city must have looked like fleas to the Israeli pilots as they rushed frantically to escape destruction" (*Newsweek*, 23 August). To the Zionists, they were fleas—every Palestinian is a terrorist to be exterminated like an insect. And terrorism is something Begin knows a lot about. In 1948 he was

a leader in the Zionist Irgun, which massacred 240 Arab civilians at Deir Yassin; today he's a terrorist with state power.

Down with Near East Pax Americana!

In deference to U.S. public opinion (60 percent "disapproved" of the Israeli invasion according to the Gallup poll), Reagan had himself photographed frowning at Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir. Admittedly, there are tensions between U.S. imperialism's global interests and the Zionists' territorial appetites—Reagan still dreams of an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" stretching from Riyadh to Tel Aviv and it's hard to see the Saudi sheiks joining up while Begin's troops occupy Jerusalem.

But Reagan could hardly contain his

glee as 800 U.S. marines—part of a multi-national force of 2,000 American, French and Italian troops—arrived in Lebanon to disperse the PLO to eight Arab countries. "We all owe him a debt of gratitude," said Reagan in reference to his "special envoy" Philip Habib, who negotiated the PLO's surrender. Israeli "Defense" Minister Sharon was more blunt, citing "the reduction of much of the Soviet Union's influence in the region"—U.S. imperialism's harvest from the Zionist genocide.

Imperialist Troops Out!

In the end, all the PLO got was to be spared the humiliation of being herded out of Beirut with Zionist bayonets at their backs. It's eloquent testimony to the bankruptcy of the PLO leadership's political perspectives that their "saviors" were none other than the U.S. and

France—the Zionists' quartermaster and Lebanon's former colonial master. The last time the Marines were in Lebanon was in 1958 when they were invited by Christian president Chamoun to put down a rebellion by Lebanese Moslems against the "confessional" system. This scheme, which gives disproportionate weight in the government to the Maronite Christian minority, was established by France in 1943. And the French troops who have come to Lebanon at the request of the PLO are none other than the infamous mercenaries of the French Foreign Legion, whose bloody history of suppressing social revolution and colonial rebellion extends from Vietnam in the '40s and '50s, to Algeria in the '60s to Zaire in 1978. Of course, the "peace-keeping" role of the U.S. Marines is well known throughout the colonial world.

That U.S. and French imperialism are seen by the PLO leadership as allies shows the dead end to which Arafat has come. The goal of the PLO has been to establish a bourgeois Palestinian state and for years they have looked to the UN and Arab League diplomacy to get it. Having no perspective of proletarian revolution, and having been militarily crushed by the Zionists and abandoned by their Arab "friends," the PLO now begs the imperialist powers. Ironically, the PLO today seeks the creation of its nation state in the very same manner in which Israel was formed—by imperialist sponsorship.

But this is 1982 and Reagan isn't about to help out the PLO at the

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Defend the Gains of the Russian Revolution! See Page 6

Jail Richard Moss!

Protest Racist "Justice" in SF!

In an outrageous verdict, an all-white jury acquitted a white man, Richard Moss, on aggravated assault charges stemming from his stabbing black San Francisco State University (SFSU) student Doris Collum. On February 26, Moss, an SFSU graduate student and employee, plunged a 4-inch hunting knife into Collum's left breast because she was *smoking* in an elevator! Though he was portrayed by the campus and bourgeois press as a militant non-smoker gone berserk, the attack was clearly racist. Moss had been known to harass blacks in the cafeteria for smoking, but not whites in the office where he worked. (See "Eco-Racist Stabs Black at SF State," *Young Spartacus*, No. 99, April 1982.) This racist decision must be protested by all students, faculty and campus workers.

This is "justice" in Reagan's America. Reagan's election gave the green light to every racist in the U.S. from the cops to the courts to the Klan. It's a telling fact that Moss had been charged only with assault with a deadly weapon instead of attempted murder—a charge that black students were quick to point out would be brought against any black if the situation were reversed. If Richard Moss had been a black man stabbing a white woman, he would have been lucky to make it to trial. One need only look at the case of black Long Beach State student Ron Settles who was arrested for allegedly speeding and murdered in his jail cell by the racist cops. And the trial of Richard Moss was conveniently postponed until June, when classes were out and the possibility of militant student protest would be virtually eliminated.



Paul Miller

S.F. State, March 5: 200 angry students protest racist stabbing of Doris Collum. Eco-racist Moss was freed by all-white jury in June.

Moss' attack represents the intersection of Reagan racism with the eco-faddist lifestylism which runs rampant in the Bay Area. Only in "ecologically conscious" California do racists justify their actions on the basis of "clear air." And it's no coincidence that their victims are black. The eco-faddists and liberal moralists' cries of no smoking, no pornography, no guns, no cars, no meat—no anything except granola and baby seals!—share with fascism the ideology of "back to nature" primitivism and a desire for "social cleansing." Here, these sections of the despairing petty bourgeoisie are on a trajectory which could take them from "pure food" and "pure air" to "pure race."

The liberal do-gooders want their ideas enforced. Spearheaded by viciously anti-labor Democratic mayor Diane

Feinstein, gun control laws have been rammed through in both San Francisco and Berkeley. The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) stands for the democratic right of armed self-defense and we are opposed to the liberals' gun "control" which leaves weapons solely in the hands of the cops, ex-cops (like the killer of gay San Francisco supervisor Harvey Milk) and the fascists. The Doris Collum and all blacks and workers must organize to defend themselves against the racists and anti-labor terrorists—the cops, the Klan and company thugs.

Pan Africanists Sell Out Black Struggle

The SFSU administration initially tried to let Moss off with a two-week

paid leave. This wrist-slapping gesture was a racist insult and several hundred students, primarily mobilized by the Pan Africanists, marched to the administration building on March 5. The SYL participated in the demonstration, demanding that Moss be jailed immediately. But the Pan Africanists opposed this, limiting their demands to the firing and expulsion of Moss. Unable to politically counter the SYL's strategy of labor/black mobilizations to smash racist attacks, the Pan Africanists sent goons to force us to take down our placards and tried to seal off black students from contact with the SYL. The wretchedly sectarian Pan Africanists seek to keep blacks isolated—a sure recipe for defeat and one which can only feed the racial polarization at SFSU.

After the protest, the university backed down partially. Moss was fired from his part-time job and was suspended as a student. This was enough for the Pan Africanists—they dropped the Collum case like a hot potato. They chose instead to seek "dialogues" with the racist SFSU administration over budget cuts in ethnic studies programs.

The Pan Africanists' latest front group, the United People of Color for National Liberation (UPCNL), staged a rally in Sacramento on May 12 to protest the budget cuts/fee hikes. The UPCNL leaders did their best to quash any student militancy and despite the fact that Moss was then free on bail they made no mention of the Collum stabbing. Instead, the "protest" was turned into a pep-rally for the Democratic Party. To keep the stage "safe" for the capitalist politicians the UPCNL

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SYL vs. Harvard...Again

Better Red Than Crimson!

The "Harvard gentlemen" were at it again this summer in their crusade to run the reds off campus. But once again, their attempt to "get" the Spartacus Youth League was spiked, as we were finally able to force the administration to restore the Friends of the SYL club as a "duly recognized student organization."

The tools used by the administration in its campaign of assaults on our rights included the Harvard cops, who consistently harassed SYL leafleters with overtly political provocations and threats of arrest, and the Harvard *Summer Times*, the voice of the administration which ran a couple of slanderous, slimy articles against our organization. And rather than being harassed by the widely-despised "regular" Dean of Students, Archie Epps, we instead found ourselves going up against the "Sons of Epps," the special Summer School term administration of deans-in-training which included Harvard Divinity School student E. John Powell and Fred Yalouris, a character who got off on telling SYL supporters that he too was a "socialist."

The theme of the *Summer Times* articles is particularly sinister: "free speech" for race-hate terrorist Nazis must be defended, but communism is an "evil" which cannot be tolerated, particularly at a "private institution." That the Harvard cub reporters would defend racist thugs—and not those who fight against such filth—indicates that the Crimson lads are following in the footsteps of their fathers. A recent poll revealed that *forty-six percent* of the Harvard class of '57 believe that whites



Young Spartacus Photo

SYL at protest against racist Klitgaard report, which advocated black students attend "lesser" institutions.

are intellectually superior to blacks (Boston *Bay State Banner*, 17 June)! And Harvard's president Derek Bok, not to be outdone, issued a report urging that federal tuition aid be restricted to those students with the highest college board scores. As *Boston Globe* columnist Mike Barnicle put it (26 April), Bok wants to "give these blond, blue-eyed overachievers what little government money is left.... He packaged a lot of sentences with the ring of the goosestep about them." This racist Ivy League arrogance is truly revolting, and leads the "Hahvahd men" to go after anyone

they find "objectionable"—with blacks, the poor and socialists at the top of their list. (For more on Harvard University's sordid past and present, see "Strange Things Under Harvard's Rocks" in *Young Spartacus* No. 97, February 1982).

We print below our response to the *Summer Times*, which appeared in its final 1982 issue and which was also widely distributed on the campus as a leaflet.

* * * * *

We are compelled to respond to your sensationalist, false and nasty "news" story "Spartacists Invade Campus" (*Summer Times*, 1-7 July) and "opinion" piece "How Much Free Speech Is Too Much?" (*Summer Times*, 8-14 July).

In these two articles, the *Summer Times* has smeared a Marxist youth organization, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) as a gang of would-be dictators, enemies of freedom out to corrupt "impressionable" Summer School students. We doubt that this rabid McCarthyite "journalism" flows from the fevered brains of *Summer Times* reporters who fell victim to fluoridated water. Rather, your articles are the deliberate justification for, and adjunct to, Harvard's campaign of harassment of the SYL. We note with necessary interest that the *Summer Times* is published and paid for by the Summer School—including the salaries of your editors. Last year the SYL exposed you in your scheme of planting an incognito *Summer Times* reporter replete with a false name to spy on SYL events and write a violence-baiting smear job that didn't stick. This year you've exposed yourselves.

In your articles, the *Summer Times* has upheld the right of Hitler-loving Nazis to terrorize the Jewish community of Holocaust survivors in Skokie. This you praise as a fine example of democracy and freedom of speech in the United States. The *Summer Times* fails to appreciate the critical difference between views and deeds: fascists "speak" with cross burnings, carbines, bombs, and ultimately, gas chambers. They are not a debating society but action organizations of race-hate terrorists whose list for smashing and mass killing includes blacks, unionists, gays, Jews, and socialists.

But the minorities and leftists Harvard finds so "distasteful" are not

the only ones on the fascists' hit list. Even *Summer Times* reporters could find their promotion of "democratic rights" for Nazis end abruptly under a fascist club in a concentration camp. The battle cry of the Spanish phalange "Down with Intelligence! Long Live Death!" indicates the full range of fascist targets including the "effete" Eastern establishment, religious dissidents, intellectuals and their books. In short, Harvard kiddies, if you like *Penthouse*, get your girlfriend an abortion and don't think God created the world in seven days, you don't have to be a black militant to be beaten to death by Nazi thugs.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League have taken the lead in mobilizing all intended victims of Nazi/Klan terror behind the power of the labor movement to sweep the fascists off the streets. On June 27 over 3,000 people turned out in Chicago in response to the Spartacist-initiated call to stop the Nazis. The Nazis had targeted Chicago's Gay Pride rally for a "death to queers" provocation. But from the steel mills of East Chicago and the gay community of New Town to the Jewish suburb of Evanston and, most importantly, the giant black and Latin South Side ghetto, came thousands who rallied to *stop the Nazis and defend themselves!*

The *Summer Times* has taken a stand on behalf of the fascist race terrorists. But then, Harvard's own record on racial equality stinks. We recall the attempt by Special Assistant to President Bok, Robert Klitgaard, to bleach the already lily-white Harvard by arguing that blacks are "academically inferior" and should attend "lesser" institutions, leaving "Hahvahd" to the "master race."

The attempts by the Harvard administration and its mouthpiece the *Summer Times* to purge the SYL is a small part of what is going on in the country as a whole. Democrats and Republicans alike are gearing up for war, and in their struggle to preserve capitalist tyranny from junta terror in El Salvador to depression in Detroit, the imperialist warmakers want to destroy the USSR—the military and industrial powerhouse for every state that has overthrown capitalism.

Ludicrously, the *Summer Times* paints the Trotskyist SYL as Soviet-inspired outlaws. Yes, we unconditionally defend the Soviet Union from imperialist attack. We are for a political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureau-

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parade

—February 14, 1982



Putzi Hanfstaengl (c) at Harvard, where he heard tune that turned Hitler on

From Harvard Fight Song To Nazi March

The Nazi marching song with the refrain "Sieg Heil, Sieg Heil, Sieg Heil" was adapted by Ernst Hanfstaengl from a Harvard football fighting song. A German with an American mother, Hanfstaengl was a 1909 Harvard grad.

Impressed with the climactic "orgasm of words" in a speech by Adolf Hitler in a Bavarian beer hall in 1922, Hanfstaengl befriended the dictator-to-be, then relatively unknown. Tall, with a prominent jaw, Hanfstaengl (nicknamed Putzi, for "little one") played the piano with enthusiasm. While he banged away on an upright, Hitler would whistle along and march up and down, waving his arms like a band conductor.

Putzi once played some Harvard fight songs for his friend, explaining how they were shouted in unison to whip up the passions of the Harvard side: Hitler said, "That is what we need for the movement, marvelous." So Putzi turned one of the songs into the Nazi march that was played by the brown-shirts on the day Hitler gained power in Germany. "Rah, rah, rah" was changed to "Sieg Heil." Hanfstaengl also wrote other Nazi marches.

Disillusioned by the Hitler regime, Hanfstaengl later came to Washington, D.C., where he was informally interned and spent most of World War II as an adviser on German affairs.

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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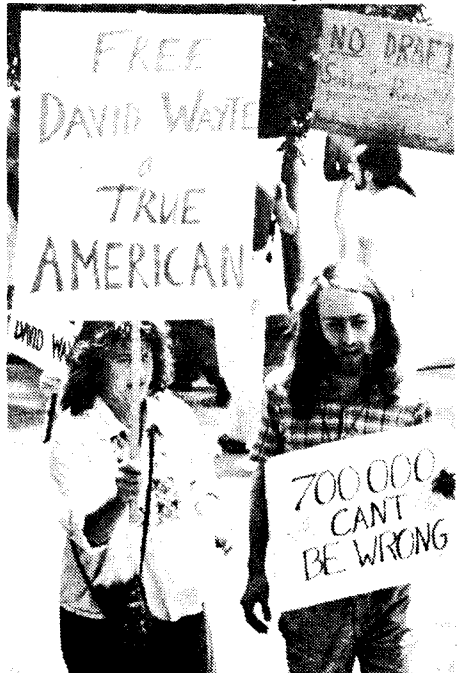
Drop Charges Against Non-Registrants! Free Sasway!

No to the Anti-Soviet Draft!

Ben Sasway—a patriotic, white, middle-class college student at Humboldt State University in California—is a political prisoner in Reagan's America, and no doubt much to his surprise, a victim of the anti-Soviet war drive. On August 26, a federal jury in San Diego convicted Sasway of failure to register for the draft. The judge set sentencing for October 4 and ordered Sasway held *without bail* on the grounds that he might flee to Canada! "He is aware that many of our people have gone to Canada," said the judge. "He has said he wouldn't but the statement indicated he knows about it" (*New York Times*, 27 August)! "I think this trial has served its purpose," commented "his honor" snidely (*Daily News*, 27 August). The purpose of this outrageous legal persecution is to coerce youth into lining up behind U.S. imperialism's mad push for war with the USSR. Sasway assured the *Los Angeles Times* (15 July) that "when the Russians sail into San Diego harbor, I'll be there, dammit, I'll be there." Like most of the other 700,000 non-registrants (out of 8.5 million eligible), he just doesn't want to die in El Salvador. But this is not the point. The U.S. government has to keep its options open, and one of these is the draft. As defenders of the Soviet Union and partisans of the *defeat* of U.S. imperialism in El Salvador and around the world, we say: Free Ben Sasway now! Drop the charges against Sasway, Enten Eller, David Wayte and all non-registrants! Not a man nor a penny for the imperialist war machine!

So far, the "Justice" Department has about 160 names on its hit list, obtained from "kids boasting that they had not registered and people snitching on them" (*Los Angeles Times*, 27 February). To whip eligible youth into line, the Social Security lists are being cross-checked and proposals have been floated to use IRS records, drivers license rosters and the cutoff of Federal student loans to non-registrants. Naturally, the far right has not been remiss in rallying to the flag. Former John Bircher and California State Senator John Schmitz (who once suggested a military coup might be necessary to prevent a Russian takeover of the U.S. if Reagan's economic program fails) wants lists of students to be supplied to military recruiters. And the sinister Harvard *Salient* newspaper has offered "to send the names of non-registrants to the Selective Service in order to speed their martyrdom."

Young Spartacus Photo



Indictee David Wayte, right. Social patriots get a lesson in "true" America.



SL/SYL contingent at 20 March 1980 demo in Washington, D.C. to protest Carter's introduction of draft registration.

While the draft resistance movement of the 1960s had a strong pacifist and "I'm gonna save my middle-class ass" component, it coincided with a very subjectively anti-imperialist revolt of American youth. Tens of thousands of youth knew that Vietnam was (all too inadequately) armed by the USSR but favored the defeat of U.S. imperialism anyway. In today's climate of resurgent Cold War, things are much different. Non-registrant indictee David Wayte is described as a pacifist and anarchist (*Resistance News*, June 1982); convicted resister Enten Eller said he was "obeying God." Sasway is opposed to "dying in some bloody third-world jungle" (read: El Salvador) but his essential patriotism is very clear: "If the Government ever gets itself into a just war, I would support it" (*New York Times Magazine*, 22 August). Undoubtedly, to Sasway World War II was a "just" war against fascism. We've got some news for him: the U.S. bourgeoisie spent millions to fight that war not for "freedom and democracy" but to redivide the world. Germany and Japan were liquidated as effective competitors and for about a quarter century American domination of Europe and the Pacific was unchallenged.

Black Man's Burden?

We don't have much sympathy for middle-class students who oppose the draft out of a desire to save their souls (or their asses), lead "interesting lives," or choose between imperialist adventures. Individual draft resistance has never been an option for tens of thousands of poor and working-class youth. In the event of real conscription—not now the case—militants would go into the army and educate the mass of working-class draftees about imperialist war and the class interests it serves. We do not hide behind student deferments or other class privileges, but stand with the working class, which does not have ready access to such advantages. In fact, exposure to the disciplined environment of the military might do a lot of middle-class white kids some good, acquainting them with the real world.

The reformist fake-lefts who support individual draft resistance give objective support to the race and class privilege on which this impotent "strategy" is based. To them, defending U.S. imperialism is "the black man's burden." With no chance for a job, ghetto youth join the army not out of patriotic fervor but because the military offers their only hope for acquiring some skills and getting three meals a day. The present

"volunteer" army, with black representation far in excess of the black proportion of the population, has the liberal think-tankers (and the generals) plenty worried. A Brookings Institution study shed crocodile tears about the high black casualties in Vietnam as well as those expected in any European war. In reality, they're afraid that a disproportionately black army would be unreliable.

They've got a point—why should any black want to fight for racist American capitalism? During the Vietnam War, Muhammad Ali summed up the feelings of millions of blacks when he said, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger." Now we have a president whose program was endorsed by the Klan and who has written off the ghetto hellholes and their impoverished inhabitants. The bourgeoisie rightly fears that if this army were sent to Soweto or Watts, a good chunk could go over to the other side.

From the Democrats Who Brought You Vietnam...

Not surprisingly, Sasway (like the reformist left) looks to "certain liberal politicians," like Democrat Tom Hayden (Mr. Jane Fonda). Once an "anti-war activist," Hayden is now an enthusiastic backer of Israel in its genocidal war in Lebanon. And it was Hayden's Democratic Party forebears, Kennedy and Johnson, who were the primary architects of the dirty imperialist war against the Vietnamese people; Hayden's Democratic forebear Truman who barbarically incinerated the populations of Nagasaki and Hiroshima—the opening shot of Cold War I.

It was Democrat Carter who introduced draft registration and it was passed by a Democratic-controlled Congress two years ago. Especially following the Red Army's intervention—hailed by the SYL—against reactionary Islamic insurgents in Afghanistan, "human rights" became the codeword for girding U.S. imperialism's armored loins for war with the USSR. Reagan initially opposed registration, believing that his anti-Soviet World War III could be fought with MX missiles and Trident subs without requiring mass conscription. The "liberal" Democrats, supporters of the "peace freeze" campaign, seek to augment Reagan's fantasies of "limited nuclear war" in Europe with a buildup of conventional forces. From Kennedy to McNamara to McGeorge Bundy, the Democrats who authored the mass-murder in Vietnam are clamoring for a policy which necessitates a draft—to supplement Reagan's Pershing missiles

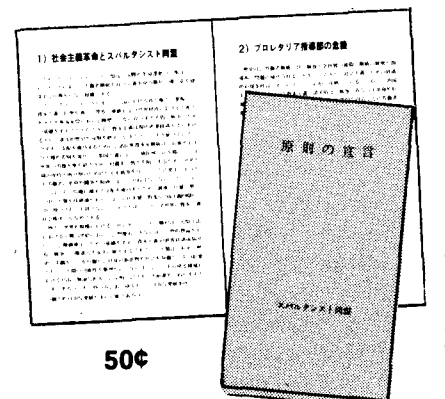
with tanks and cannon fodder. Despite their tactical differences, the main objective of both capitalist parties is to smash the Soviet Union and to restore capitalism in all the countries where it has been abolished.

The bourgeoisie has never forgiven the Bolsheviks for 1917. The draft is part of the militarization of society in preparation for an anti-Soviet war to overthrow the gains of that revolution which still remain despite Stalinist degeneration. Defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism is the cornerstone of opposition to capitalist militarism. The USSR is the ultimate target of the war drive of which the draft is one component. And it's only the SYL which says this simple truth.

Driven to the right under the pressures of Reagan reaction, the so-called left either openly or covertly capitulates to anti-Sovietism. Having no intention of fighting capitalist militarism by mobilizing the working class to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution, the reformists capitulate to individual draft resistance because it's the only thing happening. The reformist Socialist Workers Party's misnamed *Militant* (30 July) carefully disappears Sasway's open patriotism, reporting *only* his opposition to "interventionist" wars. The "official" anti-draft groups, dominated by liberals and social democrats, meekly whimper about "excessive" military spending and at best will end up providing voting cattle for the anti-Soviet Democrats. Most disgusting is the Progressive Labor Party (PL) which, admittedly, does *not* support draft resistance. That's because PL advocates *volunteering* for the army and National Guard in order to make them "anti-racist"! In the absence of mass conscription, PL's call is akin to telling people to become world cops, and it gives direct support to Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. It is also no accident in this respect that PL considers the Soviet Union a "fascist" state.

Revolutionary opposition to imperialist militarism necessitates defense of the USSR and a fight against this whole decaying capitalist system. There's no future under capitalism for youth, workers and blacks except war. The revolutionary tasks of defending the Soviet Union, fighting for black liberation and for socialism are intertwined in the U.S. and it is only the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League that has the program and the will to carry these struggles to the victory of the proletarian revolution. ■

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More on the Rotting Corpse of Social Democracy

YSp Reporter at DSA Youth Confab

"I'm gonna lay down *Das Kapital*, and work for Kennedy,
Will seek hegemony, Collaborate with the bourgeoisie.
I'm gonna lay down *Das Kapital*, and work for Kennedy,
I'm gonna study Marx no more."
—to the tune of "Study War No More"

A parody of Michael Harrington's youth group by the *Young Spartacus* staff late on production night? No—this gem is by "Bill Engeler and the Youth Conference Mailers" of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) youth section and is published in their "Songs for Socialists" booklet. "Study Marx No More" was sung at the closing of the plenary session of the Seventh Annual DSA Youth Conference in Athens, Ohio August 19-22.

Another favorite was sung to the tune of "We Shall Not be Moved," with the following verses:

"Harrington is our demagogue; we shall not be moved,
Wimpy is our bureaucrat; we shall not be moved,
We're State Department Socialists; we shall not be moved..."

This cynical little rhyme was concocted for the express benefit of the *Young Spartacus* reporter unlucky enough to pull the DSA assignment, comrade Ann Weekley from Detroit. Weekley was personally invited to attend the conference by Wayne State DSA buffoon and *enfant terrible* Bob Fitrakis. (Readers of *YSp* will recall that comrade Ann smashed Fitrakis at an SYL/DSOC debate at Wayne State last November ["SYL Slams Anti-Communist DSOC," *YSp* No. 96, December 1981/January 1982].)

If ever there was an example of the cynicism and social rot produced by the virulent anti-Sovietism and anti-communism of the social democrats, the DSA is it. Wedded to decaying capitalism—"the left wing of the possible"—and committed to work within the racist, strikebreaking, warmongering Democratic Party, the DSA youth cannot begin to formulate any strategy to defeat the anti-Soviet war drive, the rise of the KKK and Nazis, the Cold War austerity offensive against U.S. workers. Perhaps a faint awareness of this provoked the unusual sensitivity to the presence of a *YSp* reporter and the self-mocking "jokes" and songs.

Unfortunately, not all of our comrade's report is printable, but a lot of it is and quite instructive as to what the junior league of "CIA socialism" is

up to these days. For starters, the conference of at most 50 DSA youth was overwhelmingly lily white; not a black student or youth attended. The general character of the gathering resembled an Ivy League fraternity rush as much as a "socialist" youth gathering. Except fraternities probably have better booze and music; writes comrade Ann: "Generic beer (and they hate state stores and the USSR!), bad wine, bad record player." Among the attendees was at least one open proponent of Zionist genocide in Lebanon—Gabe Peterson who opined that Israel was carrying out a fairly "civilized" war. (Peterson subsequently lost a bid as DSA Youth chair to Harvard student Guy Molyneux, "friend" of the notorious Harvard Dean Archie Epps.) As for advanced consciousness on the woman question, the DSA stinks as well. Our comrade was subjected to a humiliating scene by one DSAer from Yale: "[He] picked me up and started swinging me around. I said, 'Put me down, you fool, unless you're looking for trouble,' and he did—rather dramatically. I was pissed and they were embarrassed. Penny Schantz [DSA national youth organizer] apologized for him; Fitrakis was disgusted; the I.S. [International Socialists] woman was real pissed and the Yalie went home."

DSA and the "White Man's Burden"

Much hand-wringing about DSA's failure to recruit black youth, accompanied by repulsive patronizing advice on "how to talk to minorities" permeated the conference. Small wonder these "responsible" foot soldiers for the party of Klansman Tom Metzger and "ethnic purity" Jimmy Carter are an unappetizing group for blacks. Their delegation from Chapel Hill, North Carolina distinguished itself recently by campaigning for a candidate in the local *sheriff's* election and suggested that "you have to appeal to people on their level, like voting."

Disgruntlement, combined with organizational tensions from the year-old unification between Harrington's former DSOC (Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee) and the New-Leftover NAM (New American Movement), is particularly manifest in the Detroit branch. The reason is obvious: committed to working as waterboys for the racist, pro-capitalist UAW bureaucracy of Doug "Giveback" Fraser, DSA should be rightly despised by the predominately black, militant proletariat of the Motor City. DSA spokesman Jim Weinstein stated at Saturday's plenary session, entitled "Socialists in Electoral Politics," that it will probably be four to five *hundred* years before we see socialism. This at a time when advanced sections of the Detroit working class undoubtedly see workers revolution as a much more realizable goal than reform of the treacherous bureaucracy residing in Solidarity House! Fitrakis complained that the SL/SYL and Progressive Labor (PL) have significant numbers of black members in Detroit and that "everyone's a progressive" already. "We've won the city of Detroit 20 times over on resolutions [to the City Council] and GM still kicks the shit out of us."

An example of the brisk internal debates within DSA: which Democratic Party pol to support in the August primary for Michigan governor polarized the Detroit branch, largely along old DSOC-NAM lines. Ex-Nammie

Jay Lovestone's Bastard Grandchildren



Young Spartacus Photo

Fitrakis & Co. wanted to go with "left" talking ultra-protectionist Zoltan Ferency. But the UAW tops opposed Ferency and supported Lee Iacocca's candidate James Blanchard. So, the old DSOC UAW bureaucrats and their sidekicks—like Solidarity House groupie/DSA leader Vicki Hugley—followed suit and opposed Ferency.

The workshop on "Labor Support Work" kicked off with a distribution of red, white and blue bumper stickers reading: "Help Your Neighbor—Buy American." A few gripes from the audience were answered with: "Well, they're colorful." Naturally, no discussion was had on such subjects as the gross betrayal of DSAer Winpisinger, head of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), who stabbed the PATCO workers in the back by criminal refusal to take out the powerful IAM in solidarity. In the face of Reagan's vicious union-busting, DSA's slogan can be concisely summarized as "lay down and die."

"I think people should walk a picket line once a month, it's good for the soul," Schantz explained, adding that it's always a good idea to bring cookies to the line. Furthermore, the DSA youth—who are being groomed to work in the plush international offices of the labor bureaucracy—were warned that upon encountering "real" workers they "will be treated like an uppity college kid who's never worked a day in your life." Women have a special problem since "they [workers] resent college-educated women and assume you're there to sleep with them." The DSA's Archie Bunker stereotype of workers is fully reflected within the organization itself and the labor traitors to whom they pander.

DSA's "Even-Handed" Zionism

Any socialist organization worthy of the name would take swift action indeed if among its ranks emerged a supporter of Begin's genocide in Lebanon, a position equivalent to support to U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. But, Harrington and Golda Meir were "comrades" in the Second International and indeed, Harrington was "all the way with LBJ" as the terror bombing of Vietnam raged. The former NAM cheerleaders for every third world nationalist, including Arafat's PLO, may have winced at the DSA's stated position:

"We especially concur with MAPAM's

stress that the 'massive bombardment with no consideration for concentrations of the civilian population *harms the moral image of Israel and damages her political and security interests.*' "We condemn *both* the massive bombing of civilian population centers in Lebanon by the Israeli forces *and the continual reckless use of the civilian population as shelter by the Palestinian combatants.... At this time we support a moratorium on further military aid to Israel until it withdraws from Lebanon.*" ("DSA on the Conflict in Lebanon," *Democratic Left*, June 1982 [emphasis ours])

"How to Deal with Sectarians"

Particularly DSA members from Madison, Oberlin and Detroit were concerned with "how to deal" with the SYL, or anyone to their left. To this end, an elaborate manual is available with precise advice on being an effective State Department "socialist." Harrington does not therein recount the techniques he employed against a leftward moving SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) in the early '60s—i.e., locking them out of their office, firing duly elected officers and so forth, nor does the manual include the social democracy's tested ability to finger reds to the FBI as DSA's Socialist Party forebears did during the last Cold War. However, the essential flavor comes through. The "Organizing Manual" outlines how to spot commies (in this case, Communist Party members) in the "peace movement":

"An argument may go something like this: 'Well, we're all in agreement that the U.S. is to blame, but we don't *all* agree that the Soviet Union is a problem, so why don't we just stick to the point we *all* agree on?...' This is not only politically and morally wrong from our perspective, but it will also scare off some of your most powerful coalition partners who will not want to be involved in such a coalition."

What to do? The manual goes on to advise DSAers to "try to include political points which you know will be unpalatable to the ultra-left."

Comrade Ann concludes with a description of the conference's closing luncheon: "The event closed with James Farmer [a founding member of CORE] who literally integrated their lunch counter. Other than the football team (a separate conference) he was the only black there. Farmer wants to extend and improve the boundaries of democracy..." Noting the general ambiance of Athens, Ohio, Ann writes: "Bible belt/Klan country. No place for an integrated conference (of course, they didn't have that 'problem')." And they never will. ■

SYL Class Series

BOSTON
Basic Marxism
Alternate Wednesdays,
Beginning October 6, 7:30 p.m.
Philips Brooks House
Harvard University
For more information: (617) 492-3928

CHICAGO
Workers Vanguard Study Circle
on the Near East
Wednesday, September 8, 7:30 p.m.
523 South Plymouth Court
For more information: (312) 427-0003

OBERLIN
The Fight for Socialism
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
September 23, October 7
Oberlin College
For more information: (216) 621-5138

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

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

Chicago

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

New York City

Tuesday: 6:00-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St.
near Church St.) New York, N.Y.
Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

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

Defend the Gains of th

Political Revolution, Hungary 1956 vs. Solidarność Counterrevolution

We print below the first part of an edited version of a talk given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at a Spartacist educational weekend held in the Bay Area on May 1-2. In this section comrade Seymour focuses on the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the subsequent degeneration of the first workers state under Stalin. As Trotskyists we unconditionally defend the USSR and the deformed workers states of East Europe against imperialist military attack and internal attempts to restore capitalism.

The defense of the social gains of the October Revolution is posed acutely in the Polish crisis as the Stalinists' gross economic mismanagement, flagrant corruption and suppression of democratic rights has driven a large section of Polish working people into the arms of Wojtyła's Vatican, the International Monetary Fund and NATO militarism. When Poland stood on the brink of civil war before the Stalinists' counter-coup last December, we demanded: *Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!* (See Spartacist pamphlet, *Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers.*)

Trotskyists call for the construction of Leninist vanguard parties to lead the workers in political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and establish workers democracy and proletarian internationalism. This perspective in relation to the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and *Solidarność*' counterrevolutionary bid for power will be discussed in the second part of this article.

PART ONE OF TWO

Like many members of the Spartacist League I'm addicted to British spy novels, particularly those of John Le Carré. Le Carré himself was in the British secret service and so has a good

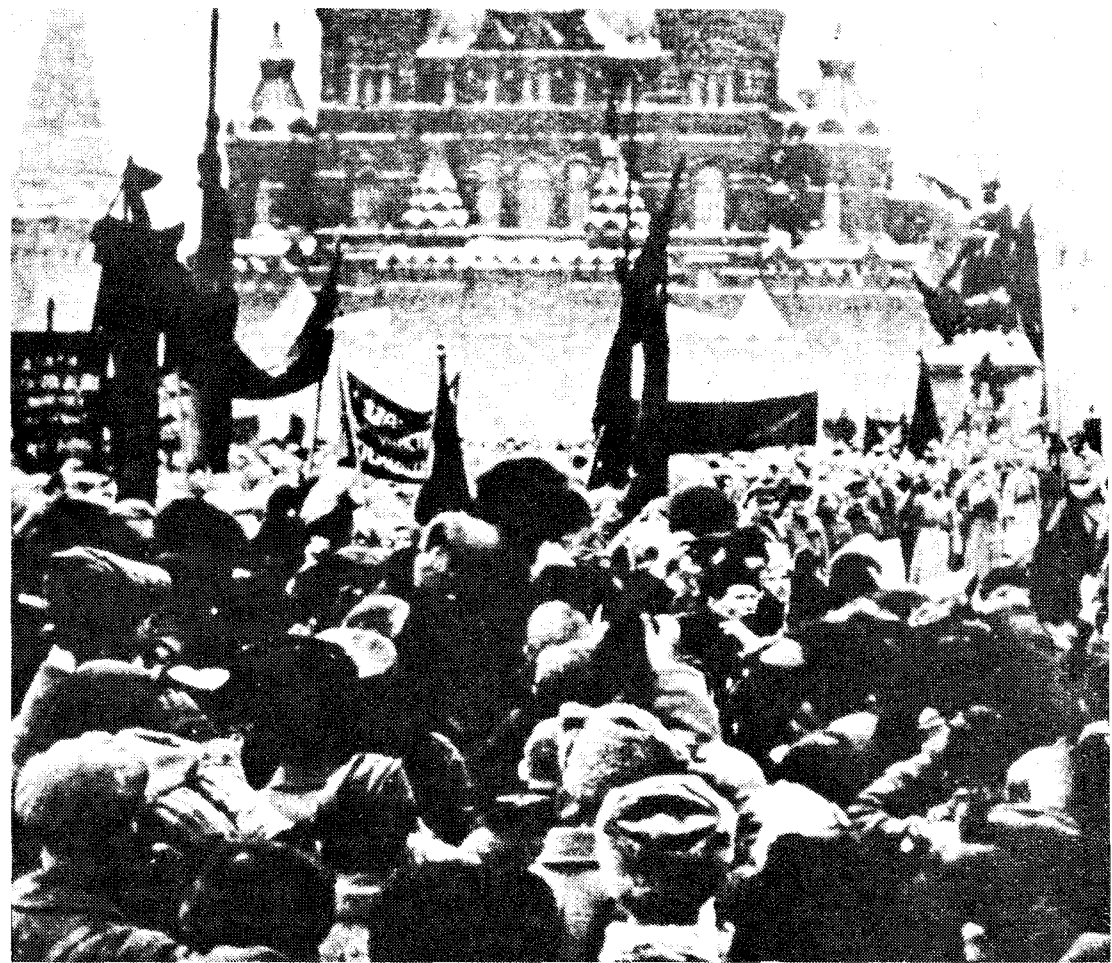
sense of how these birds think, what makes them tick. In one of his novels, *The Honourable Schoolboy*, an untested agent is sent to do a rather dirty job in the Far East. And before he leaves the head of the service gives him an ideological pep talk:

"A lot of people see *doubt* as a legitimate philosophical posture. They think of themselves in the middle, whereas, of course, really they're nowhere. No battle was ever won by spectators, was it? We understand that in this service. We're lucky. Our war began in nineteen seventeen, with the Bolshevik Revolution. It hasn't changed yet."

We fully agree with the statement of Le Carré's fictitious head of the British secret service, only we happen to be on the other side. The world we live in in a very important sense begins in October 1917, a fact which is clearer today in Reagan's America than it was ten years ago in the heyday of détente.

What happened in 1917 was that for the first time in history the program of socialist revolution—a revolution for which generations of workers had lived and died and which the ruling class had dismissed as another version of the second coming of Christ—was realized in an important country, Russia. For the first time the workers took power and in taking power they discovered the organizational form of what Marx called the proletarian dictatorship, that is, a government based on soviets (workers councils). For the first time—granted under terrible conditions, conditions of war, civil war and devastating impoverishment—a government was instituted which expropriated the bourgeoisie and consciously controlled the economy. This was the greatest victory for the workers movement and the greatest defeat for the bourgeoisie.

In light of the recent Polish events there's an aspect of the Bolshevik Revolution one wants to emphasize. The revolution was fought and won not



The Russian Revolution, led by the Bolshevik Party, expropriated the bourgeoisie and Trotsky addresses crowds in Red Square, 1920.

only against the tsarist reactionaries, capitalist parties and the fourteen imperialist armies which intervened in Russia, but also against the petty-bourgeois "democratic" parties. A few months after the Bolsheviks took power on the basis of soviet democracy there was convened a constituent assembly, the most revolutionary form of parliament. Since Russia was at that time an overwhelmingly peasant country, although the Bolsheviks had the support of a large majority of the urban working class, the majority of the constituent assembly consisted of a bloc between the right wing of the populist Social Revolutionaries and the social-democratic Mensheviks. These claimed that they represented the Russian people and that the Bolsheviks were usurpers. It took about 24 hours for the Bolsheviks to disperse the constituent assembly, an act for which the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, and behind them the imperialist bourgeoisie, have never forgiven them.

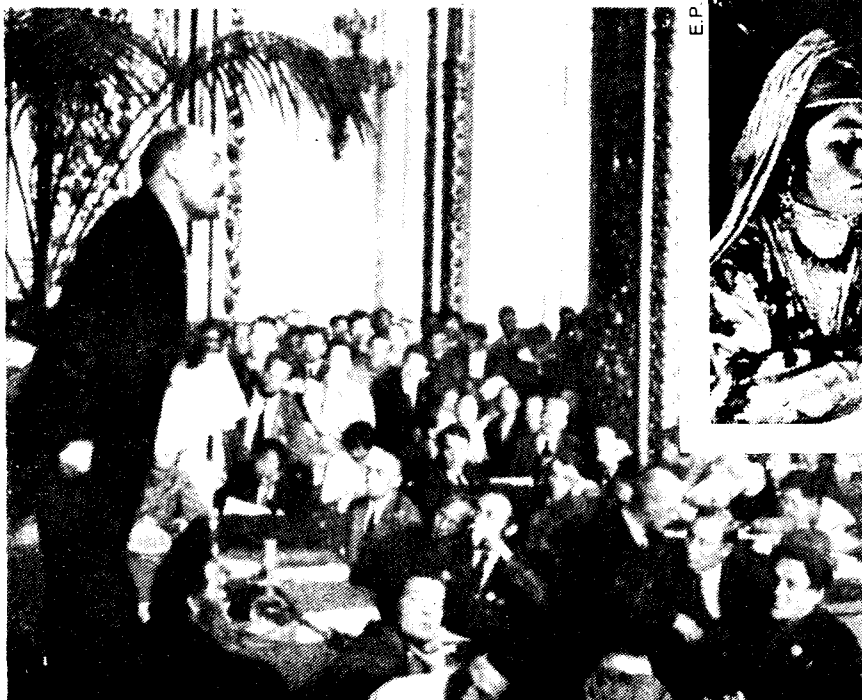
The Bolshevik Revolution was a revolution in Russia, but it was *not a revolution only for Russia*. I hope all of you have seen the movie *Reds*. Remember the scene a few months before the

October Revolution where a Menshevik agitator says: "If you pull Russia out of the war, the workers in West Europe and the United States will feel that you've betrayed them to German militarism." John Reed is infuriated at this and fights his way to the stage and says: "That's a lie! If you pull out of the war, if you overthrow the provisional government, you will inspire the workers of the world to follow you." I don't know if this particular incident happened to Reed, but incidents like this did happen. It was not just the leading Bolsheviks but the advanced workers of Russia who saw themselves beginning the world socialist revolution, breaking the imperialist system at its weakest link.

And Reed was right! The Bolshevik Revolution did inspire the workers of the world, even in the United States, which had one of the least class-conscious working classes. When the most popular American socialist leader, Eugene V. Debs, who was imprisoned for opposing U.S. entry into World War I, was released in 1922, he declared: "Sovietism is the only good thing that came out of the war." What's interesting is that Debs was not a Communist nor did he become one. If truth be told, he became a sentimental old centrist. But Debs was expressing the feelings of tens of thousands of workers in this country and millions of workers in Europe.

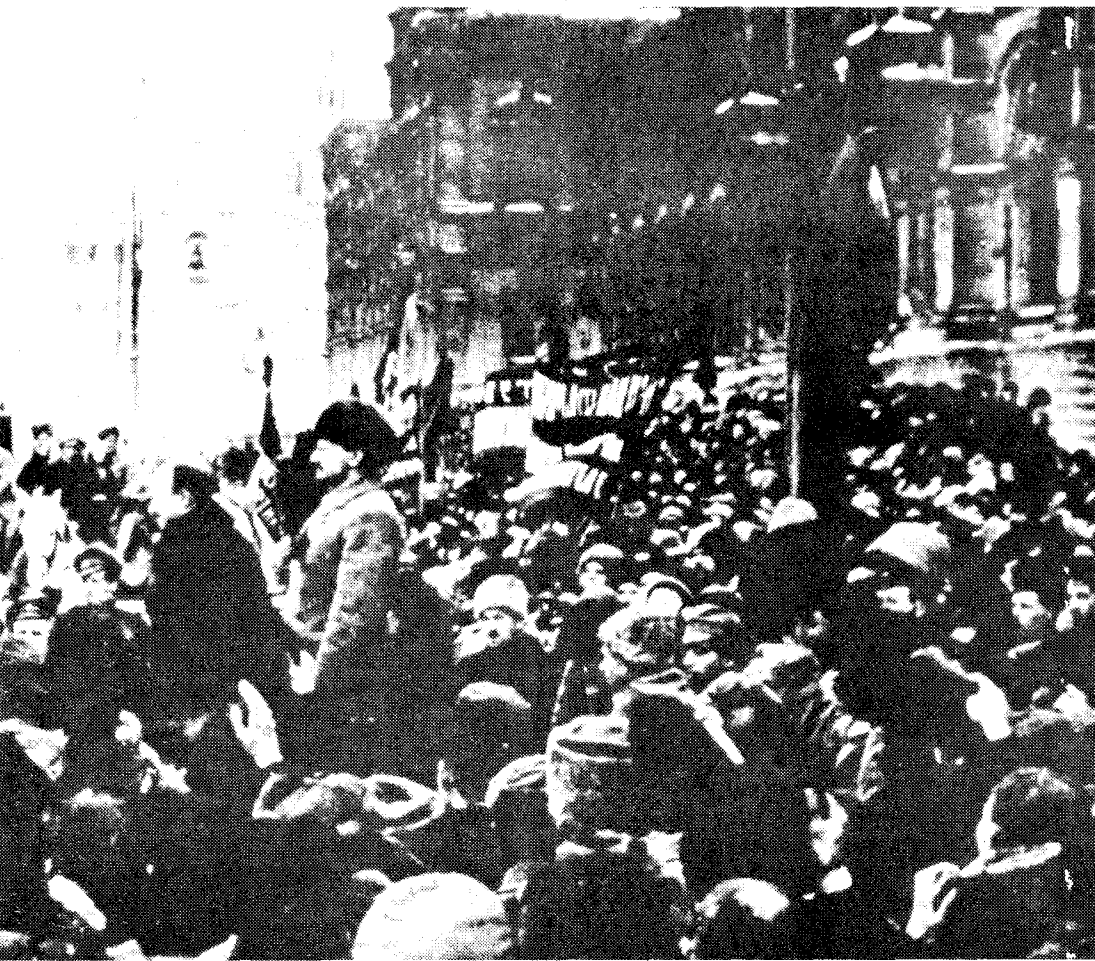
Under the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution for the first time there was created an international mass revolutionary party—the Communist International. Importantly, unlike the old Socialist International, it was not limited to the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and the United States. No event awakened the colonial masses to struggle against imperialism and their own *anciens régimes* more than the Russian Revolution.

One thinks of the founding leader of the Chinese Communist Party, Chen Tu-hsiu. He was not a young man at the time of the Russian Revolution. He was not some student radical caught up in the excitement of the moment. About forty years old in 1917, he was China's foremost radical and modernizing intellectual. He had spent his entire life struggling to break China from both imperialist domination and the dead



Bolshevik Revolution inspired revolutionary movements worldwide, brought social liberation to Russian masses. Left, Lenin addressing Second Congress of Communist International. Above, Tadjik mountain women at early Soviet school.

The Russian Revolution!



...d put state power into the hands of the working class for the first time in history. Above,

hand of the Confucian tradition (foot-binding of women, ancestor worship, etc.). In his stature and radical humanistic outlook he could be likened to a Chinese Thomas Jefferson. And this was the man who became the founder of the Chinese Communist Party, who saw in Bolshevism a model for the liberation of his country.

Even beyond what is narrowly conceived as politics and economics the Bolshevik Revolution had an enormous liberating effect. I hate to disillusion you but the first country to outlaw discrimination against homosexuals was not San Francisco; it was Soviet Russia in 1920 or '21. Many modernist artists, like Kandinsky, who had lived in the West under the tsar, returned to Russia during the civil war or right after because they wanted to participate in what they rightly viewed as an exciting experiment in social liberation. The American modernist dancer Isadora Duncan went to Russia right after the civil war to open a dancing academy.

Stalinist Degeneration: Causes and Effects

But while the Bolshevik Revolution inspired revolutionary movements throughout the capitalist world, these movements did not succeed in overthrowing capitalism in any other country. The reasons for this are a central theme of comrade Marjorie's talk on Rosa Luxemburg, mainly the absence of a pre-existing vanguard party similar to the Bolsheviks. [This talk, "Hail Rosa Luxemburg!", was published in *Young Spartacus* Nos. 100 and 101, May and Summer 1982.]

The effect of this failure on world history and on Soviet Russia was catastrophic. While the Bolsheviks won the civil war, they were victors in a devastated country. In 1921 industrial production was a mere fraction of what it had been in 1914. Hundreds of thousands had fled the cities to join their relatives on the land in the hope of getting something to eat. Famine stalked the land; in some areas even cannibalism.

So there opened a seemingly unbridgeable gulf between the liberating goals of the Bolshevik Revolution and the actual living conditions in Russia. A

government which had proclaimed itself the first step in what Marx called the leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom was reduced to selling religious artifacts to Western collectors and even appealing to Western charities to feed its own people.

Under these conditions there was a



Left oppositionists in Siberian exile colony (circa 1928) demonstrate on anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution. Center banner reads "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

tendency toward the demoralization and depoliticization of the proletariat, on the one hand, and toward bureaucratic conservatism and corruption among the administrators, on the other. These tendencies culminated in a political counterrevolution in 1924, the form it took being a factional struggle between a revolutionary internationalist wing of the Bolshevik party led by Trotsky and a bureaucratic nationalist wing which came to be led by Stalin. Stalin won. The Trotskyists were expelled from the party, persecuted. Trotsky was driven into exile and in 1940 killed by an assassin under Stalin's orders.

Like any complex historical development, the degeneration of the Russian Revolution had many causes operating at many levels. Lenin's terminal illness in 1923 removed an important point of resistance. Lenin's last struggle was against Stalin whom he saw in a flash of insight was taking on many of the characteristics of the Great Russian tsarist officialdom of yore. But it would be quite wrong to see this as a question of good guys versus bad guys. In 1927 Lenin's widow, Krupskaya, speculated

that if Lenin were still alive, he would be in prison. In her own way she understood that there were very powerful social forces behind the bureaucratic degeneration which even the outstanding personal authority of Lenin might not have been able to overcome.

Among these factors was that many of the advanced workers of 1917 had been killed in the civil war, many others were absorbed into the administration of the state and party and so ceased to be workers in a sociological sense. At the same time, many former tsarist officials went over to the winning side without in any way changing their basic social outlook. One of Lenin's last proposals was to re-proletarianize the party leadership by putting a hundred or so workers off the bench on the central committee.

At the most fundamental level the cause of the bureaucratic degeneration was the continuing isolation of the Soviet Union. Once again in 1923 Germany, the most important country in Europe, entered a revolutionary crisis. This remoralized and re-excited the Russian proletariat. There were mass factory meetings to support what seemed to be the imminent and long-awaited Communist revolution in Germany. Many Russian workers—and they were very poor—voluntarily contributed a day's pay for their German comrades. This was not abstract, altruistic internationalism. The Russian workers understood that if there was a Communist revolution in Germany, they would eat again. All the sacrifices of the previous six years would finally be worth it. So when the German revolution once again did not come off, the

country." In one sense the doctrine of creating socialism in backward Russia was a grotesque parody of what everyone, Marxist and non-Marxist, had envisaged as socialism—a society in which economic scarcity no longer existed, a society of social equality, a society without state coercion. The cruel caricature of Stalin's "socialism" was nicely captured by the late Isaac Deutscher:

"The socialist man Stalin presented to the world was the hungry, ill-clad, ill-shod or even barefoot worker or peasant, selling or buying a shirt, a piece of furniture, a few ounces of meat or even a piece of bread on black or grey markets, working ten hours a day under a barracks-like factory discipline and, sometimes, paying for any real or alleged offense with years of forced labor in a concentration camp."

—"On Socialist Man" in Tamara Deutscher, ed., *Marxism In Our Time* (1966)

This is not a very attractive image of socialism.

The doctrine of "socialism in one country," grotesque in one sense, in another sense reflected social reality as seen through the eyes of the bureaucracy. As Trotsky pointed out, the bureaucracy had gotten what they wanted out of the Bolshevik Revolution. They had achieved certain material and social privileges.

At the same time, the Stalinist bureaucracy recognized the hostility of the imperialist bourgeoisie to their "socialism," that is, to their privileges. Since they no longer believed in or, more accurately, feared proletarian revolution in the imperialist centers, the bureaucracy sought some way to neutralize the imperialists, to buy "peaceful coexistence." As any capitalist knows, in order to buy something you must be able to sell something. What did the Stalinist bureaucracy have to sell to the imperialists? As a result of the Bolshevik Revolution, the Kremlin had control over mass workers parties in a number of important capitalist countries. So the Stalinists decided to sell out other people's revolutions.

This policy was expressed in the most extreme form during the Spanish Civil War of the late 1930s, the greatest opportunity for proletarian revolution between the German crisis of 1923 and the end of World War II. Stalinist Russia intervened massively in the Spanish Civil War not for the purpose of furthering the social revolution but of suppressing it. Stalin had promised his "democratic" imperialist allies, Britain and France, that it was possible to defeat Franco while preserving Spain as a capitalist country. During the Spanish revolution the Stalinists stood far to the right even of the social democrats. They established in Spain an apparatus of

continued on page 8

sense of demoralization and national isolation was all the greater.

Within months of the failure of the German revolution, Stalin came out with the formula that was to become the ideological banner of the political counterrevolution—"socialism in one

During 1943 coal strike, American CP recruited scabs, vilified miners for breaking pro-war no-strike pledge. Only Trotskyists championed miners' cause.



Wide World Photos

Defend the Gains!...

(continued from page 7)

mass terror, killing scores of the most militant Spanish workers. In this way, of course, the Stalinists paved the way for Franco's victory.

Let's look closer to home. The wretched anti-communist American labor bureaucracy of today largely originated in the anti-red purges of the late 1940s. One of the main reasons these purges were so effective was that the Stalinists had discredited themselves among militant workers by their extreme class-collaborationism during World War II. No wing of the labor bureaucracy was more aggressive in suppressing even the most minimal trade-union struggle than were the Stalinists in the name of "anti-fascist unity." They opposed strikes not only in the armaments industry but in all industries. So a few years later, come the Cold War, some of the slicker CIO bureaucrats, like Reuther in auto and Curran in maritime, could attack the Communist Party not only from the right, for being agents of an enemy power, but also from the "left," for selling out the interests of the workers at a nod from Moscow.

As I was preparing for this talk, I came across a particularly pure example of the relation between the search for

in one country" of which it is an ideological appendage. As Trotsky wrote:

"For the bourgeoisie—fascist as well as democratic—isolated counterrevolutionary exploits of Stalin do not suffice; it needs a complete counterrevolution in the relations of production and the opening of the Russian market. So long as this is not the case, the bourgeoisie considers the Soviet state hostile to it. And it is right."

—"Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State",
Writings [1937-38]

The truth of that statement today in Reagan's America is, I think, indisputable.

Political Revolution vs. "Bourgeois-Democratic" Counterrevolution

The source of the Cold War is the imperialists' attempt to overturn the social gains of the Bolshevik Revolution. As communists we defend those gains. At the same time, we recognize that the Stalinist bureaucracy in innumerable ways undermines those gains, and that if the bureaucracy is not ousted by a proletarian political revolution which restores soviet democracy, sooner or later the imperialists will succeed or blow up the world in the attempt.

Trotsky did not regard a proletarian political revolution as something that would happen spontaneously by its own force. It is a program to build or rebuild Leninist parties in the Soviet Union and other Stalinist-ruled states. In the absence of such a party a popular, even proletarian-centered upheaval could end in some form of Stalinist stabilization or in the worst case provide an opening for capitalist counterrevolution.

Trotsky tried to present his position on the Russian question in a way that would be understood by most workers in capitalist countries, who were unfamiliar with the Soviet Union and its history. He said, think of Stalin's Russia as a giant bureaucratized trade union. All workers defend such a union in battles with the capitalist class. At the same time, most class-conscious workers seek to oust that bureaucracy. Since the Stalinist bureaucracy rules through a massive apparatus of terror, it can only be ousted through insurrectionary violence, which is not necessarily the case with the American labor bureaucracy.

There's an aspect of Trotsky's position of political revolution that's important to emphasize in the context of the Polish events. Stalin, of course, accused Trotsky of reverting to Menshevism and advocating *bourgeois* democracy. The exiled Mensheviks, in turn, maintained that Trotsky was simply reaping in the Stalinist terror what he himself had sown in 1917. During the 1920s-'30s the Russian Mensheviks in exile played a role somewhat similar to that of the pro-Western Soviet-bloc dissidents, like Sakharov or Kolakowski, today. They argued that the crimes of Stalin were the inevitable outcome of the Bolshevik Revolution, of the proletarian dictatorship.

Trotsky was thus forced by the very nature of his struggle against Stalin to draw the hardest possible line between



Walesa genuflects before vicar of anti-Communist reaction.

"peaceful coexistence" and the suppression of revolution in other countries. The Cuban Stalinists are justifiably worried about all of Reagan's threats. So the *New York Times'* national security adviser, Leslie Gelb, went down to Havana to test the mood of the Castro regime. According to Gelb, a senior Cuban official explained to him that "Latin America as a whole is not ripe for socialism." Presumably only the island of Cuba is ripe for socialism! The official continued, "President Castro is therefore willing to promote 'democratic change' and moderation in the region" (*New York Times*, 6 April).

What does "moderation" mean in Central America? Another *Times* columnist, Russell Baker, put it very nicely:

"The usual leaks from Washington say that one thing the C.I.A. is doing is pumping millions of dollars into the 'moderate elements' down there.

"Washington's idea of 'moderate elements' in Central America is usually a group of men in uniforms who transfer Washington's millions into Miami bank accounts.

"After immoderate elements chase them out of the palace, they fly to Florida, Spain or Switzerland, cease being moderate elements and live like kings."

— *New York Times*, 17 March

These are the moderate elements that Castro now wants to support.

But it doesn't work. In rad-lib circles you often run into the notion that the American and Soviet rulers work hand in hand in suppressing popular movements everywhere. We can all see Reagan and Brezhnev are working hand in hand. So the notion's bullshit. The idea of "peaceful coexistence" is *no less utopian* than the doctrine of "socialism

SL/SYL protests opening of Solidarność U.S. "information" office in New York City, September 1981.



workers democracy and bourgeois parliamentarianism, between proletarian political revolution and "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution. In 1927 he wrote:

"The Mensheviks think that the main source of the Bonapartist danger is the system of proletarian dictatorship itself, that it is a fundamental error to count on the international revolution, that a correct policy would necessarily be to abandon political and economic restrictions on the bourgeoisie, and that salvation from Thermidor and Bonapartism lies in democracy, i.e., in the bourgeois parliamentary system....

"Parliamentary democracy for us is only one of the forms of capitalist rule."

—"At a New Stage," in *The Challenge of the Left Opposition* (1926-27)

From this position Trotsky never wavered. In the founding document of the Fourth International, the 1938 Transitional Program, he wrote: "It is necessary to return to the soviets not only their free democratic form but also their class content." Trotsky was always insistent that democratic demands, however justified in themselves, should never serve as a cover for social counterrevolution.

The question of the relation of democratic rights to political revolution came up in another way in the late 1930s, a way that's particularly relevant to post-war East Europe. Nowhere in the USSR was Stalin's terror more severe than in the Ukraine. As a result one began to see among the Ukrainian minority in Poland, among Ukrainians

in North America the growth of right-wing, anti-communist nationalism. And Adolf Hitler, despite all the talk about Aryan supremacy, began to posture as a champion of the Ukrainian nation much as today Ronald Reagan postures as a champion of the Polish nation. In both cases not without success. When the Nazi German army marched into the Ukraine in 1940-41, significant sections of the population at first viewed them as liberators. Of course, it didn't take the Ukrainians very long to discover that the Nazis weren't liberators just as if Reagan's America took over Poland it wouldn't take long before the Poles were yearning for the days of Gomulka and Gierek. But we do not want the Poles to have to learn that lesson the hard way.

Trotsky was very concerned that the only people speaking out against the oppression of the Ukrainian nation were rightists, even fascists. So in 1940 he launched the demand for "an independent Soviet Ukraine," not the simple bourgeois-democratic demand of an independent Ukraine. An important distinction. Trotsky did not allow the question of national self-determination to become a vehicle for social counterrevolution. As a result of World War II we face in East Europe a version of the Ukrainian question writ large, that is, the combination of Stalinist bureaucratic rule with Russian domination over other peoples.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Better Red!...

(continued from page 3)

crats and restore workers democracy. Despite the parasitic bureaucracy and gross political deformations, the economic gains of the October Revolution—the planned economy and collectivized property—remain as historic conquests of the international proletariat. Just compare Soviet Central Asia with Afghanistan: the Russian Revolution means the difference between literacy and illiteracy, veiled women chattel slaves or fully enfranchised citizens, life or death. And all this despite the efforts of Stalin and his heirs to sell that revolution out—to Roosevelt, to Hitler, to Nixon—to all those imperialist forces that will not and can not stop short of seeking the complete destruction of the Soviet Union.

Like the Reagan team, the Harvard administration hopes to silence us by creating a new McCarthyism. Since last winter when Harvard University was defeated in its attempt to jail an SYL comrade for defending free speech, the administration, its cops, Dean Epps, and "Son of Epps" (Dean Powell) have been on the rampage. Dean Powell has been spotted tearing down SYL leaflets from campus kiosks. Police provocations such as occurred at registration at Memorial Hall when SYL supporters were taunted "Go back to Russia," "You belong in a Siberian salt mine" and then threatened with arrest, indicate the overtly political nature of the harassment meted out to the SYL.

Finally, the *Summer Times* notes that "whether they [the SYL] get their John Reeds before the campus police get them remains to be seen." Harvard's unabashed assault on our rights, and by extension anyone whose views Harvard

finds "objectionable" will not go unchallenged. In a meeting 15 July, the administration was forced to back down and restore "official recognition" to the Friends of the SYL club. This was not only a victory for us Marxists, but for all those "impressionable" students who don't want "thought police" or a nanny-like Dean deciding for them what they are allowed to think, read or with whom they may associate. But as soon as recognition had been granted, the "Sons of Epps" dashed off a letter to us laying out the new "rules" (read: harassment) that do not appear in the General Regulations and were obviously created explicitly for use against the SYL.


The question of free speech at Harvard has zero to do with your rinky-dink rules and regulations. It's fundamentally political. The administration and its *Summer Times* want to "get" the SYL because we recruit students to the struggle against world filth, of which Harvard is just one dirty part. Far from your slanderous allegation that we Marxists are dedicated to "destroying the United States," it is Reagan and the capitalist class who are destroying the economy, dumping thousands out of work, slashing social services, and feverishly arming for war. It is desperately necessary to fight, armed with a class struggle program against capitalist economic crisis, racial oppression and imperialist war. Those Harvard students who are for smashing the Nazis and the KKK, for building picket lines, not crossing them, and for defending the Soviet Union from imperialist attack should join the SYL. It's better Red than Crimson!

2 August 1982

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Near East...

(continued from page 1)

expense of Israel—U.S. imperialism's most important anti-Soviet ally in the Near East. Reagan hailed the state-of-siege election in Lebanon, which placed Israeli-backed Phalangist Bashir Gemayal in power, as a "positive development." It is quite fitting that Israel—which armed the blood-soaked regimes in South Africa, Chile and Argentina that even Jimmy Carter wouldn't openly touch—should have the Phalangists as its only ally in the Near East. Founded in the 1930s by Gemayal's father, the Phalange is modeled after the Spanish Phalange of Franco and the Hitler Youth!

Reformists Search for Anti-Reagan Pop-Front

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon has thrown the reformist U.S. left into some confusion: the "negotiated settlement" that they've all been calling for in El Salvador has happened in Beirut. Most obscene was Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP) whose front group signed a leaflet for a June 18 protest against Begin in New York calling for "effective U.S. action" to get Israel out of Lebanon. Given that Begin had stated that Israeli troops would withdraw only if the U.S. went in, the Marcyites were calling for the marines to intervene!

JOIN WITH US TO Protest the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon AND DEMAND EFFECTIVE U.S. ACTION TO ACHIEVE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL

On June 18, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin will address the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament... At this time, Israeli troops are engaged in an invasion of Lebanon which has resulted in a terrible toll of civilian casualties.

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EMERGENCY COMMITTEE AGAINST THE INVASION OF LEBANON (in formation)

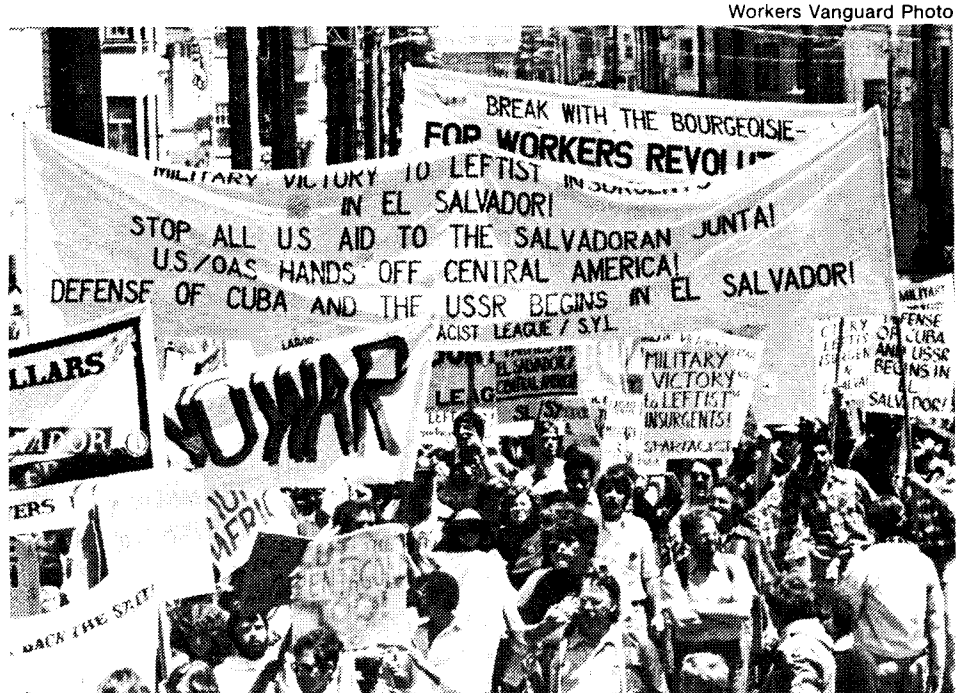
New York Mobilization for Survival	Venezuela Brigade
Palestine Congress of North America	People's Anti War Mobilization
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Association of Arab American University Graduates	Great Americans for Action
Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (New York Chapter)	Supporters of the Lebanese National Movement
All African Peoples Revolutionary Party	
5411 Broadway, American Friends Service Committee	
500 W. 11th Street, Black Theology Project	
500 W. 11th Street, Middle East Office for the United Nations	
5411 Broadway, Middle East Peace Project	
*Organizations listed for the purpose of identification only	

WWP front group PAM wanted "effective U.S. action"—and got it: U.S. marines in Lebanon.

The Marcyites have made a career out of keeping their noses firmly planted in the posteriors of the liberal Democrats. Though WWP has subsequently changed its line to opposition to U.S. troops in Lebanon, it is significant that their initial position was exactly what the pro-Zionist liberal Democrats were saying. Seeing that Bella Abzug & Co. weren't coming to the defense of the beleaguered Palestinians, the Marcyites made a direct appeal to Reagan. At the time of Begin's visit to the UN session on disarmament, *Workers World* (25 June) whined:

"He [Reagan] could have refused to meet with Begin, and would have, if he were really a representative of the people. [...] He could have issued an executive order stopping all U.S. aid to Israel. Or he could have demanded that Begin comply with a UN resolution calling for a complete Israeli pullout of Lebanon."

Now, the Marcyites are calling for a demonstration to "Oppose the U.S.-Israeli Invasion of Lebanon" in Washington on September 11. It has been endorsed by the Stalinist Communist Party (CP) through spokesmen for its myriad front groups and the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Their phony anti-imperialism is hardly new—these groups dominated the May 3, 1981 and March 27, 1982 El Salvador protests in Washington. Building a platform for the Democrats, the CP, WWP and SWP *opposed* our call for military victory to the Salvadoran leftists, demanding instead "No U.S. intervention." The Spartacist League/



SL/SYL contingent called for leftist military victory at 19 July 1981 Bay Area El Salvador demo. WWP, CP, SWP want "political solution"—now they have one in Beirut.

Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) drew a clear class line, linking Reagan's support for the butcher junta to his global anti-Soviet war drive: Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador! For their part, the reformists drew the class line as well—they took the side of the liberal bourgeoisie and anti-Sovietism, calling on the cops to exclude the revolutionaries of the SL/SYL.

The only thing that is different this time is that the liberal Democrats agree with Reagan—Marcy isn't going to get Bella Abzug or Teddy Kennedy to speak at a rally opposing the presence of the imperialist "peace-keepers." But the reformists are still angling for a popular front with the Democrats anyway. The CP, currently on a campaign to drive the Reaganites out by voting in Democrats, advised readers of the *Daily World* (17 June) to "Express your opinion to the White House, your Representative and two U.S. Senators." And the SWP certainly has no qualms about tailing the liberals—it "explained" how Federal troops could be used in Boston during the 1974 busing crisis to "protect" black schoolchildren. So, if U.S. troops were OK in Boston, then why not Beirut?

For Class War in the Near East!

Democratic Party lackeys in the U.S. and "negotiated settlement" sell-outs in El Salvador, the reformists are Arab nationalists when it comes to the Near East. The Spartacist League is unique on the left for our insistence on drawing the class line against both Zionism and Arab nationalism. All the fake-lefts are united in hailing the so-called "Arab Revolution," conceived of as a kind of never-ending, transcendental "process" directed against Zionist Israel and carried forward (with more or less "steadfastness") by the Arab regimes. The utter bankruptcy of this fictitious "revolution" was demonstrated by the complete inaction of all the Arab states, from the Saudi sheiks to "rejectionist" Iraq to "confrontationist" Syria to the crazed Libyan madman Qaddafi—who actually advised the PLO fighters to "commit suicide so that their blood could rekindle the Arab revolution"—in the face of the Israeli bombardment of Beirut. Of course, this is not the first time the Palestinians have been stabbed in the back by their Arab "brothers." There was the Syrian massacre of Palestinians at Tel Zaatar in Lebanon in 1975-76. And the Jordanian king who told a group of Palestinian fighters arrived from Beirut that "you have held the flag high and fought well for your rights" massacred 10,000 Palestinians in the "Black September" of 1970. As for the PLO's supposed allies of the Lebanese National Movement—hailed by Workers World Party spokesman Tom Soto at a New York City forum August 14 as "the vanguard organization of the Lebanese people"—the head of the LNM, Walid Jumblatt, pronounced the PLO "finished" and called

for its surrender at the very beginning of the Israeli invasion!

The slogan of "fight Zionism" in the mouths of the Arab rulers is used to divert class struggle at home while these same rulers betray the Palestinian cause in a thousand ways. A look at any of the Arab regimes, whether ruled by colonels mouthing "anti-imperialist" rhetoric or by sheiks swimming in petro-dollars, demonstrates their inability to resolve any of the democratic and national tasks within their own borders, much less provide genuine support for Palestinian national justice. Self-determination for all the nationalities in the Near East, including the Palestinians and the Hebrew-speaking people, can come about only by exploding the Zionist and Arab reactionary regimes from within through revolutionary proletarian class struggle. As Trotsky said of social struggle in the colonial and semi-colonial countries: "the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses" ("What is the Permanent Revolution?", 1930).

It is the proletariat which is the potential powerhouse of progressive social change in a Socialist Federation of the Near East. The solution to Palestinian national rights lies in joint class struggle by all workers in the region against the kings, colonels and Zionists. But the PLO has prevented the Palestinian proletariat from taking the road of class struggle, channeling rebellions which could have taken a revolutionary direction—in Jordan in 1970 and Lebanon in 1975-76—into self-isolating movements which were then easily defeated.

The PLO and its fake-left cheerleaders write off the Hebrew-speaking workers as hopelessly wedded to the Zionist state—ignoring the potential for class cleavage in Israel expressed most sharply by the recent demonstrations of over 50,000 against the invasion of Lebanon. The reformists strive with all their might to bind the Arab workers to their own masters by promoting the myth of the Arab Revolution. They alternately cheer the leaders in Baghdad, Damascus or Teheran depending on who is the most "progressive" at any given moment.

The entire reformist left was unanimous in hailing Khomeini when he came to power in Iran. Most are too embarrassed to admit this treachery today—except the SWP which still hails the "Iranian Revolution." Only the Trotskyists of the SL/SYL warned that Khomeini and his mullahs would be no less reactionary than the butcher shah and we demanded: Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs! Workers to Power! Khomeini's savage reign of terror has tragically confirmed the SL/

SYL's line. The capitulation to nationalism has opened the door to direct imperialist intervention and another Palestinian diaspora. The paralysis of the Arab bourgeois regimes—inextricably linked to imperialism no matter how "radical" their verbiage, and fearing their own oppressed masses far more than they fear Israel—leaves the Palestinians defenseless at the hands of the Zionist butchers and their Phalangist allies.

The Main Enemy Is at Home!

The working people of Israel must be broken from Zionism and Arab workers from Arab nationalism. In particular, the Palestinians must break with the PLO leaders—their would-be exploiters whose bankrupt nationalist program has led to the current catastrophe. Only revolutionary class struggle can obtain the right of self-determination for the Palestinians. And only revolutionary struggle in the U.S. against both the Reaganites and the imperialist liberals, as well as political struggle against the treacherous reformist left, can make this country anything more than the blood-soaked enemy of the world's oppressed. ■

Racist Acquittal...

(continued from page 2)

wanted to impress, they got the SFSU student government to pass a resolution intended to prevent the SYL from selling our press at the rally. We ignored these McCarthyite thought police and distributed a flyer and successfully sold *Young Spartacus*. In the end, the UPCNL's sellout to the Democrats got them nothing but a snub—black Democrat and Speaker of the California Assembly Willie Brown, who was scheduled to speak, failed to show up. When asked why, he told reporters, "What the hell is the UPCNL?" and stated that the money invested in the rally would have been better spent registering voters to elect Jerry Brown to the U.S. Senate (*Golden Gate*, 18 May). This must have been a bitter pill for the nationalists—it was Governor Brown's government which initiated the cuts and fee hikes that the UPCNL ostensibly came to protest!

Jail Richard Moss!

Moss is free on the streets again and is currently suing SFSU to get his job and student status back. The SYL is opposed to giving this racist, knife-wielding thug anything but a jail cell in San Quentin.

Moss' acquittal is yet another blow against blacks in Reagan's America. Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive has its domestic reflection: catastrophic unemployment, particularly for black workers; the virtual starvation of the ghetto masses; the reversal of the hard-won, albeit minimal, gains of the 1960s civil rights movement. With Reagan openly fostering Jim Crow policies, every racist is emboldened knowing that he has a friend in the White House. To look to the racist, strike breaking Democratic Party for a solution—as the Pan Africanists do—is not only illusory, it is a betrayal. The party of "ethnic purity" Carter, just as much as Reagan, is committed to the preservation of capitalism, the root cause of black oppression. As we stated in an SYL leaflet issued at SFSU shortly after the Collum stabbing:

"The black working class, concentrated in strategic industries, has the power to smash Reagan reaction. Together with and leading their white working-class brothers, black workers can be in the forefront of the struggle against all aspects of decaying American capitalism—wage slashing, mass unemployment, racist terror and anti-Soviet militarism. There is no future for blacks under capitalism—we need socialist revolution!" ■

PL/InCAR in Frenzy Over Chicago Anti-Nazi Demo

PL's Gusano Pal Assaults Black SYLer in Madison

The Progressive Labor Party (PL) is in deep political trouble. For years PL has staked its reputation on "anti-racism" and "fighting fascism," which for PL means alternating between crazed adventurism (e.g., sending its supporters against the cops—with predictable results) and liberal moralism (e.g., the fight against "racist" textbooks). In Chicago on June 27 PL's utter bankruptcy was exposed for all to see. Faced with a *successful* Trotskyist-led mass labor/black mobilization of 3,000 people to stop a Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day, PL and its front group, the "International Committee Against Racism" (InCAR), told blacks and the oppressed to *ignore* the Nazi threat. And PL echoed and swallowed the Nazi's vicious "death to queers" provocations. On the day the fascists tried to march in Lincoln Park, PL/InCAR *stayed home*, refusing to fight the fascists if it meant defending homosexuals. Since then, PL has gone on a frenzied campaign to physically attack the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) who *did* stop the Nazis on June 27.

On July 17 in Madison, Wisconsin, a black SYL supporter distributing the issue of *Workers Vanguard* which covered the June 27 demonstration, was attacked with potentially deadly force. The assailant used the word "nigger" and aimed a metal pipe at his skull. Our comrade blocked it with his hand, receiving a wound which required ten stitches. The attacker, one José C. Santos, tried to put the fascists' program into action on the streets of Madison. But, in fact, he was acting on behalf of PL/InCAR.

How is it that a supposedly "revolutionary communist," "anti-racist" organization defends scum who hurls the ugliest racist insult and then attacks our black comrade? That word is a *program* for lynching and race terror. *That word belongs to the Klan and Nazis.* It also belongs to the reactionary gusanos who fled from the Cuban Revolution. Santos himself is an anti-communist Cuban exile who shares PL's hatred of Cuba and the Soviet Union, its virulent anti-homosexuality, and its use of gangster-

ism. For all PL's empty talk about "revolution" and "fighting fascism," its actual program—based on anti-Sovietism, glorifying social backwardness, and maintaining stupidity as a principle—naturally attracts sinister anti-communist provocateurs like Santos.

The SYL is distributing leaflets which

Campbell, InCAR's national chairman, reportedly presided over Santos' recent wedding.

PL uses racist, anti-communist fellow travelers like Santos to physically run point for them because they can't politically defend their opposition to the June 27 anti-Nazi mobilization. Particularly on the UW Madison campus,

Workers Vanguard Photo



June 27: SL-initiated anti-Nazi mobilization in Chicago. PL "anti-racists" equated Nazis and gays as "two sides of the same capitalist coin," abandoning blacks in face of fascist provocation.

explain Santos' attack as a result of PL's frenzy over June 27 (see *Workers Vanguard*, No. 311, 6 August, for the full text of the leaflet). Exposing PL's "anti-racist" pretenses has them politically backpedaling and tripping all over themselves in the process. For instance, PL is now trying to deny Santos ever made any racist insult. So why did the two PL/InCAR salesmen, upon hearing Santos hurl his racist epithet, initially apologize, then try to justify it, and only later denied he ever said it? And, besides, Santos himself admitted it in front of witnesses the following week. PL wants to publicly distance itself from Santos while still defending his actions. But even that gets difficult after Finley

their anti-gay bigotry is not an effective alibi for abstaining from the real anti-fascist struggle. The Nazis targeted gays because they thought nobody else would mind—and PL took the sucker bait. Their July 7 issue of *Challenge*, under a headline, "Gay Movement, Nazis: Two Sides of Bosses' Coin?", wrote:

"Our Party made a political judgment not to participate with the fakers because it wouldn't build the anti-racist revolutionary communist movement. The gay lib movement is in essence a reactionary one, which tries to compare itself to the oppression of women workers and even to racism."

Sounding more like a Moral Majorityite than an ostensible leftist, Finley Campbell was even more explicit when

he told our comrades at the University of Illinois Circle Campus, "We had to protect our children from homosexuals." As we wrote in our leaflet:

"The truth is that when push came to shove, PL/InCAR refused to defend the black population of Chicago against the rising line of fascist provocations. Precisely at a time when masses of black workers and youth are seeking a way to fight back against racist attacks from Reagan reaction and its fascist fringe, PL takes a dive! Fortunately for the future of multi-racial social struggle, the Nazi tactic failed because those on the fascist hit list did not fall like PL/InCAR for the anti-homosexual crap."

Confronted with the SL/SYL's revolutionary *class-struggle* program to mobilize labor to fight for all the oppressed, PL retreats further into sectarianism and gangsterism, attempting to seal off its ranks and periphery. At Chicago's Bud Billiken parade, the largest black parade in the U.S., several PLers jumped a small woman SL comrade from behind, threw her to the ground and grabbed for her papers and purse.

In Madison, PLers claimed that the corner of State and Lake Streets, the site of Santos' attack, was their "turf" (!) for Saturday *Challenge* sales. SYLers have since held two press sales at "PL's turf" without incident. At a third sale, a Pler tried to grab newspapers from an SLer—but was quickly taught a lesson in workers democracy. Of course, the Madison "progressives" ignored our call to protest PL thuggery, just as they joined PL in abstaining from the June 27 anti-Nazi mobilization. But we *will* defend our democratic rights. We have no intention of letting PL's opposition to mass labor/black mobilizations, its anti-gay bigotry, its defense of racist gusanos, and its cowardly gangsterism go unchallenged. PL knows it's the loser. No self-respecting black person or anti-racist militant would want to go near PL/InCAR. And any remaining PLers with a shred of revolutionary appetite must be wondering what they're doing in an organization which "unites" with anti-communist elements like Santos. If they haven't left already, PL/InCAR will soon drive them away. ■

Smash Nazis...

(continued from page 12)

reformists could do no better than beg the state for protection. The result: busing was killed in Boston; the racists were victorious.

The SL/SYL has a commitment to building a black transitional organization, based on the Trotskyist program

for workers revolution, to do work among the black population, recruit and train black cadre for the revolutionary party. We seek to forge a hardened cadre of black leaders who are prepared to lead white workers as well as black, to lead the SL/SYL as well as the masses.

In our capacity as a training ground for young communists, the SYL must play a major role in building this black cadre. Comrade Nay's application reflects a real understanding of the vital necessity of this task and the problems encountered in carrying it out. Blacks in America certainly have fewer illusions in U.S. imperialism but at the same time bring into the organization the real effects of racial oppression: lack of education and basic job skills, low self-esteem and an identification in many cases with the lumpenproletarian lifestyle into which decaying capitalism has forced generations of black youth. Only through a continual struggle against the debilitating effects of a ghetto upbringing on young black members can a truly integrated communist cadre be forged, free from servility, patronizing and pretense. Such is the task of the SYL.

Below we print excerpts of the talk given by Myra Owens, SYL National Committee member, at a July 10 forum

in New York City to publicize the June 27 victory. Her presentation stresses the necessity to recruit more young black leaders for the coming American revolution, more recruits with the revolutionary optimism and determination expressed by comrade Nay when he wrote:

"I want to build a multi-racial revolutionary vanguard party and lead this party in the American Socialist Revolution. For More Black Trotskyist Cadre!"

* * * * *

The demonstration that you just saw really showed the way forward. There

were a lot of people out there, there were thousands of people, there was labor, there were blacks, there were Jews and there were gays and they all came out to stop the Nazis.

We got a lot of good responses from people. Some of the people that I talked to came up and said, "Well, you know, look, I'm really glad you guys initiated this. If it weren't for the leaflet that I saw we would have never known that the Nazis were planning to show their faces here in Chicago. And this is a black town, a union town, a gay town and we don't want the Nazis here in our town. So we are here to stop them." It was a very powerful demonstration.

We're living under Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. And Reagan is waging a war against black people, against labor, women, gays and all minorities in this country. The Nazis and Klan actually thought that they could go to Chicago, a powerful industrial center, and carry out their attacks on the most vulnerable sections of the oppressed, the gays. And then from there they were going to launch a drive for genocide against black people and Jewish people. But to their surprise when they got there the park was already occupied. It was occupied by thousands of demonstrators who did not want to see them there

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and wanted them to be stopped. The Nazis and Klan feel that it is open season on blacks and working people, Jews, gays and other minorities. But we showed them it was *not*. So with the growth of the Nazis and the Klan we have candidates of both the Nazis and the Klan in both ruling class parties. Tom Metzger, the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan got the Democratic nomination in San Diego. And shortly after Reagan was elected, Bill Wilkinson of the Klan made a statement that Reagan's platform could have been written by a Klansman and they support it. You see, because the capitalist system breeds the fascists. And Reagan's government and the capitalist system in general, whether Democratic or Republican, has certainly protected the fascists. They see the possibility of unleashing them, particularly in the context of a resurgent fighting labor movement that champions the rights of labor and blacks and the oppressed. And they will use the Nazis and the Klan to drown in the blood of the workers movement the struggles of blacks, the struggles for black equality in the future. So it is only our organization, the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League, that fights persistently to change society.

You see, we have a lot of impoverished blacks, unemployed, and other minorities who are trapped in the ghettos. There are no jobs, there's no

so-called black leaders want to sell them to the Democrats. But there's no future for you in the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. So who are the so-called black leaders? We have Reverend Daughtry's National Black United Front. We have Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH. And Ben Chavis' National Black Independent Party. They all claim that they are opposed to racism and sexism. And they all claim that they want to build their own party, a party for black people. But in the meantime the only thing that they offer to blacks in this country is the Democratic Party—the party that [Klansman] Tom Metzger is in, the same party that voted an end to busing, the party that voted for Reagan's cutbacks, and the party that defends Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. But do these black groups like the National Black United Front, PUSH or the National Black Independent Party really fight against racism and oppression? No. When have you ever seen them raise a finger to mobilize black people against Nazi, Klan or cop terror? All they are really concerned with is getting a piece of the pie in the Democratic Party. Their strategy is [to] put more blacks in the Democratic Party and we can make it work. And we all understand that that's not the case.

I wanted to speak a little bit about the Black Panther Party, mainly because a lot of the people that I talked to at the rally and a lot of people that you talk to

New York Times



Unemployed youth try to apply for jobs in East Harlem. The "American dream" is a nightmare for blacks.

money, and no decent education. Blacks do not stand a chance under this racist capitalist system. Because if the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis don't kill you, the cops will. And if the state can't starve you to death, they will certainly shoot you to death.

We need socialism. The system we live under is very barbaric. It cannot even provide the basic necessities of life. It cannot change or improve the conditions of peoples' lives. We will not get justice under this system. And that's why we have to build a racially-integrated international workers party.

Unfortunately today blacks in this country are very leaderless. They are vulnerable, they're disorganized and full of despair. And for the most part, their

in general want to know what ever happened to the Black Panther Party. First of all, the only way black people can attain their freedom is through joint struggle with black and white workers, and we haven't seen that in years. The idea of blacks attempting to overturn racist American capitalism by themselves without being part of a socialist organization of workers of all races is a road to defeat and genocide. The Black Panther Party, despite the heroic efforts of its militants to fight against the racist status quo, had no strategy that could show the way out. They were a black nationalist organization which meant that they wrote off the working class. They wrote off the white and black workers, and that's where the power lies in this society, in the unions and in the factories, where black and white working people face their enemies.

We have a future for blacks, we have a strategy to win, we have a strategy to liberate everyone. I want to talk a little bit about when I first came around the Spartacist League. Before I committed myself to join the Spartacus Youth League I checked out several different organizations on the left. The Communist Party was maintaining peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism and calling on the state to ban the fascists. The Socialist Workers Party [SWP] was calling for free speech for the fascists—as if labor, blacks, Jews, gays and other minorities want to debate with the fascists on how to plan their own genocide. And the SWP still holds that same program. Their solution to black



JOIN THE SYL!

Black Liberation Through Proletarian Revolution!

Boston busing crisis 1974-1975: SL/SYL demanded labor/black mobilizations to defend black schoolchildren and smash racist attacks.

oppression is to join the National Black Independent Party, the party that looks forward to the Democrats to fight for them. So they had nothing to offer me.

It was only the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League who had something to offer. We are the only organization that defends the Soviet degenerated workers state against U.S. imperialism. Reagan is driving towards war against the Soviet Union, to overturn those gains made by the Russian working people and peasants in 1917—gains which the capitalists would like to take back. But these gains belong to us and we will defend them. There are plenty of problems in the Soviet Union, like the absence of working-class democracy. We, as Trotskyists, fight to overthrow the bureaucracy that is against working-class revolution. We have a program that makes sense to working people, a program that makes sense to black people, Jews and minorities in this country, a program that says we've got to rely on our own strength and build that into a powerful movement for socialism and to fight for a workers government, a planned economy and jobs for all.

So what other organization is dedicated to stopping the fascists? It's not just a question of mobilization; it's a question of our program, a question of our politics. That's what draws people out to smash the fascists. We did it in Detroit in 1979 after the Greensboro massacre, where we mobilized 500—black and white auto workers and students—to make sure that the Klan would not show their faces, and they did not show. In April of 1980, the Nazis decided that they wanted to celebrate Hitler's birthday. And San Francisco is a labor town, union town, black town and gay town. So we mobilized 22 different labor unions, the black com-

munity, the gay community, women's groups, to come out to make sure that the Nazis would not show their faces. They did not come and they have never attempted to do so again. And that was only through our mobilization, our politics, that these guys were stopped. In Ann Arbor we organized 2,000 people, and ran the fascists off the streets. And recently, you know, June 27 was a very successful demonstration.

The fight is not over. We must continue this fight. And we must fight to win. We're the only organization that fights for jobs for all. We call for open admissions on the universities so that blacks too can be a part and be able to go to a university of their choice. We're the only organization that fights in the interests of all the oppressed.

We have a revolutionary perspective. What we said in El Salvador applies to blacks in this country. Take a side—it's revolution or death in this country. So, I would really encourage people, if you really like what we say, you like what we do, you like our politics, you should join us. If you think picket lines mean don't cross you belong in our organization. If you think that military victory to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador is the only possible way that that war will be won—you should be in our organization. If you think that labor/black mobilizations against Nazi and Klan terror is the only way forward you should be in our organization. We call for black liberation through socialist revolution. We want the liberation of mankind; we want a socialist revolution. Look at the rest of the groups on the left, talk to them, read their papers. You can see that they're not serious at all about fighting for socialism. So if you want to be liberated, if you want equality, join us, the Spartacist League, for a workers government. ■

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Marxist Bulletin 5

WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK LIBERATION? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

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New York: SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 267-1025

San Francisco: SYL, Box 11685, San Francisco, CA 94101, or call (415) 863-6963

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8, or call (416) 593-4138

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

Young Spartacus

SL/SYL Organizes 3,000 in Chicago to...

Workers Vanguard Photo



June 27 in Chicago was a big victory for opponents of fascist terror throughout the country: over 3,000 people turned out in a demonstration initiated by the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League to stop a Nazi provocation against the city's Gay Pride rally. Blacks, Jews, workers, gays and leftists, all potential victims of fascism, came out on June 27 to *stop the Nazis and defend themselves*.

A gang of Nazi stormtroopers showed up at Chicago's Lincoln Park, but found the site where they planned to stage their provocation already occupied by thousands of anti-Nazi demonstrators. As the fascists were spotted, the crowd surged forward chanting "No Hitlers in Chicago—Stop the Nazis Now!" Unable to enter the park, the two dozen Hitlerites clustered behind a chain-link fence, protected by scores of Chicago cops, including a line of mounted cossacks. For an hour a steady din of anti-fascist chants effectively drowned out the Nazis' white-power and "death to queers" poison until the Hitler-lovers gave up and were ushered away by the police to a thunderous roar of "Nazis Out!"

The thousands of demonstrators came to Lincoln Park in response to the organizing efforts of the SL/SYL-initiated June 27 Committee Against the Nazis. More than 75 individuals representing large sectors of the Chicago community endorsed the Committee's call to action. Over 250,000 leaflets were distributed and at the demonstration members of dozens of local unions were present. Black participation in the demonstration was key. To come up from the South Side to Lincoln Park in one of the most segregated cities in the U.S. took not only commitment but guts. But blacks know that they are No. 1 on the Klan/Nazis' death list. That's what brought them out.

On June 27 the SL/SYL proved not simply our commitment to smashing

fascist terror, but the possibility of *winning* on the basis of our strategy of labor/black mobilization. Both in Chicago and in Ann Arbor on March 20 we won in political struggle against those who said that the working class could not be mobilized, and against liberals who would "ignore" the fascist threat. There should have been tens of thousands to run the Hitlerite scum out, and this time the cops stood in the way. But we proved that significant sections of the exploited and oppressed can be mobilized against the fascist filth.

Through our work around June 27, we won to our ranks several new black comrades. Their applications reflect a communist commitment to the strategic necessity of uniting black workers—who will necessarily play a vanguard role in revolutionary struggle—with their white class brothers in a multi-racial Leninist party. Such a party must not only organize to smash the Nazis, but the racist, capitalist system which breeds them. We need Civil War part two in this country. As we wrote in *Young Spartacus* No. 101 ("Huck Finn in Racist America"):

"The American Civil War liquidated slavery, but a great powerful bourgeoisie, not the working people, were the victors. Therefore, in democratic terms, the victory that was won in that war is partial. Only proletarian socialist revolution can bring real equality for black people (and simple decency suggests a bit *more* than that). Uncompromising struggle for the democratic rights of black and other minorities is key to the forging of an integrated workers party whose victory will destroy the racism which is rooted in every capitalist institution, from the military and the courts to the schools."

Comrade Jackie B., who spoke at the June 27 demonstration, writes in her application to the SYL:

"The excitement was unbearable, seeing 3,000 people mobilized for a common cause, to stop the Nazis from projecting their racist filth. The support we gained from the phoneworkers, steel workers,

bus drivers was gratifying.... [The SL's] fights against fascism and their struggle for a workers revolution intrigued me. I joined to learn more about socialism.... The struggle is a great one that is very hard, but with the unity of laborers and minorities we can win."

Newly won comrades learned in action that reformists and centrists are *obstacles* to the task of black liberation and socialist revolution. From the Communist Party's touching faith in the Democratic Party hustlers and its call on the state to "ban the Klan" to the centrist pretenders of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) and Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) who alternate between capitulation to the liberal "ignore the Nazis" slogan and the defeatist strategy of substituting small groups in adventurist confrontations with the cops: they have no program for victory. As comrade Joe B. from Detroit wrote:

"I have met different groups, black nationalists, RWL and SWP [Socialist Workers Party]. The nationalists try to cut down our comrades because of their

color. I love when our comrades say: where were you in Detroit '79 against the KKK and Nazis, March 20 in Ann Arbor and Chicago June 27.... I WAS THERE! The RWL I met in Chicago. They were trying to instigate the crowd and sabotage our demonstration. The SWP in Oberlin wouldn't say anything to us. They also won't stand up for themselves. I was proud of our organization. We stood our ground.... People are looking for good leadership. The world has problems, the Spartacists have solutions."

Comrade Nay, who rejoined the SYL after the June 27 demonstration also has political experience with the reformists. A former member of the SWP's short-lived front group, the National Student Coalition Against Racism, he was won in 1978 to the SYL's call for labor/black defense guards as the *only* answer to defeat the racists' anti-busing campaign. The SWP/NSCAR called for racist, strike-breaking federal troops, cops and even FBI agents to "protect" black school children. While racist mobs rampaged through Boston streets, the

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March 20, Ann Arbor. 2,000 ran Nazis out of town in response to SL/SYL call.

