

# Young Spartacus

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## Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!

# Smash U.S. Imperialism in Central America!

A spectre is haunting U.S. imperialism's policy in Central America—the spectre of its historic loss in Vietnam. In El Salvador, leftist guerrillas are in a stronger military position vis à vis the U.S.-backed junta than ever before. In Nicaragua, the Sandinistas are running a "roach motel" for the CIA-sponsored *somocista* invaders: "they check in but they don't check out." The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) says: Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists! Kill the Invaders! Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! We hail the military defeats of U.S. imperialism.

As Reagan seeks an escalation of U.S. military intervention in Central America, a section of the U.S. ruling class fears that a "new Vietnam"—i.e., another humiliating defeat for U.S. imperialism—is in the making. Appealing to the "lesson of the painful past," liberal Democratic Congressman Christopher Dodd warns that the U.S. is "once again on the losing side." Even "first-strike" Reagan must pay homage to the "Vietnam syndrome," the spectre of defeat. Speaking before Congress on April 27, Reagan declared, "let me say to those who invoke the memory of Vietnam: There is no thought of sending American combat troops to Central America."

These words, intended to reassure liberals and also the broader American public, evoke comparison with Lyndon Johnson's statement: "We seek no wider war." Democrat Johnson ran as the "peace candidate" against the Republican Goldwater in 1964. In the years that followed, U.S. imperialism sent more than two and a half million soldiers to Vietnam. It dropped more bombs than were dropped in all of World War II, devastating the people and the countryside for eleven years. America's longest and dirtiest war polarized American society, helped to break the back of Cold War anti-Communism especially among the younger generation, and ended with a panicky scramble into helicopters on the U.S. embassy roof. U.S. imperialism has never fully recovered: The fighting quality of its army has not demonstratively improved, and today one-fifth of its soldiers are blacks whose willingness to kill and die for racist U.S. capitalism is questionable at least. Everyone remembers Muhammad Ali's remark: "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger." The liberals know that the Pentagon's plans for pushbutton warfare are not of much use in quashing guerrilla insurgencies—that's why they're *leading* the crusade for a new

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## Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!

## Vietnam Was A Victory! 2, 3, Many Defeats For U.S. Imperialism!

Today, on the eighth anniversary of the fall of Saigon (30 April 1975), we salute the courageous workers and peasants of Vietnam. Our internationalist solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution demands implacable opposition to the renewed U.S./Chinese military pressure against Vietnam. Once

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No. 328, 22 April 1983*

again it appears that U.S. imperialism is trying to crush Vietnam. Over the April 22-24 weekend China, Washington's anti-Soviet ally in Asia, launched artillery attacks against Vietnam for the first time since Peking's 1979 invasion. Meanwhile the U.S. is rushing ultra-modern weaponry—Redeye anti-aircraft missiles, long-range 155-millimeter howitzers and the like—to

## Hands Off Vietnam!

Thailand. Early this month, U.S.-supplied Thai warplanes dropped napalm on Vietnamese forces in Cambodia (Kampuchea). And then came an ominous report that CIA director William Casey had dined with former South Vietnamese Marshal Ky, the jumpsuited Hitler-lover, at the Philippines presidential palace in Manila. The Chinese border, the Cambodian border, poking around in the south...the Americans are orchestrating an attack all around Vietnam and inside as well. The Trotskyists demand: U.S./China—Hands Off!

Even more ominous is the way this onslaught is being presented. "U.S. is

Airlifting Missiles to Thailand in Face of Vietnamese Threat" headlined the *New York Times*. What threat? Peking presents a diplomatic note to Hanoi saying that if Vietnam lets "the trend of armed provocations against China's border continue to develop, they must be held responsible for the grave consequences." Earlier the Chinese chief of staff declared in Bangkok, that "if Vietnam dares to make an armed incursion into Thailand...the Chinese army will not stay idle." This is the language of someone who is planning war, like Bismarck's Prussia on the eve of its war against France in 1870. The U.S. allies are acting provocatively,

hoping to draw in the Vietnamese and then claiming some incident as a pretext for unleashing a bloody attack.

Perhaps behind these anti-Vietnamese provocations is a message from Reagan to Andropov: "Get out of Nicaragua and El Salvador and we will let you have 'Nam." But there is a corollary: "this is what we intend to do to the Soviet Union." The Chinese are telling the Kremlin that the price of détente is giving up Vietnam. Vietnam is a long way from Russia and the connection is from Vladivostok through the western Pacific. The Americans could easily interdict those sea lanes, but then they've got World War III. So it depends on what the Soviets are going to do and on how crazy those guys in Washington are.

The Sino-Vietnamese border has  
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## SYL Launches Opponents of ROTC

# "Friends of ROTC" Slither Out From Harvard's Rocks

When a club calling itself the "Friends of ROTC" (Reserve Officer Training Corps) formed at Harvard this spring, we thought that was weird enough. The Harvard Spartacus Youth League (SYL) announced the formation of a united-front Enemies of ROTC in response.

But the controversy surrounding "Friends of ROTC" has sent even stranger things crawling out from under Harvard's rocks. Strangest was the appearance of a few scribbled leaflets; one attributed to "SpartaKKKaSS Youth" (sic) called for an end to celibacy and a drive to "keep virtuous people off campus"; another railed against immoral "depravity" and "neofascist/communist hypocrisy," ending with a call for an "Enemies of SpartaKKKaSS" meeting in the dorm room of one of our comrades.

Who wrote this crap? A born-again cockroach? A sexually frustrated ROTC cadet? James Watt?? That stuffy members of the Harvard elite feel sexually threatened by the Spartacus Youth League's political opposition to ROTC would be amusing were it not for the threat of these sexophobes rallying in our comrade's room. The SYL believes that consensual sex is nobody's business but the individual(s) involved. That goes for pubescent Brahmins too, who certainly have the right to a life of celibacy if they so choose—but they should play with themselves in their own rooms. One would think the prep schools these privileged pranksters attended would have trained them better.

Also odd was the appearance of six ROTC members at an organizational meeting of the Enemies of ROTC, a united front initiated by the SYL. Miffed that they were not welcome at the meeting, the six then wrote the *Crimson* to complain that the SYL is a "spiteful mob," "pro-Soviet enemies of the entire United States" and "afraid to air its views in open meetings and open discussions" (16 April). Who are these creeps to be talking about "open discussion" and "free speech"? We in the SYL promptly challenged these "freedom-lovers" to a debate, an open exchange of views—and they flatly refused.

We also extended the debate challenge to an "other" Enemies of ROTC

SYL's call for "Enemies of ROTC" hangs from the ivied walls of effete Hahvahd.



Young Spartacus Photo

(EROTC), a campus clot whose sole public activity has been a letter to the *Crimson* (16 April) disavowing any affiliation with the SYL-initiated united front. While they claim the SYL "pirated" their name, in fact the SYL was the first and *only* organization to issue a statement against ROTC and offer a united front to *all* opponents of ROTC. On an explicitly anti-communist basis, this group refused repeated offers of joint action with the SYL and has refused to debate the issue of ROTC—some "enemies" of ROTC! But since it was cumbersome to have two groups with the same name, the SYL-initiated united front has been renamed Opponents of ROTC—and remains the only active opposition to ROTC. If the hitherto unknown EROTC is so concerned about being mistaken for the SYL, a debate would certainly have provided them a public platform from which to elaborate the political differences—but their anti-communism outbid their opposition to the military.

The Harvard ROTC cadets want to make military training for the imperialist officer corps "respectable" at Harvard—hence their "Friends of ROTC" gimmick. For our part we oppose the direct use of any university (even the effete, bourgeois think tank Harvard) by the U.S. imperialist war machine. Harvard is full of bourgeois ideologues who justify any and all crimes of U.S. imperialism, and if the junior sociopaths of "Friends of ROTC" want to get into the act, we don't regard their ideological prattling as the issue. Predictably, the Harvard administration has been wailing about "free speech"—in order to go after the communists on campus and quash any opposition to military recruitment.

While the EROTC begs the Harvard administration to act as a "watchdog against ROTC," the administration—and Dean of Students Archie Epps in particular—is ROTC's St. Bernard and an attack dog on the campus left. In 1969 militant students physically ejected (twice) the corpulent dean from University Hall during a protest of ROTC and the Vietnam War—an experience that he has not forgotten and one that today's opponents of ROTC should fondly recollect. Since then, ROTC has not existed at Harvard: aspiring Lt. Calleys must get their training at MIT.

Today, Epps has ostentatiously unleashed uniformed and undercover cops at virtually every campus forum on the issue of ROTC and military recruiters. While Epps has deliberately target-

ed the SYL for these cop provocations, they serve to intimidate and harass all student opponents of U.S. militarism. At the April 11 meeting of the student-faculty Committee on College Life, where the "Friends of ROTC" club was formally recognized, the *Crimson* reported that Epps called in undercover cops "expecting that protesters from the Friends of the Spartacus Youth League might disrupt" the meeting. Then there was the "open meeting" on April 18 where the military "explained" its recruiting practices (required due to petitions distributed by the Gay and Lesbian Student Association). The military had to "explain" why it discriminates against homosexuals in order for it to be allowed to recruit at the Law



Kent State students "greet" ROTC officers with "siege heels" in 1971.

School, but at this "open" meeting, two uniformed guards scrutinized IDs, allowing in only those students who remembered to carry their "pass cards" with them that day, and at least three other undercover cops lurked about the audience.

The imperialist hypocrisy of Harvard's "concern" for "free speech" is astounding. No one raised a peep of protest when screaming Zionists prevented a PLO spokesman from speaking at Harvard recently. And Harvard sheds tears for the bankers', the bosses' and the Pope's pet "unionist" Lech Walesa while simultaneously denying a living wage to Local 26 food service workers on campus. Harvard is also part of a nationwide "campaign to prevent campus demonstrations" (*Crimson*, 6 April) of the sort which

successfully got Jeane Kirkpatrick to finally shut her trap at Berkeley—an accomplishment we hail. "Free speech" is hardly the issue in protests against someone directly responsible for mass murder.

As far as Harvard goes, the actions of the administration over the issue of ROTC state what we in the SYL have long known to be true: that any partisans of the working class and the oppressed are treated as enemy soldiers by Harvard. As we stated in an April 24 leaflet calling for a debate, "The air would be a lot cleaner and free speech would take a giant leap forward if Epps and his cops were off campus.... Free speech on this campus would be well-exercised in an open and public debate unfettered by the repressive excesses of the Harvard administration, on the question of ROTC." Well, in typical Hahvahd fashion, the air smells just as rotten as ever and "free speech" remains nothing more than a phrase pulled out for show by the administration and their right-wing ROTC "friends." We print below the leaflet issued last month by the SYL calling for united-front action against ROTC at Harvard.

### Enemies of ROTC Unite!

The Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) was driven off Harvard in 1969 amidst militant student protest of the Vietnam War and for years afterward would not dare set foot on the campus. In 1976, Harvard students aspiring to be khaki-clad killers began to cross-register at MIT for military training in ROTC. Today, in a political climate characterized by a bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, massive military buildup, "covert" CIA-backed killing sprees against Nicaragua, and millions of dollars, guns and "advisers" for the bloody Salvadoran junta, Cantabrigian sociopaths have formed a "Friends of ROTC" club.

"Friends of ROTC"?? In 1939 Hitler had the Wehrmacht, but whoever heard of the friends of the Wehrmacht—unless it was the German-American Bund? The

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## Young Spartacus

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# Keep Kirkpatrick on the Run!

Reaganite dragon lady, war criminal and big liar Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, has not been able to set foot on a U.S. campus this spring without sparking student protest. At the University of California at Berkeley, at the University of Minnesota, at her alma mater Smith College, and most recently at New York's Barnard College, the noxious ambassador of mass murder has been the target for student outrage against U.S. imperialism's bloody butchers in Central America. Keep the war criminal on the run!

Kirkpatrick accepted a Barnard College Board of Trustees' invitation to receive a "Medal of Distinction" at the May 17 commencement ceremonies only on the condition that there be no protest against her. But only massive repression of the sort favored by Kirkpatrick's "moderately authoritarian" Central American generals can guarantee a protest-free campus appearance for the Mme. Ambassador these days. Even though a Barnard College spokesman assured that "she is not going to open up her mouth," the faculty voted to condemn the award by a vote of 48-18, while Students Opposed to Kirkpatrick Medal (S.O.K.M.) gathered 1,000 signatures on a petition opposing the medal in their first six hours of petitioning.

Barnard president Ellen Futter argued before a protest meeting of 250 students April 29 that, Kirkpatrick's "views" notwithstanding, she should get a medal for her "distinguished career." But it is precisely Kirkpatrick's "career," not her views, that merit protest! Kirkpatrick's chief "distinction" is that she is, according to the *New York Times* (22 April), the "central intellectual force" behind Reagan's support to the Salvadoran junta, which has murdered or "disappeared" 50,000 workers and peasants in the past three years. The spectacle of this war criminal receiving an award of "distinction" from an academic institution is enough to make almost anyone outside the Third Reich puke.

Faced with the obscene attempt by the Barnard trustees to honor Kirkpatrick, we thought of a number of awards for the psychopathic Mme. Ambassador. There is, for example, the Headmistress Jean S. Harris Award. Harris, you might remember, used five bullets on the Scarsdale Diet Dr. Tarnower while, she claimed, trying to commit suicide. If Kirkpatrick tried suicide she'd probably take at least five countries to the grave with her! But it is the Mme. Chiang Kai-shek Award that Kirkpatrick really deserves. Mme. Chiang (who, by the way, was educated at Wellesley) was an active anti-Communist in China before she married Chiang in 1927—the same year he butchered tens of thousands of workers in Shanghai. Internationally Mme. Chiang acted as the cocktail-circuit

ambassador for one of the bloodiest despotisms of the time. Internally, she—like Kirkpatrick—was a leading ideologue for anti-Communist reaction. She was an inspirer of the so-called New Life Movement which sought to reimpose the traditional Confucian order following the revolutionary turmoil of the 1920s. A particular target of the New Life Movement was women's liberation, Mme. Chiang declaring that for women "virtue was more important than education." Kirkpatrick is a Mme. Chiang Kai-shek of the United States.

But our comrades never got the chance to bestow the Mme. Chiang Award. Kirkpatrick announced on May 2 that she was refusing Barnard's medal and the honorary doctorate that Smith College was going to give her in absentia. Kirkpatrick wrote that she refused the award "after much reflection." She's probably reflecting on the fate of another war criminal who tried to return to academia after his "distinguished career" of orchestrating the carpet bombing of Vietnam—Dr. Henry Kissinger. When Columbia offered him a post the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) led the successful campaign to keep him off campus.

Many of the protesters organized by S.O.K.M. at Barnard opposed the award on the liberal grounds that Barnard's "ivory tower" would be tainted by the Kirkpatrick medal. On the contrary, major bourgeois universities like Barnard/Columbia exist to train the ideological prize fighters and technicians that the U.S. bourgeoisie needs to maintain its world domination. Kirkpatrick, a former professor of political science at Georgetown, has always put her dubious intellectual talents to use defending the U.S. ruling class—and every murderer and torturer who serves them. She wrote her master's thesis (at Columbia) on the ideology and methods of Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists (!) and hailed psychotic weirdo General Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez—the butcher of 30,000 Salvadoran workers and peasants in 1932—as a "hero" in another "scholarly" paper. Now she is not just a right-wing academic but a key architect of U.S. imperialist policy, and it is certainly commendable that many Barnard students and faculty opposed granting her any academic credentials for her "distinguished career" of mass murder.

## Zionists Honor Kirkpatrick

More obscene even than Barnard's attempted "Medal of Distinction" is the "Humanitarian Laureate Award" granted to Kirkpatrick by the Simon Wiesenthal Center in New York City April 17. Protesters from the Spartacist League/SYL picketed the award ceremony, chanting "Reagan, Begin, Kirkpatrick—Blood is on your hands!" In the past we have supported Holocaust survivor Wiesenthal's work in

## Jeane Kirkpatrick!

You say students  
"violated" your  
academic freedom...



But your Butchers  
CLOSED SAN  
SALVADOR  
UNIVERSITY!

You are responsible  
for the SLAUGHTER  
OF 50,000  
SALVADORAN  
WORKERS AND  
PEASANTS!



Extradite War Criminal Kirkpatrick  
to a Salvadoran Liberated Zone to be  
TRIED BY HER VICTIMS!

hunting down Nazi war criminals for the same reason we call for extraditing Kirkpatrick to a Salvadoran liberated zone: war criminals must pay for their crimes!

A group of liberal Zionists from the New Jewish Agenda (NJA) also picketed the event, but moved down the block when we arrived, so as not to be associated with communists. NJA members chanted "Jeane Kirkpatrick, she's no good, she's no friend of Jews," which is true enough, and issued a statement calling Kirkpatrick "an apologist for right-wing dictatorships." "Her support of Israel can never eradicate her collaboration with these murderous dictatorships," the statement said. Quite the contrary: Kirkpatrick's active concern with maintaining murderous right-wing dictatorships around the world is inseparable from her support for the Zionist genocide of the Palestinian people. Israel is a key junior partner in U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive, an ally (and arms supplier) of every anti-Communist despot from the South African apartheid racists to the

anti-Semitic (and Nazi-harboring) Argentine and Paraguayan generals. There is a certain murderous propriety in Zionist homage to Kirkpatrick—although students at the University of Minnesota had a better idea when they protested the "ambassador" of genocide by draping a Nazi swastika banner in front of the podium where she was speaking.

Kirkpatrick even has a hard time avoiding protests when she appears off campus. On May 4 a demonstration sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and other groups protested outside the Los Angeles Hilton where the Mme. Ambassador spoke before the World Affairs Council. A contingent of 45 from the Spartacist League/SYL joined the demonstration chanting "Keep Kirkpatrick on the run, send her down to Morazan!" The Spartacist contingent was a militant, class-struggle pole at the protest, with banners reading "Extradite War Criminal Kirkpatrick to Salvadoran Liberated Zone!" and "Mil-

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Young Spartacus Photos

New York City, April 17



Barnard College, New York City, May 3

Los Angeles, May 4





## CP Reformists Launch New Youth Group—But

# Real Communists Don't Crawl for the Democrats

"We understand well that the fate of our country, and in large measure the world, rests on whether or not this generation of youth is high and hung-over or conscious and concerned."

Young Catholics or an offshoot from the Women's Christian Temperance Union? Close. These remarks were made in the keynote address to the recent founding convention of the Communist Party's (CP) youth group—the Young Communist League (YCL—formerly Young Workers Liberation League). Hailed as "history-making" by the *Daily World*, the convention was held in Cleveland, Ohio over the May Day weekend. Only 294 delegates were in attendance; the credentials committee reported a total participation (including press) of 375.

On Saturday, a small band of Nazi scum called the "SS Action Group" and a separate demonstration of over 250 "captive nations" anti-Communists rallied within blocks of the convention site. YCL organizers debated cancelling their scheduled march and rally, but finally went ahead with a rainy, 12-minute parade to Public Square and back to the hotel. It was indeed a pathetic sight: the "new" "communist" youth marchers carried little white doves on sticks and a banner declaring the young generation to be a "nuclear free zone." No thanks to convention "security" the bird-toting YCLers carried off their march without any right-wing attack.

Amidst the balloons, music and doves, the main theme of the convention came through loud and clear: Democratic Party in 1984. CP Chairman Gus Hall explained that Mondale wasn't their favorite candidate; Hart or Cranston would be preferable; the new YCL should be "militant and left—but not left out." YCL chairman (and former YWLL chairman) James Steele made clear the sort of "practical mass action" the youth organization would undertake: "for the maximum registration, education and organization of the youth and student vote to drive Reagan out the White House door in 1984." At the very same time, the domestic reflection of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive—the Nazi and "captive nations" swine—were on the streets calling for "more Greensboros" and "Strike Back At Communism." The YCL's "bold" strategy to fight anti-Sovietism: support the Democrats' "freeze" hoax and promote U.S.-Soviet "friendship" through cultural exchange programs, articles on the "human side" of Soviet society and so forth.

Conference "security" was preoccupied with attempts at sealing off the YCL membership from the revolutionary politics of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL). SYL salesmen and leafleters were there to discuss class-struggle politics with YCLers who genuinely sought a communist strategy to do away with decaying capitalism once and for all. In the hotel, we showed the videotape of the successful 5,000-strong anti-Klan mobilization in Washington, D.C. on November 27, organized by the Spartacist League/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK. The CP boycotted that important anti-Klan victory and its press refused to comment



Young Spartacus Photo

CP "doves" tail Democrats. YCL conference—for the birds!

on it at all. The model anti-Reagan, anti-racist "victory" held up to YCLers at the convention was the recent mayoral election of Machine Democrat Harold Washington in Chicago.

There were those at the conference unconvinced that working for the Democrats is what a communist youth organization is about. Despite repeated harassment of the SYL by "security," virtually every YCLer received the flyer announcing the anti-Klan video showing and the SYL leaflet reprinted below. Several interested YCLers attended the video showing Saturday evening, despite a visit from the CP goon squad and a botched attempt to get the hotel to remove the SYL. When all else failed, the CP simply resorted to ripping leaflets out of YCLers' hands, a tactic which didn't go over well with many of the youth.

The YCL conference was notable not only for its small size and cringing reformism, but also for the Stalinists' peculiar brand of puritanism. For example, the workshop on "Developing the Moral and Political Convictions of Youth" focused on the fight against booze and especially "promiscuity among the youth." The latter was vehemently discouraged throughout the convention. To guard against incursions of cultural degeneracy, the convention organizers reportedly even censored the music played at socials. It was therefore predictable enough that delegates' questions on including rights for homosexuals into the YCL's platform were dodged by the YCL leadership assuring them that such questions were "covered" in a catch-all defense of "civil rights."

The YCL planned to petition the government to declare the state of the young generation "a national disaster" and sent resumés to Reagan; there are also plans to collect signatures for the YCL "10-point emergency program" and voter registration drives. But the immediate focus for YCL activity is the upcoming commemoration of Martin Luther King's "March on Washington," scheduled to take place in Washington, D.C. on August 27. King's 1963 march—dominated by the liberal Democratic Party establishment—so disgusted radical black leaders that Malcolm X dubbed it "the farce on Washington." The CP/YCL should feel right at home on August 27.

We reprint below an edited version of our leaflet entitled "Smash the Cold

War Drive! Defend the Soviet Union! Real Communists Don't Crawl for the Democrats." A section on Harold Washington's election was deleted for space; we direct our readers to the back page article of this issue on that question.

You came here to join a "communist youth organization." Your conference is being held under threat by Nazi scum who are marching for Reagan's war in El Salvador and "captive nations" reactionaries who love Reagan's CIA/company union Solidarność and yearn to see the imperialists dismember the Soviet Union. The ruling class is hell-bent on recapturing the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Cuba, China and Vietnam for capitalist exploitation.

The fascists are the domestic shock troops of that anti-Soviet war drive. The fascists and reactionaries feed off the depression conditions and Cold War political climate in this country. That is why the fascists are targeting your conference this weekend.

The main perspective for this new youth organization is burrowing deeper into the Democratic Party. But it was the Democrats who put "Ethnic Purity" racist Jimmy Carter and anti-Soviet fanatic Brzezinski in the White House, launched Cold War II, paved the way for Reagan reaction and fueled the fascist threat. The fascist threats directed at this gathering pose the urgent need for united-front defense action by the left and workers movement. But is that what the CP called for? No. They begged the city fathers to "ban the Nazis," the same city fathers who whipped up this anti-communist witch-hunt atmosphere in the first place.

The fascists must be stopped. The strategy to stop them was demonstrated in action in Washington, D.C. on November 27 when a 5,000-strong mass mobilization of blacks and labor stopped the Ku Klux Klan from parading the streets and took their parade route for a militant anti-fascist demonstration. The Trotskyist Spartacist League (SL) and Spartacus Youth League (SYL) are proud to have been the initiators and organizers of what was the biggest victory against the fascists in decades.

But the Communist Party was nowhere in sight that day! It was front-page and network news from coast to coast but the Communist Party's *Daily*

*World* has not printed a single word about November 27. When we asked CP Central Committee member Angela Davis recently why the CP abstained from this vital anti-fascist struggle and remained silent about this important victory, she sidestepped the question and called for the government to "ban the Klan."

But it was Reagan's government which gave the KKK the green light to march in Washington last November, an ominous signal that the ruling class needs the fascists in reserve. Everyone knows the government has worked hand in hand with the fascists to carry out acts of racist terror against black people: government agents participated in the beating of Freedom Riders in the '60s; FBI agent Gary Rowe threw the bomb that killed four young black girls in that Birmingham church; a G-man pulled the trigger and murdered civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo; and a government agent masterminded the massacre of anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina.

To call on the government to ban the Klan is not only ludicrous; it's suicidal. The bourgeois state has always used "anti-extremist" laws to attack the left. And just who would enforce laws against racism? The racist killer cops? Tell that to Patricia Ridge, whose five-year-old black son Patrick Mason was blown away by the cops as he watched TV in his own bedroom. Or tell it to members of the Taylor family, who were attacked by nightriding Alabama cops as they mourned for their dead mother and now face a racist lynch law frame-up for attempted murder!

To preach reliance on the racist capitalist state to stop the fascists disarms the fascists' victims, especially black people, in the face of their deadly enemies. And it doesn't help to throw a handful of leftists against cop-protected fascist mobilizations in which the leftists are jailed and beaten while the fascists carry off their provocation unscathed. We say it takes the mass mobilization of labor and blacks relying on their own organized power to stop Klan/Nazi terror. And we've proved it can be done in action.

But for the CP any mobilization to stop the fascists in the streets is "adventurist." We have just one question for the CP and its youth organization: What would it have meant for the KKK to parade in Washington, D.C., a 70 percent black city and the nation's capital, on November 27? Over 70 union officials and scores of labor and black community organizations shared our determination to stop the Klan and worked to mobilize the thousands to run them out that day because they understood that if the Klan was allowed to march, with the sanction of the White House, there would have been a dramatic rise of race-terror across the country.

### Democrats vs. Black Liberation

When the CP decided to dissolve the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) and launch a "communist youth organization," James Steele, the former national chairman of the YWLL, singled out the Spartacus Youth League for attack:

"We must be on guard against government efforts to use phoney-Left

oufits to force us in a narrow, sectarian corner. Already in some areas the Spartacus Youth League has gleefully accepted this provocateur's role. Such groups will attack the organizing drive not for founding the youth organization of socialism in this country but for having broad, mass tactics, for endeavoring to work with broad democratic forces in struggle for partial gains (including members of the Democratic Party)."

Steele slanders us as "provocateurs" because we oppose the capitalist Democratic Party. The whole reformist strategy of the CP centers on pressuring the "progressives" in the Democratic Party to "fight the right." Anyone who dares criticize the Democrats is a "wrecker." They said it outright in 1972: "The idea of rendering democratic movements anti-capitalist is a disruptive splitting approach." So they cop-bait the communists to prove their loyalty to the "progressive" Democrats.

The CP is particularly incensed that we criticize black Democrats, because they see the black officials as their main allies in the fight to push the Democratic Party to the left. James Steele bitterly complains that we:

"...single out not the leadership of the Democratic Party which wants to compromise with the Administration but rather the Congressional Black Caucus or other outstanding defenders of labor's interests that consistently offer constructive alternatives to Reaganism's economic and military buildup."

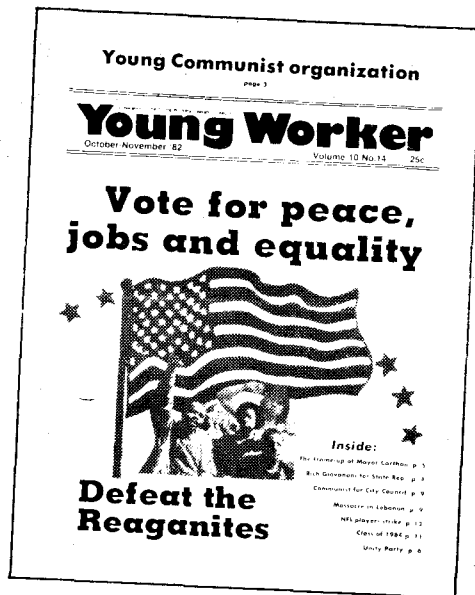
Steele says we "only" attack the black Democrats—not the leadership of the Democratic Party. First of all this isn't true. We attack *all* the Democrats as a capitalist party. In particular we expose the role of those Democrats who are "sold" to labor and blacks as "progressives." After all, blacks don't have illusions in Democrats like Ed Koch or KKK Grand Dragon Democrat Tom Metzger or that racist gang of Southern Dixiecrats. But black people have plenty of illusions in a Harold Washington or Coleman Young. The point is that they all inhabit the same party for a reason—to keep capitalism going. And in America that means racism. For blacks it means cities like Newark, Gary and Detroit, whether the strikebreaker in City Hall is white or black.

Blacks and labor won't get anything without a fight. What the great black leader Frederick Douglass said in 1857 is no less true today: "If there is no struggle there is no progress.... Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will." But the job of the Democrats is to quash struggle. Black mayors and black elected officials are better at keeping the lid on the ghettos.

### You Can't Fight Reagan With Democrats

The CP attempts to justify its loyal service to the Democratic Party with the Stalinist dogma of the "anti-monopoly coalition" and the "people's front." Reaganomics, says the CP, is the "strategic policy of the most reactionary circles of the state monopoly capitalists." By that logic anyone who opposes Reagan is a "progressive" and an ally of the "people's front." Why even arch racist Dixiecrat George Wallace (the man who once declared "Segregation Now and Forever") has earned his place in the "people's front" according to a recent *Daily World*, by "taking a strong position against Reaganomics."

In this context the "communist youth organization" is portrayed almost as a carbon copy Young Democrats. According to Gus Hall, it will include not only "non-Communists, non-Marxists" but "youth who are still under the influence of racism. Also some young people who have anti-working class and male supremacist ideas." Needless to say, bigotry is nothing new for the CP, which has often competed with the Moral Majority and the far right in its hostility to homosexuality. Such attitudes are entirely incompatible with a genuine militant communist youth



### Red, white, blue and pro-Democrat.

organization that serves to educate a new generation of class-struggle fighters against all forms of oppression. But a low level of class and social consciousness is an asset if you are going to do donkey work for the strikebreaking, racist and anti-Soviet Democratic Party.

While the CP tails the Democratic Party, it stabs the fighting workers and peasants of Central America in the back. A civil war is being waged in El Salvador; it is revolution or bloody counterrevolution. Here the defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union is most urgent. While the Salvadoran insurgents have government forces on the run, the liberal imperialists clamor for a "negotiated settlement," hoping to steal at the bargaining table what the guerrillas have won with their blood on the battlefield. The Democratic imperialist "doves" fear that destruction of the blood-drenched army could unleash mass insurrection and social revolution. The CP's refusal to call for the leftist insurgents to win in El Salvador, in favor of the Democrats' negotiated sellout, means opening the way to new massacres the moment the masses lay down their arms. We call for military victory to the leftist insurgents! We work for concrete acts of workers solidarity in the U.S., like the labor boycott of all military goods to Central American reactionary regimes proposed by class-struggle trade unionists in the West Coast longshore union.

Both the Democrats and the Republicans are committed to the war drive against the Soviet Union. Just a few days ago Walter Mondale, former vice president and Democratic front-runner for 1984 declared, "I believe that a bipartisan consensus exists on first principles." What are these first principles? That the "Soviet leaders are cynical, ruthless and dangerous" and that "their relentless military buildup, well beyond defensive needs, directly challenges Western security." The Reaganites want to increase military spending to eight percent of national output; the Democrats to seven percent. That is the program of "anti-Reagan unity."

It was Carter/Mondale who paved the way for Reagan. Remember, when the Soviet army intervened in Afghanistan against the CIA-backed counter-revolutionaries, it was Carter/Mondale who cut off grain shipments to Russia, organized a boycott of the Moscow Olympics and officially declared Cold War II. Now in the name of "anti-Reagan unity," you are being told to work for the election of these anti-Soviet militarists.

The American Communist Party's suicidal support to the Mondales and George Wallaces stems from its ties to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. For decades Stalin and his heirs in the Kremlin have preached the illusion that there are "peace-loving" and "progressive" imperialists with whom you are supposed to unite. The Stalinists' lie of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism to protect their myth of "socialism in one country" is counter-

posed to the only effective defense of the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution—international proletarian revolution. Both Gus Hall and Yuri Andropov now point to World War II as the model for cooperation between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union. In the name of "anti-fascist unity" with Roosevelt, during World War II the Communist Party opposed the fight against Jim Crow in the army and war industries, supported throwing Japanese Americans into concentration camps, and cheered the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

For American capitalism World War II was not "a war against fascism" but a war to become the dominant power in the world, exploiting and oppressing millions from South Korea to Chile. We Trotskyists unconditionally defended the Soviet Union in this inter-imperialist war. But unlike the Stalinists, we took the same position that Lenin did in the first imperialist world war: revolutionary defeatism toward both "democratic" American imperialism and Nazi German imperialism. The main enemy is at home!

American imperialism's victory in World War II led directly to the Korean War, the dirty colonial war in Vietnam and the CIA-organized invasion of Nicaragua today. Yet the Stalinists in Cleveland and in Moscow tell you to work for "peaceful coexistence" and "détente" with this bloody monster.

In the name of "détente" the Stalinists also mortgaged Poland to the Western bankers and brought that country to the brink of pro-imperialist counterrevolution. It was the Stalinist bureaucracy with its endless broken promises of "reform," its corruption and gross economic mismanagement, which drove millions of Polish workers organized in Solidarność into the arms of the reactionary Catholic church and Reagan's America. Solidarność' counterrevolutionary bid for power in late 1980 had to be stopped.

The Vietnamese army of workers and peasants inflicted the most humiliating defeat the U.S. has ever suffered. Now,

Everybody's against unemployment; the question is how to fight it. The CP says vote Democrat, lobby your Congressman, and support the sellout "giveback" bureaucrats in the unions. The CP supports labor bureaucrats who work hand in glove with the Democrats and who scream for anti-Japanese protectionism while they cram mass layoffs and concessions down the throats of the workers to shore up company profits. We say it's going to take some hard class struggle to turn things around. We need sitdowns, not souplines! One sit-down strike against mass layoffs or a plant closure is worth more than all the petitions to Congressmen you can imagine. That's what Spartacist supporters in the unions fight for. That's the only way to win what workers and youth need: Jobs for all—30 hours work for 40 hours pay! A massive public works program with union rights at union wages! Union control of hiring—special recruitment of women and minorities! Mass organization of the unemployed under the leadership of the unions! Unlimited unconditional unemployment benefits for all jobless workers! Triple welfare! Free higher education for all with state-paid stipends!

Marxists recognize that genuine reforms are wrenched from the bourgeoisie through revolutionary class struggle. If you want "jobs, peace and justice" you have to fight for revolution. The question is power: which class will rule society. Particularly for blacks it must be clear that their emancipation from conditions of ghetto poverty cannot be achieved in this capitalist, racist society: Black liberation through socialist revolution!

### Join the SYL!

The crisis-ridden rule of the imperialist bourgeoisie has once again plunged mankind into depression and economic devastation, and threatens the destruction of humanity through thermonuclear world war. Only the rule of the working class offers mankind a future. The lesson of the Russian

Workers Vanguard Photo



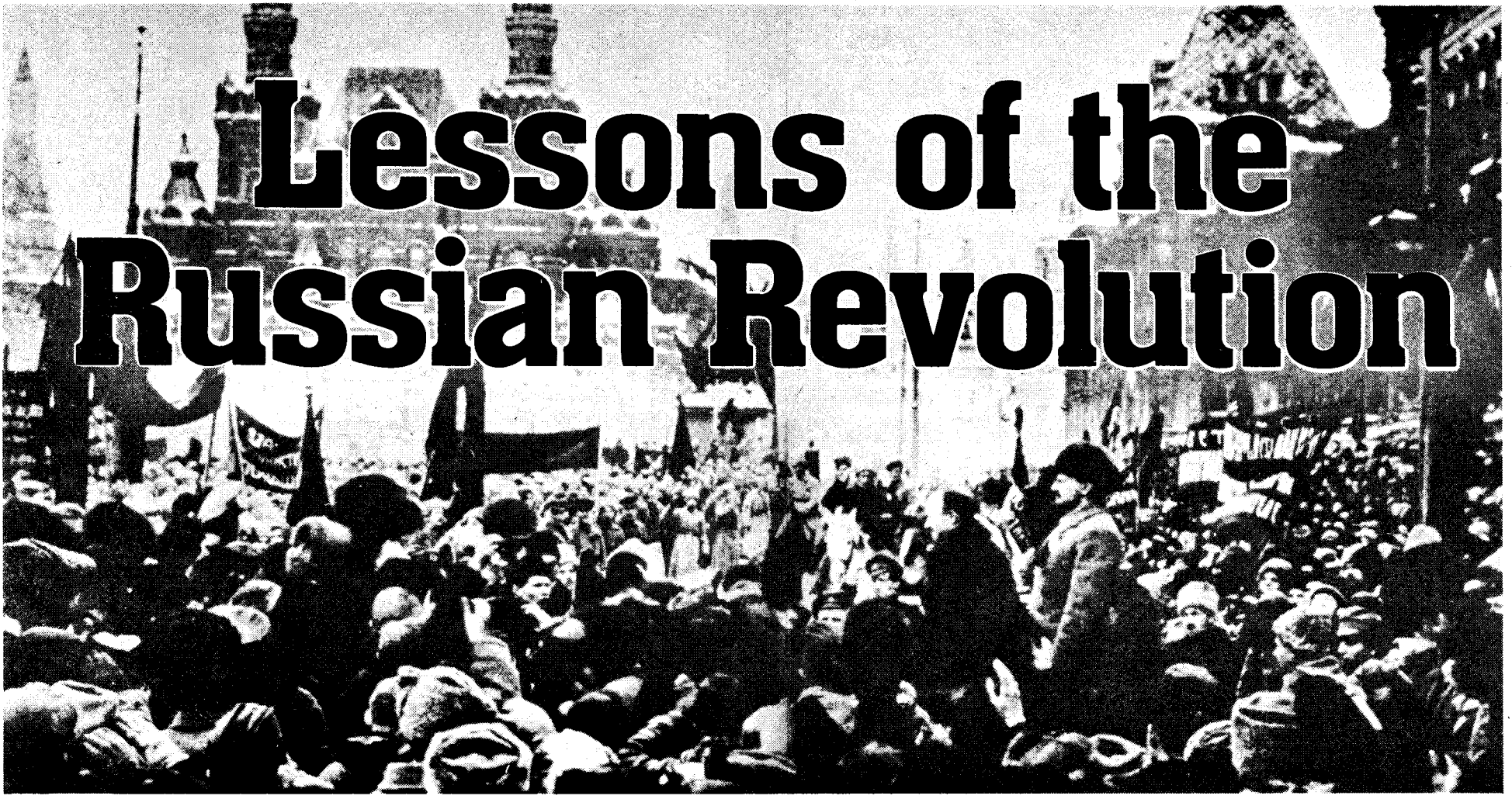
November 27, 1982: Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. "Ban the Klan" reformists were nowhere in sight.

once again it appears that United States imperialism is trying to crush Vietnam, using China as its instrument. The defense not only of the Vietnamese Revolution but also of the gains of the Chinese Revolution and ultimately of the Soviet Union demands: U.S./China—Hands Off Vietnam!

But the Stalinist bureaucracy, committed to "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, cannot defend collectivized property in the Soviet bloc. We Trotskyists stand for the unconditional military defense of the USSR against the imperialists, and for proletarian political revolution to restore Soviet Russia to its rightful place—the place it held under Lenin and Trotsky—as a bastion of world socialist revolution.

Revolution is the need for the proletariat to have its own party determined to establish its own, revolutionary class rule. In the U.S. blacks and labor must break from the political shackles of the Democrats and build a workers party with a key component of black leadership. Such a party will link the factory to the ghetto through intransigent class struggle and a program of *revolutionary* integrationism—it will be internationalist like the class whose interests it represents. It will fight imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive from Cuba to Vietnam to Afghanistan and for worldwide proletarian revolution. If you want to build that party, if you want to be a communist, you have to be a Trotskyist—Join the SYL! ■





# Lessons of the Russian Revolution

We print below an edited transcript of a talk given by a leading comrade of the *Liga Trotskista d'Italia*, Italian sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, at an April 2 *New York Spartacus Youth League* public class on the Russian Revolution.

The main reading for the discussion today was *Lessons of October*, which is one of the finest texts that has ever been written about revolutionary strategy and the tasks of a revolutionary organization. It came out of a comparison, a balance sheet, that Trotsky was drawing of the difference between the victorious Russian Revolution and the failure of the German October in 1923. He did center it mainly on this one question, which is that a revolutionary party is needed for preparing a revolution.

As you know, history is the history of class struggle. There have been changes of the economic and political structures, and there have been revolutions. There have been bourgeois revolutions, and now we have entered the stage of proletarian revolution. Now there is a key difference between the bourgeois and the proletarian revolution. The bourgeoisie, within pre-bourgeois society, was an established class with a certain amount of power already *before* conquering political power. For them to overthrow the power of the feudal monarchies was somewhat easier than proletarian revolution.

The working class is bound to continue existing if there is to be a capitalist system. And that means there is always a reproduction of the forces which will be capable of overthrowing capitalism. But that can't be done by itself. There is no way that it can be done on a *spontaneous* basis, because the forces of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state apparatus are very much centralized and concentrated. They cannot be taken by isolated actions.

What Trotsky poses in his book is one of the important elements in analyzing what happened in 1917 in Russia, that the proletariat hardens when it's facing a turn. It has internal problems. There are crises in the party. Now the turn from preparation of the struggle for power to the *actual* organization of the insurrection is one of the sharpest turns, and that means the parties that are facing this kind of turn go into crisis.

The Bolshevik Party entered such a crisis and came out of it victorious. It

overcame this crisis. In Germany there was no leadership capable of overcoming that crisis, and the party failed in 1923. This is an important question, the question of revolutionary leadership. The proletariat cannot fight for power without a party which centralizes all the desire, all the will to struggle and win of the workers. It connects with all the rest of the population which is exploited and oppressed. There are sections of the population which are oppressed because of their color, because of their sex—women, blacks, national minorities. And all these forces must be roused and must be connected. That's the role of the party. This party in turn needs to have a revolutionary leadership. Without that there is no possibility of winning.

In the 1960s, in the United States in particular, there was all this stuff about multi-vanguardism. Each separate section of the oppressed and exploited has its own organization and they fight against the capitalist system. Then at some point everybody's fighting, so they just meet on the barricades. Well, that's *not* how it happens, because the bourgeoisie has concentrated power. It centralizes the state. There is an army. There are jails. They are all concentrated under one leading force.

There can be a proletarian revolution only when this state apparatus is in crisis itself. That is, a proletarian revolution cannot succeed against an army which is compact, homogeneous and has no

crisis in it. When favorable conditions for social revolution are there, there is confusion and infighting among the top layers of the bourgeoisie, there are divisions about what to do against the workers. When you have this condition, then the bourgeois state apparatus is in trouble.

If you take the example of Portugal in 1974-75, what happened there is that the army had been defeated on the ground by the guerrillas in Angola and Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau—the Portuguese soldiers didn't very much like continuing to be killed—and that created a crisis within the army. On the basis of that crisis there was the overthrow of the semi-fascist regime which had lasted for 50 years. The crisis within the bourgeois apparatus is the product of a crisis in society, a culmination of different elements.

The Russian Revolution is particularly important to study and to learn lessons from, not only because it was the only proletarian revolution which won. The Russian Revolution is also extremely important in that a great part of the world today is facing conditions which are similar to those in Russia in 1917, that is, if you separate out the United States, Western Europe and Japan (these are the advanced capitalist countries, they're different). The rest of the world, which is quite a big chunk of it, is in conditions similar to Russia in 1917. There is a *combination* of the fight

for democratic gains and the fight for socialism. If you go to Latin America or Africa or Asia, in many instances what you have is a military right-wing dictatorship. People can't say what they want. They can't meet like we do here, and that creates additional problems in terms of the fight to have. So the lessons of the Russian Revolution are extremely interesting in this connection.

Before the Russian Revolution and in the course of it, three conceptions were put forward by different groupings within what had been the unified workers party of Russia. According to the Mensheviks, as Russia was not yet enjoying the benefits of bourgeois democracy, what was posed was a democratic bourgeois revolution in which the bourgeoisie would take the lead. Then you would have a period of capitalist development, and a workers party would have rights and would be able to fight in parliament and organize trade unions. And so after some decades there would be a chance that conditions would lead to socialist revolution.

Then there was the Bolsheviks' conception. There was to be a democratic bourgeois revolution. However, the bourgeoisie was *not* going to lead it, because the bourgeoisie had shown quite clearly that they were very weak and certainly not willing to fight against the tsarist autocracy. What Lenin posed was the need for a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" by which he meant that the main tasks would be democratic ones, but they would be carried forward by a joint government which included workers parties and peasant, that is, petty-bourgeois, parties.

Then there was the conception of permanent revolution that Trotsky put forward. There was no way the bourgeoisie was going to do anything. The petty bourgeoisie is not going to do it. It is not capable at this period of development of capitalism of playing an independent role. Petty-bourgeois parties were going to be following either the bourgeoisie or the working class. What's posed is the need to combine the struggle for democratic tasks and socialist tasks, and then immediately begin to undertake the question of socialist transformation.

So in 1917 the Mensheviks played the role of support for the bourgeoisie. They put the brake on the workers' struggles, they repressed workers and they formed what was, in fact, the first popular front



V.I. Lenin:  
Architect of  
Bolshevik party  
which led  
Russian  
workers to  
victory in 1917.

in history—an alliance of bourgeois parties and reformist workers formations that talked left but acted in defense of capitalism. This is the essence of the popular front. Today, too, many people talk left but what they do is actually in favor of our enemy. In Russia this first popular front did precisely that. They talked left: "Oh, we are democratic. This is the way to go toward socialism. Right now we have a few problems which prevent us from really moving toward socialism, however, this is just the first stage, then there will be another one."

In 1917 Lenin went over to Trotsky's conception of permanent revolution. On that basis the Bolsheviks won. They took power, they established the dictatorship of the proletariat. They began to apply the democratic tasks (they distributed the land to the peasants) and started moving toward the furthering of world revolution. That's an extremely important point.

Revolution can succeed in one isolated country. But socialism cannot be built in one country. Only when the bourgeoisie on a world scale is defeated, then one can start in building a socialist society on a world scale. Why is that? Look what happened to the Russian Revolution. They had 15 imperialist countries send troops to destroy the proletarian revolution—Japanese, Italians, Germans, Czechs, Americans, British, Canadians, you name it. However, what happened was that French troops rebelled in Odessa—an important rebellion. In other countries there was internal turmoil and the bourgeoisies were not capable of crushing the Soviet Revolution.

But they tried and that's what continues to happen today. Today the imperialist powers, the United States in the first place, the NATO countries and Japan, are set to try to destroy the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is not the same as when Lenin and Trotsky were in power. There is a Stalinist bureaucracy which keeps the people down, is always conciliating imperialism, is always trying to have "peaceful coexistence." However, the gains that were made in 1917 still remain there, so we have to defend them. At the same time, the only way to defend them is, as it was in 1917, to extend revolution, to conquer more for the working class. That means proletarian revolution in the United States, West Europe and Japan. That's what's really going to make it.

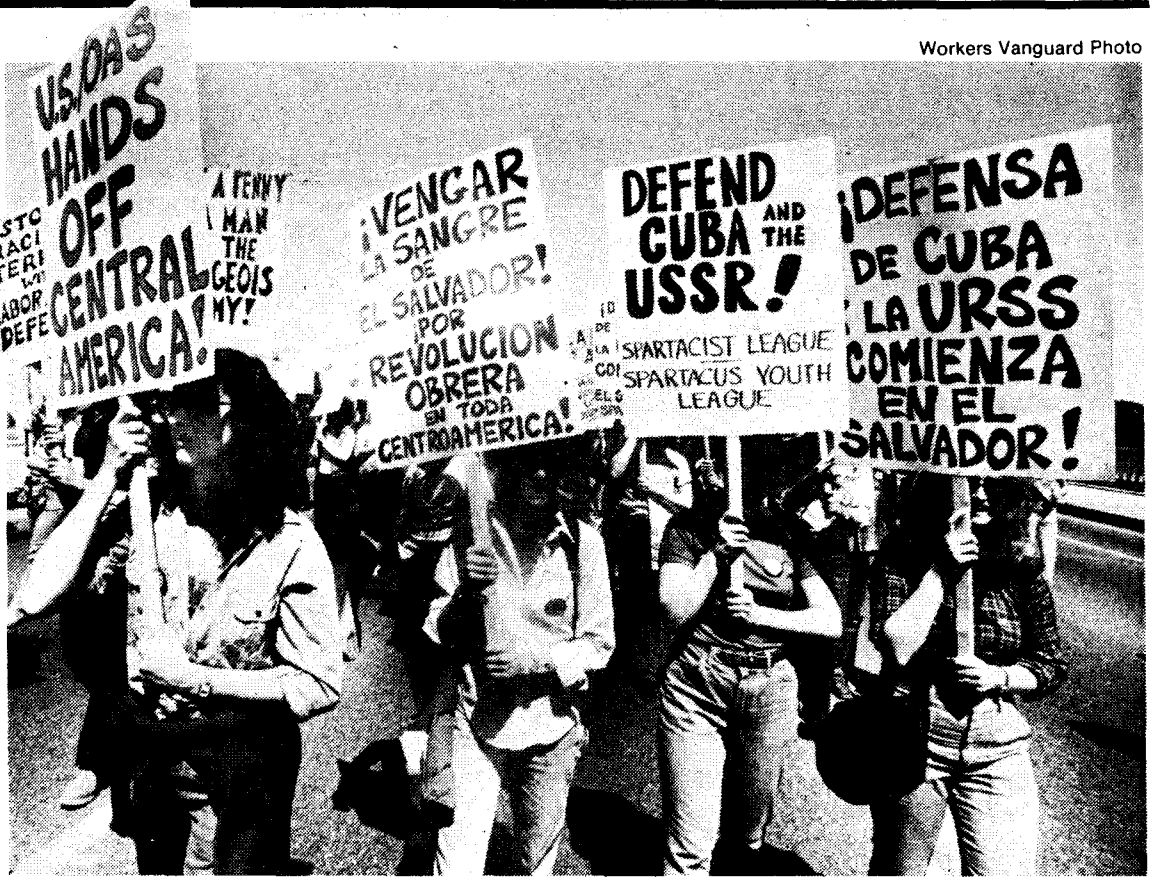
### Lessons of October in the West

What Trotsky talks about in *Lessons of October* is precisely the difference between Russia and West Europe. He talks about Germany because that was the biggest failure. I would also like to make this comparison in terms of Italy. There was big turmoil during and after the war. 1919 and 1920 in Italy are called "the red years." There were insurrections in several cities. The unions and the Socialist Party had grown a lot.

In 1920 the metal workers, in a fight for some demands against the bosses, decided to adopt very militant tactics—factory occupations, they took over the different plants. They had armed guards which were called Red Guards in honor of the Russian Revolution. That started in the north, where in Italy most of our industries are concentrated—Turin and Milan. But it extended all throughout the country and other unions said, "We want to fight with you." Even the agricultural workers were fighting. So essentially the whole country was on the verge of a revolution.

Why wasn't a revolution made in Italy in 1920? Everything was set. The workers were occupying the plants all throughout the country. It is calculated that something like 50,000 workers were occupying the plants. And the strike movement had something like a million workers. The bourgeois state apparatus

May 3, 1981:  
Spartacists call for  
defense of Cuba  
and the USSR at  
Washington, D.C.  
El Salvador demo.  
Today, El Salvador is  
the front line of  
U.S. imperialism's  
drive to reverse the  
gains of the Russian  
Revolution.



could count on a certain number of soldiers, but the soldiers were not all bourgeois types. Some of them came from the working class and they were certainly open to what the workers had to say.

The leading Socialist Party and trade-union elements in Italy thought that they couldn't make it. They had the important meeting in Milan in which they discussed what to do. There were two motions, one to make the insurrection and one not to make the insurrection. And the motion not to make it won. Those that lost, those who were supposedly wanting an insurrection just said, "Oh Jesus, we lost the vote," and they left.

What particularly impressed me about the failure is that in Turin the

at insurrection. When the situation is going in that direction, we have to do it. That's an important thing.

The other important thing is that if you start in one place and you're successful, nothing says that in other places you have to lose. You set an example to the workers all throughout the country, not only in that country but in other countries as well. You say, look we made it, you can make it too. Let's move forward. And that's precisely what happened in Russia.

We're not crazy insurrectionists. We don't think that just by picking up the gun and fighting something gets done. We also don't choose when we have the revolution. It is the clash of social forces in a given country and on a world scale that sets the stage for a revolution. It's

can't last long. But the leadership of the soviets were conciliatory elements, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. There is no way that they would fight to go forward. And so the workers were growing restless.

And the Bolshevik Party had an internal crisis, because (Trotsky makes this point) a workers party needs to have a certain amount of routine and conservatism. We're not New Leftists who believe in spontaneity. "If I like to do this, I'll do this." That's not the way it can be done. The working class has a discipline which is given to it by functioning under capitalism. The workers are disciplined. They know you have to utilize your force together, you can't just go one by one. A party therefore has certain norms, modes of functioning throughout the years. For example, for years you have been doing things which are based on the relative quiescence of the working class, like in the United States. The working class is not fighting very much, so you have a certain rhythm of work.

Then the working class starts fighting. Well, you have to change your rhythm. You have lots of things to do that you didn't do before. If workers are on strike you have to go and intervene in their strikes, sell the paper, find out why they're fighting in order to connect the struggle they're having to the perspective of socialism. And that creates the basis for crisis, because there is an element of conservatism and routinism which is built-in. You're used to things in a certain way and you have to change the way you do things.

When there is an insurrection, that's a significant turn because you're no longer fighting just to keep up this movement. Now you have to organize the seizure of power, which means you have to take the enemy head-on. You have two kinds of leaders who are going to contain the struggle. The first one is the pessimist type, who says, "Oh, look how many soldiers they have, how many advanced weapons—they have everything." The pessimist just forgets one thing, that all these weapons are manned by men, and men are liable to pressure that machines are not. Then you have the superficial optimists who say all the time: "The revolution is winning and it will win. Nothing can stop the revolution."

Now, when the moment of decision comes, these two types, who seem very different, react in exactly the same way. They don't want to do it. The pessimists continue being pessimistic, they are more scared now that it's coming. But the superficial optimist, who has been talking about revolutions going forward and nothing stopping them, never looks

continued on page 10



Italy, 1920: Red Guard occupies metal factory in Turin. Italian workers were on the verge of revolution, but lacked a strong revolutionary party to lead them.

people in charge of the Socialist Party were the left wing—Gramsci and others—who a year later formed the Communist Party with those that left the Socialist Party in 1920. They drew some lessons from the situation and said: "Yes, we could have beaten them, taken over militarily in Turin. We were stronger than the state forces there. What would happen then is we would be isolated. We would have suffered many serious losses and they would have crushed us in the end."

Yet in 1921 the Italian CP wrote an important statement recognizing that in the year since the factory occupations the fascists had grown incredibly. They had killed something like a thousand leftists. They had destroyed hundreds of union and party branches throughout the country. So one of the conclusions is that when you're set for fighting, not to fight does not solve the problem. The pressure will come anyway, because you have scared the enemy. We cannot play

not the revolutionists who make the revolution. It's the masses of workers. But these people want leadership. When there is an important battle, there are many people who want to fight, but they don't know how, they don't know where to go and they don't know who is the enemy. And that's the task of a revolutionary party. In the Russian Revolution there was a party which had been preparing for decades to fight for power when the moment came. Then the moment came.

### The Moment of Insurrection

The workers in Russia wanted to get rid of the tsarist autocracy. With the spontaneous movement in February 1917 soviets (workers councils) were established. This is a quite important fact, because it meant that the bourgeois state apparatus had a competitor—a new working-class power, the future state apparatus. That's what's called *dual power*, an unstable situation that



# Central America...

(continued from page 1)

draft. The SYL says: Not a man, not a penny for the imperialist war machine! Stop the anti-Soviet draft!

Reformist groups like the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and Workers World Party echo the fears of the liberal imperialists with their slogan, "No more Vietnams!" A "march on Washington"—organized by the reformists and endorsed by Congressmen, preachers and city council members—has been called for July 2 around this slogan. As communists, we of the SYL say: *Vietnam was a victory!* Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism! We look to the power of the American working class and the military struggle of the Salvadoran rebels to get the U.S. out of Central America, not to the "enlightened" self-interest of the imperialist liberals. We called for labor political strikes by the American working class to force U.S. imperialism to get out of Vietnam, just as today we support the call of militants in the West Coast longshore union for a port shutdown to stop the shipment of military supplies to the Salvadoran junta. Stop all aid, military and economic, to the Central American butchers!

## One Struggle, Many Fronts

The defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam was a victory not only for the heroic Vietnamese toilers but also for the cause of the oppressed and exploited on a world scale. After a decade of tragic defeats of guerrilla movements in Latin America, after the bloody CIA-backed coup that brought down the popular-front government in Chile, the Vietnamese victory proved that U.S. imperialism could be *beaten* on the battlefield—and inspired a resurgence of struggle. The memory of American defeat in Vietnam hamstrung Henry Kissinger's efforts to prevent the victory of the Soviet and Cuban-backed Angolan nationalists in 1975-76 against the U.S.-backed South African invasion. And it helped to stay the hand of Jimmy Carter as the left-nationalist Sandinistas triumphed over the tyrannical Somoza regime in Nicaragua in 1979.

Reagan came into office on the heels of Jimmy Carter's vicious hypocritical "human rights crusade" against the Soviet Union. He vowed to "draw the line against Communism" in the blood of the Central American workers and peasants, avenging the U.S. defeat in Vietnam by crushing the leftist insurgency in El Salvador and overthrowing the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. Portraying the Salvadoran guerrillas and the Sandinistas as tools of a grand design hatched in the Kremlin, Reagan was looking for an easy victory to fuel the anti-Soviet war drive. His aim was to restore the confidence of the American bourgeoisie, remilitarizing the U.S. by reunifying the population behind Cold War anti-Communism. El Salvador was to be the test of U.S. imperialism's ability to confront the Soviet Union in "America's front yard." As Reagan put it in his address to

Congress:

"The national security of all the Americas is at stake in Central America. If we cannot defend ourselves there, we cannot expect to prevail elsewhere. Our credibility would collapse, our alliances would crumble and the safety of our homeland would be put at jeopardy."

The Democratic Party "doves" fear that, by posing such high stakes in Central America, the Reagan administration is in fact committing itself to another Vietnam-style "quagmire." The Salvadoran army is manifestly incompetent. Effective at killing defenseless workers and peasants, but not a match for the guerrillas, it resembles South Vietnam's mercenary ARVN. If the U.S. loses in El Salvador, the damage to the anti-Soviet war drive will be all the greater for Reagan's having posed it as the decisive test of U.S.



April 1975: Stricken with panic, CIA flunkies scramble for last flight from U.S. embassy in Saigon—now Ho Chi Minh City.

imperialism's "credibility."

Thus the liberals believe that U.S. imperialism's interests would be better served by *negotiations* with the petty-bourgeois leadership of the Salvadoran FDR popular front—politicians like Guillermo Ungo, a former member of the "human rights junta" installed by Carter in 1979, which massacred striking workers. "There are still moderates in the coalitions of both left and right," advised columnist Flora Lewis. "In Salvador they have more in common with each other than with extreme allies" (*New York Times*, 29 April). Indeed the Ungos and the Rubén Zamoras have more in common with the Christian Democratic butcher José Napoleón Duarte than they do with the heroic guerrillas in the field. They are explicitly *opposed* to a leftist military victory because they know it would pose pointblank the question of social revolution. "The United States has a right to stop the spread of communism," says Ungo (*Baltimore Sun*, 3 May). "Let us test their sincerity," urged Congressman Dodd in his official Democratic Party reply to Reagan's Congressional address. In Nicaragua too, the Sandinistas swear fealty to a "mixed," i.e., capitalist, economy and political "pluralism"—freedom to organize for the bourgeoisie.

But time is running out: Reagan's intransigence forces the Sandinistas to defend themselves against counterrevolution and is pushing them down the "Cuban road." In El Salvador, the possibilities for a negotiated settlement are reduced with each battlefield victory of the leftist rebels. We say: Complete

the Nicaraguan Revolution! Forward to San Salvador—No Negotiated Sellout!

A negotiated sellout of the Salvadoran civil war would be a defeat for the workers and peasants and a signal for a massive new bloodbath. The opulent, corrupt and tiny bourgeoisies of Central America can only contain the hungry workers and *campesinos* through the most brutal repression of the oppressed masses. In El Salvador today the U.S. is financing Vietnam-style "pacification" schemes: "army-organized programs for building roads, houses, schools, etc." (*Village Voice*, 10 May). But it will take a socialist revolution to achieve industrial development, land to the peasants, and basic democratic rights for the masses of people, smashing the bloody oligarchies. After the defeat of French imperialism at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, a

"negotiated settlement" was arranged in Vietnam. The Geneva Accords turned Laos and Cambodia over to the imperialists, split Vietnam in half, and promised "free elections." It took 20 more years and millions of dead and wounded before Vietnam was finally liberated from the imperialists' bloody grip.

## Defend the Soviet Union!

The imperialists were defeated in Vietnam, and they were defeated by the Red Army, led by Leon Trotsky, when they invaded the Soviet Union after the October Revolution to crush the world's first workers state. Ever since 1917, anti-Sovietism has been the bottom line of U.S. imperialism's "foreign policy." As Democratic Party presidential front-runner Walter Mondale put it, "a bipartisan consensus exists on first principles": "the Soviet leaders are cynical, ruthless and dangerous," and "their relentless military buildup directly challenges Western security." Behind every movement for social justice anywhere in the world, the imperialists see the hand of "Soviet aggression."

But it is not the privileged, parasitic Kremlin bureaucrats who threaten the "security" of imperialism. The Stalinist bureaucracy expropriated the Soviet working class politically and consolidated its parasitic position atop the Soviet workers state during the period of the restabilization of world capitalism in the 1920s, and ever since they have worked

to *sell out* other people's revolutions in the interests of "détente" with the imperialist bourgeoisies. But the imperialists remain implacably hostile to the economic foundations on which the bureaucracy rests—the planned economy of a workers state—and so the Stalinists are from time to time forced for their own military-defensive purposes (as in Afghanistan) to aid the struggles of the oppressed against imperialism.

Military defense of the USSR against imperialism is urgently posed in Central America today. If U.S. imperialism succeeds in crushing the Nicaraguan Revolution and the Salvadoran leftist insurgency, its next target will be Cuba. The imperialists will be enormously emboldened in their program of reconquering the USSR itself for capitalism. It would be in the interests of the world working class and the defense of the Soviet Union for the USSR to send guns to the Salvadoran leftists and MIGs to Nicaragua. Reagan's claim that this is in fact happening is, unfortunately, a lie. Even as the Central American workers and peasants struggle heroically against the U.S.-backed butchers, Yuri Andropov, in an interview with the West German *Der Spiegel* magazine, compares U.S. policy in Central America with Soviet policy in Afghanistan! Implicit is the ominous suggestion of a deal: "Let us keep Afghanistan, you can have Nicaragua." Another Kremlin spokesman was more direct, telling the London *Guardian* (27 April) pointblank that Nicaragua "is vulnerable and lies outside the Soviet shield." Even as Reagan hypocritically decries mythical Soviet arms shipments to Nicaragua and the Salvadoran leftists, it is reported that "the United States has stepped up the quantity and quality of covert [!] military support for Afghan insurgents fighting Soviet forces..." (*New York Times*, 4 May). But the Stalinists' response to this cynical imperialist provocation is—abject capitulation. This appeasement of imperialism constitutes a grave danger to the Soviet Union itself! The struggle to defend the USSR against imperialism is inseparable from the struggle for proletarian revolution internationally. Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in Central America! Russia/Cuba: Arms to El Salvador! MIGs to Nicaragua!

It is impossible to win new gains without defending past victories, and impossible to defend the past gains of the world's workers without fighting for the smashing of imperialism, above all in the imperialist colossus, the United States. The treacherous reformists who call for "No more Vietnams" are spitting on the blood of the Vietnamese people in order to make a bloc with the Democratic Party of Lyndon Johnson. Theirs is a counterrevolutionary slogan, reeking of social-patriotic pacifism, directly counterposed to the principal internationalist task of American revolutionaries: to *bring down American capitalism*. While the reformists strive with the liberals to restore U.S. imperialism's "credibility," we say: Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism! Smash U.S. imperialism in Central America! ■

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# Oakland: 1,500 Vote Spartacist

Campaigning on a program of mobilizing labor and minorities to struggle against the capitalist system, Spartacist candidate Martha Phillips got 1,545 votes in the April 19 election for Oakland City Council. Phillips posed a fighting socialist alternative to the capitalist twin parties of unemployment, racism and war. The campaign pointed to the 1946 Oakland General Strike (which stopped a city government union-busting scheme in its tracks) as proof that working people won't get anything without a fight: "What's needed are massive strike actions and factory occupations linked to the struggles of the unemployed, not only for immediate demands for relief but for jobs for all. And that means a fight against the boom-bust capitalist system."

This was a revolutionary Trotskyist campaign. In the words of the election brochure:

"What is needed is a multi-racial revolutionary party whose aim is a workers government that will rip the productive wealth of this country, including all the idle factories, out of the hands of the capitalist class and establish a planned socialist economy.... Stopping the Klan, fighting for jobs, the fight against racial and sexual discrimination—victories in these struggles will not be won at the ballot box. Martha Phillips' campaign aims to mobilize the exploited and oppressed against the class enemy."

The Phillips campaign won a hearing from blacks, Hispanics, unionists and students looking for answers. Campaigners met laid-off auto workers from Fremont GM who have been out of work for over a year. One told us how his child's braces had been repossessed by the orthodontist; another how he is being forced to move to Oklahoma to work at the GM plant there, with no seniority. We also met several people who had themselves participated in the Spartacist-initiated demonstration on

November 27 in Washington, D.C.—when 5,000 black, labor and socialist demonstrators stopped the race-terrorist Ku Klux Klan from marching—and many more who had read or heard about the militant mobilization.

The anti-racist victory on November 27 was a main focus of the campaign. So



Workers Vanguard Photo

**Phillips campaign launched Labor/Black League for Social Defense.**

was the call for vengeance for Patrick Mason, the five-year-old black child shot to death in Orange County in March by a white cop who busted into Patrick's home and murdered the boy as he sat watching TV. Now they're whitewashing the racist cop and torturing Patrick's mother, Patricia Ridge. Robbed of her son by a cowardly killer in blue, Ridge was then threatened with prosecution for "neglect" and even "second degree murder" because she left her little son alone while she was at work. Ridge's only "crime" was to be poor, black and a woman in racist capitalist America!

The Phillips campaign's emphasis on these examples of the need for a class-struggle fight for black rights—part

of our perspective of revolutionary integrationism—evoked broad sympathy in the black and working-class areas where we campaigned, and was central to the launching of the Labor/Black League for Social Defense, which enrolled 30 members during the campaign.

The campaign forthrightly exposed

the "anti-Reagan" liberals and union bureaucrats who say the way for working people to "fight back" is by voting Democratic in '84. Martha's brochure pointed out that "All over the country big-city Democratic mayors" like SF's Feinstein and L.A.'s Tom Bradley are "slashing budgets, unleashing cops on the ghetto poor and busting unions to enforce capitalist austerity plans. And millions of jobs have been lost by the pro-boss labor bureaucrats' 'Crawl—Don't Strike' program."

Phillips' campaign stood in sharp contrast to the reformist candidacy of the Socialist Workers Party, which argued for reshuffling the "priorities" of the bosses' government. "People Before Profits," they said. Capitalism, replied

Martha's brochure, "puts *nothing* before its profits. The capitalist state cannot be 'reformed' to serve the interests of working people." The SWP must be happy and relieved that its candidate, Jan Gangel, outpolled Martha Phillips by about 400 votes overall (thanks to beating us by a wide margin in the affluent hills and petty-bourgeois Rockridge area). For our part we are happy and gratified to have beaten the SWP decisively among *our* "constituency," the largely black and working-class areas of West Oakland and East Oakland.

The Spartacist candidate demanded, "Stop Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive!" She said the Democrats stand shoulder to shoulder with Reagan in his mad crusade to make the U.S. once again the unchallenged hegemonic "world policeman" for imperialism. The Democrats only disagree with Reagan over "the pace and type of war preparations." Martha's brochure denounced as a dangerous diversion the nuclear freeze movement led by Vietnam war criminals. It called for a one-day port shutdown against Reagan's escalation of military support to the butcher junta in El Salvador, and for military victory to the leftist rebels. The brochure declared:

"The Spartacist candidate says the defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador! Phillips condemns Walesa's Solidarność as a *company union*, the Pope's and Wall Street's hope for capitalist restoration in Poland. That's why Reagan, the PATCO-smasher who hates all unions, loves Solidarność."

At the election night "victory party" where Spartacist campaign workers and old and new friends celebrated the hard work that brought our revolutionary politics to the attention of thousands of working people in Oakland, 20 new members of the Labor/Black League received their membership cards bearing Karl Marx's quotation: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in a white skin where in the black it is branded." For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! ■

## Hands Off Vietnam...

(continued from page 1)

been a potential trip wire for World War III since early 1979 when China, vowing to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson," invaded that nation and ended up receiving a bloody lesson of its own. Perhaps the U.S. is now seeking to really smash Vietnam, using China as its instrument. Two or three million Chinese may die doing it. While the Vietnamese army is vastly superior to the Chinese army man-for-man, the population ratio of the two countries is 50 million to one billion. The Chinese can put more soldiers in the field than the Vietnamese have children. It is possible that Vietnam is on the brink of extinction. *If China does invade, all people everywhere must rally to the defense of Vietnam in all ways.*

Vietnam heroically fought French colonialism and American imperialism for 30 years and *won*. The Vietnamese army of peasants and workers inflicted the most humiliating defeat the United States has ever suffered. The image of those Marines desperately trying to escape from the roof of the American embassy in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) remains a searing, bitter memory for the men who inhabit the Pentagon, the CIA headquarters at Langley and other corridors of power in Washington. They long to avenge themselves on this small but heroic people.

And in Maoist-Stalinist China, frustrated in its ambitions to become the hegemonic power in Indochina, American imperialism found a ready instrument to attack Vietnam. In late 1978, shortly after Vietnam overthrew the

hated genocidal Pol Pot regime in Cambodia, which killed at least two million of its own people, Washington gave Peking the green light for a "punitive" invasion of Vietnam, although it didn't turn out that way. We wrote at the time:

"...the Chinese invasion is clearly intertwined with imperialist opposition to the gains of the Vietnamese revolution, won at the cost of more than a million lives and decades of struggle. Socialists and labor militants throughout the world must demand that China Get Out of Vietnam Now! We call on the workers and peasants of the Chinese deformed workers state to demand an end to the obscene, sinister anti-Soviet Peking-Washington alliance now aimed at bloodying the working people of Vietnam."

—"China Get Out!" *WV* No. 226, 2 March 1979

The Chinese army withdrew at that time with heavy casualties. Ever since Washington/Peking have kept up military pressure on the Vietnamese, mainly through support for the remnants of the Khmer Rouge of the despised butcher Pol Pot and rightist insurgents in Cambodia supplied through Thailand. And it looks like the Vietnamese are finally cleaning up the counterrevolutionary scum in the border enclaves, which naturally causes their imperialist backers to cry "atrocities!"

The Vietnamese must counter the constant military threats at great cost. They suffer the grim consequences of three decades of imperialist war and devastation: per capita income in 1981 was only \$153, ranking them among the poorest of nations. Under pressure from the U.S., most Western capitalist countries have cut off all aid and credits to the Vietnamese. *Break the Imperialist Economic Blockade!*

Economic aid from East Europe is

due to be cut by some 20 percent as well. It is with bitterness that we view the resources of the Russian collectivized economy being spent to fatten the bellies of clerical-fascist Pilsudskiites in Poland, while the heroic people of Vietnam endure grim poverty to stand up to the powerful forces arrayed against them.

By forcing Vietnam to expend massive military resources in Cambodia and on the Chinese border, U.S.

on Vietnam. When U.S. secretary of state George Shultz visited Peking in February, he and his Chinese hosts agreed to closer military cooperation.

Despite recent frictions disturbing the anti-Soviet Washington-Peking alliance (over U.S. arms sales to Taiwan), China continues to play the U.S. game, especially against Vietnam. Yet if U.S. imperialism succeeds in its ultimate aim of destroying the Soviet Union, the

## Telegram to Ho Chi Minh

Sunday, 7 February 1965

President Ho Chi Minh,  
Democratic Republic of Vietnam  
Hanoi, North Vietnam

Spartacist in fullest solidarity with defense of your country against attack by United States imperialism. Heroic struggle of Vietnamese working people furthers the American revolution.

Spartacist Editorial Board

imperialism is seeking to starve the Vietnamese people and prevent the government from rebuilding the war-ravaged economy. Another important U.S. ally against Vietnam is Australia, whose newly elected right-wing Labor prime minister Robert Hawke has aggressively put himself forward as Reagan's man in Asia. In the past few months Washington has evidently decided to step up the all-sided squeeze

People's Republic of China will not long survive. Does anyone doubt that an anti-Communist fanatic like Reagan would like to return China to the heirs of Chiang Kai-shek who now rule Taiwan under American protection? The defense not only of the Vietnamese Revolution but also of the gains of the Chinese Revolution and ultimately of the Soviet Union demand: U.S./China—Hands Off Vietnam! ■

## Military "Invades" UIC

# SYL Protests ROTC "War Games"

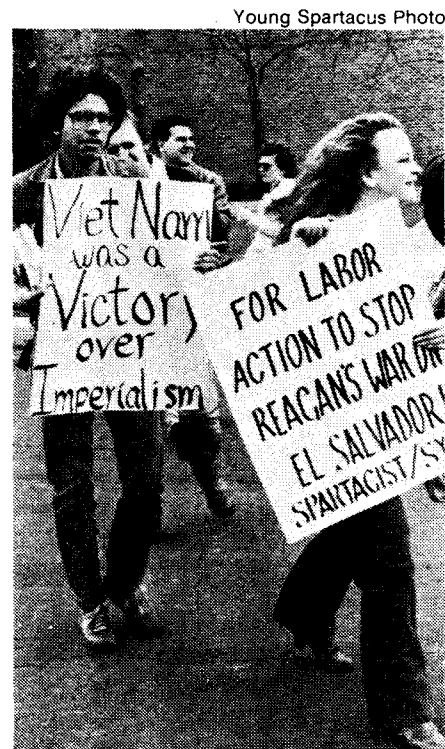
On the heels of the CIA-backed invasion of Nicaragua, Army ROTC at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) staged an "invasion" of their own on April 13, complete with helicopters, jeeps, missile launchers, and National Guardsmen in uniform. This outrageous display of U.S. imperialism's muscle was intended to

glamorize the bloody U.S. military and recruit more Lt. Calleys for ROTC. The UIC Spartacus Youth League (SYL) called an emergency demonstration to expose U.S. imperialism's war crimes and drive ROTC off campus. "No More My Lais! ROTC Off Campus!" and "Defend Nicaragua, Complete the Revolution, Kill the

Invaders!" were key demands of the protest.

SYL spokesman Cheri James told the demonstrators, "Starting in El Salvador, the American bourgeoisie wants to roll back Communism and ultimately restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.... These are the same helicopters sent to El Salvador where to date 50,000 people are dead at the hands of these butchers backed by U.S. imperialism.... There can be no negotiations with the bloody junta; there must be a military victory of the leftists in El Salvador." Yet the bureaucrats in Cuba and the USSR try to appease U.S. imperialism, refusing to arm the leftists. We demanded, "Cuba, USSR! Arms to El Salvador!", "Down with the Junta, Workers to Power!", and "No More Bay of Pigs! Sandinistas Need MIGs!"

As James pointed out, ROTC's "war games" were particularly provocative in light of a 60 percent tuition increase at UIC that will force many minority students into the army. "The money that pays for these war machines is coming off the backs of working people and minorities in this country,



Young Spartacus Photo

April 13 SYL anti-ROTC demo.

to pay for Reagan and the Democrats' anti-Soviet war drive." And addressing the dangerous illusions about the imperialist "peacekeepers" in Lebanon, James noted that "the U.S. 'peacekeepers' entered, disarmed the PLO, and allowed the massacre of the innocent people of Sabra and Shatila." The protesters took up the chant, "Avenge Sabra and Shatila! ROTC Off Campus!"



Young Spartacus Photo

Army ROTC "invades" UIC with helicopters, jeeps and missile launchers.

## Harvard...

(continued from page 2)

vard would be interested, but they are welcome. We certainly want to be open to the accusation of Moscow domination at Harvard, which after all hosts the Kennedy School of imperialist chicanery and the Studies in Russian Counter-revolution Dept.

We know who the "Friends" of ROTC really are: Henry Kissinger, Richard Pipes, Dean Epps, Samuel Huntington, Menachem Begin, Charles Manson, Lieutenant Calley, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Lech Walesa, Roberto D'Aubuisson (aka Major Blowtorch)—the braintrusters, war criminals and mass murderers deeply committed to U.S. imperialism, its international reign of terror and genocide, and the training of its future butchers in ROTC.

One wonders what Club activities the sadistic "Friends of ROTC" will host. Spring picnics on Cambridge Common to practice defoliation of the trees? Will they run the physically handicapped (whom they've pledged to accept as members) through a challenging obstacle course in the Yard? Or will it be

"true-to-life" outings: a roundup of campus workers and leftists for a simulated My Lai massacre? We don't suppose they'll practice air strikes over Roxbury or assist Dean Epps by forming "civil defense" death squads to eliminate rebels and rebel sympathizers on the campus. But there's always camouflage—if a tree in jack boots joins you for lunch in the dining hall—watch out, it's probably a "Friend of ROTC."

ROTC is no joke, but a deadly serious business of using the universities as a military training ground for future Lieutenant Calleys. It is this direct use of the university for military training—for now conducted at MIT—which we oppose. Fully 70 percent of U.S. Army officers today were recruited and trained by ROTC. And even a glance at the newspapers tells you what murderous adventures they have trained for.

Central America is in the cross hairs of the anti-Soviet war drive. Reagan's plans to "roll back Communism" include a Bay of Pigs II against the leftist Sandinista government in Nicaragua, sending hundreds of CIA-backed Somocistas across the Honduran border to burn, rape and kill. In El Salvador, the U.S. has inspired and coordinated a new "pacification" program based on the notorious "Operation Phoenix" conducted in Vietnam. "Pacification" consists of large-scale sweeps by the Salvadoran army (whose elite brigades are trained alongside ROTC cadets in Fort Bragg, N. C.) through guerrilla-controlled provinces to exterminate the population. A similar "beans and bullets" pacification program launched in Guatemala last year involved the killing of thousands of Indian villagers said to be guerrilla sympathizers. In El Salvador, this is a last-ditch effort by the U.S.-backed junta to win the war by mass murder in guerrilla strongholds and then leaving control in the hands of the kill-crazy death squads like ORDEN. *This is what ROTC trains for.* ROTC, Kirkpatrick, Pipes, etc., ad nauseum, should all be sent to a liberated zone of El Salvador to be tried by a jury of their victims. That would be the beginning of justice. In the short term, we hope ROTC's big brothers shooting their way into Nicaragua run into a Sandinista roach motel for

counterrevolutionaries ("they check in, but they don't check out").

The time to act is now! All Enemies of ROTC: come to a planning meeting Thursday, April 7, at 5:30 in the Private Dining Room, Freshman Union, to plan a united action expressing our implacable hostility to ROTC.

Spartacus Youth League

## Russian Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

beyond that. He never looks to see how strong the enemy really is, because then he has to find the *right moment in time* for revolution.

Revolution is not a biological process but the timing is very important. When the situation for revolution is ready, that's when you go forward and seize power. And these leaders who don't want to do it, they have to be fought and have to be beaten politically. That's what happened in Russia, and that's why there was a victorious Bolshevik Revolution. Zinoviev and Kamenev and behind them Stalin were talking about how strong the bourgeoisie was. As Trotsky pointed out in *Lessons of October*, we tested the strength of the bourgeoisie. We won over all the troops, they didn't have any troops.

But if we hadn't tested the strength of the bourgeoisie and therefore the revolution didn't occur, surely now there would be tens of books that explain that it was impossible because of this regiment and that battalion. We can *always* find something to explain the failures afterward, saying it's not our fault but the objective conditions.

### For Permanent Revolution!

We have tens of examples of failed revolutions, starting with China in 1925-27. Underlying this are two conceptions, the Menshevik/Stalinist and the proletarian-Bolshevik conception. The Stalinist conception is one you find everywhere now, in El Salvador, in Nicaragua: there must be a bourgeois-democratic stage, and then there will be a socialist stage. Then there is the

proletarian-Bolshevik conception which says that the only way to have some democracy is to take over as the working class and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. You don't keep people down who were in power till yesterday simply because you tell them so. You have to enforce it.

In Nicaragua it's quite clear. The *Somocistas* are trying to come back. And that's *always* what they try to do. The only way to crush them is to expropriate the landlords and expropriate the bourgeoisie. Who cares if this bourgeois was "anti-Somoza"? Now he certainly is anti-working class and always was.

In Central America it's quite clear if El Salvador and Nicaragua overthrow capitalism and go toward socialism, they'll have a rough time. The only way to keep it is if the Mexican proletariat, the Brazilian proletariat, the Argentinian proletariat are brought into the struggle. There are tens of millions of workers in Mexico and Brazil—that's the way to go. A social revolution could be made in Central America and that could be a spark that sets fire to all the American continent, not only Mexico and Brazil.

The working class in the United States has a long history of struggle. You know where May Day comes from? From the United States. You know where March 8 (International Women's Day) comes from? From the United States. The experience of the American working class is pretty much ignored abroad because the Stalinists across the world prefer to say that you have to fight against American imperialism at the polls.

But the American working class has a pretty significant experience in struggle. And we're trying to build a party here too. The spark of social revolution in El Salvador and Nicaragua, if there are Trotskyist parties, can go north and south. That's not science fiction, that's not Star Wars, that's a concrete perspective we are working toward. What's needed is to build sections of an international which has as its program world revolution. And all the comrades who are here, it would be extremely nice if you were part of building these sections throughout the world. ■

### Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

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



## Washington...

(continued from page 12)

appointing James O'Grady, Police Superintendent Richard Brezczek's right-hand man, as chief of Chicago's 13,000-member police force. When Byrne tried to appoint O'Grady four years ago, there was such a protest from the black community that she chose Brezczek as a "lesser embarrassment."

Washington hopes the "O'Grady appointment will give [him] many opportunities to appoint more blacks to key positions without getting too much opposition from the white officers" (*Defender*, 18 April). And he won't be the first black Democrat using racist cop terror to maintain capitalist law and order. Take Los Angeles black mayor and ex-cop Tom Bradley, whose LAPD is notorious for the "choke hold" murders of blacks. In Detroit, black Democrat Coleman Young, whose election over a decade ago was viewed with great hope by most blacks and labor—and supported by the reformist "left"—crushed the militant 1980 city workers strike, and has had nothing but cheese lines and soup kitchens to offer thousands of laid-off Detroit auto workers. Washington's real job is to enforce capitalist austerity against the working class and black masses. Like other mayors of decaying industrial cities, he needs his cops to keep the population in order.

While the local Democratic Machine whipped up racist hysteria against Washington, the national Democratic Party backed him for its own interests. Teddy Kennedy used family connections to squelch Byrne's "white-in" campaign by forcing her campaign managers to resign; national party heavies paraded through Chicago campaigning for Washington. They backed him because they knew a Washington victory would provide illusory "proof" that the system, and the Democratic Party, will "work for blacks," removing the threat of an "independent" black presidential candidacy. And as a report by the Joint Center for Political Studies noted, "A Democratic presidential victory in 1984 is inconceivable without a strong black showing in northern cities and the South" (*Chicago Tribune*, 10 April).

The Democrats are counting on Washington to get out the black vote, in Chicago and nationwide. Jesse Jackson has already gone on a Southern tour urging blacks to vote Democrat in the 1984 election. Washington is using the euphoria over his election to promote "a new Democratic coalition." But there's nothing new about this "coalition"! It was created back in the Great Depression under Roosevelt's New Deal, and for the last 50 years has been the single greatest obstacle to the liberation of the working class as a whole. They're simply

using "anti-Reaganism" to refurbish its reputation, to continue tying blacks to the party of Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter, George Wallace and California Klansman Tom Metzger.

It is the urgent responsibility of socialists to fight for integrated class struggle, to break this class collaboration. Instead, the fake-left has capitulated to Washington. Their alibi was most clearly phrased by Sam Marcy's Workers World Party. In a polemic against "some left groups," including the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League, who supposedly "surrendered to racism," they argue:

"The Chicago election was only an election in form. It was, in reality, a referendum on racism.... The Chicago election issue was very simple: Racism—Yes or no?"

—*Workers World*, 15 April

No, it wasn't that simple. The Marcyites try to make it appear so to write off Washington's 30-year history as a machine Democrat as "irrelevant." But the fact that Washington is a Democrat—and a long-time loyal flunky, at that—is quite relevant. Despite the Marcyites' contentions, Washington's election was no referendum on racism. The Chicago election was quite simply an election, a ballot box decision on which bourgeois party would rule. The racist backlash dominated the campaign and we insisted that blacks have a right to elect whomever they want to office and that Washington, if elected, had the right to take office with all the normal prerogatives. But there was *nothing* to support in Washington's campaign. You can't fight racial oppression by voting for the Democrats; they made Chicago Segregation City!

The Marcyites' enthusing over Washington stems from a defeatism toward class struggle. They simply cannot envisage breaking through the racial polarization in Chicago through class struggle which, of course, means taking on the Democratic Party. Nor can they envisage any struggle by the black masses except in the framework of bourgeois electoral politics. *Workers World* reported Washington's victory as an "uprising" (!) that occurred through electoralism because "there was no other available avenue for the oppressed masses to articulate and express not merely their anger and protest, but their aspirations as well" (15 April). But just because most blacks feel that Washington will fight for them, it doesn't mean he will. In office, Washington (like Coleman Young, Tom Bradley, et al.) will bleed the working class—black and white—dry to preserve the capitalists' profits.

It's appropriate that Marcy cites the 1948 Progressive Party campaign of "independent" Henry Wallace as a precedent to the Washington campaign. Henry Wallace, a former Democratic vice president, was an imperialist "dove"



1948-style. The Stalinists' (and Marcyites') efforts to portray Wallace as the representative of a supposedly "progressive, peace-loving" wing of the American ruling class blew up in their faces. Boy, did it! Right after the elections Wallace claimed he had been a "commie dupe," and in 1950 he supported the Korean War against Communist China and North Korea. In this way the "progressive" Wallace made his contribution to the McCarthyite witchhunts. One can safely predict that Harold Washington will treat his leftist supporters the same way that Wallace did his.

The rest of the left fell into line with Washington's "anti-Reagan" charade. The Communist Party (CP) called Washington's election "a defeat for the most reactionary elements of big capital," a "giant step forward in the development of the all-peoples' front for reversing the Reaganite anti-labor drive toward war, racism, and increased exploitation" (*Daily World*, 16 April). This is nonsense! Washington's election serves the interests of the bourgeoisie in shackling militant black struggle by keeping blacks and labor tied to the Democratic Party. That's why even Merrill Lynch was bullish on Washington—they gave him thousands of dollars. But for the CP, supporting Democrats in the name of the "all-peoples' front" has been second nature since the mid-1930s. During World War II they joined in the anti-Japanese hysteria, dropping all their Japanese members; they denounced all strikes, including strikes of blacks against Jim Crow, as sabotage of the war effort. So it's no surprise that they've gone for Washington's "new Democratic movement"—which they've extended to include George Wallace! Seems he's been running "in opposition to Reaganomics."

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) effectively dropped their own campaign in favor of Washington. Their mayoral candidate Ed Warren has to be the Rodney Dangerfield of the SWP—he gets no respect. The SWP called Washington's victory in the election—in which Warren polled 4,000 votes—a "set-back" for the racists. Warren himself was reportedly "jubilant" over Washington's win in the primary. SWPers disappeared their "Warren for Mayor" buttons in public; on sales at Operation PUSH, they hid their election campaign literature. While the SWP clearly did not want to run an active campaign against this black Democrat, their vote totals—desultory as their electioneering was—demonstrate a hard core who simply do not buy the Democrats as an answer anymore.

What these spineless fakers are trying to evade is the difficult task of breaking black and white workers from the Democratic Party, the party which paved the way for Reagan and launched the anti-Soviet war drive, which rolled back integrated public housing, busing and many other gains of the civil rights movement. But while Chicago may be the most segregated city in America, it has a powerful working class with an enormous potential for class struggle.

## SYL UCLA Demo: Defend Nicaragua!

Spokesman at Spartacus Youth League April 22 demonstration at the University of California at Los Angeles, called around the slogans, "Defend Nicaragua! Complete the Revolution! Kill the Invaders!" Speakers included a member of the Militant Action Caucus of the Communications Workers of America, who supported the call by West Coast longshoremen to hot cargo military goods to El Salvador.

What is needed is a workers party that can mobilize working people and the oppressed on the picket line and in the streets, that will fight to extend busing to privileged white suburbs and for a massive public works program including low-cost quality integrated public housing. While the rest of the left rallies to the Democrats, it is only the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League which recognize that the only way to fight the vicious racial polarization exposed in this election is through building the revolutionary workers party that will lead united, integrated class struggle against the bosses and their politicians, black and white. ■

## Kirkpatrick...

(continued from page 3)

itary Victory to Leftist Insurgents! Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!" A massive police presence, including mounted cops, stood guard in front of the hotel.

As we reported in our last issue, the gentlemen of the bourgeois media, in an orchestrated campaign calculated to outrage bourgeois public opinion, seized upon the fairly mild protests against the kill-crazy Kirkpatrick at Berkeley, Smith and the University of Minnesota (see "Extradite Kirkpatrick to Salvadoran Liberated Zone," *Young Spartacus* No. 108, April 1983). Editorials in the *Moonies' Washington Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* howled for reprisals against students who they like to portray as violating "free speech" and "academic freedom." Lately we've seen the mobilization of the murderers and torturers of the "free world" not just against the workers and peasants in Cold War hot spots, but on the streets of America. Over 250 aging fascist war criminals from the "captive nations" menaced the recent Young Communist League convention in Cleveland (see article this issue). Two thousand counterrevolutionary Vietnamese *gusanos*—comprised heavily of ex-South Vietnamese (ARVN) army officers—marched through Washington, D.C. on April 30 demanding the overthrow of Communism in Vietnam. Over 100 of these scum attacked a Socialist Workers Party (SWP)-sponsored "Evening in Solidarity with the People of Vietnam" in New York the same day, reportedly sending three SWP members to the hospital. Imported into the U.S. at taxpayers' expense, these Vietnamese *contras* were evidently mobilized by the U.S. government, a new and ominous development. Kirkpatrick, Reagan et al. would no doubt like to treat their opposition in the U.S. like they do in El Salvador, where anyone who breathes a word of protest would be summarily seized, interrogated and imprisoned or "disappeared." It is only by methods such as these that butchers and war criminals like Kirkpatrick can ensure a world that is "safe"... for themselves. For our part we say that anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! For labor action to bring down Reagan! Extradite Kirkpatrick to a Salvadoran liberated zone to be tried by her victims! ■

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# Young Spartacus

## Labor/Black Struggle vs. Black Democrats

# Harold Washington to Black Chicago: Cutbacks, Layoffs, Cop Terror

Seib/Chicago Sun-Times

Chicago Tribune



January 1983: Chicago cops brutalize unemployed blacks when 40,000 people show up for less than 4,000 temporary jobs (right). Harold Washington (above) offers more of the same.

Democrat Harold Washington has become the first black mayor of Chicago. And he has wasted no time in letting Chicago blacks know what is in store for them: continued cutbacks, layoffs, cop terror. Just moments after being sworn in as mayor on April 29, Washington stated that economically the city "is in far worse condition than we thought. . . . Reluctantly, I must tell you that we must cut back," and announced an immediate wage freeze and layoffs of over 500 city employees—as the first step (*New York Times*, 30 April). Reluctantly or not, Harold Washington is already doing exactly what we said all along he'd have to do: betray the aspirations of Chicago's black population who really believed Washington's "it's our turn" demagoguery.

Washington became mayor on April 12 by barely defeating a racist backlash mobilized by the same Democratic Party Machine he served for 30 years. The backlash began as soon as Washington won the primary: aldermen flocked to Republican Bernard Epton's "Before It's Too Late" campaign geared to the racists; they tried to abridge his powers of office, rushing through the appointment of a white chancellor for the mostly black city colleges. The cops threatened mass arrests of blacks on election day. But Washington has as much right as anyone to be mayor. Washington's victory in the face of this ugly racial polarization is touted nationwide as a major breakthrough for blacks. But his election is no victory for blacks. With only days in office, this Democratic Party hack has been busy scrambling to appease the racists and maintain the status quo.

Chicago is falling apart, and blacks have the worst of bad conditions. Black oppression is deeply rooted in this capitalist society where blacks are overwhelmingly concentrated in what Marx called the "reserve army of labor." That's why unemployment rates are astronomical in the ghetto, even in times of prosperity. In the current depression,

black teenage unemployment is over 50 percent in the tenements and crumbling housing projects on the South Side. The schools are so far in debt they may not even open in the fall. Financial aid is being slashed, and tuition hikes—up to 60 percent at the University of Illinois at Chicago—threaten to make the campuses virtually lily-white, forcing minority students onto the streets or into the army. An entire generation has been thrown on the scrap heap. Small wonder that black youth made up the ranks of

strong demonstration that stopped the Nazis in Lincoln Park last June 27, initiated by the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League. The fight for a future for black youth means abolishing separate and unequal education, for defense of busing and its extension into the suburbs. It means smashing the tuition hikes through a fight for free tuition, open admissions, and a state stipend for all students. It means an integrated class fight against both the Republicans and the Democrats, the

a black man has been elected mayor has touched off the highest aspirations of the black population. Buttons reading "I'm Proud to Be Black" were everywhere during the election, and in some black wards Washington polled 99 percent. One button even depicted Washington on the phone to Martin Luther King in heaven! While most blacks expect Washington to do *something* about unemployment, segregation, poverty and cop terror, some expect him to turn the nightmare of racist oppression into the American Dream. "If Washington can be mayor of Chicago," one young campaign worker told *Young Spartacus*, "in 20 years, I'm going to be president."

But Washington will, and *must*, betray those hopes—and he's already begun to do so. As Democratic mayor of Chicago he has the same responsibilities to his capitalist bosses that Byrne and Bilandic did: slash social services, break strikes, lay off city workers, and administer the police department. And Washington's job will be to keep a lid on black struggle. The teachers, for example, haven't had a raise in two years and face mass firings, and the mostly black union was expected to strike when its contract expires this summer. Now, however, many teachers feel that there won't be a strike: there's too strong an "understanding" between the union and Mayor Washington. Washington is mending fences with the racists who kicked him in the teeth. Even though he never promised open housing and reportedly "does not advocate" busing, Washington has rushed to assure white neighborhoods that there will be no "stampede" on integration and public housing. Washington complains that his mild criticisms of the cops during the primary were "blown out of proportion." Nowadays, he "praise[s] Chicago's 'good' police department... and describe[s] most of the officers as 'first rate people'" (*Chicago Tribune*, 23 March). He is reportedly considering

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Who was right? The morning after, Washington promised cutbacks.

Washington's campaign; they're desperate for answers.

But Washington doesn't have those answers. The fight against unemployment can be won only through sit-down strikes to make the bosses pay for the economic crisis, and a shorter work-week with no loss in pay, to increase the number of jobs and spread them around. The fight against the race-terror of the KKK/Nazis means building labor/black defense like the 3,000-

twin parties of capitalism. It took the Civil War to end chattel slavery, and it will take a socialist revolution to liberate blacks.

Black illusions in Washington as well as the racist backlash are products of 50 years of segregation enforced by the Democratic Party. Black precinct captains could get out the vote for Boss Daley's racist Machine, but he made damn sure they never got elected to any important office. So the simple fact that