

Young Spartacus

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Defense of USSR/Cuba Begins in El Salvador!

Smash the Junta!

The civil war in El Salvador now occupies center stage in American politics. Demonstrations against U.S. aid to the Salvadoran butcher junta have drawn thousands of participants from coast to coast and numerous protests have been held on college campuses. A major demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador is scheduled for May 3 in Washington, D.C.

U.S. imperialism's historic appetite to restore capitalism in the USSR is presently crystallized in its drive to shore up the Salvadoran junta against the left-wing insurgents fighting under the banner of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). All anti-imperialist militants must demand, not merely "U.S. Hands Off El Salvador," but "Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents!" Only in this way will it be possible to build a movement to defend the USSR and defeat U.S. imperialism's global counterrevolutionary machinations. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) is organizing a contingent demanding military victory to the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador to march in the May 3 demonstration (see box below).

The statement by National Security Council aide Richard Pipes that war with the USSR is inevitable unless the Soviets "change their Communist system" exposes as utopian the Stalinist pipedream of "détente" with the imperialists. Pipes was quickly silenced, but his "unauthorized" statement reveals the obvious direction of U.S. foreign policy: from Green Berets in El Salvador toward anti-Soviet nuclear mega-death. In another display of frenzied anti-communism, secretary of state Haig stooped to declaring before a Congressional committee that the four missionary nuns who were brutally raped and



Young Spartacus Photo

SL/SYL contingent at March 21 rally in Boston against U.S. support to El Salvador junta.

murdered by Salvadoran rightists may have been armed and died in an "exchange of gunfire"! In a blatant diplomatic provocation, Haig told the same committee that the Soviet Union has a "hit list" of Central American countries and stated that the "seizure" of Nicaragua was already "completed." A short time later a Congressional appropriations committee approved \$5 million in extra military aid to the

Salvadoran junta. Ranking Republican committee member Silvio Conte warned wavering Democrats that "to fail to support the President will send a wrong signal to Cuba and the Soviet Union" (*New York Times*, 25 March).

Taking Sides on El Salvador

Recalling the early days of opposition to the Vietnam War, protest actions

have taken place on a plethora of U.S. campuses and in most major cities. And, now as then, hard political lines are being drawn between those who *take a side* in the bloody civil war and those seeking an alliance with "liberal" bourgeois critics of U.S. intervention. Spartacus Youth League-led demonstrations were among the first protest actions on many campuses; hundreds of students from San Francisco to Ann Arbor, from Brandeis to Madison and Oberlin rallied to demand: "U.S. Hands Off El Salvador!" "No U.S. Aid to the Murderous Junta!" and "Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents!"

In virtually every case, the demand for the Salvadoran rebels to *win* was opposed by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), and its fake-left hangers-on, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Stalinist Communist Party (CP). Banking on a repetition of the Vietnam-era bloc with "antiwar" bourgeois politicians, these reformists refuse to call even for battlefield victory of the guerrilla forces they claim to support, let alone for workers revolution. This position is fully in keeping with the goals of the FDR itself, which calls for a "political solution," that is, an imperialist-brokered compromise between the insurgent masses and the murderous junta. But the slaughter of the workers and peasants won't stop until the junta is overthrown and the

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March With the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, May 3!

There's a civil war raging in El Salvador, and the question is: **Which side are you on?** Reagan and Haig have a side. They are rapidly escalating shipments of arms, Green Berets and over \$126 million in economic aid to the murderous junta. Having picked Central America for a "showdown" in their Cold War drive against the Soviet Union, the Yankee imperialists make it clear that they stand by their butchers. We must take a stand, too, backing the struggle of the Salvadoran workers and peasants against their oppressors to the hilt. And that means demanding no less than: **Stop all U.S. aid to the Salvadoran junta! U.S./OAS hands off Central America! Military victory**

to the leftist insurgents!

The march on Washington called by the People's Anti-War Mobilization/May 3 Coalition *refuses* to take a side in the Salvadoran civil war. Some of the reformist groups organizing the demonstration have even resorted to physical violence in a vain attempt to silence the Trotskyists who call for workers revolution throughout Central America. Instead the reformists want to parade a bunch of Democratic Party "doves" across the platform calling for a "political solution" in El Salvador. What this means is appealing to the imperialists' soft cops to broker a deal with the junta murderers! Liberals like Teddy Kennedy are

sworn *enemies* of revolution, and like Reagan/Haig their arsenal is ultimately aimed at the Soviet Union. We say: Remember the Bay of Pigs and Vietnam! **Defense of Cuba and USSR begins in El Salvador!**

Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. On May 3, the SL and SYL call on all those who want to smash junta terror, who oppose imperialism's Cold War drive and stand for a military victory by the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador to march with us in the Anti-Imperialist Contingent! For more information, contact the Spartacus Youth League at (212) 732-7867. Do it now!

Letters

Angela Davis Sees Red

March 14, 1981
San Francisco

Dear Editor:

Angela Davis was one of the many signers of a petition circulated at SF State University in early February. The petition, a denunciation of vicious slander aimed against the SYL, stated in part: "While we do not necessarily agree with the political views of the SYL, their honesty and scrupulousness in fighting for the cause of workers and minorities is without question" (see *Young Spartacus* No. 89, March 1981). For a Communist Party (CP) honcho to sign such a statement came as a surprise, as the Stalinists' usual fare is to cover their many betrayals with the lie that Trotskyism is counterrevolutionary. It seemed like the Stalinists were now

seeking détente not only with the bourgeoisie but the Trotskyists as well. Perhaps they mistakenly thought the SYL would cease its polemical fire.

Not so. The next day two SYL members were selling *Young Spartacus* No. 88 which included an article titled "Professor Angela Davis Gets a Lesson," outside one of Davis' classes. They were met with hysteria by CP members. First, they were told to "go sell somewhere else" and that they were "forcing" students to "run a gauntlet."

Then Davis herself arrived, late as usual, and got pretty hot when she saw the *Young Spartacus* article. She blew her normally contained cool and started yelling, "Don't buy their paper," and "These people are dishonest, they use dishonest methods!" While only 24 hours earlier, Davis had defended the SYL's honesty, she was now telling her students something quite different. It

was a good thing that Davis signed the petition defending the SYL. However, the contradictions and political bankruptcy inherent in Stalinism cause the CP to repudiate its position of a day earlier.

Incidentally, eight students out of a class of approximately 30 bought the paper.

Communist Greetings,
Cindy P.

Post Mortem

February 20, 1981
Ann Arbor

Dear Editor:

Readers of *Young Spartacus* may be interested to hear about an amusing footnote to the inglorious end of Bruce

Richard's brief fling with revolutionary politics (see "Revolutionary Will vs. Petty-Bourgeois Despair," *YSp* No. 88, February 1981, where his resignation and an SYL reply are printed). I work at the university bookstore in Ann Arbor. Not long after *YSp* No. 88 came out, Bruce Richard came in, purchasing no less than ten copies of the paper. (Since his departure from the SYL he has shown considerably more interest in *YSp* than he ever did as a member.)

Knowing me to be a supporter of the SYL, Richard was quick to let me know he considered the article "mendacious"—a ludicrous charge so patently ridiculous I think the legal establishment will benefit about as much from this dilettante as the Marxist movement did—very little.

Yours in solidarity,
Gordy W.

Brandeis Students Join SYL

My first encounter with the SYL was with a man selling *Young Spartacus* which was headlined "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" Later that same day I defended the Soviet Union without fully understanding the SYL's Trotskyist perspectives. However, my initial reaction, that under the Carter administration "human rights" meant reactionary warmongering against the Soviet Union, has since been confirmed.

I attended the SYL class series at Brandeis last semester and learned why the SYL says "Smash the Klan," "Don't Cross Picket Lines," and "Defense of the USSR and Cuba Begins in El Salvador." Meanwhile, I continued to read other leftist press, including those of DSOC, the SWP and the various Maoist sects. None of the other press held up to the Spartacist analysis. They were either mushy liberalism or Stalinist lying.

The SYL-initiated demonstration on El Salvador also demonstrated what I've found wanting about Brandeis single-issue groups—they do nothing. Most of the campus activists refused to endorse a rally initiated by communists, but they shamelessly attended the demonstration without explaining why they could not support military victory to the left-wing insurgents.

Seven months after buying a *Young*

Spartacus, I understand the importance of "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" Reagan and Haig's bellowing over "Soviet expansionism" in El Salvador means the return of HUAC and cut-backs of benefits to the working class. The Spartacist press correctly foresaw these developments in Carter's "human rights" anti-Sovietism. It is now reflected at Brandeis as the Administration and the BCR [Brandeis College Republicans] try to whip up anti-communist fright.

The positions of the SYL are those of a truly revolutionary organization. After three and a half years of searching in vain at Brandeis for an intelligent group with a program and the organization to change the world, I've found the SYL. For the above reasons, I wish to join the SYL. I agree with the principles of the SYL and I agree to abide by the discipline.

Richard Genova
March 18, 1981

Up until six months ago, I believed that politics was just "depressing" and that the answer was simply to ignore it and hope that it would go away. I felt guilty for my apathy and lack of involvement, but I didn't know what to



Young Spartacus Photo

Genova and Michelini distributing revolutionary Marxist newspaper, *Young Spartacus*.

do about it. I had tried various single-issue causes, such as feminism and anti-nuclear protests, and had even considered joining the SWP but all I had found were a bunch of hippies sitting around talking about teach-ins and silent vigils and pickets of dirty movies.

In retreat from what I thought were the only political alternatives available, I used rock-and-roll as my "cause." The nihilism of punk rock appealed to me because it seemed that the only thing to

do with the world was destroy it. However, at heart my politics were liberal, and I was eventually turned off by the music-centered and often reactionary view of the world held by my friends.

I ran across my first SYLer at Brandeis. While she argued with my friend over the "fragmentation of the left" I found myself agreeing with the Spartacist position on several points. That night we went to the Spartacist class, and I became more impressed with their positions on the USSR, Afghanistan and Iran. The fact that the SL/SYL had a "line" seemed a good thing to me—it meant that they were consistently progressive all across the board, unlike the mushy liberal single-issue groups I knew of. These groups attempt to focus on just one chic liberal issue, such as gun control, nuclear power, legalization of marijuana, the draft, whales or seals, while ignoring the larger political questions which affect everyone now more than ever.

Well, I am interested in these questions. I feel that I can no longer stand back and hold my nose while Reagan and Haig put their anti-Soviet war drive into full gear, the Klan marches through cities all over the country, and the Moral Majority crows that their "time has come." The answer to these problems is not simple, but I believe that the SL/SYL has the correct approach. Therefore I have decided to join the SYL; now I can feel proud of my politics.

Carla Michelini
March 18, 1981

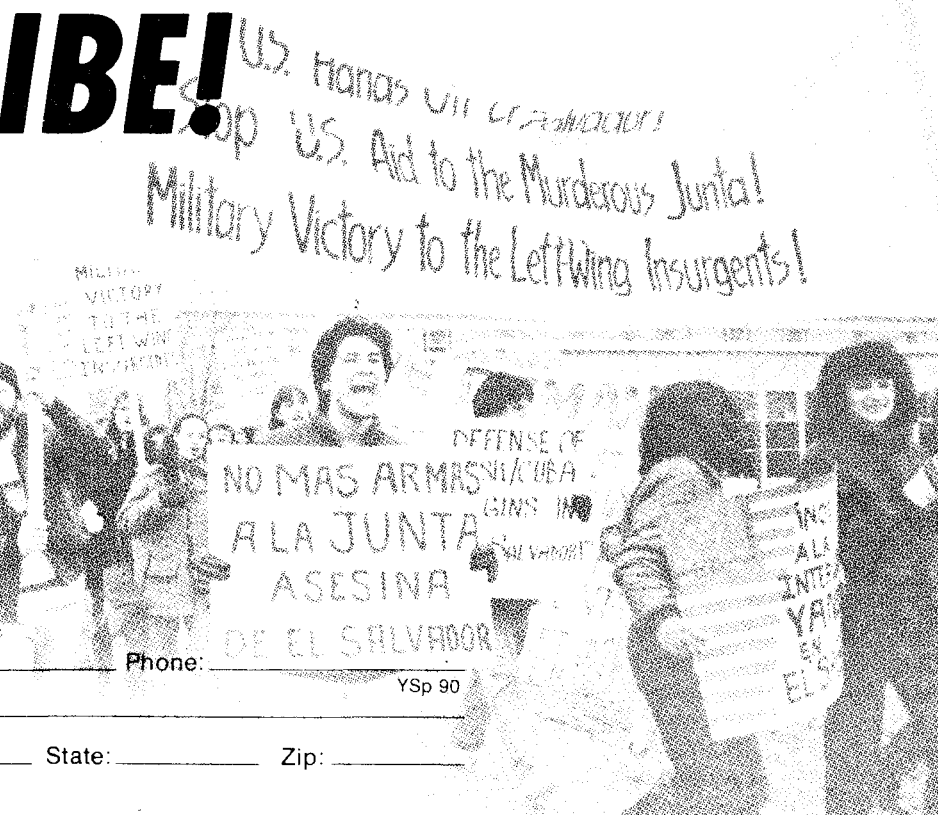
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Stalinist Bureaucracy Breeds Anti-Marxism

Polish Student Protests

Five months after mass workers strikes threw Polish society into deep crisis, thousands of students occupied Lodz University in a sit-in which quickly expanded to at least 20 other universities across the country. After almost a month of negotiations, on February 17 the government conceded to the students' demands. Compulsory courses in Marxism and in the Russian language were abolished; restrictions on travel outside of Poland were eased; the length of military service for women was reduced; and the new Independent Union of Students was formally recognized.

Taken together the demands for the abolition of compulsory classes in Marxism and the Russian language were clearly intended as a rejection of the official "Communist system" and its ideology. To be sure, the sterile, dogmatic formulae taught in Poland's universities has little to do with scientific socialism and the revolutionary working-class tradition. But the student protesters were not simply repulsed by the Stalinist perversion of Marxism. Some no doubt are uninterested in political doctrines of any kind and prefer to spend their time on the sciences, arts, athletics, what have you. But in the Poland of Pope Wojtyla the widespread student rejection of official Marxism, not to speak of hostility toward it, is associated with the dangerous growth of clerical-nationalist currents. The recent student strike then is essentially an attack on the regime from the right.

Of course, students in the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe are not getting a real Marxist education. One student protester complained of classes which are a "vulgar introduction to Leninism" and a "form of indoctrination" in which "any student who asks a provocative question there is tossed right out of the classroom" (*New York Times*, 29 January). The Stalinist bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and East Europe systematically distort history, stifle educational advance and suppress all political criticism. The Brezhnev and Kania have no interest in—and cannot afford—the education of a new generation of revolutionary Marxists. Instead they seek to inculcate a submissive population which will accept bureaucratic rule. As Trotsky wrote of educational life in Stalin's Russia of 45 years ago:

"The school and social life of the student are saturated with formalism and hypocrisy. The children have learned to sit through innumerable

deadly dull meetings, with their inevitable honorary presidium, their chants in honor of the dear leaders, their predigested righteous debates in which, quite in the manner of their elders, they say one thing and think another."
—*The Revolution Betrayed*
(1936)

This is what the Stalinist bureaucracy of post-war Poland has done as well—act as a brake on the political/educational development of its youth.



Outside the University of Lodz, where students demonstrated and staged a sit-in.

And this is completely contrary to the spirit of Marxism. Under a revolutionary workers government the universities would become vital centers of learning and culture, something which is impossible without real political and academic debate. Nonetheless, it is one thing to reject the many perversions of Marxism in a Stalinist education system; it is something very different to reject *in toto* classes in Marxism and to refuse to serve in the armed forces of the Polish state, especially with Western imperialism embarking on a new war drive against the Soviet bloc. As Trotskyists, we defend the Polish deformed and Soviet degenerated workers states from both imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution.

From Gomulka to Wojtyla

Student and intellectual unrest is nothing new for Poland. Far from it. There has been a continuous pattern of student-centered dissidence in Poland—more so than in any other East European country—going back to the post-Stalin "thaw" of 1953-56. But in marked contrast to the university protest movements of the 1950s and '60s the present strike has an essentially rightist character, in keeping with the general shift in Poland's political climate. And for this the blame falls squarely on the Stalinist bureaucracy, its endlessly broken promises which have dashed the hopes of Poland's workers and young intellectuals.

In the period following the death of Stalin in 1953, the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, the Communist Party) engaged in appeals to the Polish masses, promising them a higher standard of living and a liberalization of political and social life. But by 1955 PUWP-loyal groups of writers, journalists and students had become impatient with the empty promises of the bureaucracy. They wanted to replace what they saw as a bad communist government with an honest one. Typical of the spirit of the times was an article, "Is This the Twilight of Marxism?" in the youth weekly *Po Prustu* which argued that,

"The time has come to apply genuine revolutionary Marxism to our conditions..."

Student unrest reached mass proportions in the crisis situation following the suppressed Poznan workers uprising of June 1956. This crisis was resolved with the return to power of Wladyslaw Gomulka, a liberal-national Stalinist who had been purged in the late 1940s as a "Titoist." He was widely seen

These intellectuals were not Luxemburgists in any meaningful sense. Rather they saw in her an honest and honorable socialist tradition in opposition to the hypocrisy and brutality of Stalinism.

Gomulka soon crushed the hopes of his supporters, workers and intellectuals alike, and moved to resecure the bureaucratic straitjacket. A year after coming to power he banned the leading dissident journal, *Po Prustu*. The crackdown on the intelligentsia continued in the next years culminating in 1964 with the closing of the campus socialist discussion clubs.

Gomulka's drive against the dissident intellectuals around the Communist Party pushed many of them to the right, toward Western social democracy and liberalism and recently the Catholic church. The most famous Polish New Leftist of the 1950s, Leszek Kolakowski, is today a strident anti-Marxist, indeed an anti-socialist. Living in Britain, Kolakowski openly expresses what his friends in Poland like Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik dare not.

A new upsurge of mass student unrest took place in 1968, largely in response to Dubcek's experiment of "socialism with a human face" in neighboring Czechoslovakia. When in March 1968 the regime closed a nineteenth-century Polish nationalist play, thousands of students in Warsaw attended a protest meeting. Reserve militiamen were sent to break this up, sparking three days of street fighting around Warsaw University and a student strike lasting three weeks before the government could restore order. The Stalinists resorted to a vicious anti-semitic (formally "anti-Zionist") campaign to justify the crackdown on the new student/intellectual dissident circles.

The demands of the students in 1968

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Give 'em Hell, Miners!

MARCH 31—Early reports indicate that coal miners have overwhelmingly rejected the sellout contract negotiated by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) leadership. Now the coal strike moves into high gear.

The miners' fight is the fight of *all* the victims of Reagan's reactionary economic attacks—workers, minorities, students, the poor. The miners' fight is our fight! As youth section of the Spartacist League, the Spartacus Youth League calls on students and youth to give their wholehearted support to the victory of the militant UMWA strikers.

The coal strike is the first major class battle under Reagan reaction. Among the social services originally slated to be slashed under Reagan's austerity program were the black lung benefits that coal miners desperately need. While Congress is reconsidering cutting these benefits, they still hang in the balance. Thus the miners' strike could easily go from being a test of strength between the miners and the coal companies to being the first show of strength by

labor and the oppressed against Reagan's killer cuts!

In 1978 Carter invoked the Taft-Hartley Act to break the last miners' strike. "Shove it!" was the miners' unanimous response. Troops, cops and the union's treacherous leadership failed to stop the strikers' flying pickets which fought to halt the flow of scab coal. Only after 110 days did the union leadership manage to foist a defeat on the membership, but the union was saved and the members' militancy undiminished.

The miners must show that will to fight again! The rejected contract was initially touted as a great gain but it was subsequently revealed as a *sell-out* which gave up the important clause requiring royalty payments to the UMWA Health and Retirement Fund by coal operators purchasing nonunion coal. As in 1978, militant strikers responded by setting bonfires with copies of the proposed contract settlement. As the determined strikers know, a union victory will only be won on the picket lines! Victory to the Miners Strike!

Young Spartacus

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A Revolutionary Fighter: Kote Tsintsadze 1887-1931

Kote Tsintsadze was a Georgian Bolshevik who died in the first of the Stalinist purges. Tsintsadze joined the Bolsheviks in 1903 at age 16. During the 1905 Revolution he organized, in his own words, "a fighting detachment of Bolsheviks for the purpose of robbing state treasuries." After the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, he headed first the Georgian and then the All-Caucasus Cheka (Soviet secret police). He was on the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party and served on the Central Executive Committee of the Georgian Soviet.

In 1923 Tsintsadze joined the Left Opposition, which opposed the emergent Stalinist bureaucracy. In 1927 the Stalinists expelled the Opposition from the party. Suffering from tuberculosis, Tsintsadze was exiled to a remote region in which the climate was sure to hasten his death. The Militant, twice-monthly organ of the Communist League of America (Opposition), reported in its issue of 1 January 1931: "For two months, Ordjonikidze [a Stalin sycophant] has promised to get the transfer for him, but so far no permit has been received.... It will probably arrive when comrade Kote Zinzade has died." The next month The Militant reported his death and published the following article by Trotsky under the title, "At the Fresh Grave of Kote Zinzade" (15 February). The following translation is from the book *Portraits: Personal and Political* by Trotsky.

At the Fresh Grave of Kote Tsintsadze by Leon Trotsky

It took quite exceptional conditions—tsarism, the underground, prison and Siberian exile, the long years of struggle against Menshevism, and especially, the experience of three revolutions—to produce fighters like Kote Tsintsadze. His life was entirely bound up with the history of the revolutionary movement for more than a quarter of a century. He took part in all the stages of the proletarian insurgency—from the first propaganda circles to the barricades and seizure of power. For many years he carried on the painstaking work of the underground organizer, in which the revolutionists constantly tied threads together and the police constantly untied them. Later he stood at the head of the Transcaucasian Cheka, that is, at the very center of power, during the most heroic period of the proletarian dictatorship.

When the reaction against October had changed the composition and character of the party apparatus and its policies, Kote Tsintsadze was one of the first to begin a struggle against these new tendencies hostile to the spirit of Bolshevism. The first conflict occurred during Lenin's illness. Stalin and Ordzhonikidze, with the help of Dzerzhinsky, had carried out their coup in Georgia, replacing the core of Old Bolsheviks with careerist functionaries of the type of Eliava, Orakhelashvili and the like. It was precisely on this issue that Lenin prepared to launch an implacable battle against the Stalin faction and the apparatus at the Twelfth

Congress of the party. On March 6, 1923, Lenin wrote to the Georgian group of Old Bolsheviks, of which Kote Tsintsadze was one of the founders: "I am following your case with all my heart. I am indignant over Ordzhonikidze's rudeness and the connivance of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky. I am preparing for you notes and a speech" [*Collected Works*, volume 45].

The subsequent course of events is sufficiently well known. The Stalin

and gently attentive attitude toward people.

Kote was not a theoretician. But his clear thinking, his revolutionary passion, and his immense political experience—the living experience of three revolutions—armed him better, more seriously and firmly, than does the doctrine formally digested by those of less fortitude and perseverance. Just as Shakespeare's Lear was "every inch a king," Tsintsadze was every inch a

"Who will conquer?" "In the meantime, the advantage remains on my side," he added, with the optimism that never abandoned him.

In the summer of 1928, referring indirectly to himself and his illness, Kote wrote to me from Bakhchisaray: "...for many, many of our comrades and friends the thankless fate lies in store of ending their lives somewhere in prison or deportation. Yet in the final analysis this will be an enrichment of revolution-



Trotskyists in a Siberian labor camp. Banners read: "Against the right, nepmen (New Economic Policy) bureaucracy" and "Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat."

faction crushed the Lenin faction in the Caucasus. This was the initial victory for reaction in the party and opened up the second chapter of the revolution.

Tsintsadze, suffering from tuberculosis, bearing the weight of decades of revolutionary work, persecuted by the apparatus at every step, did not desert his post of struggle for a moment. In 1928 he was deported to Bakhchisaray, where the wind and dust did their disastrous work on the remnants of his lungs. Later he was transferred to Alushta, where the chill and rainy winter completed the destruction.

Some friends tried to get Kote admitted to the Gulripshi Sanatorium at Sukhum, where Tsintsadze had succeeded in saving his life several times before during especially acute sieges of his illness. Of course, Ordzhonikidze "promised"; Ordzhonikidze "promises" a great deal to everyone. But the cowardliness of his character—rudeness does not exclude cowardice—always made him a blind instrument in the hands of Stalin. While Tsintsadze was literally struggling against death, Stalin fought all attempts to save the old militant. Send him to Gulripshi on the coast of the Black Sea? And if he recovers? Connections might be established between Batum and Constantinople. No, impossible!

With the death of Tsintsadze, one of the most attractive figures of early Bolshevism has disappeared. This fighter, who more than once risked his life and knew very well how to chastise the enemy, was a man of exceptional mildness in his personal relations. A good-natured sarcasm and a sly sense of humor were combined in this tempered terrorist with a gentleness one might almost call feminine.

The serious illness from which he was not free for a moment could neither break his moral resistance nor even succeed in overcoming his good spirits

revolutionary. His character revealed itself perhaps even more strikingly during the last eight years—years of uninterrupted struggle against the advent and entrenchment of the unprincipled bureaucracy.

Tsintsadze instinctively fought against anything resembling treachery, capitulation, or disloyalty. He understood the significance of the bloc with Zinoviev and Kamenev. But morally he could not tolerate this group. His letters testify to the full force of his revulsion—there is no other word for it—against those Oppositionists who, in their eagerness to insure their formal membership in the party, betray it by renouncing their ideas.

Number 11 of the *Bulleten Oppozitsii* published a letter from Tsintsadze to Okudzhava. It is an excellent document—of tenacity, clarity of thought, and conviction. Tsintsadze, as we said, was not a theoretician, and he willingly let others formulate the tasks of the revolution, the party, and the Opposition. But any time he detected a false note, he took pen in hand, and no "authority" could prevent him from expressing his suspicions and from making his replies. His letter written on May 2 last year and published in number 12-13 of the *Bulleten* testifies best to this. This practical man and organizer safeguarded the purity of doctrine more reliably and attentively than do many theoreticians.

We often encounter the following phrases in Kote's letters: "a bad 'institution,' these waverings"; "woe to the people who can't wait"; or, "in solitude weak people easily become subject to all kinds of contagion." Tsintsadze's unshakable courage buoyed up his dwindling physical energy. He even viewed his illness as a revolutionary duel. In one of his letters several months before he died he wrote that in his battle against death he was pursuing the question:

ary history, from which a new generation will learn. The proletarian youth, when they come to know about the struggle of the Bolshevik Opposition against the opportunist wing of the party, will understand on whose side was the truth."

Tsintsadze could write these simple yet superb lines only in an intimate letter to a friend. Now that he is no longer alive, these lines may and must be published. They summarize the life and morality of a revolutionist of the highest caliber. They must be made public precisely so that the youth can learn not only from theoretical formulas but also from this personal example of revolutionary tenacity.

The Communist parties in the West have not yet brought up fighters of Tsintsadze's type. This is their besetting weakness, determined by historical reasons but nonetheless a weakness. The Left Opposition in the Western countries is not an exception in this respect and it must well take note of it.

Especially for the Opposition youth, the example of Tsintsadze can and should serve as a lesson. Tsintsadze was the living negation and condemnation of any kind of political careerism, that is, the inclination to sacrifice principles, ideas, and tasks of the cause for personal ends. This does not in the least rule out justified political ambition. No, political ambition plays a very important part in the struggle. But the revolutionary begins where personal ambition is fully and wholly subordinated to the service of a great idea, voluntarily submitting to and merging with it. Flirtation with ideas, dilettante dabbling with revolutionary formulations, changing one's views out of personal career considerations—these things Tsintsadze pitilessly condemned through his life and death. His was the ambition of unshakable revolutionary loyalty. That is what the proletarian youth should learn from him. ■

Marching Toward Black Liberation

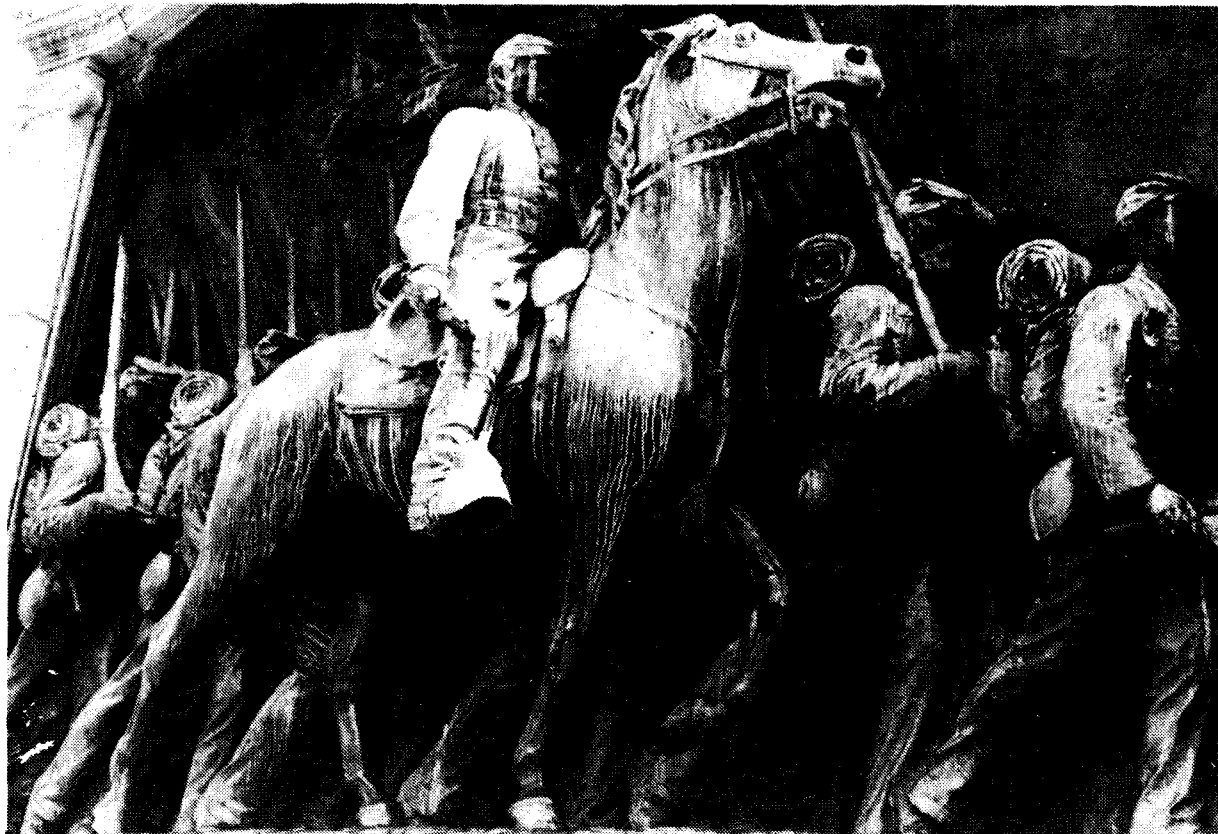
In Memory of Colonel Shaw and the 54th

On Beacon Hill in Boston there is a statue honoring Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, the white commander of the first regiment of Northern free blacks to fight in the Civil War. Shaw sits astride his horse, sword in hand; but this is not just another military-man-on-horseback statue. All around Shaw march black soldiers, rifles held firmly on shoulders, eyes front, ever advancing on the impregnable Fort Wagner in South Carolina. There they died in 1863. Officer and men are buried in a common grave, and they have been memorialized in one of this country's most politically interesting and noble sculptures.

It took the great American sculptor, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, more than 12 years to achieve this testament to the fraternity of struggle in bronze bas-relief. Dedicated in 1897, today the statue is neglected and worn, and there is now an attempt to restore it. The marble is cracked, the bronze is corroded, something resembling paint seems to have been poured over it. Certainly time and the weather have done their destructive work, and perhaps even vandals have joined in. However, if the statue was the target of politically motivated vandalism, it would be difficult to say with assurance what spot on the political landscape the vandals might occupy. For the statue on Beacon Hill is a sore point for philistines of all sorts. For the racists it represents an obvious abomination: blacks and whites, arms in hand, fighting to the death for a social revolution in America. But for certain leftists, the Saint-Gaudens statue offends. They see that the lone white man is an officer while the blacks are the ranks. Shaw rides while his men walk. A symbol of racism?

Ignorance of history is not excused by a double dose of liberal moralism. As one historian recently said of Saint-Gaudens' work: "He caught in bronze the moment that explains the Civil War." Perhaps it can also explain something of American black military

The Robert Gould Shaw/54th Regiment Memorial by Augustus Saint-Gaudens.



experience and leadership, as it looks to future "moments."

There were no blacks in the regular U.S. army at the start of the Civil War, and federal law prevented blacks from serving in state militias. Although free blacks had fought against the British in the Revolution of 1776 and the War of 1812, they were immediately demobilized when the manpower shortage was over. As soon as the cannons fired on Fort Sumter, blacks tried to join the Union Army, but they were turned away contemptuously under the slogan: "This is a white man's war." Indeed, the question of black troops asked what the Civil War was all about. Abolitionists tried to make emancipation the issue and argued therefore for the use of black troops. Frederick Douglass implored the North to "unchain against her foes

her powerful black hand." But most Northern whites viewed the war aims as only the preservation of the Union, not a struggle for emancipation, still less a fight for the full citizenship of American blacks. Lincoln, worried about holding the loyalty of the border states, could write as late as 1862 that "If I could save the union without freeing any slave, I would do it." But he couldn't do it. By the end of 1862 the war was going badly for the North, and Britain whose economic interests coincided with the free-trade South was thought to be considering recognition of the Confederacy. Furthermore the Union Army simply needed more men. It became obvious that if the war was to be won, it would have to crack the slave base of the South. Thus at the beginning of 1863, Lincoln announced the Emancipation

Proclamation and the War Department started to recruit black soldiers.

By the end of the Civil War 180,000 blacks had served in the Union Army, spilling their blood in nearly every major battle, taking nearly 70,000 dead. But the Massachusetts 54th was first. Massachusetts' abolitionist governor John Andrew secured permission to recruit a black regiment, and the abolitionists traveled the North seeking recruits. Douglass and Martin Delany became recruiting agents. But for the abolitionists both black and white, the recruitment of black troops was an essential part of making emancipation part of the aims of the war. As Douglass said in *Mission of War*, it "ought to be an Abolition War and an Abolition Peace." Two of Douglass' sons enlisted

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Klan Gets Bloody Nose

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On March 21 a pack of KKK fascists who tried to hold a race-hate provocation in Meriden, Connecticut were driven off the streets by approximately 200 outraged demonstrators. The Klan had come to city hall to support the killer cops who last month shot two blacks, murdering one. After hiding in the city hall for over an hour, the white-sheeted scum tried to escape out the back door with the help of local cops in riot gear. But they were met by a barrage of rocks and sticks. According to press reports, eight Klansmen and 19 cops were bloodied. The cops charged the crowd with nightsticks and arrested two protesters. Now the leading race terrorist in the U.S., "Imperial Wizard" Bill Wilkinson, is calling for the help of the federal Justice Department, claiming his "civil rights have been violated." Charges against these anti-Klan demonstrators must be dropped at once!

We are glad to see these KKK thugs get a taste of justice for their murderous terror attacks on blacks, leftists,



KKK runs for cop protection in Meriden, Connecticut.

Jews and other minorities. But the tactics of the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR) which organized the anti-Klan confrontation can be no model for fighting the

fascists successfully. InCAR is a creature of the Progressive Labor Party (PL), known for its wild gyrations between liberal reformism and adventurism. Their strategy depends

on the cops' failing to crush their protests. But even as PL chanted "Cops and Klan work hand-in-hand," 100 state police were waiting a few blocks away, according to the *Boston Globe*. Later the president of the state police union apologized for not sending in his cops to bash the demonstrators.

This time PL was lucky. But a strategy to stop the fascists which banks on the supposed incompetence of the state—or worse, the illusion that it would protect anti-fascist protests—is suicidal. Last time PL/InCAR rallied in Scotland, Connecticut to protest a cross-burning they nearly got shot and the totally unprepared demonstrators took to the fields in confusion. What is needed to drive the fascists back into their holes is neither liberal/reformist reliance on the government to "ban the Klan" nor the substitutionist adventures of PL/InCAR. What's needed is the social power of the union movement, backed by black and other minority organizations. The SL says: For labor/black mobilization to stop fascist terror attacks!

Military Victory to Left-Wing Insurgents

Smash the Junta!...

(continued from page 1)

capitalist armed forces are smashed!

Rather than mobilize student and worker militants to demand that the international working class aid in every possible way the victory of the rebel forces, CISPES and the SWP/CP talk about "self-determination" and "non-intervention." They sponsor parlor debates with State Department spokesmen and the former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White (who believes Marxism to be the "ultimate threat to Western civilization"). One of their projects is lobbying for the passage of a Congressional Bill, HR 1509, which would prohibit military aid to El Salvador but says not one word about the critical millions in economic aid pouring into the country to keep the junta going. In early February, CISPES ran a full-page ad in the *New York Times*, headlined, "Let the People of El

Salvador Decide."

Some who just call for "non-intervention" argue that if only the U.S. cut off aid the junta would immediately fall to the leftist insurgency. This is a dangerous illusion. Unlike in Vietnam the Salvadoran ruling class is using its own armed forces against the guerrillas. The oligarchy prides itself on its ability to do its own dirty work, pointing to the massacre of 1932 when it slaughtered 30,000 Communist-led workers and peasants without significant direct aid from the U.S. Today, as well, the Salvadoran army may well be capable of defeating the insurgency essentially on its own. If this were to happen, the liberals and reformists of CISPES would have to accept that El Salvador had "self-determined" its own fate. At bottom CISPES is appealing to liberal American chauvinism. For it, the important thing is that the U.S. government keep its hands clean, not the social liberation of the working masses of El Salvador.

Addressing 150 students at a March 9 Brandeis University rally, SYL National

Committee member Kathie Somers answered such abstentionism:

"So Ronald Reagan and General Haig are saying that they want the 'people' to win—and they're busy sending help for their murderous 'people' in the junta. The liberals and pacifists call for peace, but they avoid the question of *who* should win. We in the SYL recognize that there is a life-or-death struggle being waged for the workers and peasants throughout Central America. And it is our *duty* to side with them, to say that we want them to win!"

Calls to "let the people decide" may sound "progressive" but are in fact nothing more than an accommodation to imperialism. We say: Let the workers and peasants defeat the U.S.-backed junta, and let them get military aid from wherever they can, preferably from the Soviet bloc! Unfortunately, bourgeois press reports of massive arms aid from the "international Communist conspiracy" are a pack of lies: 12,000 workers and peasants would not have died in the past year if sufficient arms had reached the insurgents. The fact is that Moscow and Havana are among those pressuring for a "political settlement." Thus the Stalinist bureaucrats sacrifice one more insurgent struggle in the search for "détente" with the Reagan imperialists; and the rebels are starved for arms.

CISPES has plenty of company in its call for "self-determination," all of it bad. There's Mexican President Lopez Portillo, a supposedly "progressive" opponent of U.S. intervention who condemns Soviet intervention as well. After all, a successful revolution in El Salvador would send tremors throughout Central America including the Mexican working-class movement; if Portillo intervenes it will be to head off the "Communist threat." Then there's imperialist "dove" Ted Kennedy, who is currently backing an even milder version of HR 1509 and has come out strongly denouncing military support "from Communist and other radical states to the insurgent forces in El Salvador." Even Reagan, on a recent visit to Canada, used references to "self-determination" to paper over differences with Liberal Prime Minister Trudeau.

Imperialist "Doves" Are Anti-Soviet Hawks

There are some fatal flaws in the CISPES class-collaborationist recipe. For starters, the "antiwar" bourgeoisie of the '60s saw Vietnam as a *losing* war for U.S. imperialism. As *Workers Vanguard* editor Jan Norden put it at a recent Spartacist forum in New York, "One thing about bourgeois defeatism, you never get it unless the bourgeoisie is getting defeated." Since their humiliating defeat at the hands of the Stalinist-led workers and peasants of Vietnam, the imperialists have been rearming ideologically and militarily against the Soviet Union. The imperialists know what many a muddle-headed "leftist" does not: behind the anti-capitalist revolutions in Cuba, Vietnam and China stands the military and economic powerhouse of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

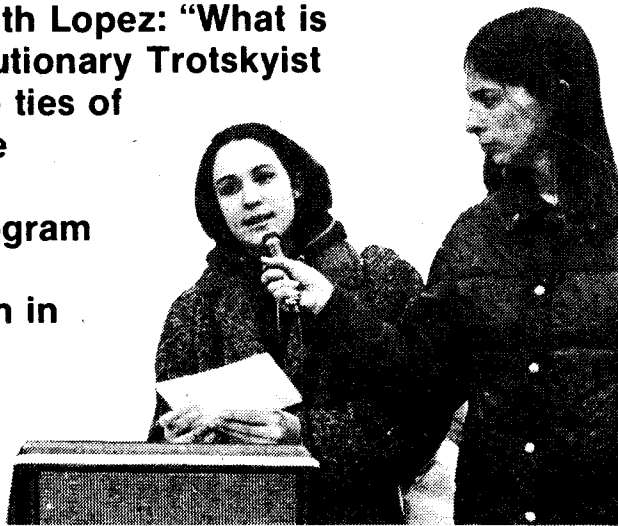
Speaking at a March 6 SYL-called rally in Ann Arbor, Spartacist League (SL) spokesman Reuben Samuels explained to the 250 demonstrators why the defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador:

"We have stressed the issue of the Soviet Union, not only because Reagan has decided to make it an issue, but because it is not accidental that reactionaries see behind every progressive movement, every struggle for social and human emancipation, the hand of the October Revolution, just as reactionaries in this country see behind the struggle of every labor militant for a decent living standard the machinations of the communists. It is their testimony, so to speak, that the Marxist program, embodied in the October Revolution, is the program for human emancipation and justice. Reagan's ultimate target in his war drive against El Salvador is the gains of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union that remain intact despite the fact that there was a Stalinist expropriation of the working class politically."

The reformists will search in vain for a "peace-loving" bourgeoisie; it's a Cold War, anti-Soviet bourgeoisie and it wants blood to flow in El Salvador. Reagan stands by his butchers.

The Vietnam-era popular-front alliance between the CP and SWP reformists and the defeatist bourgeoisie was, furthermore, a fundamental *betrayal* of the Vietnamese revolution. The

SYL supporter Ruth Lopez: "What is needed is a revolutionary Trotskyist party to break the ties of the workers to the bourgeoisie that determine the program of the FDR... For workers revolution in El Salvador!"



Young Spartacus Photo



Ann Arbor, March 24.



Columbia University, March 24.

S!



SWP's National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) refused to call for the military victory of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam, lest Democratic Party luminaries like Senator Vance Hartke become alarmed. Instead, they pandered to jingoism, counseling the capitalists to "bring our boys home." Our "boys," as we asserted at the time, were the anti-imperialist fighters in Vietnam! The SL alone sought to draw the class line in the antiwar movement, declaring, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" and agitating for *labor political strikes* against the war. The antiwar popular front kept within capitalist bounds, and when the U.S. pulled out of Vietnam in 1973 the "movement" fell apart. Victory came

two years later to the heroic Vietnamese, and it was won *on the battlefield*.

Popular Front: Enemy of Revolution

While the U.S. popular frontists scratch around for a "liberal" to ally with, the insurgent masses of El Salvador are locked in a deadly popular-front trap. The FDR is a bloc in which leftists have subordinated themselves to certain "patriotic" officers and representatives of the "anti-oligarchy" bourgeoisie. Its program is to ameliorate, not end, capitalist oppression. The end-product of such a popular-front alliance was demonstrated by the 1979 "reform junta" supported by Carter. Among its members were Guillermo Ungo, now FDR president, and a labor minister from the Communist Party. Ungo and the rest of the liberals, as well as the Stalinists, lasted only a few months, but it was long enough to be governing a state that broke strikes and carried out the first in a series of massacres. This "reform junta" also initiated the "land reform" program now referred to in El Salvador as "reform by death."

History provides all too many tragic examples that the popular front spells bloody defeat for the workers. Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular in Chile left the proletariat unarmed and the officer corps intact, and paved the way for Pinochet's coup in 1973. The popular-front strategy carried out by the Stalinists in Spain led to disaster and 40 years of Francoism. The slaughter of millions of workers, peasants and students in Indonesia in 1965 was prepared by a popular front—which included the Maoist PKI—that disarmed the workers. It is this sordid history of betrayals and the triumph of reaction which CISPES, the CP Stalinists and the craven waterboys of the SWP uphold as the "only way" for El Salvador.

Because it cannot tolerate class-struggle politics and because its strategy cannot stand up in open debate, CISPES has—with the SWP cast in the role of "vanguard goons"—taken to physically excluding supporters of the SL/SYL from its "public" events. An SWP-led goon squad expelled SL/SYL supporters from the March 21 CISPES conference in New York (see box on page 8). On many occasions, CISPES has attempted to censor communist placards and chants from demonstrations. The low point was when the Los Angeles CISPES, in a frenzied attempt to

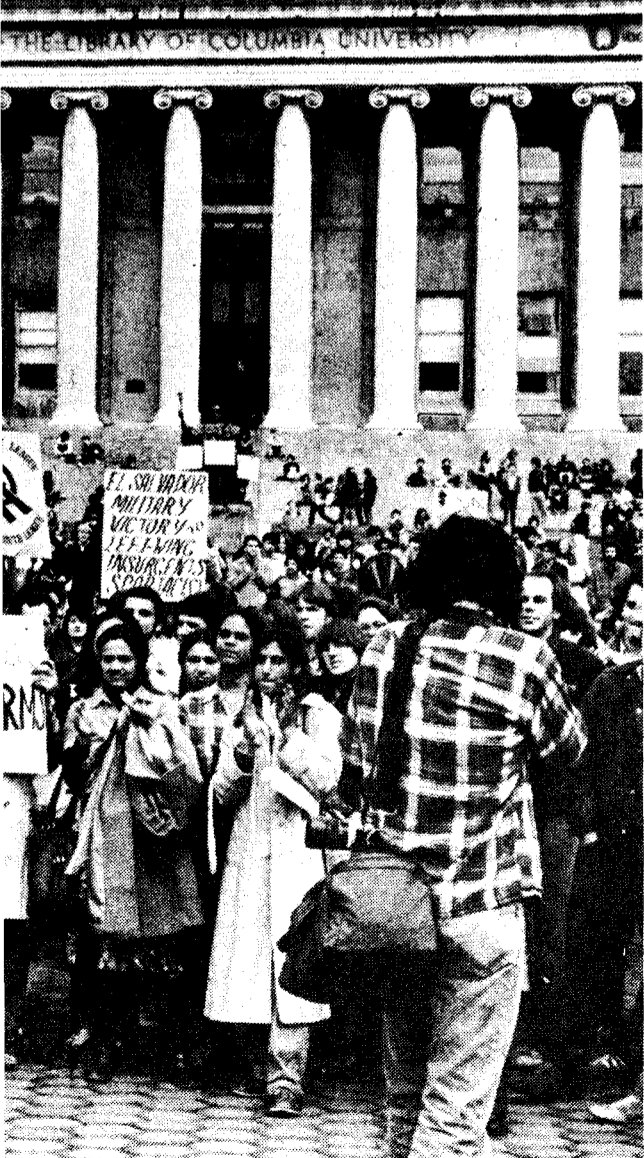
sabotage a rally called by the SL/SYL to protest the deportation of Salvadoran refugees who face near-certain death at home, phoned people on its mailing list and lied that the demonstration had been canceled (see article below)!

This, too, is the logic of the popular front—physical violence, lies, slander, censorship of leftists in the service of the "democratic" bourgeoisie. It's old hat for the SWP. An SWP goon squad viciously beat and ejected supporters of Progressive Labor and the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Marxist Caucus (forerunner of the SYL) from the 1971 NPAC conference when we protested the presence of bourgeois politicians on

the platform. When it came down to either embarrassing Senator Hartke or bloodying communists, the SWP had no qualms about taking the latter course.

But we will not be silenced. The SYL was forged in the fight against popular frontism and class collaboration in the antiwar movement. As the reformists gear up to repeat their betrayals over El Salvador, the SYL has already led hundreds of students across the country in actions demanding "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents!" Those who seek not another policy for imperialism but a policy to *smash* imperialism will find it only in the revolutionary program of the SL/SYL. ■

Young Spartacus Photo



Young Spartacus Photo



CISPES Sabotages Asylum for Salvadoran Refugees
No Deportations!

Chanting "Stop the Deportations to El Salvador" and "Asylum for Refugees from Junta Terror," 75 demonstrators picketed and rallied on March 23 in front of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) office in downtown Los Angeles. This militant united-front protest, initiated by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, condemned the INS for its mass deportations of Salvadorans who have fled the bloody repression of the U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador. During the past year, it is estimated that over 12,000 refugees have been hand-delivered to the junta and its death squads.

The March 23 demonstration, the first protest called on this crucial democratic issue, garnered a wide range of endorsements and received considerable media coverage. Included among the picketers were representatives of the Feminist Women's Health Center, the Militant Action Caucus in the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and members of the L.A. Valley Community College chapter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Sal-

vador (CISPES). Phil Russo, director of organization for the Western states' region of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), expressed his opposition to INS raids into L.A.'s garment district by backing the rally. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) district council also supported the demonstration, but neither of these unions mobilized their forces to attend.

Conspicuous by its opposition to the protest was the citywide CISPES. When the SL/SYL first approached CISPES to join the united front, they responded with a categorical "No!" and suggested that the SL/SYL "get out of the movement"! Such a response by the people who mouth concern over the plight of the Salvadoran masses is criminal and a despicable betrayal of the hundreds of refugees who are being deported each week.

However, many members of CISPES were outraged by the sectarianism of its leadership. UCLA CISPES endorsed the protest, while students from Clare-

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Madison El Salvador Pop-Frontists Expel Militant

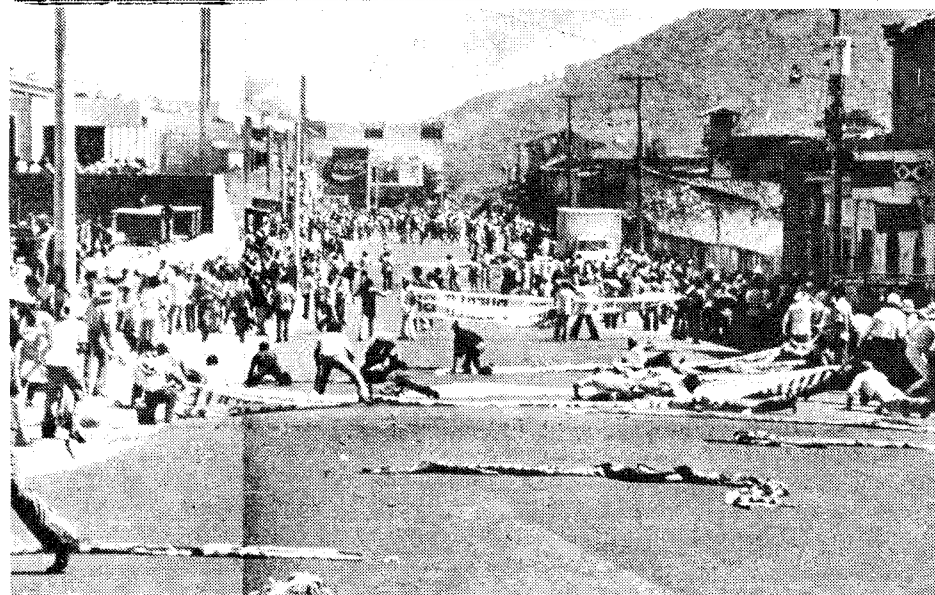
Tom Janota lived in Ahuachapán, El Salvador for two years, beginning in May 1978. He arrived as a Peace Corps volunteer teaching ecology, but stayed in the country after the Peace Corps pulled out in February 1980. He witnessed the coup of October 1979, which brought the "reform" junta to power, as well as the junta's initial attempts at "land reform."

He returned to Madison, Wisconsin and became a spokesman for Community Action on Latin America (CALA). At a January 22 rally on El Salvador sponsored by the Organization of Progressive Iranian Students, Janota uniquely warned against the class-collaborationist strategy of the Salvadoran guerrillas. The Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) contains bourgeois politicians who only a short time ago were themselves members of the murderous junta. These people, Janota noted, "also have the workers' blood on their hands." He was subsequently expelled from CALA for speaking against the popular-frontist strategy at a Spartacus Youth League-initiated rally on February 4.

Since then CALA has worked exclusively through the Madison chapter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). At a March 12 showing of Hour of the Furnaces, CISPES demonstrated its hostility to working-class politics by calling the cops in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the distribution of Young Spartacus outside.

The following account by Janota of his political development and expulsion from CALA is excerpted from a March 18 interview conducted by Workers Vanguard.

When I came back I was of course interested in telling people about the situation in El Salvador and also in trying to sort out some impressions and observations that I had made there. So those two things—both wanting to learn more and wanting to tell people about El Salvador—led me to a community group in Madison called the Community Action on Latin America, that has a



(Above) January 22, 1980: 200,000 take to the streets of San Salvador to commemorate the 1932 uprising. (Below) The bloody aftermath: junta sharpshooters murder 21, wound 120.

history of about ten years' work in Latin American problems, Latin American issues.

And they were interested in having me, since I had firsthand experience and some background in El Salvador, plus all of the information, the press clippings I had brought with me. So I began

to work with them in developing programs about El Salvador, a slide program for example, and in bringing this movie, *Revolution or Death*, to campus. I was involved with CALA in these activities. About the same time I was introduced to some Spartacist literature (this was also last fall, Novem-

ber or so) and the more I read about some of the Spartacist viewpoints, the more they seemed to coincide with some of my own observations I had made in El Salvador.

And then I began to read also about past experiences with the popular front in Spain, for example, and in Chile. All of this information was helping me to sort out what I had seen in El Salvador. It helped me to understand and put it into some kind of perspective. I was kind of going along two lines at once, one line being the CALA popular-front line and working with them, and then at the same time reading more and more Spartacist literature and becoming more and more interested in that point of view.

It all came to a climax at a rally on January 22 that the Organization of Progressive Iranian Students was putting on about El Salvador. The movie *Revolution or Death* was shown, and I was scheduled to speak for CALA at this rally. My speech at this rally was basically a background speech, talking about how the situation in El Salvador basically came to be the way it is today from a historical perspective and then talking about current conditions and U.S. involvement and so forth. At the close of my speech I began also to address the question of the popular front, mentioning the fact that there had already been a popular front after the October coup in '79, and mentioning the fact that the current president of the FDR, Guillermo Ungo, was a member of that first junta, and that that junta came to power by crushing workers' strikes. In one of the working-class suburbs near where I lived, for instance, in the San Bartolo free-trade zone and Soyapango, a number of workers' occupations of factories were put to an end violently. As well, there were uprisings in working-class suburbs, in Cuscatancingo, San Marcos, Mejicanos, leading to the deaths of at least 40 people, and hundreds were wounded in these uprisings.

I mentioned all of those things and mentioned the fact too of the past failures of the popular front in Chile and in Spain, closing my talk with the call for a workers revolution that would focus power on the workers and giving land to the peasants. There was quite an uproar caused by my first of all having addressed the popular-front issue in public, and then having said these things about Ungo. There was a member of the Chicago office of CISPES at the rally—in fact, he had brought the copy of *Revolution or Death* to be shown—and he talked to me afterwards at length about how I had smeared the leader of the FDR. I asked him, "How do you think Ungo could escape blame or escape responsibility for what happened during his own stay in office?" He tried to get around that by saying, "Well, he was just testing the military to see if they were serious"—I think that was pretty much the gist of what he was saying. And that he was not to blame because after about ten weeks of this (the initial massacres were only the first in a series of massacres and repressive actions that went on throughout the whole ten weeks of his term) Ungo had left the cabinet and that therefore he was absolved from any kind of blame in the situation.

This also led to something of an uproar in CALA, as they were receiving phone calls evidently from former CALA members asking what had happened, had CALA changed its popular-front line, and so forth and so

Protest SWP Thuggery for CISPES!

NEW YORK—A goon squad led by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) physically assaulted and ejected SL/SYL supporters here from the March 21 conference on El Salvador sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). The SWP has offered itself up as thugs for the class-collaborationist politics of CISPES in addition to pursuing its own established policy of excluding leftists from "public" events. These "thought police of the left" are attempting to seal off the El Salvador protest milieu from revolutionary Trotskyist politics and criticism of the SWP's own rotten history of blocking with "liberal" bourgeois politicians, as happened during the anti-Vietnam War movement. All defenders of workers democracy must protest this outrage!

A leaflet entitled "SWP Goons for CISPES: Protest Anti-Communist Exclusion" was distributed at the evening rally following the conference. It explains the events surrounding the

cowardly exclusion:

"When a crowd gathered at the conference, many of them shocked by the goon squad's vicious assault, SWP chief thug Mike Maggi tried to claim that the SL was "disrupting." At no time did we disrupt anything—instead we were prevented from exercising the same rights as everyone else. As soon as we walked in the door, SLers were told we could not sell our newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*. *WV* salesmen outside the building were not allowed in after they had finished selling. Yet numerous groups were selling freely in the corridors. When an SL supporter tried to speak in the "Human Rights" workshop, as soon as he mentioned the words Spartacist League, SWPers in the audience started interrupting, yelling "shut up," screaming to drown him out. He was then bodily thrown out of the room. A *WV* reporter was excluded from the press conference, even though Salvadoran FDR spokesman Carlos Paredes said he was opposed to political exclusions. Women and black comrades were dragged across the lobby, down the stairs and thrown out the door."

The goon attack on the SL/SYL was clearly orchestrated from the outset.

We learned that the SWP held a meeting the night before the conference to discuss how to strong-arm SL/SYL supporters. Unable to politically answer the SL/SYL program of relentless class struggle in El Salvador, our call for the military victory of the leftist insurgents and our insistence that defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador, the SWP follows the tradition of social-democratic scum before it—anti-communist violence. These are the same "democrats" who cannot bear to trample on the "rights" of the Nazis and KKK terrorists. The SWP is not only willing but proud to have publicly debated fascist swine! What the SWP is deathly afraid of, however, is genuine Trotskyist politics and the earned authority of the SL/SYL as leaders of militant protest actions against U.S. intervention and aid to El Salvador and for the military victory of the rebel forces. As we said in our leaflet: "But it won't work. The voice of proletarian revolution will not be silenced."

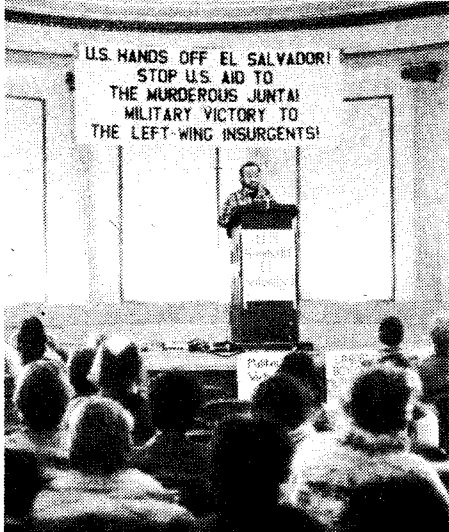
on. And there was a big meeting and a discussion, and it was decided that in the future the speakers speaking in CALA's name would hold to the CALA program, and that was established to be around the three general slogans of U.S. nonintervention, an end to military aid and military victory to the left wing.

There was an opportunity shortly after that, on the 4th of February, to speak at a Spartacist-initiated rally, and an opportunity also to endorse this rally. I had to be at work and there was a CALA meeting held to discuss CALA's participation in this rally, and I wasn't able to be there. The members at that meeting decided that they did not want to endorse the rally or have anything to do with it because it was sponsored by the Spartacists, even though CALA had a week before endorsed those three slogans (Hands off El Salvador, No U.S. aid to the junta and Military victory to the left-wing insurgents) as being the basis for CALA's actions. The fact the Spartacist League was involved in the rally was the deciding factor in CALA's decision not to endorse the rally.

Well, I also was approached to endorse the rally and could see no reason not to. In fact, it seemed to me to be a very timely rally, in that there hadn't been much done on campus prior to that time, except that movie, and it was necessary to keep the issue in the public eye. So I endorsed the rally as a member of CALA, thinking that I was well within the guidelines set out by CALA, in that these were slogans that CALA could endorse, and had.

Well, I spoke at the rally—it was a very successful rally, by the way, between 350 and 400 people attending, a very good turnout, good speakers and some good information was being transmitted there. That was on a Wednesday. The following Saturday

Young Spartacus Photo



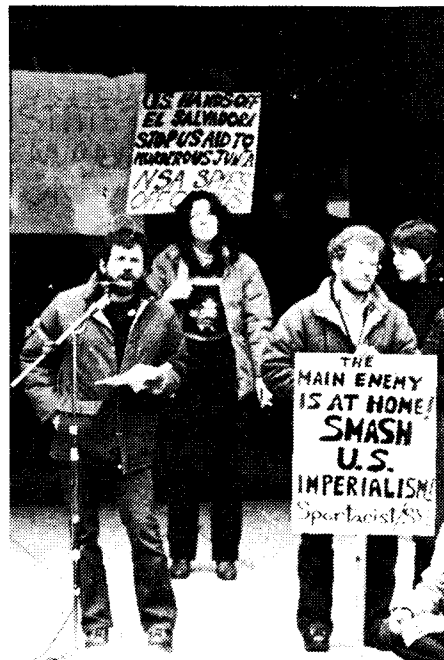
Janota denounces popular front at Madison SYL-called united front rally Feb. 4.

CALA was having a meeting, and a couple of people in the group let me know they were really incensed by my first of all endorsing the rally and then speaking at it, again seeming to bring CALA's name into connection with the Spartacists, which was really the major sticking point. I was already scheduled to be out of town that weekend. I came back on the following Sunday. I was

"NSA, Killers of Che! Spies Off Campus!"

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY—"Until the SYL appeared on this campus, no Brandeis organization would have come forward with a correct analysis of the Salvadoran situation, or an action such as today's demonstration, to counterpose the bloodthirsty moves of the Reagan team. So while there are serious people here from other Brandeis organizations, everyone knows that it is the SYL which gets things done. That's why I'm going to join the SYL."

That's how senior Richard Genova wound up his speech at the 150-strong March 9 demonstration against the spy recruiters of the imperialist National Security Agency (NSA) and for the victory of the leftist guerrillas in El Salvador. The SYL-initiated demonstration struck a responsive chord with many Brandeis students who took dozens of leaflets to pass out at classes and sought out endorsements from faculty members. In the days before the rally, the SYL literature table in the student center lobby became an organizing center as well as a forum for political discussion. While none of the various student coalitions was willing to take a stand on the Salvadoran civil war, many of their individual members did, by endorsing, building and attend-



Young Spartacus Photo

ing the rally.

The rally included speeches and messages of solidarity from the SYL, the Spartacist League, Anne Glick of Brandeis Resistance to Registration and the Draft, the Boston University Free School, the Organization of Arab Students at BU and the Militant Solidarity Caucus of the National

Maritime Union.

The university administration tried to disrupt the rally beforehand by sending threatening letters to members of the Friends of the SYL, implying that the rally would be violent. This attempt at intimidation was denounced in a letter to the student newspaper, *The Justice*, signed by eight students. Then 20 reactionaries organized by a Cuban *gusano* (right-wing emigré) tried to disrupt the rally by singing "God Bless America" and chanting "Russia out of El Salvador!" This disruption was also successfully aborted by the superior forces of the demonstrators. After the rally, the protesters marched to Kutz Hall, where the NSA was reportedly interviewing its prospective recruits.

The SYL-initiated rally sharply polarized the campus. Thus, when supporters of the liberal/reformist Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) announced a showing of the movie *Revolution or Death*, they actually had on each leaflet meticulously added with a magic marker: "We are *not* SYL!" But one rally participant responded to this anti-communist cowardice by writing underneath, "That's too bad for you!" ■

called up by one of the CALA members—in fact, the fellow that had first told me that he was upset, that he had gotten all kinds of phone calls about this whole question. He told me that in CALA's meeting on Saturday, the day before, the group had talked about my participation in the rally and had decided that because CALA had decided not to endorse the rally and because I had endorsed the rally, this was a breach of the collective responsibility, a breach of their etiquette, and I was informed that I had been expelled from the group for that action in my absence.

I was stunned, of course. . . . Later on I talked with one of the CALA members and it was arranged that I would speak at a subsequent meeting to explain my point of view, even though by that time, of course, the issue of my membership in CALA was no longer in question. In other words, the expulsion was going to stand, no matter what I had to say. But they were at least interested to hear my side of the story. There was a meeting, and I explained my point of view. But pretty much things stayed as they were, and the group itself, although somewhat sympathetic to some of the ideals that I was talking about, fell in pretty solidly

behind the expulsion, based on the idea that the collective responsibility had been breached by my action. They kept trying to say the issue really wasn't the popular front, but it was rather my action in endorsing the rally that the group had not officially endorsed. . . . Their disagreement with the Spartacists was of a greater concern to them than the three slogans themselves, indicating to me that somehow their dedication to these slogans, to the solidarity with the working people in El Salvador, was not the most important consideration, but rather their disagreements with the Spartacists were really the key. ■

mounting support for the demonstration within its ranks, the CISPES leadership resorted to a campaign of outright sabotage. Their mailing list was systematically called and told that the demonstration had been canceled. To their credit, many individuals expressed shock and anger at this sabotage operation and intend to protest it at the next citywide CISPES meeting.

Speakers at the rally stressed the context in which the deportations are taking place. Spartacist spokesman José Silva pointed out, "The attacks on democratic rights at home, the massive cutbacks in social programs and the growth of the fascists are an integral part of Reagan's war drive which is ultimately aimed at the USSR." Barry Janus, Militant Action Caucus candidate for the CWA national convention, underlined the importance of El Salvador to the U.S. working class. "As a candidate to the CWA national convention, we run on a platform calling for military victory to the left-wing forces. If they don't win the workers' blood will flow. Labor in this country must help them win. The present ILWU boycott of military goods to El Salvador must be made real and extended to the Teamsters and seamen!" ■

No Deportations...

(continued from page 7)

mont College, Pasadena City College, Riverside and L.A. Valley Community College took leaflets and encouraged their members to attend. Nonsectarian members of CISPES managed to list the demonstration in the regular CISPES newsletter under the title, "Things to build for and to go to!" Faced with this

Feiffer

HOW COULD THE U.S. TOLERATE SUCH A DRASTIC MILITARY IMBALANCE? IT'S A NATIONAL SCANDAL!



WHEN DID WE FIRST LEARN WE WERE DEFENSELESS AGAINST THE RUSSIANS?



WAS IT IN 1979 WITH BREZHNEV?



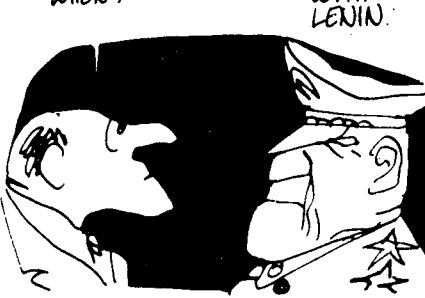
WAS IT IN 1960 WITH KHRUSHCHEV?



WAS IT IN 1948 WITH STALIN?



WHEN?



1917 WITH LENIN?

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE FORUM

For Workers Revolution in El Salvador!

Speaker: Gene Schubert, Spartacist League Central Committee

Guest Speaker: Tom Janota, with slide show and eyewitness report from El Salvador

April 7, 7:30 pm
Memorial Union
University of Wisconsin
For more information call (608) 255-2342

MADISON

No Platform...

(continued from page 12)

supremacy. And we all know what that means. It means genocide for blacks and Jews and working people.... Don't you know what white supremacy means? He's talking about having white cities with blacks having no access to them. He's talking about Johannesburg and South Africa and apartheid."

Patterson and Jeff Shomer of the SYL went on the air at WAAM the following week to explain the SL/SYL's strategy for fighting fascism and why we are opposed to the fascists being provided a platform to build their terrorist actions. Shomer answered one caller who thought Carlson's "views" should be heard:

"We are protesting Carlson because of his actions. Because this man is going to use this show to better organize the death of blacks, unionists, Jews and other minorities in this country.... We want to see working people stop [the fascists] from organizing murder. It's a question of self-defense."

"I'm the son of an Auschwitz survivor..."

At the close of the program, Taylor, ignoring Carlson's explicit adulation of Hitler, again asked "how do people know" that genocide is the aim of Carlson and his ilk. Shomer responded:

"I happen to be a communist, but I also happen to be the son of an Auschwitz survivor. I grew up on stories of what the fascists did, what the Nazis did. I grew up on stories of what the concentration camps were like. And the point is that there are a lot of other people in this country—blacks, Jews—who know the same thing. And they are ready to mobilize to stop these people.... We want to organize workers and minorities to make sure that the same thing that happened in Germany, that is, the devastation of the working people, of the unions, of minorities, of anyone who had a view different than Hitler's, doesn't happen here."

Unfortunately, subsequent to the SYL appearance on WAAM, Carlson did appear on the air under the guard of the Washtenaw County police. But not everybody is willing to swallow Taylor's and the SWP's civil libertarian position that talk shows and electoral debates will defeat the fascists by exposing their "ideas." On the same night as the firebombing, Carlson was escorted out of a candidate's forum in Hillsdale, Michigan by four husky football players while the audience of 150 people booed and hissed at him. When Carlson squealed about his "free speech" being denied, moderator Ronald Towbridge, vice president of the Hillsdale Chamber of Commerce (whom the SWP will no doubt label as "ultra-left"), answered, "To give him his freedom is to deny ours.... The Chamber of Commerce will not provide him with a forum at our expense" (*Detroit News*, 4 March). We regret that Carlson escaped the wrath of his fellow Republicans. ■

Col. Shaw...

(continued from page 5)

and fought with the new Massachusetts 54th regiment.

On May 28, 1863 the 54th left Boston

Madison Anti-Porn Feminists "Censor" SYL

MADISON—Since women workers in the needle trades of Manhattan marched on March 8, 1908 for the eight-hour day, the end of child labor and equal suffrage for women, International Women's Day (IWD) has been a holiday commemorating the fight of working women at the front lines of the proletarian class struggle. In sharp contrast, the local Madison feminist anti-porn ayatollahs celebrated IWD this year with "womonsong," poetry and calls for the censorship of "smut." At the rally held on the steps of the State Capitol, exhortations to "organize" fell flat as speakers painted a dismal picture of women's status in the U.S. following the setbacks of the last several years and confessed impotence in the face of Reagan reaction.

A Spartacus Youth League (SYL) banner proclaiming "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution" cut through the pro-Democratic Party liberalism and reactionary "Moral Majority" anti-porn hysteria dominating the rally. The gap is wide between revolutionary socialists—who offer a program to stop the right-wing drive to shore up the family and strip the small gains made for abortion rights, the rights of homosexuals and youth as well as for the education and employment of women—and the Madison feminist milieu. In the remnants of the feminist movement, there is no more talk about revolution, hardly any about reform. It is devoted almost

exclusively to the reactionary anti-porn crusade and has become the quintessential example of the logic of petty-bourgeois sectoralist politics: despairing, irrelevant to the masses of working women and, finally, outright reactionary.

The organizers of the rally pursued this logic and after a lengthy political fight in which our Marxist politics were slandered as "disruptive," the SYL was bureaucratically shut out of IWD Coalition planning meetings. By excluding the SYL from having an official workshop at the Madison Area Technical College (MATC), the IWD Coalition provided the excuse with which to deny the SYL a room in its own name: "political organizations" cannot use MATC facilities. But the SYL held its workshop anyway, at a nearby YWCA, drawing a number of interested men and women to discuss Marxism vs. feminism.

The Coalition's workshops, largely designed as stumping grounds for Democrats and trade-union bureaucrats seeking feminist support, carefully avoided anything remotely resembling principled class-struggle politics. Thus it doesn't matter who wins in El Salvador, according to feminists from the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), as long as women participate! And Jacqueline Archer of the American

Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees spoke on union organizing; according to her "positive method" psycho-babble, flattery rather than class consciousness is the key to signing up new members. The workshop on pornography was a real gem, serving up the standard feminist fare which places these puritanical moralists in an objective bloc with the likes of Moral Majority ace Jerry Falwell and Anita Bryant, whom the Madison *Feminist Connection* now hails as a "sister."

For revolutionaries struggling for women's liberation, there is a political fight to be had with feminists who are more interested in censoring *Oui* and *Penthouse* than in freeing women from the oppression stemming from capitalism and its necessary corollary, the nuclear family. It is just such a political fight the feminists seek to avoid when they try to gag the communist SYL. When we distributed a leaflet protesting the exclusion at the rally earlier in the day, many people were genuinely disgusted by the Coalition's cowardice. The leaflet said in part:

"What are the feminists afraid of? Why such 'unsisterly' behavior toward the SYL? For the same reason that the IWD program is dominated by liberal, pro-Democratic Party politics, the politics of defeat. It is not an accident that there is no Coalition workshop or speaker dedicated to the only strategy that can win full emancipation for women—the strategy of international proletarian revolution."

to join David Hunter's command in South Carolina. The regiment marched in review before 20,000 people in Boston, the largest gathering for a regiment in that city during the war.

The Confederate army acted against the black regiments and their white officers with a special racist vengeance. Re-enslavement was by no means the worst consequence awaiting captured black troops. After the battle of Fort Pillow on the Mississippi above Memphis in April 1864, scores of blacks were massacred after surrendering. Some were buried alive. But the effect of the racist massacres was to make the black soldiers fight harder. There was no point in surrender. As Thomas Wentworth Higgenson, the famed white abolitionist commander of the black South Carolina Volunteers, wrote in 1870: "They fought with ropes round their necks, and when orders were issued that the officers of colored troops should be put to death on capture, they took a grim satisfaction.... With us at least there was to be no play soldier" (*Army Life in a Black Regiment*).

Shaw's 54th attacked Fort Wagner on Morris Island in South Carolina July 18, 1863. They went through the hail of storm and shot and shell, trampling over the dead bodies of their comrades,

falling back and then advancing again. When it was all over, the Union had suffered an overwhelming defeat. More than 1,500 Union casualties were counted on the bloody battlefield with only 174 for the Confederacy. Of the ten Union regiments participating the 54th



suffered the most casualties with 247 dead or wounded.

Robert Gould Shaw was killed at Fort Wagner too. As the white officer of a black regiment he was seen by the

Southern army as the worst sort of race-betrayer. They took the body of this 25-year-old officer from a prominent abolitionist family who had distinguished himself at Antietam, and they did what they thought would be the most insulting and humiliating. Later, when the Union Army searched for his body, they were told by Confederate officials: "We have buried him with the niggers." Thus Shaw was twice honored, once by Saint-Gaudens and once, unwittingly, by his enemies.

"The Third American Revolution"

Historically, blacks have seen participation in America's wars as an opportunity to advance demands for equality. But unlike the Civil War which destroyed the "slaveocracy" and with Reconstruction completed the bourgeois revolution, U.S. wars thereafter were no longer in the interests of black people or workers. There were no more "Abolition Wars."

The Union Army, of course, was rampant with racism as was every institution in America, even as it fought against the Southern slave system. Black soldiers were subject to more than the paternalism of the white abolitionists. The pay for black privates was just over half that of white privates. In

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

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

New York City

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

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

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

Chicago

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

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE FORUMS

Smash H-Block! British Troops Out of Ireland Now!

Speaker: Alan Gilchrist,

Spartacist League/Britain Central Committee
founding member of Workers Socialist League 1975-78

DETROIT

Thursday, April 16, 12:30 pm
Room 678, Student Center Building
Wayne State University
For more information: (313) 868-9095

SAN FRANCISCO

Thursday, April 23, 12:00 Noon
SF State Student Union, B114
For more information: (415) 863-6963

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE FORUM

TORONTO

Thursday, April 16, 7:30 pm
Michigan Union
Conference Room 5
University of Michigan
For more information: (313) 994-9313

Sunday, April 12, 7:30 pm
International Student Centre
University of Toronto
333 St. George Street
For more information: (416) 593-4138

protest, blacks in the Massachusetts 54th refused to accept their pay for months. In *Black Reconstruction*, W.E.B. Dubois argued that blacks were often used as shock troops. And most importantly, blacks could not serve as commanding officers.

But black leadership is no longer shackled to the slave system and backward southern agriculture. As part of the industrial proletariat the future black leaders of the "Third American Revolution"—the Socialist Revolution—are being trained now. Not at West Point, to be sure, but on the front lines of the class war.

As targets of increasing racist attack, black people see all around them that the main enemy is at home. This was summed up dramatically in the 1960s antiwar slogan attributed to Muhammad Ali: "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger!" Today, young blacks—many of whom see the armed forces as the only way out of the ghetto—do indeed comprise fully one-third of the volunteer army. But the U.S. ruling class views this largely black army with increasing distrust, as black youth have little ideological allegiance to the government's imperialist aims. The economic conditions facing black people are so overwhelming that it has become an article of common sense as well as Marxist program: the problems facing black people cannot be solved this side of the socialist revolution.

Thus in the Third American Revolution blacks will lead the way; organized as part of the Trotskyist vanguard, blacks will lead united working-class victory over capitalism. Then, at last, America's rotting ghettos can be swept away with the class that created them. And we are confident that in the new socialist cities there will be a place of honor for the statue of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and his courageous troops of the Massachusetts 54th. ■

Poland...

(continued from page 3)

were largely limited to the specific issues of academic/intellectual freedoms and unlike 1956 tended to ignore the overall socialist direction of society. Nonetheless, the March 1968 resolution of the Warsaw students reaffirmed support to socialism: "...it is necessary to emphasize, as strongly as possible, that the acceptance of the basic premises of socialism not only does not absolve one from discussion and reflection of the various ways of realizing these premises, but it even makes it obligatory."

It was in the 1960s that Jacek Kuron, today the leader of the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) and an adviser to Lech Walesa's Solidarity, emerged as a leading dissident intellectual. In 1964 Kuron, then an instructor at the University of Warsaw, co-authored an "Open Letter to Communist Party Members." For this he spent six years in prison. Kuron's political course exemplifies a similar trajectory of many Polish worker militants and intellectuals who in the 1950s-60s strove for a revitalized socialism but today look toward the reactionary Catholic church and Western capitalist-imperialism.

Kuron's 1964 "Open Letter" was a confused attempt at a socio-economic analysis of Poland as a "bureaucratic state." Incorrectly equating the Stalinist bureaucracy's political control with economic ownership of the means of production, it argued that the state bureaucracy had become a new class. Kuron's outlook at the time can be characterized as vaguely syndicalist (though using some Marxist terminology). In spite of the weaknesses and egregious errors of the "Open Letter," it called for the socialist rule of the working class: "Then the working class will exercise economic, social and political power in the state." Moreover, Kuron criticized the ruling bureaucracy for its "collaborative agreements with

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE CLASS SERIES

ANN ARBOR
ABC's of Marxism
 Alternate Wednesdays, 7:00 pm
 April 8, 22
 (Dates for later classes and rooms to be announced)
 University of Michigan
 For more information: (313) 994-9313

BOSTON
Marxism Today
 Wednesday, April 8, 7:30 pm
 Conference Room A, Usdan
 Brandeis University
 For more information: (617) 492-3928

CHICAGO
Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism of Today
 Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 pm
 April 16, 30
 Ida Noyes Hall
 59th and Woodlawn
 University of Chicago
 (see Directory for room)
 For more information: (312) 427-0003


DETROIT
Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
 Alternate Thursdays, 3:00 pm
 April 16, 30
 Student Center Building, Room 678
 Wayne State University
 For more information: (313) 868-9095

LOS ANGELES
ABC's of Marxism
 Wednesday, April 22, 6:30 pm
 Student Faculty Lounge, LACC
 For more information: (213) 662-1564

MADISON
Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism of Today
 Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 pm
 April 14, 21, May 5
 Memorial Union
 University of Wisconsin
 (see "Today in the Union")
 For more information: (608) 255-2342

NEW YORK
Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
 Alternate Saturdays, 4:00 pm
 April 4, 18, May 2, 16
 41 Warren Street
 (1 block south of Chambers Street)
 For more information: (212) 267-1025

OAKLAND
 Spartacist League Class Series
Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
 Tuesdays, 7:30 pm
 1634 Telegraph Avenue
 Third floor
 For more information: (415) 835-1535



OSBERLIN
The Fight for Socialism
 Thursday, April 16, 7:30 pm
 Wilder Hall
 Oberlin College
 For more information: ext. 5245

right-wing tendencies" and cautioned against "groupings and currents headed by the church hierarchy, which hang on to the old catchwords of reactionary ideology."

But no longer. Kuron now poses the issue in East Europe as one of "pluralism versus totalitarianism." In his 1978 "Thoughts on an Action Program," he now claims that "the Catholic movement is fighting to defend freedom of conscience and human dignity." Allied with Pope Wojtyla and Cardinal Wysinski, Kuron's KOR calls for a parliamentary (bourgeois) democracy along Western lines. The present crop of Polish dissidents are overwhelmingly enemies of the socialist cause. They act as direct conduits for the church and the Western imperialists.

The student strike in February is but a small part of the general crisis in Poland opened up by the Gdansk-centered general strike last August and the formation of an independent trade-union federation, Solidarity. We recognized that the new union movement had a contradictory character. The workers were unquestionably reacting with legitimate grievances against the bureaucracy. But also unquestionable was the powerful influence of the reactionary Catholic church. We therefore gave to the new union movement equivocal support. A key task for a revolutionary vanguard in Poland is to raise in these unions a series of demands (e.g., separation of church and state, defense of collectivized property) that will split the clerical-nationalist forces from among the workers and separate them out. The contradiction between a working-class social base and the reactionary ideology of leaders like Walesa does not apply to the peasant union organization, Rural Solidarity. The entire direction of this organization is toward the restoration of capitalist relations in the countryside. The present deep-going social crisis going from confrontation to confrontation cannot last for long. The fate of Poland now stands on a razor's edge.

Twenty-five years of bitter experience have left the Polish masses cynical about the bureaucracy's promises of reform, of "socialism with a human face." Thus the dangerous growth of the influence of the Catholic hierarchy and clerical-nationalist ideology. There are workers and intellectuals in Poland today who want to see a real socialist renewal, who understand the baseness of Kania's

bureaucrats but do not look toward the Vatican and NATO capitals for salvation. The Stalinists must be overthrown, but by a workers political revolution which can open the road to socialism. That road demands the construction of a revolutionary internationalist Trotskyist vanguard in Poland. ■

Atlanta...

(continued from page 12)

Nazi/KKK caravan which shot to death five anti-Klan protesters was a "former" FBI agent.

The reformist left has leapt in to enthusiastically preach reliance on the racist capitalist state. While admitting that the cops are "known killers and haters of Black people" the SWP nonetheless demands more cops (*Militant*, 6 March)! So strong is its faith in the capitalist state and so eager is it to ingratiate itself with the black misleaders, that SWP Atlanta mayoral candidate Andre Khalmorgan echoes the SCLC's Joseph Lowery's sentiment that "some" of the money going to shore up the blood-soaked Salvadoran junta should find its way to the Atlanta investigation! Khalmorgan says: "If Reagan can send \$25 million to the murderous junta in El Salvador, then there is no possible excuse for denying Black children in Atlanta a chance to live." The Communist Party is no better. Besides demanding that "The federal government must play a more aggres-

sive role in halting these murders" (*Daily World*, 19 March) it continues to push its dangerous demand that the state "ban the Klan." As if the bourgeois state were a neutral arbiter rather than the sworn enemy of the working class and oppressed, the *Daily World* editorial "Questions about Atlanta" (19 March) says:

"The Reagan Administration has been doing a lot of talking in the past weeks about terrorism. Now is an important moment to take steps to outlaw these [KKK/Nazi] groups in the U.S."

As we have pointed out, the capitalist state uses its power *against* the left, the working class and the oppressed. Any faith in capitalist "anti-extremist" legislation soon would backfire into state repression against labor and left organizations.

There is a basis for struggle against Reagan's war on blacks, against the murderous nightriders of the KKK/Nazis, against the killer cops and the segregationists. United working-class struggle is what it will take to put an end to these racist attacks. From the coalfields of West Virginia to the auto factories of Detroit, the U.S. working class is facing a capitalist onslaught of layoffs, plant closures and attacks on elementary union gains. The Democrats and Republicans are united in the anti-black, anti-labor offensive. What is urgently needed is a workers party to unite all the victims of Reagan's killer cuts into a struggle for socialist revolution, which for the first time will make America safe for black people. ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

SYL National Office: Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013

Ann Arbor: P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 994-9313

Berkeley/Oakland: SYL, Box 273, Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (415) 835-1535

Boston: SYL, Box 188, M.I.T. Station, Cambridge, MA 02139, or call (617) 492-3928

Chicago: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 427-0003

Cleveland: SYL, Box 6642, Cleveland, OH 44101, or call (216) 621-5138

Detroit: SYL, Box 20035, Ferndale, MI 48220, or call (313) 868-9095

Houston: SYL, c/o SL, Box 26474, Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 662-1564

Madison: SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 255-2342

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

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

Trotskyist League of Canada

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

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 254-8875

Winnipeg: Box 3952, Station B, Winnipeg, Manitoba, or call (204) 589-7214

Young Spartacus

No Platform for Nazi Carlson!

ANN ARBOR—In the right-wing anti-Soviet climate which has characterized America under Carter and now Reagan, fascist terror groups have begun to crawl out of their holes, attempting to establish themselves as a "legitimate" part of American society. Fascists like California's KKK Grand Wizard Tom Metzger and supposed "ex"-Nazi Gerald Carlson of Michigan have mounted electoral campaigns as candidates for the Democratic and Republican parties on a platform of "white rights." But while they campaign in three-piece suits, their hooded and goose-stepping brothers utilize this fascist "legitimacy" to organize terror against workers, blacks and all the oppressed.

Carlson, who got 53,000 votes in a Congressional election last fall, is currently running in the Republican primary for congressman in southwestern Michigan's 4th District, a position vacated by David Stockman, Reagan's budget (slashing) director. On March 3, pro-Carlson fascists firebombed the home of Elizabeth Ziers, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) write-in candidate opposing Carlson. Ziers has subsequently received death threats demanding that she drop out of the election. The SWP, which in other elections has sought to *debate* "socialist ideas" with fascists like Carlson, has demanded a police investigation of "possible in-

volvement" by Carlson and other fascists in the bombing.

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) warns that fascist terror can be prevented only by mass labor/black mobilizations. There is nothing to debate with racist murderers!

SYL Protests Nazi Radio Appearance

On February 23 the SYL was informed by Stacy Taylor, a radio talk show announcer on station WAAM in Ann Arbor, that he would be having Carlson on his phone-in program that evening. At the beginning of the show, the SL/SYL protested WAAM giving Carlson a platform to organize racist terror:

"It is not a question of free speech but of defending democratic, black and labor rights by stopping fascist terror. We regret we knew about Carlson's appearance on this program too late to mobilize to prevent it, the way the Klan was stopped in Detroit when they announced that they were going to celebrate the Greensboro massacre immediately after that fascist bloodbath, the way the Nazis were stopped in San Francisco last April when they announced that they were going to celebrate Hitler's birthday. Their provocative terrorist celebrations were stopped by massive labor/black protest in Detroit and a broadly endorsed rally

of labor, ethnic, civil rights and socialist groups in San Francisco."

When Carlson failed to show up, a lively discussion ensued about whether WAAM should provide Carlson with a platform to agitate for racist violence, with many Ann Arbor residents calling in to join the SYL in protesting Carlson's scheduled presence. When Taylor tried to justify inviting Carlson

by saying that although he is a white supremacist "one doesn't know" if he really advocates race terror and genocide, an SYLer called in:

"I'm Ron Patterson, I'm black and I'm from the Spartacus Youth League, and I wanted to say that I'm definitely against this scum being on the air, this ex-Nazi who's never renounced his Nazism and speaks about white

continued on page 10

Workers Vanguard Photo



November 10, 1979—The Klan didn't ride that day in Detroit.

Black Anger in Atlanta

Cops Are Racist Killers, Not Protectors!

Twenty months and 20 black school-children dead. The succession of unexplained and grisly Atlanta child killings has continued unabated since July 1979. Angered at the rise of racist terror in Reagan's America, sickened by the wanton murder in Atlanta, some 20,000 people marched through Harlem's streets in New York to protest the Atlanta killings. Another 3,000 marched in an Atlanta "Moratorium on Murder—Save the Youth" demonstration that same weekend.

Ku Klux Klan and Nazi race terrorists carry out their dirty work in broad daylight, repeal of the 1965 Voting Rights Act is seriously debated in Congress and the Reagan administration's policy—slashing everything from school lunches to food stamps—says the ghetto population is expendable. No wonder the Atlanta murders are perceived as part of this pattern of racist attacks. Speculation on the identity of the murderer ranges from a KKK plot, a cop or a racist crazy. Across the country the wearing of green ribbons has been called for as a "show of concern," and Atlanta has become a focus for the anger of black Americans.

Protests aimed against the Atlanta child killings do not, however, challenge in any way politically the racist status



20,000 protested Atlanta child-killings in Harlem March 13.

quo. Not even the most die-hard racists can oppose a "show of concern" for the tragedy of Atlanta; Reagan himself has shunted some federal funds toward the investigation. Even the KKK does not want to claim "credit" for the brutal slayings. Precisely because the issue is

basically apolitical, it is a popular cause with the liberals, the black misleaders and the reformists who tail them. Rather than confronting the burning questions of employment, smashing the KKK/Nazi terrorists, integration of the schools or cop terror—all of which

entail a real *struggle* against the racist capitalist state and both bosses' parties—the liberals and reformists channel the deeply felt outrage of black people into harmless prayer meetings and demonstrations of "concern."

The primary demand of the Atlanta protests is for more police protection, for—as the Socialist Workers Party's (SWP) misnamed paper, the *Militant*, puts it: "forc[ing] the government at all levels to fulfill its stated purpose of protecting all citizens." But cops, federal troops, the FBI are not "protectors"—they are racist killers! As any ghetto resident knows, cop murders are a regular occurrence in racist U.S. society. Federal troops, along with the cops, have been called in time and again to brutally suppress ghetto uprisings from Watts to Detroit. Troops come not to protect but to *occupy* black neighborhoods. In fact, when Atlanta blacks took steps to organize black patrols in the housing projects, they were arrested! As for the FBI, its filthy COINTELPRO disruption of the civil rights and black movements included the murder of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton and civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo. As recently as the 1979 Greensboro massacre, the FBI was implicated; riding in the

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