

Young Spartacus

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U.S. Collusion Behind Vietnam Invasion

China: Don't Be a Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism!

MARCH 8—As the Chinese troops crossed over the border into Vietnam at Friendship Pass almost three weeks ago, the echo of their marching boots reverberated around the world. News of the invasion was emblazoned across the front pages, stock markets trembled, governments set up their crisis monitoring teams. The smell of holocaust was in the air. On March 5 the New China News Agency announced that the Chinese invading army is being withdrawn. However, Vietnamese newspapers report that fierce resistance to the Chinese attack continues. Whether or not the Chinese are pulling back from Vietnamese territory, the sinister implications and political lessons of the invasion remain absolutely clear.

Statement of the National Bureau of the Spartacus Youth League

War is raging again in Vietnam. The heroic victory of the Vietnamese people, after 25 years of determined struggle, over U.S. imperialism is once again being menaced. While it is Chinese troops that are pouring over the border to the accompaniment of heavy artillery fire, there should be no mistake as to whose interest is behind this invasion. Since the last desperate and panic-stricken American forces were evacuated by helicopter from the roof of the U.S. embassy in 1975 as the NLF/DRV forces marched victoriously into Saigon, the U.S. has pursued a policy of implacable hostility toward Vietnam. China is acting as the knowing accomplice of the U.S. imperialists' drive against the working people of Vietnam and the Soviet bloc countries.

While the U.S. government has feigned an "evenhanded" posture, liberals and conservatives alike admit Washington's collusion in the invasion. It is no accident that Chinese deputy prime minister Teng Hsiao-ping's ominous threat to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson" was trumpeted first twice in Washington, then in Tokyo, without the slightest admonition from Jimmy Carter. It is apparent to all that Peking would not have undertaken this provocative action without at least tacit backing from Washington. If any question remained as to the U.S.' real intentions, Treasury Secretary Blum-



SL/SYL contingent at February 24 demonstration at Chinese Mission. Anti-Soviet diplomacy means bloody aggression against Vietnamese people!

enthal's appearance at the official opening of the U.S. embassy in Peking at the height of the Chinese invasion effectively sealed the matter. Socialist and labor militants throughout the world must demand: China Get Out of Vietnam Now! Don't Be a Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism!

Teng's appeals to the U.S. and Japan to "curb the polar bear" are linked to Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade and the recent escalation of U.S. provocations against the Soviet Union. The U.S.' "calm" reaction to the Chinese invasion of Vietnam contrasts sharply with the rabid frenzy over the Vietnamese incursion into Cambodia which toppled the despotic Pol Pot regime. While only a year ago Cambodia headed the list as the all-time violator of "human rights," today Washington is championing the cause of "poor little democratic Kampuchea."

Defend the Soviet Union!

Until recently the main content of the conflict between Peking and Hanoi has

been the question of who will dominate Indochina. But in the case of the Chinese invasion of Vietnam the connection to recurring Sino-Soviet hostilities and the clear collusion with the aims of imperialism are the crucial elements. Behind China's adventure in Vietnam lies U.S. imperialism's never-ending appetite for capitalist reconquest of the USSR, the main military/industrial powerhouse of the deformed workers states. Should the Soviet Union be drawn directly into the fighting, thus decisively internationalizing the conflict, the urgent question of military defense of the USSR would be posed pointblank. Such a confrontation would pit the Russian degenerated workers state against the imperialists, principally the U.S. through the intermediary of its tacit Chinese ally. The Trotskyist Fourth International was founded on the principle of the unconditional defense of the gains of the 1917 October Revolution. We will not flinch in the decisive hour!

Many young people became

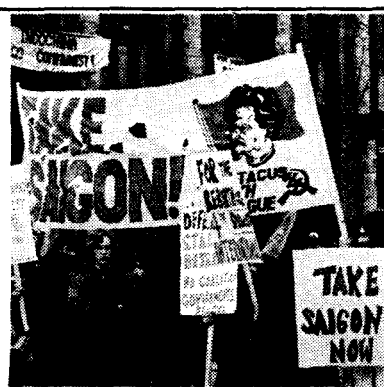
radicalized in the 1960's through their opposition to the Vietnam war. Large numbers of them turned to Maoism, mainly because of China's avowed opposition to U.S. imperialism and to the Soviet policy of "peaceful coexistence." But the policies of the Chinese bureaucracy have shown themselves to be a piece with the counterrevolutionary policies of the Kremlin. We Trotskyists will never forget that mass murderer Nixon was welcomed by Mao in the "Great Hall of the People" as well as by Brezhnev in the Kremlin as B-52's rained terror upon the working people of Vietnam. In pursuit of an increasingly reactionary foreign policy, Teng has merely been faithful to Mao's treacherous scheme of uniting reactionaries throughout the world—from the now-deposed shah of Iran to Zbigniew Brzezinski, the Dr. Strangelove of the Carter administration—in a sinister and obscene anti-Soviet alliance.

While the possibility of a U.S./China/Japan alliance was unfathomable to most radicals of the Vietnam era, the Spartacist League was able to predict the alignment that is now taking shape. Almost ten years ago our tendency wrote:

"We must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal with China. Should the imperialists adjust their policies in terms of their long-run interests...the Chinese would be as willing as the Russians are at present to build 'Socialism in One Country' through deals with imperialism at the



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Maoism Rots Your Brain

RCP Goes Nuts

Jane Scherr

Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) has gone stark raving mad, driven insane by the intrigues of Peking's Forbidden Palace and the dismal vision of their own bleak future. When it was announced that Chinese deputy premier and number one "capitalist roader" Teng Hsiao-p'ing would visit the inner sanctums of Yankee imperialism, the RCP let loose. They formed the "Committee for a Fitting Welcome" and soon on college campuses across the country members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB—youth group of the RCP) could be seen yelling incoherently at no one in particular and distributing literature which raved, "Death to Teng!"

Proclaiming in big, bold letters, "We must storm the heavens and make a revolution," the RCP's language has taken on an increasingly hallucinatory quality. As for Teng, the Avakianites can't think of enough names to call him. In their various publications they've hurled the kind of epithets a rabid adolescent might use: "half-pint Napoleon," "rat-faced renegade," "diabolical creature," "demon," "snake," "pimp," "maggot," and believe it or not, "fascist dwarf."

"Dream the Dream"

That what's left of the RCP is plunging into cloud-cuckooland was predictable. New Leftist worshipers of the Cultural Revolution—identifying strongly with the Red Guard youth—the RCP has watched their every illusion in "people's China" explode. The forerunner of the RCP, the Revolutionary Union, was formed in 1969 based on a series of myths: China's role as a beacon for all the "Third World;" China's "self-reliance" and hostility to U.S. imperialism as against the USSR's policy of détente; and Mao's infallible leadership resulting in happy peasant egalitarianism and unending victories against "capitalist-roading" bureau-



Idiot Berkeley RCYB apes now defunct Red Guards, invades classroom.

crats. What happens when even the most faithful Maoist comes up against China's support to reactionary despots from Pinochet to the shah of Iran, the purge of the "gang of four," the reinstatement of Teng and a diplomatic alliance with the United States? Either you swallow it all, like Klonsky's Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) [CPML], or you go splat.

Not that they did not try to keep the faith. The RCP's support to the "gang of four" and China's ever more open collusion with U.S. imperialism should not give them the opportunity to pose as left-wing critics of Chinese foreign policy now. They were with Mao every

step of the way—from the welcoming of Nixon in Peking at the height of the 1972 Christmas bombing of Hanoi to China's support to the 1975 South African/CIA-backed invasion of Angola. Carter/Teng have simply consolidated the alliance forged by Nixon/Mao. But after the purge of the "gang" and the loss of the China franchise to their arch rivals in the CPML, objective reality intervened with a vengeance. Even after a wrenching split over the China question took over a third of the Avakianites' membership, "mum" was the word. It was the Spartacist League's *Workers Vanguard* (27 January 1978) which blew the "RCP Splits!" story

open and published documents exposing the Avakianites' "secret" position that they were siding with the "gang." Since then things have gone from bad to worse for the dwindling band of RCPers as they try one gimmick after another—hoping to stop the downward spiral.

Off the Deep End: The Anti-Teng Campaign

The fireworks began on January 24 when five RCP beserkers staged a self-proclaimed "righteous raid" on China's liaison office in Washington, D.C. While one of them courted suicide by wildly brandishing a gun, the others pelted the windows with metal fishing weights, splashed the walls with white paint, tossed an effigy of Teng onto the steps and scattered leaflets here and there. The "Embassy Five" were soon arrested by Secret Service agents after a brief auto chase.

The RCP's raid was indefensible from a proletarian perspective. The assault took place *before* the Chinese invasion of Vietnam silenced a storm of attacks from the right on Carter's establishing diplomatic relations with "red" China. Simply feeding into this right-wing backlash, the RCPers' frenzied attack was an act more worthy of the Kuomintang than ostensible "revolutionary communists."

The 2-16 February issue of the *Revolutionary Worker* (new, "mass" paper of the RCP), however, brimmed with childish glee in reporting that their adventure at the mission:

"... caused an international incident. ... A State Dept. spokesman said 'We are taking additional security measures to deal with the problem.' Considering the righteous hatred of all genuine revolutionaries for this treasonous dog [Teng], they're certainly going to need it."

While juvenile fantasy may lead the RCP to believe that five of their members "trashing" the Chinese mission left the ruling class shaking in its boots, nothing could be further from the truth.

The January 24 "raid" was only the opening act in the saga which placed the RCP fleetingly before the "masses" as their antics made headlines in major

Hands Off the RCYB!

The following leaflet was distributed on 13 February by the Bay Area Spartacus Youth League at the University of California at Berkeley in response to the administration's attempt to ban the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) from the campus. The leaflet also appeared in the *Daily Californian* as a letter to the editor the next day.

An injury to one is an injury to all must be the response of all Cal students, campus workers, and faculty to the Administration's decision to ban the RCYB from campus. The ban effective February 14 comes after a witchhunting campaign which began on February 2 with the publication of an editorial in the *Daily Californian* denouncing the RCYB as "Stormtroopers" and demanding "the most rigorous penalties and loss of privileges" in response to the RCYB's campus protest coinciding with Teng Hsiao-p'ing's visit.

On February 7 Sproul Plaza was patrolled by campus cops demanding to see the registration cards of RCYB members. On the same day the *Daily Cal* published a column by Bruce Dancis which condemned both the

RCYB and the SYL as "fools," "totalitarians" and "crazies" and likened them to the Moonies, Children of God and other cults. The purpose of this witchhunt is clear: to use the ridiculous antics of the RCYB as an excuse to intimidate and isolate the campus left. All of this comes in the context of Carter's vicious crackdown on anti-shah Iranian students, the threatened deportations of the L.A. anti-shah protesters, and harassment of foreign students in the U.S.

As is well known, the SL/SYL has the most fundamental political differences with the RCYB. Unlike these Maoists who now following the purge of the "gang of four" label China "capitalist," the SYL stands for the unconditional defense of all the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states (like the USSR and China) against imperialist attack. At the same time we call for proletarian political revolutions in all these states to oust the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracies and establish soviet democracy and a revolutionary internationalist foreign policy. Today the RCP/RCYB are Stalinists without a country. Their frenzied attempt to give Teng a

"fitting welcome" and their antics on campus reflect massive political disorientation.

However, whatever our political differences with the RCYB, if this threatened political ban is enforced it will represent a severe setback for the entire campus, reversing the gains of the Free Speech Movement and opening the door for further repression of leftists, foreign students and minority student organizations.

As for Bruce Dancis and his February 2 editorial: this "changing, inquiring and thinking" writer calls the sub-reformist New American Movement "lucid" and "worthwhile." In fact, he is an aging social-democratic dilettante who, lacking any serious orientation toward the working class, has been mucking around the liberal/academic milieu of the campuses for over a decade. He is the sort of "socialist" who in the McCarthy era would have offered his services to the government to help witchhunt "totalitarian" communists, as now he has helped hand over the RCYB to the Administration.

What is needed now is a united-front defense effort to stop the Administration's witchhunt. Hands off the RCYB!

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Class War in Southern California

SL/SYL Builds Support for Farmworkers

LOS ANGELES, March 6—Three thousand members of the United Farm Workers (UFW) walked out of the fields of the country's largest lettuce growers in southern California's Imperial Valley on January 19. They have been subjected ever since to repeated violent attacks by a strikebreaking alliance of the growers, cops, scabs and armed company thugs. One striker has been killed; scores injured and arrested.

But rather than "turning the other cheek" as UFW president Cesar Chavez has preached for years, the strikers have fought back with a heroism and determination that has inspired farmworkers throughout the Southwest. Already the longest and most militant strike in the history of the UFW, the battle has begun to spread to fields in Arizona and northern California.

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) has actively taken up the cause of the embattled farmworkers. SL/SYL activists have made numerous trips to the picket lines, have traveled with the strikers in the huge car caravans they use to police the struck fields, and have been with the farmworkers in drawn-out battles with tear gas-lobbing cops. And the SL/SYL has been the only group on the entire left to sponsor rallies and public meetings, both in southern and northern California, in defense of the strike.

The strike is the first major walkout by UFW members since the union won a series of representation elections under the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act in 1975. Never reconciled to the union, California agribusiness has waited for a new opportunity to maul the UFW. When contracts expired with the 28-member Imperial Valley Growers Association, the growers flatly rejected the union's modest wage demand for an increase in the minimum hourly rate from \$3.70 to \$5.25. Backed up by Jimmy Carter's 7 percent limit on wage increases, the growers broke off negotiations and vowed to drive the farmworkers to their knees.

The arrogant bosses summoned plenty of support. Court orders limiting pickets were obtained from local judges. A special deputy sheriff's "strike force" was beefed up with reinforcements from as far away as Yuma, Arizona. The federal government dispatched units of the U.S. Border Patrol and governor



Scabherding cops attack UFW strikers in Imperial Valley.

Jerry Brown sent in troopers from the California Highway Patrol. The growers hired private security guards and armed their foremen with handguns. Scabs were solicited in full-page ads in local newspapers and in leaflets distributed south of the border.

The Ku Klux Klan also jumped into the fray. Having grabbed headlines with "border patrols" against Mexican immigrants, the Klan ostentatiously revived them when the strike started. There is no mistaking that these are directed against the strikers, most of whom are Mexican nationals who cross the border daily with "green cards" permitting them to work in the fields. A tape-recorded message at the night riders' headquarters in Fallbrook, California urges Klansmen to drive to the El Centro Fairgrounds to report for scabbing and collect some cash while they repulse the "Mexican invasion."

Mass Picketing Stops Scabs

But in all their strikebreaking calculations, the growers did not figure on the steadily mounting combativity of the UFW membership. Determined to enforce their picket lines, hundreds of strikers have patrolled the Valley day after day, costing the growers over \$20 million in crops that have rotted on the ground.

On January 29, for example, 50 buses and trucks packed with scabs rushed the picket lines at the Vessey farm. But the strikers stood their ground: windows were smashed, buses halted, one truck overturned. One worker was hit by the landing skid of a police helicopter, another was brutally beaten, a third may be paralyzed for life, run over by a foreman's pickup truck. But as 2,000 strikers converged on the 150 scabs who made it into the field, the sheriffs and company guards who tried to stop them fared far worse. As one militant said, "Estuvo muy bonita, es un dia muy bonito." (It was beautiful, a beautiful day.)

Hysterical over this resistance, the growers escalated their assault. On February 10 as a few dozen pickets entered the huge Saikhon field to talk to scabs, foremen opened up with a hail of

bullets. Striker Rufino Contreras was hit in the face and killed. But if the growers thought they could kill the spirit of the strikers through murder, they were wrong. Seven thousand angry strike supporters gathered at Contreras' funeral, and walls in the border towns of Calexico and Mexicali were scrawled with the strikers' slogan: "Rufino Contreras lives! Punishment!" The growers shut down every field in the Imperial Valley on the day of the funeral, not out of respect, but out of fear.

The fields were shut down again completely on February 21, when 2,000 strikers swept through the Valley to enforce a union-called one-day "general strike." SL/SYL members gathered with the pickets before dawn near Calexico, stopping scabs crossing the border. By 8 a.m. a caravan of hundreds of cars had gathered at "El Hoyo" (the hole), a huge vacant lot once used by the hated labor contractors for daily recruitment of workers, now the site of daily strike assignments. Taking off for fields where scabs had been spotted, the strikers arrived at the Sam Andrews ranch before police did and 30 to 40 scabs already in the field were persuaded to leave before eight squad cars rushed up.

At the caravan's next stop, the Maggio field, 40 riot-equipped county sheriffs were guarding the scabs. As the 2,000 strikers massed on the road bordering the field, the cops began firing tear gas into the crowd at point-blank range. The strikers retreated briefly, soaking bandanas in irrigation ditches ringing the field to cover their faces, then counterattacked. For two hours, a pitched battle raged. Every time the cops dropped back to regroup, more strikers entered the field to chase out the scabs. When it was all over, the strikers had won: the field was empty. The growers got the point; by mid-afternoon, not one field in the Imperial Valley was being worked.

Despite the demonstrated desire of the union ranks to spread the strike, Cesar Chavez has done his best to contain it. Chavez has struck only 14 of the 28 growers, leaving 12,000 of the 16,000 farmworkers covered in the

current negotiations still in the fields. As his members are gassed and gunned down on the picket lines, Chavez insists his place is "in the cities," where he has busied himself pursuing impotent diversionary schemes. The UFW chief has been organizing a food drive and, more recently, calling for a boycott of Sun Harvest, a subsidiary of the giant United Brands conglomerate which markets Chiquita bananas.

Chavez has always been more at home organizing liberal consumer boycotts than in fighting it out on the picket lines. During the union's last major strike, against lettuce and grape growers in 1973, Chavez responded to the killing of two strikers and the violence of cops and Teamster goons by calling off the strike entirely. He substituted a weak consumer boycott, and the union was almost destroyed as a result.

Now that the lettuce season is almost over, the farmworkers strike has spread to other crops in northern California and Arizona. But farmworkers must be on guard that their militant resistance to cop/grower strikebreaking is not sabotaged by Chavez as it has been before.

Victory in this strike will be won through labor solidarity, which alone can insure the defense of the picket lines and the extension of the strike throughout the Imperial Valley and to the important San Joaquin and Salinas Valley fields. Farmworkers should appeal to the Teamsters to insure that the struck produce does not move from the fields to the coolers to the supermarkets. The farmworkers must not be isolated from the rest of the labor movement in this life and death struggle.

SL/SYL Strike Support

Eyewitness accounts of the class warfare in the Imperial Valley, as well as warnings against Chavez's pacifist tactics, have been brought to rallies and forums sponsored by the SL/SYL. On 28 February a rally was held at UCLA in support of the UFW, and the next day SYLer Julia Maura addressed a forum in L.A. describing the battles she has witnessed in the fields. Maura is

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Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus 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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Revolutionary Regroupment:

Spartacists Win Leftists From Social Democracy

Young Spartacus is pleased to present the following condensed version of a February 8 forum given in Ann Arbor by Bruce Richard. Comrade Richard was a leader of a heterogeneous left-critical/activist grouping in the Socialist Party, USA (SP) called the Debs Caucus. When the Caucus declared itself pro-Leninist, they stirred considerable attention on the left. The soft-Maoist Guardian and the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party in particular scurried after the Caucus' members, but the serious elements in the grouping recognized that neither of these reformist outfits represented an authentic revolutionary Marxist program. Comrade Richard, who joined the SP in 1976 and was its Michigan state secretary, is now a member of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League.

To preserve the verbal character of the original presentation, we have introduced only stylistic alterations and deletions.



"From Social Democracy to Trotskyism": Bruce Richard speaks at Ann Arbor forum.

What we're really talking about is a fairly important question for the left: why would anybody in 1978-1979 go from the Socialist Party (SP), the extreme right wing of anything we would call ostensibly socialist in this country, to the revolutionary communism of the Spartacist League? How is a group of militant, but raw, social democrats recruited, turned into communists, by the SL?

Those of us who came from the SP had a chance to test in action revolutionary politics in the workers movement. We had a lesson in what revolutionary politics are throughout our fight in the SP and our process of coming to the SL. Now why is it, first of all, that anyone would go to the Socialist Party in the first place? Many people who come to left politics go through a stage of thinking—some of them never leave it—that all who oppose capitalism should be organizationally united, despite their different programs. There is an illusion that there is a "family of the left" which can join together to fight the capitalists despite the fact that they have many different programs and strategies for doing so. Now the Socialist Party of today holds itself out as a "non-sectarian, multi-tendency" party, open to all who sign an application which says, in effect, "believing that socialism should be brought about by democratic

means, I hereby apply to the SP." To politically raw youth, ignorant of the historic divisions in the workers movement, this seems only sensible.

The SP's History of Betrayal

Most of the people who later formed the Debs Caucus in the SP and split to the left were in fact ignorant of the political history of the SP, as well as of the history of the whole left movement. What we discovered, after joining the SP, was an unfolding series of revelations about the SP's history. We found out, more or less by accident—an accident which led to considerable research on our part as we grew more interested and appalled—that the SP during the whole of the Vietnam war had opposed military victory for the National Liberation Front. Under the slogan "Negotiate Now for a Neutralized South Vietnam," the SP basically supported the U.S. war effort. Leading members of the SP, such as Max Shachtman, furthermore had supported the imperialist adventure of the Bay of Pigs invasion against the Cuban revolution—on the grounds that "totalitarian communism" had to be smashed by any means necessary.

The SP leadership for 60 years consistently fought any revolutionary

tendencies that arose within the SP. In 1919 they expelled tens of thousands of people—many of whom later became the Communist Party—for adherence to the ideals of the Russian Revolution. In 1937 they threw out a large Trotskyist cadre, which later became the Socialist Workers Party. In 1953 they basically threw their youth organization out, the Young People's Socialist League, the YPSLs, which later went to join Max Shachtman's group, which was at the time somewhat to the left. And in 1964, when the reconstituted YPSLs called for "Vote No for President" instead of endorsing Lyndon B. Johnson as the party itself did, again the youth organization was simply dissolved, the locks on its office padlocked and its membership thrown out.

The SP, through most of its history was tied to the crustiest section of the labor bureaucracy—people like Albert Shanker, George Meany, people who under the guise of some form of socialism had been bitterly anti-communist and had been the most consistent betrayers of working-class struggles. What we found out in fact was the historical role of the social democracy in America: to be the bourgeoisie's own anti-communist cover in the labor movement. The SP's ties with the right-wing section of the labor bureaucracy allowed it to be a transmission belt for bourgeois ideas into the labor movement.

The social democracy has had this role internationally since 1914, when the parties of the Second International supported their own bourgeois governments against the workers of other countries at the start of World War I. Ever since then the social democrats have played the role of fighting the communists on behalf of the bourgeoisies under the guise of "democratic socialism."

A "Non-Sectarian" Swamp

Furthermore, we had a series of corresponding revelations about the present state of the organization we had

joined, the product of this rotten history. We saw what the "non-sectarian party" looked like in practice. Torpid functioning. Half the membership hadn't paid its 1978 \$4 dues by September of last year. The SP newspaper, *Socialist Tribune*, was infrequent and irregular. Its political content was determined erratically by a volunteer collective, which led to wild swings in political line. Because of the SP's erratic notions of discipline, individual members would put forward their own motions in the name of the party. For instance, the National Chairman, Frank Zeidler, would often issue press releases without clearing it with anyone. Although a quarter of the membership has trade-union experience, there was not a single SP trade-union fraction anywhere in the country. Many of the locals existed primarily on paper and did absolutely nothing at all. This is basically what this "multi-tendency, non-sectarian" party looks like in practice. It's a swamp in which nothing gets done and in which the formal politics, such as they are, are the politics of class betrayal.

Now, the activist youth recruited over the last two or three years realized that a concerted effort would be necessary if life would ever be breathed into the SP's political corpse. Oppositional activity formally began at the May 1978 Wisconsin Socialist Party state convention, where there was an unsuccessful, but aggressive, challenge to the extreme right wing of the Wisconsin party led by a group of young comrades from Milwaukee. Between this May convention and the September National Convention, the left-wing activists in the SP, primarily located in Michigan and Wisconsin, coalesced into the Debs Caucus. This was to be the main organizational vehicle for left-wing opposition in the SP. The Caucus came together formally just prior to the September Convention after a series of rather vague and formless discussions.

The name, Debs Caucus, was not an acronym. It reflected, first of all, opposi-



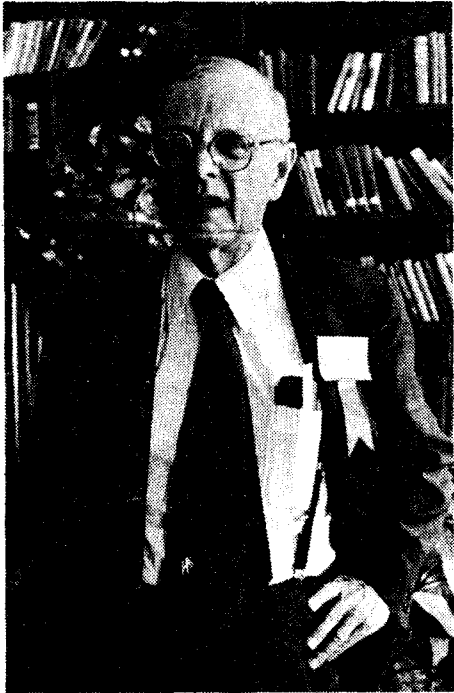
SP chiefs greet Debs at Atlanta Penitentiary, 1920.

tional history in the SP. The Zeidlerites had been organized as the Debs Caucus when they were antiwar and against liquidation into the Democratic Party in 1973. More importantly, the name reflected a concept of the Socialist Party as it was in the time of Eugene V. Debs, before World War I—an all-inclusive party in which revolutionaries like Big Bill Haywood, James P. Cannon and others coexisted with reformists such as Morris Hillquit and Victor Berger. This concept of the party reflected the Caucus' own political heterogeneity. It contained self-proclaimed Maoists, Trotskyists, "non-Leninist Marxists" and so on.

The basic programmatic document of the Debs Caucus set forward our philosophy: "We prefer to emphasize the commonality among socialists rather than the differences." This concept of the party, called "Kautskyist" after the leading theoretician of the pre-World War I Second International, is that of the "party of the whole class." All the working-class tendencies were factions of a common organization. These "parties of the whole class" everywhere in the world split in 1914 when one section of them, the reformists, supported their own bourgeoisie in World War I. This was a historic betrayal of the workers of the world, precisely when there was a need for militant *opposition* to the ruling class.

Like the Kautskyists, the Debs Caucus had programmatically vague statements about the need for unity, and ignored or slid over key questions such as the Russian question. The main

Mary Locke



SP's Frank Zeidler: strikebreaker.

document of the Caucus contained not one word on the Russian question. The call for the Debs Caucus, distributed at the 1978 convention, evaded the question by simply stating that we don't believe that the USSR is the main threat in the world today. Incorrect and temporizing as this attitude was, the social-democratic majority in the SP would have none of it. We were met with red-baiting hysteria and crude anti-communist slander. One National Committee member summed up the right-wing opposition's stance with the simple statement that "Lenin was a murderer."

SP's Right Wing Calls the Cops

Furthermore, the SP majority was not about to engage in political debate with a group of potential revolutionaries. It relied instead on bureaucratic maneuverings to crush the Caucus' opposition. When it looked like the Caucus would get a significant proportional representation on the National Committee of the SP at the Convention, the majority simply canceled the elections. The national secretary, Tom Spiro (a member of the Debs Caucus), was summarily fired, and at the time that the Caucus split from the SP in November, the majority had prepared to revoke the charter of all the left-wing locals.

After the September national convention, leading right-wingers began a new campaign of slander against the Debs Caucus. They claimed that we were agents of other left groups and that in any case we were politically ignorant and irresponsible. This is the answer of these "non-sectarians" to an attempt to clarify certain political differences within their "non-sectarian" party. The right-wingers were upset in particular by the entry of a small group in New York called the Communist Cadre-Marxist (CTCM), a tiny 1972 split from the Workers World Party of Sam Marcy. CTCM had drifted in the political wilds of New York City for a number of years before coming to rest in the SP.

Despite all their faults, the Communist Cadre-Marxist were opposed by the social-democratic right wing precisely on the issues on which one could say they were right. It was because they claimed to be revolutionaries. The CTCM, for example, proposed a motion to expel chairman Zeidler for having crossed a picket line several months before in order to speak on the same platform as Henry Hyde (the well-known sponsor of an amendment to cut off Medicaid funding for abortions). This of course threw the SP right wing into a frenzy, and they attempted to throw the CTCM out.

Additionally, the Spartacist League exposed the fact in *Workers Vanguard* that Zeidler had helped break a bitter strike in Wisconsin in 1954 by using his power as mayor to allow scab goods to be unloaded at the harbor. On seeing this revelation the Milwaukee local of the SP also proposed the expulsion of Zeidler. This more or less forced the hand of the right-wingers who immediately summoned the National Committee and prepared to decharter the left-wing locals. When the Debs Caucus stood up at this meeting, 15 of us, the response of the right-wing majority was to call the police! This is what social democracy means: calling in the bourgeois state against the revolutionaries. This is how the majority bureaucratically dealt with the political challenge they were confronting.

Needed: A Program for Revolutionary Leadership

Under the blows of the right wing the Debs Caucus had to reassess its "family-of-the-left" conception. How could we coexist in the same party with people that called the cops on us? We carefully studied the basic writings of Lenin and Trotsky on the question of the organization of the revolutionary party, and we in the process made the transition to Leninism. The primary thing for a party is its program, which describes the basic tasks of a revolutionary party for making a socialist revolution. One needs a party committed programmatically to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism—a disciplined party capable of mobilizing the working class and seizing state power.

The fight for leadership of the working class, betrayed by the social democrats and their brothers under the skin, the Stalinists, is the fight against the other tendencies on the left. There is one party and one program only

But now the speaker [Lenin] brings up an opponent's possible objection or cites a vicious quotation from an enemy's article. Before he proceeds to analyze the hostile idea, he gives you to understand that the objection is groundless, superficial, or false.... He always prefaces his refutation by condemning his opponent, deriding or disgracing him—depending on the opponent or the circumstances.... Then, the logical offensive is launched.

—Leon Trotsky, *Portraits*, (1977)

which is revolutionary. All the misleaders must be exposed in action before the workers and politically defeated. The "multi-tendency" party subverts this struggle for leadership.

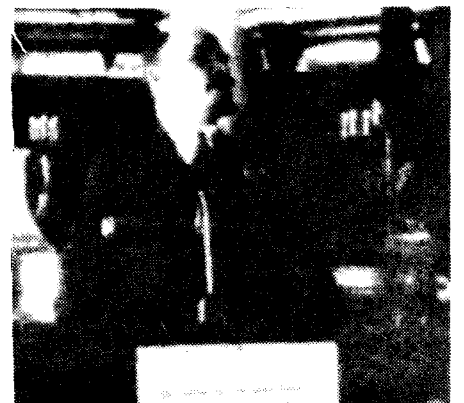
This struggle for revolutionary leadership governs the relations not only within the party, but between other left groups as well. This is the question of the united front. It's often necessary to form blocs between different tendencies for the defense of the working class, especially when the revolutionary party is not the sole or main party of the workers. Thus, in Germany in 1933 it was objectively vitally necessary for the Communist Party to actively seek out a united front with the social democrats to fight the fascists. Even in such blocs, however, the struggle to expose the misleadership of the other parties must go on. There must be merciless criticism of their program, the program of defeats, and the constant counterposition of the revolutionary program to theirs. The workers can then see each program tested in action. They can see which program wins gains.

Another question that divides social democrats from revolutionaries is the Russian question: do you defend the USSR against capitalist attack or not? If not, you are in alignment with the world bourgeoisie; there is no "third camp." The USSR represents a great gain, even under the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy which must be overthrown by the Russian workers themselves. The same

Boston Herald American



SWP preaches reliance on bosses' troops, cops to defend blacks against racist assaults.



follows for the deformed workers states: China, and so on. The Russian question is the critical question for the world left movement. It defines one's attitude towards the world bourgeoisie. Take for example Maoism in China, where anti-Sovietism has led the Chinese bureaucracy to make a bloc with the U.S. against Russia. If they succeed in destroying the Soviet Union, they will only thereby set themselves up for decimation by the U.S. bourgeoisie.

The Russian question also has immediate importance because of the present reactionary campaign by the U.S. government for "human rights" in the Soviet Union. This is nothing but a cover for cold war hysteria—which most of the left has tailed. For example the Communist Party itself calls on Jimmy Carter and his government to "enforce human rights" at home. The Socialist Workers Party raises the call for "human rights" all the time in the context of calling on the bourgeois government to make good on its promises. But this is the same government that fought the Vietnam war for 10, 20 years, that oppresses people throughout the world. Groups like these build illusions in the ability of this government to be "even-handed."

Program and Style

The party question in a sense comes down to "style." The reaction that most of the Debs Caucus members had early on in their exploration of other left groups was that they like the politics of the Spartacist League on questions such as the Russian question, the party—but the "style" of the Spartacist League was "divisive." The majority of the left in general doesn't want to hear what the Spartacist League has to say. They don't want to confront communist politics, and they take refuge in criticizing what they call the "style" of the SL.

The Spartacist League is like Lenin's Bolsheviks, who only became a hard fighting party capable of leading the October Revolution through constant polemics against the misleaders: the Mensheviks, the social democrats. These were "destructive, divisive" polemics, that shattered parties, disgraced opponents and lined up the workers for

continued on page 10

Today the Peking-Washington collusion in China's invasion of Vietnam has given the coup de grace to the "anti-imperialist" credentials of Maoist politics. For Americans, Vietnam isn't just another faraway place. U.S. imperialism's long and dirty war polarized American society for a decade. When the liberal Democratic Party establishment backed the imperialist adventure in Vietnam, it drove the radical/liberal student movement to the left. The most organized expression of the New Left, SDS, in but a few years went from an organization which—at its inception—excluded communists to one in which both of its major factions waved Mao's "little red book" at each other. These youth came to identify opposition to imperialism with Stalinism in its "militant" Third World form.

The Spartacist League, along with thousands of radicals, hailed the courageous resistance of the Vietnamese workers and peasants as they valiantly fought the U.S. imperialists who poured millions of soldiers into the country and devastated the population with massive terror bombings. But we alone warned that this struggle was in danger of betrayal by its Stalinist misleaders. We demanded that Moscow and Peking give all-out support to the embattled Vietnamese and that the treacherous negotiations with the bloody Nixon/Kissinger cabal in Paris be halted. While championing the victory of the NLF/DRV forces, we insisted that only the democratic rule of the proletariat exercised through workers councils could safeguard the gains of the overturn of capitalism.

Thousands of radicalized youth took the dead-end road of Maoism, repelled by the reformism and pacifism of the Communist Party (CP) and the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). While the CP continued to preach its class-collaborationist program of electoral support to "lesser evil" Democrats, the SWP built its peace crawls on a political basis designed to cater to liberal bourgeois spokesmen. Beginning with its 1965 support to the call for "all foreign troops to leave Vietnam," the SWP refused to take a side in the war between the heroic Vietnamese fighters and the napalming murderers of the U.S. bourgeoisie. Leading SWP antiwar spokesman Fred Halstead neatly summed up the SWP's cowardly refusal to militarily support the Vietnamese in his 1967 statement that "I'm personally for bringing the troops home. But as for victory to the NLF, I don't know; I'm not Vietnamese."

The end of the war in Indochina and of the antiwar movement in the U.S. did not have to lead to the effective demise of student radicalism. During the crisis created by the war the Spartacist League was unique in recognizing that there was the possibility to reforge the necessary links between the left and workers movement, drawing together the increasingly volatile and dissatisfied layers of U.S. society—the blacks, the workers, the students—toward the

Spartacist in Vietnam Antiwar Movement



WV photo

building of a revolutionary working-class party in this country. Our uncompromising battle to draw the class line in Vietnam and the antiwar movement won some significant, though small, layers of New Left activists to Trotskyism. This intervention provided the basis for the qualitative expansion of the political influence of the Spartacist tendency both domestically and internationally, leading to the formation of the Spartacus Youth League's predecessor, the Revolutionary Communist Youth.

China's invasion of Vietnam produced a widespread fear among American working people of a broader war and possible U.S.-USSR nuclear confrontation. At this time, when once again war in Vietnam has shaken the American people out of their workaday concerns, the lessons of the fight waged by revolutionary socialists in the 1960's take on a new immediacy. We are therefore reprinting below two of the key documents of the Spartacist League's intervention into the struggle against the Vietnam war.

The first leaflet, "From Protest to Power," was distributed in the tens of thousands at the 21 October 1967 antiwar march on Washington, and presents our central programmatic demands to turn the middle-class pacifist antiwar movement in a working-class direction under the slogan "For an Anti-War Friday!"—a call for a one-day general strike against the war.

The second leaflet, "Blood and Nixon," was mass distributed at the May 1970 march on Washington which followed Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the murder of four students at Kent State by the Ohio National Guard.

Beyond October 21: FROM PROTEST TO POWER

The April 15th mobilization was at once the greatest success of the official peace movement and definitive evidence of its political bankruptcy. The series of demonstrations leading up to the April 15th affair not only had no effect on government policy, but the escalation of the war appears to have coincided with each demonstration. The complete ineffectiveness of the April 15th march and the cynical indifference of the Johnson administration to anti-war sentiment has engendered a hysterical hatred of the "power structure" and a sense of frustration among the most active sections of the anti-war movement. Isaac Deutscher caught the problem exactly when he said that he'd exchange the whole huge April 15th mobilization for just one dock strike.

Mass Action—Not Kamikazes

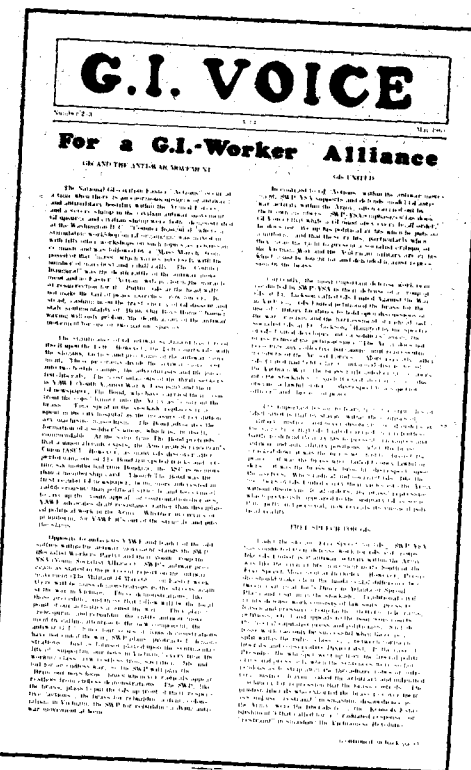
There is widespread sentiment to make the demonstrations more aggressive, dramatic and personally involving. The result has been a turn toward self-sacrifice and personal heroics in direct physical confrontations with the "war machine." The notion that the sheer strength of will of its opponents can end the war has its logical culmination in the hippies' project to "raise the Pentagon." Except for satisfying masochistic demonstrators and sadistic cops, nothing is gained from such "confrontations." Whether the demonstrators fight back or not, under these circumstances the odds are all on the side of the cops. Such direct action is as ineffectual as large, orderly demonstrations, and more expensive to the movement in terms of bruised bodies, jail sentences and money.

Personal sacrifice can never substitute for a mass movement, and it is necessary to understand this in developing a perspective for the anti-war movement. This does not mean reverting to the simple pacifist humanitarianism of the official peace movement in order to get middle-class liberals on the picket lines. What it does mean is tapping the fundamental discontent and conflicts in American society; the black ghetto uprisings and rash of militant strikes indicate the depth and explosiveness of this discontent. Some of this discontent is with the war itself, or things related to

the war, such as the inflation eating into real wages. But all of it stems from the fundamentally oppressive character of American capitalism, of which the slaughter of the rebellious Vietnamese peasantry is simply the most dramatic external manifestation.

You WILL Go

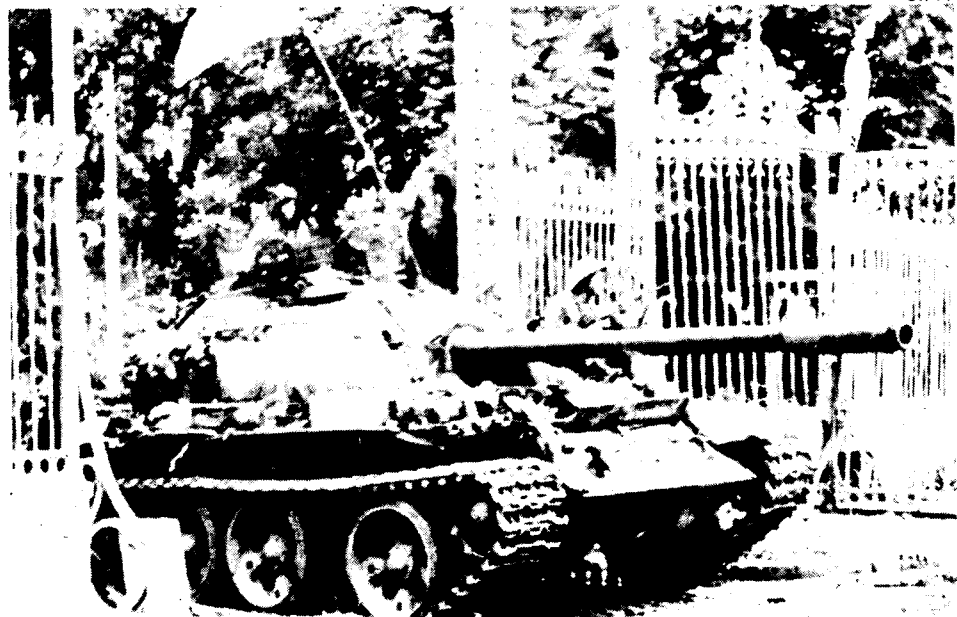
Closely related to the tendency of anti-war radicals to think in terms of personal assaults on the "system" is the draft-resistance campaign, which has become the principal organizing focus of the student anti-war movement. Far from resisting the war, the voluntary purging of radicals from the army strengthens the ideological purity and



SL supporters in the army published class-struggle antiwar G.I. Voice.

political reliability of the army. The government still seeks to screen radicals out of the service. Radicals, rather than going off to prison or Canada, would be far more effective educating their fellow soldiers. The Americans who suffer most from the war are the soldiers in Vietnam, and as the war grows longer and bloodier, discontent among G.I.s and its effect on prosecuting the war could be very great indeed.

Perhaps even more important is the effect of student draft avoidance, particularly the frenzied scrambling after 2-S deferments, which are available only to the intellectually or financially privileged, on the attitude of



Victorious NLF/DRV forces enter Saigon, April 1975.

SIPA

working-class draftees. The majority of draftees are vaguely disquieted about the war and disgruntled about being drafted during a shooting war, where they could get killed. But they accept the draft as a fact of life, and the idea of refusing to go is completely alien to their whole mode of thinking. They view the "we won't go" movement as motivated by physical cowardice, holier-than-thou moralism and a desire on the part of spoiled college kids to avoid the harshness of army life. The anti-war movement will never break out of the campuses and coffee-houses, and reach the masses, unless young radicals share the common experiences of all working-class youth, in serving a few years in the army. Only by such measures can the debilitating, and potentially dangerous, isolation of bohemian intellectuals from the mass of the working class, so characteristic of the American left, be overcome.

For Anti-War Strike Actions

The widespread feeling that the continual repetition of big marches is ineffectual and demoralizing is correct. However, kamikaze tactics are not the answer. It is necessary for the anti-war movement to achieve the maximum social power it can muster in protests. To this end, the Spartacist League advocates concretely building for a one-day general strike in factories, offices, ghetto neighborhoods and schools as the next national mobilization. Given the existing strength of the anti-war movement, and proper organizing, such a mobilization could bring out huge numbers of workers and students, and have a severe effect on whole segments of the economy. Even on this modest scale, such a demonstration would put the "fear of god" into the government, because it would mean the anti-war movement had gone far beyond accepted forms of protest and attacked the very foundations of American capitalism—production. Such a strike would be infinitely more effective than this endless series of marches whether or not decorated by the bloodied heads of martyrs.

Toward Conscious Class Struggle

Apart from being a more effective form of protest, the proposed general strike would enable the anti-war movement to widen its base among forces other than political activists and particularly to strengthen organized anti-war sentiment among workers. It would be an excellent way for anti-war trade unionists to organize among their fellow workers and inject the war question into trade union politics. Since the trade union bureaucracy would certainly oppose it, the fight over the proposed strike would reinforce the increasing rank and file discontent in the unions. In fact, in many places, the strike would not only be around anti-war demands,

but economic issues as well. It would then be a protest of general social discontent, and would help lay the basis for a mass revolutionary socialist party.

Protest or Power

To the extent that most anti-war activists think in terms of politics, they mean running "peace-conscience" candidates, whose sole activity consists of about six weeks of electioneering. This



Vietnamese rush to repel invading Chinese near Lang Son.

type of discontinuous and one-sided activity can never build an effective movement. In fact, it is seen as a gesture of protest and nothing more. However, the fundamental weakness of this type of peace candidate is not organizational inefficiency, but political. The general social program of most of these candidates—the type of program King or Spock would run on—is not substantially different from the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, who, for purely opportunistic reasons, are unwilling to oppose Johnson. The official leadership of the anti-war movement reinforces the hegemony of the Democratic Party, purged of the personal noxiousness and "aggressiveness" of Johnson. King or Spock would simply be a tryout for Robert Kennedy in '72.

Even on the question of the war itself, a program which implicitly supports American capitalism is self-defeating. The Vietnamese war is not unique. It is simply the largest in a series of colonial wars that the U.S. and all other imperialist powers have been fighting for the past century and will continue to fight until capitalism is overthrown in its main centers. In brief, the U.S. is in Vietnam to suppress a peasant revolution which challenges the dominance of

Vietnam News Agency

American politics. Nothing short of a fundamental change in the class axis of that politics will eliminate these injustices.

Rulers Invade Cambodia, Massacre U.S. Students: BLOOD AND NIXON

The Nixon administration's criminal adventurist imperialist aggression into Cambodia and the new brutal bombings of North Vietnam are a final outrage in America's war against the just struggle of the Vietnamese working people for the liberation of their country. The slaughter at Kent State University in Ohio is a declaration of war upon students as the most outspoken dissenters against American foreign policy. This outrage shows that when provoked, the Administration will treat those at home who would oppose its imperialist aggression with the same callous brutality as it has shown the Vietnamese. The reality of the violence of American capitalism abroad and in the ghettos at home has been harshly and dramatically brought home to all students.

This violence does not come from the evil or mistaken notions of a few politicians, as the liberals would have us believe—rather it is a violence politically motivated, directed against political dissent—it is the violence of capitalism which feels its power is threatened. For many students have begun to realize that the war in Vietnam is no "mistake" in U.S. foreign policy but is part of the need of American capitalism, as the backbone of world imperialism, to prevent social revolutions throughout the world.

The Working Class Must Lead the Struggle!

The Spartacist League has long insisted on the need for labor strikes against the war. We have raised the demand for a general anti-war strike of workers and students, and have struggled to see this demand adopted within the labor and radical student movements. It is crucial now for the masses of students to seek to link up their strike with workers, and it is crucial now for rank and file militants to raise the anti-war strike demand in their unions!

The reason for this should be clear. American capitalism's life blood is the profits made by exploiting the labor of the working class. This was sharply dramatized in the recent brief postal strike which severely threatened the economy's stability and forced Nixon to resort to troops to demoralize the strikers and intimidate popular support. Economic power lies in the hands of industrial, transportation and communications workers. And in the final analysis economic power is political power.

The student movement, isolated from the working class, will either shatter into frustrated, demoralized and adventurist fragments and, like the Panthers, face savage repression by a government which feels it can attack them with impunity. The deepening political radicalization of students can be clearly seen in the cogent demands raised in many of the university strikes—demands for the freeing of all political prisoners, an end to war research and ROTC on campus, and an end to political intimidation, along with the demand for the immediate unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and "advisers" from Southeast Asia.

Only the working class, because of its economic power, can lead an effective anti-war struggle. Only the class-conscious workers can lead the struggle to defeat capitalism. The unprecedented



U.S. plane downed by North Vietnamese. Mass terror bombing failed to break NLF/DRV resistance.

U.S. business in Asia. It is futile to oppose the intervention in Vietnam while supporting the economic system which generates that intervention and the ideology that legitimizes it.

Toward a Labor Party

Moreover, a political movement built solely around the war is incapable of unifying the various forces of discontent within American society. On the contrary, the necessary support given to the suppression of the American working class by establishment "doves"—Wayne Morse is a leading Congressional advocate of government strike-breaking while the liberal establishment, including King, unanimously supported the bloody suppression of the ghetto risings—is a major obstacle to building a mass anti-war movement. Only such a revolutionary Labor Party, projecting a long-term struggle in the interest of the working masses, represents the kind of qualitative political change needed to create a serious break with the traditional parties and counter the political apathy of most workers. With the widespread discontent over the war, the rising militancy and restiveness in the labor movement, and the explosiveness of the black ghettos, the prospect for initiating such a party is better now than at any time in the last twenty years.

The anti-war movement can force Johnson to withdraw U.S. troops only if he is more afraid of it than of the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution. No demonstration, however effective and militant, can do this. Only a movement capable of taking state power can. The anti-war movement has no future except as a force for building a party of revolutionary change.

The Vietnamese War has opened many people's eyes to the horrors and injustices inherent in the mainstream of

continued on page 11

Stop Silber's Union-Busting Drive!

BU Faculty Under the Gun

BOSTON—John "Madman" Silber, president of Boston University, has ordered himself. In the past several years Silber has attempted to purge the faculty of all dissenters (systematically harassing those who refuse to leave), fired for the *second* time union-activist clinic workers, censored virtually every student publication on campus and hounded and restricted the activities of leftist student groups. Now he has set his sights on destroying the faculty union.

Silber and the Board of Trustees have waged a long and vicious fight against the BU chapter of the American Association of University Professors (BU-AAUP); years after the union received recognition, only a U.S. Court of Appeals order forced the administration to begin negotiations. The administration-proposed contract is an outrageous and insulting union-busting "offer" which *abolishes tenure*, provides only minimal and arbitrary salary increases and includes an unconditional *no-strike pledge*. Additionally the administration would have sole determination of course content and textbooks, and professors with low class enrollment would be forced "to make up the deficiency" by teaching extra classes "without additional compensation"! This blatant attempt to bust the AAUP and put professors' jobs, the books they use and the ideas they put forward at the mercy of "Silber-thought" must be stopped dead in its tracks.

Notorious for unbridled union-busting attempts, the BU administration hired a Chicago-based union-busting outfit for nearly \$250,000 to advise Silber and his cronies on how to smash the organizing drives of clerical and library workers. Silber's efforts, which included vicious harassment and the rewriting of some 4,000 job descriptions, failed—but the newly organized campus workers face the same situation as did the BU-AAUP: despite certification, the administration arrogantly refuses to negotiate.

On February 14 a crowd of one thousand angry students, workers and faculty jammed BU's Morse Auditorium to protest the latest round of administration attacks. The rally was

filmed by the "Sixty Minutes" news team—Silber's high-handed censorship and financial shenanigans have raised eyebrows even in bourgeois circles. But the *New York Times* (30 January) keyed in on a more crucial point: the BU-AAUP is "the first faculty union to gain a foothold at a major private university" in the U.S.

This union is also preparing to launch its first strike. The teach-in, sponsored by various student organizations, was supported by the BU-AAUP as the first step in a series of "job actions" it has voted in order to back up its contract demands. If no settlement is reached the union plans a two-day "postponement" of classes in March and an "indefinite postponement" starting April 4—in other words, a strike.

No Scabbing! For a Campus-Wide Mobilization!

It is crucial that the various campus unions unite in their struggle against the administration's attacks. That Silber feels emboldened to go after the AAUP is proof that scabbing like that which took place during the Buildings and Grounds (B&G) workers strike last November can only lead to defeat. Since universities exist primarily to train students rather than to exploit labor, campus workers do not have the same social power as industrial unionists. The campus unions must appeal to the city-wide labor movement as well as gather the support of students and unite to shut the university down tight.

BU students also have much to gain from a militant, anti-administration mobilization. Since Silber took over in 1971 they have been plagued with huge tuition increases each year, increases totaling 168 percent! Another \$490 hike is being rammed down the students' throats this year. Silber has even gone so far as to call riot-gear-clad cops down on campus demonstrators protesting previous tuition hikes (see "Madman Silber Strikes Again," *Young Spartacus*, April 1978).

Silber's efforts to run BU as his personal fiefdom have led to recurrent and brazen censorship of the student

press. Last year the broadcast of two tapes over campus radio station WBUR was blocked—and the station's executive producer fired—because of their anti-Silber content. No less than ten publications, including the 1977 year-book, the rad-lib *bu exposure*, and the campus literary magazine have been threatened, censored and/or denied funding. Would-be dictator and bigot Silber decided that campus activities should emphasize "the American way of life, family and religion" rather than "drugs, homosexuality and quack psychology," and so the Gay Students group had its campus status revoked!

For too long protests against BU's administration have been led to defeat by the parochialism of student bureaucrats, fake-leftists and narrow craft unionists. In a display of the crippling parochialism typical of those who opt for "student input" into—rather than a fight against—the policies of the administration, one of the liberal "leaders" of the anti-tuition hike "movement" threatened that students would scab on the faculty strike if the professors didn't support students' demands. The muddle-headed Maoists of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) have proved to be no better. Last semester, while they mouthed support for the B&G strikers, the RSB scabs crossed the picket lines to set up a literature table on the struck campus! Today the RSB is so busy pleading with the trustees to take a "moral" stand against South African apartheid by selling off a few stocks and bonds that they have virtually ignored the possibility of an upcoming faculty strike.

Dumping Silber Is Not Enough!

Speaker after speaker at the February 14 rally bemoaned the "lack of communication between the trustees and the community," blaming the administration's attacks solely on Silber's personal despotism. While students spoke of more "input," the BU-AAUP has raised the issue of "governance," proposing that faculty join with the administration in managing the university. But why should students, campus workers or faculty wish to participate in the cutting

of their own throats? Censorship, harassment and union-busting are not unique to BU. Nor are the attacks simply the result of Silber's twisted mind and the corruption of his administration—cutbacks, layoffs and tuition hikes are endemic to the university under capitalism. We are opposed to a scheme which "allows" the faculty to haggle with B&G workers over whose departments take the biggest cut and how many professors or campus workers get the axe.

Silber, of course, must go. This madman has earned his reputation as a despised tyrant. But the trustees (a collection of slumlords, bankers and industrialists) will find a replacement who understands as well as Silber that in capitalist society, private universities like BU exist as bastions of class privilege, maintaining a class and race bias which prevents the majority of minority and working class youth from receiving an education. The SYL calls for the nationalization of the private universities, for open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for all.

The bourgeoisie needs the trustees and the administration to run BU. The students, faculty and campus workers do not. As the SYL wrote in our leaflet "Victory to the B&G Strike!" (5 November 1978):

"For years under the despotic reign of John Silber, the students, workers and faculty have been censored, harassed, and generally mauled. We have had our pockets picked by tuition increases, been laid off, and have lost wages to inflation. So what is the administration anyway? It does nothing but serve the capitalist Board of Trustees in guaranteeing that BU leftists will be persecuted and that the staff and students will pay for the capitalist economic crisis. There is a simple enough democratic response to this situation. Abolish the Administration and Board of Trustees; let those who work, study and teach at BU run the place."

Isolated and widely hated, the BU administration should not be allowed to get away with yet another attack. Students and campus workers: unite to defend the AAUP! Beat back the union-busting drive! ■

UFW...

(continued from page 3)

currently on a statewide speaking tour in defense of the strike, with forums scheduled at San Francisco State University, UC Santa Cruz and UC Berkeley.

It is notable that the rest of the left has turned its back on the UFW strike. Approached about co-sponsoring the L.A. rally in defense of the UFW, a spokesman for the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) responded, "We will not participate in a rally with the SYL." So, they did nothing at all instead! Similarly, the UCLA chapter of MECHA, a Chicano-nationalist student organization, boycotted the rally.

What paralyzes the rest of the left in dealing with the UFW strike is the role of Cesar Chavez. The UFW occupies a special place in the lives of thousands of Americans who entered political life in the late 1960's and early 1970's. For many would-be leftists, membership on a UFW "Boycott Grapes" committee went hand in hand with marching against the Vietnam war. But when Spartacists combined their support for



Cesar Chavez

Young Spartacus

the UFW with criticisms of Chavez's impotent liberalism, they shouted, "Silence!" After long years of tailing Chavez's sucking up to Democratic Party liberals and the Catholic hierarchy, the various Maoist groups, Communist Party hacks and Socialist Workers Party/YSA reformists have little to say when the UFW membership outstrips Chavez's pacifism and engages in militant action.

The SL/SYL remain today the best and only real defenders on the left of the

UFW in their on-going strike. We support the extension of the strike to cover all the 28 growers. We call on the Teamsters and the rest of the labor movement to hot cargo (refuse to handle) scab produce being shipped. We are the only group on the left that really stands for: Victory to the UFW! ■

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Iran...

(continued from page 12)

Since that time both the Bakhtiar government and Bazargan's ministry have tried unsuccessfully to get the militant refinery workers back on the job. The pro-Moscow Tudeh party and other left-wing forces apparently have a large degree of influence over the oil workers and Bazargan has blamed "communists" for the slowness in the resumption of oil production. In general the workers are far less influenced by the religious obscurantism of the Shi'ite mullahs and resist the imposition of a Khomeini-approved leadership on their strike committees and organizations. A *New York Times* reporter wrote on 24 February that "... nearly every ministry, bank, office or factory has a workers committee that must pass on almost every order if it is to have a chance of being carried out."

The formation of factory committees and the imposition of workers control of production are the logical and necessary reaction of the Iranian proletariat to the complete breakdown of the capitalist economy. These committees can serve as the organizing centers for an independent proletarian struggle against the repressive Khomeini regime. The creation of armed workers militias based on the factory committees and other workers organizations, especially among the militant oil workers, can form a bulwark against the threat posed to the Iranian proletariat by Khomeini's Islamic terror.

In the face of an impending holy war on the workers movement the Iranian left stands politically defenseless. The most influential and well-armed group, the Fedayeen guerrillas, has become the main spokesmen for those dissatisfied with the new Islamic republic. Seventy thousand people turned out in a rainstorm at a Fedayeen rally on February 24 called after the cancellation (under government pressure) of a

scheduled demonstration. Many of those in attendance were supporters of the populist Muslim Mojahedeen guerrillas who have to date resisted Khomeini's attempts to isolate the Fedayeen from the Islamic regime. Despite the Guevarist Fedayeen's guns and its advocacy of workers committees, workers control of production and a "people's army," they have *politically* disarmed themselves by *supporting* the existing Islamic government. Indeed, they demand that they should be allowed to participate in it. The Fedayeen are trying to ingratiate themselves with their would-be butchers by maintaining that Khomeini is simply being misled by bad advisers: "We think that there is a fence of reactionary mullahs around Ayatollah Khomeini, who in the last few days have diminished his direct contact with the people of Iran and weakened his relationship with the nation" (*New York Times*, 22 February).

The Kremlin-loyal Tudeh party has despicably tried to curry favor with Khomeini by labeling the Fedayeen agents of the shah. Their line is reflected in a U.S. Communist Party's *Daily World* headline: "Beneath facade of 'leftism,' Fedayeen smells like SAVAK." The U.S. Socialist Workers Party's pseudo-Trotskyist co-thinkers in Iran have likewise hailed Khomeini as "progressive" and the mullahs' victory as a victory for the working class. Tragically, such is the state of the Iranian left that *no* organization has had the political courage or even the sense of self-preservation to resolutely oppose the reactionary religious leaders.

The aspiration of the Iranian masses for democratic rights, for land reform and for a genuine break with foreign imperialism cannot be satisfied without the revolutionary overthrow of the medieval-minded mullahs and their allies in the shah's officer corps. But socialist revolution in Iran requires the construction of an Iranian Trotskyist party. The potential cadres of such a

party, the most advanced elements of the Iranian left and workers movement, now face the imminent possibility of a counter-revolutionary bloodletting at the hands of Islamic reaction. Nothing less than the fate of the Iranian working class for a whole historical period is at stake. Now, before it is too late, the organs of proletarian self-defense must be formed. The weapons are at hand. All that is necessary is the political courage

to organize to use them. A united military front embracing all workers organizations, soldiers' committees, left organizations and secular democratic forces committed to a struggle against Khomeini's Islamic repression is urgently needed! No to Islamic reaction—Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran! For an Iranian section of a reformed Fourth International! ■

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SF State Rally Demands

ROTC Off Campus!

SAN FRANCISCO—With the overthrow of the shah of Iran and the Chinese invasion of Vietnam making more imminent the possibility of a U.S./USSR military confrontation, students at San Francisco State University rallied against military recruiters. Almost 40 people attended a united-front rally held on February 22 demanding "ROTC Off Campus!" Speakers from the SYL, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Union of Radical Political Economists, Committee for a Militant UAW, *Longshore Militant*, Women's Center and Pan-African Student Union all underscored their opposition to the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) which is openly recruiting at SF State—a campus where nine years ago ROTC headquarters were burned to the ground. The rally also received endorsements from Angela Davis and the Chairman of La Raza Studies at SF State.

For the past several months the SYL has taken the lead in exposing and fighting the presence of ROTC recruiters on the campus. During last semester's student elections the SYL slate made "ROTC Off Campus!" a central focus of its campaign. In mid-February the newly elected student representative from the SYL slate, Alden Cavanagh, raised a motion demanding that ROTC be banned from the campus. Cavanagh explained that "ROTC is here to train officers for the U.S. imperialist army, and has recruited mercenaries" to

support the white racist regime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia. The role of the U.S. army, he continued, is to "break strikes, shoot blacks in the ghettos and intervene in places like the Dominican Republic and Vietnam."

ROTC, anticipating strong student opposition, mobilized its forces in an attempt to intimidate the student representatives. Armed with tape-recording equipment, no fewer than 13 ROTC cadets packed the meeting. Despite these tactics, the SYL motion only narrowly failed with nearly one-third of the student government legislature voting in favor of banning ROTC. Following the heated exchange at the student government meeting, the SYL initiated the February 22 united-front rally.

SYL Leads, YSA Abstains

No thanks were due to the aspiring social democrats of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) for the rally's success. Virtually alone among campus leftists in not endorsing the action, the YSA spent its time making up excuses for its abstention. Accusing the SYL of using the wrong "method" for mobilizing against ROTC and of "sucking this movement out of its thumb," the YSA declared that there was "no possible movement to build out of it!" A YSAer even blurted out in desperation that the issue of ROTC's open recruitment drive was "not important!"

Unable to ignore the considerable support the united front gathered, however, the YSA sent a lone observer to the rally. When she tried to slip out of the room before the program ended, SYL spokesman Aloha Keylor pointed her out and demanded to know why the YSA had refused to participate. Put on the spot, the YSAer could only weakly reply that, while they agreed with the slogan, the rally was not really a united front. This must have come as quite a surprise to the various other campus groups and individuals who shared the platform with the SYL.

Coming from the cynical reformists of the YSA, such an "explanation" rings rather hollow, particularly since the YSA has never been eager to place itself too far on the wrong side of the SF State administration. For instance, in 1975 the YSA joined the administration-led, liberal anti-communist chorus that condemned the SYL-initiated united-front demonstration which successfully drove Nazis from the campus.

To appear on the same platform as the Trotskyist SYL and to actively oppose ROTC would be an embarrassment for the YSA in their unending quest for bourgeois "respectability." After all, the SYL speaker did forthrightly denounce Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign, call for the unconditional military defense of the USSR and condemn China's role as cat's paw for U.S. imperialism in

Vietnam. This is simply too much for the YSA, who prefer their "mass movements" to be tailored to the concerns of the liberal bourgeoisie.

It is a provocation to every class-conscious worker, student and teacher that these hired gunmen for the ruling class can stroll about in full military regalia at SF State. As against the gutless liberalism of the YSA, we of the SYL will continue to demand: "ROTC Off Campus!" ■

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RCP...

(continued from page 2)

bourgeois dailies in San Francisco, New York, Chicago and Washington. The highpoint (for the RCP) came on January 29 when several hundred RCPers marched on the White House. The cops were not quaking in their boots, but they were certainly shaking their riot batons as they viciously attacked the demonstrators. Some 78 protesters were jailed and \$10,000 bonds were imposed on most of them. The initial charges of rioting (a misdemeanor) were later jumped to a felony charge of assault on a police officer.

For most organizations the mass arrest of their members (including the "Chair" himself, Avakian) would not be a cause for joy. But the *Revolutionary Worker* hailed the incident as not only a "victory" but proof positive of their "revolutionary" credentials. The *Chicago Tribune's* (30 January) reporter, however, was so confused by the activity surrounding Teng's visit that he mistook the RCP's "Committee for a Fitting Welcome" as part of the right-wing pro-Taiwan groups whose actions took place the same day.

Off in their own world, the RCP has opted for the ultimate gimmick—direct confrontation with the forces of the bourgeois state. If the RCP were a black group (highly unlikely given their support to racist, anti-busing forces in Louisville and Boston), a lot of them would be dead by now. Nonetheless, it is no crime to defend yourself against a cop riot and, unlike the case of the Embassy Five, we defend the 78 demon-

strators arrested outside the White House.

In Houston the RCP tried to stage another one of their confrontationist adventures. But the anti-Teng crusade was taken up by the likes of right-wing neanderthal Meldrim Thomson, chairman of the "National Conservative Caucus." While Thomson spouted about the "communist sympathizers" in the State Department, the Houston cops simply arrested the local Avakianites *in toto* before the RCP could fight with the cold warriors over who got to picket Teng's hotel first.

According to the "logic" of the RCP these days, the more the police persecute you, the more "heavens" you've "stormed." So, similar scenes were played in Atlanta, Seattle, Chicago and the Bay Area.

When 20 RCP supporters occupied the offices of the U.S. Attorney General in Chicago on February 6 the obligatory scuffle ensued and they were evicted from the building. The RCP had been demanding that a telegram be read over the phone to the U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia. On a par with the paranoid delirium in all of their propaganda, the telegram contained this gem: "You [U.S. Attorney Earl Silbert] cringe, like a bloodsucking vampire to a cross, from the RCP saying to us all that there is a way out, summing up the lessons of what went down in China."

At the U.C. Berkeley campus 20 RCPers wearing berets and red jackets and carrying three-foot long sticks marched through two large lecture halls. In response the campus administration has threatened to expel student members of the RCP and has revoked their

rights as a campus organization (see accompanying box). With the political acumen of a demented eight-year-old, the March issue of the RCP's press gloats: "As far as we're concerned, we are very thankful to the administration for 'lowering the boom' on the brigade chapters. We wish more would do the same."

American Red Guardists Go Crazy

A number of former pro-China Stalinists have faced a wretched homelessness akin to the RCP's. The ex-Krushchevite, ex-New Left, ex-Maoist *Guardian*, like the RCP, has reacted to events that smashed their world view in the most infantile fashion. Thus the *Guardian* (28 February) babbles pathetically, a portrait of petty-bourgeois despair and confusion:

"All socialist countries make mistakes.... The great socialist countries... make great mistakes from time to time.

"China is a great socialist country.... "China's invasion of Vietnam was a great mistake....

"Vietnam, too, is a great socialist country....

"Although our views on the situation are still developing, we think Vietnam made a great mistake in invading Kampuchea."

While the *Guardian*, a purely literary tendency, reacts to the discrediting of its Stalinist/Third World nationalist heroes with know-nothing despair, the activists of the RCP whip themselves into a petty-bourgeois frenzy.

Another U.S. Stalinist organization, Progressive Labor Party (PL), broke

with China in 1971 after the Maoist bureaucracy "betrayed" the Cultural Revolution and sent the Red Guards packing to the countryside. The disintegration of the RCP is in some ways reminiscent of the evolution of PL, but whereas PL counterposed the Red Guards to the entire Chinese bureaucracy, the RCP completely identified these Chinese youth with the Mao faction. Furthermore, PL has always had a core of older trade union cadres trained in the Communist Party who thus have some grasp of the realities of American society and politics. Originating from the RYM II faction of SDS in the 1960's the RCP has no such links to the U.S. working class. If anything, the Avakianites have regressed to the "old days" when little more than "off the pig" rhetoric was required to prove revolutionary fervor—no matter how bad the programmatic line. PL has become largely irrelevant and veers between cretinous reformism and ultra-left adventurism as a consequence of its inability to go beyond its break with Mao's China to a break with Stalinism and go over to revolutionary Trotskyism; the RCP, however, clings tenaciously to the Mao myth no matter what.

Mao is the true cult-figure of the RCP—"workers leader" Avakian (Hawaiian shirt and all) basks in the reflected glory of the "Great Helmsman." The myths of 1960's-style Maoism have now been ripped away, and ten years after Mao ordered Lin Biao's army to suppress the Red Guards, the Chinese bureaucrats have finally driven their American analogues to the brink of utter lunacy. ■

Debs Caucus...

(continued from page 5)

the revolution. For 15 years Lenin fought to make a party by counterposing his strategy for revolution in Russia to that of the reformists. And for this Lenin was insulted by social democrats throughout Europe. He was called sectarian, divisive, abrasive and so on. Communist politics, however, are abrasive in bourgeois society. There is no way to escape that. Anyone who wishes to practice communist politics should be resigned to incurring the anger of all the different species of misleaders who bring bourgeois consciousness into the workers movement.

Let me read you a description of Lenin's "abrasiveness" which was written by Trotsky. Speaking of Lenin talking at a public meeting, he says:

"[Lenin's] answers are entirely unexpected and annihilating in their simplicity. Point-blank, he lays bare a situation which, according to all expectations, he should have sought to camouflage. The Mensheviks went through this experience more than once during the initial period of the revolution when charges of violations of democracy still had a ring of novelty. 'Our newspapers have been shut down!' [the Mensheviks cried.] 'Of course! But unfortunately not all of them as yet. They will all be shut down presently. The dictatorship of the proletariat will destroy at its very roots this shameful traffic in bourgeois opium!' [Lenin] has straightened up [on the podium]. Both hands are in [his] pockets. There is not even a hint of posing, in the voice not [even] a trace of oratorical modulation—instead the entire figure, the angle of the head, the compressed lips, the cheekbones, the slightly hoarse timbre of the voice all radiate an indomitable confidence in his correctness and his truth. 'If you want to fight, then come on, let's really fight.'"

—Leon Trotsky, *Portraits: Political & Personal* (1977)

It's the same with us. The rest of the left can't stand our bluntness. The rest of the left is "nice." They don't raise the hard truths. The Socialist Workers Party is a very nice party. It calls for free speech for fascists, people who are for

the destruction of the workers movement, for genocide. That's nicer. It's less abrasive in bourgeois society.

The Bolshevik Leninist Group [a tiny clot in Ann Arbor] which some of you saw tonight, is also very "nice." They crossed a picket line and helped break a strike. To them things like picket lines are intellectual abstractions to be debated learnedly in 60-page documents. The fact that a picket line is the living embodiment of the class struggle means nothing for these people, because after all it's "abrasive" to call for honoring picket lines.

So that's it for the style question. Yes, the Spartacist League's politics are abrasive in bourgeois society. The reformists don't like our style because they can't stand our politics. They can't stand the truth. They take the line of least resistance to bourgeois ideology. It was this that the ex-social democrats of the Debs Caucus broke with when they broke with the "family of the left" and with Kautskyism.

Their Party Wasn't Our Party

Even before it split from the SP the Debs Caucus began investigating other groups in the light of what it had learned in its own factional struggle. We oriented from the start towards fusion with another group. There was a felt inadequacy among its members for finding an independent political path.

The Debs Caucus rejected Stalinism and Maoism and the so-called "state-capitalist" tendencies out of hand. These tendencies have historically proven time and again to be betrayers of the proletariat wherever they have had a chance.

So, taking the lessons of history, the Debs Caucus members turned to Trotskyism, confronting first of all the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—the natural choice, one would think, for social democrats. Precisely—it's too much like the social democracy we just left. On all the key questions the Socialist Workers Party has no differences with the SP. On the question of

the party, their slogan "Our Party is Your Party," says it all. Join the SWP, no matter what your political position is. We even heard the Socialist Workers Party people openly proclaim that it's not necessary that you believe in Trotskyism to join the SWP!

On the Russian question the SWP very pointedly held up its fusion with the Revolutionary Marxist Committee, a small state-capitalist Shachtmanite group, as a model of a fusion. In other words they were saying: "Look, you may all be third camp, but come on in anyway. We don't care enough about defense of the gains of October to even ask you about it."

The SWP's attitude towards the bourgeois state is classically social-democratic. It sees the state as a neutral mediator between classes, not as an armed fist of bourgeois rule. Thus the SWP called for federal troops to Boston during the busing crisis there in 1974. They called on the bourgeois state which wrote slavery into its constitution, which for decade after decade institutionalized racism throughout the country; they called on *this* government to defend black people against racist mobs!

The SWP's trade-union work is a record of lackeyism to the bureaucracy. They play the role of a left cover for traitors like Arnold Miller of the Mineworkers. In 1972 when Miller was elected, the bought-and-paid-for candidate of the Labor Department, the SWP supported him uncritically. Even in 1978 when the rest of the left (which supported Miller previously) had at least enough embarrassment to say nothing favorable about Miller's despicable role in the great coal strike, the SWP stood alone in covering for Miller until the very end of the strike. Then, they finally introduced a few mild criticisms of the way he had sold out thousands of militant mineworkers.

Then there were the little groups that hang around the left. The chief of those we investigated was the Bolshevik-Leninist Group (BLG). In a way our investigation of the BLG shows the

naiveté of Debs Caucus members. Why should anyone look into the revolutionary pretensions of a group that has no press, no documents stating its political positions and no public face? However, it also shows that the Debs Caucus explored every avenue of ostensible Trotskyism in its search for a revolutionary party.

Now the BLG simply ignored the question of building a revolutionary party. It is not interested in it. For the BLG, politics is an abstraction. Tonight, for instance, despite the fact that a number of their supporters stood at the door for 30 minutes, they refused to come in and participate in the discussion. They had nothing to say, and they knew it.

The first real test of the BLG's politics—given its restriction to the Ann Arbor milieu—was a very small test. And they flunked. It was the question of picket lines, which I spoke about earlier.

For the Spartacist League!

Let me conclude by stepping back a bit from this relatively small struggle on the left, involving a relative handful of people, to the larger tasks that face revolutionaries in the world today. The job of the Leninist vanguard is to wrest leadership from the rest of the left. The revolutionary party can't ignore or abstain from struggle with other tendencies or with the labor bureaucracy. The only way the Bolsheviks in this country, the Spartacist League, can win this leadership is by politically defeating in action the left fakers.

The struggle to build a revolutionary party in this country, and a revolutionary world party—to reforge the Fourth International—is the key task that faces revolutionaries today. Only the Spartacist League participates in this task. Every other tendency in the left capitulates in one way or another to bourgeois consciousness. That is why comrades of the Debs Caucus, after investigating the claims of the various tendencies in the left to be revolutionary, came to the Spartacist League. ■

China Get Out...

(continued from page 1)

expense of internationalism." [emphasis in original]

—Marxist Bulletin, No. 9, Part II

It is the ruling nationalistic bureaucracies in the Sino-Soviet states that pose the greatest internal danger to the gains of their anti-capitalist revolutions. Our proletarian internationalist duty is to defend the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialist attack. We defend the interests of the working people and the gains of the overthrow of capitalism in these societies, not the counterrevolutionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucracies. Our fundamental appeals are directed to the Soviet, Vietnamese, Chinese, East European and Cuban masses whose interests are not served by illusions of détente or peaceful coexistence with imperialism, but rather by the program of communist unity against the capitalists.

We call on the workers and peasants of China to demand an end to the sinister anti-Soviet Peking/Washington alliance now aimed at bloodying the working people of Vietnam: Nixon/Mao and Carter/Teng—Anti-Soviet Diplomacy Means Bloody Aggression Against the Vietnamese People! Down with the U.S./China Alliance! China Out of Vietnam! Defend the Soviet Union!

We call on the Soviet masses to demand, USSR: Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam! Brezhnev's reticence to use the full force of Soviet military power to aid the Vietnamese leaves them standing essentially alone against the Chinese attack launched in collusion with U.S. imperialism: Break with the Capitulationist Policy of Détente! For Workers Political Revolution to Oust the Bureaucracy!

Pacifistic sentiment for friendly relations between the U.S. and the USSR will not prevent world war. The imperialists are irreconcilably hostile to the anti-capitalist revolutions that have driven them from one-third of the globe. The inevitable and constant drive of the capitalists to overturn the gains of these social revolutions from Hanoi, to Peking, to Moscow and Havana means

war one way or another. In fact there is a war going on now—wantonly killing Chinese and Vietnamese youth—that threatens a global conflagration. Only worldwide socialist revolution can end imperialist aggression and the threat of nuclear holocaust once and for all.

Vietnamese Troops Out of Cambodia?

Not only liberals but many radicals as well equated the Chinese invasion of Vietnam with the Vietnamese military strike into Cambodia a month earlier. For liberals, all invasions are equal. For Marxists, however, what are decisive are the class forces involved and the interests of the proletariat.

As Trotskyists we give absolutely no political support to one Stalinist bureaucracy against another in a war between two deformed workers states: either side will exclude the working class from exercising political power through soviet organs of proletarian democracy. We flatly opposed both forces in the initial border war between Cambodia and Vietnam.

But with the invasion that finally toppled the Pol Pot regime, it was no longer a question of a border war, and it was not immediately apparent that communists should demand immediate withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. It is

noteworthy that the original Khmer Rouge cadres were in fact pro-Vietnamese, but they were slaughtered by Paris-trained, pro-Chinese elements. The retrograde character and anti-working-class actions of the Khmer Rouge government, such as the forcible depopulation of the cities, threatened the Cambodian working people. It is not at all clear that the FUNSK regime, even with the massive presence of Vietnamese troops, is not preferable to the despotic rule of Pol Pot, and the popular response to the new government is as yet uncertain. At least in the short run the Cambodians might well prefer food, schools and medicine (denied to them under the brutal primitivism of the former regime) to national independence. While long term occupation by the Vietnamese army would place the question of the national rights of the Khmer people on the agenda, the national question will not necessarily predominate. Therefore we do not demand that Vietnamese troops immediately leave Cambodia. Only history can decide the justice of Vietnamese-Cambodian relations.

We share the hatred of all who know the wanton dead-end holocausts of the first and second imperialist world wars—of generations of young squandered, fire bombings and nuclear strikes to obliterate cities. We know that just

wars, as of Vietnam against the French and Americans and the victorious Soviet defense against Hitler, are yet wars—barbaric means however just the ends. Nevertheless, we must not be blind to the simple truth: the question of barbarism—perhaps in the form of nuclear annihilation—or of a communist future for mankind is squarely posed before us. At the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938 the assembled delegates adopted a revolutionary program for the imperialist epoch, the epoch of wars and revolutions:

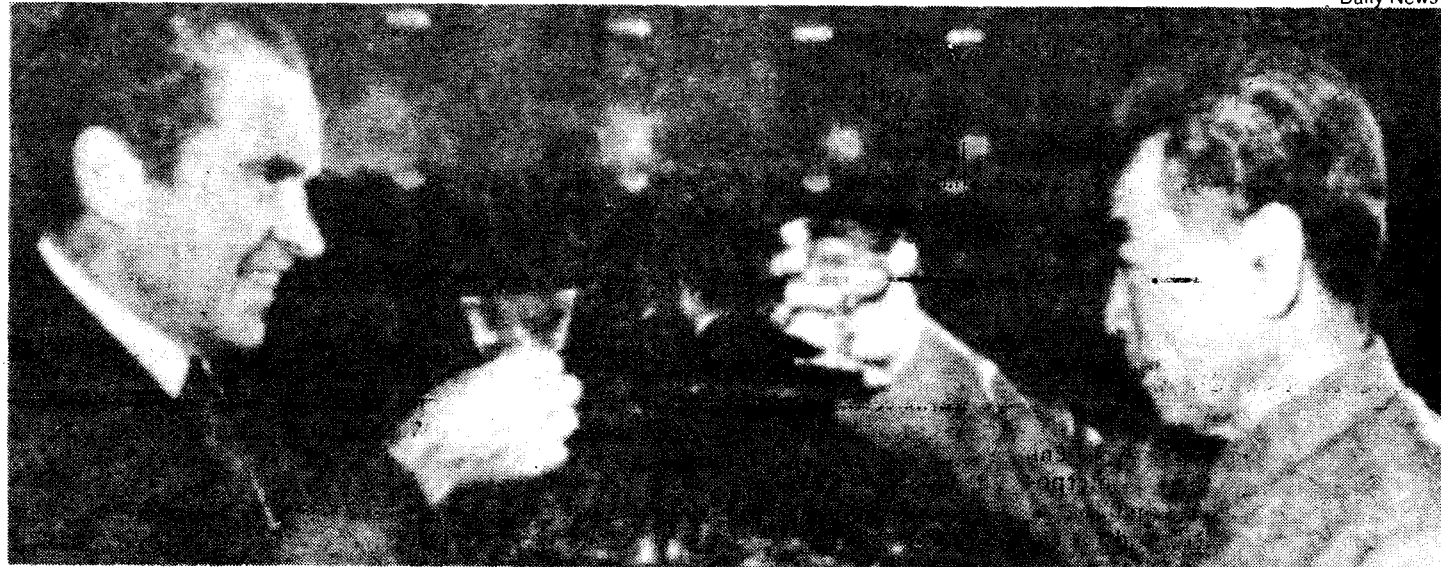
"All talk to the effect that historical conditions have not yet 'ripened' for socialism is the product of ignorance or conscious deception. The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened'; they have begun to get somewhat rotten. Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind. The turn is now to the proletariat, i.e., chiefly to its revolutionary vanguard. The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership."

—The Transitional Program

The Spartacus Youth League is dedicated to the task of helping to build that revolutionary leadership through the recruitment of young people to the revolutionary program of Trotskyism.

—6 March 1979

Daily News



Nixon/Chou, China, 1972: Toast China's alliance with U.S. imperialism.

From Protest...

(continued from page 7)

national student strike now under way is extremely important. The students' unity and militancy themselves pose a threat to the Administration, but it is its potential for sparking the working class into revolutionary motion (as happened in France in May 1968) which is its greatest importance.

Workers whose job conditions and falling real wages force them continually into conflict with the bosses must see as essential to their own interest the fight to end the bosses' imperialist war and to break from the bosses' warmonger political parties to form a party of labor. These struggles—like struggles for militant economic demands—will necessitate the replacement of the treacherous union bureaucracies which seek at every turn to tie the workers to the status quo (like "labor statesman" George Meany, who completely endorses Nixon's war policy, and his more devious, left-talking counterparts like Reuther) by rank and file workers control. A working class which joins the political combativeness of the radical student protesters with their own tremendous militancy is the only force which can decisively defeat the imperialists.

Sino-Soviet Sellout

Faced with the U.S. invasion of Cambodia, the Soviet Union and China

satisfied themselves with a few threats to increase their half-hearted military aid to the NLF forces. Where, we ask, is the massive military support to repel the vicious imperialist aggressor in Indochina? Why instead have the Russians sent enormous military aid to the corrupt incompetent capitalist government of Egypt? The Maoist rush to hail Sihanouk, former "neutralist" liberal prince, betrays the anxiety to avoid the urgent demands of the Indochinese situation and return to petty border quarrels and "national priorities." The North Vietnamese government's cowardly and vague threats about postponing negotiations in Paris also show their hypocri-

sy as Communist "internationalists." In face of the invasion into Cambodia and renewed bombings of the North, what possible excuse could be found for remaining in Paris to negotiate?

All the Stalinist leaderships have once again demonstrated that their primary concerns are with their own narrow needs in consolidating their own power. The Stalinist dictum of "socialism in one country" is seeing another tragic enactment. The gains of the anti-capitalist revolutions of Russia, China, etc. can be safeguarded not by diplomatic maneuvering and deals but only by the victory of the Indochinese Revolution and the

destruction of capitalism in the advanced industrial nations—the U.S., Western Europe, Japan—whose economic and military capacities hold the key to world socialism and world peace. By their denial of a truly proletarian internationalist perspective, the Stalinist bureaucracies show themselves as a best friend to the bloody Nixon administration.

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Young Spartacus

Down with the Mullahs!

Defend Iranian Left Against Khomeini!

MARCH 5—Under the banner of the "Islamic revolution" the shah of Iran has been overthrown. Power has passed from the shah-appointed government of Shahpur Bakhtiar to the Muslim mullahs. Faced with an incipient insurrection touched off by the attempt of the goose-stepping shah-loyal "Immortals" brigade to massacre Khomeini partisans among the technicians at the Doshan Tapeh air base, and knowing that their own troops were unreliable, the generals capitulated to the "Islamic revolution." The despotism of the shah has been replaced by an equally reactionary religious regime. The entire Iranian left, which has unceasingly extolled the virtues of that grim-faced oracle Khomeini, is now getting a bitter taste of what life under the "Islamic republic" will be like.

The surrender of the shah's army to the mullahs did not end the revolutionary disorder in the streets of Teheran and other major cities. The vacuum of power created by the disintegration of the army has not yet been filled by Khomeini's forces. The new official government headed by prime minister Mehdi Bazargan is squabbling with the ayatollah's shadowy Islamic Revolutionary Committee and its irregular Muslim militiamen.

The army officers, with the exception of the most notorious butchers and torturers who have been removed or executed, are anxious to preserve their positions and to prove their loyalty to Khomeini. But the U.S.-built military machine is at present paralyzed by political turmoil, mass desertions and insubordination. After dark the streets of Teheran and Tabriz belong to competing bands of armed gunmen—Khomeini loyalists, radical Muslim Mojahedeen and the "Marxist" People's Fedayeen guerrillas. Industrial production, especially in the crucial oil refineries, has not been fully restored. Deputy prime minister Abbas Amir Entezam complained that "despite the Ayatollah's commands, none of the major industries in the country are functioning because workers spend all their time holding political meetings" (*New York Times*, 24 February).

Khomeini's task now is the restoration, under the colors of Islamic fundamentalism, of bourgeois law and order in Iran. If the new regime does not quickly succeed in rebuilding the army, disarming the masses and imposing labor discipline, as Khomeini knows full well, the revolutionary expectations aroused among the working masses will fuel left-wing opposition to the "just rule of Islam."

Virtually the first action of the new regime was Khomeini's announcement that "all weapons must be surrendered to the mosques" and that "Islamic soldiers must be armed, but all others must not be armed." Khomeini Committee militiamen moved to enforce their chief's orders by confiscating weapons at Teheran roadblocks. Since



Khomeini's "Islamic Defense Guards" in action: deadly threat to Iranian left, proletariat.

then Khomeini has lashed out with increasing ferocity at the Fedayeen (who have refused to surrender their thousands of guns) and against Marxists of all stripes, labeling them "satanic elements, worse than the shah." In a clear threat to the left the fanatic reactionary ayatollah warned:

"A group of bandits and unlawful elements have been taking advantage of the situation and are making efforts to pursue their evil objectives. If the united leadership is not accepted by all groups I shall regard this as an uprising against the Islamic revolution, and I warn these bandits and unlawful elements that we were able to destroy the shah and his evil regime, and we are strong enough to deal with them."

—*New York Times*, 20 February

Clearly the Iranian left is in mortal danger. Only the current state of revolutionary anarchy and the army's disarray has prevented Khomeini from actually carrying out a *jihad* against the "red infidels." This state of affairs can last only a short time. Already the Islamic Revolutionary Committee is moving to establish an Islamic National Guard and police force based on the loyal Muslim partisan fighters. Khomeini's "sword of Islam" is now poised right over the head of the left and the advanced workers of Iran.

Yet if there were a revolutionary party in Iran today, it might well be able to mobilize the forces, centrally proletarian, which could successfully resist the consolidation of a reactionary Islamic bourgeois government. Such a party would seek to organize a military united front to defend the workers organizations, the left and even secular democratic elements who face repression by Khomeini's Islamic Revolutionary Committee. Key to a successful defense against Khomeini is the establishment of workers militias linked to workers committees controlling production. Through a united-front defense of the left, the communist vanguard would

seek to win the most advanced workers to its program.

The Mullahs in Power

Khomeini in power has wasted no time in demonstrating that his Islamic rule has nothing whatsoever to do with the democratic aspirations of the Iranian masses who brought down the hated Pahlavi monarchy. The extreme oppression of women, which is a necessary component of Khomeini's attempt to restore Koranic law, was dismissed by the ayatollah's liberal and left-wing apologists as so much imperialist propaganda. But when the ayatollah ordered the new minister of justice to scrap the provisions in the shah's legal code which restricted polygamy and granted limited divorce rights to women (because they "contravene Islam"), he was only being consistent with his clearly-formulated medieval program. One shocked Iranian woman was quoted in the 1 March *New York Times*: "We supported the Imam because we believed this was a revolution that belongs to all of us. Now what they are proposing is to turn this wonderful victory into a new set of restrictions on our freedom that rivals the previous regime's restrictions on political freedom."

The Persian chauvinism of the mullah regime has already been bloodily affirmed. The breakdown in authority gave impetus to the struggles for national rights of the Azerbaijanis, Kurds and other non-Persian peoples who make up 60 percent of Iran's population. But now Entezam has vowed to "ruthlessly crush those behind the unrests" in Kurdistan. More than 100 people were killed in one battle near the Iraqi border between Kurdish rebels and troops loyal to the Teheran government. Thousands of unemployed Afghani workers in Teheran and other cities have been rounded up and deported.

The anti-imperialist demagoguery of the mullah-led movement, in reality the crudest Persian nationalism and xenophobia, has not prevented the new regime from taking steps to reassure the American imperialists that despite the shah's overthrow American military and economic "assistance" are still welcome. Army chief of staff Mohammed Wali Qarani refused to rule out the return of American military "technicians" to Iran, and an aide to foreign minister Karim Sanjabi comforted readers of the *Wall Street Journal* on February 22 with the message that "we are very weak now, and we know we need your financial and technical assistance."

That the Islamic regime seeks to base itself on the army officer caste should come as no surprise. For months Khomeini made clear that he wished to win the "patriotic" officers to the opposition. The shallowness of the purge of the shah's officers is indicated by the fact that chief of staff Qarani, himself a well-known friend of the CIA, has pledged to bring back all three- and four-star generals. Qarani's appointment and his actions have been met by widespread protest among dissident technicians, soldiers' committees and junior officers. Demonstrations of air force men in Teheran forced the withdrawal of Bazargan's nominee to head the air force, as well as his choices for navy, police and gendarmerie commanders, while a mass meeting of air force technicians passed a resolution for the election of officers by soldiers' committees.

Workers Committees

Iran's three-million-strong working class is the most powerful in the Mideast. It was the strike of the southern Iranian oil workers which was decisive in bringing down the shah.

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