

Young Spartacus

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FEBRUARY 1984

U.S. Get Your Bloody Hands Off the World!

Salvadoran Rebels: Go for Victory Now!

Alain Keler/Sygma



Smash Reagan's Death Squad Terror!

Today in El Salvador, a military victory of the leftist insurgents fighting the U.S.-backed butcher regime is possible—but it is not certain. As a result of the guerrilla offensive which began in September, the eastern third of the country is now dominated by the rebel forces. Early last month, the last remaining suspension bridge to the East was blown up as government soldiers fled; "reinforcements" failed to arrive although they had plenty of time to do so. The morale of the government army, including the "elite" units trained by U.S. advisers, is at an all-time low. In



desperation, the government is conducting mass roundups of youths—on the streets and in the schools—and drafting them into the military. The *New York Times* (13 January) reports that a Salvadoran clergyman has warned against the Reagan administration's drive to triple military aid to the government, on the unusual grounds

that half the weapons will fall into the hands of the guerrillas! The Spartacus Youth League says: Now is the time to strike! Military victory to the leftist insurgents!

A defeat of U.S. imperialism and its local agents in Central America would punch a big hole in Washington's deadly drive to "roll back Communism" inter-

UPI
Young women insurgents in Usulután, El Salvador; U.S. troops in Honduras for "Big Pine II" maneuvers.

nationally. We hail the heroic Salvadoran guerrilla fighters, and as communists in the belly of the imperialist beast we also hail the internationalist example of David Anderson and Carroll Ishee, two Americans who gave their lives fighting alongside the rebels and against the U.S.-backed butchers. The *New York Times* (26 January) reports that Anderson was killed in combat in May 1982, while last August the 29-year-old Ishee—who "had been active in the movements opposing United States participation in the Vietnam War and in civil rights organizations"—died in a strafing attack in Morazán province. His final words, according to the rebel Radio Venceremos: "Tell my wife, my
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MALCOLM X: Courageous Fighter for Black Liberation... 6

SYL Black History Month Events

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!



SL/SYL contingent in pro-busing march, Boston, 1974.



Workers Vanguard Photo

November 27, 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C. We stopped the Klan!

SYL Video Showing & Discussion

November 27, 1982: "We Stopped the Klan!"

Black History and the Class Struggle

Thursday, February 23, 7:30 p.m. Malcolm X Lounge, Hartley Hall Columbia University

Sponsored by the Spartacus Youth League and the Black Students Organization

NEW YORK

For more information: (212) 267-1025



Workers Vanguard Photo

October 29, 1983 rally to defend victimized phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, Oakland.

SYL Forum

Blacks, Labor Need a Workers Party

Jesse Jackson: Front Man for the Racist Democrats

Speaker: Bernard Vance
SL Central Committee

Saturday, February 25, 7:30 p.m. Memorial Union (see "Today in the Union" for location)

MADISON

For more information: (312) 427-0003

SYL Film Showing & Discussion

"Finally Got the News"

Documentary on the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the struggle of black auto workers in Detroit during the late '60s.

Wednesday, February 22, 7:00 p.m. Wayne State University SCB, Room 583

DETROIT

For more information: (313) 961-1680

Spartacist Forums

Black History and the Class Struggle

Speaker: Michael Haines, Spartacist League

Friday, February 10, 7:00 p.m. I. A. Room, Marie Reed Learning Center 2200 Champlain Street, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C.

Thursday, February 16, 7:00 p.m. Harris Hall Auditorium Virginia State University PETERSBURG, VA

Tuesday, February 14, 12:30 p.m. Godwin University Center Ballroom Norfolk State University Co-sponsored by Norfolk State Student Government Association and Spartacus Youth League

Friday, February 17, 12:00 noon McKeldin Student Center Ballroom Morgan State University Co-sponsored by the Morgan State Student Government Association and Spartacus Youth League

NORFOLK

BALTIMORE

For more information: (202) 636-3537

SYL Video Showing & Discussion

November 27, 1982: Labor/Black Mobilization Stops the KKK

Blacks, Labor Need a Workers Party—Not Front Men for the Racist Democrats

Wednesday, February 15 Noon-3:00 p.m. (continuous showings) University of Illinois, Chicago CCC Room 506

Thursday, February 23, 1:40 p.m. Truman College, Room 1516 Speaker: Tweet Carter SL Central Committee

Thursday, March 1, 1:40 p.m. Truman College, Room 1516 Speaker: Bernard Vance SL Central Committee

CHICAGO

For more information: (312) 427-0003



Sojourner Truth



John Brown



Frederick Douglass

Letter

Black Education and the Civil War

To the Editor:

In the article on the witchhunt against the SYL by the Howard University administration and the struggle against it, "Cheek Tries the Iron Fist at Howard" (*YSp* No. 114, December 1983-January 1984), you state the fact that in this racist society "separate" can never be "equal"; this certainly holds

true for Howard and the black colleges. Today the ruling class is quite content to have the few black students who can afford to go to college kept behind the barriers of segregation. However, one sentence in the article wrongly asserts that in the U.S. this has always been the purpose of black colleges: "Most black colleges were founded immediately following the Civil War to perpetuate

segregation and inferiority, and that's what they do today."

This "telescoped" view of the founding of black colleges misses the political thrust of a revolutionary period of American history. "What they [the black colleges] do today" was not the purpose of black colleges founded during Reconstruction. After the Civil War smashed the army of the slavocracy, one of the main tasks of Reconstruction was the education of the newly freed slave. The freedmen hungered for the education they had been denied by law and lash. The ex-slave studied far into the night; by day held plow in one hand, primer in the other. The battle against illiteracy was confronted first by the Union Army and religious abolitionist groups. Then the government's Bureau For Freedmen took on the task of mass education of the ex-slaves against the sharp, violent opposition of the white supremacists. According to E. Franklin Frazier, "the Bureau succeeded in the five years of its operation in establishing more than 4,000 schools, in which more than 9,000 teachers gave instruction to nearly 250,000 Negro pupils" (*Black Bourgeoisie*, p. 62). Mass

public education in the South was founded by the Freedmen's Bureau. Black colleges were founded to train black teachers for the Southern schools. Du Bois notes in *Black Reconstruction* that Howard University was chartered

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Young Spartacus

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No. 115 February 1984

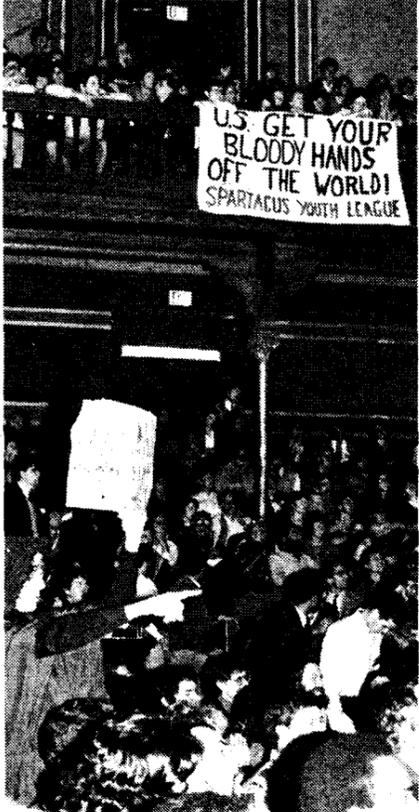
No Reprisals Against Anti-Weinberger Protesters!

1984: Harvard Braintrusts World War

Hands Off the SYL!

Harvard's "own" War Secretary Caspar Weinberger returned to his alma mater last November and received a homecoming he'll never forget. Hundreds of students, faculty and leftists heckled Weinberger with shouts of "War Criminal!", "South Africa!", "El Salvador!" and "50,000 Dead!" We warned that Weinberger and his underlings in the Harvard administration would no doubt like to treat their opposition in the U.S. the way they do in El Salvador where anyone who breathes a word of protest is summarily seized.

Young Spartacus Photo



Harvard students "welcome" War Secretary Cap Weinberger last November 17.

interrogated, imprisoned or "disappeared." Sure enough, the militant protest against Weinberger has Harvard's ruling-class prigs reeling. Weinberger (Class of '38) is a war criminal in the bloody Harvard tradition, and Harvard stands by its butchers.

Harvard is busy these days brain-trusting for World War III. Take the Kennedy School of Government, named for the Harvard man and president who brought you the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the Vietnam War. At the K-School, senior officers of the armed forces, CIA, NSA (National Security Agency) and like-minded Harvard profs hash out contingencies for promoting counterrevolution throughout the world. And not in the form of academic games—but as questions of policy for U.S. imperialism. Thus the head of the K-School's "National Security Program," Robert Murray, was commissioned by Weinberger to sit on the Long Commission whose job was to assess U.S. policy in the Near East in the aftermath of the Beirut bombing debacle. As a veteran CIA recruiter put it during a 1981 visit to the K-School: "We always do well at Harvard." Shut down the K-School now!

The anti-Soviet war drive and its necessary corollary—a domestic witch-hunt—has hit college campuses as an obscene and orchestrated drive to label

political protesters "terrorists" who violate the "academic freedom" of mass murderers like Jeane Kirkpatrick and Caspar Weinberger. The enraged and irrational Dean of Students—one Archie Epps III—has threatened to expel from school two SYL members for their participation in the Weinberger protest. Should they continue to exercise their right to engage in political protest, Epps wants them tossed out. The administration's attempted crackdown against the two has been met with vigorous denunciations from fellow students, faculty, the *Crimson* and other campus political groups who see this as a clear-cut case of McCarthyite persecution by an administration which seeks to regiment every aspect of student life, from demonstrations to dances.

In a sinister editorial the *Boston Globe* (30 January) likens the political protest of Weinberger to a *bomb threat* that forced the former governor of Massachusetts to cancel an appearance at UMass/Amherst last spring! The *Globe* applauds Harvard's threats of expulsion as a defense of "academic traditions."

Indeed, expulsions of leftist students, professors, women and blacks is all in the "Veritas" tradition. In 1674 the entire student body resigned in protest of the college president's propensity for flogging students. The next rebellion came in 1766 over bad food. A student approached a tutor and said "Behold, our Butter stinketh!" and was thrown out for insubordination. In 1834 the entire sophomore class was expelled and ordered to leave town for protesting their classics tutors. But it was the anti-Vietnam War, anti-ROTC protests culminating in the Harvard strike in 1969 that changed the whole tenor of dissent at Harvard. Sixteen students were expelled for their role in occupying University Hall and forcibly removing the despised Dean Epps from the premises. A draconian "Committee on Rights and Responsibilities" (CRR) was set up to discipline political protesters (but to this day, students refuse to elect delegates to the CRR as a matter of principle).

What constitutes "legitimate" protest or "conduct unbecoming a Harvard student" is determined by the political links and beliefs of the Neanderthals who rule Harvard. Dean Epps had no qualms about aiding and abetting an unruly mob of Conservative Club creeps and Moonies who attempted to break up an SYL forum on Poland ("Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution") in No-

vember 1981. Then Harvard tried to set up an SYL supporter on phony assault charges. But we beat them back and in the process exposed some of the truly strange things under Harvard's rocks. Now, following the anti-Weinberger protest and the initiation by the SYL of a campaign to shut down the K-School think tank for World War III, Harvard is at it again.

roommate about the strange things that have crawled out from under Harvard's rocks. Your roommate has been "disappeared." On his empty bunk is a note: "Expelled!... for protesting War Secretary Weinberger!" You don't believe it until senior tutor Eliot Cohen, who has dropped his civilian pants and donned a uniform and a badge reading "Military Intelligence Expert," hands you a form

It's 1984 and Big Brother Archie Epps is watching YOU!



Interestingly, the none-too-radical *Crimson* editorial board unanimously opposes the latest witchhunt. However one side advocates the promulgation of guidelines for removing protesters from campus events. To turn the political questions involved—i.e., the fact that Weinberger is directly and personally responsible for the brutal massacre of tens of thousands in Central America and is a key architect for the U.S. insane nuclear anti-Soviet war drive—into a debate on "behavior modification" simply plays into the hands of the administration. The question posed for students is *which side are you on?* The SYL will continue to mobilize student opponents of U.S. militarism to join us in the struggle against the anti-Soviet warmakers and strikebreakers, in the struggle against world filth. We reprint below the Harvard SYL's call to shut down the Kennedy School.

Imagine your university is taken over by the military. You're waiting for your 9:00 a.m. class to start when it's announced that your professor, who evidenced vague leftist leanings, has been purged. Class is cancelled. On your way back to the dorm you encounter 60 camouflaged nuts scaling the walls of Widener Library. It's the ROTC cadets celebrating Harvard's payment for their "studies" in genocide at MIT. You run back to Quincy House to tell your

letter that says, "This is a community which cannot accept such disregard for the rights of others." Cohen warns you never to protest the murderous policies of the U.S. government or you too will be expelled. He goose-steps out of the room. Dizzy, you go to the dining hall for lunch. All they're serving is K-rations and Tang. Hungry, you leave for your afternoon science class. The gates to the Yard are blocked by sand trucks with "Veritas" emblems and guards checking IDs. Late, you get to class just in time to hear your professor announce that studies in organic chemistry have been suspended. You are now under contract to develop nuclear beam weapons for outer space.

It's been a rough day. You call your girlfriend to see if she'll go to the

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Globe vs. Crimson: The Harvard "Troubles"

The Boston Globe

Founded 1872

Free speech at Harvard

By disciplining three students involved in disrupting a speech by Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, Harvard College has made it clear that the right of free speech belongs as much to unpopular speakers as it does to their hecklers. A largely hostile audience booed and heckled Weinberger during a speech this past fall with chants of "Murderer!" and "No draft, no war, out of El Salvador." Several water-filled balloons were also hurled at Weinberger. Two sophomores have received warnings that engaging in such conduct in the future "will, in all probability, lead to disciplinary action." A third student, one who hurled water balloons, was placed on disciplinary probation. Other hecklers were identified at the time as being other than Harvard College students. Dean Archie C. Epps 3d described the discipline as "lenient," but noted that it raises the question of which actions should be considered legitimate protest and which constitute unacceptable and disruptive conduct. Harvard has no detailed policy regarding its treatment of students who disrupt speeches with hecklers, and the committee charged with such matters after the student of the early 1970s has become largely ineffectual. The time being, according to Epps, Harvard deal with such incidents on a case-by-case basis.

While a revival of the '70s does not appear to be at hand, the Weinberger incident followed two similar occurrences. Smith College withdrew a commencement speaking invitation to United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick on the grounds that it could not guarantee her safety. A bomb threat and the likelihood of student protests forced former Gov. Edward J. King to leave the UMass/Amherst commencement at which he was to receive an honorary degree last spring.

Such incidents threaten the free, open and reasonable exchange of views which must be a part of any college education. College students have a firm understanding of the importance of free expression.

Discipline meted out to the three students involved in the Weinberger disruption means that Harvard will defend those traditions and will observe the distinction between legitimate protest and disruptive actions which violate the free speech rights of unpopular speakers. Students who do not accept those traditions should have the courtesy to leave the college and find some other way to occupy

Boston bourgeoisie sees "Crimson." Crimson (right) defends student protesters against administration; Globe howls for reprisals (left).

FREE SPEECH

Selective Punishment

IN REPRIMANDING two students who heckled Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger '38 last November, the University last week was guilty of both discrimination and *ex post facto* punishment. Hundreds of people, both students and non-students, caused the disturbance at the Law School Forum in Sanders Theatre which partially silenced Weinberger. Singling out two well-known student agitators for vague repression of students whose political views don't conform to those of University administrators. In addition, the very vagueness of University policy concerning "disruptive action" lends itself to selective punishment.

To remove any excuse in future for selective punishment of hecklers after the fact, and to insure for speakers the opportunity to air their views, the University should adopt a comprehensive policy similar to the one already successfully in place at the Kennedy School. Hecklers who seriously disrupt University-sponsored events should first be asked to respect the rights of the speaker, and, if they refuse, should be escorted from the hall. By adopting and publicizing such a policy,

DISSENTING OPINION

No Limits To Action

WE ARE PLEASED that the majority has condemned the University's discipline of a select few of the protesters at Caspar W. Weinberger '38's November address. Certainly this action reeks of selectivism, political repression, and undue delay. However, we disagree that Harvard—or any other private institution—can issue its own guidelines to cover the rights of speakers. Cases like the Weinberger disruption involve innumerable nuances of civil liberties. Using them as a departure point for creating one's own First Amendment standards only invites arbitrariness and future abuse of any such power the University might try to assume for itself.

The Constitution guarantees free expression to all, and the University's control of a podium does not give it license to regulate behavior of an audience. Only the courts can interpret the law, and only legislatures can write it. The University should never define official limits for a speaker's or an audience's actions.

Erol T. Louis —Catherine I. Schmidt
D. Joseph Menn —Carla D. Williams
Joelchou L. Marin —David L. Yermack
Gilad Y. Ohana

Moonie Washington Times Retraction

"A Victory of Truth Over Lies"

Interview with Ex-Moonie Ford Greene

In December 1983 the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League won a very important victory against the Cold War II domestic witchhunt by forcing a retraction of "libel that kills" from the Washington Times, a D.C. newspaper operated by the sinister, anti-communist cult of Reverend Sun Myung Moon (see "We Beat the Moonies!" Young Spartacus No. 114, December 1983-January 1984). The Moonies had grotesquely charged us with provoking violence against the police and portrayed us as a violence-crazed paramilitary outfit, after we initiated and organized the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982.

Our successful lawsuit, which forced

the Washington Times to print on 26 December, "We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day," was a victory for the SL/SYL, for the 5,000 mainly black protesters who stopped the Klan and for all the many others who have hailed this anti-fascist mobilization, the largest in many years. Our victory also struck a blow against the Moon organization—regarded as one of the most vicious, anti-communist and vindictively litigious outfits in the world. And we hit them where they live:

the Washington Times is the centerpiece of the crazed Moon cult's bid for respectability in Reagan's America.

In early January Young Spartacus (YSp) interviewed Ford Greene—an ex-Moonie, now anti-Moonie activist and endorser of our lawsuit—about this important victory. We print below an edited version of the interview.

No one knows better than Ford Greene the sinister nature of the Moon cult. We do not agree with all of Ford's characterizations of the Moonies. In particular we do not think that the

YSp: Can you give us some biographical information?

Greene: I'm 31 years old. I'm a practicing criminal defense attorney who decided to be an attorney, to go into law, because of my experience with the Unification Church that commenced on December 4, 1974.

My younger sister had joined the Moonies, and one night called home with this tone of torn loyalties in her voice, saying that she was going to stay with this family that she had met in Berkeley and that she was now hanging out with up in Booneville, in northern California. My mom somehow got it from her that Moon was behind it.

So I ended up visiting my sister and being very disturbed by what I saw and what I experienced. So I went back up there the following weekend with the intent of rescuing my sister. And when I got to hang out in a group of 200 people holding hands, all singing songs in unison together, the feeling of community that I had was so inspiring that I said, "Hey, well, forget rescuing my sister. I'm just going to hang out here and check this out."

During my experience during the weekend there, the weekend "training session" at Booneville, California, I kept having these archetypal flashes of Hitler youth group, and especially the second day. The concept that had been discussed the first day was the ideal of personal perfection, what that ideal was, why people in general weren't that way, and how one could take steps to go towards achieving that state in oneself. I liked that a lot. The second day, though, the emphasis shifted very subtly to incorporate the idea that the means of attaining that personal perfection was joining a worldwide political party, which would then spread its influence as comprehensively as possible. I had trouble with that, because there was a quantum leap in logic that didn't follow. And it was at that point that I started getting these Nazi youth group flashes.

So, notwithstanding my reservations, I continued on and put all my reservations on the back burner because of my valuation of the emotional experience I was having.

YSp: I know your concern is that the

Moonies in fact aren't a religion.

Greene: They're not. What Moon is is an international political organization and a multinational, multifaceted corporate entity that has as its goal the political domination and control of the planet.

YSp: Did you spend all your time in Booneville?

Greene: No. The Unification Church in the San Francisco Bay Area located in Oakland, or Berkeley, has a subsidiary corporate enterprise that's called the International Exchange Carpet Cleaning and Maintenance Company, and this entity is staffed by essentially slave labor. It's all staffed by Moonies. Since the organization doesn't have to pay their employees, they then can underbid any other competitive carpet-cleaning group. And, by law, when government installations are cleaned they must take the low bidder. The FBI, the government installations, the military installations—they clean it up.

YSp: That's very interesting! Did you work for this company?

Greene: Yeah. I never cleaned any such place. I didn't last very long because I have a hard time obeying idiots.

YSp: Did you live in a Moonie commune at this time?

Greene: Yeah, there are various houses in spots around, where they house their "heavenly children" as Moonies are wont to call themselves. What you do is called "sardinizing," so you can cram about 90 people in a three-bedroom house with sleeping bags all next to one another.

YSp: Did all the members of the commune in which you lived work with this carpet cleaning company?

Greene: No. You had different squads that were delegated out. You'd have your flower-selling people. You'd go out and prostitute yourself to sell flowers. Basically, Moon is the cosmic pimp. My sister for example. She was very pretty, and now her knees are trashed from pounding the pavement so much. She doesn't have good posture; she walks with a stoop and she's 27 years old. She sold a thousand bucks a day worth of roses and carnations for Sun Myung Moon. That was how he got a fair amount of his early money. The Washington Times is a good example, how it can survive. Where does all the money come from? It operates, what, at a 50 million dollar loss?

YSp: Did any of these squads in your household work on campuses? Did you know people who worked in CARP [Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles]?

Greene: Sure. I did it for a couple of days. See, one of the favorite ways that the Unification Church likes to operate is that, since Satan was so sneaky, such a liar, has deceived humanity for a millennia, in order to take the world back from Satan sometimes you have to be able to out-lie Satan. That's called "Heavenly Deception."

If I'm a Moonie and I've got a goal—whether it's to influence you because you're a high-level scientist that can shape certain governmental policies, or whether you're just a tourist on the street that I'm trying to sell a flower to,



27 November 1982: 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization marches up Constitution Avenue after stopping KKK. Moonie libel targeted anti-Klan victory.

Letters

The Labor-Black Mobilization march story

Editor's note: On Nov. 30, 1982, the Washington Times ran a story on the Labor-Black Mobilization march. We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day.

The Washington Times

...the march... the Klan... the Washington Times... the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League... the violence on that day... the Washington Times... the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League... the violence on that day...

SL/SYL vindicated—Moonie press retracts deadly libel.

Moonie cultists are, at this point in time, fascists (while their goals are certainly fascist, they are not a paramilitary organization). Nor do we agree with Ford's defense of the practice of "deprogramming" Moonies. As Marxists we fight for a government which will bring an end to the exploitation and oppression of man by man: we find all attempts to forcibly impose a pattern of behavior, set of beliefs or "messiah" onto others antithetical to our very purpose in fighting for a society where human beings will be free to develop to their fullest potential. But our interview with Ford makes lively, interesting, and for us gratifying reading.

it's for your benefit that I lie to you and make you do what I want you to do. Because if you do what I want you to—me being a heavenly child and representative of the messiah—you would go to a higher place in the spirit world after you die. So I'm doing it for your spiritual benefit.

This has application. So, with the individual not having any idea that Moon is behind it, or that the Unification Church is involved in any way, he'll get snowed by a front group such as CARP. Because that's how Moon maintains the secrecy, to have a front group that's not ostensibly connected with the parent group. CARP is one of those groups, the Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles. They are the organization whose job it is to influence students and influence campuses.

What the result is, what the effect is, of this organization is the denial of free speech. That's how they work, is they deny free speech, they deny freedom of information. Essentially they deny freedom of thought. Because if you're an intelligent being and you know how to think, what are your building blocks of thinking? It's information. And if your information's deprived, you can't think

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Crazed Moonie pummels burning Andropov effigy after U.S.' Korean Air Lines 007 war provocation, September 1983.

Stop the Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up of

Mozee and Palmiero!

Defense Effort Needs Funds

OAKLAND—The defense campaign on behalf of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, Bay Area phone workers who were fired from their jobs and are facing up to four and a half years in prison for doing their duty on the picket line during last summer's national phone strike, continues to draw broad support here. For the last four court appearances, the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (PSDC) has filled the courtroom with supporters, including fellow phone workers and other trade unionists.

At the recent January 17 hearing, Municipal Court Judge Joseph Carson ruled against a defense motion seeking "discovery" of materials from law enforcement agencies which would show the massive conspiracy of the police and the phone company during the strike. The motion included 29 pages of testimony from workers active on the picket lines which documented a pattern of cop-protected management violence. Not a single scab has been prosecuted. Carson, however, ruled that there was "not sufficient foundation" for the defense motion.

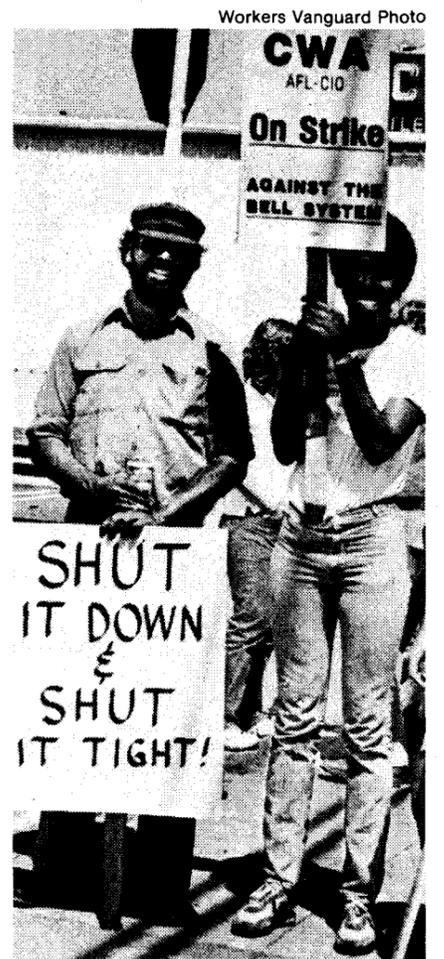
This racist, anti-union frame-up of Lauren and Ray is part and parcel of an intense union-busting offensive in the area and nationwide. Last August, while on a picket line in the Klan-infested town of San Leandro, Lauren was struck in the face by a racist scab/manager—one Michelle Rose Hansen. Hansen hurled the racist epithet "black nigger bitch" at Lauren; Lauren defended herself and her picket line from this racist company assault. Her companion Ray came to her defense. Now the interracial couple, with three de-

pendent children to support, are being dragged through the bosses' courts at staggering expense. Meanwhile the racist scab still has her job. Lauren and Ray were targeted by Ma' Bell and the District Attorney because they are avowed socialists, members of the Militant Action Caucus of the Communications Workers of America and because Lauren was a former and founding member of the Black Panther Party in Oakland for ten years.

Backing for the defense effort has come from more than 20 unions, over 160 labor officials, minority student and civil rights groups, a variety of left-wing political spokesmen and several prominent black bourgeois politicians. A widely publicized labor/black mobilization demanding "Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!" took place here last October 29. Unionists understand that the "right to strike" means nothing without the ability to have real picket lines that nobody had better cross. The broad support for and exposure of the October 29 march and rally resulted in the D.A. dropping the "great bodily injury" clause which carries up to four and a half years, the day before the protest. Particularly now—with the scab murder of Amalgamated Transit Union member Ray

Phillips during the bitter Greyhound strike, the massive firings and prosecution of Greyhound strikers and the recent company/scab murder of striking oil worker Greg Goobic in Rodeo, California—defense of the picket line must be seen as a life-or-death question for the labor movement.

The phone company and their government friends hope that by dragging out the court proceedings, active support and money for the defense case will dissipate. Thousands of dollars have been spent already. While the CWA union has paid some legal expenses, there continues to be much additional costly activity to be done. Many unions and rank-and-file unionists have donated generously. In January a "rent party" for Lauren and Ray raised over \$1,500 through ticket sales and donations from phone workers and other supporters. Three older black women who attended the function took *Workers Vanguard* supplements on the case back to their respective churches. But PSDC spokesmen emphasize that the vital defense work is endangered by mounting financial costs. *Young Spartacus* urges our readers to dig in their pockets, go to their friends, teachers, organizations and send a much-needed contribution to: Phone Strikers Defense



Workers Vanguard Photo
Committee, Box 24152, Oakland, CA 94623. Supporters of the PSDC effort will mobilize for a demonstration before the March 1 preliminary hearing which is scheduled for 9:00 a.m., Department 2, Hayward Municipal Court, 24405 Amador, Hayward, California. Be there! ■

Houston and Etta Bring the House Down D.C. Benefit Success

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Over 200 people packed the second floor of the IBEX Club here February 1 to hear three sets of hot jazz from saxophonist Houston Person and his group, featuring vocalist Etta Jones. Houston and Etta gave one of their best performances ever for the benefit/fundraiser on behalf of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC). The event celebrated the 27 November 1982 anti-Klan victory here, when the SL/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the KKK from a threatened race-hate provocation. Proceeds from the benefit go toward paying for the SL/SYL's successful legal campaign against the Moonies' *Washington Times* deadly libel of the Mobilization's organizers, and toward the defense of framed-up California phone strikers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.

The crowd was a lively mixture of people from Washington's labor, black and jazz milieu. Emcee and National Maritime Union militant Gene Herson introduced Tony Martinez, president of Capital Branch 142 of the National Association of Letter Carriers, who distributed scores of fliers for the benefit throughout the post office. A South African student attending Howard University beamed, "This is like a dream come true," as he explained to *YSp* that he had been listening to Person since he was seven years old over the black South African station "Radio S.R."

We extend our heartfelt gratitude to Houston Person, Etta Jones and the other fine musicians in the group, organist David Braham and drummer Frank Jones, for a fine evening in the service of labor and black struggle. ■



Workers Vanguard Photos
Best performance ever by Houston Person (left inset) and Etta Jones (right inset) at February 1 D.C. benefit.

Special Blues Benefit for the Phone Strikers Defense Committee

Stop the racist anti-labor frame-up of Mozee and Palmiero!

Featuring

Big Joe Turner	Peewee Crayton	Percy Mayfield
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Special Appearance: actor William Marshall performing an excerpt from his one-man show as the great Frederick Douglass

Sunday, February 19, 3 to 9 p.m.

Ticket Outlets

Chatterton's Book Store 1818 North Vermont Ave.	Flash Records 1861 West Adams Blvd.	Jerry White Enterprises 4308 1/2 South Vermont Ave.
	Aquarian Book Shop 1342 West Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.	

At the National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 24, 774 South Valencia

For more information: **LOS ANGELES** \$5 donation
(213) 663-1216 or 1217 Proceeds to the PSDC

Spartacus Youth League Class Series

BOSTON
Marxist Class Series
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
February 23, March 6
Sever 307
Harvard University
For more information: (617) 492-3928

CLEVELAND
Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
Alternate Sundays, 12 noon
February 19, March 4
U. Center, Rm. 110
Cleveland State University
For more information: (216) 621-5138

DETROIT
Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.
February 22, March 7
Rm. 530 SCB
Wayne State University
For more information: (313) 961-1680



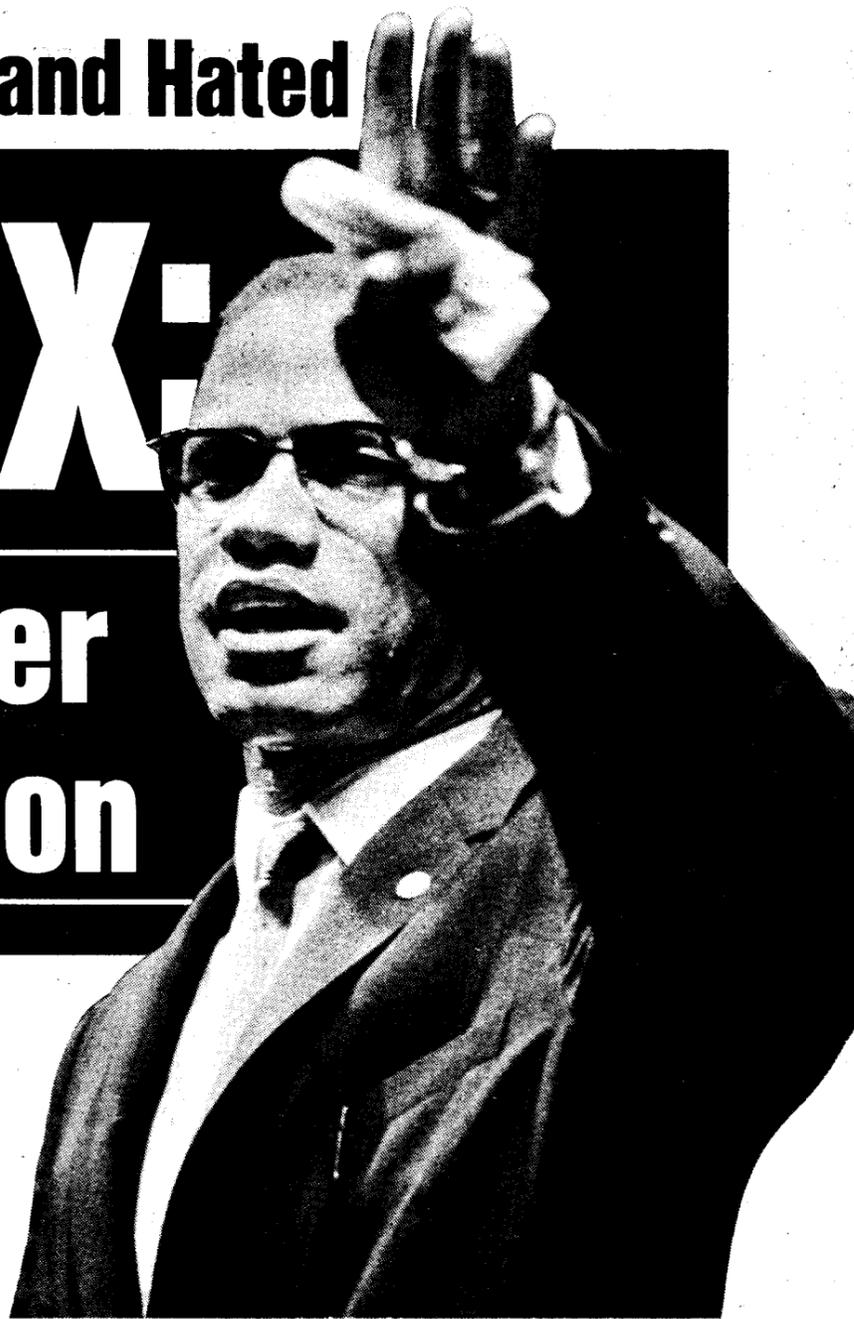
LOS ANGELES
**Trotskyism and the
Struggle for State Power**
Tuesday, 7:00 p.m.
February 14
UCLA, Ackerman Union, Rm. 2412
For more information: (213) 663-1216 or 1217

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
Tuesdays, 7:00 p.m.
February 21, 28, March 6
Pyramid Book Store
2849 Georgia Avenue N.W.
For more information: (202) 636-3537

The Man That Liberals Feared and Hated

Malcolm X:

Courageous Fighter For Black Liberation



Gordon Parks

PART ONE OF TWO

"Malcolm was our manhood, our living black manhood! This was his meaning to his people. And, in honoring him, we honor the best in ourselves...."

—Ossie Davis, 27 February 1965

Nineteen years ago the most admired and respected, the most hated and feared black man of his generation was assassinated while speaking at Harlem's Audubon Ballroom. Lenin once observed that while a revolutionist is alive and fighting, the oppressor class persecutes him, hounds him, vilifies him, circulates the most vile slanders about him. But after he's dead sometimes an effort is made to co-opt his memory, to portray him as a well-meaning, if misguided, do-gooder. The same people who savagely attacked him when alive now mourn him as a "great loss to the movement." Something like this has happened to Malcolm X.

The white rulers of this country hated Malcolm X and responded with undisguised malicious glee to his violent death. The director of the official United States Information Agency, Carl Rowan (who is black) dismissed Malcolm X contemptuously as "an ex-convict, ex-dope peddler who became a racial fanatic." The obituary editorial in the liberal *New York Times* (22 February 1965) vilified him as "an extraordinary and twisted man, turning many true gifts to evil purpose":

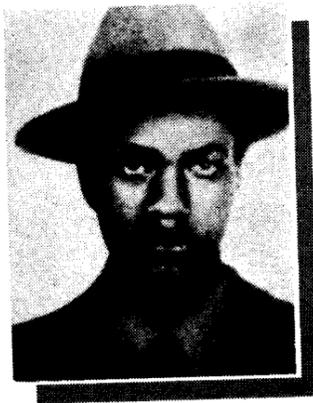
"...his ruthless and fanatical belief in violence not only set him apart from the responsible leaders of the civil rights movement and the overwhelming majority of Negroes. It also marked him for notoriety, and for a violent end."

In other words, they think he got what he deserved.

The "responsible" civil rights leaders, needless to say, fed into the ruling class hysteria against Malcolm and the Black Muslims. Martin Luther King declared their views "bordered on a new kind of race hatred and an unconscious advocacy of violence." Malcolm returned the compliment, denouncing King as a "twentieth-century Uncle Tom" whose "primary concern is defending the white man."

Now and for some time past, however, an effort has been made to identify Malcolm with the "respectable" black leaders whom he despised. One of the most despicable of the whole lot is Bayard Rustin, the kind of "socialist"

who's apt to be funded by the CIA. In 1963 Rustin was chief organizer for the March on Washington, which Malcolm dubbed "the farce on Washington." Yet not long after Malcolm was killed Rustin claimed, "Malcolm was moving toward the mainstream of the civil rights movement when his life was cut short" (*Down the Line* [1970]). Corpses can't protest. Rustin's line has been taken up by other reformist fakers. At the rally last August 27 (actually a pray-in for the Democratic Party) to commemorate the 1963 March on Washington, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party carried a banner depicting King and Malcolm together. And Jack Barnes' Socialist Workers Party ran speeches by Malcolm and MLK in the *Militant*, but not



Time

"Detroit Red"—Malcolm X at age 19

Malcolm's scathing attack on the '63 March and King's rose-colored "dreams." Today the name of Malcolm X is being prostituted in the service of Democratic Party liberalism, which the real Malcolm X fought to the end with all the force of his extraordinary personality.

At a critical moment in contemporary American history Malcolm X was the voice of black militancy. His importance and appeal lay, in particular, in his intransigent opposition to the "white man's puppet Negro 'leaders,'" as he called them. Martin Luther King told the world that black people loved the white oppressor and would answer the racists' bombings and beatings with Christian forgiveness. He hoped in this way to shame the Northern white liberal establishment into moving against Southern Jim Crow by demonstrating the moral superiority of black people to the KKK killers and their confederates like George Wallace and Bull Connor. The idea that blacks had to prove to the "good white massa" that they were

peaceable folk and god-fearing Christians enraged Malcolm to the depths of his being. It was degrading. Like the sheep reminding the wolf when it's time for dinner. Malcolm X cut through the sanctimonious claptrap and foot-shuffling hypocrisy of the "respectable" black leaders like a sharp knife going through a tub of butter:

"Just as Uncle Tom, back during slavery, used to keep Negroes from resisting the bloodhound or resisting the Ku Klux Klan by teaching them to love their enemies or pray for those who use them spitefully, today Martin Luther King is just a twentieth-century or modern Uncle Tom, or religious Uncle Tom, who is doing the same thing today to keep Negroes defenseless....

"...but the masses of black people today don't go for what Martin Luther King is putting down."

—Interview in Louis E. Lomax, *When the Word Is Given...* (1963)

Within months after Malcolm spoke these words, Harlem erupted in the first of a series of ghetto explosions which shook white racist America.

Malcolm X was the voice of that angry black ghetto. He spoke for the desperate and angry ghetto masses

because he had been one of them. When he spoke of the hell the white oppressor had made for black people in America, of the torments—psychological as well as material—they suffered every day, he had been there.

Detroit Red Becomes Malcolm X

Malcolm Little was born in Omaha, Nebraska in 1925. His father was a Baptist minister and an organizer for Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement. His mother was a West Indian. Her mother had been raped by a white colonialist. This accounted for Malcolm's reddish hair and relatively light complexion. Reverend Earl Little was targeted by the local Klansmen as a "bad nigger," and shortly after Malcolm was born the family moved to Lansing, Michigan. When Malcolm was six his father was killed by the Black Legion, the local version of the Klan. The family soon disintegrated as his mother broke down and was institutionalized. Malcolm then experienced the typical pattern of foster homes and reform schools.

As a teenager he worked at the usual dead-end menial jobs (shoeshine boy in

Eve Arnold/Magnum

Malcolm X with then-mentor Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims.



a dance hall, sandwich man on the railroads), then drifted into Harlem where he became an all-purpose hustler nicknamed Detroit Red. At one point during World War II he was a steerer for a Harlem madam specializing in kinky sex. Her clientele came almost entirely from the upper echelons of white society:

"...these weren't college boys, these were their Ivy League fathers. Even grandfathers, I guess. Society leaders. Big politicians. Tycoons. Important friends from out of town."

—*The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965)

Twenty years later Detroit Red, now Malcolm X, would flay the white ruling class when its spokesmen talked about the "loose morals" of ghetto blacks.

Detroit Red was finally busted in 1946 for running a burglary ring in the Boston area. He might have gotten off lightly except that he had involved a couple of white, upper-class Cambridge women, who got their kicks hanging around the black lumpen milieu:

"Nobody wanted to know anything at all about the robberies. All they could see was that we had taken the white man's women...."

"Later, when I learned the full truth about the white man, I reflected many times that the average burglary sentence for a first offender, as we all were, was about two years. But we weren't going to get the average—not for our crime." [emphasis in original]

—*Ibid.*

Malcolm was sentenced to ten years in prison and served seven. He was so generally hostile his fellow inmates called him Satan. Then suddenly Satan converted to the Nation of Islam. A brother and a sister of his had introduced Malcolm to "the natural religion for the black man." Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam originated in Detroit in the early 1930s out of the same social soil which produced Garveyism: the uprooted black Southern peasantry thrown into the Northern ghettos under conditions of economic desperation. It was a typical religious sect of the oppressed, promising apocalyptic redemption: "the last shall become first."



Wide World

The great truth teller for black America addressing mass street rally in Harlem.

It taught that American Negroes were originally members of the lost tribe of Shabazz stolen by slave traders from the holy city of Mecca. The original race of mankind was black. Then 6,000 years ago the big-headed scientist Yacub, rebelling against Allah, grafted the white man ("the blue-eyed devil") through a series of fiendish experiments. The white man was fated to subjugate and oppress the black man for 6,000 years. Now the white man's reign was about to end, his fall being signalled by World War I.

Although the Nation of Islam considered the white man to be the personification of all evil, the sect opposed in principle any struggle against racist oppression. Elijah Muhammad instructed his followers to respect existing authority and not get in trouble with the white man's law. Some prison officials welcomed black convicts converting to

the Nation of Islam for the Muslims demanded an absolute eschewal of heroin, a break with the lumpen/hustler milieu of petty criminal ghetto existence and stressed literacy and self-education.

Malcolm's conversion was associated with a total intellectual transformation. He became a voracious reader, so much so that he damaged his eyesight. He read everything but concentrated on world history. What he learned about the European colonization of Africa, Asia and the Americas reaffirmed, in his mind, Elijah Muhammad's teaching that the white man was a devil created to oppress the black people of the world. Years later, however, Malcolm's intense interest in world history and politics would serve as a bridge from separatist religious sectarianism to political radicalism.

On being paroled in 1952 Malcolm went to Detroit where he became an

active member of the Nation of Islam. Soon he was made a minister, and in 1954 was appointed minister of Temple No. 7 in Harlem, which he made into one of the sect's most successful and respected congregations.

A man of strong convictions and will power, another aspect of Malcolm's personality impressed almost everyone who encountered him. He was fundamentally open-minded. He considered seriously other people's views and arguments however distant from his own. It was part of his unquenchable thirst for knowledge and understanding.

Malcolm and the Civil Rights Militants

Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam had existed for more than a quarter century attracting a few thousand followers and no serious interest among politically active blacks. Then in the early 1960s, at the height of the civil rights movement, the Black Muslims suddenly exploded into the consciousness of black and (to a lesser extent) white America. Why? King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) politicized religion in the black community. The mainstream black Christian churches became closely identified with the Northern liberal establishment, specifically support to the Kennedy/Johnson administration.

It had always been a basic tenet of the Nation that the black Christian preacher was the white man's main tool for keeping blacks subjugated. By this Elijah Muhammad meant nothing more than that Christianity prevented the black masses from discovering "the natural religion of the black man." But with the rise of the SCLC-led civil rights movement, the Black Muslims' condemnation of Christian submissiveness appeared to be something more, namely, a political criticism of King's pacifistic liberalism and ties to the white ruling class. For example, in 1959 Elijah Muhammad declared:

"You fear and love (the white Chris-
continued on page 8

Of all the national Negro leaders in this country, the one who was known uniquely for his militancy, intransigence, and refusal to be the liberals' frontman has been shot down. This new political assassination is another indicator of the rising current of irrationality and individual terrorism which the decay of our society begets. Liberal reaction is predictable, and predictably disgusting. They are, of course, opposed to assassination, and some may even contribute to the fund for the education of Malcolm's children, but their mourning at the death of the head of world imperialism had a considerably greater ring of sincerity than their regret at the murder of a black militant who wouldn't play their game.

Black Muslims?

The official story is that Black Muslims killed Malcolm. But we should not hasten to accept this to date unproved hypothesis. The New York Police, for example, had good cause to be afraid of Malcolm, and with the vast resources of blackmail and coercion which are at their disposal, they also had ample opportunity, and of course would have little reason to fear exposure were they involved. At the same time, the Muslim theory cannot be discounted out of hand because the Muslims are not a political group, and in substituting religion for science, and color mysticism for rational analysis, they have a world view which could

REPRINTED FROM SPARTACIST NO. 4, MAY-JUNE 1965

MALCOLM X

encompass the efficacy and morality of assassination. A man who has a direct pipeline to God can justify anything.

No Program

The main point, however, is not who killed Malcolm, but why could he be killed? In the literal sense, of course, any man can be killed, but why was Malcolm particularly vulnerable? The answer to this question makes of Malcolm's death tragedy of the sharpest kind, and in the literal Greek sense. Liberals and Elijah have tried to make Malcolm a victim of his own (non-existent) doctrines of violence. This is totally wrong and totally hypocritical. Malcolm was the most dynamic national leader to have appeared in America in the last decade. Compared with him the famous Kennedy personality was a flimsy cardboard creation of money, publicity, makeup, and the media. Malcolm had none of these, but a righteous cause and iron character forged by white America in the fire of discrimination, addiction, prison, and incredible calumny. He had a difficult to define but almost tangible attribute called charisma. When you heard Malcolm speak, even when you heard

him say things that were wrong and confusing, you wanted to believe. Malcolm could move men deeply. He was the stuff of which mass leaders are made. Commencing his public life in the context of the apolitical, irrational religiosity and racial mysticism of the Muslim movement, his break toward politicalness and rationality was slow, painful, and terribly incomplete. It is useless to speculate on how far it would have gone had he lived. He had entered prison a burglar, an addict, and a victim. He emerged a Muslim and a free man forever. Elijah Muhammad and the Lost-Found Nation of Islam were thus inextricably bound up with his personal emancipation. In any event, at the time of his death he had not yet developed a clear, explicit, and rational social program. Nor had he led his followers in the kind of transitional struggle necessary to the creation of a successful mass movement. Lacking such a program, he could not develop cadres based on program. What cadre he had was based on Malcolm X instead. Hated and feared by the power structure, and the focus of the paranoid feelings of his former colleagues, his charisma made him dangerous, and his lack of

developed program and cadre made him vulnerable. His death by violence had a high order of probability, as he himself clearly felt.

Heroic and Tragic Figure

The murder of Malcolm, and the disastrous consequences flowing from that murder for Malcolm's organization and black militancy in general, does not mean that the militant black movement can always be decapitated with a shotgun. True, there is an agonizing gap in black leadership today. On the one hand there are the respectable servants of the liberal establishment; men like James Farmer whose contemptible effort to blame Malcolm's murder on "Chinese Communists" will only hasten his eclipse as a leader, and on the other hand the ranks of the militants have yet to produce a man with the leadership potential of Malcolm. But such leadership will eventually be forthcoming. This is a statistical as well as a social certainty. This leadership, building on the experience of others such as Malcolm, and emancipated from his religiosity, will build a movement in which the black masses and their allies can lead the third great American revolution. Then Malcolm X will be remembered by black and white alike as a heroic and tragic figure in a dark period of our common history.

Bay Area Spartacist Committee,
2 March, 1965

Malcolm X...

(continued from page 7)

tians) though you are even disgraced and killed by them—from your ministers of their slavery religion down to the lowly, ignorant man in the mud.”

—quoted in C. Eric Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America* (1961)

Many black militants, who couldn't care less about the tribe of Shabazz, nonetheless could agree with this sentiment. Many more would do so in the next few years.

Whereas Elijah Muhammad continued to emphasize the sect's religious nature, Malcolm X *did not*. Rather he attacked the “respectable” black leaders with a hitherto unheard of power and incisiveness:

“The greatest miracle Christianity has achieved in America is that the black man in white Christian hands has not grown violent. It is a miracle that 22 million black people have not *risen up* against their oppressors—in which they would have been justified by all moral criteria, and even by the democratic tradition!... The *miracle* is that the white man's puppet Negro ‘leaders,’ his preachers and the educated Negroes laden with degrees, and others who have been allowed to wax fat off their black poor brothers, have been able to hold the black masses quiet until now.” [emphasis in original]

—*Autobiography of Malcolm X*

A few years later this would be pretty tame stuff among black (and white) radicals. But in the early 1960s King was a sacred cow and no one else—but no one—was saying these things.

Here one might naturally ask, but what of the left, what about those groups claiming to be Marxist and Leninist? Didn't they also denounce King's pacifistic liberalism and his subordination to the Kennedy White House? No, they did not! The pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP) leapt to King's defense against the Black Muslims' attack:

“One does not have to agree with Dr. Martin Luther King's theory of ‘love thy enemy’ to recognize the great contribution he and his followers are making toward the fight for freedom. But rather than join with him in these great struggles, the Muslim-inflamed press has set him up as a whipping boy.”

—Claude Lightfoot, “Negro Nationalism and Black Muslims,” *Political Affairs*, July 1962

Exhibiting typical Stalinist mentality, black CP spokesman Lightfoot not only condemned the Muslims for opposing the “anti-monopoly coalition” with the Kennedy Democrats, but also insinuated, “there is now evidence that they are working with ultra-Right fascist forces.” It was to be expected that the

The fight for the right of organized, armed self-defense, especially in the South, was and is key demand of Spartacist program for black liberation.

Spartacist Photos



1964: Spartacist editor James Robertson addresses united-front rally called by Harlem Solidarity Committee to defend Harlem masses against police riot.



Cops brutalize black woman in Birmingham (left); Muhammad Speaks cartoon lambasts M.L. King's pacifism (right).



Fight against Jim Crow in the South gripped black America; separatist Muslims abstained from struggles.

long-reformist CP would join in the liberals' hate campaign against the Black Muslims.

But what of the ostensibly Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP)? By the early 1960s the SWP had become a rapidly rightward-moving centrist party. Its opportunist appetites were especially clear and especially gross when it came to the black movement. Thus the SWP became the most fawning sycophants of Malcolm X (pages and pages of the *Militant* were given over to his speeches) while *simultaneously* tailing the “respectable” black leaders around King! Consider the 1963 March on Washington, which had been co-opted by the Kennedy White House. The night before Malcolm called a press conference to denounce it as nothing but a circus, a picnic. The SWP's line was, to say the least, different. The *Militant* (5

August 1963) ran a front-page banner headline that could have been dictated by King or Rustin: “All Out for Washington March to Win Jobs and Freedom!”

A few months later the difference between Malcolm X as a courageous enemy of the American ruling class and his craven SWP sycophants was exposed in a far more dramatic way. Nothing Malcolm ever said before or after so enraged white liberal America as his response to the Kennedy assassination. He said it was a case of “chickens coming home to roost” and added with a twinkle in his eye: “Being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad” (*New York Times*, 2 December 1963). The media, the liberal establishment, the civil rights leaders all pilloried Malcolm for having—oh, how horrible—“mocked” the death of “our beloved president.” Elijah Muhammad used the furor over the “chickens come home to roost” speech to suspend his all-too-famous and controversial lieutenant from speaking in public.

No one could accuse the SWP of “mocking” the death of imperialist commander-in-chief Kennedy. Party national secretary Farrell Dobbs sent condolences to the widow Kennedy. The SWP not only kissed Jacqueline Kennedy's mourning dress, but also tried to hide behind the black robes of chief justice Earl Warren. Under the super-head, “At the Moment of Crisis There Were Voices of Sanity,” the *Militant* (2 December 1963) ran as front-page headline Warren's hand-wringing statement: “If We Really Love This Country We Must Abjure Hatred.” No wonder black militants considered the SWP, if they considered it at all, a gutless bunch not worthy to shine Malcolm's shoes.

The rightward degeneration of the SWP, especially its open theoretical revisionism over Cuba and its abstentionism and opportunism toward the black movement on the domestic

terrain, gave rise to a left opposition, the Revolutionary Tendency. This was the origin of the present Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. Malcolm spoke for black militants when he declared, “we are ready to fight and die in defense of our lives.” Like Malcolm, we denounced King's turn-the-other-check pacifism and dependence on the federal government and called for *organized, armed self-defense* against racist terror. A resolution presented by the Revolutionary Tendency to the SWP youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in 1963 stated:

“General demands in the south must be: “A) For *organized self-defense* movements in southern cities—for the tactics of Robert F. Williams [a former black Marine who organized armed self-defense to protect the civil rights movement in Monroe, North Carolina]; against federal military intervention, which always supports the status quo. “B) Against discrimination in unions and industries—especially companies with government contracts or subsidies. “C) For drives for unionization. “D) For independent political organization—make voter registration meaningful.”

—“The Negro Struggle and the Crisis of Leadership,” *YSA Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 7, No. 5, August 1963

The SWP, however, refused to confront the black radical currents, covering its gutless abstentionism with a convenient “dual vanguardist” outlook which redefined the SWP implicitly as a “white party” whose only contribution to the black struggle was to enthuse over “whatever the black people want.” The Revolutionary Tendency, expelled from the SWP in 1963-64 in the first political purge in that party's history, founded the Spartacist League in 1966, with a few dozen members. The fledgling SL was too small to reach and influence more than a very small number of the masses of radicalized black activists, and unable to break down the hardening black/white line of the New Left radical movement which sealed us off from subjectively revolutionary black militants of the period.

As the young civil rights activists became more radical, they found in Malcolm the one man who expressed boldly the thoughts and half-thoughts they were still afraid to voice themselves. By 1963-64 a majority of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) no longer believed in non-violence as a moral principle. Many never had. But they were as yet unwilling to publicly renounce pacifistic liberalism and break with King, whom they privately and derisively dubbed “De Lawd.” It was Malcolm who spoke for them. (On SNCC's evolution, see “SNCC: ‘Black Power’ and the Democrats,” *Workers Vanguard* No. 327, 8 April 1983).

Many, if not most, young black

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

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

Chicago

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

New York City

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

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

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

activists sympathized with the Cuban and Vietnamese Revolutions. By the time Kennedy was assassinated in late 1963, few black militants shed tears for world imperialism's chieftain, the man who ordered the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Green Berets into Vietnam. Yet SNCC, James Farmer's CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) and the other civil rights groups were still dependent on the white liberal establishment and joined in mourning its "martyred hero." So when Malcolm made his "chickens come home to roost" speech, thousands of black militants applauded... silently.

Malcolm had become the great truth teller for black America, the one man who told it like it is. Even some members of the black liberal establishment recognized that Malcolm had their number. The actor Ossie Davis, who had emceed the March on Washington, said Malcolm succeeded "in making Uncle Toms, compromisers, and accommodationists—I deliberately include myself—thoroughly ashamed of the urbane and smiling hypocrisy we practice merely to exist in a world whose values

we both envy and despise" ("On Malcolm X," appended to *Autobiography*).

If Malcolm had this kind of impact on an Ossie Davis, his effect on the young civil rights militants was electric. It was as if the black activists in SNCC, CORE and the other civil rights groups were doing legal work under a hostile regime, while Malcolm provided their illegal, underground press from exile. He said loud and clear what they hinted at using Aesopian language. The 1963 March on Washington is a good case in point. As it became clear that the protest was being manipulated by the Kennedy White House, the SNCC militants became increasingly critical of the event. The March organizers forced SNCC chairman John Lewis to delete from his prepared speech a passage considered especially offensive to the liberal establishment. The white power structure could still censor the leadership of SNCC; they could *not* censor Malcolm. He lashed out at what the March had become:

"...it lost its militancy. It ceased to be angry, it ceased to be hot, it ceased to be uncompromising. Why, it even ceased

to be a march. It became a picnic, a circus...."

—*Malcolm X Speaks*, edited by George Breitman (1966)

Malcolm's was the uncensored voice of black militancy.

But this was only one side—the positive side—of Malcolm's relation to the civil rights militants. Malcolm was, after all, a *separatist*, a man who declared, "No *sane* black man really wants integration!" Yet masses of blacks were fighting precisely to get into previously all-white schools, all-white public facilities, all-white neighborhoods, all-white jobs. In short, they were fighting for social, political and economic integration into American society. But how could Malcolm in good conscience have participated in the Harlem school boycotts for greater racial balance in the city's schools or in the marches for open housing in lily-white suburbs. Malcolm was a *critic* of the civil rights movement, a critic who expressed powerfully and effectively the feelings of the growing left wing of that movement. But he remained a man looking over the battlefield from a

certain distance. However much the young black militants admired Malcolm, they still marched against the racists with King and Farmer, not with the minister of the Nation of Islam's Temple No. 7 in Harlem.

Malcolm personified to an extreme degree the fundamental contradiction of black nationalism. As a doctrine, nationalism can sometimes attract militant blacks deeply alienated from this racist society and who have no illusions that it can be reformed. But American blacks are *not* a nation. They are an *oppressed color-caste* integrated into American capitalist society while forcibly segregated at the bottom of it. Elijah Muhammad's call upon the United States government to grant several states for a separate black nation was more pie-in-the-sky than any of King's dreams. Separatism is *not* a program for social struggle in racist America. This contradiction became clearer once Malcolm split from the Nation of Islam and attempted to build his own secular organization.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Harvard...

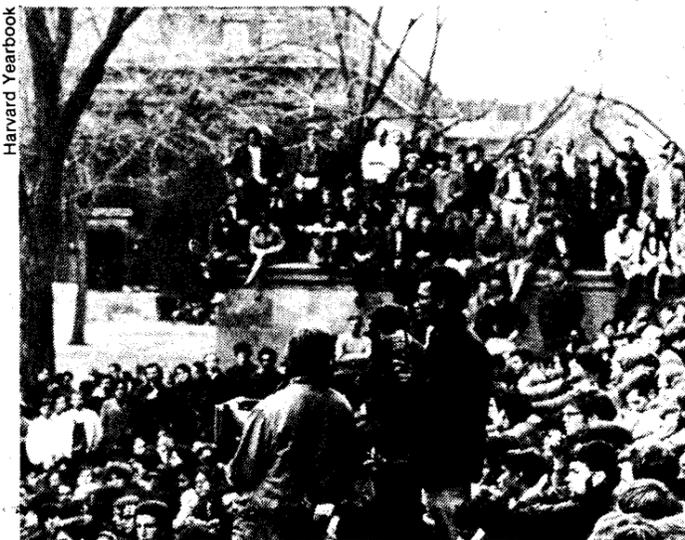
(continued from page 3)

Grateful Dead concert. She tells you the concert has been cancelled by Dean Epps because it was a "security risk." She invites you to the evening's "alternative entertainment": Epps will be conducting the Harvard Trustees in a concert at the Kennedy School. They've been rehearsing an a cappella special called "Harvard—Love It or Leave It" sung to the tune of "It's Springtime for Hitler and Germany." You're glad tomorrow is Martin Luther King's birthday, a national holiday, because you need a break. You learn Martin Luther King day is not observed by Harvard. Instead, classes will be cancelled next October in honor of the U.S. invasion of black Grenada.

Now, stop imagining and take a good look around. It's Harvard, 1984. ROTC is on the way back in and leftist students may be on the way out—but *not without a fight!* Dean Epps has threatened to expel two members of the Spartacus Youth League, Tom Crean '86 and Andre Weltman '86, for their role in the 600-strong protest of War Secretary Caspar Weinberger '38.

That Harvard is a bastion of snotty elitism, race and class privilege, and putrid liberal hypocrisy was best captured by right-wing Government Professor Mansfield who decried the protest of Weinberger as a violation of "free speech" and then went on to denounce affirmative action at Harvard: "there aren't enough Republicans on the Harvard faculty and there's far

It's right to rebel: Angry students gather to protest cop occupation and ROTC at Harvard, 1969.



too many Jews" (*Crimson*, 14 December 1983). The administration's blather about "free speech" for Weinberger is obscene. Weinberger is directly and personally responsible for the deaths of thousands in Central America, Lebanon, Grenada, Angola. Even Klaus Barbie, "the Butcher of Lyons" was finally extradited to be tried for his war crimes. That Weinberger sports a Harvard tie in place of an iron cross should not spare him from justice. He too should be extradited—to a liberated zone of El Salvador to be tried by his victims!

Epps' threats of expulsion have met with approval from the Brahmins' *Boston Globe* (30 January), but protest from faculty, students and the *Crimson*. Some political opponents of the SYL have made the record against the expulsion threat while crying sour

grapes that the SYL played no role in the protest and is an "irrelevant, unpopular group." It's an open and shut case of anti-communism—from Epps to the rad-lib fringe. When Weinberger's sabre rattled against the "evil empire," every "popular" anti-communist "leftist" in the audience politely listened while the Trotskyist SYL chanted "Defend the Soviet Union—the Main Enemy Is at Home!" Of course Epps also hopes that his threats against us will intimidate the entire student body from exercising its right to engage in political actions.

The hundreds of students who protested Weinberger because they oppose U.S. imperialism should join us in a campaign of united-front protest against the Kennedy School. This "school" effectively serves as an antechamber to the Pentagon's war room. Indeed the K-School makes little pretense to academic pursuits and glories in its role as a laboratory for government policy—from slashing food stamps and designing budget cuts that kill blacks to planning first strikes to kill Russians. Robert Murray, former Undersecretary of the Navy and Director of the Center

for Naval Warfare Studies, now has an office in the Kennedy School, where he directs the "National and International Security" Program. Murray has just returned from a holiday in Beirut where he served on the Long Commission, set up to determine "accountability" for the bombings there. Back at Harvard, his "students" are Flag and General rank officers from various branches of the armed services and "civilians of comparable rank" from the CIA, State Department, NSA, etc. His faculty, too, have extensive, direct ties to the U.S. government, espionage and military elites. These men are directly involved in plotting, advising and administering the terror and destruction by which U.S. imperialism is known worldwide. From the A-bomb to napalm, from the carpet bombing of Vietnam to the death squads of El Salvador, "Veritas" has bloody hands. The imperialist "academics" who scuttle around the Kennedy School belong in the basement of the Pentagon. The Kennedy School could be used instead for some humanitarian purpose—a shelter for pregnant Cliffies, perhaps.

While we have no illusions that any university, particularly Harvard, can be an "ivory tower," we do think it's important to take a stand against the direct use of the university for military purposes—from the Junior Lieutenant Calleys in ROTC to the Senior Dr. Strangeloves in the Kennedy School of Government.

If you are opposed to U.S. imperialism's campaign of terror from the Salvadoran death squads to the CIA's *contras* in Nicaragua, to support for racist apartheid, to the attacks on labor and minorities at home, then *join us* in a campaign against the Kennedy School where these counterrevolutionary schemes are hatched! Shut Down the K-School—Pentagon Think Tank for WW III!

Spartacus Youth League
31 January 1984

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

Ann Arbor: SYL, P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 961-1680

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Salvadoran Rebels...

(continued from page 1)

daughter and my American people that I have died fulfilling my obligation."

Despite the flow of Yankee dollars and arms (the latest Pentagon request is for some 400 million dollars in military aid, triple the current figure), it is no secret that the government army may collapse soon under the blows of the guerrilla forces. Even the Kissinger commission report admits: "Given the increasing damage—both physical and political—being inflicted on the economy and Government of El Salvador by the guerrillas, who are maintaining their strength, a collapse is not inconceivable" (*New York Times*, 12 January). A military rout of the puppet regime in San Salvador would squarely pose the threat of direct U.S. military intervention into El Salvador. It is the urgent internationalist duty of those who stand for leftist military victory in El Salvador to do all in our power to prevent Yankee imperialism from unleashing its dogs of war on the worker and peasant masses. Key to this is organizing *working-class* opposition in the U.S. to spike Washington's invasion through concrete acts of labor solidarity with the heroic FMLN fighters—boycotting military cargo bound for El Salvador, *labor strikes* against the intervention, and mass, militant demonstrations. The enemy of blacks and workers here "at home" is in Washington—the U.S. ruling class. Its defeats are our victories!

No Negotiated Sellout!

The key political *obstacle* to rebel victory is the guerrillas' own political leadership in the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). As FDR head Guillermo Ungo put it in an interview printed in the *Village Voice* (25 October 1983):

"We are not looking for military victory... what we are aiming for is some sort of provisional government where we would play an important but not dominant role, but where the far right does not play a dominant role either—a balanced, broad-based government."

A "negotiated settlement" which brings the rebel forces under the control of a government including "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson or the U.S.-favored death squad "democrats" like Duarte could only presage a massive new bloodbath! The last "balanced, broad-based" government in El Salvador—which included the Communist Party as well as Ungo and other FDR leaders—was the 1979 "human rights junta" installed by Jimmy Carter after mass marches and labor strikes brought down the government of General Romero. Within hours the "reform" government began the orgy of killing that continues to this day. Forty thousand workers and peasants have been massacred by the military and rightist death squads since "Bloody October" 1979.

In El Salvador as throughout Central America and the Third World generally, regular elections, an "independent judiciary" and all the other trappings of bourgeois "democracy" are *incompatible* with the maintenance of capitalist rule. The glaring contradiction between

the most elemental needs of the masses and the opulence and corruption of the tiny class of capitalists and landlords which sucks their blood cannot be obscured behind a façade of political "pluralism," paper ballots and parliamentary debates. Even the death squad "democratization" being pushed by the Reagan administration faces the prospect of collapse—the fear in Washington now is that the March 25 Salvadoran "elections" will result either in the victory of D'Aubuisson—who advocates the use of napalm against the civilian population—or in a military coup which installs him in power! So much for "human rights progress."

For the worker and peasant masses, only the destruction of the brutal oligarchy and the shattering of its army can open a way to liberation from poverty, oppression and massacres. With the hated regime tottering, a mass uprising of the urban workers and poor could drive the nails into the coffin of the rule of the oligarchs and their hated military guard dogs. For workers revolution in El Salvador!

Fearing that a negotiated settlement as proposed by Ungo & Co. may be the only alternative to a total military rout of the U.S.-backed regime, Democratic Party liberals in Congress and on the campaign trail advocate cutting a deal with the FDR. New York Democrat Daniel Moynihan, for example, came out strongly against the recommendation of the Reagan-appointed Kissinger commission that the U.S. massively increase its aid to the Salvadoran government and the Nicaraguan *contras*. While Reaganite mythology holds that the Salvadoran rebels are "Soviet surrogates," Moynihan, Arthur Schlesinger et al. recognize that the leadership of the FDR can be bought off:

"Mr. Moynihan said he had come away from the region [Central America] persuaded that the insurgents in El Salvador and the Sandinista Government in Nicaragua had reached a point where they understood the necessity of an accommodation with the United States."

—*New York Times*, 13 January

Or as Ungo put it rather more bluntly last year, "The United States has a right to stop the spread of communism" (*Baltimore Sun*, 3 May 1983).

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

In neighboring Nicaragua, had the Sandinistas sold out the July 1979 insurrection in pursuit of a "negotiated settlement" with the tyrant Somoza—who massacred 50,000 in the last days of his bloody rule—the *contra* terrorists would still have at their disposal all the resources of state power. But in the face of the popular insurrection the National Guard fled across the border into Honduras—and from that point on effective power was in the hands of the Sandinista army. The bourgeois state—the armed bodies of men whose function it is to defend capitalist property by any means necessary—was destroyed. Thus, the future direction of Sandinista Nicaragua remains undecided. The question in Nicaragua today is whether the Sandinistas will act as the Spanish Loyalists did in the 1930s when workers revolution was sacrificed on the altar of an alliance with the Spanish bourgeoisie in an effort to conciliate the "democrat-

ic" imperialist European states (e.g., England and France). The price paid by the Spanish proletariat for this popular front betrayal was over three decades of Franco's fascistic dictatorship. Or will they take the "Cuban road" and expropriate the bourgeoisie, carrying out a social revolution.

The popular militias have fought magnificently against the CIA-backed and bankrolled *contras*—the *contras* have not managed to hold any territory,

institute a nationalist and populist regime; it was the implacable hostility of U.S. imperialism that *forced* the victorious Cuban guerrilla movement to go beyond the bounds of capitalist property. Before the revolution, Cuba was a playground for the Mafia and a hellhole for the masses, particularly black Cubans. The Cuban Revolution smashed the U.S. imperialists' stranglehold on the economy, expropriated the local bourgeoisie (many of whom ended

Geographical Magazine



San Salvador, January 1980
200,000-strong protest in which trade unions played key role.

and even their most spectacular attacks (such as the bombings of port facilities) have not substantially damaged the Nicaraguan economy. The Sandinistas, however, capitulate to the pressure of the counterrevolution—reducing the number of Cuban advisers in the wake of Reagan's Grenada invasion, inviting *gusano* "refugees" back into the country, assisting the publication of *La Prensa*. And each time it whets the *contras'* appetite for blood. Speaking of the Sandinistas' plans to hold so-called "free elections" next year—in which parties openly supportive of U.S. imperialism will not only be allowed to participate but will receive four million dollars!—the head of the CIA's "Nicaraguan Democratic Front" said, "We feel our pressure has brought about this new attitude on the part of the Sandinistas. If this policy has paid dividends, I don't see any reason to change it" (*Washington Post*, 24 January).

In neighboring Honduras, the U.S. has stationed 5,000 troops and in its "Big Pine" operations has created the military infrastructure for a full-scale invasion. The U.S. has *not* invaded because, as Vietnam War criminal McGeorge Bundy succinctly put it: "As a target of military invasion, Nicaragua is to Grenada as a hand grenade is to a marshmallow" (*New York Times*, 6 January). Yet the vacillating and capitulatory policies of the Sandinistas hold out the danger of sapping the revolutionary will of the Nicaraguan masses and opening Nicaragua to an American invasion. The only way to defend the Nicaraguan revolution is to *complete* the revolution by expropriating the bourgeoisie as a class and by *extending* the revolutionary struggle throughout Central America, deposing the surrounding right-wing, U.S.-allied regimes. And if the U.S. were to invade in a region-wide civil war, not only would anti-Yankee sentiment ignite into a potentially revolutionary explosion throughout Central and South America, but the massive American casualties suffered in another unwinnable, dirty colonial war could set off an anti-government political explosion in the heartland of world imperialism.

Defend Cuba and Russia!

The liberals and reformists who strive to prevent the emergence of "Marxist states" in Central America—in the name of "human rights" no less—are fighting to insure that the exploited and oppressed Central American masses remain forever hungry, illiterate and poor. Castro did not set out to make a social revolution in Cuba, it is true, but only to

up in Miami, breeding *gusano* counter-revolutionary terror and hiring out as "rent-a-mercenary") and established a planned, nationalized economy. Together with these gains of the revolution, military and economic aid from the Soviet degenerated workers state has made possible the transformation of Cuba from a playground of the wealthy to a society where now education is free, medical care is free, housing is subsidized and the standard of living is the highest in Latin America (with the possible exception of oil-rich Venezuela). The literacy rate is higher in Cuba than in the United States. The enormous progress made possible by the planned economy is a vindication of Leon Trotsky's analysis that the achievement of basic social rights for the exploited masses in the colonial and semicolonial countries necessarily entails the destruction of capitalism.

The Russian Revolution of 1917, led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, signaled the beginning of the end for world capitalism. Through invasion of the young workers state in the aftermath of the revolution, through support to the counterrevolutionary White armies, economic blockade and above all through suppression of revolutionary struggles abroad, the imperialists succeeded in creating the conditions for the rise of the privileged, parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy—but they have not been able to reverse the fundamental gain of the Russian Revolution which defines the Soviet Union as a *workers state*: its planned, collectivized economic system. The USSR is today the military and industrial powerhouse of all the lands where capitalism has been overthrown, and for this reason evokes the implacable hatred of imperialism. In a world without Soviet military power, U.S. imperialism would have long ago reduced Havana, Hanoi, Peking as well as Moscow to irradiated rubble. And while the Kremlin Stalinists, treacherously, are *not* in fact arming the Salvadoran guerrillas, nor supplying Nicaragua with what it needs to wipe out the *contra* terrorists, for Reagan that's irrelevant. The purpose of his lies about "Soviet aggression" in Central America is to mobilize the American population for an *actual* war with the Soviet bloc. That is why we say: Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in Central America!

An effective defense of the workers states against imperialism requires a Trotskyist perspective embodied in Trotskyist parties. This is because these states are led by conservative, nationalistic Stalinist bureaucrats prepared to

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OBERLIN

"A Victory of Truth" ...

(continued from page 4)

as well. That's anti-freedom to speak, anti-freedom to listen, anti-freedom to hear, anti-freedom of information. It's a fascist essence.

YSp: Did you ever have any direct experience of, for example, what the Moonie goals were? For example, when CARP was at Berkeley?

Greene: All constituent goals are funneled to the top of the pyramid. And the goal at the top of the pyramid, as I stated earlier, is world domination and control. So each constituent unit is designed and intended to contribute to and feed into the top of the pyramid, to whatever the edict is of Sun Myung Moon.

For example, when Richard Nixon was right close to being kicked out of office, Moon delivered one of his ongoing series of "communications with god" and stated that "god loves Nixon" and that America should forgive, love and unite behind Richard Nixon.

Now, I've seen papers that were drafted by people with firsthand experience that revealed the fact that Moon was told by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency that Nixon was very favorable in his support to Korea. So that got translated. What happens? You get the local Unification Church in Washington, D.C. and probably thereabouts gathering together, I think it was 500 members that held a candlelight vigil outside of the White House, and

when Nixon walked out, the then-president of the Unification Church of America said: Kneel! And boom! Every pair of knees dropped.

YSp: So you spent eight months in the Unification Church?

Greene: Mm-hm.

YSp: What propelled you to become an active anti-Moonie?

Greene: What propelled me out of the Unification Church? My point of reference, my soul, my guts, was just being surrogated out of me and I was just being replaced. I felt that my will to survive was going to be broken.

YSp: Did you get any harassment from the Moonies?

Greene: Not then.

YSp: Have you gotten some since?

Greene: It doesn't stop!

YSp: What do they do?

Greene: Oh, they'd call me up on the telephone and hang up every time. I've gotten death threats.

YSp: In the mail?

Greene: No, left inside my pad! Through the locked door, on the steps! And on my desk! Once my girlfriend went home and my cat was in a box on her front doorstep. This was after a machete had been put in her bed and she leaves the house to go find me to make her feel better, she goes back home and then my cat's on her front doorstep in a cardboard box, scared to death but not dead.

When I was studying for the bar exam, during finals I got one set of threats. They weren't death, they were just: We know where you're wear.

YSp: They started again recently?

Greene: It's been ongoing ever since I found out that I passed the baby bar. Because I don't have a college degree, I had to take a first-year law students' examination in order to be able to keep going ahead in law school. If you don't pass it you don't get credit for the year you just did, and can't go on in the future. Within ten days after I passed it, they started hitting on my girlfriend. They were afraid of my deprogrammer brain in conjunction with the legal authority of being an officer of the court. That's what flipped them out.

Now one thing that I forgot to fill in is that according to the dogma—the religio-political-social dogma of Sun Myung Moon—the ultimate manifestation on earth of Satan is communism. That's why I love "Moonie God Apologizes to Marxist 'Satan'" [headline on Spartacist League press release of 26 December 1983]. Ha ha ha! You don't know how satisfying it was for me to read that. It almost makes me join.

YSp: Is that what propelled you to endorse our suit?

Greene: Yeah! I had extreme reservations: I am an Ayn Rand fan all the way down the line. I had reservations because I don't like communism because it's collectivist and I don't like collectivism. I like individualism. But the principles involved, the principle is right. And so, upon "mature reflection" I did. And I'm glad. I'm proud, you know I honestly am. I'm really proud.

The thing is freedom of speech, and is fascism. I mean, what do I know about the Spartacist League? I've got some

Ayn Rand image? Just because of people that Ayn Rand didn't like in Russia and that she so very convincingly portrayed as being so horribly fascist doesn't mean that the Spartacist League is the same way. The Spartacist League is a small but incredibly powerful group, as you know much better than I. What they [the Moonies] were trying to do is dirty. It's sleazy dirt. So I'm glad and I'm proud.

YSp: What do you think the significance of this victory is?

Greene: Well first off it's a victory for truth over lies. Because the Moonie newspaper lied their asses off and fabricated all kinds of intellectually heinous garbage, and the Spartacist League fought back and got a nice, full retraction. I see that as being a victory for, first, the intelligence of human beings; second, for the free flow of information; and last but not least, for the victory of truth over lies, or life over death, morality over corruption.

What kind of ripples will flow therefrom I don't know. I would hope that it's not a ripple but a tidal wave, but I suspect it's a lot closer to a ripple. But it is the statement that—in a judicial context—that once again the Unification Church got busted for lying and hurting somebody.

The thing to me that has the significance, and the beauty and the strength, is that victims are only voluntary. And that if you're made a victim and you don't want to be one, you can be the victor rather than the victim. To me, that's the beauty of the settlement and the letter of retraction of phony lies and bullshit. ■

sacrifice the next guy's revolution in the hope of negotiating their own deals with imperialism. The rise of the repressive Stalinist caste in Russia, usurping the political control of the working class and slaughtering the "Old Bolshevik" cadres, was associated with the anti-Leninist program of "socialism in one country." This meant abandoning the workers of the world in the hopeless pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" (or "détente") with world imperialism.

In the vain hope of placating the U.S., Castro's Cuba, in keeping with the policies laid down by the Kremlin bureaucrats, calls for a "negotiated settlement" of the Salvadoran civil war and counsels the Nicaraguan Sandinistas to eschew the "Cuban model." The Castroites are hostile to workers democracy and fearful of the consequences of extension of the revolutionary gains outside their borders. Proletarian political revolution throughout the Sino-Soviet states, combined with the struggle for socialist revolution in the imperialist bastions, is what is required to place the Cuban masses' unquestioned anti-imperialist heroism squarely in the service of the worldwide struggle for socialism.

The U.S. government sponsors massacres in Central America and drives toward anti-Soviet nuclear war for the same reason it busts unions, slashes social services and attacks the rights of black people in this country—to shore up the collapsing capitalist system. As Spartacist League spokesman Tweet Carter put it at an SI forum in Detroit January 29, "The obstacles to a workers' victory in Central America are the same kind of obstacles that the working class in Detroit, Chicago and all over the U.S. faces. It's...sellout leadership that constantly ties the hands of the workers behind their backs." The American working class is potentially the most powerful force for progressive social change on this planet. While reformist "socialists" strive to drag this powerhouse in tow behind the "liberal" imperialists, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League fight to mobilize the workers and oppressed in defense of their own class interests, not only domestically but internationally as well—against the anti-Soviet war drive,

against U.S.-sponsored slaughter in Central America. In the U.S., in Central America and around the world, the key condition for victory of the cause of proletarian revolution is a *revolutionary party* to crystallize and lead the fighting will of the exploited and oppressed. U.S. Hands Off the World! ■

Black Education...

(continued from page 2)

as early as 1867 with the head of the Freedmen's Bureau, General O.O. Howard, as its first president (p. 666).

The ex-slaveowners understood that education of the ex-slaves was a dangerous thing for white supremacy. They made the courageous black and white teachers ("carpetbaggers") frequent targets for nightriding Ku Klux Klan attack. This was the bloody leading edge of a political counterrevolution in which capitalists—North and South—defeated Reconstruction and ushered in the policies of Jim Crow. The education of black America remains one of the democratic promises of the Second American Revolution which was betrayed. It is one reason we say: "Finish the Civil War—Forward to a Workers State!"

Comradely,
Charles Burroughs

P.S. I'd like to see *YSp* do an article on the abominable, racist state of black education, but set in the historical context of the struggle for black equality. Program, leadership, a vision of the future status of black Americans have been sharply debated over the question of black education. Such an article might cover, among other topics, the heroic struggle of particular slaves to learn to read and write (see Frederick Douglass), education during Reconstruction, the arguments of W.E.B. Du Bois for the "talented tenth" against Booker T. Washington's accommodationist "industrial" education, black aspirations and liberal illusions in education as the motor force of racial equality during the civil rights movement. ■

Jackson...

(continued from page 12)

from a minority faction is a major deviation from political tradition."

—Hilltop [Howard University],
27 January

In fact black votes have been used to elect Democrats ever since the days of Franklin Roosevelt. The Democrats know damn well that it was black votes that elected Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter in 1976. After four years of the Georgia peanut boss black people stayed away from the polls in record numbers in 1980. It was during Carter's presidency that KKK/Nazi hit men gunned down five anti-Klan militants, members of the Communist Workers Party, in Greensboro, North Carolina and were acquitted by an all-white jury. To win in '84, the Democrats figure they've got to win at least 25 percent more black voters, particularly in the South. So what "Mundane" Mondale can't do on his own, the "charismatic" hustler Jesse Jackson will do for him—it's the same old game, but with a new black face.

If many of Jackson's supporters see in his campaign the possibility of pressuring the racist political establishment, reformist "socialists" like the Communist Workers Party (CWP) and Workers World Party (WWP) claim to see in the "objective dynamic" of the Jackson campaign something else again—namely, the "independent movement of oppressed people and the working class" (*Workers World*, 8 December 1983). WWP assures everyone that Jackson's "inadequacies"—such as "his past record on [opposition to] the ERA, abortion, and [support for] the policies of U.S. imperialism"—"is not the basis on which we support him." CWP honcho Phil Thompson argues that "tens of thousands of people are getting involved" and "if the masses of people are around Jesse Jackson that's where we have to be." "The movement is everything, the goal is nothing"—the German social democrat Eduard Bernstein spoke for all the phony "socialists" 85 years ago. But in fact there's *not even* a "movement." Jackson and his "Rainbow Coalition" are *running for*

Greensboro Daily News



Greensboro, November 1979. CWP leader Nelson Johnson kneels by slain comrade.

Mondale—who was Carter's vice president at the time of the Greensboro massacre.

Even if they were of a mind to do so, "black faces in high places" couldn't put a stop to the decay of this rotting capitalist system—a decay which hits hardest at those already on the bottom, i.e., mainly blacks. Just look at all the black elected officials—the so-called BEOs—now acting as overseers for America's 20th century plantations. Coleman Young in Detroit, Tom Bradley in Los Angeles, Kenneth Gibson in Newark—the black mayors around the country enforce Reagan's austerity and break strikes for the racist capitalist bosses. Or look at Chicago, where one of Harold Washington's first acts was to lay off black and white city workers. The masses of black and working people do indeed have illusions in the Democratic Party, and the task of socialists is to *combat* those illusions in order to forge an integrated, revolutionary *workers party*. One of the most popular chants at the November 27, 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. was the call to *finish the civil war*. Only the American working class, by ripping the productive wealth of this country out of the hands of its racist rulers and establishing a planned economy, can accomplish this task. Finish the Civil War! Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution! ■

Young Spartacus

Why Racist Democratic Party Needs Jesse Jackson

Hustling Black Votes for Mondale

The Jesse Jackson election campaign: it's become the event of the year, a fast-talking black preacher "taking on" seven white Democrats in a bid for his party's presidential nomination. But the real question in Jackson's campaign is who is being taken... for a ride. Jesse Jackson is nothing more than a much needed skill in the Democratic Party's con game. Jackson may argue that he is in the race to "rekindle a sensitivity to the poor and dispossessed," but the only thing he is looking to rekindle is the Democratic Party's ability to take away even more from the "poor and dispossessed." Jackson's job in the '84 election is to play the role of front man for the racist Democrats, to stop black struggle before it starts, to bolster the illusions that many blacks have in the racist Democratic Party.

Even among his own supporters, Jesse Jackson is widely known as a hustler. Jackson has shown he's willing to do anything for a price—pushing blacks to buy everything from Coca-Cola to the "Uncola" Seven-Up and Kentucky Fried Chicken. Now he's busy proving he'll do anything for a piece of the political action. Jackson had no problem sitting down for iced tea and pecan rolls with Klan-loving George "Segregation Forever" Wallace last spring, hugging him in the Montgomery, Alabama state house—cradle of the old slavocracy—and telling the state legislature that "The South can rise again!" It is not simply hyperbole to invoke Wallace's Klan connections. "One of the speechwriters in the 1964 Wallace presidential campaign team was Asa Carter, who was the leader of a Birmingham Klan group which in 1957 had castrated a black handyman (the KKK assailants had been sentenced to 20 years in prison, but Wallace paroled them when he became governor)... 'At least a Klansman will fight for his country,' he [Wallace] told a reporter in

1967" (Julian Sher, *White Hoods*). Jackson also hit a new low when he praised South Africa's minister of "Black Affairs" (equivalent to Hitler's minister of "Jewish Affairs") as a "courageous man" for some cosmetic "reforms" of apartheid!

Jackson will do anything to gain some political clout. Immediately after the racist murder of Martin Luther King in April 1968, Jackson ran to the press with tales that he was with King when the fatal bullet was fired, that he was the last person to speak to King, that he wore the dead man's blood on his shirt—all a disgusting pack of lies. As Georgia state legislator Hosea Williams, then a voter registration project director for King, countered, "I never saw him near the balcony [where King was shot]. The first person who got to King was Ralph Abernathy, the second was Andy Young, the third was an African journalist. I was the fourth person.... He used the death of Dr. King to suit himself" (*Washington Post*, 31 July 1983).

Today many of Jackson's supporters admit their man is a hustler. Indeed, Jackson's whole history has been one of hustling blacks, from being a broker for white capitalists in their exploitation of the ghetto to his current song and dance in the Democrats' show. We say: Don't buy Jesse Jackson! He is not "using" the Democratic Party to fight for black liberation; the racist Democrats are using the ever-willing Jackson to make you think they are on your side!

For Labor/Black Struggle!

Conditions for blacks in this country are hellish and getting worse all the time. Blacks are trapped in miserable ghettos, ravaged by cop terror, and have been subjected to an onslaught of racist attacks. The ruling class fears black anger and needs a way to head off the potential for explosive struggles against black oppression. Enter Jesse Jackson, a flashy demagogue in whom many blacks have illusions. Jackson is trying to drain black anger, to funnel black discontent into a presidential protest vote. Again and again, Jackson lectures, "We now have the right to vote, so we don't have to explode through riots or implode through drugs. We can use our vote and seek change through peaceful transition rather than violent and bloody revolution."

Desperate ghetto uprisings or voting for the racist Democratic Party—these are the "choices" Jackson offers blacks. Such a "choice" is no choice at all. Jackson offers no fight or hopelessness, despairing explosions of justified rage which nonetheless result in no real gains for the black masses—and often in brutal cop retaliation. Jackson not only plays on the fear of what happens when black people get "out of line" but slanders the mass, militant struggles

Democratic Party con games mean more of the same for black people. Jesse "runs" for Mondale.



which have made black history in this country. But the fact is that black people in this country have never won anything without a fight. Even the most minimal gains of the civil rights movement—including the exercise of the right to register and vote—were won because hundreds of thousands of blacks took action, occupied segregated restaurants, stores and public facilities, organized bus boycotts and rent strikes. But the militant civil rights struggles did not tap into the real source of black power. Blacks are segregated at the bottom of American society, but integrated into the economy—especially in strategic industries like auto, steel and transportation. The road to smashing black oppression—winning jobs, housing, education and stopping racist cop and fascist terror—is through the working-class conquest of power. And militant, racially united class struggle with a strong component of black leadership—like the November 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK from parading through the nation's capital—is what the black political front men and their capitalist masters fear the most.

Jackson and his "Rainbow Coalition" have no interest in black struggle, except in snuffing it out. When 10,000 blacks marched in Norfolk, Virginia last year to defend busing, Jackson spit on their struggle. "I'm not in town marching for desegregation. I'm marching for the

voter registration boost" (*Virginian-Pilot*, 14 May 1982). His answer to unemployment: racist "protectionism" schemes that blame foreign workers for the exploitation and profiteering of the capitalist bosses here at home. Reagan's astronomically high war budget has meant starving welfare mothers and taking lunches away from ghetto schoolchildren in pursuit of the U.S.' insane drive toward anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust. Jackson is for maintaining—not even cutting—the present level of military spending.

Jesse "Runs" for Mondale

Everyone knows that in this deeply racist capitalist society Jesse Jackson, or any black man, has a snowball's chance in hell of being elected president. The logic of the "Rainbow Coalition"—a "movement" that supposedly goes beyond "Jackson, the man"—was aptly described in a commentary by Roderick Edmond, the former student government president at Morehouse College in Atlanta:

"After the primaries, when Jackson's campaign moves from the political forefront to the backstage, the Rainbow faction will not disperse.... [It] can then negotiate with the remaining presidential candidates, Democrats and Republicans alike.... A president who is conscious that his election is attributed, by a recognizable extent, to support



Jesse Jackson and the Ku Klux Klan's friend George "Segregation Forever" Wallace in Alabama.

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