

Young Spartacus

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Madman Khomeini Fuels Anti-Iranian Chauvinism

U.S. Hands Off Iran!

Chicago Maroon/Tim Baker



Hysterical right-wing students burn Iranian flag at University of Chicago.

Kaveh Golestan



American flag burns in Teheran.

The seizure of the U.S. embassy in Iran by followers of the reactionary Islamic fanatic Khomeini has produced heightened political interest on American campuses not seen since the days of the Vietnam war. But while the students of the 1960s and early 1970s were mobilized against imperialist war—solidarizing with the Vietnamese struggle and seething with hatred for the American bourgeoisie—the embassy seizure has provoked a reactionary, anti-Iranian, chauvinist backlash. Suddenly thousands of students are “proud to be American.”

In cities across the country, demonstrations demanding the deportation of Iranian students have taken place. Reminiscent of the virulent anti-Japanese chauvinism which swept the U.S. during World War II, today Iranians in the U.S. are spat upon, beaten and threatened with death. While the bourgeois media works overtime to amplify the reactionary nationalist fervor, Carter has augmented his economic sanctions against Iran with direct threats of military intervention, backed up by warships and aircraft maneuvers off the coast of the Arabian peninsula. In a military conflict between the most powerful imperialist country on earth and backward, semi-colonial Iran, socialists militarily defend even the fanatic ayatollahs against U.S. imperialism. Hands off Iran!

The chauvinist frenzy is an expression of long-brewing nationalist reaction. Since the U.S. slipped from its position as imperialist top dog and since its loss in Vietnam, Americans have witnessed the dollar depreciate ever more in world currency markets, German and Japanese competition drive major U.S. manufacturers to the verge of bankruptcy and have been told that all manner of economic ills can be blamed on the Arab oil sheiks of OPEC. The Teheran embassy seizure has touched off a

revanchist desire to avenge national humiliation at the hands of the Islamic students. The genuinely reactionary nature of Khomeini's “Islamic Republic” which denies elementary rights Americans take for granted helps to fuel the backlash. Americans are understandably deeply alienated from a society where alcohol, music, sex and most things associated with pleasure are forbidden.

The ayatollah is plenty crazy, but when it comes to bringing the world to the brink of nuclear disaster, the U.S. ruling class is no more sane than the “Imam.” The U.S. bourgeoisie is the only ruling class in history to drop the atom bomb on densely-populated cities. Carter is certainly as capable of ruthlessly sacrificing thousands of lives over this incident as is Khomeini, especially if he thought it would get him another term in the White House. Rather than concern for the hostages, anti-Soviet strategic calculations have motivated Carter's “moderation” to date. As *Business Week* (10 December) cautioned: “Any U.S. action to splinter what is left of the Iranian state could cause its disintegration. And it is unlikely that anyone could pick up the pieces—except the Russians who live next door....”

U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet aims led it to install the shah in a 1953 CIA-sponsored coup. The shah was U.S. imperialism's agent and gendarme in the region. From 1972 to 1976 the U.S. provided the shah with \$17 billion in armaments with which he crushed all opposition to his extraordinarily corrupt regime—liberal and clerical, as well as leftist. The CIA and Mossad (Israeli secret police) trained SAVAK (the shah's political police), which specialized in grisly torture techniques. Carter's granting asylum to the murderous shah was an extreme provocation against the Iranian masses who hate the

bloody monarch and his American imperialist backers.

The Ayatollah's New Clothes: Embassy Seizure a Diversion

The supposedly militant “anti-imperialist” Khomeini managed to overcome his loathing for the “satanic West” in an unholy lust for American machine gun bullets, artillery and helicopters to put down the Kurdish rebellion against his Persian-Shi'ite chauvinist “Islamic Republic.” By supporting the seizure of the U.S. embassy, Khomeini hoped to exploit the masses' hatred of the shah to save his own desperately troubled regime. Not only had the Kurds put up a heroic resistance, but massive demonstrations had taken place against reimposition of the veil, against unemployment and against Khomeini's draconian press censorship. The oil fields were seething with unrest. The embassy crisis was perfectly timed for the balloting on Iran's new constitution making Khomeini “Imam” for life and giving him veto power over all legislation.

But Khomeini's diversion has not been wholly successful. Iran's national minorities boycotted the voting *en masse*. Azerbaijani supporters of the rival ayatollah Shariat-Madari took over government offices in the provincial capital city of Tabriz December 6. Others have marched on Khomeini's compound in Qom. Fighting has resumed in Kurdistan, and armed resistance is reported as well in Baluchistan in southeast Iran and among the Turkoman people in the northeast.

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) warned from the beginning that Khomeini's zealously anti-communist, Persian chauvinist Islamic rule would be no less reactionary than the bloody shah's. We predicted that Khomeini would institute savage repression against the left, national minorities, women, homosexuals, adul-

terers, drinkers and other “corrupt elements.” The squaring off of the mad ayatollah in Qom and the genocidal Dr. Strangeloves in Washington, the inflaming of national chauvinism in both Iran and the U.S. is no “victory” for the working masses anywhere. This simple fact however is lost on the wretchedly opportunist left.

SWP: Press Agents for Khomeini

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in particular has become the most enthusiastic press agent for Islamic reaction in the U.S. According to the SWP's *Militant* (7 December 1979) the American people are solidly behind the Ayatollah! “Carter steps up war threats against Iran” reads the headline; the subhead reads “Defies growing antiwar sentiment.” Perhaps the SWP thinks Americans have bought all those Iranian flags to fly from the roof tops!

The SWP is compelled to deny and distort reality both in the U.S. and Iran to cover for its abject capitulation to Khomeini's “Islamic Revolution.” So we read in the pages of the December 7 *Militant* in a polemic against the *Wall Street Journal*:

“House's [*Journal* reporter] description of Muharran is a fake. Similar propaganda was poured out last year to discredit major anti-shah demonstrations planned for Muharran. The claims were intended to justify the shah's preparations for brutal repression. When the day came millions poured into the street to denounce the bloody shah—but the bloody flagellants predicted throughout the U.S. were nowhere to be found.”

Spartacist spokesman Reuben Samuels took on the SWP's claptrap at a forum on Iran held in New York City on December 8:

“It's the liberal lie. You see, the oppressed have no vices, they have only virtues. And the oppressors have no virtues, they only have vices....”

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Letters

5 November 1979
New York, NY

Dear Comrades:

In the reprint of the SYL leaflet distributed at the recent pro-imperialist "Conference on South Africa and Namibia" held at Oberlin College, the following sentence appears: "When South Africa invaded Angola in 1975 against the pro-Soviet MPLA, it was the U.S. that advised, trained and bankrolled Pretoria's army" (*Young Spartacus* No. 76, October 1979). In fact, the apartheid regime in Pretoria is quite capable of bankrolling its own army without U.S. assistance, a capacity due in no small measure to the brutal super-exploitation of the black proletariat in South Africa's gold and diamond mines.

U.S. intervention in Angola against the MPLA took the form primarily of support to two other rival nationalist groupings, the FNLA and UNITA, by means of direct weapons shipments from the U.S. and from NATO stockpiles in West Germany, funneled through Zaire, which began on a large scale in August 1975. Prior to this, U.S. aid to the anti-Soviet factions was supplied almost exclusively in the form of money to Zaire's president Joseph Mobutu for the express purpose of financing weapons transfers, primarily to the FNLA, which was also being equipped and trained by China beginning in 1973. (The FNLA's Holden

Roberto had been on a CIA retainer since the early 1960s.)

When in October 1975 a South African armored column swept north, linking up with UNITA forces in a drive on Luanda, the U.S.-trained and equipped FNLA/Zairean forces mounted an offensive from the opposite direction. Frank Snepp, the CIA agent in charge of covert operations in Angola in 1975-76, described the process:

"Thus without any memos being written at CIA headquarters saying 'let's coordinate with the South Africans,' coordination was effected at all CIA levels and the South Africans escalated their own involvement in step with our own."

—In *Search of Enemies*, 1978

Beginning in November, a massive influx of Cuban troops supplied with Soviet tanks and rockets turned the tide against the U.S./FNLA/South Africa/UNITA axis in favor of the MPLA and prevented the installation of a pro-South African puppet regime in Angola.

Fraternally,
Steve M.

27 November 1979
Cleveland, Ohio

To the editor:

In the article "Black Trotskyist Speaks to Pan-Africanists" (*YSp* No. 77, November 1979) we wrote "Nkrumah, while president of Ghana, crushed the 1971 general strike...." In fact, the general strike which Nkrumah crushed

was in 1961. Nkrumah was overthrown in a military coup in April 1966, and ended up holding court-in-exile in Guinea (I believe until his death). It was a fitting testament to Nkrumah and his "socialist" Ghana so loved and respected by the pan-Africanists that when the coup occurred there was no mass opposition to it. The trade unions, which had been in the vanguard of the struggle for independence, did not rally to Nkrumah's defense, and in fact remained silent. The rest of the population in general either did nothing or supported the new junta; even Nkrumah's closest advisors and "comrades-in-arms" deserted him. That's the legacy of "African socialism," and if the AAPRP wants to claim the heritage of strikebreaker Nkrumah, it can have it!

Also, I thought the title of the article on the YSA, "Young Sadlowskis of America," did not do justice to the slimy, groveling nature of its "turn" to the labor bureaucracy. The niche that the SWP is attempting to carve out for its youth in the trade unions is not as the "new breed" of bureaucrats, but as brain trusters and advisors to such bureaucrats. In the same article, it might have been a good idea to contrast the SWP's petty-bourgeois, popular-frontist "antiwar" work of the 1960s and 1970s with the class-struggle antiwar work of the then-Trotskyist SWP in 1941 in the Minneapolis Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union Local 544-CIO, when the party heroically defended its

program, especially defense of the Soviet Union, while Roosevelt and Biddle were persecuting them. The SWP's record in its 1941 trial is our heritage; the SWP/YSA of today spits on this tradition.

Finally, I am enclosing a copy of the *Oberlin Review* which ran a letter [reprinted below] submitted by four Oberlin students, protesting the *Review's* censorship of the SYL by refusing to run our article on the Detroit anti-Klan rally. It was something of a long shot, since they have in the past simply refused to run things we submit. This time it worked, so they not only ran the letter but are now committed to running the original article. By the way, two of the signers are joining at the next SYL branch meeting!

Comradely greetings,
Steve R.

To the Editor:

As students at Oberlin College we are outraged that the *Review* refused to print an article submitted by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) for the November 16 issue on fighting the Ku Klux Klan.

We participated in a demonstration called by the SYL at Cleveland State University on Thursday, November 8 to protest the killing of five anti-Klan militants in Greensboro, North Carolina, the previous Saturday. On Saturday, November 10, we were in Detroit,

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Iran...

(continued from page 1)

"Okay, so they say the *Wall Street Journal* says 'that during Muharram young men flagellate themselves with chains, with whips.... That's racist propaganda! Defamation of the oppressed!'"

"So there you have millions of people throughout the world, because television is now extensive, it's not just in the United States, and they're watching TV and they're seeing millions last October, 1978, pouring out through the streets,

Golestan/Time



Anti-Carter poster at demonstration in Iran.

flagellating themselves. Now this is clearly a massive imperialist lie!... They got Cecil B. DeMille—and found one million SAVAK agents as walk-on extras and gave 'em a bottle of Jim Beam and they went out there and beat themselves. Because we know that the oppressed don't do things like beat themselves, right?"

"In fact, and unfortunately, one of the rites of Shi'ite Islam... is self-flagellation. That's just a fact. Now you can deny the fact, you can say that it doesn't exist—and you're a liar.... You're not going to undercut any chauvinist propaganda with lies.

"The point is that it's the truth that is going to expose and break the chauvinism, the truth about our own ruling class and the truth about their ruling class... you state the facts of the world

as they are and then go on to demonstrate how these practices endured into the 20th century. You see they have endured because the development of the economy, which took place in Western Europe in the 16th through the 19th century was not permitted to take place in these countries, due to their subjugation to colonialism and imperialism. And so therefore the social foundations necessary for the elimination of these barbaric practices have been blocked by the imperialist world order."

Imperialism assures that the underdeveloped countries will stay underdeveloped, that their people will suffer tremendous privations even as an



Religious procession in Teheran. Flagellation, an imperialist lie?

elite stratum of bureaucrats and managers is created whose task is to oversee the imperialist-owned industries. The capitalist industries cheapen commodities, thereby driving into ruin the indigenous petty producers of the underdeveloped countries. This is what is behind the "anti-imperialism" of the *bazaaris* and the mullahs and their opposition to the shah's doomed attempts to "modernize" Iran. It is in no way progressive.

"This is not the first time in history that a progressive movement took a religious form at the start," says the *Militant*, citing as an example the Protestant Reformation—a movement which supported the separation of

church and state, formally recognized human equality and expressed the anti-feudal aspirations of the ascendant bourgeoisie. In contrast, Khomeini's "Islamic Republic" is a reactionary utopia reflecting the aspirations of historically outmoded *pre-bourgeois* classes—tribal chiefs, petty craftsmen, merchants and the Shi'ite hierarchy.

Islamic Revolution or Bolshevik October?

Trotsky explained at the beginning of this century—and the Russian Revolution of 1917 proved—that in the epoch of imperialism the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution fall to the proletariat. Contrast Soviet Azerbaijan and the Iranian Azerbaijan. On the Soviet side of the border, socialist property forms have been preserved despite the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet workers state. Radical land reform has taken place, there is no sharecropping and no indentured servitude. Women are not isolated in the home, nor do they wear that symbol of Islamic enslavement, the veil. The population is literate and language rights are guaranteed. The Iranian Azerbaijanis live in semi-feudal conditions and suffer severe national oppression.

The Azerbaijani nation is the historic bridge between the October Revolution and the extension of socialist property forms through Persia to all of Central Asia. The imperialists, from Curzon to Kissinger, have recognized the strategic importance of Azerbaijan and Persia as the revolutionary bridge through which the October Revolution could be extended to the oppressed peoples of the East. A military invasion of Iran by the U.S. would constitute a mortal threat to the Soviet Union and the duty of Trotskyists in such an event would be the unconditional military defense of the USSR. Unlike the mullah-worshippers and chador-defenders of the SWP, we counterpose the gains of the oppressed minorities and toiling masses through the Bolshevik Revolution to the vicious cycle of bloody U.S.-backed monarchies and equally bloody bonapartist dictatorships in the East.

Urgently required is a revolutionary

Trotskyist party to mobilize the Iranian proletariat behind a program which includes the right to self-determination for the national minorities, full democratic rights for women, land to the tiller, and a sovereign, secular constituent assembly as part of the fight for a workers and peasants government. Such a party can only be built through an unrelenting struggle to break the Iranian masses from all the ayatollahs. The Stalinist Tudeh party and fake-Trotskyist HKS have proved completely unequal to the task; driven underground by Khomeini only a few months ago, they are now once again his enthusiastic supporters.

The present crisis, which pits a madman medievalist against the chief-tan of the world's most dangerous imperialist power, is a dramatic illustration of the burning need for a reformed Fourth International, founded on the bedrock of Trotskyist principle, with sections in every country. The struggle for a world party of socialist revolution is the only way to smash both American and Persian chauvinism and replace the national conceit of every people with proletarian internationalism and workers' solidarity. ■

Young Spartacus

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Notes of a Black Revolutionary

From the YSA to Trotskyism

Comrade Don Alexander's notes on his former membership in the SWP/YSA and the political development which led him eventually to the Trotskyist program of the Spartacist League/SYL are printed below. His experience as a "black activist" in the wretchedly social-democratic SWP/YSA between 1969 and 1972 provides graphic confirmation of that organization's bankruptcy on the black question—the key question of the American socialist revolution.

The SWP's "program" for black liberation has zigzagged so often in the past decade that it more closely resembles a pretzel than a guide to action. Since its centrist and subsequent reformist degeneration the SWP's black work has been characterized by tailing the existing misleadership of the black movement—from the SCLC to the race-baiting poverty pimps to the NAACP. An earlier generation of black radicals largely dismissed the SWP as a revolutionary alternative because of its gross abstentionism in key struggles—like the civil rights movement and defense of the Panthers. Any thinking black militant today would be repulsed by its right-wing, civil-libertarian defense of "democratic rights" for the KKK and Nazi scum. But the wild gyrations of the SWP's politics on the black question cannot simply be attributed to the unbounded opportunism of Barnes & Co. The ever-shifting sands of SWP black work betray the fact that the SWP doesn't really have a line on the black question at all!

In its accommodation to the existing leadership of the liberal-pacifist civil rights movement and black nationalism in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the SWP accepted as inevitable its self-definition as a "white party" in which blacks would be paraded, patronized but paternally treated as "resident aliens."

When militant black nationalism attracted large numbers of black youth, the SWP proclaimed it unequivocally "progressive" and rushed to help break the 1968 New York City teachers strike in the name of "community control" of the schools. Consistency would demand that the SWP also oppose integration and therefore busing (as indeed some black nationalist groups like Baraka's Congress of Afrikan Peoples did). However, when black nationalism was on the wane—the Black Panthers having been brutally suppressed by the state—and with little left to tail except the Democratic Party/NAACP pro-busing forces, the SWP placed itself "squarely" on the fence between community control and busing.

"The SWP candidates have spoken out in defense of the right of Black students to attend any school they choose and to use busing as a tool to win better education.

"The Socialist candidates have also spoken out in defense of the right of the Black community to maintain its all-Black schools..."

—*Militant*, 27 September 1974

Several months later, SWP propaganda simply dropped the "community control" rhetoric altogether and rushed to the front lines (along with the NAACP) of the struggle to get federal troops and cops to "defend" bused black schoolchildren in Boston. Though the blood spilled by the federal troops in Watts, Detroit and Newark was barely dry, the "consistent nationalists" of the

SWP had no qualms about advising Boston's black community to beg the very same state to protect them from marauding racists.

Comrade Alexander's letter recounts that the SWP for all of its "black party" rhetoric sealed its black membership off

when the Nazis were mobilizing to march in the largely Jewish Skokie neighborhood near Chicago is easily one of the most revealing statements of the SWP's liberal illusions:

"The best way to fight fascism today isn't to demonstrate against the fascists, Young Spartacus



Spartacist spokesman Don Alexander at Detroit forum "Fight Klan Terror!"

from the Panthers. As early as 1969, an article in the *Young Socialist* (December 1969) attacks the Panthers from the right:

"To be effective, a black political party must put itself forward as a serious leadership for the struggles of the community, the students and workers. This means that it cannot afford to waste its time with rhetoric about 'offing the pigs,' 'fascism,' or Mao. Such rhetoric only isolates the vanguard of the struggle and sets it up for repression."

Furthermore, the SWP criticized the Panthers for not being nationalist enough:

"The second category of ideas are those put forward by the ultralefts—such as the Panthers, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, and the All-African People's Union. Ultraleftism is a real problem in the Black struggle, and, along with reformism, it has served to misdirect the movement. Ultraleftism is not a question of 'ultranationalism,' but is again a question of moving away from nationalism....

"Lacking a nationalist strategy, the Panthers fall into reformist positions.... the ultraleft wing of the Black liberation movement projects, at its best, non-struggle, and, at its worst, 'revolutionary suicide'."

—"Black Youth and the Struggle for Self-Determination," *YSA Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 17 November 1970

In contrast the Spartacist League recognized from its inception that:

"The Panthers were the only organization which could seriously claim to be both black and subjectively revolutionary....

"The intervention of Leninists among radical blacks can stimulate the understanding that the liberation of black people will be both a great driving force of the American proletarian revolution and a great achievement of the revolution in power."

—"The Rise and Fall of the Panthers," *WV* No. 4, January 1972

The American Civil Liberties Union-style program for "fighting" fascists put forward by the SWP's presidential candidate Andrew Pulley two years ago

but to expose their ideas. And you have to debate them because they represent a certain viewpoint in this country."

So it's no surprise that the SWP was nowhere to be found at the militant November 10 anti-Klan rally of 500 in Detroit!

Today the Klan rides in Greensboro and racist mobs rampage in Boston. Mobilizations of the union movement—black and white workers together—are urgently needed against the bosses and the ever-bolder fascist scum. Standing as the foremost roadblock to united, militant action by the labor movement is the racist, pro-capitalist union bureaucracy. It is to this labor bureaucracy that the SWP/YSA has made its "turn."

The "black party" rhetoric is all but gone from the pages of the *Militant* as more and more the SWP touts the need for a labor party of the Sadlowskis and Frasers. Such a "labor party" led by the labor fakers is reminiscent of the Workers League's sloganeering before it sold out to Colonel Qaddafi's "Islamic Revolution." In obvious accommodation to the backward social prejudices of the trade-union bureaucrats, the SWP ditched the struggle for the most elementary democratic rights it once claimed to champion and has even embraced reactionary, anti-homosexual "age of consent" laws.

What have the Sadlowskis, Frasers or Millers ever done for black rights? Black members recruited to the SWP's vicarious nationalism and trained as the "best builders" of liberal anti-union affirmative action schemes or "community control" scabbing may have trouble switching gears to tail the racist trade-union bureaucracy. Unlike the SWP, the Spartacist League has consistently fought to mobilize the union movement to fight against all aspects of racial oppression. This requires above all a fight to oust the Frasers, Fitzsimmons and Sadlowskis and the forging of a class-struggle leadership in the unions. The SWP's turn to the labor bureau-

crats can only signal further betrayal of the fight for black liberation.

Dear Comrades of the SYL:

In 1965 when the SWP had become a definitively reformist organization—entering into a popular-frontist coalition with sections of the liberal bourgeoisie in the antiwar movement—the Watts rebellion was shaking the city of Los Angeles. The brutal state repression of black people in Watts shook me out of my slumber; I was 15 years old. Three years later I began attending Communist Party (CP) political education classes and went to the founding convention of the YWLL (Young Workers Liberation League, youth group of the CP). The YWLL convention left a particularly bad taste in my mouth. Among other things, I heard a lot about how counterrevolutionary "Trotskyites" were doing this or that but I never knew what this or that was. A student at the University of California at Riverside, I joined the fake-Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance in 1969 when they established a chapter on the campus.

When I joined that organization 10 years ago, little did I know that it would one day be vigorously championing "free speech" for fascist scum. The KKK showed what it does with that free speech in Greensboro, North Carolina. The SWP/YSA have no right to join in the generalized outrage at the Klan murders—their flabby classless civil libertarianism is just what the racist terrorists need as legal cover for their lethal organizing.

I joined the YSA not because I wanted to be a "consistent nationalist" but because I wanted to be a revolutionary socialist. I did not believe that all whites were racists; I thought that white radicals had to have a revolutionary program which included a strategy for the liberation of black people. In 1969 I thought I had been recruited to the program of socialist revolution—I found, in the course of my four-year membership, that I had been sold a false bill of goods.

In the late 1960s the most militant expression of black nationalism was the Black Panther Party and it enjoyed tremendous political and moral authority among radicalized black youth. I admired the Panthers' courage and revolutionary determination but was convinced that they had the wrong program. While a YSA member, I argued with Panthers time and time again and in 1970 some members of the Riverside YSA chapter began to attend Panther classes and argue with them politically. Though we were unsuccessful in winning over any of them to the YSA we did make the effort.

Our work with the Panthers was contrary to the YSA's national "hands off" policy. I never knew of nor heard about any attempt on the part of the SWP to recruit Black Panthers to the program of Trotskyism and that is the naked truth. In the same way that they abstained from the early civil rights movement, abandoning the struggle to win radical SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) activists to Marxism, the SWP turned its back on the Panthers.

A lot of black youth joined the YSA on the basis of their "black party" rhetoric. So, here was a black party—the Panthers...and where was the

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Right-Wing Students Target SYL Anti-Recruiter Demos

The patriotic backlash to the seizure of American hostages in Iran has emboldened right-wing, anti-communist students on the campuses. Chauvinist demonstrators burn Iranian flags. This pro-imperialist backlash has generated provocative attacks on the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), which is recognized on many campuses as the communist organization. Such attacks occurred at the University of Chicago and at Oberlin College in Ohio, the latter noted for its liberal reputation. In both instances, the attacks were aimed at demonstrations which were sponsored or initiated by the SYL for the purpose of driving recruiters for U.S. imperialism's murderous elite (the CIA and the Air Force) off campus. The SYL has built numerous such demonstrations on campuses across the country. But not until recently have they evoked right-wing countermobilizations. The SYL will not be intimidated by these campus reactionaries nostalgic for My Lai, carpet bombing, COINTELPRO, the cold-blooded murder of the Panthers, Kent and Jackson State students. We will continue to mobilize and vigorously defend demonstrations to drive recruiters for the American imperialist war machine off the campuses and to recruit students to the Trotskyist program for smashing this racist capitalist system once and for all.

OBERLIN—"Down with the butchers of Indochina! Air Force recruiters off campus!" chanted spirited protesters organized by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) in front of Oberlin College's Wilder Hall. Enraged by this militant protest against U.S. imperialism's Air Force, a gang of several right-wing students singing "God Bless America" hurled rocks and eggs at the demonstrators.

These campus Lt. Calleys who attacked the demonstration perceived that this protest was not just another of the exercises in empty "moral witness" to which Oberlin students have become accustomed in recent years. Oberlin has been the site of endless "actions" over the last year demanding divestment of holdings in South African corporations; protests which are simply appeals to the "moral conscience" of the bourgeoisie, whose hands are soaked red with the blood of the workers and peasants of Indochina. Unlike the mushy, liberal divestment milieu at Oberlin which climbs aboard the bandwagon of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade, the SYL protest pointed to the essence of that ominous crusade—the moral rearmament of U.S. imperialism for its holy war against the USSR and the deformed workers states (to be carried out in part by the new generation of officers the Air Force is trying to recruit). The SYL protests against recruiters for the Pentagon's officer corps are linked to our unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism.

The divestment "left" was conspicuously absent from the SYL-organized protest. This response stands in stark contrast to the student activists of the late 60s, who drove army recruiters off campus, solidarizing with the peoples of Indochina fighting against U.S. imperialism. The whole range of divestment liberals, from the "no-nuke" pacifists of the Mobilization for Survival (MFS) to the Oberlin Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (OCLSA—led by the Young Socialist Alliance [YSA]) found the

most wretched excuses to oppose the SYL's proposal for a united-front demonstration around the demand "Air Force Recruiters Off Campus!" Whining that the SYL was too "militant," MFS and OCLSA instead tried to hold a "silent vigil" in the lobby of Peters Hall to "protest" the recruiters. "Mobilization" became immobilized when an SYL contingent marched to the scene of their "vigil." In the presence of the same gang of right-wing students who had viciously assaulted the SYL demonstration,

call on Carter to send the Kittyhawk to Boston Bay to really defend black schoolchildren. It is not surprising to see the "socialists" of the YSA making common cause with the pacifist MFS against the communist program of the SYL; at Oberlin they have nowhere else to go. Due to the political interventions of the SYL, the YSA has canceled its class series at Oberlin and has taken to closing down its literature tables when our comrades confront them about their support to the veil in Iran or the

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Above, Oberlin demonstration protests Air Force recruiters on campus. Below, reactionary students taunt demonstrators at U of C. Sign reads "SYL Go to Hell—We Love the U.S.A."

Young Spartacus



and a campus security guard, MFS/OCLSA held a meeting to decide whether to sit-in silently, sit-in and lock arms, silently lock arms, block the entrance to the recruiters, or do nothing. Faced with the SYL-led protesters' spirited chanting against the recruiters, the MFS/OCLSA "protest" simply dissolved, accomplishing just what they had intended—nothing. The SYL ended the militant protest with the singing of the Internationale.

It was not surprising that the YSA backed away from protesting military recruiters. These reformists believe that the mass murderers of Indochina, like the ruling class they serve, can be pressured into protecting black people. They call for federal troops to Boston and the South. Maybe the SWP should

repression against their own "fraternal comrades" in Nicaragua. While YSA chapters on campuses across the country have practically disappeared (as yesterday's student-bureaucrat aspirants reappear as today's waterboys for the labor skates), it is the Spartacus Youth League that fights to win students to the revolutionary program of Trotskyism. ■

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO—On November 20, 45 spirited demonstrators voiced their opposition to the appearance of CIA recruiters at the University of Chicago. The militant protest, called by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), was joined by members of the U of C Progressive Union (PU), Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB)

and other U of C students.

The demonstrators were confronted by a smaller counter-demonstration of some 20 hostile, pro-imperialist students. Fueled by the reactionary backlash against Iran, these two-bit ivory tower hoodlums shamelessly mobilized in support of the U.S.' international Murder Inc., the CIA. The reactionaries carried placards reading "SYL—Go to Hell—We Love the U.S.A." One anti-communist scum carried a sign saying, "Put Marxists in their place: six feet under," an especially extreme provocation in the wake of the recent cold-blooded Klan murders of leftists in Greensboro.

Howling "We Love the CIA! Go back to Russia, Commies," and taunting and threatening demonstrators, the right-wingers made it quite clear that they would like to deal with the SYL and anyone who opposes U.S. imperialism the same way the CIA and Pinochet dealt with the left in Chile—outlaw them, round them up, torture them and "disappear" them. This is the "democracy" U.S. imperialism and its spy agencies defend around the world. And they have found plenty of willing recruits at the University of Chicago, home of the atom bomb and Milton "shock treatment" Friedman.

RCYB Fake-Lefts Reason With Rightists

In response to the provocative countermobilization, the RCYB repeatedly broke ranks with the anti-recruiter demonstration, slinking in and out of the protest to "debate" the reactionaries. Perhaps the Avakianite RCYB was looking for a few recruits among the rightists. More often than not these crazed cultists are found on the same side of reactionary mobilizations. The RCYB hailed the racist "fightback" against busing in Boston and Louisville, opposed the Equal Rights Amendment and is as viciously anti-gay as Anita Bryant. The Maoist RCYB is as rabidly anti-Soviet as the reactionaries, and on the question of democratic rights for genuine communists (i.e., Trotskyists) the RCYB stated at the demonstration that they agree with the pro-imperialist students—"SYL off campus!" The nutty RCYB, a disoriented Stalinist sect without a "socialist motherland," has never been able to recognize the class line. Losing ever more grasp of reality, the RCYB and parent Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) are edging ever closer to the semi-political fringe: they even characterized the dropping of charges against RCP guru Bob Avakian as a setback!

"Progressive Union" Equates Left With Right

The PU (a motley crew of cynical ex-New Leftists and liberals) visibly cringed at the counterdemonstration. Instead of opposing the right-wingers, the PU refused to sponsor a united-front demonstration with the SYL against the CIA recruiters, thereby insuring a smaller demonstration. To their credit, a number of PU members did participate in the SYL demonstration in spite of the PU's cowardly abstention.

One member of the PU, obviously distraught that the SYL polarized his group, wrote a letter to the campus press bemoaning the demonstration and counterdemonstration as a "confrontation between dogmatism on the far left

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Apocalypse Now: The Lie at the Heart of Darkness

Young Spartacus
Review by
Steve Mitchell

Try as it might to swagger around the world with the old pretense of omnipotence, the U.S. ruling class still feels very much emasculated by its world-historic defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese revolution. In its historical eclipse, there is an added pathology and desperation to American imperialist foreign policy—expressed for example in Carter's attempt to kidnap a Soviet ballerina, the extreme provocations against the USSR and Cuba for non-existent "combat brigades" off U.S. shores and the provocative admission of the ex-shah of Iran to the U.S. for medical treatment. The U.S. bourgeoisie keeps trying to pick a meaningless fight it can win, but without much success.

To millions around the world Vietnam symbolizes the decline of U.S. imperialism. The imperialists still can't figure out why they lost that war, and so inside their hearts a special hatred burns for heroic Vietnam. This is the meaning of the frenzied and hysterical campaign around the "boat people" and the starving Cambodian refugees. It is also what is behind Michael Cimino's grossly reactionary, Academy Award-winning movie *The Deer Hunter* and, in a more subtle way, Francis Coppola's *Apocalypse Now*. Both films search for the "secret" of U.S. imperialism's defeat in Vietnam. But the class viewpoint from which they are produced necessarily precludes them from finding it, and dictates instead that they must resort to the most outrageous lies (see "*Deer Hunter Lies*," *Workers Vanguard*, 27 April).

The plot of *Apocalypse Now* is a familiar one, borrowed from Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. A renegade colonel named Kurtz (Marlon Brando) has gone mad in a savage land. Having separated himself from the regular U.S. forces, he has assembled an army of fellow renegades to do battle with the savages on their own terms, complaining that the "clowns" in the regular military are "about to lose the whole damn circus." Captain B.L. Willard (Martin Sheen), a professional assassin, is assigned to "terminate" Kurtz "with extreme prejudice." Most of the movie consists of Willard being escorted down a river to Kurtz' jungle compound by a crew of far-out, laid-back, cool American soldiers, all but one of whom are dead by the end.

In preparation for his assignment, Willard reads up on Kurtz and develops a certain respect and sympathy for him. Kurtz was a graduate of West Point. He had a most distinguished career; he could have been a general or even Chief of Staff. Willard seems irresistibly drawn to Kurtz as he proceeds deeper into the "heart of darkness." The assignment has become an obsession. His harrowing journey terminates at Kurtz' eerie camp, where Marlon Brando relates to him what it was that drove Kurtz to madness—the "secret" that allowed tiny Vietnam to humiliate U.S. imperialism. It is something of a letdown, to say the least.

Lie No. 1

It seems that Kurtz was inoculating some Vietnamese children against polio one day when, mission accomplished, he was called back to the village. And what should he find upon his return but... "a pile of little arms!" The little arms had formerly been attached to the inoculated children but were placed in a pile by the "Vietcong" to terrorize the villagers. In any event, it terrified Kurtz, for the hulking colonel "wept like a grandmother." Upon further reflection, he concluded that "the genius, the will, the masterful knowledge" involved in such an endeavor was after all quite admirable, and indeed the only assurance of immortality. He proceeded to gather together some of the mangled types, and then he had them buried to do private justice on the VC. Independent of the regular army and on the basis of a savage's logic, it was they imagined to be part of the Vietnamese themselves.

What a fraud! Coppola has inverted reality completely; it was U.S. imperialism which tortured people in Vietnam. The U.S. held captives in rat-infested tiger cages and mounted massive terror campaigns such as the infamous "Operation Phoenix" against suspected "Vietcong" sympathizers. A million Vietnamese were killed, two million were wounded, and four million made homeless by U.S. bombing. From 1965 to 1969, four-and-a-half million tons of bombs were dropped on Vietnam by the U.S.—nine times the tonnage dropped in the Pacific Theatre in all of World War II—a force equivalent to two Hiroshimas a week. By March, 1969, 130,000 tons of bombs were being dropped each month—70 tons of bombs for every man, woman and child. Did the American military learn such brutality from the Vietnamese?

The forces of the National Liberation



A bewildered Captain Willard (Martin Sheen) arrives at Kurtz' cult colony.

Front (NLF) and the Hanoi government counted on the overwhelming support of the vast majority of the population. They did not run around begging off the arms of their own supporters. Bourgeois conservatism was not the reason for U.S. campaign to "bomb Vietnam back to the stone age" and are embarrassed only at having lost; bourgeois liberals are embarrassed also by the slaughter and want to cleanse themselves of it by throwing a little slime on everybody else. In making his deceitful movie Coppola merely exposes the spleen of the liberal bourgeoisie at the Vietnamese revolution for driving them crazy.

Some have characterized *Apocalypse Now* as a "left-wing" *Deer Hunter*. Whereas *The Deer Hunter* lyngly depicted the Vietnamese as vicious torturers who forced American captives to play Russian roulette with live ammunition while betting on the outcome, at least *Apocalypse Now* admits of American atrocities. In one scene we see an entire Vietnamese village—men, women, children, civilians—destroyed. Yet Kurtz' encounter with the "little arms" serves for Coppola the same fundamental purpose that the Russian roulette scene served for Cimino—it allows him to blame the Vietnamese. As *Deirdre English* points out in her review in *Mother Jones* (September/October 1979), it is the central metaphor of the film even though it never appears on the screen:

"In making this fabricated story the key illustration of Vietnamese behavior, Coppola... repeats the same time-worn stereotype of Asian communists. And he accomplishes on film what the Pentagon could never do in reality—the dehumanization of the Vietnamese."

Lie No. 2

Coppola romanticizes the supposed "primitiveness" of the Vietnamese. He attempts to contrast the "primordial" to the "civilized"; it is their meeting which is supposed to be apocalyptic. But Vietnam is not Joseph Conrad's 19th-century Congo. The Vietnamese are a highly cultured people; their civilization is ancient and not at all primitive. U.S. imperialism was not defeated in Vietnam by some mysterious inner determination held in common by savages (nor

by the "strategy" of "protracted people's war," as the Maoists would have it). From 1968 at the latest, the main burden of the fighting was borne by the professionally trained and equipped North Vietnamese army, though the NLF guerrillas played an important auxiliary role. Indeed, capitalism might have been overthrown in Vietnam much sooner had it not been for the treacherous policies of the Stalinist NLF/Vietnamese Communist Party leadership, which sought at every point to compromise with the imperialists (first the French and then the U.S.). In order to pave the way for the return of the French after World War II they massacred the intrinsically anti-imperialist Vietnamese Trotskyists. Yet the rapacity of the imperialists continuously upset all the Stalinists' best-laid plans for "peaceful coexistence" and confronted them with the need to fight back.

Not simply an anti-imperialist war, what happened in Vietnam was a class war, a social revolution. It must be understood in the context of the epoch of imperialist decay in which the question of "socialism or barbarism" is posed most acutely for mankind. Coppola's central metaphor attempts to render the savagery and barbarism of U.S. imperialism humane and the Vietnamese revolution, which laid the basis for progress in human civilization, as savage.

Since Coppola sees the Vietnamese as more than savages, the only way to make the characters in *Apocalypse Now* American. The Vietnamese are so many targets for American aggression, we are supposed to see the Americans even as we see them wreak mayhem and murder on innocent people. This is as racist as it is perverse, and in itself disqualifies the film from the artistic profundity to which Coppola so pompously aspired in making it.

Worse yet, the main object of Coppola's interest is not even the American GIs, who for the most part are incompetents spoiled by the fruits of civilization. Above all he is fascinated by the insane, macho-gone-native reactionary, Colonel Kurtz. But as if he is embarrassed to admit it, Coppola has left the movie extremely ambiguous and pointless. In the end, Willard kills Kurtz. Big deal—that was his assignment. Nothing has happened during Willard's long jungle journey which has deflected him from his purpose. Was anything supposed to?

Of course, profound art is never easily understood, especially at first. But it doesn't look as if anyone is going to spend much time searching for meaning in *Apocalypse Now*. *Time* (August 27) entitled its review "The Making of a Quagmire." Coppola spent \$30 million and four years of his life producing this dud. So maybe he should retreat into a cave in some jungle somewhere and brood over "the horror" of having been defeated at his own craft by the Vietnamese revolution. ■



My Lai massacre. Did Lt. Calley learn brutality from these people?

On the Move?

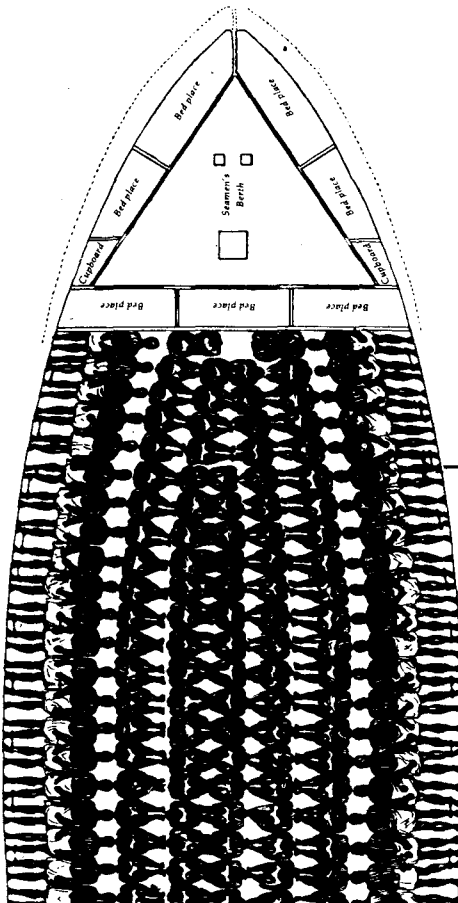
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Part One of Two

The following article is based on a transcription of an educational on American slavery, the Civil War and Reconstruction given in the Detroit local by Brian Manning. The division of the American working class along racial lines has been a major prop of the bourgeois order and the major obstacle to the forging of a class-conscious proletariat in the U.S. In contrast to every other left-wing organization, the Spartacist tendency uniquely poses revolutionary integrationism as the solution to black oppression. The special oppression of blacks in the U.S. derives from their position as a race/color caste integrated into the American economy but forcibly segregated at the bottom, in the industrial reserve army—the unskilled proletariat and overlapping with the declassed lumpen population. The rest of the left sees black oppression as the systematic deprivation of democratic rights or a form of national oppression. The position that blacks constitute a nation has no basis in post-World War II America as blacks are no longer concentrated in the South and are now thoroughly integrated into the U.S. political economy. At the same time black oppression cannot simply be reduced to a class question, which was the characteristic failing of even the best of the early American socialists. The road to black liberation necessarily passes through the destruction of U.S. capitalism by victorious socialist revolution. At the same time, unless the special oppression of blacks is understood and the struggle against that special oppression is made an integral part of the program for socialist revolution in the U.S., the American working class will not conquer state power.

The period of the Civil War and Reconstruction is crucial to understanding the development of the black question in the U.S. Below we print Part One of a two-part series. Part One covers the period from the American revolution to 1860, the beginning of the Civil War. The transcription has been minimally edited to preserve the character of the original presentation.



Slave ship galley, above. Slaves branded, right.



This is a class on the material basis of black oppression. The period of the Civil War and Reconstruction is important to understand because it gives the backdrop for the formation of class relations, the development of the twin parties of capitalism, and the development of race relations as they exist today. Without slavery, the Civil War or Reconstruction, the black question would not exist as it does today. This period is the only time that there was the possibility of blacks developing into anything other than a race/color caste. Had Reconstruction not met a stinging defeat and had there been redistribution of land to the blacks and the consolidation of a union of black and white labor, then the history of the United States would have been quite different.

For the student of world history, the Civil War is really the only thing that ever happened in the United States. In Europe, bourgeois revolutions and the building of the labor movement were much more cataclysmic events. But in the U.S. the labor battles of the 1930s and the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s pale before the titanic battles between the slavocracy and the industrial bourgeoisie during the Civil War and Reconstruction.

The War of Independence, the first American Revolution, simply freed the U.S. from the fetters of British colonial

rule, but left disproportionate political power in the hands of the southern slavocracy. The Civil War completed the bourgeois revolution in the U.S. by smashing the slavocracy, thus ridding North America of the mercantilist capitalist encumbrances and paving the way for westward expansion.

The Rise of American Slavery

Slaves were brought to the United States initially in 1620, to meet the prime need for cheap labor in the New World. Slavery really took hold in the South because the land there was more conducive to the development of plantations and the use of large gangs of laborers. In the North the terrain was largely rocky, and the only place suitable for farming was down in the valleys, the bottomland.

The plantation system developed in the South, initially cultivating tobacco, rice and indigo. Later, with the invention of the cotton gin in the late 18th century, cotton became king and the production of cotton skyrocketed. In 1791, 9,000 bales of cotton were produced. (A bale is about 500 pounds.) In 1822, 500,000 bales were produced; and in 1852, three million bales of cotton were produced. Yet small slave holders predominated throughout the South, the border states and Virginia. The

larger plantations were mainly concentrated in places like South Carolina and Georgia, and later on in Mississippi, Alabama and Texas.

Blacks were never a significant majority in any state in the United States. They were a small majority only in Mississippi and South Carolina at the time of the Civil War. The free blacks were an even smaller minority. They were concentrated about half and half between the South and the North, and there were approximately a tenth as many free blacks as there were slaves.

On the one hand, slavery was an anachronism based on a mode of production unable to compete with a growing capitalist system; but on the other hand, by the time of the Civil War, the South was integrated into the world market by England, which needed southern cotton for its textile industry. The history of American politics up to the Civil War was a history of compromise between the industrial bourgeoisie and the slavocracy, mostly in favor of the slavocracy—the Dred Scott case is an example. But the development of the West ruled out compromise after a certain point. Slavery, with its very low productive level, was a barrier to capitalist development. But in order to survive, the slavocracy had to expand in the West. It needed fresh lands, more markets for slave labor and the balance of power in Washington. However the landowning yeomanry in the midwest and northwest—nonexistent in the South—wanted these lands to develop with free labor. The slavocracy was fighting for its life.

One reason that the South had to expand was that the fertility of the older areas had been destroyed. It's not that



L WAR CTION



cotton was a particularly soil-depleting crop. It was just not profitable to maintain the land's fertility by crop rotation or fertilization. Cotton dominated the plantation system and the slaveowners were reluctant to plant anything else. The dynamic of slavery was such that the only way that the planters had to raise money for improvement or capital investment was to sell slaves south and further west. Slaves were sold in great numbers from Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and North Carolina down into the freshly cultivated lands of Texas and Mississippi. By the time of the Civil War, a state like Kentucky derived most of its income from selling slaves south.

The slavocracy also got the labor it needed for new territory from the slave trade. Although the slave trade was legally abolished in 1808, Stephen A. Douglas (of Lincoln-Douglas Debates fame), certainly no abolitionist, said that in 1859 there were more slaves imported into the United States than in any other year since the founding of the Americas: approximately 15,000. In New York City alone, for example, 86 slavers were outfitted in 18 months. Eighty-six slavers were capable of taking anywhere between 60,000 and 90,000 slaves from Africa to the New World. Some of them went to other slave countries like Brazil or Cuba. The trade in slaves, "black diamonds," was lucrative and was not finally suppressed until the Civil War abolished slavery.

The South needed the lands to the west and the Republican Party wasn't about to give

them up. It needed a bold stroke to complete its independence and provide an expansionist solution. So the South thought about taking over Cuba. That's also what the Mexican-American war in 1849 was about. I remember when I was a kid, and we used to watch Walt Disney, and one of the things he had on was "Davy Crockett." The last scene shows him in the Alamo, swinging his gun. He's run out of bullets and he's swinging his gun. He was fighting for a slave state, but they don't tell you that in Walt Disney.

Slave Revolts in the South

One question which is often asked is why there were so few slave revolts. The differences between the slave systems in the South and in the Caribbean and South America can help explain this. First of all, in the Caribbean there was a much more developed plantation system. The sugar industry dominated the economy. In the South the planters would live for at least most of the year on their plantations, and only go inland, into the hills, when it was summer—yellow fever time. In the Caribbean and South America the planter left the plantations in the hands of largely black overseers, as opposed to in the United States where the overseers were largely white.

There was also a concentration of blacks from particular areas of Africa in the Caribbean. They'd take a shipload of slaves from Africa and drop them off on one small island and all the slaves would know each other or would know the language, and would have the possibility of maintaining the cultural base. That wasn't possible in the United States, where people were separated, and cultural and family ties were broken.

Slavery in the Caribbean and South America was even more brutal than slavery in the United States, in large part because there was a more ready supply of slaves from Africa available. One could get a shipload of slaves and kill off a quarter of them in the first year, then always have the possibility of getting more from Africa in the near future. In the United States, particularly after the slave trade was banned in 1808, the possibility of readily importing additional slaves declined, so all the slave owners in the United States were not Simon Legrees.

The fact that the pattern of slavery was more brutal in the Caribbean does not fully account for why there were more slave revolts. The escaped Caribbean and South American slaves established "maroon" colonies in the mountainous or jungle areas. These slaves would run off into the hills, then go down and raid the plantations for food and fresh blood for the maroon colonies. This is where a lot of the slave

revolts emanated from. The most famous of these colonies was Palmares in Brazil. Twenty-thousand ex-slaves living in the hills of Brazil actually established their own republic with a government and social services. Everybody lived in little fortified villages. Periodically the Portuguese would send expeditions out to Palmares and attempt to smash this settlement. But the colony existed for over 60 years before the Portuguese finally crushed it.

On the islands, some slave revolts were successful or close to successful, like in Jamaica in the 18th and 19th centuries! On St. John Island in the Virgin Islands in the 18th century there was a revolt which drove the whites off of three quarters of the island, and the slaves held the island for over a year. The only successful slave revolt, and as far as I know, the only successful slave revolt in history, was the uprising of Toussaint l'Ouverture and the slaves of Haiti, which topped even the Spartacus rebellion in Rome in 72 B.C. The Spartacus rebellion only lasted for two years before the Roman legions got them.

Around the time of the French Revolution in the early 1790s, the slaves in Haiti began to be inspired by the spirit of revolution. The plantation aristocracy was in an advanced state of decay, so Toussaint organized the slaves into an army and drove the planters out. Toussaint defeated first French royal troops, then an army of 60,000 British, then an army of Spanish, then yet another army of French. Eventually he established the first recognized black republic in the New World in 1803. Toussaint was really a genius. C.L.R. James contends that the defeat of the British at the hands of Toussaint was the worst defeat suffered by a British expeditionary force from the 16th century until World War I.

The French Thermidor brought another invasion from the French (under Napoleon this time) which wasn't successful. Santo Domingo had been the most profitable colony in the New World and both the Bourbons and Napoleon had counted on it to be the linchpin of all their plans for the New World. Quebec and Louisiana were nothing compared to Santo Domingo. So this slave revolt was also the reason why in 1803 Napoleon sold New Orleans and a third of the United States to the U.S. for a song. What did the U.S. pay for it? Fifteen million dollars? That's peanuts. After the defeat in Santo Domingo Napoleon gave up his plans for a real foothold in the New World. That slave revolt was something that reverberated throughout the world. The fear of a slave uprising like that

permeated the slave holders' lives for several decades thereafter.

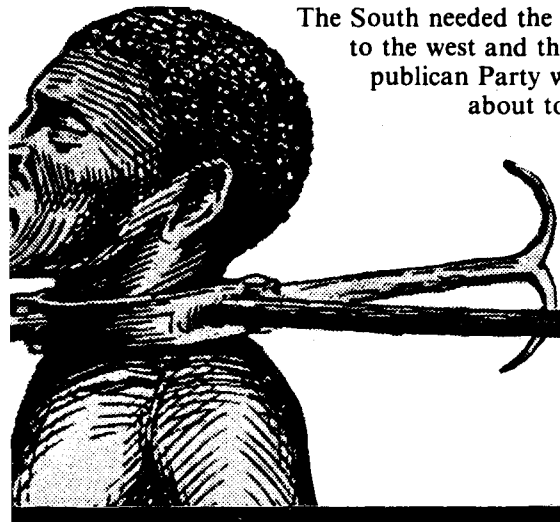
The slave revolts in the United States never achieved the scope of the slave revolts in the Caribbean by a long shot, for several reasons. First there was a large white population, and the poor whites would be mobilized into patrols. If you were walking off your plantation, you never knew when you would be stopped and asked for a pass. You could be asked for a pass at any time, and of course when somebody ran away there were plenty of bloodhounds out.

The American slaves had come from different isolated areas of Africa and didn't know anybody and didn't know the language; all they knew was the language of the masters. The abolition of the slave trade in 1808 meant that by the time of the Civil War, the vast majority of slaves were born in the United States. This Americanization of slave society is a significant factor contributing both to the small number of slave revolts as well as the development of blacks into a race/color caste.

American blacks had nowhere to run. They had no opportunity to form maroon colonies like the ones in the Caribbean. A small number of American slaves were able to run off to the Indians in Tennessee and Kentucky during the 18th century when the Cherokees still had a semblance of a tribal life. That ceased when Andrew Jackson drove the Cherokees out of the hills on their Trail of Tears out to Oklahoma. There were also blacks running off to Florida and joining up with the Seminoles. One of the reasons why the Seminole Wars were fought in the early 19th century was to stop the runaway slaves. As Frederick Douglass once said: "Men do not like to buy runaway horses, nor to invest their money in a species of property likely to take legs and walk off with itself."

The main American slave revolts included Gabriel's Revolt in 1800, the Denmark Vesey Conspiracy in 1822 and the Nat Turner Revolt in 1831. Gabriel's Revolt was a conspiracy between all the slaves in the area around Richmond, a town of 3,000 people at the time. All the slaves in the area, led by Gabriel, decided that they were going to march on Richmond and take the town over. They all ran away from their plantations with their pikes and were about to march on Richmond when, wouldn't you know it, Virginia had the worst rainstorm in recorded history. It washed out all the roads and the slaves thought that it was a sign from god. The streams were all running over their banks, and everybody panicked and went home. The next day somebody told, and that

continued on next page



Nat Turner plots revolt, left. Above, Toussaint l'Ouverture sentences enemy spy after victory over British.

Slavery...

(continued from page 7)

was it. Gabriel ended up getting hanged.

Denmark Vesey, a freed slave, had another conspiracy down in Charleston, but they uncovered it before the slaves actually did anything.

Nat Turner's Revolt was the most successful American revolt. He ended up killing 55 people. He just went on a murdering binge, collecting slaves as he went. He lasted for about a day before they captured him. He wrote his famous and powerful "Confession," then he was hanged, skinned and a purse made of his hide.

The blacks in the United States who organized these revolts weren't field hands. Gabriel was a mechanic or a blacksmith; Denmark Vesey was a free man; and Turner was both skilled and a preacher. This shoots to hell the old myth perpetuated by Malcolm X and the nationalists that the field hands were the real revolutionaries, and it was the "house niggers" who always told. It also belies the Stalinist myth about widespread slave revolts. Communist Party theoretician Herbert Aptheker finds slave revolts everywhere, in every rumor

of a revolt in every work slowdown—but this is romanticism, not the reality of the old South. Oppression oppresses, and the fact of the matter is that the planter aristocracy in the South did a good job of keeping the slaves down. The military correlation of forces made it nearly impossible for a successful slave uprising to occur. Another hypothesis, advanced by DuBois, is

that the possibility of escape to the North was a safety valve for the most militant and rebellious slaves, supposedly. The masses were left down South with no leadership. That theory doesn't have any validity because if you look at the figures, there was only one year that over one thousand slaves escaped. Out of a population of four million slaves, that isn't a significant number at all.

The Development of the Abolitionist Movement

The early abolitionist movement, consolidated about 1830, had a very liberal character. It was centered in New England, particularly Massachusetts. One of the leading figures of the abolitionist movement was William Lloyd Garrison who published the newspaper *The Liberator*. The abolitionists' main slogan was "No Union with Slaveholders—Dissolve the Union," and they advised everyone to abstain from voting and use "moral coercion" to win people to their views. These ideas met with opposition, particularly in the "head" strongholds like New York City. Abolitionists would frequently get up and try to speak in areas like this and get beaten and tarred and feathered. Their main organizational vehicle was the Church; they were non-violent and crusaders for temperance as well. A lot of them were also crusaders for women's rights.

Blacks had a big role in the early abolitionist movement, mainly as the most popular and militant public spokesmen, but not so much as editors or writers. Frederick Douglass broke with that after he came around the Garrisonians in the early 1840s, and was their main public spokesman for a number of years. He did a tour of Britain, and when he came back he decided that he wanted to contribute to the paper or start his own paper. When he confronted Garrison with this, Garrison said that he couldn't let him

write the paper because he was just nine years out of slavery. Douglass objected to Garrison's patronizing position and moved to Rochester where he started his own paper, *The North Star*. This began a 15-year battle with Garrison, until the Civil War, when they got together and raised a black regiment in Massachusetts.

So then Frederick Douglass started changing. He was the first political—as opposed to "morally outraged"—abolitionist. First he got the idea that everybody should exercise the legitimate right to vote against the slavery party, the Democrats. He also believed that the Constitution was an inherently anti-slavery document, and that therefore slavery was unconstitutional. Then Douglass met John Brown in 1848, and he started coming over to the view that some violence might indeed be neces-

sary to overthrow slavery. Frederick Douglass and John Brown eventually became his friends, and Douglass supported Brown in a lot of his ventures.

John Brown played a major part in defeating the slave holders' effort. He worked out of a small headquarters at his family farm at Osawatimie, Kansas. With his sons and other black and white abolitionists he fought several battles with the slave holders against overwhelming odds, and won. One night, he and his sons went over to the houses of five particularly notorious slave holders, burst into their houses and dragged the men out. He took them over to the Swamp of the Swan and had them

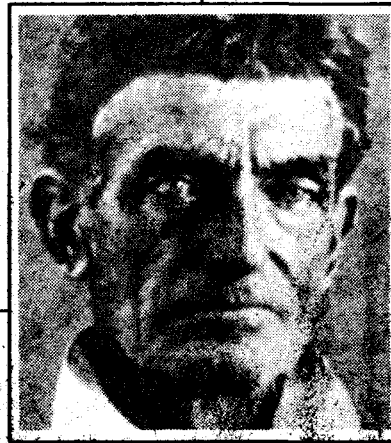
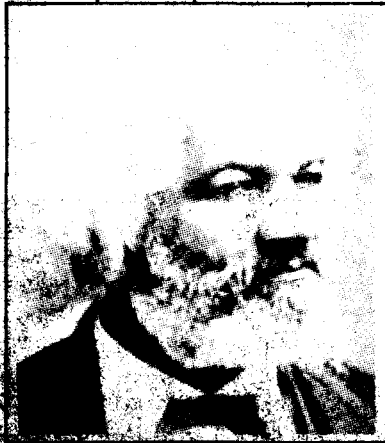
fatal flaws. He took over the arsenal without a hitch, but there was no military preparation of the slaves in the area. They didn't know what was going on so there was no general uprising. Brown also cut off his lines of retreat and held his position too long. He was there for 36 hours before Robert E. Lee and the Marines came and ousted him from Harpers Ferry. He was captured, tried and hanged.

There was universal lauding of John Brown's action in abolitionist circles throughout the country. For example, on the date of Brown's hanging, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow wrote in his diary, "This will be a great date in our history, the date of a new Revolution, quite as needed as the old one. . . . This is sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind." John Brown was hanged on a cold clear December morning, and there were 2,000 troops present to make sure that nothing happened, that there wasn't any attempted escape. On his way to the gallows he handed his last will to one of his supporters: "I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood. I had, as I now think vainly, flattered myself that without too much bloodshed it might have been done."

So he was hanged, and the bourgeoisie, including Abraham Lincoln, supported his hanging. It's kind of ironic that the governor of Virginia, Governor Wise, who had ordered his hanging and was present at the execution, was involved in an attack on that very same Harpers Ferry a year and a half later. This time it was being held by the Union Army and he was with the Confederate Army.



Slave holders fire on freesoilers in Bleeding Kansas. Frederick Douglass, left. John Brown, right.



dispatched with outburst. So he got the nickname Osawatimie John Brown, or Captain John Brown, and the whisper of his name would strike fear into the hearts of all slave holders.

John Brown and Harpers Ferry

In 1859 John Brown decided to go ahead with his plan to set up in the Alleghenies. He figured that what he needed was a bold stroke to set the country on fire and let the slaves know that he was there and he was going to fight for them. He decided to take over the arsenal at Harpers Ferry and gather some arms. He had a lot of support from abolitionists. There was a group called the Secret Six up in Boston which included five Harvard graduates and a couple of industrialists. These Secret Six funneled money to John Brown. He never revealed his plan to take over Harpers Ferry, and they just figured that they were funneling money for his plan to go up into the hills. He also had contact with Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass. Harriet Tubman was going to go with him, but she got sick a couple of weeks before and wasn't able to come down. John Brown called Douglass down to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania to meet with him and tried to convince him to go along. Douglass refused when he found out that Brown planned to attack the arsenal. He figured, justifiably, that that would bring down the wrath of the federal government immediately and viciously and that they'd be smashed. Douglass also brought down a friend of his, the ex-slave Shields Green. When they met, John Brown said, "Come with me, Douglass, I'll defend you with my life, I want you for a special purpose. When I strike, the bees will begin to swarm and I want you to help me hive them." He wanted Douglass to go around to the various plantations and help bring the slaves out. Douglass refused, but his friend Shields Green said, "I think I'll go with the old man," and he ended up dying in the battle at Harpers Ferry.

John Brown's attack had a number of

The Slavery Settles

By 1859 and 1860, the situation in the South was desperate. The war in Kansas was just a rehearsal for the real thing. The excuse that the South gave for secession was the election of the Republican Party's candidate, Abe Lincoln, to the presidency. It was the first time in that century that anybody but a pro-slavery president had been in the White House. The Republican Party grew in part out of the struggle in Kansas. Some of the people who were involved in the formation of the Republican Party were the same people who were sending arms and money to Kansas. The Republicans also grew out of disgruntled Democrats and the Free Soil Party which was established in 1848. The slogan of the Republican Party was "Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men." They were not necessarily for abolition, but they opposed any further expansion of slavery. The only reason that Lincoln won was that the Democratic Party split between Breckinridge from the South who said that slavery should be allowed to expand anywhere it wanted to go, and Stephen A. Douglas who said that slavery should be confined to those areas where the majority of people wanted it. Lincoln said that slavery should be confined to where it already existed. The Republicans won, and the South moved toward secession.

There was always a northern fear of slave labor. It's not that the majority of Republicans or freeholders in the North liked blacks. It's just that they feared them, and they feared the slave system would encroach on their land and labor. They saw what happened in Kansas, where the slave owners tried to oust the freeholders, and they didn't want it to happen to them. Labor was hostile to blacks before the war, and didn't allow them in most unions. Particularly in New York City there was a real competition for jobs between the newly

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BU Five...

(continued from page 12)

student support for striking workers; we have joined the picket lines of striking clerical staff, librarians, faculty and Buildings and Grounds workers. Because all sectors of the campus community have faced systematic administration persecution, we have called for students, workers and teachers to stand shoulder to shoulder against Silber and demanded that when the campus is struck "business as usual" should stop and the classes shut down.

Attending an SYL public meeting the evening following the December 6 rally, Carol Knox—chairman of the BU unit of District 65 (staff and clerical workers) which has recently affiliated with the United Auto Workers—stated:

"...listening to Mike [Adams] talk, I just feel really excited to be in a union where there's a strong militant rank and file out there, regardless of what the leadership is doing.... Here at BU, I think I respect the Spartacist League most for understanding the principle of unity which the majority of the people on this campus do not understand. And I think it's a new thing for most of us to really understand it on a very gut level how critical it is to our success or failure.... It's true that you, of all the student groups on campus, held the closest line to ours, and we really appreciate it tremendously."

Silber is a union-busting, witchhunting despot and he should be dumped. The class character of the university will not change, however, when Madman Silber gets his just deserts. As long as the capitalist Board of Trustees and their lackeys in the administration run things, student rights will be trampled upon, radical professors victimized, campus workers attacked. Such is the



SYL supports Bridgeport teachers strike, fall 1978. "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross."

norm in bourgeois society, of which Silber is simply an extreme and flamboyant example.

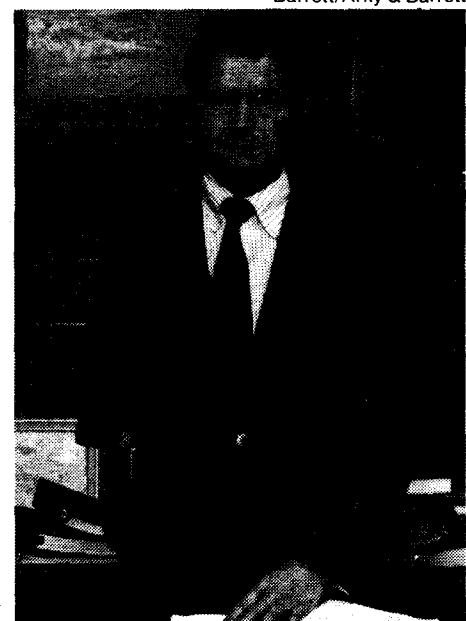
There must be no illusions in "student-input" schemes to "democratize" the university—such a committee, after all, put Silber in office in the first place. Only when all the universities are nationalized, when students receive a fully-paid state stipend, when there are open admissions and special training programs for minority and working-class youth will the universities cease to be bastions of class and race privilege and think tanks for imperialist slaughter. Abolish the trustees and the administration—for student-worker-teacher control of the university! Join the fight against the rotting capitalist system—Join the SYL! ■

professor Milton Friedman for his role as economic advisor to the murderous CIA-backed Chilean junta. We actively supported the University workers during the campus strike in 1974. It was the SYL which had the largest contingent to protest against the administration's award to imperialist butcher McNamara at U of C last spring. This year we organized a demonstration to protest the vicious Greensboro Klan murders and initiated a united-front protest against U.S. Navy Officer Training Program recruiters.

Even within this sanctuary of class privilege and elitism, the revolutionary politics of the SYL and the pressure of events force students to realize that they must take sides. There is no middle ground. In a period where the Klan guns down self-avowed communists and labor organizers in broad daylight and the American bourgeoisie mounts its attacks on the working class while the spectre of a third world war looms large, political polarization on the campuses is inevitable. Students must take a stand against the anarchic, criminal capitalist system. There is no choice—it's either fighting with us for a socialist society or sinking with the capitalists. ■

Young Spartacus

Barrett/Arky & Barrett



Madman Silber.

The following telegrams of support were read at the BU Five support rally of 6 December 1979:

As a steelworker fired for honoring a picket line, I fully support struggle of BU Five. Over 1500 steelworkers have signed petition demanding that union leaders pursue my grievance to victory. You are not alone, believing picket lines mean don't cross. 1978 miners strike showed power of labor solidarity. Weapons like picket lines and sit-down strikes are necessary for labor movement to survive. Victory to BU clerical workers, no reprisals against picket line Five and others who honor picket lines. Picket lines mean don't cross.
Keith Anwar, Box 7914, Chicago, Ill.

We stand with you in the principle of honoring picket lines and express solidarity with your action on behalf of striking clerical workers last September. That you should now be threatened with firing for your support of the right to unionize is an attack against all who defend the working people and their allies in their struggle against exploitation and oppression.
Dump union-buster Silber.
Hands off the Boston University 5—No Firings.
No reprisals against faculty or campus workers for union activities.
Fraternally
Partisan Defense Committee
Box 99 Canal St Station
New York NY 10013

Anti-CIA...

(continued from page 4)

and on the far right" and whining about the SYL's lack of "tact." Desperately seeking the (non-existent) "middle ground," the P.U. moaned, "You can hate the CIA, the FBI, Jimmy Carter, the shah of Iran, Khomeini and jingoism without supporting the SYL..." But the PU cannot escape the fate of liberals who play at the politics of class struggle. Some PU members may find their way to revolutionary politics; the others will sink into anti-communism after internal political struggle has blown the PU apart.

No Middle Ground at U of C

The lines are clearly drawn at the University of Chicago. The right wing continues its anti-communist crusade. The letters "SYL" have been painted below "STOP" on traffic signs in the U of C area and buildings on campus have been adorned with anti-SYL slogans. The SYL has been targeted by the reactionary students because we are the communists at U of C. We led the campaign in 1975 against U of C

Letters...

(continued from page 2)

where 500 black and white autoworkers and other unionists, socialists and anti-fascists responded to a call by the Spartacist League/SYL to demonstrate.

We have seen in practice that the SYL perspective of mass labor/black mobilizations against the fascists is the only way to prevent scum like the Klan or Nazis from carrying out their murderous terror. It is all the more outrageous that the *Review* decided to censor the SYL and instead ran an article about a pathetic demonstration called by the misnamed Anti-Nazi Coalition. The ANC reformists called on the government to ban the Klan; self-admittedly they drew little and accomplished nothing. The SL/SYL drew hundreds of black workers to a truly revolutionary approach to smashing the Klan. Called in response to a threatened KKK march in Detroit the SL/SYL prevented the Klan from marching and forced Detroit mayor Coleman Young to back down from a threat to ban any march, and arrest anti-Klan demonstrators. The

SL/SYL perspective is the one that works. When will the *Review* discover the real world? Print the SYL letter!

Dave Gottlieb
Lisa Terwilliger
Eugene Belknap
Bernie Perlstein

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- SYL National Office: Box 825 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013
- Ann Arbor: SYL, Box 89, Room 4102 Michigan Union, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, or call (313) 994-8051
- Bay Area: SYL, Box 273, Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (415) 863-6963
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"Fight Klan Terror with a Strategy that Can Win!"

When the Ku Klux Klan leveled a hail of semi-automatic weapons fire on supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP, formerly Workers Viewpoint Organization) in Greensboro, North Carolina, it was gunning for every leftist, for every labor organizer, and for everybody who wants to fight for black rights. The Greensboro massacre demanded an immediate and powerful response from labor, from the black community and socialists. Yet while the press nationwide condemned "extremists of both the right and left," claiming the anti-racist demonstrators provoked the killers, the labor and black leaders as well as most of the left sat on their hands. Only the Spartacist League sought to mobilize labor and blacks to oppose this atrocious Klan massacre. The 500-strong rally to fight Klan terror held November 10 in Detroit was a victory for all those who want to smash the Klan. Organized in two days, in defiance of an initial ban by Detroit Mayor Young and his threat to arrest anyone who attended, the rally attracted scores of black workers from Detroit-area auto plants.

On December 2, the Detroit Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League sponsored a citywide forum entitled "Fight Klan Terror" to discuss the lessons of the first integrated labor-centered mass rally against the Klan to occur in Detroit in nearly 30 years. The Greensboro massacre and the response to it posed in the sharpest form the counterposed strategies in the fight against fascism: the impotent strategies which attempt to substitute small group action against the Klan or advocate reliance on the government—or the mobilization of the working class.

Mobilize Labor to Smash the Klan

Frank Hicks, one of the organizers of the anti-Klan rally, discussed the need to mobilize the power of the unions to stop the KKK thugs. Hicks was one of several members of United Auto Workers Local 600 who organized a petition drive that succeeded in driving out of the Rouge plant two foremen who had paraded inside the factory in KKK garb. Klan and Nazi terror, Hicks pointed out, is not new for workers in the city of Detroit and the auto workers at Rouge. Over 40 years ago Henry Ford I used the fascistic Black Legions in Detroit in night-riding attacks on union organizers and black workers who moved into white neighborhoods.

Just two years ago in a clear provocation to workers at Rouge and blacks and Jews throughout the city of Detroit the Nazis opened up a bookstore filled with shotguns and hate-sheets advocating the murder of blacks and Jews. Hicks and a number of workers from the plant fought for the union to clean out that nest of vermin less than a mile from the Local 600 hall. But the Local union leaders preferred to stage a number of publicity stunts rather than mobilize the membership to drive the Nazis out. This summer, Bill Russell, the local Nazi führer, and his brown shirts joined forces with America's home grown version of the Nazis, the KKK. When the labor movement refuses to act, the Klan does. In the wake of the Greensboro killings the KKK had the audacity to announce their intention to stage a "victory march" in downtown Detroit!

Militants from Local 600 demanded that the Local organize a massive march of labor and black organizations to counter the Klan's threat to march. But

the union tops sat on their asses. The only thing Local 600 did was send a letter to Jimmy Carter protesting violence against Americans of any creed or color!

The present union leaders are married to the bosses' politicians in the Democratic Party and often act like cops for the company in the plants. The unions need a different kind of leadership. The scores of black auto workers who showed up at the anti-Klan rally are just a glimpse of what it is possible to build in Detroit and every major city throughout the country. Frank Hicks spoke of the need to forge a class-struggle leadership in the unions:

"What makes us different, the people who helped organize this rally, is that we understand the need for a far-reaching political solution to the problems we face in the plant. A solution which takes on the very nature of capitalism.... Remember the Trenton workers who walked out over heat? A simple thing like heat... we're not going to be slaves, we will not work under these kind of conditions. Well, seven of them spent a week in a federal judge's jail for walking out of the plant. The coal miners... the very right to strike, to fight for a better living in one of the most hazardous jobs in the country... and bam they're slapped with a slave-labor law called Taft-Hartley, and bang they're right up against the government. The sanitation workers in this city don't want to work overtime, they want two-man crews for safety on the job in the trucks, bang... right up against Coleman Young. In the civil rights struggle too... time and again the questions of the Democratic Party and the government come up in every

important struggle that labor and black people are involved in.... What we need is a political solution... to go on the offensive, to take it to Ford Motor Company, take it to General Motors, and to take it all."

Where Was Coleman Young?

Speaking for the Spartacist League Don Alexander noted it was particularly important that the anti-Klan rally occurred in Detroit, the industrial black powerhouse of the U.S. But where were the black leaders of the city of Detroit? And where were the black nationalists of yesteryear? They weren't at the rally in Kennedy Square. In fact they fueled the opposition to the anti-Klan rally. They were willing to leave the black people of Detroit defenseless in the face of a threatened Klan victory parade. Coleman Young had the nerve to say that anti-Klan protesters had no more right to demonstrate than the KKK killers, and threatened mass arrests of anti-Klan demonstrators. Alexander made the point in his speech at the rally, "Coleman Young is the awful example of what selling your black political soul to the Democratic Party means... you go morally and politically blind. After a while you can't tell the difference between the guys in the white sheets and the guys on the other side." But the organizers of the anti-Klan protest put Young on notice—if he wanted to arrest hundreds of anti-Klan protesters, he could go ahead. But he could forget about ever being elected again in Detroit.

After all, who elected Young? It was black votes and the votes drummed up by the unions that put him in office. When Young first ran for mayor, he ran against ex-police chief John Nichols, the man behind the notorious, trigger-happy STRESS squad. A lot of Young's appeal to black voters was based on his promise to abolish STRESS which was knocking off scores of innocent black youth in the neighborhoods of Detroit. But aside from populating the police force with a few more black faces, what has Young done for the city of Detroit? All the talk about Detroit going through a renaissance is so much empty chatter. The city hasn't been rebuilt since the massive explosion in the ghettos in 1967. So they've built the Renaissance Center. Now you can pay a dollar to take the elevator to the top of the massive construction project that was to save Detroit and look out on the squalor and decay of the city ghettos on either side. The "Ren Cen" doesn't matter much if Chrysler goes down the tubes. Already 100,000 auto workers are out on the street. But Coleman Young has staked his career on making it big in the Democratic Party, the party that represents the interests of the Chrysler owners, not the workers.

Don Alexander explained why the black so-called political leaders refused to respond to the Klan provocations:

"Today in Detroit and elsewhere the black leaders are vitally concerned not to rock the boat, not to upset the applecart on any issue because this will

Videotape Available: "The Klan Won't Ride In the Motor City!"



"Kick them out and leave them out.... Just let them know that we are not going to tolerate this kind of stuff here in Detroit."



"The KKK killed my uncle. Right there in Atlanta, Georgia. Sixteen years ago. They drew and quartered him before they killed him. Now do you think I care something about the goddamned Klan."



"Kicking them out wasn't enough because they're out at Wixom now. We've got to get them the hell out of Ford's completely."

On Saturday, 10 November 500 trade unionists, militant youth and socialists rallied in Detroit's Kennedy Square to protest Ku Klux Klan terror. They came in response to the massacre in Greensboro, North Carolina, where on November 3 Klan and Nazi gunmen shot to death five anti-fascist demonstrators. The Detroit rally was the first massive integrated, labor-centered protest against fascist terror in the U.S. in decades. Participants came from Ford's gigantic River Rouge complex in Dearborn, Dodge Truck, Mack Avenue Stamping, Lynch Road Assembly, Cadillac and other Detroit-area factories.

A group of militant auto workers from UAW Local 600 at River Rouge—where a walkout and petition campaign had recently driven two KKK-hooded foremen from the plant—

went to their union demanding a massive labor protest against the Klan. Despite the union bureaucrats' refusal to take action and liberal black mayor Coleman Young's initial ban on the protest, the rally was successfully built.

A videotape of the Rally to Fight Klan Terror is now available for interested groups and individuals. The 30-minute film contains interviews with Detroit black workers, an account of the struggle to drive the KKK-hooded foremen from River Rouge, and speeches from some trade unionists and spokesmen for the Spartacist League which built heavily for the rally. The documentary shows the Marxist approach of mobilizing labor, black and white, to fight fascist terror.

Copies available from the Spartacist League, Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10001.

endanger their very cozy relationship with the Democratic Party... Coleman Young, Ken Cockerel, John Conyers and other pro-capitalist black politicians are really mere lickspittles of the white ruling class, because they time and again channel the militancy of black people who want to fight this racist crap into the Democratic Party.... The ruling class learned something very important in the 1960s when you had mass ghetto upheavals in various American cities. They learned that it would be easier to pacify the black masses with a thin layer of petty-bourgeois careerists who could help police the ghettos. So here in Detroit, today, Carter's number one stooge is Coleman Young."

Carter's only message to American working people is sacrifice. If Kennedy is elected, he'll carry out, with "charisma," the same vicious austerity program. Since Young responds to the same dictates of the Wall Street financiers, his own austerity program in Detroit is running full blast. The hospital workers, sanitationmen and county employees have all been hit with mass layoffs, while county employees "lucky" enough to keep their jobs suffered payless "paydays."

Aspiring mayoral candidate Ken Cockerel's political program is not qualitatively different than Young's. He wants a balanced budget—that means more layoffs and the slashing of social services. With a touching concern for the corporate rulers Cockerel has come out for a tax break for Chrysler stockholders. He is the only one on the Detroit City Council to staunchly defend the constitutional right of the Klan and Nazi scum to march! Cockerel, just like all the other black elected officials, seeks to dupe black people into believing that racism can be fought without attacking the capitalist economic system which spawned it.

The task of genuine revolutionists is to fight these illusions by telling the truth to the masses. This means strug-

gling against reliance on the class enemy and for independent working-class action. Alexander commented in his presentation:

"Fake-socialist organizations like the Socialist Workers Party who run after the liberals are calling for 'free speech for fascists'... the Greensboro murders show what freedom of speech for the Klan means.... We say instead 'No platform for fascists—genocide is not debatable.' The labor movement must crush the fascists.... Other self-proclaimed socialist organizations like the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party call on the capitalist state to ban the Klan... in the past, when the capitalist state passed laws against the Klan they invariably used those very same laws against the left. To call on the racist capitalist state to ban the Klan is to sow the worst illusions in the so-called neutrality of the state.... The Rouge workers showed the way... that's how you 'ban the Klan.'"

In the eyes of capitalist "justice" it is a crime when leftists or blacks prepare to defend themselves. As Marxists we uphold the right of armed self-defense against the liberals' advocacy of gun control. As Alexander pointed out:

"Without that right we would be like helpless lambs devoured by hungry wolves. The government has always singled out for persecution blacks who were not going to roll over and play dead when the Klan started shooting at them... the Black Panther Party, the Deacons for Defense before them, Robert F. Williams, and Malcolm X. In dealing with the Klan it is not simply a question of our rights that is at stake, but our very lives. The labor and black movements must declare war against the KKK."

At the rally the Spartacist League pointed to the need for a slate of black/labor candidates who stand for the interest of black and working people, to run against the Democratic Party. For years the liberal black establishment has preached reliance on god, the Democrats and the federal government to defend the rights of black people—but

that got black people very little in the way of jobs, education and housing.

When the liberal-led civil rights movement collapsed into the arms of the Democratic Party, it was followed by a period of black nationalist agitation. The Black Panther Party and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers were the two most outstanding radical black nationalist organizations during this period. But neither understood the need for centering the fight against racial oppression on the labor movement. And neither understood the need to build a racially integrated revolutionary party that could unite the ghettos with the factories, the struggle for black rights with an independent working-class program.

Proletarian Road to Black Freedom

The Spartacist League fights for the all-sided integration of black people into American social and economic life while never ceasing to point out that full equality will not be achieved without the destruction of capitalism. In this deeply racist society communists have a historic obligation to unite black and white workers, to break down the barriers that exist between black and white working people under capitalism.

We see the solution to black oppression in revolutionary integrationism. In that light we defend busing for school integration. The ghetto schools are nothing more than prisons. The relatively more privileged schools in the suburbs have superior resources and equipment. Black schoolchildren should have access to those schools. Busing should be extended to the suburbs. In racist America there is no such thing as "separate but equal." The 1954 Supreme Court decision supposedly put an end to segregation in the classroom. But the problem persists. In

1974 the Supreme Court killed cross-district busing in Detroit. To implement busing the labor movement must be mobilized to defend bused schoolchildren against racist attacks.

As revolutionary Marxists we believe the road to black freedom lies through the socialist revolution. In this period of capitalist decay the struggle for democratic rights for the oppressed necessarily leads to the struggle for workers power. Black militants who want to change this society must be part of an integrated Leninist party that can lead not only the black masses but the working class as a whole. If you want to fight fascist terror with a strategy that can win, if you want to fight for a workers future, then join the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. ■

Slavery...

(continued from page 8)

arrived ethnic groups, i.e., the Irish, and the blacks. This later erupted into the 1863 draft riots which left 1,000 people killed. The rioting lasted three days and three nights. It was directed against the institution of the draft, but the main target was blacks.

In 1860, the South was arrogant and spoiling for a fight. They called on England for support, which naturally they didn't get. They swore that they would beat the North real quick. I've got a quote here from Senator James Hammond of South Carolina:

"Would any sane nation make war on Cotton? England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with it to save the South. No, you dare not make war on Cotton. No power on earth dares make war on Cotton. Cotton is King!"

—Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, 1964

TO BE CONTINUED

From YSA to Trotskyism...

(continued from page 3)

SWP? The "black party" rhetoric of the SWP which is now almost disappearing from the pages of the *Militant* has proven to be a cynical ploy designed to tell black activists what they wanted to hear. I remember trying to recruit John Watson of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers to the YSA; he knew the YSA called for a black party but he was already in one. Why join a "white" party advocating a black party? When I joined the YSA, I agreed with their slogan for a black party based on their contention that such a party would break the grip of the traditional petty-bourgeois organization—the NAACP—on the black masses. Had they suggested to me that I become a card-carrying member of the NAACP, the current activity of black SWPers today, I would have fainted.

Then as now the SWP had no program for struggle to offer the black masses. Their moralistic squeamishness about our analysis of race/caste oppression and in particular the existence of a lumpen strata among ghettoized blacks and the impact of lumpen values on black youth exposes them for the petty-bourgeois liberals they are. The Panthers, of course, were proponents of the lumpen vanguard myth, i.e., urban guerrillaism in the ghettos. Similarly, the more right-wing Muslims recruited from the lumpen youth for very different reasons. No black organization rooted in the realities of America's black ghettos could deny that the brutal segregation of blacks under capitalism produces a declassed, chronically unemployed strata who live off hustling, pimping, etc. The SWP which insists the very term "lumpen" is racist has shown its "program" for blacks to be sterile liberalism covered with a thin coat of

vicarious black nationalism bordering on paternalism.

What, in fact, do the Alice in Wonderland "socialists" of the SWP offer as a strategy for black liberation? The "black party" razzmatazz of the 1960s and the NAACP in the 1970s; advocacy of "free speech" for fascists; reliance on cops and federal troops to protect blacks against racist attack;

Workers Vanguard



Don Alexander at Detroit anti-Klan rally.

government affirmative action schemes in the unions as against a fight for jobs for all. The ugly reality of racism in America is treated by the SWP like some sort of bad congressional bill which only needs a mass movement to repeal it.

What was I actually intervening in for the four years that I was in the YSA? An "antiwar activist," in 1972 I helped build an all-black contingent in the NPAC peace crawl in Los Angeles. The main slogans for the contingent were: "Ungauwa, Black Power, Bring the Brothers Home!" Linda Jenness spoke at that rally and it struck me very odd at the time that she never once called for socialist revolution—the only means of stopping imperialist war. From that

time on I started to draw back from the YSA although I had not yet developed a coherent analysis of its reformist methodology.

Truthfully, that is as far as my political development got in the YSA—building endless NPAC "mass actions" with labor bureaucrats and bourgeois politicians on the basis of liberal social-patriotic pacifism. I had read Trotsky's views on black nationalism and I understood him to be placing the main emphasis on the party paying more attention to the oppression of blacks as blacks—special oppression—rather than on the "beastly" character of white workers who must pay for their "white skin privilege." In sharp contrast to the SWP's earlier black party claptrap, we in the SL have consistently advocated the establishment of a black transitional organization programmatically linked to the Leninist vanguard through its most conscious cadre. That is the best vehicle for the transmission of the communist program to many black militants who may need the extra time and training ground to make the commitment as professional revolutionaries.

Where has the vicarious black nationalism of the SWP led it today? As the SWP becomes more and more a deeply reformist social-democratic organization, funny things have begun to happen. The cohabitation of reformists and nationalists in the SWP is bound to engender from both their black and white members a strange admixture of liberal moralism and self-denigrating apolitical trash. On the one hand, leading black SWPer Mac Warren in Detroit slanders our National Chairman as a racist; on the other hand we have the spectacle of white SWPers denouncing our black comrades with the racist epithet "Stepin Fetchit." Not only are such racist remarks in the workers movement morally offensive, but the fact that SWP members could make them shows how much the SWP's

political program mirrors and accepts the fundamental racial divisions in Jim Crow America. The recent spate of race-baiting by SWP members is a reaction to the international Spartacist tendency's real successes in building a section in Britain and winning black and Chicano militants in the U.S. We were supposed to be headed for outer space.

I can recall those summer conferences polemicalizing with the SL/SYL. I often unthinkingly remarked that they were sectarian because they were small and they were small because they were sectarian. That was not a political response; when I examined the history of the SWP/YSA (particularly the 1953 split and the unprincipled 1963 "reunification" with the Pabloists) and the expulsion of the Revolutionary Tendency—predecessor of the SL—I learned not only how the SWP abandoned the class-struggle road to black liberation but more fundamentally how the Fourth International itself was destroyed.

For Black Liberation through Proletarian Revolution! Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Comradely,
Don Alexander

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800 Say No to Silber's Purge

Support Mounts for B.U. Faculty Five

Boston University increasingly resembles Nixon's Washington or Khomeini's Iran. Anyone who dares to speak out against BU president John Silber, the "ayatollah of Kenmore Square," is harassed, threatened with firing, censored and spied upon. After nine years of repressive measures against students, vicious union-busting, bullying of professors and his "fellow" administrators, John Silber's latest move is probably his most dangerous. He has threatened to fire five tenured professors for honoring the picket line of striking clerical workers last September. The "BU Five" taught their classes off campus rather than cross the lines.

The five professors Silber has targeted are well known for their union activism. Included in the Five is Fritz Ringer, president of the BU Chapter of the American Association of University Professors (BUC-AAUP) during the faculty strike last spring. Antiwar activist and radical Howard Zinn as well as Murray Levin have been vocal critics of the Silber administration throughout their tenure at BU. Silber not only has a well earned reputation for witchhunting any opposition on the campus with fanatical zeal, but he spent four years and millions of dollars in an attempt to stop AAUP recognition.

The issue posed by the BU Five case is not simply one of academic freedom. These professors, in respecting the elementary principle that picket lines mean don't cross, pointed the way forward in fighting the parochialism and craft divisions that have repeatedly isolated and defeated the campus work force. What Silber is up to is union-busting plain and simple. Should he succeed in getting rid of the professors, the door is wide open for smashing every union at BU!

After initially threatening "disciplinary action, including forfeiture of pay, suspension and termina-

tion," Silber arrogantly demanded apologies from the five professors! They refused to submit to the browbeating and vehemently defended their actions. On November 20 the administration revealed that it had sent photographers to the clerical workers' picket lines to take pictures of those honoring the strike, recalling Silber's closed circuit televised "supervision" of militant clinic workers attempting union organization several years ago. The infamous megalomaniac has not confined his threats to the campus—he is even trying to pressure the *Boston Globe* to fire a reporter for her "biased" coverage of the events at BU!

Defend the BU Five! Stop Silber's Anti-Labor Purge!

This latest administration outrage has called forth a joint protest by workers, students and faculty that is city wide in character. MIT Nobel Laureate Salvador Luria circulated an anti-Silber petition to area colleges and universities, gathering the signatures of over 600 professors. Faculty members at BU got 100 signatures on their own petition and the student government of BU's College of Liberal Arts (CLA) passed a resolution to "call upon the Board of Trustees to remove John Silber from his position as President of Boston University."

It is not, however, the cutback, tuition hike-crazy Board of Trustees (whose chairman, Arthur Metcalf, for example is president of the Electronics Corporation of America and chairman of the board of the right-wing, cold-war United States Strategic Institute) who can dump Silber and put a stop to the unrelenting administration attacks. Such a fight can only be waged by mass protest actions of students, teachers and workers at BU and their allies in the city labor movement and among militants on other campuses.

At the December 6 rally and



SYL contingent in anti-administration protest. Signs read BU 6—but the "charge" against the sixth professor was using BU stationery without "permission," not honoring a campus workers picket line! The professor apologized and the charge was dropped.

fundraiser organized by the CLA in defense of the BU Five, Mike Adams—a militant trade unionist from Detroit's UAW Local 140 who was invited to speak by the SYL—emphasized the class-struggle tactics needed to defeat anti-labor attacks. Speaking on a panel which included Salvador Luria, Daniel Ellsberg and most of the BU Five, Adams stressed to the audience of 800 the need for students to rally to the side of embattled campus workers as their professors had done: "... a lot of you out there are students, but you're not going to be students forever, and what you're going to find is that at different times in your life—like the [BU Five]—you're going to have to pick a side."

Silber's Reign on the Rocks

The "Silber years" have meant tuition increases of 168 percent since 1971,

making it ever more difficult for working-class and minority youth to gain admission. Last year Silber got rid of 30 assistant professors; this year he plans to ax another 50. While he scrimps on workers' wages and student services, hundreds of thousands of dollars pour into union-busting schemes and University-paid servants for his mansion. In an unsuccessful attempt to prevent union organizing on the campus, Silber spent a quarter million dollars for the union-busting expertise of the Chicago-based Modern Methods Management (3M) Company and has stubbornly tried to ignore National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) orders that the unions be recognized. At least 10 student publications as well as the campus radio station were censored by Silber's administration last year; he even banned the liberal, anti-administration *bu exposure*. His latest project is a revised "judicial code" giving him *carte blanche* powers to penalize any student or student organization at his whim.

Almost every year, BU students have marched and rallied against the insulting, high-handed rule of the hated BU president. All too often, however, the administration has been successful in pitting students against campus workers, faculty against students, and union against union with the threat that higher wages will mean higher tuition, or that no tuition hike will mean sweeping cutbacks in whole departments, wiping out the jobs of faculty and staff. The broad support for the union rights of both the professors threatened by the administration and the striking workers with whom they solidarized, however, has undercut Silber's "divide-and-conquer" schemes and confirmed what the SYL has been fighting for at BU for many years. We have been the only campus group to consistently honor the picket lines and fight for united-front

"It's a Question of Union-Busting"

The following are excerpts from Mike Adams' speech at the December 6 rally in defense of the BU Five. Adams is a member of United Auto Workers Local 140 in Detroit. He was invited to speak at the rally by the Boston University SYL.

"I'm here because I think that the fundamental weapon that unionists have is the right to strike and the right to honor picket lines. And what is happening here at BU is not just a question of academic freedom, it's a question of union-busting. And they want these people because they were active in organizing this union and Silber wants to make sure that no one can stand up to him. Now if you think that this university is run like a corporation, then

you should respond like real unionists respond, which is, that an injury to one is an injury to all and what we need is a united show of support from the campus unions and from the students to defend their trade-union brothers and sisters....

"Now there's some people in this country who understand what the picket line means, and they're the miners. They're the 'little guys' who stood up to the coal bosses, to Jimmy Carter, to the strikebreaking Democrats, and they told them to shove Taft-Hartley and they got them to back down!... And they were fighting, not just for themselves, but for unionists around the country....

"You are not alone! What the BU

Five have done was a courageous act and everyone knows that—they were people who stood up for what they believed in, regardless of the consequences.... Now the last thing I want to say is that a lot of you out there are students, but you're not going to be students forever, and what you're going to find is that at different times in your life, like these people, you're going to have to pick a side. And I want you to remember that the lines are drawn between the bosses and the workers.... I want you to choose... the side of the working class, and I want you to remember that picket lines mean 'Don't Cross! A victory to the BU Five is a victory to the entire labor movement. So dump Silber and Victory to the BU Five!' ■

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