

# Young Spartacus

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## Drop the Charges Against the SYL Four!

# DRIVE WAR CRIMINALS OFF CAMPUS!



Charles Silvers/Daily Bruin

The ambassador to Washington of the bloody Salvadoran junta, Ernesto Rivas-Gallont, was met by militant student protest when he attempted to speak at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) on March 5. Chanting "Military victory is what we want—A workers tribunal for Rivas-Gallont!", 75 protesters responded to a call by the Spartacus Youth League to rally at 2 p.m. to drive this war criminal off campus. At 3 o'clock the protesters entered Dickson Hall where Rivas-Gallont was to speak. Two-hundred fifty students crowded into the room, over half of them to confront this representative of a heinous government which has murdered 50,000 workers, peasants and student-youth in the last three years. Rivas-Gallont was greeted with shouts of "Butcher!" and "You're responsible for the death of 50,000!"

But at this point the UCLA administration, intent on shoving the obscene appearance of this ambassador-of-death down the students' throats, adopted some of the methods of "democracy"—Salvador style. As the shouts and heckles continued four members of the SYL—each selectively picked out and chosen in advance—were identified by administration thought-cop Berky Nelson, seized one by one, arrested, dragged from the hall, handcuffed, interrogated and thrown in jail!

The crowd erupted into pandemonium when the cops moved in on SYLer

## Death Squad "Democracy" Comes to UCLA

Young Spartacus Photo



Ambassador of Death Rivas-Gallont at UCLA (left); victims of death squad terror in San Salvador (right).

Jeanne McNiff for their first arrest. Chants of "Cops off campus!" and "Keep the butchers on the run!" mixed with cries of "Let her go!" Rivas-Gallont, butcher-in-diplomat's clothes, temporarily fled the podium. The administration quickly ordered the cops

Chauvel/Sygma



to make UCLA "safe" for U.S. imperialism's mass murderers. The cries of "Murderer!" continued, and before the Salvadoran ambassador was done, UCLA student and SYLer Juvenal Martinez and two other SYL members were dragged out of the hall. Students

who protested these arrests and raised their voices against Salvadoran death squad terror were surrounded by administration flunkies and threatened with similar action. A CISPES protester, dressed in fatigues and wearing a white death mask, was quarantined by the cops in one corner of the room. An Organizational Relations Office flunkey also threatened Progressive Labor Party members when they attempted to unfurl a banner.

The L.A. cops charged Martinez with "disturbing the peace" and the three other SYLers with "use of offensive language in a school." Disturbing the peace? The only "peace" the SYL disturbed was the "peace of the dead" that the bloody rulers of El Salvador want to impose on the graves of 50,000 workers and peasants. Offensive language? It is Rivas-Gallont who uttered the obscenities. Of course, he didn't appear on stage with a mutilated body of a 15-year-old "subversive," but that's what his government *does* to anyone even suspected of sympathy with the heroic Salvadoran rebels. The *New York Times* (3 March) reports that a "former Salvadoran military official" has recently admitted what everybody already knew: the Salvadoran death squads are *directed* by the top levels of the government. So the UCLA administration and the Latin American Studies Department greet fascistic hit-squad leaders with open arms and charge those

*continued on page 10*

## MALCOLM X: Courageous Fighter for Black Liberation... 6

# Fight the New McCarthyism!

Adapted from Workers Vanguard  
No. 347, 3 February 1984

The Partisan Defense Committee is appealing to all of you for financial help in fighting "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." If there is a simple, practical lesson to be drawn from the terrible times of Senator Joe McCarthy, it is this: better to organize and fight. When facing government set-up and fascist provocation, it is time to defend our rights and our lives with every resource we can muster. The PDC, founded on the principles of class-struggle defense work, is raising funds for the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League lawsuit against the FBI's new "Domestic

Security/Terrorism Guidelines" (see "Spartacist League Sues FBI," *Workers Vanguard* No. 340, 21 October 1983). These "Guidelines" are a mandate for new COINTELPRO-type operations of "disruption," set-up and outright murder against political opponents of the government, targeting particularly Marxist organizations and black groups.

The deadly new McCarthyism flows straight from the poisonous climate of anti-Soviet war preparation and rampaging racist terror. As the witch-hunters' machinery is retooled, Marxists and others are branded as "terrorists" and violent criminals, as an excuse for them to be shot first and questioned later. The PDC calls on all

those concerned about civil liberties, on black activists and defenders of black people's rights, on unionists and socialists to take a stand in their own defense by supporting the Spartacist lawsuit against the FBI.

The PDC backed the SL lawsuit and public campaign which in 1981 forced the California Attorney General to retract the characterization of the SL as "terrorist" in his "Organized Crime" report. Financial support raised by the PDC helped build the Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 which stopped the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982. The SL and PDC are still raising money to pay for the over \$30,000 spent in the successfully concluded campaign

which forced the *Washington Times*, sinister daily newspaper of the Moonie cult, to retract its libel of the Labor/Black Mobilization and its organizers, falsely portrayed as seeking violence against the cops—a libel which fit right in with the FBI "Guidelines" defining Marxists as terrorist criminals (see "Moonies Forced to Retract Deadly Libel," *WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984).

The PDC is proud to have helped secure these important victories for the democratic rights of the working class and the oppressed. We urge each of you to do your part with a generous contribution now. Send your contribution to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

## EDITORIAL NOTE

### Report from the YCL Conference

# Star-Spangled Stalinists

It looked like a gathering of "Young Patriots" rather than the second national conference of the Communist Party's Young Communist League. Red, white and blue balloons filled the air and a young woman asked the audience to "please rise for the national anthem" explaining that if Reagan is defeated in 1984 we "can make this song our own." What Keta Miranda, YCL National Committee member, meant by "dumping Reagan" was amply clear by the presence on stage of representatives of the four leading Democratic presidential candidates.

The CP/YCL badly want to be the little red caboose on the Democrats' train—so much so that they're willing to wave Old Glory over the fresh grave of Yuri Andropov. Our *Young Spartacus* reporter had to restrain himself in order to complete his assignment, but any class-conscious youth would have walked out in disgust. These star-spangled Stalinists are in the business of herding young people into the campaigns for Democratic Party politicians who, as much as Reagan, want to see the "rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air" over Moscow and Leningrad.

"Dump the Chump" was one of the main slogans at this year's conference in Detroit. But the YCL offers as an alternative more chumps, like their favorite hustler Jesse Jackson who

canceled his trip to Moscow last fall in order to join Reagan's sabre-rattling over the imperialist Cold War provocation KAL 007. Jackson's purpose is to line up the black vote for Mondale and Walter "Mundane" Mondale is Hubert

of voter registration drives, since attendance at this conference was at most 150, down by one half from last year's founding conference in Cleveland. Perhaps next year, the CP/YCL will produce a self-criticism similar to that in



CP cowardice in face of anti-Soviet war drive: Bald-faced lie over KAL 007; Stalinist blather over Poland.

Humphrey's Cold War protégé. He was also the vice president under racist peanut boss Jimmy Carter's administration, which brought you Cold War II and draft registration after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. So wrapped up in the stars and stripes was YCL National Chairman James Steele that he "neglected" to call for a vote to the CP candidates Gus Hall and Angela Davis—the only campaign representative *not* to advocate voting for his candidate at the rally.

A lot of YCLers may be getting tired

1972, when Gus Hall complained that the majority of the CP Central Committee had voted for McGovern rather than Hall in a speech reprinted under the title "A Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters." After observing the sea of Jesse Jackson buttons sported by YCLers in Detroit, Hall must wonder if *anyone* will vote for him in 1984.

Steele praised the Cleveland YCL for registering 2,000 new young voters (as Democrats? as Republicans?). He did manage to refer to the Hall/Davis ticket as a "people's brigade of truth" but

"truth" is a pretty tall order for the group that headlined the spiking of counterrevolutionary Solidarność as "Poland Heeds Unity Call—Nation Goes Back to Work" and whose headline after the KAL 007 imperialist spy provocation read "Soviets Deny Downing Plane."

The truth is that selling the racist Democratic Party to blacks, youth and workers as their "friend" means telling a lot of lies. So, the CP/YCL have sunk to joining Jesse Jackson in the campaign to rehabilitate Dixiecrat George Wallace as some sort of reformed racist. Jackson gleefully shook hands with the arch-segregationist from Alabama while the CP last year praised Wallace for "taking a strong position against Reaganomics."

Detroit is itself a living testament to the dead end of trusting the Democrats—black or white. Unemployment in this black, working-class town is astronomical and with every cut in social services another mother takes her place on the cheese lines. Presiding over this decaying, desperate situation is Democrat Coleman Young, Detroit's black mayor. His cops clear black youth off the streets at night; he broke workers' strikes in order to welcome the 1980 Republican convention that put Reagan in the saddle.

Real communists don't crawl for the Democrats. We need an integrated, revolutionary workers party to fight against Reagan reaction and smash the anti-Soviet war drive. Mobilizing the power of labor and the oppressed— independently of the bosses' twin parties—is necessary to win any real gains. Opposed to any militant struggle, the CP preaches that labor solidarity means impotent consumer boycotts ("Don't Ride that Hound"), that the racist cops and courts will "ban the Klan," that electing a Mondale is the road to "peace."

While the CP caters to anti-Soviet Democrats, we Trotskyists forthrightly stand for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism. Integral to effective defense of the world's first workers state is the call for proletarian political revolution against the Kremlin bureaucrats who continue to conciliate the imperialists at the expense of international socialist revolution. Socialist revolution against this sick decaying system is the only way to stop the imperialists' head-long drive toward nuclear holocaust and the only road to "peace, jobs and equality." ■



Above: 24 September 1981 Spartacist demonstration against Solidarność spokesman in New York City. Right: Spartacists hail Red Army intervention in Afghanistan.

# Reply to Howard University "Hilltop" Marxism vs. Black Nationalism

We reprint below a letter submitted by the Howard University SYL to the Hilltop newspaper in late February. It has been subsequently distributed with an introduction as a leaflet entitled "The Letter the Hilltop Refused to Print—Marxism or Black Nationalism: SYL Reply to NOBUCS." YSp is happy to report that the distribution of this leaflet has sparked the political debate and discussion which the Hilltop so clearly desires to silence.

The pro-Reagan Cheek administration is probably giving D. Orlando Ledbetter, editor of Cheek's very own Hilltop, a few "attaboys" and a pat on the back for his latest attempt at political censorship. The letter below was submitted in response to a letter and several articles about the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) in the Hilltop recently. But Mr. Ledbetter refused to print it without censoring half of the letter and stating: "This isn't a place for you to put forward your views." Ledbetter, known hereafter as Redbaiter, deleted all mention of the successful anti-Klan demonstration [the November 27, 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK], Marxist criticisms of black nationalism and Jesse Jackson, and the fight to smash apartheid in South Africa. To this toady for Cheek, these were "not relevant." Not in the paper that says Janice McKnight [former Hilltop editor, ousted by Cheek] got what she deserved and warns students who oppose U.S. policy not to "bite the hand that feeds." The Hilltop must be reclaimed as a student publication, not an administration mouthpiece. Down with political censorship!

20 February 1984

To the Editor:

After months of administration harassment and obstruction, the Friends of the Spartacus Youth League at Howard has now won recognition as a campus organization. Cheek has gone to great lengths to prevent Howard students from exposure to our Marxist views, from arresting protesters against Reagan's invasion of Grenada and intervention in Lebanon to issuing apartheid-style "barring" notices. But there are students on this campus who like to do their own thinking and Cheek backed down on this one.

The administration has other means at its disposal to disrupt political activity on campus, including the Hilltop which—nominally a student newspaper—most often reads like Cheek's kept house organ. We were therefore not surprised to read in the

January 20 issue of the Hilltop an article by one D. Orlando Redbaiter ("A Little Bit of This and That") which smears the SYL as a "CIA sponsored organization" while predicting that we would win our campus charter. D. Orlando knows that this slander is a lie in the ignoble tradition of CIA "disinformation." The methodology is to throw enough mud and hope that some of it will stick. But,

parading its race-hate poison through the streets of Washington, D.C. That anti-Klan victory is one that 5,000 black and white trade unionists and youth can be justly proud of; it has also earned us enmity from the powers-that-be in this sick, racist country. Recently we defended the November 27 victory and all those who cherish it as their own by winning from the Washington Times

bourgeois repression, the Panthers moved far to the right and today the nationalists join with M.L. King's heirs in pushing illusions in the Democrats. From Black Muslim Louis Farrakhan to Communist Party supporter Angela Davis, the ex-militants embrace Jesse Jackson—the Democrats' front man in a cynical ploy to reconquer the black vote for Mondale. (Anyone who doubts Malcolm X's statement that "When you keep the Democrats in power, you keep the Dixiecrats in power" should take a good look at the photo of Jackson grinning and glad-handing George Wallace in Alabama.) Jackson's campaign is meant to head off black struggle before it starts, to channel black anger into the Democratic voting booth. This is just fine with the nationalists who argue that such struggle is a "waste of time," as Pan-Africanist guru Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael) said of the November 27 anti-Klan victory.

Jenkins displays in his letter a profound ignorance of Marxism. Karl Marx was a German-born revolutionist (not British-born, as Jenkins states) who was driven into exile after the defeat of the 1848 German Revolution. From Britain he and Frederick Engels helped build an international workers party, the First International. Jenkins parrots the lies of the imperialists when he writes that Marxism is "just a vehicle for extending White hegemony over people of color." When he attacks Marxism in the name of traditional African culture and "spiritualism" he sounds just like one of apartheid South Africa's puppet tribal leaders. The white supremacist Afrikaaner government purposefully and artificially fosters tribalism in the bantustans in which tribal chiefs like Gatsha Buthelezi of the Zulus and Kaizer Matanzima of the Xhosa serve as loyal black handmaidens of the apartheid regime. We might add that when Jenkins talks about the "rhythm and emotionality" of black people he sounds like something out of *Gone With the Wind*.

Jenkins to the contrary notwithstanding, imperialism's crimes against the "Third World" are most often executed in the name of anti-communism. Reagan's invasion of Grenada was carried out under the pretext of ridding the Caribbean of a "red" base. When U.S.-supported South Africa sends its invading army into Angola, it's posed as a contest between the "free world" and the Soviet-backed, Cuban-supported MPLA government. Two months ago, Cuban troops were key in driving the

continued on page 9

## Cheek's House Organ: "The Big Lie" And the SYL Controversy



### Administration's Ledbetter:

ITEM: The Friends of the Spartacus Youth League being chartered on campus. OPINION: I make no qualms about the fact that I think the Spartacus Youth League is a CIA sponsored organization that tries to plant students in key positions so they can disrupt the flow of constructive thinking and productivity. I have no problems with the fact the SYL is a Community oriented, left

Hilltop editor Ledbetter employs dirty "disinformation" against Marxists (above); prints nationalist polemic (below) but not our response. Open up the Hilltop!

### NOBUCS' Jenkins:

Why can't SYL just stay in its place and continue to work from its Marxist framework and allow us to peacefully articulate our ideology? Personally, I am at total agreement

what can you expect from a newspaper that threatens student critics of the Reagan administration with removal from the university ("America: Love It Or Leave It," 4 November)?

More interesting was the letter in the same issue by NOBUCS member Manotti L. Jenkins ("SYL Needs New Approach"). While not above some fact-twisting himself, Jenkins at least attempts to argue politically with the SYL. We hope that this means a "new approach" for NOBUCS which has on two occasions resorted to physical thuggery against our members.

Jenkins' description of the SYL as a "communist-oriented integrationist organization" is fairly accurate. Our program of class struggle and revolutionary integrationism was key to the November 27, 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League/SYL, that successfully stopped the murderous Ku Klux Klan from

Salgado/Gamma Liaison

(newspaper of the sinister, anti-communist Moonie cult) a retraction of its deadly libel that the anti-Klan organizers provoked "violence" against the cops.

"Why can't the SYL stay in its place," Jenkins writes. Our "place" is right out in front of the fight for the rights of all the working class and oppressed and that's where we plan to stay. "We, too, are a freedom-fighting organization," Jenkins says of NOBUCS. But the proof is in the pudding. Where were you, Brother Jenkins, the day the KKK was stopped? Every time we ask NOBUCS spokesmen about this, they duck and weave, contending that, "It isn't important. The Klan doesn't matter." 5,000 people, overwhelmingly black residents of this city, didn't see it that way—and didn't have to see lynchings and cross-burnings in their neighborhoods before they took action against the Klan. Was this demonstration another of our "abrasive tactics"? Similarly, Jenkins argues that, "We, too, want to systematically counteract the oppressive forces of the world." But what was NOBUCS' response to the U.S. rape of black Grenada? Deafening silence.

Self-proclaimed black nationalists have no response to the capitalist rulers' attacks on black lives and livelihoods because they accept the racist status quo as final and immutable. In the 1960s the black nationalism of Malcolm X and the Panthers was in part a militant opposition to the liberal, pacifist strategy of Martin Luther King et al. who tied black struggle to the racist Democratic Party. While rejecting the preachers' slavish reliance on the bosses' state and the bosses' party, even the best and most militant nationalists such as the Black Panther Party failed to reach the road of integrated class struggle—the only road to black freedom. Many heroic Panther militants were physically annihilated by the cops and FBI. Under the gun of this



Cuban soldiers prevent South African apartheid butchers from conquering Angola.

### Young Spartacus

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

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No. 116 March 1984

## SYL Tours Virginia Campuses

# The Class-Struggle Road to Black Liberation

The SYL celebrated Black History Month by introducing our revolutionary program for black liberation to students at three black colleges in the South. SYL public forums on "Black History and the Class Struggle," co-sponsored by the Student Government Associations, were given at Norfolk State University and Virginia State University as well as at Morgan State in Baltimore. On two of the campuses, the Spartacist pamphlet of the same title was distributed prior to the events by the student government.

Three fundamentally interlinked questions—defense of the first workers state, the Soviet Union, against U.S. imperialism, the fight for black emancipation and the independent mobilization of the organized working class against the racist, war-mongering bosses—comprise the guts of our revolutionary program. And it was these questions which sparked lively, often heated, discussion. Speaking at Norfolk State, SYL spokesman Michael Haines explained: "We fight for state power. We see no possibility of reforming this decaying capitalist system. We're unconditionally opposed to giving any political support to the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties—black or white." And that is why the SL/SYL is way out in front in the fight for black rights.

In 1982 on November 27, 5,000 overwhelmingly black and working-class militants answered the call of the SL/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C. Threatening a celebration of triumphant racist reaction, the Klan had received the go-ahead to march in the nation's capital for the first time since 1925. The Reagan White House was behind it, the "Justice" Department was behind it, the D.C. area cops were pledged to make it happen. The black city officialdom under Marion Barry went along; Barry left town that day and left his cops behind. But the black masses of D.C. did *not* go along, they turned out in force determined that the Klan would not march. *The Klan did not march.* In this showdown between the racist

Reaganites in power and the black and working people of D.C. and points south, the participation of the organized labor movement, the impressive union backing for the demonstration was key. It meant that far more than 5,000 were represented at the anti-Klan demonstration, it meant that the militant gathering was disciplined and serious, it kept the cops on their good behavior. Norfolk workers, particularly black shipyard

out where to be, did the legwork for it, the publicity...presented a program that people could relate to. We said "Finish the Civil War!" People were chanting in the streets "1,2,3,4—Time to finish the Civil War! 5,6,7,8—Forward to a workers state!" What that means is you need a third American revolution in this country."

November 27 was a demonstration of the road forward to black freedom in the concrete. Breaking out of the vicious

ODU with Norfolk State. These calls for "pride" in separate and unequal conditions are a small reflection of the reactionary and cynical attempt to stifle any genuine black struggle, to channel black discontent into the racist status quo typified by the Jesse Jackson campaign.

As if to prove Malcolm X's statement that "When you put the Democrats in power, you put the Dixiecrats in power," Jackson has already gone out of his way to conciliate the Democrats' white Southern power base. Not "finish the Civil War" but "the South can rise again" was Jackson's statement in Alabama, where he posed for the photographers while shaking hands with George Wallace. One of the most controversial of our positions was telling the truth about Jackson and the Democratic Party. As Michael Haines explained:

"Black people stayed away from the polls in droves, in huge numbers the last election because there was nothing to vote for. And there's nothing to vote for again! But the ruling class needs a pawn, they need a shill, a pitchman to try to

1979: Striking shipyard workers rally in Newport News, Virginia. Unionize the South!



workers, were among the very first to support the call to stop the Klan and arrived in D.C. as the "Nat Turner Brigade." Indeed, the early endorsement of black ILA locals was key to the successful mobilization.

"All who participated in that demonstration are now a part of black history," Haines stated; it "was one of the few victories for black people in the last decade." That anti-Klan victory would not have occurred without the intervention and leadership of our party, despite the deep sentiment within the black populace to sweep the night-riding terrorists off the streets. Haines explained:

"It was not some spontaneous thing. People went out and organized, pointed

Washington Post

cycle of Democratic Party liberalism and utopian black separatism, it pointed the way to integrated class struggle—the fusion of the fight for black liberation with proletarian revolution.

"Finish the Civil War" certainly speaks to the social reality in which black students at the Virginia colleges find themselves. Thirty years after *Brown vs. the Board of Education*, segregated education remains the norm. And it's no more "separate but equal" than it ever was: last December, for instance, some 100 NSU students protested against the overcrowding and rodent/roach infestation of their dormitories. Old Dominion University, a "sister" state college also located in Norfolk and predominantly white, has far better facilities. The NSU administration and sections of the student government denounced the protesters for bringing the college into "disrepute" and claimed it "unfair" to compare

Bruce Davidson

keep fostering these illusions of black people in the system. And that's where Jesse Jackson comes in....

"It's no accident that everywhere Jackson goes he starts talking about 'we don't need to explode like we did in the sixties.' None of that. You better believe Jackson doesn't want any of that; his role is to lead black people back into the Democratic Party."

Among many black students the Jackson candidacy is viewed as a "lesser evil" and a chance at exerting some black political pressure on the Democrats after the last decade of defeats and racist reaction. The liberal myth-makers claim that the rise of black elected officials (BEOs) was the progressive and logical outcome of the massive civil rights battles and urban ghetto explosions of the sixties. In fact, many (e.g., Marion Barry) are the products of the *co-optation* of a certain wing of the civil rights movement; having given up on real social change, they opted to take what they could get from the racist status quo. The BEOs have been utilized since by the ruling class to keep the lid on, particularly in the urban black centers. As each minimal gain of the civil rights movement was systematically stripped away—signaled by the rampaging racist mobs on the streets of Boston which killed busing—the BEOs stood by, the black masses were left leaderless. As Haines explained:

"The question for black people is struggle or die. Now, who do you get presiding over this mess? You've got these black Uncle Tom mayors presiding in American cities.... You've got Coleman Young, you've got Harold Washington, you've got Marion Barry in D.C.... And you know what they are? Malcom X talks about the old 'House Negroes' that when the master's house was burning down... would want to put out the fire faster than the master. And when the master was sick, the old House Negro would say 'we sick.' So when capitalism is sick, these black



Civil War freed blacks from slavery; capitalism politically, economically subjugated them as oppressed race-color caste. "Finish the Civil War!" was popular slogan at November 27, 1982 anti-Klan demo.



front men today, these mayors, say 'we sick'.... A black man in this country today has only a three out of five chance of making it to the age of 25. These black mayors, believe me, they're not going to clean up this kind of oppression. These guys inherited a problem... they didn't start the thing, but they continue it."

"The people can't eat slogans, my man" was the response of one student at the Norfolk State event. His question to us: "What kind of short-term programs—be they reformist, as I guess an organization like this would describe them—what kind of short-term programs do we have or do you suggest for black people to survive the period between now and this ultimate transformation of society?" "Without any black politicians in office" who do we believe would defend even minimal black rights?

But the main role of the BEOs is precisely to prevent the black masses from defending even the most basic democratic rights. In Los Angeles, ex-cop and black Democratic mayor Tom Bradley runs the most notoriously racist, paramilitary police force in the country; it was in the L.A. suburbs that five-year-old Patrick Mason was shot in cold blood by a white cop as the black child watched TV in his mother's home, and that black student football star Ron Settles died while in police custody for traffic tickets. It was under the Democratic Carter/Mondale administration that five anti-Klan demonstrators were massacred in cold blood by Klan/Nazi assassins with cop/FBI collusion in Greensboro, North Carolina. And it was under the same administration that an all-white jury acquitted the Greensboro racist murderers. Black Machine Democrat Harold Washington's election as Chicago mayor has stopped neither racist cop killings nor black people from freezing in the public housing projects.

The initiation of labor/black leagues, fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, was prompted by the need for

Wide World



James Meredith, guarded by armed marshal, enrolls at Ole Miss.

mass organizations of struggle which can undertake battles against specific, immediate racist attacks. There is no other organization undertaking these fights. The Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense describes its purpose as "mobilizing the masses of black working people for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America." It further explains, "It took the Civil War to emancipate black people from chattel slavery. But the Civil War was not carried to its completion, and black people were freed from slavery only to be stripped of political rights and economically subjugated. The civil rights movement, sold out by liberal reformism, failed in its attempts to confront the unfinished business of the Civil War." The Labor Black League's 10-point program encapsulates the felt needs of black and working people—the fight against cop terror in the black community; for jobs; the right to bear arms; quality, integrat-



22 September 1983 SYL and Labor/Black League-initiated demonstration at Wayne State University in defense of the Taylors, Michigan black family framed-up for defending themselves against racist Alabama cops.

ed public education for all—and points the way forward to *winning*: a fighting labor movement, a break from the Democrats and Republicans—for a workers party to fight for a workers government! As one Spartacist supporter at Norfolk State put it:

"Now if you really want to find a way out then you look for a revolutionary solution. I'd like to say it's easier than that, I'd like to say, you know, you really vote for the Democrats, you find a good guy and he'll make things better. And he might, by the way—for a while. But you're going to lose it again. So we're talking about people with the long-range view."

As the U.S. rulers gear up for anti-Soviet war—whose domestic reflection is a war and starvation economy, Klan/Nazi terror, police state-style repression of political opponents—the twin parties of profit are now ever more full partners. Cold War II has also made itself felt among the black population, particularly the youth, through the massive economic conscription of blacks into the armed forces. ROTC and military recruitment pervade the black campuses. But they're not just looking for "a few good men" or offering a free education—they're sending black troops to be blown away in Beirut, to invade the black island of Grenada, to perhaps be slaughtered in the U.S.' dirty war against the workers and peasants of Central America.

Anti-communism has long been an indispensable tool for the ruling class' attempt to tie the workers and black movements to the existing system. It's no accident that every major black leader since the last Cold War, no matter how "respectable," has been the object of redbaiting and intensive secret police surveillance: Martin Luther King, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) leaders, Malcolm X. The real history of black and red in this country has been *suppressed* and needs rediscovering. An NSU faculty member asked, "Can you identify a successful socialist revolution anywhere in the universe that has substantially improved the condition of black people?" An SYL member explained the powerful example set by the Russian Revolution in 1917 "which not only brought the working class into power but liberated the oppressed nationalities within the USSR.... [Russia] was under the tsar what we call a prison house of peoples." The Cuban Revolution sent the Yankees and *gusanos* packing, rebuilt its economy based on collectivized property and central planning and eradicated hunger and illiteracy. That revolution also laid the basis for the eradication of the racist oppression of the black Cubans, many of whom have fought, arms in hand, against the racist apartheid invaders in Angola. Too, the Russian Revolution had a tremendous impact throughout the world, including in the colonial and

semicolonial countries. In the United States, it was the intervention of the Communist International—led by Lenin and Trotsky—which forced the American communists out of their insensitivity to the special oppression of black people and toward mobilizing actively against Jim Crow and racist terror.

As Spartacist League Central Committee member Bernard Vance explained, answering a similar question at an SYL Black History Month forum in Madison, Lenin "knew something about making revolutions and he understood that the struggle for black equality, black emancipation was going to be a motor force for the revolutionary struggle in this country." The degeneration of the Russian Revolution also had an impact internationally, as comrade Vance explained:

"There was a bureaucracy formed because of one reason—surrounding hostile imperialist forces.... Remember, after the revolution, fourteen imperialist countries invaded the Soviet Union, including the United States who arrived with its navy at Vladivostok on the eastern tip of the Soviet Union. "There are two reactions you have, Trotsky and the Bolshevik-Leninists who want[ed] to maintain a policy of spreading revolution...the way you deal with this imperialist pressure is to attempt to expand revolution internationally.... Another reaction was the reaction of the bureaucracy that had been formed that wanted to retain its privileges and prove to the West, say to the West, 'Leave us alone, we don't want to overturn those societies.' And their spokesman was Joseph Stalin. "So, when you throw revolution internationally out the window, you throw a lot of other things out the

window. In this country...you got to throw the black question out the window. "The [Stalinized] Communist Party had something like 70,000 members, 14,000 blacks in its membership in the late 1930s. You don't need more than that to take power. But they were not interested in taking power. At the time they were interested in supporting Roosevelt. And if that meant that blacks don't march on Washington, D.C. to protest Jim Crow that meant blacks don't march on Washington."

At Virginia State University, located in Petersburg—the site of Lee's capture by Union forces—some 40 students turned out for the SYL's evening forum. The discussion period was marred by the persistent disruption by a group of five organizationally unidentified men. Self-proclaimed black nationalists of some sort, these cowardly loudmouths did provide a living example of the reactionary purpose served by the remnants of black nationalism today. In this right-to-work, anti-union state, they maintain unmitigated hostility toward the organized labor movement. Functioning as an ideology of psychological solace, such nationalism eschews any struggle for full equality and genuine (i.e., revolutionary) integration.

It doesn't take much to denounce Lane Kirkland or the rest of the sellout, racist union tops. These labor lieutenants of capital earned their spurs by witchhunting socialist militants out of the unions during the last Cold War and tying the labor movement as closely as possible to the government and racist Democratic Party. They'd rather die than lead class struggle. But what the nationalists really dismiss is the immense social power of the black and white proletariat concentrated in key industries. Our task as revolutionaries is to mobilize these workers behind a class-struggle program which puts the weight of organized labor behind the struggles of all the oppressed, to oust the union bureaucrats and replace them with a leadership that will *fight*. Having written off the working class, what are the nationalists *for*? In this instance they're for Jesse Jackson who is tied tight to the white ruling class by a thousand strings—from the board rooms of Coca-Cola to the back rooms of the Democratic Party.

There is no road to black freedom other than through the working-class conquest of power. The whole decaying capitalist *system* stands squarely counterposed to black freedom—it must be smashed. We are committed to building the multiracial vanguard party that will lead successful social revolution in this country. Black Liberation Through Workers Revolution! Finish the Civil War! ■

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**Marxist Class Series**  
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.  
March 22, April 12  
Sever 307  
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For more information: (617) 492-3928

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# The Man That Liberals Feared and Hated

# Malcolm X:

## Courageous Fighter For Black Liberation



Below we print the second part of a two-part *Young Spartacus* article on Malcolm X; Part One is contained in *YSp* No. 115 (February 1984). The first part concerned the early life and political evolution of Malcolm X, from the disintegration of his family following the racist murder of his father, to the streets of Harlem, to the seven years he served in prison—during which time he was converted to Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam.

Malcolm X was the most admired and respected, the most hated and feared black man of his generation. He was the voice of the angry black ghetto, an uncompromising enemy of the racist oppression so fundamental to capitalist America. His advocacy of the right to armed self-defense and his thorough-

going opposition to the twin parties of capital—the Democrats and Republicans—also made Malcolm an enemy of liberalism. While politically eclectic, his message carried a principled militancy characteristic of genuine revolutionists. Despite the slander heaped upon him by the bourgeois press and authorities, Malcolm X was no "violent" rabble-rouser. To the best of his ability, he was a responsible and courageous leader who called things by their right name. "The time has come," he said, "for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked."

Since his assassination, an effort has been made to identify Malcolm with the "respectable" black leaders whom he

denounced and despised. But it was Malcolm X who told the truth about the 1963 March on Washington, labeling it a farce. The actor Ossie Davis, who emceed the March, 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 *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*).

When John F. Kennedy was assassinated, Malcolm cut through all the wailing for the slain imperialist top cop by remarking that it was a case of "chickens coming home to roost." The shit hit the fan and Elijah Muhammad used the furor over this statement to suspend his all-too-famous, controversial lieutenant from speaking in public. While it considered the white man to be the personification of all evil, the Black Muslim sect opposed in principle any struggle against racist oppression. Breaking from both of these premises, Malcolm X split from Elijah Muhammad and the Nation in March 1964. He was assassinated less than a year later and it is impossible to know where he

would have gone politically had he lived. We do know Malcolm's tremendous impact on the black urban masses, especially in Harlem. We know that he spoke, too, for the left wing of the Southern civil rights movement when he attacked pacifistic non-violence as a strategy and exposed the racist Dixiecrat conspiracy with Northern "liberal" Democrats.

Malcolm X also personified the fundamental contradiction of militant black nationalism—which as a doctrine can sometimes attract militant blacks with no illusions in reforming this racist society. But separatism is *not* a program for social struggle. That contradiction became clearer once Malcolm X split from the Muslims and attempted to build his own secular organization. Part Two begins with that split.

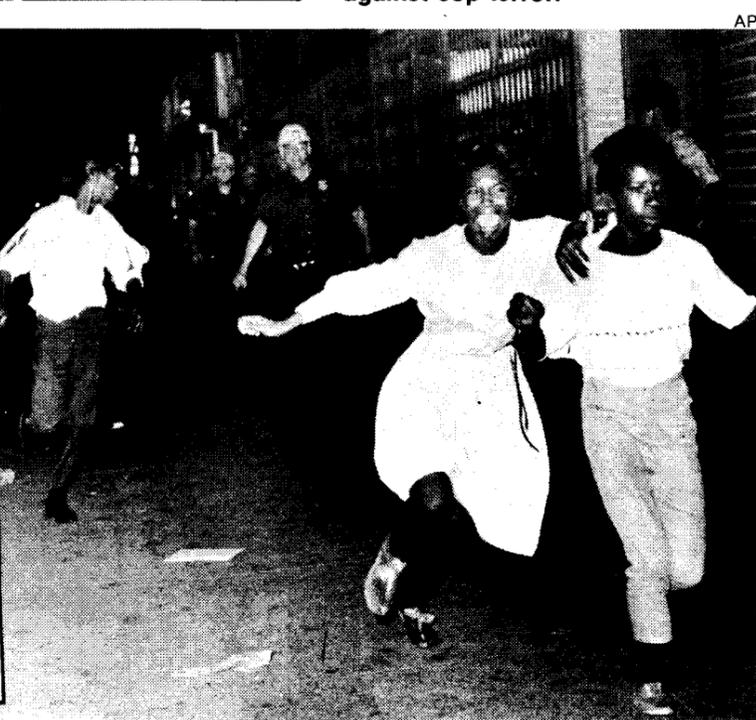
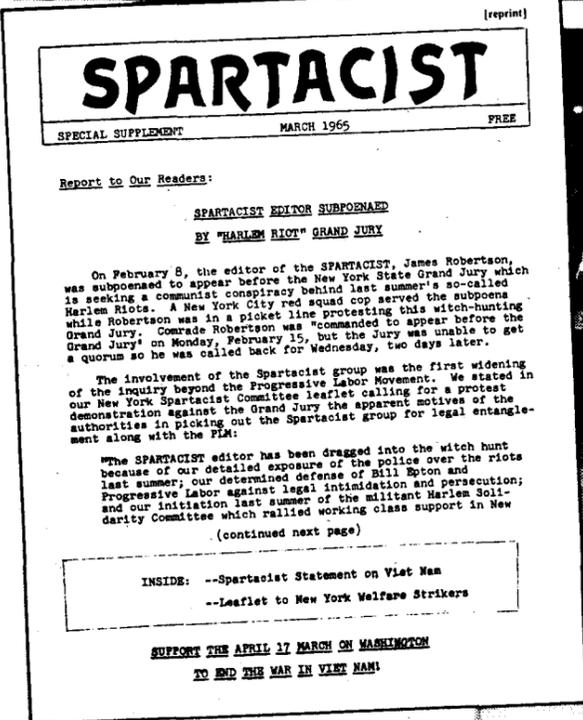
### PART TWO OF TWO

By 1963 the talk in and around the black movement was that Malcolm was not long for the Nation of Islam. It was an open secret that Elijah Muhammad was jealous of his famous and popular lieutenant and upset by his political notoriety. While the bourgeois media couldn't get enough of Malcolm, less and less about him appeared in *Muhammad Speaks*, the sect's official paper. Malcolm had revered Elijah Muhammad as the man who had saved him from a social hell. And Malcolm was a man for whom personal loyalty meant much. However, he became disturbed over the aura of luxury-loving complacency around Elijah Muhammad and his extensive family in the Chicago headquarters. According to his own testimony, he was quite shaken by reports that Elijah Muhammad had sexual relations with his secretaries, even having a couple of out-of-wedlock children. Rank-and-file Muslims were expelled in disgrace for adultery. When Malcolm confronted the Messenger about this, the old con man cited biblical examples: "You read about Lot, who went and laid up with his own daughters. I have to fulfill all of those things" (quoted in *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* [1965]).

But even if the Honorable Elijah Muhammad had lived up to Malcolm's high and puritanical standards of honor, it is very likely Malcolm still would have split from the Nation. He was too political, too engaged to stay out of the struggle much longer. However much black militants admired Malcolm, they were not going to join the Nation of Islam. No way. They wanted Malcolm to join them. As the leader of the militant civil rights movement in Cambridge, Maryland, Gloria Richard-



Left: Shooting of black teenager by racist cop Gilligan sparked protests by black youth in Harlem in 1964. Cops rioted in response. Below: Black youth flee cops in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn. Below left: Spartacist group targeted by state for defending black community against cop terror.



## SPARTACIST

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT MARCH 1965 FREE

### Report to Our Readers:

#### SPARTACIST EDITOR SUBPOENAED BY "HARLEM RIOT" GRAND JURY

On February 8, the editor of the SPARTACIST, James Robertson, was subpoenaed to appear before the New York State Grand Jury which is seeking a communist conspiracy behind last summer's so-called Harlem Riots. A New York City red squad cop served the subpoena while Robertson was in a picket line protesting this witch-hunting Grand Jury. Comrade Robertson was "commanded" to appear before the Grand Jury on Monday, February 25, but the Jury was unable to get a quorum so he was called back for Wednesday, two days later.

The involvement of the Spartacist group was the first widening of the inquiry beyond the Progressive Labor Movement. We stated in our New York Spartacist Committee leaflet calling for a protest demonstration against the Grand Jury the apparent motives of the authorities in picking out the Spartacist group for legal entanglement along with the PLM:

"The SPARTACIST editor has been dragged into the witch hunt because of our detailed exposure of the police over the riots and last summer, our determined defense of Bill Epton and Progressive Labor against legal intimidation and persecution; and our initiation last summer of the militant Harlem Solidarity Committee which rallied working class support in New darity Committee which rallied working class support in New

(continued next page)

INSIDE: --Spartacist Statement on Viet Nam  
--Leaflet to New York Welfare Strikers

SUPPORT THE APRIL 17 MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
TO END THE WAR IN VIET NAM!

son, exclaimed in 1963, "you know, this could really be a great man if he could break himself from that sectarian thing" (quoted in Peter Goldman, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X* [1973]). Malcolm felt these pressures keenly:

"It could be heard increasingly in the Negro communities: 'Those Muslims talk tough, but they never do anything, unless somebody bothers Muslims.'" [emphasis in original]  
—*Autobiography*

Internally and discreetly Malcolm began to advocate that the Muslims abandon their policy of abstention from the mass black struggles:

"... I was convinced that our Nation of Islam could be an even greater force in the American black man's overall struggle—if we engaged in more action.... I felt that, wherever black people committed themselves, in the Little Rocks and Birmingham and other places, militantly disciplined Muslims should also be there...." [emphasis in original]  
—*ibid.*

But for the Muslims to have participated in the civil rights struggles would have violated their very reason for existence. Elijah Muhammad instinctively sensed that the direction his powerful lieutenant was moving, whatever Malcolm's subjective loyalties, would destroy his lucrative sect. So he used the public furor over the Kennedy assassination speech to try to silence Malcolm's voice. Malcolm refused to be silenced and in March 1964 left the organization for which he more than anyone else had gained the respect of the black community. A year later Malcolm's voice was finally silenced by assassins. As we wrote at the time:

"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 encompass the efficacy and morality of assassination. A man who has a direct pipeline to God can justify anything."  
—*Spartacist* No. 4,  
May-June 1965

**The Last Year**

Once Malcolm had broken with the Nation of Islam it was expected that he would take his rightful place as leader of the growing legion of young black militants. Yet this did not happen. His Organization of Afro-American Unity was small, faction- and clique-ridden and never got off the ground. Why? In part because during this period Malcolm went on two extensive trips to the Arab East and the newly independent states of black Africa. Certainly no one could criticize him for wanting to



1967: Heroic struggle of Vietnamese against racist U.S. imperialism struck responsive chord among American blacks.

explore the world outside white racist America. And it was these trips abroad which finally broke him from racially defined black nationalism.

It was during one of his African tours in 1964 that Malcolm met with a SNCC delegation. As Clayborne Carson relates in his *In Struggle*, for the SNCCers:

"Perhaps the most significant episode of their stay in Africa was an unexpected encounter in Nairobi with Malcolm X, the Afro-American leader who had recently broken with the narrowly religious focus of Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam. Even before the meeting, Lewis and Harris had learned of Malcolm's considerable influence on the African continent, for Africans occasionally greeted them with 'skepticism and distrust' because, as one explained, 'if you are to the right of Malcolm, you might as well start packing right now 'cause no one'll listen to you.' Malcolm, however, had resolved to abet the radical tendencies in the civil rights movement.... The Nairobi meeting was followed by a series of attempts by Malcolm to forge links with SNCC."

Still the fact remains that at a decisive turning point for the black movement Malcolm was not there. In July 1964 the police deliberately provoked a violent outburst in Harlem, which had been experiencing a rising tide of militant protest. Hundreds of angry black youth ran through the streets battling the cops and chanting: "Malcolm! We want Malcolm! Wait till Malcolm comes!" But when Malcolm did come back he provided no clear political guidance for the angry black masses.

Alex Haley, the writer who helped Malcolm with his *Autobiography*, was objective enough to record that Malcolm's standing among militant blacks, especially in Harlem, declined somewhat in the last year:

"In Harlem at large, in the bars and restaurants, on the street corners and

stoops, there could be heard more blunt criticism of Malcolm X than ever before in his career. There were, variously expressed, two primary complaints. One was that actually Malcolm X only talked, but other civil-rights organizations were doing. 'All he's ever done was talk. CORE and SNCC and some of them people of Dr. King's are out getting beat over the head.' The second major complaint was that Malcolm X was himself too confused to be seriously

Algers, 1960: Demonstration for Algerian independence from French colonial rule. Algerian independence struggle, Cuban and Vietnamese Revolutions caused impressionistic New Left radicals to see U.S. imperialism being overthrown from without.



followed any longer. 'He doesn't know what he believes in. No sooner do you hear one thing than he's switched to something else.'" [emphasis in original]  
—"Epilogue" to *Autobiography*

Malcolm's rapidly changing and seemingly contradictory views in the last year are also the source of the raging controversy which followed his death: where was Malcolm going? Every interested party claimed Malcolm for their own. His biographer Peter Gold-

man described the army of political grave robbers who invaded Malcolm's tomb:

"His special affection has been claimed by Trotskyists, Maoists, Nkrumists, Garveyites, orthodox and unorthodox Muslims, civil-rights organizations from the Urban League to CORE and SNCC, and Adam Clayton Powell."  
—*The Death and Life of Malcolm X*

The contention that Malcolm had become almost a liberal was made not only by scumbags like Bayard Rustin (the kind of "socialist" who's apt to be funded by the CIA and chief organizer for the March on Washington) but also by honest liberals like Ossie Davis, who knew and admired Malcolm while he was alive. At the same time, the Socialist Workers Party's George Breitman asserts, "he was a revolutionary—increasingly anti-capitalist and pro-socialist as well as anti-imperialist. These labels fitted, even though he did not apply them to himself" (*The Last Year of Malcolm X* [1967]). In reality, Malcolm X was moving neither toward liberalism nor toward Marxism.

The argument that he was going liberal rests centrally on his dramatic renunciation of racism of any kind following his pilgrimage to Mecca in April 1964. In a letter home (which shocked and upset some of his followers) he wrote:

"There were tens of thousands of pilgrims from all over the world. They were of all colors, from blue-eyed

blonds to black-skinned Africans, but all were participating in the same ritual, displaying a spirit of unity and brotherhood that my experiences in America had led me to believe could never exist between the white and non-white."  
[emphasis in original]

—*Malcolm X Speaks*, edited by George Breitman (1965)

A few months later he wrote in an Egyptian newspaper: "In the past I permitted myself...to make sweeping indictments of all white people, the entire white race, and these generalizations have caused injuries to some whites who perhaps do not deserve to be hurt" (*Malcolm X: The Man and His Times*, edited by John Henrik Clarke [1969]). In keeping with these principles Malcolm publicly repudiated his earlier opposition to interracial marriage.

But Malcolm's humanistic opposition to any form of racism had nothing to do with the alleged reconciliation to the American liberal establishment. Here is what Malcolm said just a few months before he was killed about the 1964 presidential elections between Johnson and Goldwater, which was generally regarded as a clear contest between liberalism and conservatism:

"I felt that it was for the black man only a question of Johnson, the fox, or Goldwater, the wolf."  
"'Conservatism' in American politics means 'Let's keep the niggers in their place.' And 'liberalism' means 'Let's keep the knee-grows in their place—but tell them we'll treat them a little better:'

continued on page 8

# Malcolm X on Racist America

The text of this telegram to Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party, was read aloud by Malcolm X at a public rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity in Harlem on January 24, 1965.

**Public Notice to George Lincoln Rockwell**

"This is to warn you that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's separatist Black Muslim movement, and that if your present racist agitation against our people there in Alabama causes physical harm to Reverend King or any other black Americans who are only attempting to enjoy their rights as free human beings, that you and your Ku Klux Klan

friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation from those of us who are not hand-cuffed by the disarming philosophy of nonviolence, and who believe in asserting our right of self-defense—by any means necessary."

**Discussion with American Ambassador in Africa**

"He said, 'As long as I'm in Africa, I deal with people as human beings.... For some strange reason color doesn't enter into it at all.'

"He said, 'But whenever I return to the United States and I'm talking to a non-white person, I'm conscious of it, I'm self-conscious, I'm aware of the color differences.'

"So I told him, 'What you're telling me, whether you realize it or not, is that it is not basic in you to be a racist, but that society there in America, which you all have created, makes you a racist.' This is true, this is the worst racist society on this earth. There is no country on earth in which you can live and racism be brought out in you—whether you're white or black—more so than this country that poses as a democracy. This is a country where the social, economic, political atmosphere creates a sort of psychological atmosphere that makes it almost impossible, if you're in your right mind, to walk down the street with a white person and not be self-conscious, or he or she not be self-conscious.... But it's the society itself."

## Malcolm X...

(continued from page 7)

let's fool them more, with more promises."

—Autobiography

These are not the words of a man about to join King, James Farmer, the NAACP's Roy Wilkins et al. at LBJ's inaugural celebration. Malcolm X remained a heroic and intransigent enemy of *all wings* of the American ruling class until the assassins' bullets cut him down.

In particular, Malcolm never tired of warning against the Democratic Party con game, of lambasting the Democrats as a Dixiecrat party. At a 1964 meeting in Harlem of supporters of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) he spoke eloquently against illusions in the Democrats:

"Likewise, the Democratic Party, which black people supported recently, I think, something like 97 per cent. All of these crackers—and that's what they are, crackers—they belong to the Democratic Party. That's the party they belong to—the same one you belong to, the same one you support, the same one you say is going to get you this and get you that. Why, the base of the Democratic Party is in the South.... The head of the Democratic Party is sitting in the White House. He could have gotten Mrs. Hamer into Atlantic City. He could have opened up his mouth and had her seated. Hubert Humphrey could have opened his mouth and had her seated. Wagner, the mayor right here, could have opened up his mouth and used his weight and had her seated. Don't be talking about some crackers

This New Left vision of world politics was an *impressionistic* generalization of certain recent dramatic events. Algeria had just won its independence from France in one of the bloodiest of all wars of national liberation. The Cuban Revolution was only a few years old as Castro boldly defied the U.S. colossus 90 miles from its shore. Despite U.S. military escalation, the Vietnamese revolutionaries were gaining. Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal was still a relatively recent event. Practically every month one of the British or French black African colonies was granted formal independence. And Mao's China had recently split with the Soviet Union and was presenting itself as the leader of the colonial peoples against Western imperialism. To impressionistic radicals of the day, it looked as if U.S. imperialism was about to be overwhelmed by the rising "Third World" (although this misleading term was not yet in vogue).

Malcolm X believed that the states of Asia and Africa were becoming powerful enemies of American imperialism and would use that power on behalf of American blacks: "...as the dark-skinned nations of this earth become independent, as they develop and become stronger, that means that time is on the side of the American Negro" (*By Any Means Necessary*, edited by George Breitman [1970]). Here Malcolm's self-taught conceptions and misconceptions about world politics, his impressionism and impressionability played him false. He had a gut sense of American social

Workers Vanguard Photo



The Pan-Africanists' hero Kwame Nkrumah dances with the Duchess of Kent on Ghana's Independence Day, 6 March 1957.

imperialism. Without the might and potential for military intervention by the U.S., without the millions of dollars of military aid from Washington, the petty despots of black Africa would long since have been torn to pieces by their own people.

Malcolm got the real relationship between black Africa and black America exactly backwards. It is not the "independent" African neo-colonies—ruled by bloody military cliques, riven by violent tribalist enmities, ravaged by famine and pestilence, devastated economically whenever the world market price of cocoa or oil or copper falls a few percentage points—that will help liberate American blacks. Today the very idea sounds like a bad joke. No, it is the descendants of those black Africans taken into slavery in the New World who, *as a strategic section of the American proletariat*, can destroy the ultimate stronghold of capitalist imperialism *from within*. Then world socialist revolution and international socialist planning will raise the impoverished peoples of black Africa to the level of the most advanced nations.

### American Workers Revolution Needs Black Leadership

Here we come to the heart of Malcolm X's political weakness, after as well as before he split from the Muslims: his failure to recognize *class struggle* as the progressive motor force of history. Malcolm is often spoken of as a genuine representative of the black masses. This is only partially true. The social world of the unionized black auto worker, steel worker or docker, who recognized common interests and had engaged in common struggles with their white class brothers, was alien to Malcolm's experience and knowledge. He had been a ghetto hustler, then a convict, and then the minister of a separatist religious sect. For Malcolm, the fundamental and overriding division in American society was black and white, not workers and capitalists. He consistently emphasized that blacks in America were outnumbered ten to one. That's why he sought his main allies outside of American society.

True, in the last period of his life he came to recognize there were genuinely anti-racist whites and he welcomed their efforts. But such whites that he encountered were predominantly liberal or radical student-youth, often motivated by guilt over their privileged social position. Clearly reflecting his experiences with these white students (almost all of his speeches to white audiences were on campuses), he viewed overcoming racism among whites primarily in terms of individual enlightenment, not social struggle. Thus, in one of his last interviews (18 January 1965) he stated:

"If the entire American population were properly educated—by properly edu-

cated, I mean given a true picture of the history and contributions of the black man—I think many whites would be less racist in their feelings."

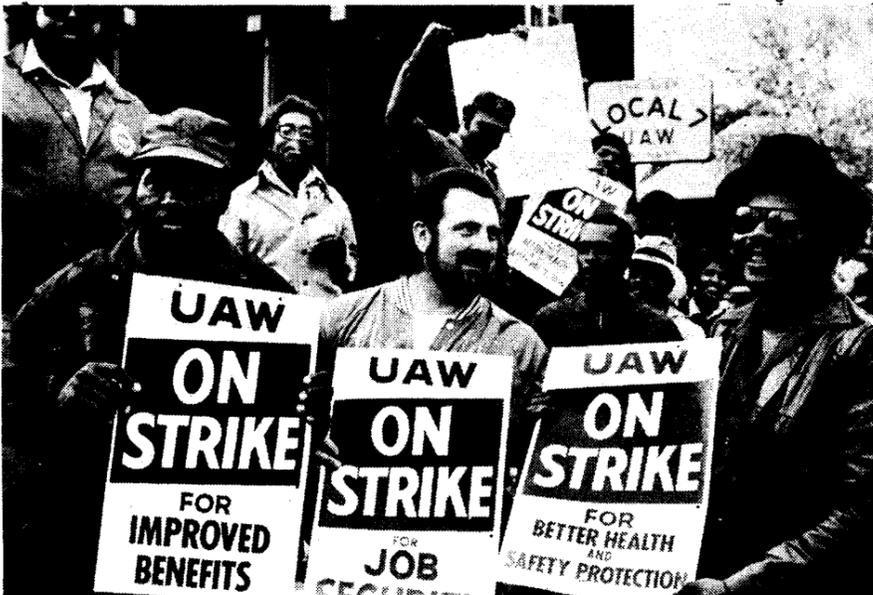
—By Any Means Necessary

The struggle against racism in this society is not basically one of proper education but of class conflict. Or rather the proper education comes through class conflict. The labor movement stands as the one racially integrated and powerful force in this society. It is the strategic weight of black workers in the labor movement which gives them the potential leverage to topple the entire racist, capitalist system. Black workers, armed with a revolutionary socialist program and organized by a communist vanguard party, *can lead backward*, even racist white workers in battles against the ruling class.

No one expressed the anger and the anguish of the oppressed black masses better than Malcolm X. As revolutionary socialists committed to the fight for black freedom, to finishing the Civil War once and for all through a third American revolution, we solidarize with Malcolm's stand against the sick racism and racists permeating this society. He was the man who told it like it is: that this system is maintained by and enforces the brutal oppression of 20 million black people, that its so-called democracy is a lie, that the politicians of both parties are con men and enemies of black freedom. His refusal to play the liberals' game, to beg for a little, hat-in-hand and his demand for freedom *now* inspired a generation of black militants. His call upon black America to stand up to the racist powers-that-be and his scathing denunciation of the strategy of nonviolence earned him the enmity of the rulers and their kept "respectable" black leaders. But for us who see the fight for black liberation as strategic to a workers revolution against the whole hideous and irrational profit system, it is precisely his intransigent penchant for the truth and his uncompromising opposition to racist America that makes Malcolm X a hero. But he did not understand the potential *power* of American blacks as workers to liberate not only themselves but oppressed peoples throughout the world. What is needed to release and direct that power is the construction of a racially integrated communist vanguard. Shortly after Malcolm was killed we wrote:

"...such a 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."

—Spartacist No. 4,  
May-June 1965 ■



October 1982: Detroit auto workers strike Chrysler. Black workers will play strategic role in socialist revolution to smash racist capitalist system.

down in Mississippi and Alabama and Georgia—all of them are playing the same game. Lyndon B. Johnson is the head of the Cracker Party."

—Malcolm X Speaks

His explicit message to black America delivered at the Audubon: "Either party you align yourself with is suicide. Because both parties are criminal. Both parties are responsible for the criminal condition that exists."

The fundamental change in Malcolm's thinking in the last year did *not* concern American whites (that was secondary) but *world politics*. He believed that the dark-skinned, colonized peoples of the world had liberated themselves or were about to liberate themselves from Western imperialism: "...the black revolution is world-wide in scope and in nature. The black revolution is sweeping Asia, is sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America" (*Malcolm X Speaks*). He defined the American black struggle as a colonial liberation struggle within the imperialist heartland: "...the revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era" (*Ibid.*).

These views were far from unique to Malcolm X. Rather they represented the basic worldview of New Left radicals of the early '60s, both blacks and whites.

and political reality. He saw through American bourgeois politicians—liberal or right-wing, black or white—with almost X-ray vision. He knew that the U.S. Congress was a den of thieves. But Malcolm had enormous illusions in the ruling elites of Asia and especially Africa and in the moral authority of the United Nations (a den of thieves and their victims).

Much of his energy in the last year was devoted to pressuring the independent black African states to condemn the United States government for racism in the UN as they had condemned South Africa. His speech in Cairo appealing to the Organization of African Unity makes sad reading as he implored this collection of bloodthirsty militarists, venal nationalist demagogues and tribal chiefs:

"...what makes our African brothers hesitate to bring the United States government before the United Nations and charge her with violating the human rights of 22 million African-Americans?..."

"We beseech the independent African states to help us bring our problem before the United Nations, on the grounds that the United States government is morally incapable of protecting the lives and property of 22 million African-Americans."

—Malcolm X Speaks

Fat chance that! These neo-colonial regimes are *dependent* upon American

### 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)  
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Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m.  
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near Church St.) New York, N.Y.  
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#### Toronto

Saturday: 1:00-5:00 p.m.  
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## Talk About the Rotting Corpse of Social Democracy...

# DSA "Die-Ins" Won't Drive Marines Off Campus!

The 75 Oberlin College students draped in sheets and reclining on the floor of Peters Hall February 7 were not holding a midday toga party. What were they doing? Greeting the Marine Corps recruiters who came to campus that day with a "die-in." Despite this prostration, the Marines' visit did not occur entirely without militant opposition. The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) held a small but spirited rally outside Peters, where



Young Spartacus Photo

SYL demonstrates as DSA drops dead.

the Marines had set up their recruitment office inside. Chanting "Marines Off Campus!", "U.S. Hands Off the World!" and "Down with the Bipartisan Anti-Soviet War Drive!", we sought to prevent the Marines from recruiting to mass slaughter and pointed the way forward in the struggle to stop U.S. imperialism's drive toward nuclear holocaust.

The last time these imperialist henchmen showed up on campus, in March 1980, 200 students held a protest, effectively discouraging them from returning for years. In 1967, over 100 Oberlin demonstrators trapped a Navy recruiter in his car, tying up traffic for several hours before they were violently

dispersed with tear gas and water cannons by cops from three towns and the county sheriff's office. But there were not hundreds of protesters on February 7—thanks to the barely pink (with yellow stripes) Democratic "Socialists" of America (DSA). At the DSA-organized "die-in" about 75 students watched the Marines and their future Lt. Calleys walk through another 75 "dead" Obies sprawled across the floor of Peters Hall.

The DSA organized the "die-in" explicitly *against* the SYL's proposal for a militant demonstration. At planning meetings before the Marines' visit, the SYL argued that to stop the U.S. war drive, you must oppose its goal: the destruction of the Russian degenerated workers state. Despite substantial student agreement with this perspective, the DSA deliberately sabotaged an effective protest because of their loyalty to the "Democratic" wing of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie—Reagan's partners in the anti-Soviet war drive. Anti-imperialist banners and speeches were prohibited at the "die-in." When the SYL-led demonstrators went inside to inject some life into the corpses, chanting "Now is the time to stand up and protest—not to lie down and play dead!", the DSA enforced its gag rule and the militant students were excluded by the campus cops.

Then a group of right-wingers inside began to sing "The Star Spangled Banner"—and the DSAers joined in! While some people hissed, the DSA defended this disgusting pro-imperialist display, claiming that it was a "good tactic" because they didn't want to appear "un-American"! (Not to worry.) DSA spokesman and self-proclaimed patriot Marc Baldwin said, "We take it [the national anthem] as seriously as they [the right-wingers] do!"

A small contingent from the "third camp" also appeared outside Peters. Three Oberlin supporters of the Shachtmanite "Socialist Voices-League for the Revolutionary Party" (LRP) distributed a whining leaflet entitled "Marines Come to Oberlin: A Disappointing [sic] Response." The LRPers refused to join the SYL picket line because of their virulent anti-Sovietism. Instead, they chose to stand 30 feet off to the side,

complaining that *our* demo was "sectarian" (!). The LRP's role was to provide a "leftist" cover for the DSA's anti-Soviet popular front. In a period of heightened anti-Sovietism, the "third camp" always drifts decisively to the side of "democratic" U.S. imperialism. So when the campus cops excluded the SYL from the "die-in," the LRPers stayed inside and said nothing, thus confirming Trotsky's definition of centrists: they kowtow before the reformists and hate the revolutionaries. Supporters of "Socialist Voices"—LRP at touchy-feely Oberlin seek to "learn about socialism in an unpressured environment" (like, wow); the SYL tells the hard truth. And the truth is that on February 7 at Oberlin, a traditional breeding-ground for the anti-Soviet "left," the Russian Question was the line of division between the Marines, cops, DSA, LRP and the right-wing choir all inside Peters Hall—and the Trotskyists of the SYL, who defend the Soviet Union and uniquely demonstrated against the Marines' recruitment.

We reprint below an edited version of the letter submitted by the SYL to the *Oberlin Review* in the wake of the Marines' successful visit.

To the Editor:

The Marines came to Oberlin and had what they called their "best placement in three years." The pro-capitalist patriots of the DSA paved the way to this Marine victory with the symbolic corpses of Oberlin students. The DSA-organized die-in successfully diverted student outrage at U.S. militarism into a lifeless moral gesture. The SYL protested the deeds of the Marines, not their "views." We want to stop recruitment to mass slaughter. Becoming a Marine Corps officer is no "summer job." They didn't come from McDonald's to recruit kids to fry hamburgers, they're looking for the future Lt. Calleys to fry peasants in Central America.

Students across the country are voicing their opposition to U.S. militarism, and the State Dept. "socialists" of the DSA are doing their damndest to silence them. Here at Oberlin they made the Marines feel right at home. They banned anti-imperialist speeches and

banners, kicked out the commies and provided lots of dead bodies. They even helped the right-wingers sing the "Star Spangled Banner"! These hardened anti-communists will only lead anti-war activism into the dead end of the Democratic Party, the party of war.

Everyone knows that there is an anti-Soviet war drive, the question is which side are you on? Students must transform their moral revulsion at U.S. militarism into an understanding that the U.S. will stop at nothing to destroy the Soviet Union, the military and industrial powerhouse for every state that has overthrown capitalism. Despite its bureaucratic degeneration, the gains of the Russian Revolution must be defended.

El Salvador, Lebanon, racist terror, layoffs, and union busting are all linked by the logic of capitalism in deep crisis. To stop the anti-Soviet war drive join an organization fighting to bring down Reagan through workers action on the way to a workers government! Don't roll over and play dead! Join the SYL!

David Cardarelli  
David Klein

John Kenney/Chronicle-Telegram



SYL protester at Oberlin, February 7.

## "Hilltop"...

(continued from page 3)

apartheid forces and Jonas Savimbi's imperialist-sponsored UNITA out of Angola. Would Jenkins have preferred that the integrated Cuban forces "stay in their place," leaving Angola wide open for the South African butchers?

As Reagan prepares to incinerate the planet in a nuclear war against the Soviet Union, we unconditionally defend the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism. Were it not for the USSR's military and industrial might—made possible by the collectivized, planned economy—the Cuban, Vietnamese and Chinese Revolutions as well as many colonial struggles against imperialism (e.g., Angola) would long ago have been smashed. That the imperialists see a "communist conspiracy" behind every just struggle of the oppressed is an unintended acknowledgment of the living legacy of the Russian Revolution. However, to restore the Soviet Union as a bastion of revolutionary internationalism in reality—as it was under Lenin and Trotsky—requires a proletarian political revolution led by a Trotskyist

vanguard party against the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Nelson Mandela, the courageous leader of the South African African National Congress (ANC), who has been imprisoned for more than a quarter century—convicted, among other things, of violating the draconian Suppression of Communism Act—stated at his trial:

"[The Communists] were the only political group which was prepared to work with the Africans for the attainment of political rights and a stake in society. Because of this, there are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with communism.... In these circumstances, it would take a brash young politician, such as I was in 1949, to proclaim that the Communists are our enemies."

—Nelson Mandela,  
*No Easy Walk to Freedom*,  
edited by Ruth First (1965)

Mandela, who had initially been an anti-communist Pan-Africanist, learned better. But while the South African Communist Party as well as the ANC have shown courage and fortitude in the fight against the apartheid butchers, their ultimate strategy is one of pressuring the "liberal" wing of South African capitalism and international imperialism. We Trotskyists call for the *smashing* of apartheid and the fight for a

black-centered workers and peasants government.

Unable to defend its nationalist/Pan-Africanist pipe dreams against the SYL's Trotskyist program, NOBUCS has implemented its own "Suppression of Communism Act." At a NOBUCS-sponsored event on South Africa last October, one cowardly male initiated a goon attack against the SYL by slamming the head of a white female comrade against a wall. Where does Jenkins get off telling us to allow NOBUCS "to peacefully articulate our ideology"? What truly enraged these do-nothing purveyors of hot air was the challenge of an integrated communist organization that puts its money where its mouth is and makes their armchairs a little less comfortable.

Lastly, we suggest that Jenkins and like-minded nationalists go to Founders Library and check out the portrait there of General O.O. Howard, whose skin color happens to have been white. Howard marched with Sherman to the sea, burning out the system of slavery. Unlike chattel slavery, wage slavery has placed in the hands of the black workers the objective conditions for successful revolt. This revolution will only be successful if its target is the system of class exploitation and production for

profit—the common enemy of black and white workers. An integrated revolutionary workers party, with a strong black leadership component, is necessary to lead the third American revolution. Finish the Civil War! *That* is what the SYL is doing here.

We encourage those who wish to find out more about our Marxist program to attend the SYL class series every Monday evening in Blackburn Center. And to those who want to fight for black freedom: Join the SYL!

Spartacus Youth League  
27 February 1984

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**CHICAGO**

# War Criminals...

(continued from page 1)

who protest with "offensive language." If we weren't threatened by the very real repression of the bourgeois state, we'd be tempted to ask, "What are you going to do, wash our mouths out with soap?"

What next? Maybe UCLA will rename the Latin American Studies Department the Studies in Latin American Butchery Department? Maybe they'll hire Roberto "Blowtorch" D'Aubuisson to teach a course on the relative merits of different forms of torture. If Adolf Hitler came to campus to speak and was denounced as a murderer by a concentration camp victim, would the victim be arrested for "offensive language"? The answer to this question in Reagan's America in 1984 is—yes. In the UCLA administration's Orwellian Newspeak those who protest genocide are branded as "Nazis" and those who practice genocide are guaranteed so-called "academic freedom."

Two of the arrested SYLers were taken to the West Hollywood Sheriff's department and held for six hours. Their bail was set at \$500 each. The other two SYLers were released by the UCLA cops after three hours. SYL member Martinez, who grew up in the East Los Angeles barrio, was subjected to the racist humiliation of being handcuffed to his chair by the UCLA cops while the police report was filled out. And now each of the four face up to 90 days in jail and a \$200 fine!

Outrage spread on campus as students who had watched or heard of the arrests began to call campus cops and the West Hollywood jail, demanding that the SYLers be released. The next day we were back on campus. The *Daily Bruin* carried the story of the protest and arrests on the front page with a picture of SYLer Jeanne McNiff being flanked and about to be dragged off by two burly cops. McNiff became an immediate celebrity on campus. The SYLers agitated against the administration's Gestapo-style jailings and demanded, "Drop the charges against the SYL!" A protest rally beginning in the early afternoon drew an enthusiastic crowd as we bullhorned throughout the day. Several students new to the SYL actively joined in. The *Daily Bruin* (7 March) featured the protest over the arrested SYLers. Not many UCLA students were intimidated by the administration's strong-arm tactics.

As the American ruling class mobilizes for World War III against the Soviet Union, the Trotskyists of the SYL have become increasingly visible as enemies of resurgent militarism on campus, and targets for administration/bourgeois repression, and not just at UCLA. Following the shouting down of war criminal Jeane Kirkpatrick at Berkeley last year, the capitalist press embarked on a calculated, hysterical campaign deploring the "rude and repressive" treatment accorded this architect of mass murder and demanding reprisals against the student organizers. The SYL was singled out by the sinister Moon cult's *Washington Times*,

in particular, for our motion, which was narrowly defeated in the Berkeley student senate, to extradite Kirkpatrick to a liberated zone in El Salvador for her crimes. At Harvard, where the SYL actively participated in the protest against Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger last November, unfurling a banner reading "U.S. Get Your Bloody Hands Off the World!", Dean Archie Epps threatened two SYLers with

lez is the man responsible for inviting Rivas-Gallont to UCLA. He is listed in *Current Authors* (1983) as a consultant for the Rand Corporation, the military think tank. In September 1982 he produced a paper on "A Strategy for Dealing with Cuba in the 1980s" under contract for both the State Department and U.S. Air Force. This man is not just a right-wing academic but a *death squad strategist* who uses the cover of

Young Spartacus Photo



March 5: UCLA students rally against war criminal Rivas-Gallont. When administration moved in to silence SYL bullhorn, protesters chanted "1, 2, 3, 4—Let the lady speak some more!"

expulsion from the university. But from Harvard to UCLA, the American rulers' efforts at repression will not silence us.

## Keep War Criminals Off UCLA!

The UCLA administration has been gunning for the SYL ever since militant students heckled and booed the former head of the U.S. military advisers in El Salvador, one Lieutenant Colonel Waghelstein in January. The SYL sparked this protest, which succeeded in forcing Colonel Waghelstein to cut short his talk. As an adviser to the bloodthirsty Salvadoran army Waghelstein is directly responsible for the murder and torture of tens of thousands of our class brothers in El Salvador. At UCLA that day he got only a small taste of what he deserves. A civil war is raging in El Salvador today. Waghelstein is a coordinator of *mass murder* of workers and peasants there, just as was Lieutenant Colonel Schaufelberger.

The UCLA administration threatened disciplinary action against the SYL for "disrupting" the Waghelstein lecture. Reportedly, the administration has also sent letters threatening reprisals to other students who participated in the anti-Waghelstein protest. Playing the "soft" cop, Berky "I was a '60s radical" Nelson told us that there were those who wanted the SYL "drawn and quartered." We have a pretty good idea of just who at UCLA wants to draw and quarter the enemies of the Salvadoran death squads: one professor Edward "Batista" Gonzalez. And this guy means it literally. A big wheel in the Latin American Studies Department, Gonza-

lez is the man responsible for inviting Rivas-Gallont to UCLA. He is listed in *Current Authors* (1983) as a consultant for the Rand Corporation, the military think tank. In September 1982 he produced a paper on "A Strategy for Dealing with Cuba in the 1980s" under contract for both the State Department and U.S. Air Force. This man is not just a right-wing academic but a *death squad strategist* who uses the cover of

academia to develop policy for the war criminals of the U.S. government and its puppets to carry out. Gonzalez writes the "pacification" programs, Waghelstein executes them with helicopter gunships, but it amounts to the same thing. We say: Drive death squad strategist Gonzalez off campus! No reprisals for anti-Waghelstein protesters! While the administration and Gonzalez were busy plotting reprisals against the anti-Waghelstein protesters, a *real* violation of democratic rights and academic freedom took place at UCLA. On January 25 two representatives of the U.S. Air Force detained for two hours American University professor Jeffrey Richelson, a former employee of a Pentagon think tank. Richelson was at UCLA to deliver a lecture on "Technical Collection and Arms Control," and the Air Force threatened him with arrest under the Espionage Act if he delivered it. Even the Air Force didn't claim that Richelson was spilling any "classified" information, just that he had a "classified" overview!

The administration's attempt to intimidate the anti-Waghelstein protesters didn't work. At a February 29 teach-in on Central America Thomas Casstevens of the Agency for International Development (AID) got what he deserved. The AID, which works hand-in-glove with the CIA, is the agency responsible for training former Salvadoran major and current presidential candidate "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson in torture techniques (*Harper's* magazine, March 1981). As Casstevens droned on

about the AID's phony "land reform" an SYL member in the crowd was applauded when he stated, "then you go in and kill them." In the end all you could hear were boos.

The UCLA administration brought the bloody Salvadoran ambassador to campus in an attempt to silence once and for all those who would protest the crimes of U.S. imperialism. But this provocation backfired on them. The SYL put out an emergency call to drive the ambassador-of-death off campus. Six thousand leaflets plastered the campus. Campus workers took stacks of protest calls. Announcements to drive this war criminal off campus received applause in a class on Central America. Throughout the day, students debated the question of Rivas-Gallont's "free speech"—many understanding that it would be revolting to give this butcher a platform and engage him in polite debate, legitimizing Gallont and his fellow sadistic, mass-murder experts. Over 100 students went into Dickson Hall with the express intention of protesting the butcher. In the face of the widespread outrage on campus over the arrest of the SYL protesters, the administration backed down from its threat to discipline us for the Waghelstein protest and announced that the SYL would simply be "advised not to engage in similar activity for the rest of the academic year"! Drop the charges against the SYL Four!

## Keep the Butchers on the Run!

American universities today are not always "safe" territory for U.S. imperialist war criminals and their local henchmen. The current wave of student protest, sparked in large part by outrage at U.S. imperialism's dirty little wars in Central America, started about a year ago. On February 15, 1983 protesters at Berkeley drove the Madame Chiang Kai-shek of the Reagan administration, UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, off the stage. Soon thereafter students at the University of Minnesota heckled Kirkpatrick and showed their disgust with the architect of mass murder in Central America by hanging a Nazi swastika banner in the hall where she spoke. Subsequently, Kirkpatrick's alma mater Smith College suggested that, given the sentiment on campus, Kirkpatrick's "security" could not be assured for her scheduled commencement speech, so it was canceled. Kirkpatrick has not dared set foot on a college campus since. Then last November 17, when U.S. Secretary of War Weinberger spoke at his alma mater, Harvard, hundreds of students, faculty and leftists heckled him with shouts of "War Criminal!", "South Africa!", "El Salvador!" and "50,000 Dead!"

Militant students protesting U.S. imperialism's war against the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants drove the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) and scores of military research facilities off numerous campuses in the 1960s. As part of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive the U.S. ruling class is trying to remilitarize the universities and is meeting opposition. While the SYL has

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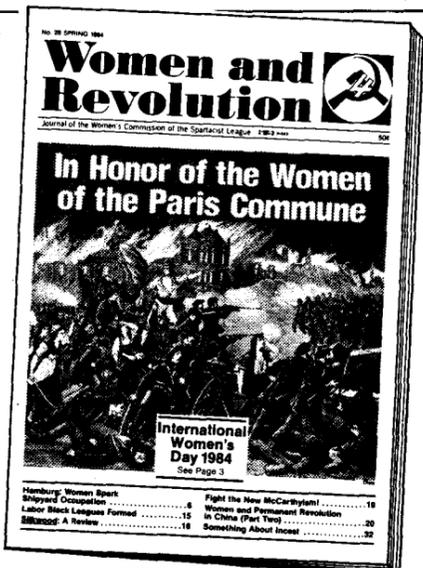
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no illusions that the university is an ivory tower divorced from the capitalist system it serves, we hail the fact that the U.S. imperialist war machine and its spokesmen are having a harder time draping themselves in academic robes.

Every time a Kirkpatrick or a Weinberger, a Waghelstein or a Rivas-Gallont is thrown off campus a *symbolic but real blow* is struck against U.S. imperialism. And a blow against U.S. militarism at home is a blow to the advantage of the heroic Salvadoran rebels, a blow on behalf of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants fighting to defend their revolution against the CIA-organized *contra* terrorists and a blow in defense of the Soviet Union, threatened with nuclear holocaust by imperialism's insane drive to take back the gains of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

**Defend the Gains of the Russian Revolution!**

We have stood in the forefront, to the best of our limited capacity, of the

economic and military might of the USSR, American imperialism would long since have reduced Peking, Hanoi and Havana as well as Moscow and Leningrad to irradiated rubble.

In 1917 the workers and peasants of the tsarist empire rose up, took power in their hands and rid fully one-sixth of the globe of capitalist exploitation in the Bolshevik-led revolution. Despite the bureaucratic degeneration of that revolution in the hands of the Stalinists, who mismanage the economy and oppress the working class, the gains of this anti-capitalist revolution can be seen in the tremendous development of the Soviet economy since 1917.

The crime of the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin is that, far from "fomenting" revolution which could rid the world once and for all of imperialism and lay the basis for a worldwide planned economy, they seek to make deals with imperialism in the name of "peaceful coexistence." Soviet arms to the Salvadoran insurgents are, unfortunately, just a dream in the minds of the Reaganite fanatics. The SYL fights for political revolution to oust the Stalinist misleaders and replace them with a revolutionary leadership which will seek to extend the gains of the Russian Revolution to the working class of the world.

**Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home**

If you think that the thunder of war comes only from the feet of the Reaganite elephants, *look again!* The hooves of the donkeys in the Democratic Party are beating a different rhythm, maybe, but it's every bit as warlike a tune. The fact is the Democrats like Walter "Mundane" Mondale, Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson think that Reagan's strategy to defeat the USSR isn't good enough. As Hart put it, "We need more simple, reliable and affordable weapons" (*New York Times*, 1 March). To the extent that the Democrats criticize Reagan's out-of-sight military budget, it is because they don't think all the fancy Star Wars technology will work and want more bang for the buck. And generally, the Democrats have historically been the war party of American imperialism because they can more effectively mobilize the population, especially organized labor and the ethnic minorities.



San Francisco, February 23: Spartacist contingent at protest against war criminal Kirkpatrick.

The Democrats finally turned on Reagan's Lebanon adventure when it became an obviously no-win situation for the U.S. (So, for that matter, did the Pentagon brass.) Liberals oppose Reagan's Central America policy for the same reason—they want to avoid another losing war like Vietnam for U.S. imperialism. They think perhaps the leadership of the Salvadoran insurgents can be bought off, so they support a "negotiated solution." Most of the campus Central America support committees look to the Democrats and support the treacherous call of the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) for a negotiated deal with the Yankee imperialists and their local butchers.

But a negotiated settlement is a negotiated sellout! Unless the state power of the Salvadoran oligarchy is smashed, any "solution" to the civil war would put the leftist forces at the mercy of the U.S.-backed death squads and pave the way for a new and more terrible bloodbath. That is why the SYL calls for *military victory* to the Salvadoran leftists. In neighboring Nicaragua, where the blood-drenched Somoza was overthrown by the radical-nationalist Sandinistas in July 1979, we call for the defense of the revolution against the CIA-organized *contra* terrorists. Kill the *contra* invaders! Defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan revolution! Expropriate the capitalist class, fifth column for counterrevolution!

The call for military victory against

the U.S.-supported torturers in Central America imposes on American revolutionaries a special responsibility. A military rout of the bloody butchers in El Salvador, which is imminently possible, would squarely pose the threat of direct U.S. military intervention. It is our urgent duty to do all in our power to prevent Yankee imperialism from unleashing its dogs of war on the toiling masses of Central America. As the youth organization of the Spartacist League, the SYL seeks to organize militant opposition to U.S. imperialism on the campuses, from UCLA to Harvard. But key to spiking a U.S. invasion attempt in Central America will be the weight of the organized working class, which has infinitely more social power than the liberal/radical student population.

We fight for concrete acts of labor solidarity with the heroic Salvadoran rebels—*boycotting* military cargo bound for El Salvador, for labor *strikes* against U.S. intervention and for mass, militant demonstrations against imperialism in Central America. The student-youth of the SYL have a vital role to play in these actions and in the American proletarian revolution. The key to victory is the construction of a working-class vanguard party to crystallize and lead the fighting will of the exploited and oppressed in the struggle for socialist revolution. If you want to fight for the victory of proletarian revolution in Latin America and the United States, join the SYL! ■

**SYL Speak-Out!**

- War Criminals Off Campus!
- Drop the Charges Against the SYL!
- Hands Off All Anti-Imperialist Protesters!

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**UCLA**

struggles to kick U.S. imperialist butchers off campus because we stand for the victory of the anti-capitalist forces of the world. To oppose resurgent imperialist militarism you must oppose its war aims—the reconquest of the Soviet Union for capitalism. It is not for nothing that the insanely anti-Communist Reagan administration sees the hand of the Soviet Union behind every struggle for social justice in the world. For without the nuclear arsenal and eco-

**Lauren and Ray...**

(continued from page 12)

report to work.) The racist attack on Lauren Moez was an egregious example of how racism is used in the service of union-busting. And the repressive forces of the state—cops, D.A., FBI, etc.—who conspired with the phone company during the strike to intimidate and assault strikers are now seeking to railroad Lauren and Ray to prison. It's up to all of us to make sure they don't succeed!

Today, demonstrators applauded the announcement that the Alameda Central Labor Council, representing 50,000 workers, has added its support in demanding that all charges be dropped against Lauren and Ray (and against three other phone workers who face misdemeanor charges stemming from the strike). Messages of support were read from Australia, sent by the miners federation and the New South Wales telecommunications union. Among the many unionists at the courthouse today were David Mix, president of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1225, several of whose members are facing felony charges for doing picket duty during the bitter Greyhound strike, and Willie Lee Bell, chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of IAM (Machinists) Local 739, whose union brother and friend, Charles Briscoe, was brutally

murdered by the racist Oakland cops in 1979.

The courtroom was filled to overflowing with Lauren and Ray's supporters. Moments before the hearing was to begin, Assistant D.A. Charlotte Green announced a surprise prosecution witness. (The D.A.'s office has steadily refused to turn over background information on this witness, claiming that he would not be testifying.) The defense was granted a postponement until March 21—when Lauren and Ray's supporters will be back.

To stop the D.A./Ma Bell/cop conspiracy to jail Lauren and Ray, continued militant protest must keep the heat on. It was the 400-strong labor/black mobilization in Oakland last October 29 that forced the D.A.'s office to drop the "great bodily injury" clause from the charges, which carried three years. The Spartacus Youth League has worked to win student support for Lauren and Ray at UC Berkeley in black studies classes and Black History Month events, at Merritt College and at a Black History Month festival in nearby Richmond.

Following the hearing, SYL members headed for the Berkeley campus where this afternoon State Department representative Peter Sarros appeared as the invited "guest" of Students Against Intervention in Central America (SAICA, formerly SAINTES). Outrageously, SAICA purposefully provided a platform for this mouthpiece for the U.S.-backed death-squad regime—SAICA's "apology" to the government for Jeane

Kirkpatrick's treatment last year. Sarros was met with chants of "War Criminal!" by SYL supporters who maintained a visible and vocal protest despite SAICA's attempts to silence us. We fight on the side of the working class, against the rulers responsible for 50,000 dead in El Salvador and for the anti-labor, racist offensive here "at home."

The struggle to defend the picket line against company/cop attack, to defend

black people against racist terror and to smash the anti-Soviet war drive which targets workers and oppressed throughout the world is one and the same. Ray and Lauren are on the front lines of this battle now; the fight isn't over until all the trumped-up charges are dropped and Lauren and Ray have their jobs back. Come to the hearing on March 21, 1984, at the Hayward Municipal Court, 24405 Amador, Hayward, California at 9 a.m. ■

**Spartacus Youth League Directory**

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

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**Atlanta:** SYL, Box 4012, Atlanta, GA 30302

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**Madison:** SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 251-4321

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

**Norfolk:** SYL, c/o SL, P.O. Box 1972, Main P.O., Norfolk, VA 23501

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

**Oberlin:** SYL, Box 58, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH 44074, or call (216) 775-5839

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

**Washington, D.C.:** SYL, P.O. Box 75073, Washington, D.C. 20013, or call (202) 636-3537

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# Young Spartacus

**Protesters Demand: "Stop the Racist Railroad!"**

## Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!

OAKLAND, March 1—"Four years, no way! Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray!" "Picket lines mean don't cross!" Over 80 phone workers, Bay Area trade unionists, socialists and other defenders of workers' rights picketed here at 8 in the morning today in front of the Hayward Municipal Court to protest the racist anti-labor frame-up of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.

The impressive display of support for Lauren and Ray sent a message to the D.A.: black and working people will not stand idly by while he railroads these two militants. Lauren and Ray are facing years in prison for defending themselves and their picket line during last summer's national phone strike. On August 10, Lauren was struck in the face and called "black nigger bitch" by a racist scab/manager, Michelle Rose Hansen. Lauren defended herself against the racist assault, and her companion and fellow unionist Ray came to her aid. Lauren in particular has been singled out in this racist company/government vendetta because she had been a founding member of the Oakland Black Panther Party. The interracial



Right: Demonstrators picket at Hayward Municipal Court, March 1. Above: Ray and Lauren in the courtroom.

couple, with three children to support, are now being dragged through the bosses' court at staggering expense, have been fired from their jobs with Ma Bell and denied unemployment benefits. The racist scab still has her job.

The Phone Strikers Defense Commit-



Workers Vanguard Photos

tee (PSDC) has been waging a campaign of militant protest and public exposure which has mobilized impressive broad support, particularly from unionists who know that the victimization of these strike militants is an attack on the right to have real picket lines. (One

gratifying anecdote from a supporter of the defense effort: several attorneys, possibly from the D.A.'s office, were overheard in the courthouse cafeteria complaining that their secretaries had refused to cross the protest picket line to

*continued on page 11*

SPARTACIST  
EDUCATIONALS

## Wars and Revolutions

### HISTORICAL MATERIALISM IN PRACTICE

From the great French Revolution to the Russian Revolution of 1917, from World War I to the rise of Hitlerite fascism in Germany, the history of the wars and revolutions of the modern era is full of lessons for revolutionaries. Without an understanding of these great historical events no one can claim to understand today's capitalist world, let alone claim to know how to change it. Young people who wish to embark on the road to the overthrow of this dying imperialist world order must learn the lessons of history!

To this end the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League are holding regional educational weekends this Spring. We invite our supporters, friends, acquaintances, and all those who just plain want to *learn* something about the events which shaped the world in which we all live and struggle, to attend. The rotten bourgeois educational system, which has made prison hellholes out of most high schools and transformed all but the most elite universities into high schools with ashtrays, fosters ignorance about the most basic facts of history. Let's learn history, the better to be able to *make* history. Reading lists to help you prepare for the lectures are available from all SL/SYL locals, and from the National Office. Come to the Spartacist Educational Weekends!

Registration fee is \$10 (\$5 for students and unemployed). For more information call the SYL local nearest you or the National Office at (212) 732-7867.



**From the Great French Revolution to the Paris Commune**

**World War I and the Russian Revolution**

**Germany 1919-1933: Revolution and Counterrevolution**

**New York City**  
April 14-15

Hotel George Washington  
Lexington & 23rd Street  
Sat. 10 a.m.  
Sun. 11 a.m.

**Bay Area**  
April 28-29

UC Berkeley  
Sat. 10 a.m. 105 North Gate  
Sun. 11 a.m. 120 Lattimer

**Chicago**  
May 5-6

Blackstone Hotel  
636 S. Michigan  
Sat. 10 a.m. French Room  
Sun. 11 a.m. Embassy Room