

Young Spartacus

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DECEMBER 1981/JANUARY 1982

Workers: Bring Down Reagan/Haig!

No Cold War Blockade!

Young Spartacus Photo



Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!

The war hawks in Washington are poised to strike in Central America. For the last month General Haig has been vehemently demanding "military options" in the Caribbean. He and other administration spokesmen loudly refuse to "rule out" a naval blockade of Nicaragua, supposedly in order to stop Soviet arms from reaching leftist rebels in El Salvador. As for Castro's Cuba, the plans of Yankee imperialism range from tighter economic sanctions to "a show of air power, large naval exercises, a quarantine on the shipment of arms to the island, a general blockade as part of an act of war, and an invasion by American and possibly Latin American forces" (*New York Times*, 5 November).

It's not just plans. In October the U.S. held joint military exercises with Honduras, code-named "Falcon's Eye," which were a dry run for a blockade of Nicaragua ports. Last month the Navy held a four-week "drill" off Cuba involving the aircraft carriers Eisenhower and Kennedy. And effective December 1 the Pentagon established a new military command, based on Key West, covering the whole of the Caribbean and "portions of the Pacific Ocean bordering Central America." Currently Reagan/Haig & Co. are pursuing the

track of threats and diplomatic pressure. But with guerrilla military advances in El Salvador and class tensions rising in Nicaragua, the present stalemate in Central America cannot last.

Reagan has his own "domino strategy": first drown the Central American revolution in blood, then take out Cuba, on to Poland and finally the USSR itself. The secretary of state screams about stopping supposed "Soviet terrorism" at the "source." And at his last press conference the U.S. president vowed to "preserve the Ameri-

cas from this kind of exported revolution... that is coming by way of, I think, the Soviets and the Cubans." With all their talk of a "political solution" in El Salvador and a "middle way" in Nicaragua, the reformists pretend they can escape from the Cold War... and the class war. The Trotskyists tell the truth.

The choice is revolution or counter-revolution. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) has insisted from the beginning that it's necessary to oppose the anti-Soviet

Cold War head-on. Last spring the SYL initiated demonstrations on campuses around the country calling for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents! Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!" Hundreds participated in Madison, Ann Arbor, Berkeley and elsewhere, but the reformists boycotted. When the SL/SYL organized an Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the May 3 march on the Pentagon, the popular-frontists sent their goons to cordon it off. That didn't succeed in sealing off revolutionary politics, so they resorted to the capitalist cops to keep out the Trotskyists—May 30 in Chicago, November 21 in New York.

The Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Workers World all oppose the call for military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador, and they refuse to defend Cuba and the USSR against imperialist attack. Why? Because to do so is to call for the defeat of their "own" bourgeoisie—and they know Teddy Kennedy will never buy that. To attract the imperialist "doves" they appeal to liberal pacifism. But the liberals support Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. In fact, Jimmy Carter paved the way with all the "human rights"

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**We Are the
Party of the
Russian
Revolution!**

see page 6



Defeat Deukmejian's McCarthyite Smear! California SL/SYL Suit Needs \$\$\$

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) is engaged in a civil suit against California attorney general George Deukmejian. Filed last July, the suit demands that Deukmejian retract the inclusion of the SL/SYL in his 1979 report on "Organized Crime in California—Part 2, Terrorism." The report wrongfully and viciously labeled the SL/SYL as "terrorists" and as a "dangerous faction with which law enforcement will have to deal," targeting us for persecution and violence by police agencies and right-wing outfits.

There may be a settlement in the works, but the case has already cost many thousands of dollars. Your help is urgently needed. As the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), which has undertaken to support this case, states in its most recent fund appeal mailing:

"The Partisan Defense Committee believes it is of the utmost impor-

tance that this suit be fought to a successful conclusion. Reagan and Deukmejian may dream of the post-World War II period of loyalty oaths, McCarthy and Un-American Committees, but that is not the same as getting it. The Moral Majority and Reagan/Haig have not yet been able to mobilize national sentiment in favor of a McCarthyite witchhunt. The time to fight back is now. Retraction of the labeling of the SL/SYL as 'terrorist/criminal' organizations will be a blow against renescent McCarthyism of Deukmejian and Reagan.

"Your generous support is urgently needed to ensure that victory. The SL/SYL faces the resources of the State of California as well as right-wing agribusiness tycoons who call the tune for the new McCarthyites. Already we are thousands of dollars in debt. This suit is important. Please help. Make the checks payable to: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE."

Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101.

Racist Reagan's Haitian Victims



Rosas/Black Star

The death toll this time was 33 as the drowned bodies washed up on the Florida shore. The rest of the 63 Haitians aboard the 25-foot sailboat that capsized on October 26 managed to swim ashore where they were "detained" for processing as illegal aliens pending, in most cases, deportation.

Some of the approximately 2,700 Haitians currently in detention centers in Florida and New York State are to be moved to the Fort Drum Army Base in northern New York State, near the Canadian border—just in time for the winter. Racist Reagan's message is clear: if you survive the sharks and don't drown, then it's off to freeze in America's Siberia.

Like most of the 1,000 or so who flee Haiti each month, they paid \$300 to \$1000 apiece to wealthy Haitian businessmen who set their victims afloat in leaky boats at the mercy of the choppy, shark-infested Caribbean waters and sadistic captains. In some instances, if unable to produce money for food and water, they are brutally tortured and murdered by their smugglers.

But sharks, the high seas and sub-zero temperatures are not the only dangers facing the refugees. By presidential decree, U.S. Coast

Guard vessels began to patrol international waters this September, intercepting Haitian boats and demanding that refugees produce proof (!) that return to Haiti would mean victimization by the viciously repressive dictatorship of "Baby Doc" Duvalier. Those that can't—and that means almost everyone—get sent back to Haiti where per capita income is \$200 per year. No wonder the Haitian song says, "The teeth of the shark are sweeter than Duvalier's hell."

So, Haitians, Salvadorans and refugees from every right-wing dictatorship are routinely turned away. But for blood-stained butchers like the late shah of Iran or any anti-working class, anti-communist thug, the imperialists' doors are flung open wide. Nazi war criminals, Cuban *gusanos*, Vietnamese torturers and pimps and pro-Somoza Nicaraguans have all found safe haven in the U.S.

The bodies that washed ashore were black, and the racist Reagan government knows only one response to troublesome blacks, dead or alive: get rid of them. Those that drowned were shipped back to Haiti immediately; those who made it alive face deportation: a return to bleak poverty and the torturers in the Haitian secret police.

The Cardinal School of Falsification



The University of Wisconsin-Madison campus newspaper, the *Daily Cardinal*, ran a photo of a demonstration in support of the Teaching Assistants Association (TAA). Supporters of the SYL were prominent—but our name was deliberately disappeared from our signs! (see inset) This is not the first time the *Cardinal*—which is staffed by members of the Democratic Socialist Alliance (DSA)—has lied about the SYL, as the following letter printed in the November 23 *Cardinal* makes clear.

Daily Cardinal

To the Editor:

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and numerous others are outraged that the front page of Monday's *Cardinal* (Nov. 16) carries a photograph of a demonstration in support of the TAA that has been doctored in a crude and blatant attempt at political censorship. The most prominent features of the photo are two signs reading "Defend PATCO! Defend the TAA!" and "For Free Quality Higher Education for All!" But the name of the Spartacus Youth League has been deliberately blanked out of the signs! Joseph Stalin once said, "Paper will take whatever is put on it." The *Cardinal* editors have certainly endorsed this guiding principle of journalistic falsification, especially when it comes to misreporting the activities of the SYL. And recently the *Cardinal* editors have adopted a corollary: "sometimes photographic paper will take too much."

This is not the first time that the DSA social-democrats and Cold-War liberals on the *Cardinal* staff have resorted to blatant falsification in an attempt to "edit out" and discredit the role of the SYL. This fall, when the SYL initiated a united-front demonstration against the CIA that drew 300 students (the largest protest on campus this semester), the *Daily Cardinal* article refused to mention the SYL and went so far as to doctor the photo of the demonstration to "disappear" the name of the SYL on one of the signs! Shortly after, when the *Cardinal* printed a signed SYL editorial on the demonstration, the *Cardinal* actually put in words which the SYL didn't write in an attempt to change the meaning of what we wrote. And when the *Cardinal* ran an article last month announcing that we were organizing students to join a local PATCO picket line, the editors found it convenient not to mention that the SYL was sponsoring the student contingent!

The junior Joe McCarthys of the *Cardinal* staff have consistently made

references to the communists of the SYL as "Moonie-like" and "crazy." But when we do something that the *Cardinal* can't help but pay attention to, they just falsify the story so that the SYL is deliberately edited or blanked out.

Are the editors embarrassed that the SYL was the only organized left student group at the TAA picket line? Or are they afraid that our signs will remind people that the SYL was the only left group during the TAA strike which built and defended the picket lines, while all other left groups scabbed?

This latest act of yellow journalism goes beyond even the usual slander directed against the SYL's revolutionary Trotskyist politics. We demand a written, public apology for this outrageous falsification and that the *Cardinal* reprint the photo as it is, not as they would wish it to be.

We don't expect the *Cardinal* to like our politics, but anything resembling honest journalism would be a refreshing change. Stop the political falsifications and censorship!

Spartacus Youth League

Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus (ISSN 0162-2692) is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, is a socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working class program, based on the practice of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

Editorial Board: Board of Editors, Ed Jarvis, Dorothy London, Mary K. (October) Amy Hall

Production Manager: Amy Hall

Graphic Designer: Kate Kirby

The newspaper is published monthly except during the summer and fall months. It is printed on high quality paper and is available to all students at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The price is \$1.00 per copy. Subscriptions are \$10.00 per year. The 1981-82 subscription price is \$12.00 per year. Delivery is guaranteed to all subscribers in the U.S. and Canada. Single copies are \$1.00 per copy. Delivery is guaranteed to all subscribers in the U.S. and Canada.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 96 December 1981/January 1982

Solidarność' Harvard Agents: Moonies, Dems and Reaganites

SYL Foils Right-Wing Disruption

When the hated union-buster Ronald Reagan, the fervent warmonger Al Haig and the voice of big business, the *Wall Street Journal*, praise workers' strikes, any genuine defender of the working class ought to be suspicious. The imperialist warmakers and strikebreakers love Polish Solidarity because it has consolidated around a reactionary program for a capitalist "rollback" in Poland, and this very real danger of counterrevolution has been uniquely opposed by the Trotskyist Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) which defends the proletariat's revolutionary conquests in Eastern Europe and the USSR against attempts at capitalist restoration.

We naturally expected an outraged response from our opponents on the right, as well as from the fake-leftists who can't bear to hear or tell the truth if it's "unpopular." And on November 12 an SYL forum on Poland at Harvard University was the focus of a sinister demonstration by Moonies, Conservative Club and Democratic Club "activists."

The SYL foiled this right-wing provocation. We quickly responded to the spurious "assault" charges filed against SYL supporter Keith Manning by a demonstrator and campus administrator, Melanie B. Yun, by distributing 3,000 copies of the leaflet reproduced below.

This leaflet has caused quite a stir on campus. Unable to refute the photograph which exposes Yun as the liar she is, her fellow demonstrators have been reduced to frenzied harangues of SYL-ers. The *Crimson*, which refused to print the leaflet, has run contradictory stories on its front page. Manning, who has filed counter-charges, stood ready to go to court without delay. Yet Yun's attorney felt compelled to ask for a 12-day court postponement!

The Harvard *Crimson* has predictably been far from objective in its reportage. The *Crimson* has refused to print the SYL's statement or other letters submitted by students and others who attended the forum. *Crimson* president William McKibben used the opening paragraph of his ostensible review of the film "Workers '80" to attack the SYL. Other reporters have attempted to egg on the administration with questions about the court action, reprisals, etc. Although the SYL gave the *Crimson* a copy of our photo of Melanie B. Yun, they've opted to run



Harvard, November 12: self-proclaimed "innocent bystander" Melanie B. Yun carries picket sign at right-wing demonstration that attempted to disrupt SYL forum on Poland.

their own pin-ups of Yun with pearls around her neck rather than with a picket sign in her hand. It is interesting to note that not even the *Crimson* can get a straight story out of Melanie B. Yun. The November 13 *Crimson* quotes Melanie as an "innocent bystander," and the December 5 article features a statement from Yun's attorney that "Yun began picketing after the alleged assault"(!).

Meanwhile, various demonstrators have exposed just exactly what kind of "friends" of the proletariat they are. One woman finds "nothing wrong" with the blood-drenched junta in El Salvador. Another protester alibied Solidarność' adulation of Marshal Pilsudski as their national hero and stated, "Rosa Luxemburg wasn't Polish, she was a Jew." Several have applauded Reagan's vicious attack on PATCO. And many are "proud to be with the Moonies on this one [the demonstration]."

Since the attempted disruption of our forum there has been a sharp increase in interest in the SYL's revolutionary politics at Harvard. Literature sales are way up with over 30 copies of the new Spartacist pamphlet, "Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers," sold in the last week. As we state in the leaflet, the attempt to legally persecute and smear the SYL will boomerang.

nents of Solidarność in the U.S. are such "advocates" of the working-class struggle as Ronald Reagan, the CIA and the *Wall Street Journal* (which recently issued a stern editorial warning to anyone, particularly us, who seeks to expose Solidarność' counterrevolution and the collaboration of the American labor officialdom with the CIA from Eastern Europe to Latin America). For these "democratic" imperialists and their junior counterparts at Harvard, Poland represents a critical hot spot in Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. Cynically manipulating the Polish workers' outrage at the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucrats, the imperialists seek to turn the Polish masses toward Western "democracy," i.e., the reinstatement of wage slavery and the economic, political and military exploitation of Poland as NATO imperialism's Eastern Front.

The group of anti-communist, anti-Soviet "counterdemonstrators" was unsuccessful in their provocation—a provocation obviously intended to set the forum organizers up for police harassment, the cancellation of the event or worse. The Spartacus Youth League successfully exercised its democratic right to hold the forum on campus and the crowd of nearly forty who came to hear the speaker were able to do so and participate in the discussion period which followed. But the protest against

the SYL forum was more than a "war of words" in the sequel. Having failed to provoke a dispersal of the forum by the cops or to hold its reactionary rally inside our forum, Melanie B. Yun, employed at the Kennedy School, has pressed charges against one of our supporters for "assault and battery." The *Crimson* reports Yun was "one bystander, who said she was not affiliated with either group" and that she "attempted shortly after 8 p.m. to climb the stairs into the hall but was punched and pushed aside by Spartacist members." Yun is then quoted as saying, "I just wanted to see what was going on...."

For reasons currently best known to herself, Yun is now on record as a public, bald-faced liar. In two of the many photographs of the counterdemonstrators in our possession, Yun is clearly shown to be a participant in the counterdemo—no "bystander" at all. We attach copies of these photos and urge the *Crimson* to print them. Yun, in fact, appeared to have played an important role; at least on one occasion, it was Yun with whom a counterdemonstrator who had tried to rush the entrance to our forum conferred. Shortly thereafter, Yun herself was the spearhead of a provocative attempt to bring the counterdemonstration inside. The one slogan of the counterdemonstration reported by the *Crimson*—"How much did Poland's fat bosses pay you?"—is in fact the one which Yun carried on her placard. It should be interesting to see what an examination into the real story behind Ms. Yun will uncover.

The only "assault" here is against the SYL, carried out by Yun & Co., first in their attempt to prevent us from holding our forum, and now in the slander that we "assaulted" and "punched" Yun. A curious assault it must have been, too. The campus cops were out in generous numbers thanks to the efforts at disruption by these anti-communist "freedom fighters"; yet at no time did the cops see fit to threaten, let alone carry out, any action whatsoever against us. Yun's attempt to legally persecute and smear us will boomerang, we can assure her.

The *Crimson* also quotes one Ron Unz, "coordinator" of the anti-communist protest, who states, "We saw the Spartacist posters and spontaneously decided to come down here." Leaving aside the obvious contradiction inherent in a "coordinator" for a "spontaneous protest," we know that the protest was organized in advance. A day prior to our forum, our publicity leaflets—and

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Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

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

Chicago

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

New York City

Tuesday: 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

To the Editor:

We are compelled to respond to the attempt by various right-wing students and others to disrupt our forum entitled "Time Runs Out in Poland—Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution" covered in your article of 13 November ("Spartacists Argue With Demonstrators") as well as to the subsequent phony charge of "assault" brought against us by one Melanie B. Yun.

What accounted for this unprecedented spurt of "militant" action on the part of Harvard Democratic Club and Conservative Club members, joined in their anti-communist bloc by at least one Moonie and an administrator? "Concern" for the Polish working class? Hardly. Among the vociferous propo-

Order Now!

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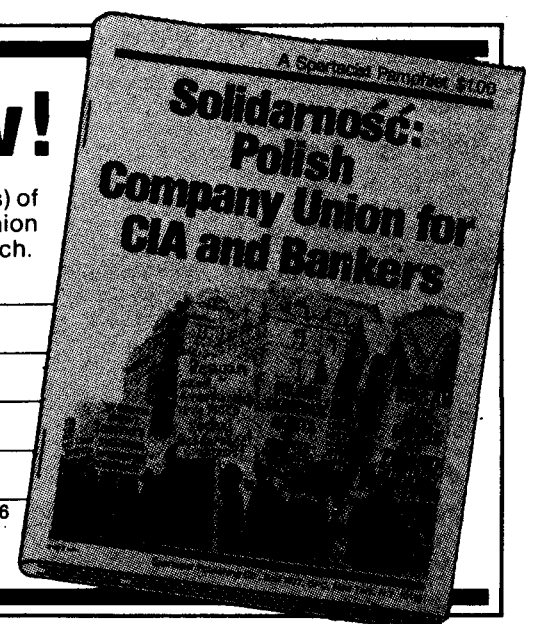
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Wayne State, Stanford Campus Debates

SYL Slams Anti-Communist DSOC

The class line was sharply drawn at two campus debates between the Trotskyist Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and the State Department socialists of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) in November. At Stanford on the 11th and Detroit's Wayne State University (WSU) on the 12th, students witnessed the SYL expose DSOC's pro-imperialist reformism.

The Wayne State debate, organized by WSU DSOC co-chair and teacher Bob Fitrakis for his political science class, was entitled "What Strategy to

Young Spartacus Photo



DSOC's Fitrakis sports Solidarność T-shirt.

Fight Reagan Reaction." Reagan's attacks on labor, blacks, the aged and unemployed are the necessary domestic component of U.S. imperialism's drive toward a nuclear showdown with the USSR. The bottom line for social democrats has always been support to "democratic capitalism" against "Soviet totalitarianism," a position which places DSOC firmly in the same camp as Reagan. The central point of the SYL's presentation was that you have to fight Reagan's Cold War to fight Reagan reaction.

Ann Weekley, SYL debater at WSU and recent candidate for Detroit City Council, put the event in context:

"In one sense, this political event today is not a debate...because there are rivers of blood between the organizations represented here today. And that blood...is on the hands of DSOC and its predecessors!"

Discussing the role of the social democrats in Germany in 1919 she continued:

"In the context of this massive poverty and misery, the German working class rose up and attempted to make the necessary revolution. But their leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, were rounded up and murdered in the streets...not by the capitalists, but by the ruling Social Democratic Party [SPD]."

"Although the specific origins of Mr. Fitrakis' organization, DSOC, go back to 1973, in a debate on just how savagely to bomb the Vietnamese workers and peasants, DSOC's actual lineage goes directly back to this murdering social-democratic party—the party that voted yes to World War I, and the party that murdered Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht."

Just as the SPD supported the Kaiser in World War I and crushed workers revolts after it, today's social democrats—including DSOC—continue to be against revolution and for capitalism. DSOC's leader Michael Harrington is a good example of the

pro-imperialist, anti-communist traditions of American social democracy. As a leader of the Socialist Party (SP) in the 1960s, Harrington shares responsibility for the SP's criminal backing to the U.S. imperialist rape of Vietnam. Harrington personally witchhunted left-wing members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), firing them and locking them out of their office after SDS moved leftward in 1962. Harrington's followers today play an equally pernicious role. At several campuses where student governments and college administrators have gone after the SYL, DSOC has turned out to be the initiator of the anti-communist vendetta (freezing our funds at Oberlin, calling the cops on us at Harvard, etc.).

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!

The sharpest point of division at both Stanford and Wayne State was the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. The SYL is proud that "We are the Party of the Russian Revolution." Both DSOC speakers reiterated the social democrats' 64-year hatred of the one country where the workers overthrew capitalism and seized power. At Stanford, DSOC debater Phil Ansell pompously decried the October 1917 Russian workers victory as a "minoritarian" revolution! And Fitrakis characterized the Soviet Union as "one of the most oppressive, reactionary, totalitarian regimes ever to plague the earth."

Weekley countered:

"In 1917 the Bolshevik Party, my party, in backward Russia, led the working class to the seizure of state power. This, the first and thus far only workers revolution where the working class and its own party smashed capitalism, ushered in the most progressive and free society ever accomplished.... Mr. Fitrakis' party opposed that seizure of power by the working class and has acted in league with the world capitalist class ever since in trying to crush it! "The crushing of the 1919 [German] Revolution by the social democrats... paved the way for the decisive defeat of the German Revolution in 1923. This again was decisive in isolating the revolutionary Soviet workers state. It took the combined efforts of the world capitalist class and their lackeys in the social democracy to set the stage for Stalinism. Stalin...rode the wave of defeats and the resulting political isolation of the USSR and consolidated his bureaucracy, a parasitic caste that usurped political power from the workers...."

"We in the Spartacist League are Trotskyists. Tens of thousands of our comrades died fighting that degeneration, in defense of the gains of the

October Revolution. And despite that bureaucratization, those gains still remain: the collectivized property, the planned economy, and the monopoly of foreign trade. The economic foundations for socialism...remain today in the USSR, and must be defended!"

Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!

The most heated exchange at the WSU debate was over Poland. Speaking for the Spartacist League during the discussion period, Don Alexander attacked DSOC's support to Solidarity:

"It's not an accident that Reagan and DSOC are egging on the forces of capitalist counterrevolution in Poland. Because American social democracy [is] in the frontline of this broad counter-revolutionary force...."

"U.S. imperialism can talk about democracy, but they mean bloody counterrevolution. They have never reconciled themselves to the fact that in 1917, Russia was ripped from the orbit of capitalist exploitation, and 600,000 Russian soldiers died, died fighting the Nazis in Poland."

Poland really drove Fitrakis (who wore a *Solidarność* T-shirt for the debate) into an anti-communist frenzy. Jumping wildly and frothing at the mouth he screamed "600,000...died... half of them raping Polish women!"

This is a vicious slander on the Red Army soldiers who died fighting for the liberation of Poland from the Nazi yoke. The myth spread by the social democrats and other anti-Soviets has the Red Army leisurely waiting across the river while Poles were slaughtered by German firepower during the 1944 Warsaw Uprising. But in that period alone the Russians lost 166,000 men in Poland. Fitrakis had no harsh words for the Nazi murderers, only slanders for the communists.

DSOC guru Harrington did Fitrakis' anti-Sovietism one better at a social-democratic rally for Solidarity in New York November 8. Sounding for all the world like Reagan or Haig, Harrington threatened:

"We warn you. We warn you that we will do everything we can in all our countries to see to it that an invasion of Poland by the Soviet Union will cost in political terms the highest political price."

Harrington is doing the State Department's work among left-liberals, whipping up an anti-Soviet frenzy around Poland.

DSOC—All the Way with Racist Strikebreaking Democrats

DSOC's organic ties to the capitalist class are through its ties to the Demo-

cratic Party. When the SYL's Weekley trounced DSOC for its support to the party that ran a Klansman for office, Fitrakis went really wild:

"Who did I vote for in 1980? Who did I work for? Barry Commoner. I must be a Democrat, I voted for the Citizen's Party. All we say is that people in DSOC should work in the Democratic Party or outside of it. [now stomping across the stage] This isn't lockstep Leninism!"

DSOC is lockstep behind the Democratic Party, supporting every Democratic candidate for president since its inception. During the 1976 elections, while hustling votes for Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter, Harrington announced that if the Democrats nominated Mickey Mouse for president, he would vote for him! At the Stanford debate, DSOC speaker Phil Ansell quipped, "We are willing to walk, to stoop if you will, and deal on a day to day basis with working people...." These snotty "socialists" assume that only Harvard-educated Democrats like Teddy Kennedy are smart enough to run this country.

Unlike European social democracy which has a mass working class base, DSOC exists only as a minor pressure group on the Democratic Party. It does have a few members in the trade-union bureaucracy, and Weekley exposed their treacherous role:

"So who is DSOC in Detroit? DSOC is the top level sellouts in the UAW International...[who sit] in Solidarity House with their full-bellies watching this city die!..."

"Before Dodge Main closed, the Spartacist League and our supporters in the trade unions fought for sit-down strikes to save Dodge Main, sit-down strikes, like the kind that organized the UAW before Mr. Fitrakis' buddies were able to tame it."

"The last time there was a sit down, in 1974, his friends at Solidarity House were out there in no time, acting once again as the police of the labor movement. They were there with a 1,000-strong goon squad with aluminum baseball bats—aimed at the heads of the strikers!"

Another prominent DSOC labor traitor, Machinists union President and DSOC vice-chair William Winpisinger, criminally sabotaged the recent air traffic controllers strike:

"Had he taken one single action—the action of pulling out the Machinists union in support of PATCO, that strike would have been over and won in a matter of days. But Wimpy chose to aid and abet Reagan in his union-busting drive, and every union member is weaker for it."

Thanks to "Wimpy," Reagan was able to decertify PATCO.

"If You Want to Fight for Socialism, Join the SYL"

The threat posed to the exploited and oppressed, and to all mankind with crazy Reagan in the White House is no matter for resolution in America's classrooms. Spartacist speaker at the Stanford debate, Sandor Jonas, stressed the urgency of socialist revolution:

"As long as the Democratic Party and the Republican Party rule, and there is not a workers government formed through a socialist revolution, women, blacks, the working class will be oppressed. As long as we do not overthrow the capitalist system worldwide, the threat of barbarism as the alternative to socialism will be very, very real...."

"The fundamental position of Bolshevism is the class independence of the working class in its struggle for power. The fundamental position of social democracy is subservience to the bourgeoisie and its parties. If you boil down all the fine, lawyer-like rhetoric, that is what you get from DSOC. So, if you want to fight for socialism, join the Spartacus Youth League!" ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

Amherst: SYL, P.O. Box 176, Amherst, MA 01004, or call (413) 546-9906

Ann Arbor: SYL, P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 662-2339

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

Champaign-Urbana: SYL, P.O. Box 2009, Champaign-Urbana, IL 61820, or call (217) 356-1180

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 32028, Detroit, 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

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Amherst, Madison: SYL Confronts Iranian Leftists

No to Bani-Sadr! For Workers Revolution Against Butcher Khomeini!

Driven to a bloody frenzy by the assassination of many of their leaders, Khomeini and his fellow Iranian mullahs are exacting a terrible vengeance from their populist and leftist opponents. 1,800 people, mostly supporters of the populist Muslim Mujahedeen and left-wing People's Fedayeen, have been shot, hanged or stoned to death in the past five months alone. Thousands more have been thrown into the dungeons and torture chambers built by the shah—where they have been received by many of the same thugs and torturers trained by the old regime. If the destruction of the Bastille symbolized the liberating achievements of the French Revolution, the preservation of Tehran's dreaded Evin prison stands as an appropriate symbol of the results of Khomeini's Islamic Revolution.

The chief targets of the mullahs' repression have been the same Islamic populists and leftist guerrillas who played such a key role in putting the Khomeini regime in power some two and a half years ago. Trotskyists gain no satisfaction from having predicted this tragic outcome, but the fact remains

Bani-Sadr at Iran-Iraq war front before being dumped by his "Imam." Many Iranian leftists now support this former Khomeini front man and butcher of Kurdistan.



Young Spartacus Photo

that the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and international Spartacist tendency warned at the outset of Khomeini's drive to power that the Iranian left was putting its head in a noose by backing the clerical reactionaries. "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs!" we said, "For workers revolution!"

At the time the Iranian left and the Mujahedeen supporters abroad denounced this program as CIA-inspired.

Spartacist League and SYL meetings were attacked by pro-Khomeini leftists, which is to say virtually the entire Iranian left at that time. Now, with our warning that Khomeini in power would prove to be as reactionary as the shah confirmed in the blood of the left, we find that many of these same Iranian radicals chant slogans such as "Down with the reactionary Islamic Republic" or even claim to have opposed Khomei-

ni all along.

Although not very outspoken abroad, a large section of the Iranian left still backs Khomeini, either following Moscow's line (Tudeh) or the logic of an opportunist program (Fedayeen minority and co-thinkers of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party) or both. The anti-Khomeini left remains mired in the search for a "democratic" or "anti-imperialist" wing of the Iranian capitalist class, or in a single-minded tailing of the popular and comparatively large Mujahedeen.

In Paris, ousted president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr and the Mujahedeen have formed a "Council of National Resistance" and appeal to disaffected army officers and Western-oriented Islamic politicians to join them in a fight for a "genuine" Islamic Republic. Remember this same Bani-Sadr was directly responsible for the brutal suppression of the Kurds and Turkomans, the "Islamification" of the universities and prosecuting the chauvinist war with Iraq over Khuzistan. The Fedayeen minority, while mouthing criticisms of Bani-Sadr,

continued on page 8

Berkeley SYL Protests While SAINTES Liberals Hide

"Duarte, Vorster, Pinochet—These Are the Friends of the NSA!"

The sinister, ultra-secretive National Security Agency (NSA) came to the University of California at Berkeley on November 17 to recruit more agents for U.S. imperialism. This covert army of spies, assassins and computer spooks promises "more than just a career" and a chance to "influence the world." And they do—through counterrevolutionary terror. As part of our overall opposition to murderous U.S. imperialism and the bloody "influence" of its spy agencies, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) called for a united-front demonstration in front of the Career Planning Center around the slogans: "Drive the CIA-NSA Recruiters Off Campus!", "Abolish the CIA-NSA!" and "Protest CIA-NSA's 'Murder Inc.' Terror in El Salvador and Latin America!"

Over 40 students participated in the SYL-led picket line protesting these engineers of "destabilization," assassination and mass murder. Picketers distributed an "NSA Fact Sheet" which documented some of their crimes, and several passersby joined the demonstration. Pointing to imperialism's counterrevolutionary designs across the globe, SYL signs proclaimed "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!" and "Stop Solidarity—Agents of Counter-revolution!" while the demonstrators chanted "Duarte, Vorster, Pinochet—These are the friends of the NSA!" and "1, 2, 3, 4—Down with Reagan's new Cold War; 5, 6, 7, 8—Defend the Soviet workers state!"

On November 10, the SYL went to a

forum sponsored by the Students Against Intervention in El Salvador (SAINTES, Berkeley affiliate of CISPES) to ask this self-appointed "support" group of the Salvadoran "people" why it was boycotting concrete action against those who are now planning U.S. intervention in Central America. The featured speaker was Mauricio Duarte, a young representative of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) and one who had seen firsthand the junta's repression while a student at the now-closed National University of El Salvador: military barracks on schoolgrounds, teachers wearing bullet-proof vests, draconian pass laws and dozens of students murdered or "disappeared." Duarte noted the "responsibility for university students everywhere to participate in the stopping of military intervention or indirect intervention in El Salvador." But when an SYL speaker said yes, isn't it the duty of students to run the NSA off campus, the liberal oh-so-respectable SAINTES members began to hoot and holler.

When the SAINTES Didn't Go Marching In...

Naturally, SAINTES stonewalled when the question of the demonstration came up, and Duarte sidestepped it by saying that he couldn't tell American students what to do. However, he added that in El Salvador, "when the National

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Young Spartacus Photo

We reprint below the final portion of a speech given by James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism, to the New York branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) on 15 October 1939. The first part, an exposition of the Trotskyist analysis of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state, was printed in *Young Spartacus* No. 95, November 1981.

At the beginning of World War II in the fall of 1939, the Stalin-Hitler pact and the invasions of Poland and Finland by the Stalinist forces had turned petty-bourgeois "democratic" public opinion sharply anti-Soviet. Raising a hue and cry about "little, democratic Finland" and "national rights," liberal/social-democratic opinion in the U.S. condemned Stalinism as no better than fascism. Responding to this pressure, a faction within the SWP, led in part by Max Shachtman, a co-founder of American Trotskyism, broke from the then-revolutionary SWP's principled defense of the USSR against imperialist attack. Beginning with an unwillingness to defend the USSR militarily in Poland and Finland, the Shachtmanites soon dropped Soviet defensism altogether and theoretically excused this betrayal by denying that any of the social gains of the 1917 Revolution remained in the USSR. After many years of moving more and more to the right, Shachtman himself eventually became the ultimate "State Department socialist": at the time of his death in 1972, he was a leader of the right wing of the Socialist Party and was notorious for his support to Kennedy's 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, his "hawk" views on the Vietnam War and his support to Hubert Humphrey in the 1972 presidential elections.

Today, once again, the Russian question is posed pointblank in Poland. In the name of classless "democracy," Solidarność espouses a program of capitalist restoration, in league with Reagan, the Vatican, imperialist financiers and the CIA. In the U.S., everyone from the now-reformist SWP to the U.S. labor bureaucracy to the Young Americans for Freedom cheers this bid for counterrevolution. In 1939 Cannon recognized that the socialist property forms of the USSR were a precious gain for the world working class, to be defended against imperialism at all costs, whatever the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy. As in 1939, abstract calls for "democracy" and "national rights" in East Europe have become code words for counterrevolution and the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive. Ronald Reagan, the friend of butcher Duarte and apartheid chief Vorster, does not care about "democracy" for the Polish workers. Solidarność will only lead the Polish workers backward, to capitalism. The way forward lies with a reborn Fourth International. A world Trotskyist party will seek socialist revolution in the capitalist world and workers political revolution in the USSR and the deformed workers states. For a Socialist World!

by James P. Cannon

Part Two of Two

The Danger of a False Position:

We have had many discussions on the Russian question in the past. It has been the central and decisive question for us, as for every political tendency in the labor movement. That, I repeat, is because it is nothing less than the question of the revolution at various stages of its progressive development or degeneration. We are, in fact, the party of the Russian revolution. We have been the people, and the only people, who have had the Russian revolution in their



1917: St. Petersburg workers carry Bolshevik banner: "Down With the War! Down With the Capitalist Ministers!"

program and in their blood. That is also the main reason why the Fourth International is the only revolutionary tendency in the whole world. A false position on the Russian question would have destroyed our movement as it destroyed all others.

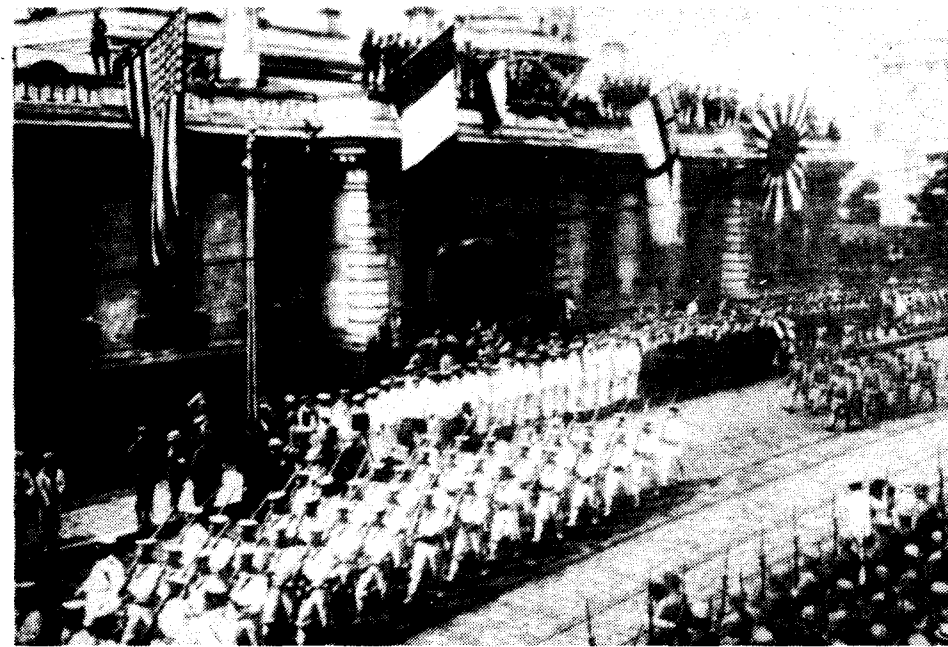
(4) In order to regenerate the workers' state we stand for the overthrow of the bureaucracy by a political revolution.

But, it may be said, "Defense of the Soviet Union, and Russia is a Workers' State—those two phrases don't answer everything." They are not simply

stances. Some people speak nowadays of giving "conditional" defense to the Soviet Union. If you stop to think about it we are for conditional defense of the United States. It is so stated in the program of the Fourth International. In the event of war we will absolutely defend the country on only one small "condition": that we first overthrow the government of the capitalists and replace it with a government of the workers.

Does unconditional defense of the Soviet Union mean supporting every act of the Red Army? No, that is absurd. Did we support the Moscow Trials and the actions of Stalin's G.P.U. in these trials? Did we support the purges, the wholesale murders of the forces in Spain which were directed against the workers? If I recall correctly, we unconditionally defended those workers who fought on the other side of the barricades in Barcelona. That did not prevent us from supporting the military struggle against Franco and maintaining our position in defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

It is now demanded that we take a big step forward and support the idea of an armed struggle against Stalin in the newly occupied territories of old Poland. Is this really something new? For three years the Fourth International has advocated in its program the armed overthrow of Stalin inside the Soviet Union itself. The Fourth International has generally acknowledged the necessity for an armed struggle to set up an independent Soviet Ukraine. How can there be any question of having a different policy in the newly occupied territories? If the revolution against Stalin is really ready there, the Fourth International will certainly support it and endeavor to lead it. There are no two opinions possible in our ranks on this question. But what shall we do if Hitler (or Chamberlain) attacks the Sovietized Ukraine before Stalin has been overthrown? This is the question that needs an unambiguous answer. Shall we defend the Soviet Union, and



American, French, British and Japanese troops in Vladivostok after crushing the Vladivostok Soviet in 1918. Fourteen imperialist countries invaded the Soviet Union following the Bolshevik Revolution.

Two years ago we once again conducted an extensive discussion on the Russian question. The almost unanimous conclusion of the party was written into the program of our first convention:

(1) The Soviet Union, on the basis of its nationalized property and planned economy, the fruit of the revolution, remains a workers' state, though in a degenerated form.

(2) As such, we stand, as before, for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

(3) The best defense—the only thing that can save the Soviet Union in the end by solving its contradictions—is the international revolution of the proletariat.

phrases. One is a theoretical analysis; the other is a political conclusion for action.

The Meaning of Unconditional Defense

Our motion calls for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. What does that mean? It simply means that we defend the Soviet Union and its nationalized property against external attacks of imperialist armies or against internal attempts at capitalist restoration, without putting as a prior condition the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Any other kind of defense negates the whole position under present circum-

with it now and for the same reasons, the nationalized property of the newly annexed territories? We say, yes!

That position was incorporated into the program of the foundation congress of the Fourth International, held in the summer of 1938. Remember, that was after the Moscow Trials and the crushing of the Spanish revolution. It was after the murderous purge of the whole generation of Bolsheviks, after the People's Front, the entry into the League of Nations, the Stalin-Laval pact (and betrayal of the French workers). We took our position on the basis of the economic structure of the country, the fruit of the revolution. The great gains are not to be surrendered before they are really lost. That is the fighting program of the Fourth International.

The Stalin-Hitler Pact

The Stalin-Hitler pact does not change anything fundamentally. If Stalin were allied with the United States, and comrades should deny defense of the Soviet Union out of fear of becoming involved in the defense of Stalin's American ally, such comrades would be wrong, but their position would be understandable as a subjective reaction prompted by revolutionary sentiments. The "defeatism" which broke out in our French section following the Stalin-Laval pact was undoubtedly so motivated and, consequently, had to be refuted with the utmost tolerance and patience. But an epidemic of "defeatism" in the democratic camp would be simply shameful. There is no pressure on us in America to defend the Soviet Union. All the pressure is for a democratic holy war against the Soviet Union. Let us keep this in mind. The main enemy is still in our own country.

What has happened since our last discussion? Has there been some fundamental change in Soviet economy? No, nothing of that kind is maintained. Nothing happened except that Stalin signed the pact with Hitler! For us that gave no reason whatever to change our analysis of Soviet economy and our attitude toward it. The aim of all our previous theoretical work, concentrated in our program, was precisely to prepare us for war and revolution. Now we have the war; and revolution is next in order. If we have to stop now to find a new program it is a very bad sign.

Just consider: There are people who could witness all the crimes and betrayals of Stalin, which we understood better than anybody else, and denounced before anybody else and more effectively—they could witness all this and still stand for the defense of the Soviet Union. But they could not tolerate the alliance with fascist Ger-

many instead of imperialist England or France!

The Invasion of Poland

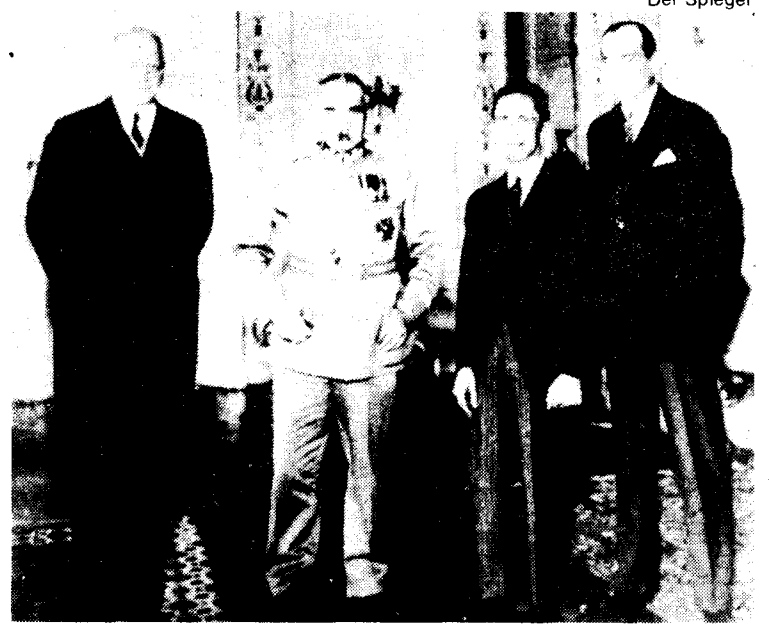
Of course, there has been a great hullabaloo about the Soviet invasion of Polish Ukraine. But that is simply one of the consequences of the war and the alliance with Hitler's Germany. The contention that we should change our analysis of the social character of the Soviet state and our attitude toward its defense because the Red Army violated the Polish border is even more absurd than to base such changes on the Hitler pact. The Polish invasion is only an incident in a war, and in wars borders are always violated. (If all the armies stayed at home there could be no war.) The inviolability of borders—all of which were established by war—is interesting to democratic pacifists and

shrieking at the top of their voices all over town. We must not be unduly impressed by this democratic clamor. Your National Committee was not in the least impressed.

In order to penetrate a little deeper into this question and trace it to its roots, let us take another hypothetical example. Not a fantastic one, but a very logical one. Suppose Stalin had made a pact with the imperialist democracies against Hitler while Rumania had allied itself with Hitler. Suppose, as would most probably have happened in that case, the Red Army had struck at Rumania, Hitler's ally, instead of Poland, the ally of the democracies, and had seized Bessarabia, which also once belonged to Russia. Would the democratic war mongers in that case have howled about "Red Imperialism"? Not on your life!



Der Spiegel



Der Spiegel

Left, Lech Walesa at Solidarnosc congress in September. Above, Solidarnosc' spiritual father Jozef Pilsudski (in uniform), fascistic dictator of Poland during interwar years, meets with Nazi Goebbels (second from right) in Warsaw, 1934.

to nobody else.

Hearing all the democratic clamor we had to ask ourselves many times: Don't they know that Western Ukraine and White Russia never rightfully belonged to Poland? Don't they know that this territory was forcibly taken from the Soviet Union by Pilsudski with French aid in 1920?

To be sure, this did not justify Stalin's invasion of the territory in collaboration with Hitler. We never supported that and we never supported the fraudulent claim that Stalin was bringing "liberation" to the peoples of the Polish Ukraine. At the same time we did not propose to yield an inch to the "democratic" incitement against the Soviet Union on the basis of the Polish events. The democratic war mongers were

Yevgeni Khaldel

I am very glad that our National Committee maintained its independence from bourgeois democratic pressure on the Polish invasion. The question was put to us very excitedly, point-blank, like a pistol at the temple: "Are you for or against the invasion of Poland?" But revolutionary Marxists don't answer in a "yes" or "no" manner which can lump them together with other people who pursue opposite aims. Being for or against something is not enough in the class struggle. It is necessary to explain *from what standpoint* one is for or against. Are you for or against racketeering gangsters in the trade unions?—the philistines sometimes ask. We don't jump to attention, like a private soldier who has met an officer on the street, and answer, "against!" We first inquire: who asks this question and from what standpoint? And what weight does this question have in relation to other questions? We have our own standpoint and we are careful not to get our answers mixed up with those of class enemies and pacifist muddleheads.

Some people—especially affected bosses—are against racketeering gangsters in the trade unions because they extort graft from the bosses. That side of the question doesn't interest us very much. Some people—especially pacifist preachers—are against the gangsters because they commit violence. But we are not against violence at all times and under all circumstances. We, for our part, taking our time and formulating our viewpoint precisely, say: We are against union gangsterism because it injures the union in its fight against the bosses. That is our reason. It proceeds from our special class standpoint on the union question.

So with Poland: We don't support the course of Stalin in general. His crime is not one incident here or there but his *whole* policy. He demoralizes the workers' movement and discredits the

Soviet Union. That is what we are against. He betrays the revolution by his whole course. Every incident for us fits into that framework; it is considered from that point of view and taken in its true proportions.

The Invasion of Finland

Those who take the Polish invasion—an incident in a great chain of events—as the basis for a fundamental change in our program show a lack of proportion. That is the kindest thing that can be said for them. They are destined to remain in a permanent lather throughout the war. They are already four laps behind schedule: There is also Latvia, and Estonia, and Lithuania, and now Finland.

We can expect another clamor of demands that we say, point-blank, and

in one word, whether we are "for" or "against" the pressure on poor little bourgeois-democratic Finland. Our answer—wait a minute. Keep your shirt on. There is no lack of protests in behalf of the bourgeois swine who rule Finland. The *New Leader* has protested. Charles Yale Harrison has written a tearful column about it. The renegade Lore has wept about it in the *New York Post*. The President of the United States has protested. Finland is pretty well covered with moral support. So bourgeois Finland can wait a minute till we explain our attitude without bothering about the "for" or "against" ultimatum.

I personally feel very deeply about Finland, and this is by no means confined to the present dispute between Stalin and the Finnish Prime Minister. When I think of Finland, I think of the thousands of martyred dead, the proletarian heroes who perished under the white terror of Mannerheim. I would, if I could, call them back from their graves. Failing that, I would organize a proletarian army of Finnish workers to avenge them, and drive their murderers into the Baltic Sea. I would send the Red Army of the regenerated Soviet Union to help them at the decisive moment.

We don't support Stalin's invasion only because he doesn't come for revolutionary purposes. He doesn't come at the call of Finnish workers whose confidence he has forfeited. That is the only reason we are against it. The "borders" have nothing to do with it. "Defense" in war also means attack. Do you think we will respect frontiers when we make our revolution? If an enemy army lands troops at Quebec, for example, do you think we will wait placidly at the Canadian border for their attack? No, if we are genuine revolutionists and not pacifist muddleheads we will cross the border and meet them at the point of landing. And if our defense

continued on page 8



troops liberate Austria from the Nazis, April 1945.

SL/SYL Calls for Labor/Black Struggle

Carmichael Peddles Pan-Africanist Fantasies

"Africa is our home, Africa is our home, Africa is our home," he chanted. Last month one of the wandering spirits emanating from the 1960s, Stokely Carmichael (aka Kwame Toure), declaimed to 200 black students at Detroit's Wayne State University on the evils of American capitalist ideology. Especially pernicious, he told them, was the advertising campaign to get blacks to buy Big Mac hamburgers.

The former "black power" militant spoke here in an old Midwest industrial city where the condition of blacks has reached catastrophic proportions. Well over half of black youth have no jobs and are not going to find any. And now black auto workers with 20, 30 years' seniority are being laid off... permanently. With Reagan's budget cuts countless Detroit blacks will be starving and freezing to death this winter. Encouraged by the racist reaction in the White House, Klan and Nazi groups are on the offensive in a city that has been a stronghold of unionized black workers.

And Carmichael talked about blacks *buying* too many Big Macs! He had *nothing* to say about *struggle* against oppression and exploitation, except that it is futile, even "provocative." Instead he came to peddle the escapist fantasizing that goes by the name of Pan-Africanism. For a few black intellectuals the mythical Pan-Africa homeland serves the same

function as the Christian heaven for the mass of black oppressed. It is no accident that the only mass black nationalist organization is a religious sect, the Nation of Islam (now the

Young Spartacus Photo



Stokely Carmichael

Bilalians).

Carmichael himself recognized that he's competing (at a great disadvantage) for the same turf as the Baptist preachers: "Our people are more enthusiastic about religion than the history and progress of our people." Lest anyone think that Carmichael was here attacking what Marx called "the opiate of the masses," he continued: "Yet, Martin Luther King wisely used religion against the enemy, but for our people. You can be a fighting

Christian."

Carmichael's lauding of the Rev. King shows how far right he's moved from the 1960s. Stokely Carmichael first came to national attention in 1966 as a spokesman for the "black power" militants rebelling against King's liberal-pacifism and his close ties to the party of Lyndon Johnson and George Wallace. The black militants of the '60s hated King and rightly so. Faced with Wallace's stormtroopers and KKK nightriders, King said, "If any blood be spilt, let it be our blood." But when in 1965 the Watts ghetto rose up against the murderous Los Angeles police department, this preacher of non-violence *for blacks* declared: "It was necessary that as powerful a police force as possible be brought in to check them" (*New York Times*, 16 August 1965)!

Perhaps an even more striking indication of Carmichael's political wretchedness than his new-found respect for the Rev. King was his hailing of the "socialist" Mitterrand in France. Mitterrand is a hardline anti-Soviet Cold Warrior, who has made France into Reagan's most reliable ally in NATO Europe.

In opposition to Carmichael's petty-bourgeois nationalist hustlerism, spokesmen for the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) at the Wayne State forum called for fighting Reagan reaction through mobilizing the labor movement in

alliance with the ghetto masses. They pointed out that SL-initiated labor/black mobilizations in Detroit in November 1979 and San Francisco in April 1980 had stopped the Klan and Nazis respectively from carrying through their planned provocations. Black SL spokesman Don Andrews, who recently ran for Detroit city council, also asserted the need to fight black misleaders like Mayor Coleman Young who "are tied to the class enemy." He challenged Carmichael: "What do you think about Coleman Young breaking black workers' strikes?" The wily demagogue ducked that question, but generally defended the black establishment. In this Carmichael once again expressed the *class-collaborationist* essence of nationalist ideology, including in its most utopian-sectarian forms.

Reactionary "back to Africa" Pan-Africanism may provide some solace for a few black intellectuals trying to wish away the harsh realities of racist America. But as Marx said of the radical utopian dreamers of his day: "Liberation is an historical and not a mental act... It is only possible to achieve real liberation in the real world and by employing real means" (*The German Ideology*). The real means for black liberation is the struggle of the working class, black and white, to overthrow this racist capitalist system and to create a society based on socialist equality and abundance.

Russian Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

requires the seizure of Quebec, we will seize it as the Red Army of Lenin seized Georgia and tried to take Warsaw.

Foreseen in Program of Fourth International

Some may think the war and the alliance with Hitler change everything we have previously considered; that it, at least, requires a reconsideration of the whole question of the Soviet Union, if not a complete change in our program. To this we can answer:

War was contemplated by our program. The fundamental theses on

"War and the Fourth International," adopted in 1934, say:

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

"*Defense of the Soviet Union* from the blows of the capitalist enemies, irrespective of the circumstances and immediate causes of the conflict, is the elementary and imperative duty of every honest labor organization."

Alliances were contemplated. The theses say:

"In the existing situation an alliance of the U.S.S.R. with an imperialist state or with one imperialist combination against another, in case of war, cannot at all be considered as excluded. Under the pressure of circumstances a temporary alliance of this kind may become an iron necessity, without ceasing, how-

ever, because of it, to be of the greatest danger both to the U.S.S.R. and to the world revolution.

"The international proletariat will not decline to defend the U.S.S.R. even if the latter should find itself forced into a military alliance with some imperialists against others. But in this case, even more than in any other, the international proletariat must safeguard its complete political independence from Soviet diplomacy and thereby also from the bureaucracy of the Third International."

A stand on defense was taken in the light of this perspective.

A slogan of defense acquires a concrete meaning precisely in the event of war. A strange time to drop it! That would mean a rejection of all our theoretical preparation for the war. That would mean starting all over again. From what fundamental basis? Nobody knows.

There has been much talk of "independence" on the Russian question. That is good! A revolutionist who is not independent is not worth his salt. But it is necessary to specify: Independent of whom? What is needed by our party at every turn is class independence, independence of the Stalinists, and, above all, independence of the bourgeoisie. Our program assures such independence under all circumstances. It shall not be changed! ■

Iran...

(continued from page 5)

thails this discredited ex-henchman of Khomeini because they seek a bloc with the Mujahedeens, an organization which bases its social program on the Koran and is described even by the Fedayeen as petty-bourgeois.

The violently anti-Soviet Peykar (Struggle) Maoists and the Organization of Communist Unity (represented in the U.S. by the Iranian Student Association-Left Platform), distance themselves from Bani-Sadr but either explicitly reject socialist revolution in Iran (Peykar) or preach "unity" with

those who do (Left Platform).

All of these groups bear a share of the responsibility for putting Khomeini in power. All of them reject the construction of a revolutionary proletarian vanguard committed to socialist revolution and a workers and peasants government. Iranian militants must face the results of their political program and draw revolutionary conclusions from the disaster they helped to create. But the experience of Khomeini's terror in itself will not bring Marxist clarity to Iran's beleaguered leftists. Internationally the Spartacist tendency has aggressively intervened in the Iranian radical milieu to cut through the reformist illusions which led to support to the reactionary and bloody "Islamic Republic."

Against the "Two-Stage Revolution"

Recently, at a political forum at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst and at a demonstration at the University of Wisconsin, the Spartacus Youth League was able to address Iranian student leftists and to politically confront the main political tendencies in Iran, as they are reflected in the Iranian student milieu abroad. At Amherst on November 18 supporters of Peykar, Left Platform and the Fedayeen minority sponsored a meeting on "Iran: What is Happening?" The three groups presented a slide show and gave political talks outlining, albeit belatedly, the reactionary character of the Khomeini regime: the oppression of the Kurdish national minority, the enslavement of women, attacks on "deviants" and the economic chaos created by mullah rule.

In the discussion which followed, SYL speakers zeroed in on the key political questions facing the Iranian left. A Peykar spokesman had declared emphatically that there "cannot be a socialist revolution, but it must be a democratic revolution." The SYL replied:

"The main question that the Iranian left missed and failed on... was the question

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CP/YWLL Tails Anti-Soviet Liberals

Report from Madison "Peace Conversion" Conference

"Peace Conversion" is a new name for the old "swords into plowshares" scam of liberal pacifism. This movement, embodied in campus-based "Peace Conversion Projects," is supposedly going to stop imperialist war by pressuring universities to convert military-funded research into research for peaceful purposes. Of course, it is ludicrous to think about cleaning up the image of imperialism's high-tech ivory towers at a time when the bourgeoisie is trying to gear up the entire U.S. for a nuclear showdown with the Soviet Union. But "peace conversion" is a reformist playground where the Stalinist Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) and its parent, the Communist Party (CP), can plead with liberals for "détente," and the anti-Soviet social democrats can pose as anti-militarists. So at the national Peace Conversion/Nukewatch Conference held in Madison on November 7-8, it was left to the SYL to defend the Soviet Union against Reagan's ominous war moves and put forward the only strategy that can permanently end the threat of imperialist war—socialist revolution.

In past years, the Nukewatch Conference has been mostly an anti-nuclear power affair, but times have changed. The anti-nuke movement has always complained only about the industrial hazard nuclear power might pose for suburban dwellers, while ignoring unsafe working conditions for the thousands of miners who die each year from black lung disease. But now it is occurring to the eco-freaks that H-bombs will devastate even the suburbs, and they are beginning to

worry about the environmental impact of fallout clouds.

So the CP/YWLL, while maintaining a discreet silence about "nukes" in the USSR, has been trying to bring the anti-nukers into the "peace" movement.

The Madison Peace Conversion Project tried to kick off its conference by picketing an army-funded mathematics conference on campus November 4. An SYL-organized Soviet-defensist contingent of 14 students polarized the demonstration with slogans including "Defend Cuba! Defend the USSR!" and "Only Workers Revolution Can Stop Imperialist War!" Sam Day, a CP fellow-traveler who was addressing the crowd, began chanting one of our slogans, "Down With Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive!", but quickly backed off when he realized this did not go down so hot with the liberals. Our chant of "Defend the Soviet Union!" was booed by the social democrats and YWLLers who tried to chant over us "Peace, Not War." The picket sign in the crowd that read "Peace is Patriotic" with a big American flag best expressed the wishes of these reformists who want to rely on the Democratic Party of Hiroshima, the Bay of Pigs and the Vietnam War to stop World War III.

Like the picket line, the Peace Conversion national conference was also a parade of pacifism and liberal anti-Sovietism. Although the conference was held on the 64th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, nobody mentioned that fact except the SYL. One of the liberal speakers said that workers revolution was utopian. SYL-er Steve Henderson responded,

"No bourgeoisie ever voluntarily abdicated power. You say that a workers revolution is utopian, but I would say that a peace movement is utopian. There have been peace movements in the past, in the '30s, and they've never stopped war. But I can give you an example of one time a war

was stopped, and that's the Russian Revolution which took the Russian bourgeoisie out of the war by overthrowing them."

Erwin Knoll, editor of the *Progressive* magazine, commented that "socialist bombs are not just for home decoration." But when we pointed out that these bombs were the only thing that has prevented an imperialist holocaust up to now, he replied, "Militarism is as grotesquely present in the USSR as it is in this country." He conveniently forgets who nuked Hiroshima, laid waste to Vietnam and invaded the Bay of Pigs. And it is the Soviet nuclear arsenal which kept U.S. imperialism from invading Cuba and overthrowing Castro, from using nuclear weapons in Vietnam and from destroying the beleaguered forces of social progress in Afghanistan.

By the end of the Saturday session, the CP/YWLL and liberal organizers began to get nervous about the SYL's exposure of their pacifist illusions. During a discussion on "concrete organizing," the chairman interrupted

an SYL speaker and cut off the microphone. When the SYLer refused to give up the microphone until being allowed to speak, it was turned back on under the condition that we relate a specific "experience" in organizing against militarism. Referring to a previous speaker from Ann Arbor who had described a debate that the YWLL and DSOC had organized with the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), he said, "I have an 'experience' to relate . . . You built a platform in Ann Arbor for the imperialist butchers of the DIA—and we picketed it! We said, 'there is nothing to debate with these people' . . . And it was the YWLL and DSOC who brought them onto campus."

As the CP/YWLL and DSOCers slithered off at the end of the day, it was clear that only the SYL could explain why Reagan is building for a massive war drive and why the working class must mobilize to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution and disarm the U.S. bourgeoisie once and for all.

UPI



"Space Invaders," Reagan-style: U.S. Rapid Deployment Force troops during war "games" in Egypt. CP/YWLL wants "peace conversion" of this?

of 'how do you fight the shah?' So what we said was 'Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution! Now our perspective behind that was one of permanent revolution. What is the way to get the basic democratic rights for the people of Iran? Obviously all the capitalists are either tied to the imperialists or have one foot in the feudal camp. So we saw that the working class, the Iranian working class, has the social power, with the lead of a Bolshevik Party, to establish a workers and peasants government there."

It was pointed out that "they would try to kill you for saying 'Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs!'" An SYL speaker replied that it is the duty of communist internationalists to tell the truth, no matter how unpopular and that:

"You don't put forward any concrete alternative. . . . You never raised the revolutionary politics which needed to be raised when Khomeini was coming to power. The problem, you say, and this happened in a comment by Peykar, was, or is, the objective conditions in Iran. Well, no. The problem is the subjective conditions—there is no revolutionary leadership in Iran."

A key point of contention was the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The SYL supports this not only in the interests of defending the gains of the Russian Revolution in the USSR from imperialism, but also because of the progressive role of the Red Army in the fight against Afghan mullahs supported by Khomeini and the CIA. As an SYL member pointed out:

"The mullahs rose up against the left nationalist regime in Afghanistan specifically on: 1) women getting the vote, 2) the bride price being limited and 3)

women being allowed in the educational process in the schools. And it was those three, particularly pertaining to the woman question which, concerning the bride price, was a threat to the financial core of the mullah caste, which they rose up against."

The virulently anti-Soviet Peykar views the Red Army intervention as an "imperialist" attack on an independent country and implicitly sides with the Islamic reactionaries and their U.S. imperialist backers. The other groups on the Iranian far left claim not to share Peykar's "Russia is 'social-imperialist'" line but none of them take a side in the fight between the Soviet degenerated workers state and the Khomeini-backed, CIA-armed Afghan feudalists. In Iran, as elsewhere, the "Russian Question" is a crucial dividing line between revolutionaries and petty-bourgeois nationalists and reformists. An SYL spokesman pointed out, "Part of confronting a revolutionary program in Iran is confronting the Russian Revolution. And until you confront the Russian Revolution, you will never make a revolution in Iran."

No Support to Bani-Sadr!

At the University of Wisconsin on November 19, 50 people participated in a picket line demonstration called by the Organization of Progressive Iranian Students (OPIS), a local organization dominated by supporters of the Left Platform/Organization of Communist Unity group. While this outfit claims to stand for a one-stage socialist revolution in Iran, the OPIS demonstration showed that, in practice, they will compromise on this principle in the

interest of "unity" with the larger and more rightist groups on the Iranian left.

The SYL was asked by OPIS to endorse the rally based on the demand "Down with the Reactionary Islamic Regime." We refused, pointing out that the slogan was formulated with an eye to securing endorsements from groups who want to replace Khomeini with Bani-Sadr or even the shah's old officers, many of whom have certainly maintained their intimate ties with the CIA and Pentagon. Instead we proposed a genuine united front for common action, i.e., the demonstration, based on the call to end the repression of the left in Iran. OPIS replied that they did not want a united front, they wanted an "anti-imperialist" front.

What this means was made explicit by the OPIS leaflet which indicated that "We also support any effort among the left opposition movement of Iran to unify and present a coherent alternative to the existing situation." For "coherent alternative" you might read "Bani-Sadr" or perhaps some other "progressive" bourgeois figure.

The SYL contingent took part in the demonstration with slogans including: "Defend the Left Against Khomeini's Terror! Down With Islamic Reaction!", "Working Class Will Not Forget Khomeini's Left Supporters!" and "No to Bani-Sadr! For Workers Revolution in Iran!" An attempt by OPIS to exclude the SYL was foiled, with several people leaving the picket line to protest this attempt to censor Trotskyist politics. It seems that placards reminding OPIS that they too backed Khomeini were too much for them to swallow.

The tragedy of the Iranian left is hardly the first time that would-be revolutionaries have been the victims of those they helped bring to power. Fifty years ago the Chinese Communists fought alongside Chiang Kai-shek, following Stalin's orders that the revolution in China would be made in two stages, with "progressive bourgeois" Chiang personifying the first stage. When Chiang took Shanghai at the end of his Great Northern Expedition of 1927 he rewarded his Communist supporters by massacring them by the thousands.

The lessons, positive and negative, of the Russian and Chinese Revolutions were generalized brilliantly by Leon Trotsky in his book *The Permanent Revolution*, written in 1929 from exile in Soviet Central Asia. Those lessons are especially important for the Iranian left today:

"With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses."

The task of revolutionaries in Iran today is to take those lessons to heart, along with the experience of Khomeini's Islamic revolution, and to construct a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard on a program of working-class political independence, defense of the social gains of the Russian Revolution and socialist revolution in Iran. ■

Eyewitness Accounts Refute Yun

Below we print excerpts from some of the statements received from participants in the November 12 SYL forum at Harvard entitled "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution."

"As a known member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a supporter of Solidarity, and one who is generally opposed to the political program of the Spartacist League, no attempt was made to restrict my democratic rights to attend the meeting. At the end of the lecture there was time allowed for any member of the audience, of whatever political philosophy, to present their views or ask questions."

Joseph Auciello, member, Socialist Workers Party

"I am not affiliated with the Spartacists, but I have attended some of their meetings, and I should like to point out that they welcome anyone who holds different views to their own, and that their meetings are conducted fairly and democratically. The counterdemonstration, however, was a provocation and intended disruption; this attempt to force cancellation of the forum sets a dangerous precedent."

Dean Wareham, '85

"... I observed people arguing and discussing issues on the steps of and in front of Harvard Hall. I proceeded up the steps and past the people in order to enter the lecture hall. At no time was I obstructed from entering, nor was I verbally abused. Once inside the hall I observed an orderly meeting which included a lecture followed by a democratically run question and answer and discussion period."

E. John Altobello, Ph.D.
Romance Languages and Literatures
Harvard University—1976

"The meeting was clearly open to anyone who wished to hear the speaker and/or question the views of the Spartacus Youth League. While I sympathize with the SYL on many issues, I do disagree with aspects of their stance on Poland, as those members of the SYL with whom I have spoken knew. I certainly was not unwelcome at the forum, despite my views."

Elizabeth Calihan, '82/83

Harvard...

(continued from page 3)

xeroxed copies of them—were scrawled with the word "counterdemonstrate" and a Harvard phone number to call. Additionally, we received an unprecedented number of hostile and/or suspicious phone calls concerning the forum for two days previous to it, including several from phony "Tass reporters."

The "Tass" gambit no doubt had as its aim to paint us as loyal Soviet Stalinist supporters. But it is not our job to

apologize for the Stalinist rulers who brought about the crisis in Poland, who have turned "communism" into a curse word and, in fact, persist in conciliating the counterrevolutionary forces in and around Solidarność. A blood line, drawn in the lives of revolutionists from Indochina to Spain to Chile, separates Trotskyism from Stalinism. It is very much our job to seek to rally the working class in Poland and internationally to defend the historically progressive socialized property in the deformed and degenerated workers states, all the more so since the discredited Stalinists manifestly cannot. We call

and "consensus" politicians could be better named Students Against Intervention in Our Space!

Centrists Slink Along

There was one ostensibly "revolutionary" organization which endorsed the demonstration—the centrist, ersatz-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). These apologists for scabbing have proclaimed themselves to be the "best builders" of SAINTES, seeing another opportunity to pose as loyal left critics in a liberal coalition. The RWL "politely" refused to speak in favor of the anti-NSA demo at the SAINTES forum—after three SYL speakers had made it the focal point of the discussion. Of course, after their liberal friends had all gone home, the RWL rushed to endorse. This was worth as much as anything else they do in the name of "support": one member was dispatched to briefly walk the picket line on the day of the demonstration. But we didn't expect very much from an organization whose newspaper calls for "Shut Down the Airports" (stolen quite literally from the Spartacist League's *Workers Vanguard*) while their supporters tried to help the labor bureaucrats break up a picket line in support of the air controllers at San Francisco International Airport!

Socialist Revolution Will Stop Imperialist War

As revolutionary Trotskyists, we recognize that the bourgeoisie will never lose its insatiable desire to regain those parts of the world where capitalism has been overthrown (the Soviet Union, East Europe, China, Cuba, Vietnam) and we defend the historic gains of the world working class embodied in the

for the strict separation of church and state, for the collectivization of agriculture, for the cancellation of Poland's debt to the imperialist bankers and for the military defense of the USSR against imperialism. An integral part of our defense of the workers states against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolutionary threats is our fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist usurpers and replace them with genuine workers democracy.

The "free world" touted as savior of the Polish masses is the world of imperialist butchery in Vietnam and El Salvador; the world of South African apartheid which serves as the U.S. surrogate in Africa today. Not coincidentally, the imperialist enthusiasm for "free trade unions" in Poland doesn't apply one whit to American unions. The Reagan administration which smashed the PATCO union and the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats who lifted not a finger to stop the government's union-busting are wild fans of Solidarność. For its part, the company union for the CIA and bankers, Solidarność, remained silent on the PATCO strike throughout. It is unspeakable obscenity to hear this administration of strike-breakers, which is today relegating thousands of workers to the unemployment lines and soup kitchens, slashing social services and mobilizing for World War III, to speak on behalf of the "liberation" of Polish workers!

We note with keen interest that the CIA was recruiting at the K-School on the very day of our forum and the "spontaneous" counterdemonstration. The job description for CIA operatives put in your article "CIA Recruits at University" (13 November) failed to mention training in assassination, coups d'état, mass extermination programs such as the Phoenix plan or advanced torture techniques widely employed by the CIA-trained operatives everywhere from Iran to South Korea to Latin America. That, too, is part of the battle for imperialist "democracy" and the "free world."

Spartacus Youth League
23 November 1981

workers states, despite their bureaucratic deformations. While the liberals like those in SAINTES limply try to convince anti-communist Democrats to moderate imperialist policies, revolutionaries know that the system cannot be reformed or humanized—the bourgeoisie needs its secret police, spies, torturers and the rest to maintain its class rule. Only proletarian revolution can put an end to the CIA, NSA, FBI and imperialism's drive toward World War III. Join the one revolutionary youth organization with the program to end capitalist barbarism—join the SYL! ■

Cold War...

(continued from page 1)

hoopla for CIA-armed Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan. And U.S. imperialist intervention in Central America is part and parcel of Cold War II.

Nicaragua: "Pluralism" on the Rocks

For the past two years, the petty-bourgeois leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) have been preaching the virtues of a "mixed economy." But their "third road" between capitalism and Cuban-style social revolution hasn't worked. The Nicaraguan bourgeoisie is shipping its millions to Miami while ex-Somoza mercenaries trained in the U.S. make regular raids from camps in Honduras. A *Soldier of Fortune* (September 1981) article entitled "A Day with the Jackals" quoted one of the *somocista* killers: "We belong to you *gringos*; you trained us, taught us U.S. tactics and made us into the best damned army in Central

America." Only to be defeated by Sandinista guerrillas and the Nicaraguan masses!

Now, at the recent Organization of American States meeting, warmonger Haig accuses Nicaragua of becoming a "superpower in Central America"; earlier he had complained of a "drift towards totalitarianism" by the Sandinistas. What hypocrisy coming from the imperialist overlord of the Western hemisphere! As FSLN *comandante* Daniel Ortega declared at the United Nations October 7, the United States has attacked Central America over 40 times in the last 126 years and saddled Nicaragua for almost half a century with the tyranny of the Somoza clan. Nevertheless, the Sandinistas have repeatedly tried to appease the imperialists and capitalists, even arresting more than 100 members of the tiny Communist Party for leading strikes. They have cut off all arms to Salvadoran leftists. To no avail.

Reagan and the rest of the Cold Warriors in Washington may force the FSLN down the Cuban road. Why? Because the Reaganites' aim is to drown the Central American revolution in blood, not to buy off the "moderates." It's either social revolution—or a new capitalist dictatorship that will make Somoza look like a benevolent patriarch. That is why the Trotskyists call for mobilizing the workers and peasants to expropriate the bourgeoisie.

El Salvador: Revolution or Death

Some 30,000 workers and peasants have been killed by the sadistic death squads in El Salvador since Jimmy Carter's October 1979 "human rights" coup. The killing occurs with such regularity that the Catholic church has computerized the body counts. In the first nine months of this year there were 10,714 recorded murders by the repressive forces, among them 4,239 peasants, 934 workers and employees, 372 students and teachers (*Solidaridad Boletín Internacional*, 15 October).

Despite the terror, the junta's armed forces have not been able to crush the insurgents of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). In fact, the FMLN guerrillas have been expanding the areas under their control while bringing economic activity in the urban areas to a halt by sabotaging electrical power. Yet the opposition popular front, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), which ties the left-wing insurgents to marginal bourgeois and petty-bourgeois politicians, calls for an illusory "political solution."

This is treachery. Any outcome to the civil war raging in El Salvador which fails to destroy the oligarchy and its bloody military apparatus will rob the Salvadoran masses of the victory for which they have fought and suffered so much. And it could signal a reign of white terror such as that which followed the failed Communist-led uprising of 1932. Only the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution can fulfill the aspirations of the Salvadoran masses. As we chanted on November 21,

NSA...

(continued from page 5)

Guard came to campus, we told them they had five minutes to get out." The audience broke into applause, with SAINTES hypocritically clapping along. This wasn't lost on some independent students who confronted SAINTES about their refusal to endorse the SYL's united-front demonstration.

For the cowardly liberals in SAINTES, anti-communist opposition to the SYL's revolutionary politics is more important than any "solidarity" with the oppressed workers and peasants of El Salvador. Commenting on their abstention from the anti-NSA demonstration, one SAINTES member said, "We did not want to be associated with the league [referring to the SYL]" (*Daily Californian*, 18 November). Perhaps this clot of "affinity groups"

Marxist Bulletin 5

WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism
vs.
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"Our 'Political Solution'—Workers Revolution!"

Defend Cuba! Defend the USSR!

Today Castro's Cuba is once again accused of fomenting revolution in Latin America. It's true that as the first (and so far only) country in the Western hemisphere to overthrow capitalist rule, the "Cuban example" inspired a whole generation of would-be revolutionaries. And that's why the Yankee imperialists have not relented in their 20-year effort to subvert and overthrow the Cuban Revolution. But the expropriation of Cuban capitalists in the fall of 1960 was carried out not by the workers and peasants; it was a bonapartist regime which created a bureaucratically deformed workers state. And where Stalin's illusion of building "socialism in one country" meant sabotaging world revolution, Castro's "socialism on one island" is ludicrous.

The Stalinists' goal is to strike a deal with imperialism. Stalin dreamt of continuing his grand "anti-fascist" alliance with FDR after World War II—instead he got Truman's Cold War.

Brezhnev chased after "détente" and got Carter/Reagan's Cold War II. Castro tried for his own hemispheric "peaceful coexistence"—to buy it he has refused to arm the Salvadoran leftists against their U.S.-supplied adversaries. And what has it gotten him? CIA assassination attempts, new threats of blockade or a second Bay of Pigs.

The only road for the liberation of the Caribbean and Central American masses is international workers revolution—the road of Lenin and Trotsky. In October 1917 the Russian workers were mobilized under the leadership of the Bolsheviks to overthrow capitalism and establish soviet democracy. They did everything to extend their struggle internationally, seeking to link up with the powerful German workers movement to spark European-wide proletarian revolution. The Trotskyists today are the party of the Russian Revolution, the inheritors of the program of the Bolshevik-Leninists. Despite the subsequent Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union we defend the nationalized property and

planned economy of the USSR as achievements of the entire world working class.

In reality the imperialists' Cold War against workers revolution began in 1917. It is the job of socialist revolutionists to defend and extend the gains of October which represent the only hope to liberate the oppressed masses of Latin America and the world. Lacking confidence in the working class, the social-democratic and Stalinist reformists fight against this program tooth and nail. That is why they agent-bait the Trotskyists (just as Stalin labeled Trotsky an agent of Hitler and the Mikado, and the Mensheviks accused Lenin of working for the Kaiser)... while calling on the capitalist cops to protect them from communist politics. Lies will not save them. As Reagan/Haig threaten to turn their anti-Soviet Cold War into a hot one, the Spartacus Youth League demands: Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists! Hands Off Nicaragua! Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in Central America! For Workers Revolution! ■

bannister overlooking a two-story drop, in an attempt to snatch the camera. He then turned his attention to Andrews, threatening him and attempting to provoke a fight. Such threats to rights of students and militants to organize must not be tolerated!

For An Integrated, Class-Struggle Fight!

As in the larger struggles against Klan/Nazi terror and racist oppression, what is needed at Wayne State is a united front of all those—white, black, Jewish, Arab—who oppose the racist provocations. The do-nothing black nationalist groups on campus have generally abstained or responded with hostility to any real struggle against racist attacks at Wayne State. The latest *South End* atrocity has so angered black students, however, that groups like the Swahili Club and Association of Black Students (ABS) have not been able to simply ignore the fight. Rather than join in a united struggle to oust the racist, FBI-loving editor, the nationalists and a few "leftist" groups on campus have opted for vague demands to democratize the editor selection process and gone on a race-baiting, red-baiting binge which only serves the interests of the administration and Lee & Co. In fact, they have not even called for Lee's ouster! Having not lifted a finger to take on the *South End*'s racist provocations, they attack the SYL for our advocacy of integrated struggle. The miserable centrist sect which calls itself the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) sent but one supporter to the December 3 rally organized to demand Lee's ouster. But they have thrown themselves in with the nationalists and Pan-Africanists who would rather fight "reds" than the racists. This is to be expected from a group which denounced as Spartacist dupes the 500 anti-Klan demonstrators who stopped the Klan in 1979.

Our election statement for the Detroit City Council race made clear what is at stake in this city:

"As the U.S. capitalists take America toward depression and world war, they try to set black and white workers at each other's throats. This city, at the center of the black proletariat, can be the motor force of revolutionary struggle in America or its counterrevolutionary model of racist destruction. Whether Detroit's working people fight each other or fight together against their common enemy—the racist, imperialist ruling class—depends on the struggle to forge a revolutionary leadership in Detroit and throughout the world."

It is to that fight by labor and the oppressed to smash racist terror and overthrow capitalism to which the SYL is dedicated. Putting a stop to the *South End*'s racist provocations is a part of it. **OUST THE RACIST SOUTH END EDITOR LEE!** ■

South End...

(continued from page 12)

population through massive auto layoffs and plant closures combined with relentless cuts in social services has led to an ever-shrinking black enrollment at Wayne State as well. It is decreasingly the university offering the sons and daughters of auto workers a chance for a decent education. Enrolling a growing number of aggressive suburban racists, Wayne State is a provocative, racist enclave in black Detroit.

The *South End*, formerly dedicated to some version of struggle on behalf of the oppressed and exploited, has become a racist mouthpiece. Too, since the purge of the radicals, sole real authority for the paper has passed into the hands of the university's Board of Governors. We are fighting to stop the *South End*'s repetitive racist provocations and for the students of Wayne State to reassert control over what is nominally a forum for their diverse views and opinions.

Despite the extensive coverage of the *South End* events in the national press, Lee simply refused to report on the rally of some 100 students and workers called by the SYL-initiated Committee to Oust Racist Editor Lee held December 3. Instead, the day after the rally the *South End* published an article which largely consisted of interviews with KKK and Nazi swine like David Duke and Robert Miles, former "grand dragon" of the Michigan Klan. The article opens with a "lyrical" description of a cross burning ("The night sky was an ocean of black... they listened, as the flames viciously licked the cross under the quiet night sky"). Miles is quoted at length, but the article "omits" to note that he is a convicted race-terrorist criminal who served six years in the federal pen for fire-bombing school buses in Pontiac, Michigan. Duke, too, is given generous space to spew his racist filth but there is not even a hint of repudiation of this in the entire article.

"I personally do support what the FBI does," Lee announced to the *Detroit Free Press* (26 November 1981). This is said at the same time that three Klansmen, one of them an admitted FBI informer, are on trial in Detroit for the attempted killing of a black man, George Stewart, reportedly because he "lived with a white woman and because he frequented the Sky Club Lounge, a predominately white bar" (*Free Press*, 3 December). From the bloody murder of



South End editor E. Dale Lee wearing FBI T-shirt. Lee says he "likes their style."

civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo to that of Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, the FBI is a naked expression of the role of the capitalist state, verifying Lenin's *State and Revolution*: "The state is a special organization of force; it is the organization of violence for the suppression of some class."

Mobilize from Wayne to Rouge! Run Lee Out!

Among those who attended the December 3 rally at Wayne State were militant auto workers from the giant Ford River Rouge plant who are seeking to enlist the aid of their union brothers in the fight against the *South End*'s racist provocations. Together with a militant student campaign, the powerful trade-union movement could successfully clean out Lee and the whole nest of racist, FBI-lovers in and around the *South End*.

The mobilization of hundreds of auto workers in alliance with socialists and anti-racist militants in November 1979 stopped cold the threatened Klan march to "celebrate" the Greensboro massacre in the streets of Detroit. Major sections of the Detroit working class know that racist terror can and must be stopped by relying on the power of labor and the oppressed. In 1979 the demand "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" was made real. Detroit workers: don't let Wayne State become a breeding ground for KKK racism!

The participation of anti-racist fighters from the plants is also critical to undercut attempts at intimidation and harassment by racists on the campus. Such attempts have already occurred. For instance, at a November 24 planning meeting called to organize the initial protest, a large group of students,



WHO IS THIS MAN? Outside planning meeting for rally to oust Lee, he shoved SYL photographer against bannister over 2-story drop!

including several *South End* staff members, repeatedly disrupted the proceedings, refused to identify themselves or to leave the room when asked to. At the end of the meeting, a hefty white male in his forties suddenly burst into the room and demanded from a younger man who had been taking copious notes throughout the meeting, "Did you get it all down?" The two then left the meeting room, but were followed by a *Young Spartacus* photographer and Spartacist spokesman Don Andrews, recently a candidate for City Council. The hefty man charged the photographer, forcing her against a

South End Scandal Makes National Press

Chicago Tribune
 'Racist' cartoon embroils student
DETROIT (UPI)—The editor of the student newspaper at Wayne State University denies that he is a racist, but a cartoon he published titled "South End" provoked a group of students protesting the cartoon, and many students are demanding Lee's ouster. One Marxist group, the Spartacus League, scheduled a rally for next week to demand that Lee be fired.

Detroit Free Press
 WSU editor backs cartoon despite charge of racism
By MARTIN F. KOHN, Free Press staff writer
 Compared to the days when his scathing prose about Wayne State University's football team got him hanged in effigy, E. Dale Lee says the latest controversy he has caused doesn't amount to much.
 "There are those who disagree, among them a left-wing campus group that has called for Lee's ouster," said Lee, a senior editor of the stu-

San Francisco Chronicle
 School Paper's Cartoon Stirs Racial Furor
Others didn't find it a laughing matter. The newspaper received dozens of telephone calls and letters protesting the cartoon, and many students are demanding Lee's ouster.
 One Marxist group, the Spartacus Youth League, scheduled a rally for next week to demand that Lee be fired.
 "It's not a joke," said freshman...

NOTICE
 The next issue of *Young Spartacus* will be dated February 1982.

Young Spartacus

**Wayne State SYL
Demands:**

E. DALE LEE: RACIST/FBI-LOVER
RUN HIM OUT!
RALLY TODAY!
BALLROOM-SCB 12:30PM

KEEP THE
CIA/FBI/NSA
OFF
CAMPUS!

COMMITTEE TO OUST
RACIST EDITOR LEE

KEEP THE
CIA/FBI/NSA
OFF
CAMPUS

OUST
THE
RACIST
EDITOR
LEE!

South End Racist Editor Has to Go!

DETROIT—The most recent racist provocation to issue out of the editorial offices of the *South End*, Wayne State University's "student" newspaper, has evoked outrage among the black student population here. The vile "cartoon" printed at right appeared in the November 14 issue of the *South End* and immediately called forth a barrage of letters and calls by angry readers. *South End* editor E. Dale Lee responded by reprinting the racist cartoon and turning over a full page of the paper to articles in its defense. Among Lee's snide rejoinders was: "I never had slaves and I wouldn't want them."

An avowed fan of the FBI, Lee gets a kick out of showing off his collection of FBI paraphernalia: an FBI T-shirt, coffee mug and target. He brags that his girlfriend, a managing editor of the *South End*, works for the FBI.

The Spartacus Youth League is demanding the ouster of this racist FBI-lover from his post as *South End* editor. The cartoon was a racist provocation of a piece with a long-standing editorial policy of the *South End*. To call that policy insensitive to the rights and needs of black people would be a terrible understatement—it seems designed to

FLASH!

DECEMBER 10—As we go to press, the Student Newspaper Publications Board has suspended *South End* editor Lee, pending an investigation. The Pub Board refused to discuss the charges leveled against Lee during the specially-called meeting, stating they would not be revealed until Monday. The Wayne State University (WSU) Student Council advertised its regular meeting tonight as a forum to discuss the *South End*. But when it came up, the Council voted to close the meeting to students, auto workers and others interested in discussing the ouster of Lee. Most of the irate audience protested and refused to leave, but Council president Silver called the WSU cops to throw everyone out to ensure that he could connive with the Pub Board behind closed doors. Editor Lee must not be reinstated! Oust the racist/FBI-lover now!

insult and anger black students and all those who oppose the use of the campus newspaper as a forum for gross racism. Some 100 students and workers turned out December 3 to rally against the *South End*'s racist outrage and demand Lee's ouster. Members of the Rouge Militant Caucus of United Autoworkers Local 600 and some Wayne State football team members aided in the defense of the rally. A member of the campus Black Veterans Association and a former *South End* staffer took advantage of the open mike to add their voices to those demanding Lee's removal.

A year ago last November, a *South End* editorial entitled "Leftists Hinder Justice in Greensboro Trial" applauded the acquittal of five Klan/Nazis by an all-white jury for the broad daylight, cold-blooded murder of anti-Klan protesters. While campus newspapers from California to North Carolina decried this racist injustice, the *South End* blamed the victims for their own slaughter. Over 1,200 signed a petition circulated by the SYL-initiated Ad Hoc Committee demanding the ouster of then-editor John Burnett and the author of the editorial, Mike Nuttle. Now Lee is running despicable racist cartoons that would shock most bourgeois journalists. The SYL leaflet demanding his ouster stated:

"Enough! The editor thinks racial 'discrimination is more fallacy than fact.' This in Reagan's America where the Klan/Nazi terrorists are growing. Remember Cynthia Steele! She had her hand blown off when the KKK threw a pipe bomb into her home on Detroit's west side last winter. Maybe Lee thinks the Nazi death camps are a 'fallacy' too. Jewish concentration camp survivors in Southfield tried to stop a Nazi provocation there last spring. In October 1979, two foremen paraded around the Rouge plant in KKK hoods. Later they claimed it was a big joke too. Thousands of black, white and Arab auto workers didn't think so. They drove them the hell out of the plant. E. Dale Lee must get the same treatment."

South End: Racists' Vanguard

Even in Reagan's America, Lee's overtly racist "humor" and adulation of the secret police is sufficiently startling

to capture the attention of the bourgeois press. Articles on the anger surrounding the cartoon's publication and the SYL's call for protest action were carried in the *Detroit Free Press*, *Houston Chronicle*, *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Chicago Tribune*. The fact that the campus editor at Wayne State—once an organizing center for militant anti-racism—saw fit to write "Mayor Coleman A. Young, in my opinion, is racist" and bemoan that "whites don't protest 'reverse racism'" may also have impressed the reporters as noteworthy.

The *South End* has been "controversial" for a long time, but it used to be so for opposite reasons when its masthead was decorated by two

symbolic black panthers. It required a concerted campaign by the Wayne State administration and the state, replete with FBI COINTELPRO dirty tricks, to successfully purge the campus in the late 60s and early 70s of the radical black nationalists who dominated campus political life, including the editorial policy of the *South End*. While the administration had no compunction about moving hard against the radical editors, the recent *South End*'s racist provocations and overt declaration of solidarity with the secret police produce no administration action against it whatever. The brutal economic devastation of much of Detroit's black working

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Stop South End's Racist Trash!

