

Young Spartacus

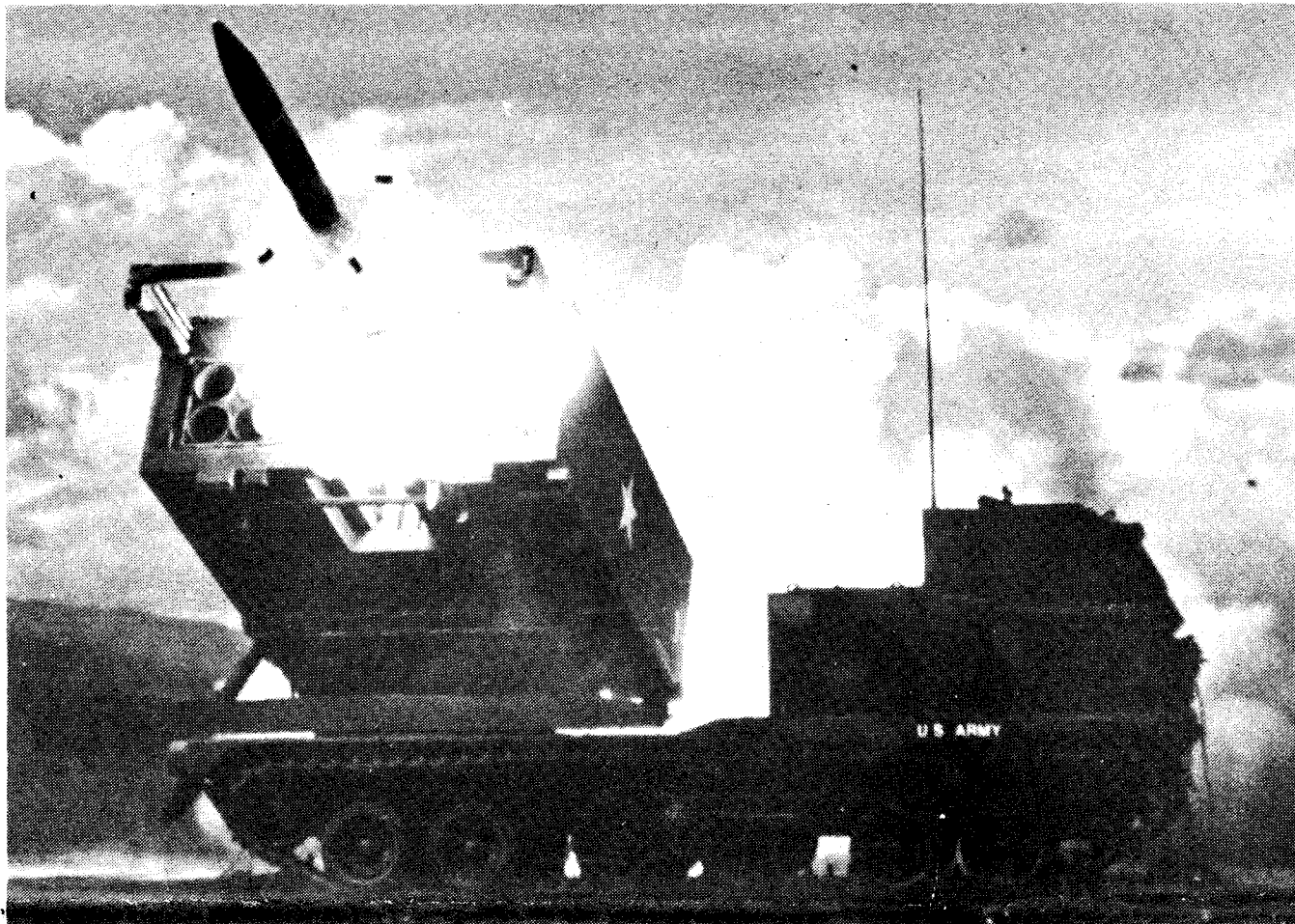
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SUMMER 1982

Kennedy, Reagan Talk Peace, Make War



Cold War "Peace" Hoax

Hundreds of thousands, perhaps as many as a million people, will converge on the United Nations in New York City on June 12, coinciding with the UN Second Session on Disarmament. It's a demonstration worthy of George Orwell's *1984* for, while these imperialist politicians will not be carrying placards through the city's streets, the real ideological leaders and beneficiaries of the amorphous "movement" are none other than the mad bombers of Vietnam, the Cold Warriors who brought the world to the brink of nuclear holocaust in the Cuban missile crisis, the architects of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The warmakers of yesterday are aspiring to become the warmakers of tomorrow. While civil war rages in El Salvador, D'Aubuisson's death squads and the U.S.-backed junta butchers step up their extermination campaign against the Salvadoran population, this Cold War "peace" hoax disappears El Salvador from its official demands. Instead, the June 12 rally leaflet bleats only for "an end to military intervention in foreign countries." So, presumably it's just fine for D'Aubuisson to go on killing in *his own* country. And since it doesn't say *U.S.* military intervention, this demand is perfectly acceptable to anti-communists screaming about the

Russians in Afghanistan and supposed Soviet and Cuban aid to the Salvadoran leftist rebels.

At its core, the current anti-nuclear weapons hullabaloo reflects a public debate within the ruling class over which armaments and economic policy best serves the fundamental needs of U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. A glance at the foremost proponents of nuclear "freeze," "no-first-use" and arms "reduction" reads like a who's who of war criminals and spy agency braintrusters. There's Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy, who dropped an equivalent of two Hiroshimas a week on the Vietnamese while defense secretary and national security adviser respectively to both Kennedy and Johnson. Their *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1982) article urging "no first strike" was co-authored by Gerard Smith—Nixon's chief arms negotiator—and George Kennan (former prominent Cold Warrior turned détente liberal). There's retired admiral Noel Gayler, former Commander of U.S. forces in the Pacific and former director of the National Security Agency (NSA). Roger Molander, Ground Zero leader, is also a former NSA staff member. A plethora of nuclear physicists responsible for the initial U.S. atomic/nuclear arms devel-

opment are among the "concerned" as well.

What are "freeze"/presidential hopeful Kennedy, Bundy & Co. up to? As we explained in *Young Spartacus* last month:

"The position of the imperialist 'doves' in opposition to Reagan/Haig's nuclear policy can be concisely summarized as 'more bang for the buck.' Dissatisfied with the massive arms buildup which is fueling record-high interest rates and falling industrial investment, they seek to put the U.S. war arsenal on sounder economic footing—a leaner, meaner military centered on, but not limited to, the thermonuclear doomsday machine."

An example of what kind of "peace" this wing of imperialism has in mind may be found in a recent article by "freeze" supporter Hans Bethe, formerly the head of the Theoretical Division of the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory from 1943-45 when it developed the first A-bomb. In this article ("The Inferiority Complex," *New York Review of Books*, 10 June) Bethe explains:

"I cannot think of any deployment on land that will be secure, and in my opinion the deployment of MX is a futile expenditure of money. We should maintain the emphasis on submarine and bomber forces; this makes our forces largely invulnerable, and thereby superior to the Soviets. If anyone has a

window of vulnerability, it is the Soviet Union....

"Also, if we wish to decrease our dependence on nuclear weapons in Europe, a goal which I strongly support, our conventional forces must be built up...."

The phony "freeze" campaign actually greases the skids for war, creating the illusion among particularly the petty-bourgeois base that significant sections of the ruling class are against war. But the commitment of *all* wings of U.S. imperialism to anti-Soviet rollback is fully reflected in the "neutrality" of the June 12 demonstration. It is utopian nonsense to call upon imperialism to disarm itself, but the June 12 action does not even advocate unilateral disarmament. Rather, it calls for the "abolition of nuclear weapons by *all* countries," i.e., the U.S. and the Soviet Union especially.

The call for Soviet disarmament means in fact unbridled capitalist militarism. Were it not for the fact that the USSR has its own nuclear arsenal, Moscow, Havana, Hanoi would have been reduced to smoking, radiating ruin long ago. Any genuine movement against the Cold War drive must unconditionally defend against rapacious imperialism the Soviet workers state and all those

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Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!

Angela's Alibis

CP No Friend of Gays

General Secretary Gus Hall must have been pretty surprised to find fellow Communist Party (CP) Central Committee member Angela Davis interviewed on her experience at "Becoming Visible: The Black Lesbian Conference" in the gay magazine *The Alternate* (June 1981). The CP is notoriously uncomfortable (to say the least) on the subject of homosexuality—historically the Stalinists have considered homosexuals to be "perverts." But Davis is a past-master at sanitizing the CP's rotten history. When the interviewer stated the simple fact that "the Communist Party is considered to be anti-gay," Davis stated:

"I wouldn't say that there isn't the kind of prejudice that exists in all circles directed against gay men and women, but the Communist Party, particularly here in San Francisco where the heart of the gay movement is, has been in support at all times of the activities and movements associated with gay liberation."

There's a grain of truth here, but it has nothing to do with the CP's support for "gay liberation." The remark about San Francisco is key: it's the one place where gays have some real clout in the Democratic Party. Tailing the liberal Democrats has been the CP's *modus vivendi* for decades, so Davis' "pro-gay" posturing is simply the homage that vice pays to vice: to get "in" with the Democrats in petty-bourgeois San Francisco circles, Davis has to extol "gay liberation" and hide the Stalinists'



Angela Davis

wretched anti-homosexual history.

During the interview, Davis made vague references to the occasional "prejudice," passing these off as "vestiges" of the McCarthy period when gay CPers could "be put into a situation where they might have to be finks." According to Davis, "that historical situation doesn't exist anymore," and the CP has made "strenuous efforts" to begin to deal with the prejudices that

The Alternate

exist." These "strenuous efforts" must not have reached the CP's youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL). The September-October 1979 *Young Worker* carried an article on disco which railed against the Village People as being "used to push male domination, sexual vulgarity and homosexuality," things which "distort the concept of manhood." And the Summer 1979 issue deplores cultural scenes "where promiscuity reigns and heterosexual relationships are reduced to such a low level that they blend with homosexual perversion!" The bigot who wrote these lines was Richard Hoyen of the *Young Worker* editorial board and the National Council of the YWLL.

Sexual Puritans

The CP's anti-gay bigotry and other forms of social backwardness are rooted in part in its subordination to the trade-union bureaucracy. For example, the CP reversed its opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment (on the grounds that potentially it could weaken protective labor legisla-

tion) only when the AFL-CIO tops reversed their position in an attempt to find allies among petty-bourgeois Democratic Party pressure groups like the National Organization of Women.

Another source of the CP's reactionary position on the gay and woman questions is the Stalinist terrorism in the Soviet Union. Stalin promoted every form of backwardness (e.g., anti-Semitism, Great Russian chauvinism) in order to consolidate the grip and privileges of the parasitic bureaucracy which usurped political power from the workers of Soviet Russia in the 1920s. In the aftermath of the 1917 October Revolution, Lenin's Bolsheviks eradicated all laws against homosexuality and actively promoted the freeing of women from the prison of the nuclear family—radical reform of divorce laws, state-funded child care, and every effort to involve women in the industrial workforce on a co-equal basis with men. Stalin reversed all this; the nuclear family was praised as "the fighting unit for socialism," prizes were

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Protest Reprisals Against Samuel Smith!

Ivy League Racist Outrage

Provocative and deadly dangerous racist trash is being spread through Ivy League campuses, traditional bastions of upper-class WASP power. At Dartmouth, one black man who had the guts to stand up to this inundation of filth from the *Dartmouth Review*, a conservative-funded "unofficial" paper distributed free to all students, is being vindictively punished and hounded by the campus administration. Samuel

Smith, an alumni official, was outraged by a column in a recent issue, a particularly vicious race-baiting attack on blacks and the college's "affirmative action" plan to recruit black students. Author Keeney Jones' piece literally could have been lifted from a crude Klan or Nazi hate-sheet: a fictitious black student is made to mouth, in degrading pseudo-"black English," phrases like:

"Dese boys be sayin' dat we be comin' here to Dartmut' and not takin' the classics. You know, Homa, Shake-sphere... We be culturally 'lightend, too... I be practically knowin' 'Roots' cova to cova, 'til my mind be boogying ta da words! An I be watchin' the Jeffersons on TV 'til I be blue in da face."

Is it any wonder Mr. Smith's fury at the *Dartmouth Review* led him to try to stop this racist filth from being spread all over his office? Charged with assaulting *Review* founder Ben Hart, son of its mentor and Dartmouth professor Jeffrey Hart, Smith pleaded no contest and was sentenced to three months' unsupervised probation and to pay \$100 as a fine. Then the Dartmouth administration promptly suspended him *without pay* from May 27 to June 6, put him on three months' probation and is forcing him to undergo humiliating "counseling assistance"—presumably to "adjust" him to taking the vile racist insults and provocations of the *Dartmouth Review*. So black anger at racist filth is now supposed to be a "psychological disorder." This is an outrage!

This conservative "unofficial"

CP/YWLL's Divestment Backfires

The Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL, youth group of the Communist Party) has long pushed the liberal program of divestment as the crowning jewel of its opposition to racist apartheid in South Africa. At best, university divestment is impotent moralism and, at worst, serves to prettify the American imperialist academic establishment. But in one recent case the Stalinists' divestment campaign got them more than they bargained for. In Michigan, one of the YWLL's favorite Democrats, state representative Perry Bullard, sponsored a bill requiring public universities and community colleges to divest holdings in companies operating in South Africa. However, that's not all—the bill was amended before passage to require divestment from the *Soviet Union* as well! This *should* put the Stalinists of the Moscow-loyal YWLL in a tough spot—the "progressive" Democrats they suck up to are once again shown to be no less anti-Soviet than Reagan. All YWLLer Tim Feeman could whine to the *Michigan Daily* (14 May) was that "It's a totally false picture to throw the Soviet Union and South Africa together as being

discriminatory."

But this open anti-Sovietism didn't prevent the YWLL from inviting Bullard to a March 16 Ann Arbor forum on South Africa. Fearing that U.S. imperialism might be "on the wrong side of history," Bullard advocated a Zimbabwe-style "solution" for South Africa and touted divestment as a way to force "change by semi-peaceful means in the minds of the apartheid government." The other speaker, Andrew Mkize of the African National Congress (ANC), did his best to dissociate the ANC from the USSR, pointing out that the ANC also receives aid from capitalist countries like Sweden and Holland. And the ANC's petty-bourgeois nationalist program purposely avoids calling for the smashing of the apartheid state by the multi-million strong black South African proletariat, which would open the road to socialist revolution throughout southern Africa. When a *Young Spartacus* reporter asked Mkize if either he or the ANC is Marxist, he simply replied, "No." At least Mkize is *candid* about his politics, unlike the sniveling Democratic Party toadies of the YWLL.

campus paper is no amateurish exercise in preppie racism. The *Dartmouth Review*, like the *Salient* at Harvard, is inspired, funded and supported by some of the most powerful ruling-class institutions. William Simon, Treasury Secretary under Nixon and Ford; and Irving Kristol, former editor of *Encounter* (exposed in 1966 as a long-time "indirect" beneficiary of CIA monies) fund the *Dartmouth Review* and similar ultra-reactionary sheets on some 30 campuses. Ronald Reagan, no less, sent a congratulatory letter to the *Review's* founding editors (one of whom, Gregory Fasselal, is now an official in Reagan's Department of Education); Patrick Buchanan, former Nixon speech writer, sits on its advisory board, as did conservative Congressman Jack

Kemp, who resigned over this latest furor. Jerry Falwell, the Moral Majority right-wing demagogue, is expected to take his place.

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Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

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

Chicago

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

New York City

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

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

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

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For more information: (313) 662-2339

ANN ARBOR

Pinochet Punk Tried to Run Down Communists

Criminal Harberger Set Loose

On May 7, Paul Harberger, son of a high-level adviser to the Chilean junta, University of Chicago professor Arnold Harberger, was brought to trial on charges of aggravated assault. Apparently thinking that he was a Pinochet stormtrooper patrolling the streets of

formed a small counterdemonstration chanting "Pinochet! Pinochet!", revealing the kind of pro-junta scum that attend such gatherings.

During the trial, witness after witness recalled how Harberger Jr. drove his car onto the sidewalk and came barreling

Young Spartacus Photo



University of Chicago, May 6: SYL protests Arnold Harberger. Harberger student Alvaro Magaña is new front man for Salvadoran junta terror.

Santiago, Paul Harberger attempted to run over with his car 25 protesters picketing the appearance of his father at U of C International House on January 28. At the trial, Cook County Circuit Court Judge Arthur Ellis admitted that the evidence against Harberger was "consistent," "persuasive" and "compelling," leading him to believe that "a crime was committed." But then, in an outrageous travesty of justice, Ellis dismissed the assault charge on an absurd "technicality," setting loose this pro-Pinochet thug. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League (SYL) will explore every legal recourse to reverse this atrocious and dangerous decision.

The January 28 demonstration was called by the SYL as part of a campaign begun in 1975 to drive Arnold Harberger off campus for his complicity with Pinochet. We have protested his role as an architect of the Chilean junta's economic "shock treatment"—mass starvation and unemployment—and exposed the "Chicago Boys" as the economic handmaidens of General Pinochet's murderous terror. A number of those going to Harberger's talk

straight at the demonstrators, missing by only a matter of feet. A Chicago cop testified that he saw tire tracks on the lawn only three feet from the sidewalk where the protest was held. And a U of C hospital worker testified that he saw Harberger playing a Pac-Man game in a

Hyde Park bar and heard him bragging to a young woman, "Hi, I'm Paul Harberger, you may have heard of me. I'm the one who tried to run over 20 commies." Ellis nonetheless dismissed the charges on the "technicality" that since the demonstrator who filed the formal complaint had also yelled out the warning and pushed others to safety, he was not really part of the protest and his personal safety was not endangered! According to this logic, unless Harberger had actually mowed down our comrades, they wouldn't have had a legitimate case!

Ellis' decision was indeed an outrage, but it is hardly an uncharacteristic example of bourgeois "justice." As we wrote in *Young Spartacus* No. 98, March 1982:

"But there will undoubtedly be a large discrepancy between the sentence he deserves and that which the court metes out to him. While this is not Chile, where trade unions and left political parties are proscribed and government-initiated assassinations are simply taken for granted—Orlando Letelier was assassinated in Washington, D.C., not in Santiago. And the convicted murderers of Letelier managed somehow to get released on a 'technicality.' The Klan/Nazis who shot to death five members of the Communist Workers Party in Greensboro walked out of the courtroom free men. So did the white Milwaukee cops who killed 22-year-old Ernest Lacy, a black man, last July while arresting him for a crime from which he has been posthumously cleared. That's bourgeois 'justice.' Nonetheless, we fight with determination for every democratic right and to defend against victimization of our organization and those who join in our struggles."

SYL statements condemning Harberger's murderous assault and protesting the dismissal of charges have been endorsed by the vice-president of SEIU Council, Local 32, workers in Teamsters Locals 341 and 7431 and members of numerous student groups, including Gay and Lesbian Association, Muslim Students Society and the campus CISPES affiliate, CAUSE. The day before the trial, the SYL held a spirited rally on campus protesting Arnold Harberger's complicity with Pinochet's terror and the installation of another "Chicago Boy," Alvaro Magaña, as president of the blood-drenched Salvadoran junta. This former Harberger student was U.S. imperialism's "compromise" candidate and the first choice of the Salvadoran military, whose colonels he has advised for the last 17 years. The reformists in CAUSE boycotted the rally, claiming that "it's silly to demonstrate on campus" and that "Harberger isn't important anyway." But a former secretary of Harberger didn't think so—she came to the rally to tell the crowd how Harberger would threaten to send his typing out to Chile "to save money." She concluded by saying: "If you guys want to drive Harberger off campus, I'll get the car."

The SYL will continue to expose Harberger as unfit to hold an academic post to further "experiments" in mass immiseration. But we know that the ultimate justice for the likes of Harberger and his butcher junta friends from El Salvador to Chile will be meted out only by a victorious proletarian revolution which will sweep away U.S. imperialism and its junior partners, the fathers and sons of world filth. ■

"Ship Him to 'Nam to Be Tried, Laird Is Guilty of Genocide!"

Young Spartacus Photo



"No Honorary Degree for Imperialist War Criminal Melvin Laird!" demanded the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) contingent in a 60-person picket at the University of Wisconsin at Madison May 23 commencement exercises. Nearly the entire picket actively picked up on our chant, "Ship Him to 'Nam to Be Tried, Laird is Guilty of Genocide!" Ten years ago, Nixon's war secretary—who tried to bomb, napalm and defoliate Vietnam into

submission—couldn't have set foot in Madison without eliciting massive protest in what was then a center of antiwar activity. But today, the ostensible Madison left tried to divert the protest, telling students to "Turn Your Back" on Laird and moaning "No More Vietnams." Laird could certainly agree! For the SYL, the Vietnamese social revolution was a victory and we say "Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!"

Young Spartacus

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Mark Twain Against Slavery



Avin Langdon Coburn



Left, radical bourgeois democrat Mark Twain in 1908. Right, fugitive slaves fleeing Maryland to Underground Railroad depot in Delaware.

from
**The Adventures of
 Huckleberry Finn**
 by Mark Twain

I went to the raft, and set down in the wigwam to think. But I couldn't come to nothing. I thought till I wore my head sore, but I couldn't see no way out of the trouble. After all this long journey, and after all we'd done for them scoundrels, here was it all come to nothing, everything all busted up and ruined, because they could have the heart to serve Jim such a trick as that, and make him a slave again all his life, and amongst strangers, too, for forty dirty dollars.

Once I said to myself it would be a thousand times better for Jim to be a slave at home where his family was, as long as he'd got to be a slave, and so I'd better write a letter to Tom Sawyer, and tell him to tell Miss Watson where he was. But I soon give up that notion, for two things: she'd be mad and disgusted

at his rascality and ungratefulness for leaving her, and so she'd sell him straight down the river again; and if she didn't, everybody naturally despises an ungrateful nigger, and they'd make Jim feel it all the time, and so he'd feel ornery and disgraced. And then think of me! It would get all around that Huck Finn helped a nigger to get his freedom; and if I was to ever see anybody from that town again, I'd be ready to get down and lick his boots for shame. That's just the way; a person does a low-down thing, and then he don't want to take no consequences of it. Thinks as long as he can hide it, it ain't no disgrace. That was my fix exactly. The more I studied about this, the more my conscience went to grinding me, and the more wicked and low-down and ornery I got to feeling. And at last, when it hit me all of a sudden that here was the plain hand of Providence slapping me in the face and letting me know my wickedness was being watched all the time from up there in heaven, whilst I was stealing a poor old woman's nigger that hadn't ever done me no harm, and now was showing me there's One that's always on the look-out, and ain't going to allow no

such miserable doings to go only just so far and no further, I most dropped in my tracks I was so scared. Well, I tried the best I could to kinder soften it up somehow for myself, by saying I was brung up wicked, and so I warn't so much to blame; but something inside of me kept saying, "There was the Sunday-school, you could a gone to it; and if you'd a done it they'd a learnt you, there, that people that acts as I'd been acting about that nigger goes to everlasting fire."

It made me shiver. And I about made up my mind to pray; and see if I couldn't try to quit being the kind of a boy I was, and be better. So I kneeled down. But the words wouldn't come. Why wouldn't they? It warn't no use to try and hide it from Him. Nor from me, neither. I knowed very well why they wouldn't come. It was because my heart warn't right; it was because I warn't square; it was because I was playing double. I was letting on to give up sin, but away inside of me I was holding on to the biggest one of all. I was trying to make my mouth say I would do the right thing and the clean thing, and go and write to that nigger's owner and tell where he was;

but deep down in me I knowed it was a lie—and He knowed it. You can't pray a lie—I found that out.

So I was full of trouble, full as I could be; and didn't know what to do. At last I had an idea; and I says, I'll go and write the letter—and then see if I can pray. Why, it was astonishing, the way I felt as light as a feather, right straight off, and my troubles all gone. So I got a piece of paper and a pencil, all glad and excited, and set down and wrote:

Miss Watson your runaway nigger Jim is down here two mile below Pikesville and Mr. Phelps has got him and he will give him up for the reward if you send.

HUCK FINN.

I felt good and all washed clean of sin for the first time I had ever felt so in my life, and I knowed I could pray now. But I didn't do it straight off, but laid the paper down and set there thinking—thinking how good it was all this happened so, and how near I come to being lost and going to hell. And went on thinking. And got to thinking over our trip down the river; and I see Jim before me, all the time, in the day, and in the night-time, sometimes moonlight, sometimes storms, and we a floating along, talking, and singing, and laughing. But somehow I couldn't seem to strike no places to harden me against him, but only the other kind. I'd see him standing my watch on top of his'n, stead of calling me, so I could go on sleeping; and see him how glad he was when I come back out of the fog; and when I come to him again in the swamp, up there where the feud was; and such-like times; and would always call me honey, and pet me, and do everything he could think of for me, and how good he always was; and at last I struck the time I saved him by telling the men we had small-pox aboard, and he was so grateful, and said I was the best friend old Jim ever had in the world, and the *only* one he's got now; and then I happened to look around, and see that paper.

It was a close place. I took it up, and held it in my hand. I was a trembling, because I'd got to decide, for ever, betwixt two things, and I knowed it. I studied a minute, sort of holding my breath, and then says to myself:

"All right, then, I'll go to hell"—and tore it up.

Huck Finn...

(continued from page 12)

someplace where everyone from the wino on the street to the president of the country was black really impressed him. He recalls a friend there asking him, "Hey, you see any niggers here?" and his response, "No, I haven't seen any in three weeks." From that point on, he resolved, "I'll never call another black man nigger."

What we have in the *Huckleberry Finn* controversy is potentially a ques-

tion of conflicting democratic rights. On the one hand is the right to read whatever you want. On the other hand is the right not to be called "nigger." In Warrington, Pennsylvania, in the aftermath of a violent attack on a black student by white classmates, the parents and school administrators arrived at a compromise: *Huckleberry Finn* would not be required reading at the junior high school level, but it would remain in the school libraries and could be taught in high school. This seems to us a reasonable compromise. But not to Mr. Hentoff. For him the racist incident in Warrington represents a professional challenge: "What happened in that eighth grade class is a boon to any reasonably awake teacher.... Talk about a book coming alive!" But we don't live in a controlled laboratory experiment like liberals imagine. The compulsory teaching of a book full of the word "nigger" in the racially charged atmosphere of the school system in a desperately oppressive (and exploitative) America can lead to some "educational" experiences which we intend to eradicate.

Hentoff makes an honest effort to understand why some black parents don't want *Huckleberry Finn* taught in their children's classes. The Warrington parents are under no misapprehension that the book is, in the words of one black school administrator in Virginia,

"racist trash." According to Hentoff:

"These parents agreed that Mr. Twain himself was not a racist. Why, *Huckleberry Finn*, they said, is strongly anti-slavery and anti-racist. But the book is too subtle, too difficult, for eighth-graders to understand in terms of Mr. Twain's intentions. All that the kids, white and black, see is 'nigger'."

For Hentoff, the answer lies in learning to "see past" that word. It's a question of enlightened pedagogy. Take a bunch of kids, a good book, a classroom and a

teacher—the anti-racist views of the teacher being simply taken for granted—and what you get is education. Unfortunately, education takes place not in some kind of neutral vacuum, but in a violent, racist society.

We can share Mr. Hentoff's conviction that failure to read *Huckleberry Finn* weakens a child's education. And it's logical for him to feel that even the danger of racial brawls in the schools must not be allowed to interfere with



Black Union troops liberating slaves in North Carolina in 1865.

Marxist Bulletin 5

WHAT STRATEGY
FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism
vs.
Black Nationalism

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Chicago Historical Society



Black corporal in Union army. Northern bourgeoisie was forced to arm blacks to smash the slaveholders' rebellion.

education, because for liberals education is in a fairly simple and linear way the road to progress. Liberals like to believe that knowledge is the way out of the degradation of the ghetto, not just for a "talented tenth" but by the millions. But it's the hard fact that the illiterate black tenant farmers who migrated to the cities to take jobs in aircraft plants at the beginning of World War II probably got a better education in six months than most black kids do today in six years, because today's moribund economy has no need for these kids as future skilled workers. Chronic unemployment, "education" in ghetto schools while social services undergo cutback after cutback, poverty and despair, lumpenization and crime—these are the prospects black youth face. Hentoff at bottom looks toward educational reform: he's afraid complacent educators will produce "yet another generation of adults who never learned in school how to think for themselves," as if white racism and black shame were mainly traceable to flaws in the educational process. By extension, then, enlightened teachers ought to produce proud blacks and anti-racist whites. What we need is not "educational reform" but proud, able black communists in the vanguard of smashing racist American capitalism and constructing a new social order of equality and freedom.

There are junior high school classrooms where integrated middle-class honor students can have positively uplifting experiences. These are Mr. Hentoff's model. There are also cop-occupied inner-city hellholes where students and teachers alike are grateful to get home in one piece. At the Spartacist League discussion in New

York, comrades from a wide variety of backgrounds discussed their experiences in school. One speaker described a segregated white school in the deep South where the school song was Dixie and the school flag was the Confederate flag. "You didn't use that word in the South unless you wanted a fight." Another white comrade described a working-class high school in Los Angeles:

"I come from a family that's split. They're all from the South, some of them are Klansmen and some of them aren't. They come right out of the fundamentalist religion... I was told before I can remember by my mother and my father that I would never use that word or I would be beaten. And what they are is first generation out of the South, they got jobs in the factories. They're not liberals at all; they supported Reagan. But they know what that word means, that this word is a program... There's no such thing in this country as racial equality but there is a status quo. And one of the parts of this status quo is that you do not use that word. And for example when you're in a factory and somebody starts using that word you call them on it, because those are fighting words and they have to be fought out right there. "Fifteen percent of my school went on to college, at the most. And it would be unheard of that the students in their majority would want to read a book. And they wouldn't read *Huck Finn*. They would see one word."

What was most striking in the discussion was that for so many comrades, the formative political experience of childhood was a turbulent encounter with racism, and generally centered on the word "nigger." The race question is not just one more democratic issue, but the key to the American socialist revolution.

"What we need," observed one speaker, "is Civil War part two." The American Civil War liquidated slavery, but a great powerful bourgeoisie, not the working people, were the victors. Therefore, in democratic terms, the victory that was won in that war is partial. One hundred years later, blacks are both socially segregated and economically integrated into white society at the bottom. Only proletarian socialist revolution can bring real equality for black people (and simple decency suggests a bit *more* than that). Uncompromising struggle for the democratic rights of black and other minorities is key to the forging of an integrated revolutionary workers party whose victory will destroy the racism which is rooted in every capitalist institution, from the military and the courts to the schools.

Mr. Hentoff, for all his sensitivity, remains genuinely perplexed that black parents should be so touchy about the word "nigger." Rhetorically he inquires, "Is this [black] child so fragile, so without intellectual and emotional resources, that a book can lay him low?" In other words, why are these black parents so defensive? Well, Mr. Hentoff, "nigger" isn't just a question of a book. The potential for racial violence and murder lurks not very deep beneath the surface of this country. Malcolm X began his autobiography with this story:

"When my mother was pregnant with me, she told me later, a party of hooded Ku Klux Klan riders galloped up to our home in Omaha, Nebraska, one night. Surrounding the house, brandishing

"I wrote Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn for adults exclusively, and it always distresses me when I find that boys and girls have been allowed access to them. The mind that becomes soiled in youth can never again be washed clean. I know this by my own experience, and to this day I cherish an unappeasable bitterness against the unfaithful guardians of my youth, who not only permitted but compelled me to read the unexpurgated Bible through before I was 15 years old. None can do that and ever draw a clear, sweet breath again this side of the grave... Most honestly do I wish I could say a softening word or two in defense of Huck's character, ... but really... it is no better than those of Solomon, David, and the rest of the sacred brotherhood."

—from Mark Twain's letter to Asa Don Dickinson, 1907.

their shotguns and rifles, they shouted for my father to come out. My mother went to the front door...."

Defensive? Well, as Godfrey Cambridge once observed, paranoia is an occupational disease of black people.

And it isn't just ancient history! This country is seething with race hate right now. Goaded by economic contraction, Reagan reaction is on the rise among



Abolitionist John Brown was hanged for leading 1859 Harper's Ferry raid to secure arms for a slave revolt.

whites and so is the fascistic "fringe" of that reactionary wave. Five red anti-racist activists were gunned down in broad daylight by the fascists in Greensboro, North Carolina, and in several states outside the South fascist candidates have polled hundreds of thousands of votes. In the heart of the industrial Midwest, labor mobilization

to stop the race-terrorists has become a life-or-death question.

It's an article of faith for liberals that the bad old days described by Malcolm X are gone and will never come back. But the civil rights veneer established under the pressure of liberal-led, mass-based struggles is skin-deep. Lenny Bruce captured the depth of bigotry in this country when he said that when Lyndon Johnson took over the presidency they wouldn't let him talk for the first six months—it took him that long to learn how to say "Nee-Grow." Jim Crow is not dead—look at what's happened to busing over the past few years.

Education's a good thing when you can get it, but racism isn't just academic. *Huckleberry Finn* is a wonderful book. Well, "Night and Fog" is a powerful anti-Nazi documentary about the concentration camps. But only sadists would suggest making it compulsory for the children of Buchenwald survivors to see it.

No matter what "nigger" meant to Huck Finn, who certainly knew no other word for black people, today it means the speaker is not "just" a racist, but one of a hard core that will go down fighting rather than accept a socialist revolution that will free black people. And Mr. Hentoff better not be fooled—there's a lot of them out there just like that. The whites in this country, in their large majority, are pervasively, deeply racist. Their historically ingrained racist attitudes can be overcome, not by abstract pedagogy, but in action—in strike situations where black and white unity against the boss is visibly the only way to win; in revolutionary struggles to smash the bosses' government. Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Stop Santa Cruz Nazi-Loving Punks!

The University of California at Santa Cruz is the consummate idyllic collegiate oasis, complete with cows grazing in hilltop pastures. But this hippie/liberal paradise was rudely served notice that it too is part of racist Reagan country. Recently, two black female students moved out of their dormitories in fear, terrorized by racist harassment from some punk rockers flaunting Nazi paraphernalia.

It came to a head when one of the punkers spat at a black woman, but this was only one in a series of racist attacks—earlier, there were reports of "mock" assassinations with toy guns. The campus newspaper, *City on a Hill* (27 May), stated that the punkers are part of a "Neo-Nazi group." Whether or not these creeps are card-carrying fascists, they have clearly gone from flirtation with the Nazi symbolism characteristic of sections of the punk/New Wave scene to outright acts of racist terror. The university administration has

done its best to downplay the seriousness of the racist harassment and to defuse potential militant action. At a May 25 rally of over 150 students, Social Sciences Dean Isebill Gruhn declared, "To avoid racism on campus, we have to start spending an awful lot of time talking to each other, and more importantly, listening to other people."

Baloney. Punks enamored with swastikas aren't interested in talk—their "dialogue" is force: today toy guns, maybe real ones tomorrow. But the campus fans of racist terror can be stopped. In late 1981 at Detroit's Wayne State University, the Spartacus Youth League led a campaign to oust the campus newspaper's racist editor, E. Dale Lee. (He finally quit in March of this year.) We successfully organized black students and area auto workers to defend our meeting from supporters of Lee intent on disruption and intimidation. The time to pull the plug on the racist punks is now!

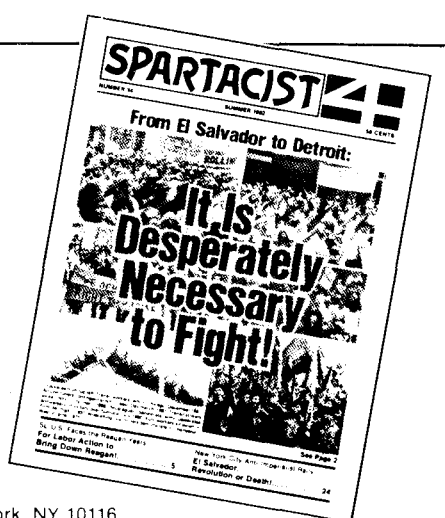
Just Out!

Spartacist

(English Edition)
No. 34, Summer 1982

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Poland's Communist Tradition

Last month, we printed the first part of an edited transcript of a presentation on the heroic Polish revolutionary socialist Rosa Luxemburg given by SL Central Committee member Marjorie Stamberg at a Spartacist educational in Chicago, April 24-25. In the concluding part, printed below, comrade Stamberg discusses both the national question and Luxemburg's fight against the leadership of the German Social Democracy before and during World War I. This struggle against the "socialists" who supported the imperialist war culminated in Luxemburg's split and the formation of the German Communist Party (KPD) at the end of 1918. Tragically, Luxemburg did not realize the need for a split with the social democrats at the start of the war (something which Lenin did) and the postwar revolutionary wave which swept Germany found the KPD in its infancy. The 1918-1919 German revolution was crushed by the social democrats and Luxemburg and Liebknecht were murdered. Today, only the Trotskyists honor her lifelong struggle for proletarian revolution. As Lenin said, "she was—and remains for us—an eagle."

Part Two of Two

There's been a long history of trying to justify support to national movements by citing Lenin against Luxemburg on the grounds that Lenin supported Polish independence, which, in fact, he didn't. This is coming up a lot lately. For instance, this winter at a Solidarność forum in Boston all the speakers, from a counterrevolutionary Pilsudskiite emigré to the SWP [Socialist Workers Party] spokesman, had the line that Solidarność and the Polish nationalists justly hate Rosa Luxemburg because she was wrong on the national question! And in his book, *The Polish August*, Neal Ascherson simply repeats the common misconception that Lenin was for the independence of Poland as against Luxemburg:

"In her opposition to the restoration of a Polish state, which she considered a surrender to reactionary bourgeois nationalism, Rosa Luxemburg was in conflict not only with the much larger Polish Socialist Party (PPS), but with Lenin himself."

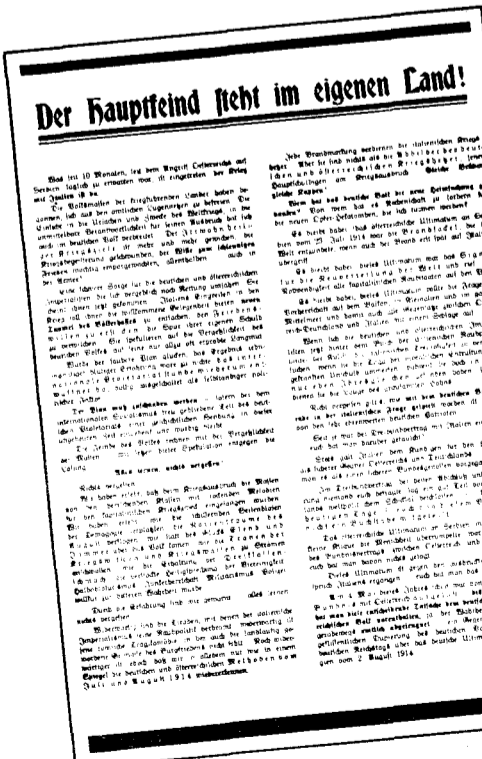
Not so. Lenin was *not* for Polish independence; and furthermore he energetically supported Rosa Luxemburg and the SDKPiL [Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania] against the nationalist PPS [led by Jozef Pilsudski, the future anti-Soviet militarist and fascist dictator of

interwar Poland]. What Lenin did insist upon was that this question was something that had to be decided by the Polish people, not something that was to be imposed by the tsar's army. And he insisted that the Russian party had to fight its "own" country's national chauvinism. Here is the key passage in Lenin's 1914 work, "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination":

"The question of the right to self-determination is of course not so important to the Polish Social Democrats as it is to the Russians. It is quite understandable that in their zeal (sometimes a little excessive, perhaps) to combat the nationalistically-blinded petty bourgeoisie of Poland, the Polish Social Democrats should overdo things. No Russian Marxist has ever thought of blaming the Polish Social Democrats for being opposed to the secession of Poland. These social democrats err only when, like Rosa Luxemburg, they try to deny the necessity of including the recognition of the right to self-determination in the program of the *Russian* Marxists."

—Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20

By the way, there were real reasons why Luxemburg and the SDKPiL opposed Polish independence. Rosa argued that after the tsar's emancipation of Polish serfs in 1864, the peasantry had lost interest in the struggle for independence. The bourgeoisie, which needed the Russian market, was never interested in independence. And if the proletariat proceeded to set up a bourgeois state after seizing state power, it would be a crime. So in her eyes, it could only be the outmoded, archaic program of an archaic class, namely the



Above, "The Main Enemy is at Home," by Karl Liebknecht (right).

Hail Rosa Luxemburg!

Der Militarismus auf der Anlegebank.



Rosa Luxemburg against imperialist war. "Militarism stands accused," circa 1912.

down-at-the-heels Polish nobility and its offspring. In fact, Polish independence did not come about as the result of a broad national movement, but was the result of the outcome of World War I—particularly the Russian and German revolutions.

Nonetheless, Rosa Luxemburg did have an incorrect position, rejecting the RSDRP's [Russian Social Democratic Labor Party] support to the right of self-determination in Poland. Ultimately, it did amount to putting the right of self-determination of oppressed nationalities in question. At one point she said rhetorically, well, if you accept Polish independence, then that raises the question of Ireland, Alsace-Lorraine, and a whole series of places where

Bolsheviks did consider the right of self-determination relevant. This position did weaken the struggle of the Polish Social Democrats against Pilsudski.

In particular, after 1905 there was a split in the PPS over the question of supporting the Russian Revolution, producing the PPS-Left. One would want to have an orientation to such a leftward moving split, but Rosa insisted that PPS-Left were just nationalists masquerading as socialists. Yet the Polish Communist Party resulted from



Above, October 1918 issue of Spartacus. Right, Spartacist poster declares: "Who will protect us in the face of catastrophe? Only the armed proletariat."



K.P.D. (Spartakusbund)

the fusion between the SDKPiL and PPS-Left in 1918, and it's quite possible that had she not had this position, there might have been unity much earlier.

The Party Question

The point is that the differences between Luxemburg and Lenin are much narrower on the national question than what is generally understood and that is not the question over which they split. They collaborated closely with each other from 1906 until 1912 and, in general, the SDKPiL and the Bolsheviks fought together against the Mensheviks in the united party. They parted ways when that unity was put into question—namely when Lenin, passing over from being a revolutionary social democrat to a communist, determined to put an end to the “unity” with the conciliators and liquidators once and for all. This struggle came to a head in 1912, and [SDKPiL leader Leo] Jogiches in particular earned Lenin's ire because he had become a leading “conciliator.”

Later the Stalinists tried to slander Rosa Luxemburg by saying that because she broke late from the SPD [German Social Democratic Party], she was just another garden-variety social democrat. But it was Rosa who, at the turn of the century, fought the right-wing opportunists in the SPD—Bernstein & Co. By 1910, even though she may not have taken it to its logical outcome, she launched a fight against the party center of Kautsky/Bebel—the towering lights of “orthodox Marxism”—much earlier than Lenin, and without his support. An upsurge in the class struggle had broken out and Rosa fought for the mass strike, which conjured up fears in the bureaucrats' minds of the “ghost of 1905.” Rosa was at the head of the insurgent workers movement, fighting for mass action against the ossified trade-union bureaucrats and the Kautsky center who were constantly trying to channel things back into the parliamentary road, talking about the “slow accumulation of forces.” She was the first to realize that the fight in the SPD would not be just with right-wing revisionists like Bernstein, but with the central party leadership.

Rosa tended to see the mass strike as the pressure that would overcome the passivity of the SPD center, as opposed to the need for internal factional struggle in the party. You can see that in her letter to the Dutch left socialist Henriette Roland-Holst:

“Opportunism is in any case a swamp plant, which develops rapidly and luxuriously in the stagnant waters of the movement; in a swiftly running stream it will die of itself. Here in Germany a forward motion is an urgent, burning need! And only the fewest realize it. Some fritter away their energy in petty disputes with the opportunists, others believe that the automatic, mechanical increase in numbers (at elections and in the organizations) is progress in itself!”

—quoted in Carl E. Schorske,
German Social Democracy
1905-1917 (1955)

But to people who later tried to make this into a crude counterposition between Rosa's “spontaneism” and Lenin's “centralism,” Trotsky wrote that “the most that can be said is that... preparatory selection of the vanguard in comparison with the mass action fell too short with Rosa.” He labeled as “thoroughly revolutionary and progressive” her fight for the mass strike against Kautsky. And Lenin was the first to admit this, saying:

“Rosa Luxemburg was right when she wrote, long ago, that Kautsky has the ‘subservience of a theoretician’—servility, in plainer language, servility to the majority of the Party, to opportunism.”

—Lenin, “Letter to A.G. Shlyapnikov,” (October 1914),
Collected Works, Vol. 35

The Main Enemy Is at Home

It was the imperialist World War I which spelled the bankruptcy of the

“You stupid lackeys.
Your ‘order’ is built on sand.
The revolution will raise
itself up again clashing and
to your horror, it will proclaim
to the sound of trumpets,
‘I was, I am, I shall be.’”

—Rosa Luxemburg
Die Rote Fahne
(14 January 1919)



Second International. August 4, 1914 has gone down in history as a day of infamy: the date that the German Social Democrats—the SPD parliamentary fraction, the biggest fraction in the Reichstag—voted for German war credits. The historic leader of the SPD, August Bebel, had coined the famous slogan, “Not a man, not a penny for this system.” Now this was replaced by the slogan, “We shall not desert the fatherland.” Rosa Luxemburg suffered a nervous collapse. And it is well known that Lenin at first refused to believe it—he thought that the issue of the SPD paper, *Vorwärts*, containing the news, was a forgery put out by the Kaiser's agents.

August 4, 1914 posed the issue with crystal clarity. Lenin developed his basic policy toward the war in a few weeks; socialists stand for the defeat of “their” bourgeoisie. Turn the imperialist war into civil war! The Second International has been destroyed by chauvinism—long live the Third International!

In Germany, Rosa Luxemburg picked up the task of opposing the infamous Reichstag vote. But in contrast to Lenin's Bolsheviks, there were only four leaders in the SPD who would do so. In September 1914, the first declaration against the war was signed by Luxemburg, Liebknecht, Franz Mehring and Clara Zetkin.

They were horribly isolated—a letter Rosa wrote to Clara Zetkin's son Konstantin captures the quality of how they tried to draw together their tiny opposition forces against the betrayal of the whole of the SPD:

“I want to take the sharpest possible action against the activities of the [Reichstag] delegates. Unfortunately, I get little cooperation from my [collection of] incoherent personalities... Karl [Liebknecht] can't ever be got hold of, since he dashes about like a cloud in the sky; Franz [Mehring] has little sympathy for any but literary campaigns; [Clara Zetkin's] reaction is hysteria and the blackest despair. But in spite of all

of this, I intend to try to see what can be achieved.”

—J.P. Nettl, *Rosa Luxemburg*
(1966)

Throughout Luxemburg's writings in this period, this sense of isolation and horror at the holocaust to come was to ring through. But as her biographer, J.P. Nettl points out, there was a difference here between Luxemburg and Lenin, who saw the situation not as a tragedy but as a crucial opportunity. For Lenin, the collapse of the Second International represented a new historical epoch—he saw the need for, and was ready for, the complete split with the opportunists and chauvinists. In this, Lenin was making a leap, and a crucial one. Luxemburg and Liebknecht were only to come around to this position much later—throughout the war they were to cling to their oppositional stance *within* the social democracy.

For the German revolutionists, these were the dog days of 1914 and early 1915, when Germany seemed to be winning the war, and when the whole of the working masses were taken up in chauvinist fever. The SPD leadership under the social imperialists like Ebert, Noske and Scheidemann gave open support to the Kaiser with the argument that Germany was the most advanced country, the most ripe for socialism, and therefore had to be defended against tsarist reaction. There was also a center group, headed by Kautsky, but also including the old right-wing revisionist Bernstein. They eventually mildly opposed the war on the grounds that it was for imperial expansion, while still insisting they were for the “right of the German nation to defend itself.” The only ones with a clear class opposition were Luxemburg and Liebknecht, whose slogan was “The Main Enemy Is at Home.”

Very quickly repression began to fall on the heads of the antiwar social democrats. On February 18, 1915, Rosa Luxemburg was arrested. Karl Lieb-

knecht enjoyed a few more months of immunity because he was a Reichstag deputy. In November 1914 he became the first SPD deputy to vote against war credits. The Luxemburg/Liebknecht group became known as “Spartacus,” after the name of the underground letters they circulated opposing the war and their “own” bourgeoisie.

On May Day 1916, the Spartacists held a rally in the center of Berlin which drew 10,000 people. When Liebknecht got up to cry, “Down with the Government, Down with the War!” he was immediately arrested. This arrest sparked the first political strike against the war.

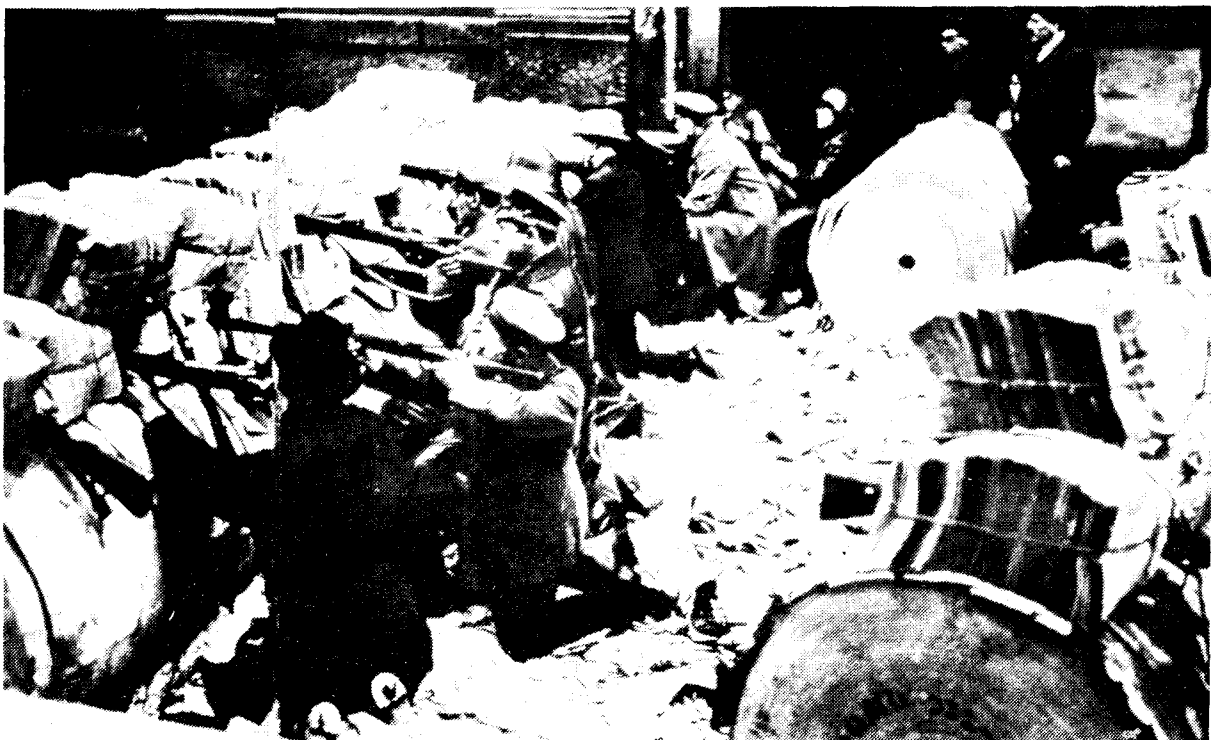
From August 4, 1914 to May Day 1916 the mood of the workers had changed dramatically: from four signatures against the Kaiser's war to 10,000-strong demonstrations. Now there were labor strikes against the war and a mass hatred of German militarism which would a year and a half later bring Germany to the point of revolution. A reflection of this sentiment in the working class was the development of the Revolutionary Shop Stewards movement. I want to make the point to young comrades that the consciousness of the working class can shift quickly under the impetus of such mammoth events. The key is leadership—a revolutionary vanguard that can “swim against the stream.”

While she was in Breslau prison in the early months of 1915, Rosa Luxemburg wrote *The Junius Pamphlet*, exposing the imperialist war in all its gore. She ended the pamphlet decrying the chauvinism which had seized the imperialist countries:

“‘Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,’
‘long live democracy,’ ‘long live the Czar
and slavery,’ ‘ten thousand tent cloths,
guaranteed according to specifications,’
‘hundred thousand pounds of bacon,’
‘coffee substitute, immediate delivery’
...dividends are rising—proletarians

continued on page 8

Revolutionary
workers
prepare for
battle after
seizing Social
Democratic
Vorwärts
newspaper
office, Berlin,
January 1919.



Hail Rosa Luxemburg...

(continued from page 7)

falling; and with each one there sinks a fighter of the future, a savior of humanity from the yoke of capitalism into the grave."

Lenin called *The Junius Pamphlet* "on the whole, a splendid Marxist work." But he criticized the author sharply for not mentioning the opportunism of the Kautskyite center. This was crucial. Because the Kautskyites were trying to dismiss August 4 as "an error" whereas revolutionaries had to get to the bottom of the opportunism which had destroyed the Second International. For Lenin, the key question was a split:

"But, first, Junius has not completely rid himself of the 'environment' of the German Social Democrats, even the Leftists, who are afraid of a split, who are afraid to follow revolutionary slogans to their logical conclusions. This is a false fear, and the Left-Social Democrats of Germany must and will rid themselves of it. They are sure to do so in the course of their struggle against the social chauvinists."

—Lenin, "The Junius Pamphlet,"
Collected Works, Vol. 22

That is, in fact, what happened. But the split with the treacherous Kautskyite center came very, very late and only under the pressure of events which were to overwhelm the Spartakusbund.

Lenin commented on the sense of isolation in Junius: "One senses an outsider who like a lone wolf has no comrades linked to him in an illegal organization." He was careful to point out that it was not a weakness in the author, but a statement about the German left. Here he captured a crucial difference between Lenin and the Luxemburg group. The Bolsheviks went into the war and the revolutionary situation which grew out of it with a party hardened and tested in struggle; the German lefts only reluctantly and gradually moved toward a break with the official Social Democrats. The Kautsky center group was expelled from the SPD in 1916 and formed the Independent Social Democrats (USPD); the Spartacus group was attached to the USPD until quite late—after the abdication of the Kaiser in November 1918.

Thus, one of the great achievements of the Bolsheviks was to recognize a political split in the working class as a precondition for proletarian revolution. The Bolsheviks had achieved this by August 4, 1914, although they had not generalized it. The German revolutionary left paid with the loss of its leaders, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, and a lost revolution, for the failure to have assimilated this lesson.

"Order Reigns in Berlin"

From the SPD's great betrayal in August 1914, there was a straight line to taking over the reins of the Kaiser's Imperial Chancellery in order to save

**March 27, 1982:
Cops seal off
Spartacist
League at
Washington El
Salvador demo.
Like German
Spartacists, SL
is slandered as
"violent" by
reformists to
justify state
repression.**



the bourgeoisie from the threat of revolution, and from there, to ordering the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht. The Majority Social Democrats drowned the German revolution in blood in the "Spartacus Week" of January 1919 and stabilized the governments of the Weimar Republic that led, through their impotence, to Hitler's seizure of power in 1933.

DR



Bolshevik leader Adolf Yoffe

The ultimate weapon of the reformists always is calling upon the capitalist state to do the dirty work for which they can't mobilize mass support. Today, the various reformists and pacifistic doves who want to organize El Salvador protest movements on behalf of the liberal wing of their own bourgeoisie mount physical attacks on the Spartacist League, attempting to seal us off, bringing in the cops. Behind their lies, slanders and pathetic daisy chains lie the threat of murderous force. Those who don't believe that the social democrats are capable of this need only look to the tragic events of Germany of 1918-1919 to see whereof we speak.

The treachery of the social-democratic leaders was bottomless. The historian Carl Schorske commented on how SPD leader Scheidemann loved the parliamentary junkets to the front where social democrats were wine and dined by high officers. Early in the war, the Majority Socialists actually went and had a meeting with the government, which said, if you guys don't make trouble, we won't make trouble for you. You'll be able to keep your unions (which can be useful in mobilizing the workers for the war), you can keep your press—if you help us out, you'll get your share. So the labor leaders called off pending strikes, even suspended strike support payments in the name of *Burgfrieden* (class peace) at home. But it didn't work out the way they thought it

would because Germany was losing the war. The ravages of the war, and the resulting social crisis in Germany, was turning the masses violently against the Kaiser, against militarism and on to revolution.

By 1917, early 1918, the mortality rate for children was up to 50 percent. The average adult calorie intake was 1,000 calories a day—starvation was everywhere. There were strikes and food riots on the part of the Berlin munitions workers. The army was crumbling; Spartacus letters were reaching the trenches hidden in sandbags. After February 1917 and the overthrow of the Russian tsar, the Independents and the Spartacists got a big boost. Then came the October Revolution and the Bolsheviks, as genuine internationalists, did everything they could to further the German revolution.

In his *Farewell Letter to the Swiss Workers* in January 1917, Lenin had stated flatly, "The revolution will not stop at Russia—the German proletariat is the most faithful and reliable ally of the Russian and worldwide revolution." Upon arriving at the Finland Station he went out of his way to say, "The hour is not far off when, at the summons of our comrade, Karl Liebknecht, the people will turn their weapons against the capitalist exploiters." Lenin was prepared to undergo any sacrifice. He told Trotsky, "If it were necessary for us to go under to assure the success of the German revolution, we should have to do it." And in March 1918, Lenin spoke at the Russian party conference declaring, "It is an absolute truth that we shall go under without the German revolution...[but] Liebknecht will rescue us from this."

The possibility and necessity of a

German revolution was key to Lenin's acceptance of the Brest-Litovsk accord. It gave the Soviet revolution a breathing space—and an embassy in Berlin. From April 1918, the Soviet Embassy became a headquarters for the promotion of the German revolution. Lenin sent in Adolf Yoffe with an enormous staff: more than 300 persons. Over the embassy, Yoffe hoisted an enormous red banner on which was written, "Workers of All Countries Unite." From this building he sent out streams of agitators; money was distributed liberally, tons of diplomatically immune revolutionary literature were imported from Russia for distribution in war-torn Germany. Almost every night Yoffe conferred with German revolutionaries on the most detailed tactical questions. (Tell that to the Stalinists who unfortunately aren't lying when they forswear arms to El Salvador!)

By the autumn of 1918, time had run out for the German Empire. The military government of Ludendorff wanted to resign so somebody else would take the rap for Germany's defeat. But they couldn't find anybody willing to take over the government—except the Social Democrats who rushed in to save the sinking ship of the Imperial Kaiser's government.

Germany was about to explode. In what might be called the first day of the German revolution, the sailors in the Baltic seaport of Kiel mutinied on November 3, 1918. They had refused to ship out in what was whispered to be a final "death ride" against the British navy, and filled the streets instead. Workers and sailors councils were formed. The Internationale was sung. Red flags flew from every vessel in Kiel. The Berlin government dispatched

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Women and Revolution

Hail Rosa Luxemburg!

Against Socialistic Counterrevolution—
For a Trotskyist Vanguard Party in Poland!

The Revolutionary Heritage of Rosa Luxemburg... A Solidarity: A Man's World... 24

Issue No. 24



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New York, N.Y. 10116

Majority Socialist Gustav Noske, who would soon be known as "the bloodhound," to try to cool things down. But within a week general strikes were spreading across Germany. The prison gates were flung open—Rosa Luxemburg was released from prison in Breslau to cheering crowds.

About two weeks earlier, Karl Liebknecht had been released from jail and went straight to the Soviet Embassy for consultations. There was full agreement—the call would be "All Power to the Soviets." When news of Liebknecht's release reached Russia, the factories closed down for a holiday. Lenin's government sent a telegram, "The release from prison of the representatives of the revolutionary workers of Germany is a visible sign of the new epoch—the epoch of triumph of socialism now being revealed for Germany and the whole world."

On November 9, the Kaiser finally abdicated. Friedrich Ebert, the head of the Majority Socialists, told the Chancellor that their only chance to save capitalism was to get rid of the Kaiser: "If the Kaiser does not abdicate, the social revolution is inevitable. I do not want it—in fact I hate it like sin." The Kaiser finally bailed out—after they appealed to his higher sense of duty to his class. The Majority Socialists also acted in the higher interests of these same class masters. Friedrich Ebert became president of an Imperial Empire that no longer existed.

But Where Was the Party?

The form of the German revolution had come pretty much as Rosa Luxemburg had predicted—mass actions and mass strikes, largely spontaneous in character. But there was a central difference between what happened in Russia and in Germany. There was no party. Lacking was the central leadership which could coordinate and concentrate the revolutionary forces to focus on one single aim: the seizure of power.

The revolutionary leaders, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, the other Spartacists were there, and they had tremendous prestige. But at this point they were still part of the Independent Social Democrats. And when they put forward a motion in USPD for "All Power to the Soviets" and for boycotting the constituent assembly, they were voted down. Only afterwards the decision was made to set up an independent organization, to form a Communist party in Germany. As a result of this excruciating delay, for example, in the elections to the all-German Congress of Workers Councils, not a single Spartacist candidate was presented. And Spartacist had never independently penetrated the trade unions. The mass of the workers were concentrated in SPD and USPD.

Finally, on December 30, 1918, the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) was founded. Rosa Luxemburg wrote the draft program. But by this time, she and Karl Liebknecht had only two weeks to live. Already the rabid calls of the bourgeoisie and their trained dogs, the Majority Socialists, were escalating. Every tactic was used to crush the revolutionary rising—provocation, set-ups, assassinations. Every crime was put down to Spartacist. Paul Frölich, Rosa Luxemburg's comrade, and later biographer, told how the "Anti-Bolshevik League" of the time—well supplied with government money—kept inventing new monstrosities which screamed out from posters on the walls, from leaflets. "Bolshevism Nationalizes Women" was one typical cry. Spies and provocateurs were everywhere. The Majority Socialists made a secret agreement with General Gröner—the army would not make a coup against the Social Democratic cabinet, if the Social Democrats would agree to fight the Spartacists. They brought Noske back from Kiel and made him Minister of Defense. He had a single task—round up, sniff out and



Right, murderers of Luxemburg and Liebknecht: "bloodhound" Noske (standing) with fellow social democrats, December 1918. Above, anti-Bolshevik poster carrying Noske's name incites national chauvinism.

destroy Spartacist. Noske accepted saying, "Someone has to be the bloodhound." More attacks: the head of the Berlin police force—a popular left Independent—was sacked. The printing offices of the KPD's *Rote Fahne* were attacked. Anonymous social-democratic leaflets circulated reading, "Strike the Spartacist leaders dead—Kill Liebknecht."

And that was what they did. The army was unreliable, so they brought in the *Freikorps*. On January 13, the SPD paper *Vorwärts* printed a poem—an open call for the deaths of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. And two days later they were rounded up by Noske's soldiers. Rosa was shot in the head and her body thrown in the Landwehr Canal; Karl Liebknecht was pushed out of a car and then shot in the head—"shot while trying to escape," they said.

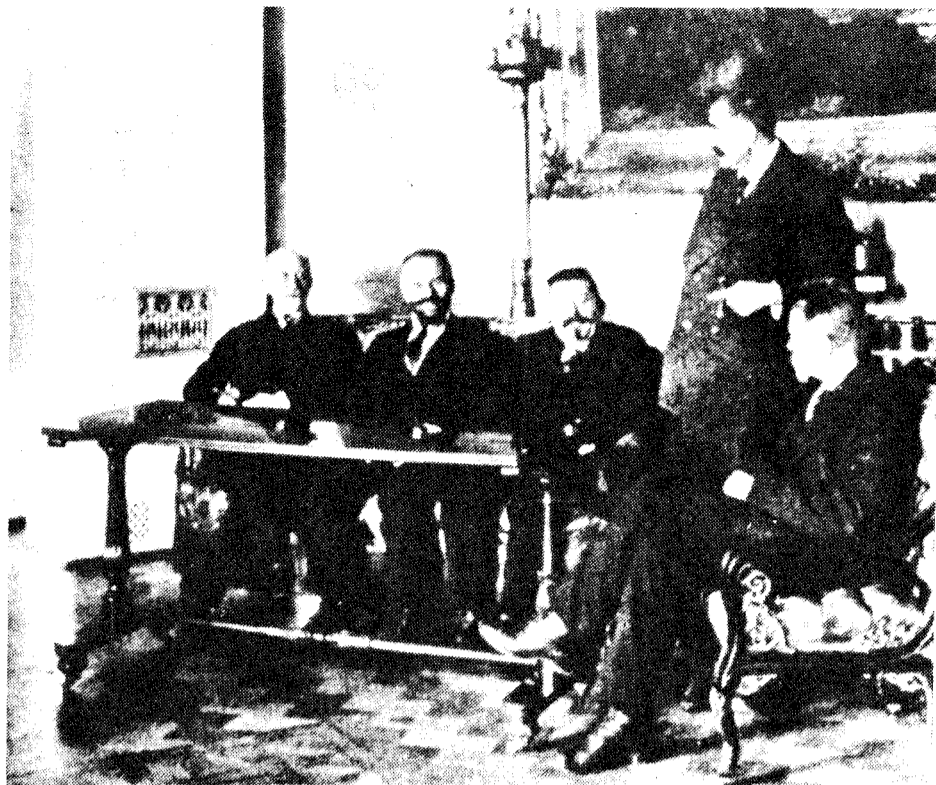
We recently reprinted the *Vorwärts* poem in *Workers Vanguard*, in the article "The Main Enemy Was the Spartacist League" [*WV* No. 303, 16 April] reporting on the massive police presence combined with social-democratic goon squads arrayed against us at the March 27 El Salvador demonstration in Washington. You'll recognize the tone—"the Spartacists are a violence-prone minority," etc.:

"Many hundred corpses in a row, proletarians!
Powder, iron and lead don't ask if to the right or left it's a Spartacist, proletarians...
Who sent force into the streets, proletarians?
Who first took weapons to hand and burned for a showdown?
Spartakus!
Many hundred corpses in a row, proletarians...
Karl, Rosa, Radek & Co.,
Not one of them is there, not one of them is there, proletarians."

Well pretty soon there were Spartacist cadavers in the street. Anybody who thinks that all of these slanders presently going around about the Spartacist League today are only something written on paper or said over the radio should look at what happened in Germany—it set them up for the kill.

The German reformists did everything in their power to crush the revolution. Our reformists today are only the waterboys and advisers of Teddy Kennedy. But one should not expect that they are the only ones. As we said, forces far greater than these reformists had to have been in play for the kind of police mobilization brought out against us on March 27.

After the Spartacist "rising" had been defeated—and two days before her death—Rosa Luxemburg wrote her last article in *Rote Fahne*, attacking the murderous social democrats who would crush the insurrection to preserve



"order" for the capitalist class. Their call for "law and order" always reminds me of the [Socialist Workers Party's] call to keep things "peaceful, legal." Rosa's article, called "Order Reigns in Berlin," ended this way: "You stupid lackeys. Your 'order' is built on sand. The revolution will raise itself up again clashing and to your horror, it will proclaim to the sound of trumpets, 'I was, I am, I shall be.'"

It wasn't long after the defeat of the first German revolution that the revisionists of all stripes started to exploit Rosa Luxemburg's writings and started inventing "Luxemburgism," either as a dogma to give themselves a left cover and still be anti-Leninist; or as the Stalinists did, to create a "Luxemburgism" in order to destroy her internationalist legacy.

As we have seen, this is a complete falsification. There was no Luxemburgism separated from Leninism. Luxemburg and Lenin, although in different countries and different situations, were generally political allies. On a number of issues they had disagreements. But they were together two of the leaders of the revolutionary wing of pre-World War I social democracy.

Now, through the bullets unleashed by the social democrats, Rosa Luxemburg was ripped away at a crucial point in history, and we cannot say what would have become of her. The program of Lenin, you see, was able to bring together the best elements of the left wings of the socialist parties, and others—for example the revolutionary syndicalists—under the banner of the Third International. Certainly, at every key point in her life, Rosa took the revolutionary side; she founded the KPD just before her death.

Nonetheless, one of the first to try to exploit her differences with Lenin was Paul Levi. Levi had been Rosa's lawyer and comrade and took over the leadership of the KPD after Jogiches, Luxemburg, Liebknecht, Leviné and most of the central Spartacist leaders had been killed. But Levi didn't last much longer in the communist movement. On his way back to the Second International

Levi published Rosa's 1917 writings, written in Breslau prison, wherein she was sharply critical of the Bolshevik Revolution. (By the way, Rosa never published these writings in her lifetime—indeed, Levi, after discussions with Leviné, had gone to Breslau at the time to tell her she was disoriented and should wait until she got out of jail and understood more of what was going on in Russia before going into print with her differences. She did later retract much of what she had written in jail at that time.) But now Levi, obscenely trying to reclaim Luxemburg for the social democrats who had murdered her, published these writings.

Lenin replied with his defense of Luxemburg:

"Paul Levi wants to get into the good graces of the bourgeoisie—and, consequently, of its agents, the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals—by republishing precisely those writings of Rosa Luxemburg in which she was wrong. We shall reply to this by quoting two lines from a good old Russian fable: 'Eagles may at times fly lower than hens, but hens can never rise to the height of eagles.'..."

"But in spite of her mistakes she was—and remains for us—an eagle... 'Since August 4, 1914, German social democracy has been a stinking corpse'—this statement will make Rosa Luxemburg's name famous in the history of the international working class movement. And, of course, in the backyard of the working class movement, among the dung heaps, hens like Paul Levi, Scheidemann, Kautsky and all that fraternity will cackle over the mistakes committed by the great Communist. To every man his own."

—Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33

And Trotsky, on numerous occasions took up the cudgels for Rosa against Stalin's slanders and those of the social democrats. I'd like to end by just quoting from one, from "Luxemburg and the Fourth International" (24 June 1935):

"Put aside the incidentals which developments have overcome, and we can, with full justification, place our work for the Fourth International under the sign of the 'Three L's,' that is, under the sign not only of Lenin, but also of Luxemburg and Liebknecht." ■



Martyred revolutionary Karl Liebknecht. Social Democrats reviled him as lunatic and criminal—then murdered him and crushed German revolution.

Cold War "Peace" ...

(continued from page 1)

states where capitalism has been abolished. From the "conventional" U.S.-backed slaughter in El Salvador to the enormous nuclear arms buildup, the U.S. bourgeoisie has in its cross-hairs the one-sixth of the globe ripped from the imperialist market by the Russian Revolution of 1917. And from Reagan to Kennedy, they are quite willing to ignite World War III to reconquer the Soviet Union in order to, as Trotsky put it, "transfuse fresh blood into the sclerotic veins of capitalism."

As revolutionary Marxists, our attitude toward this "movement" led by war criminals—of which the only possible result, if any, will be a more efficient U.S. military—is one of intransigent opposition. The history of this century has shown that world imperialism has no rational solution to war, it is endemic to decaying capitalism. Rosa Luxemburg, the great revolutionary and fighter against capitalist militarism, wrote on the eve of World War I that "militarism in both its forms—as war and as armed peace—is a legitimate child, a logical result of capitalism, and that whoever honestly desires world peace and freedom from the tremendous burden of armaments must strive for socialism."

Reformist Left: "All We Are Saying, Is Give Us a Dem..."

It's been amusing to observe the antics of the rapidly rightward-moving American left which finds itself dissuaded not at all from supporting this "freeze" campaign—even if it is led by the Vietnam war criminals many of these "leftists" grew up demonstrating against. It is so infused with bourgeois "respectability" (i.e., anti-communism, racism, patriotism) that only the threat of a major split caused the organizers to invite Salvadoran FDR leader Guillermo Ungo and National Black United Front spokesman Herbert Daughtry to share the platform with former IBM executives and retired admirals. Despite Ungo's inclusion, there is still no demand against U.S. counterrevolutionary terror in Central America and none of the endorsing left groups appear on the speakers list.

The two main reformist organizations officially endorsing June 12 are Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America (DSA—formerly DSOC) and the Communist Party USA (CP). The virulently anti-Communist DSA and Kremlin-loyal CP have in common their unabashed appetites for work within the

**Ground Zero
"activists" push
peace through
rigor mortis!
SF State April
"die-in"—
liberal
impotence and
nuclear
necrophilia.**



Richard Brucker

Democratic Party as well as some ability to mobilize a labor component for the rally. But, while the DSA is just doing what comes naturally, advising the State Department on the "smart" way to wage the anti-Soviet war drive, the CP must confront the problem that this latest incarnation of the anti-Reagan popular front is anti-Soviet to the core.

The CP's *Daily World* was forced to at least minimally take note of this in its 2 June issue. Among the actions publicized by the June 12 "freezers" is a series of "civil disobedience" sit-ins at the UN missions of the U.S., Soviet Union, China, Britain and France on June 14. Writes the *Daily World*:

"It's bad enough that its organizers plan to focus on the five nuclear powers, thereby taking the spotlight off the Administration. To make matters worse, the U.S. media will probably focus on the action at the Soviet mission. Tuesday's headlines are likely to read: 'U.S. Peace Activists Blockade Soviet Mission.' The President and his warmongering advisers would love to see this happen."

In its eternal quest for a "peaceloving" wing of the bourgeoisie to lead the fight for détente and "peaceful coexistence," the CP sacrifices any vestige of class principle in supporting the "liberal" wing of imperialist militarism. In no position, therefore, to mount any effective opposition to the Cold War offensive, the CP must simply retreat before it. It is left to the Trotskyist SL/SYL to carry the banner of Soviet defensism against all wings of the imperialist rulers.

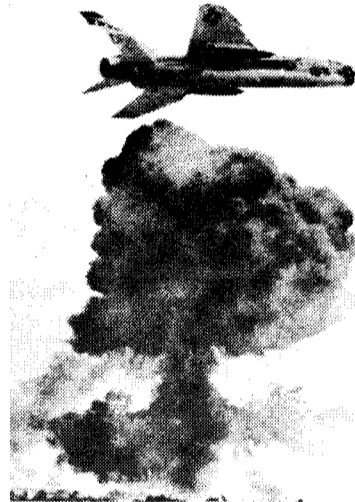
It must be particularly bitter for Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF) that after all they've done on behalf of Bella and the Democrats to keep the Salvador protest movement "ready for Teddy" they somehow missed the boat on June 12. The Marcyites have put themselves on the line for Democrats since the May 3, 1981 Salvador protest; they ran the goon squads and

called the cops against the SL/SYL-organized contingents demanding "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists" and "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!"

Marcy is predictably behind the phony "peace" movement 1000 percent. He alibis the McNamaras and Bundys, referring to them as "former" Cold Warriors and in an article which could be aptly titled "Marcy Joins Global Cold War on U.S. Side," (*Workers World*, 30 April) he goes on to say:

"These are not official leaders of any organized mass movement, but through them the ruling class as a whole can exercise sufficient influence to manipulate and redirect the official leaders of the movement in another direction. That, however, is for tomorrow's battle

Felix Greene



Napalmers of Vietnam—leading lights of current Cold War "peace" movement. Right, war criminals Bundy and McNamara with imperialist advisers Smith and Kennan.

in the struggle against war." [our emphasis]

There's no better word to describe this motley crew of Democratic Party-loving "socialists"—the DSA, CP, YAWF—than pathetic. Running scared from Reagan reaction, they'd sell their grandmothers for a shot at a bloc with the Democrats.

Barnespeak

The consummately reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) initially joined its sellout brethren in lauding June 12 as a "major national demonstration against the U.S. war drive" (*Militant*, 2 April) and predicted that the "march to the United Nations... will deal a solid blow to the imperialist warmakers." And, indeed, there is nothing in the character of the imperialist freeze campaign that the SWP has not already itself advocated. However, the *Militant* has become increasingly critical of the official June 12 rally; its 14 May issue tells us, "A demonstration in the name of 'peace' that remained silent on Washington's wars—in Central and South America first of all—would be a sham and a fraud." Pretty strong stuff from the people who were the pro-Democratic Party right wing of the anti-Vietnam War movement. Why have these "best builders" of any and every liberal reform movement chosen to place themselves an inch or two to the left of the official rally? This is no doubt due to the fact that the SWP's only known principle—the "main chance"—

was blown in the internecine squabbles over June 12 early on. It lost out organizationally to Harrington and the CP and so took its marbles elsewhere.

The *Militant* has taken to quoting from Leon Trotsky about the "arming of the proletariat for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a workers state," and throwing in some Lenin against disarmament to boot. The SWP intends to march for "unconditional U.S. disarmament" and "No U.S. intervention in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean" (presumably if the U.S. decided to take Moscow or Warsaw that would be just fine). But, the last time we looked, the SWP was not for "unconditional U.S. disarmament" at all! In a 1977 exchange between SWPers Joe Hansen and Morris Starsky on the question of Soviet disarmament—an exchange which the *Militant* recently saw fit to reprint (*International Socialist Review*, May 1982)—Hansen writes:

"If we now place within this political context the Kremlin's policy of haggling with Carter over relatively insignificant details in the arms race, it is clear that Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament, an issue of great importance in exposing Carter's imperialist objectives." [our emphasis]

SWP honcho Jack Barnes took this one better when the SWP shifted its line on Afghanistan to outright condemnation of the Soviet intervention. He writes in the SWP International Information Discussion Bulletin No. 4, 1980:

D. Gordon/New York Times



"Think of the stupendous impact it would have on people throughout the world, the vast majority of humanity, if Brezhnev were to go on television and announce that the USSR is destroying a big part of its nuclear arsenal and propose to Washington a schedule to destroy the rest at short intervals. Wouldn't that put Washington on the spot?"

So Barnes should have no quarrel with the people sitting in at the Soviet embassy, should he?

Down with Cold War "Peace" Hoax! Defend Cuba/USSR!

The abysmal "left" tails of the anti-Soviet war drive, prostrate before this explicitly "respectable" anti-Reagan regroupment of "enlightened" mass murderers, deserve the enmity of the working-class movement. Particularly shameful is their betrayal of any pretense of solidarity with the workers and peasants of El Salvador, whose blood is being shed today so that U.S. imperialism can draw the line "against Communism." The march on the UN is an imperialist hoax perpetrated with the eager aid of the reformists.

We in the SYL are for peace and disarmament—peace which can only be won through class war and the disarming of world imperialism by proletarian revolution. To that end, we are dedicated to forging the revolutionary party of the American working class which can, through the overthrow of the capitalist warmongers once and for all, put an end to the threat of imperialist nuclear holocaust. Join us! ■

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YSp 101

Victory at Wayne State

Racist Editor Lee Quits, Cursing SYL

E. Dale Lee, the racist FBI-loving editor of Wayne State University's *South End*, resigned in March, a full one and a half months before his contract was due to expire. Lee, who sported an FBI T-shirt and liked their "style," incurred the anger of many black and working-class WSU students when he published racist "cartoons," front page interviews with the KKK and generally tried to turn the *South End* into a racist rag.

Lee's long overdue departure is a victory, one for which the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) is largely responsible. Immediately after the first of Lee's racist provocations in November 1981, the SYL mobilized hundreds of outraged students as well as militant auto workers from Detroit-area plants demanding his ouster. Shortly afterwards Lee was suspended by the Student Newspaper Publications Board. In the subsequent months, Lee was suspended several more times, fired once, rehired and resuspended until he finally quit.

The SYL led the fight against Lee as part of our struggle against all manifestations of racist and fascist attacks. As a revolutionary socialist youth organization the SYL seeks to link such campus battles to the power of the labor movement, the social

force capable of smashing the fascists. Not so the ill-named Revolutionary Workers League and the black nationalists of the Association of Black Students/Swahili Club/All African Peoples Revolutionary Party. Confining themselves to tepid demands to "democratize" the editor selection process, they directed their fire at the SYL with race-baiting and red-baiting smears. They cared less about the racist editor than the fact that the SYL has gained a significant hearing and authority among the black students the nationalists claim to represent.

It was clear to the entire campus that Lee had fled because of the SYL-led fight. In a swan song column, Lee told the SYL to "shove it," quoting his predecessors John Burnett and Mike Nuttle. These apologists for the KKK/Nazi murderers of Greensboro were driven out of the *South End* by an SYL-initiated mobilization a year ago.

The SYL has a nine-year history of fights and victories on the WSU campus. We will continue to wage these fights and win Wayne students to our banners, for as James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, said, "Not a few of the leaders of the Detroit proletariat will come from the campus of Wayne State University."

Spartacus Youth League Class Series

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Trotskyism:
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 Conference Room 6, Michigan Union
 University of Michigan
 For more information: (313) 662-2339

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Basic Marxism Study Group
 Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
 Begins July 7
 Phillips Brooks House
 Harvard University
 For more information: (617) 492-3928

CHICAGO

The ABCs of Marxism
 Alternate Thursdays, 7:00 p.m.
 June 24, July 8, 22, August 5
 523 South Plymouth Court
 For more information: (312) 427-0003

MADISON

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Revolutionary Marxism Today
 Alternate Tuesdays, 8:00 p.m.
 Begins June 22
 Memorial Union
 (see "Today in the Union")
 University of Wisconsin-Madison
 For more information: (608) 255-2342

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 Begins June 17
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 Chambers St. near Church St.)
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Basic Marxism Study Group
 Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
 June 9, 16, 23, 30, July 7
 For more information: (415) 863-6963



Tweed blush. No betrayal was—or is—too servile to further the prostration of the CP before the labor bureaucracy and the Democratic Party liberals. One of the grossest examples (but by no means the only one) is the CP's role in World War II, where it was the "best builder" of the war effort, fearing isolation from the "progressive" and "democratic" elements which lined up foursquare in the camp of "democracy" against fascism. To that end, the CP backed the no-strike pledge—even to the extent of recruiting scabs during the 1943 coal miners strike.

Even more obscene was the CP's de facto bloc with racism when thousands of Japanese-Americans were rounded up and interned in concentration camps after Pearl Harbor. The CP not only refused to protest this atrocity, it told its Japanese-American members to go away. This is not to say that the CP was full of racists; rather, the CP above all wanted a bloc with Roosevelt. Since the liberals were all for the war (and the internment), the CP joined in the patriotic chorus. The ultimate expression of this came when the CP hailed the atomic incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Defense of the rights of the oppressed is possible only from a revolutionary perspective: one which seeks the over-

throw of capitalism, root cause of class, racial and sexual oppression. In contrast, the reformist CP takes its cues from the forces tied to the crisis-ridden capitalist system—the labor bureaucracy and the Democratic Party. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) fight to oust the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats and to unite *all* the oppressed behind a class-struggle workers party. As Lenin said, "The Social Democrat's [communist's] ideal should not be a trade union secretary, but a *tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects" (*What Is To Be Done?*)—i.e., the very antithesis of Davis' CP. The SL/SYL affirms the Bolsheviks' stand during the time of Lenin regarding sexual relations. As quoted in John Lauritsen and David Thorstad's *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement*, leading Bolshevik official Grigorii Batkis stated:

"Concerning homosexuality, sodomy, and various other forms of sexual gratification, which are set down in European legislation as offenses against public morality—Soviet legislation treats these exactly the same as so-called 'natural' intercourse. All forms of sexual intercourse are private matters." ■

Ivy League...

(continued from page 2)

He'll fit right in. Besides blacks, the *Dartmouth Review* has targeted women and homosexuals; the very same Keeney Jones wanted women's studies to be renamed "lesbian studies." And last year, personal letters in the Gay Students Alliance's office mysteriously disappeared and later, excerpts—with names—appeared in the *Review*. So, the \$10,000 Simon and Kristol slipped to the *Dartmouth Review* to push the virtues of "free enterprise" emerges as vicious anti-gay attacks and KKK-style racism.

This reactionary poison is spread from the heart of the government and bourgeois institutions. Reagan reaction has unleashed a wave of Klan and Nazi terror, and the role of race-hate rags like the *Dartmouth Review* is to lend Ivy League "respectability" to it. Those who tried to frame up and jail a young Marxist at Harvard (see "Strange Things Under Harvard's Rocks," *Young Spartacus* No. 97, February 1982) are the same forces trying to humiliate and punish Samuel Smith at Dartmouth.

Of course, America's Ivy League campuses have *never* been class-neutral; they are training grounds for the ruling class. "The great corporations of America sustain the major universities, with no regard to the content of their teachings," says William Simon. This has never been true: numerous radicals have been denied the right to teach solely for their political views. The Simons and the Irving Kristols now want to strip away even the thin veneer of academic liberalism from the universities and turn them into open class-war think tanks to crush working people. But the adolescent racists of the *Dartmouth Review* and their ilk may get more than they bargained for as they provoke the just outrage of the Samuel Smiths and millions of black and working-class youths. As for their elderly mentors, the Reagans and Simons, we live for the day when they receive justice from a workers government committed to the equality of blacks, women, homosexuals and all the oppressed. ■

Angela...

(continued from page 2)

awarded for motherhood, abortion was restricted (for a time it was outlawed) and the legal persecution of homosexuals was restored. For a few years even co-education was abolished! To a greater or lesser degree, a stifling, puritanical attitude toward any form of sexual activity permeates all of the degenerated and deformed workers states to this date.

Political Libertines

But when it comes to *political* promiscuity, the Stalinists are capable of maneuvers that would make Boss

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

Spartacist League Forum

Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!

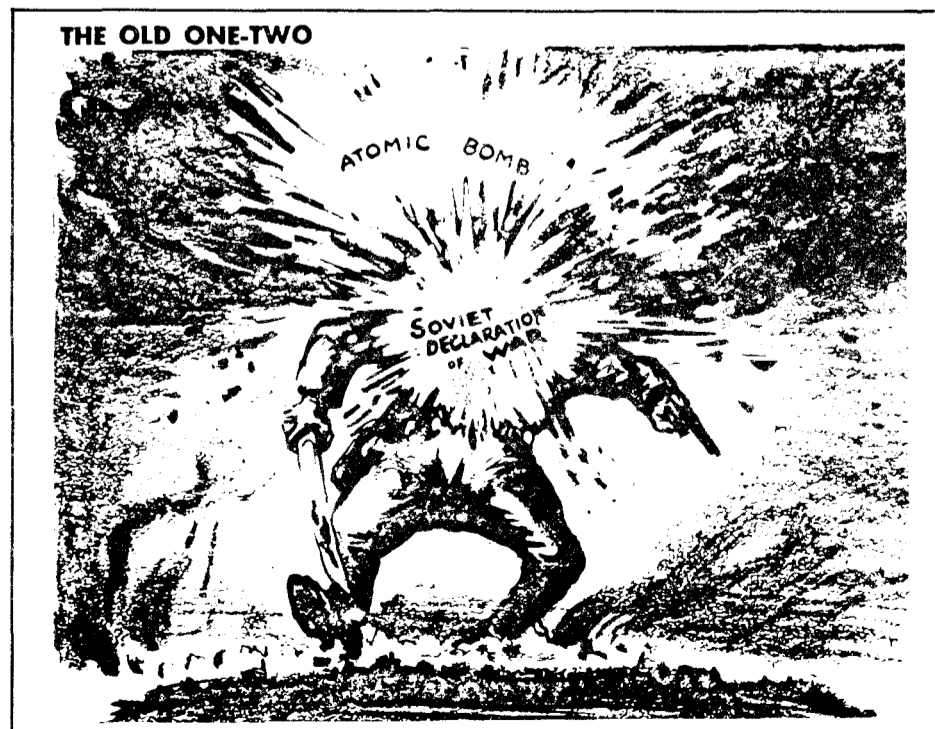
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Speaker: Martha Phillips,
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 For more information call (212) 267-1025

CP Press, August 1945



CP no friend of Japanese, either: *Daily Worker* cartoon hailed Democrat Truman's A-bombing of Hiroshima.

Young Spartacus

Finishing the Civil War

Huck Finn in Racist America

"I was late for class one day. And I walked into a classroom on the second floor of a junior high school building, where there were already three desks thrown out the window, four kids with bloody noses and two with teeth missing. And it was because one of the kids used that word...."

"That word" was "nigger," [a word printed in *Young Spartacus* not without pain] the single word which encapsulates race relations in America, where tens of thousands of desperately oppressed blacks and Latins face a future of poverty, degradation and hopelessness under capitalism. This story of classroom violence was recounted by a teacher comrade to a meeting of the New York Spartacist League as part of a discussion on the current controversy around Mark Twain's classic novel, *Huckleberry Finn*.

The discussion was prompted by a series of four articles by liberal columnist Nat Hentoff (*Village Voice*, beginning 4 May). A civil libertarian known for his crusading against censorship, Hentoff has come out in favor of the teaching of *Huckleberry Finn* and against the efforts of black parents and school administrators in several communities to have the book, which uses the word "nigger" some 160 times, removed from junior high school compulsory reading lists.

As Hentoff observes, Twain's 1884 masterpiece has often been the target of right-wing and religious-fundamentalist censorship for its race-mixing and its indictment of the values of official society. Though granting that the black parents' objections flow from a different direction, Hentoff believes that the educational value of this anti-racist novel is the paramount concern.

It speaks volumes about capitalist America that this book, a powerful anti-slavery tract, can be turned around and used against black people. Twain, a consistent radical democrat, would surely be appalled to find that a hundred years after *Huckleberry Finn* was published racism in this country remains so pervasive and violent that the book can set off, as it apparently did in Warrington, Pennsylvania, "verbal and physical harassment" of a black eighth-grader by white classmates.

Certainly the book is anti-racist in its central intent, a powerful indictment of a racist society. Liberal columnist Russell Baker (*New York Times*, 14 April) nicely summarized the world that Huck and the runaway slave Jim saw as they traveled the Mississippi on a raft, "a real American landscape swarming with native monsters":

"The people they encounter are drunkards, murderers, bullies, swindlers, lynchers, thieves, liars, frauds, child abusers, numbskulls, hypocrites, windbags and traders in human flesh. All are white. The one man of honor in this phantasmagoria is black Jim, the runaway slave. 'Nigger Jim,' as Twain called him to emphasize the irony of a society in which the only true gentleman was held beneath contempt."

We publish below (see box, page 4) an extract from *Huckleberry Finn* where the boy Huck makes his decision to stand by the slave Jim, against everything he's ever been taught. Conventional morality, religion, respect for private property are all allied in the service of human slavery. Huck's honesty, compassion and loyalty lead him to go against the racist values he's been taught and believes: "All right then, I'll go to hell!" Twain himself was a real subversive in his time, who wrote for the masses: "I never cared what became of the cultured classes; they could go to the theater and the opera, they had no use for me and the melodeon."

The problem with *Huckleberry Finn* is not the text, but what it's being

Black professor Allen Ballard, in a letter to the *New York Times* (9 May), recalled how he felt when his predominantly white junior high school class read *Huck Finn* aloud:

"I wanted to sink into my seat. Some of the whites snickered, others giggled. I can recall nothing of the literary merits of this work that you term 'the greatest of all American novels.' I only recall the

country, black and white, knows it. And it's not just, as Ballard put it, a "reminder of the degradation visited upon [our] ancestors during slavery," but an encapsulation of what it means *today* to be black in racist America—the shame, the frustration, the rage, the fear. Learning what "nigger" means is a major event in the life of every black

Greensboro Daily News

Greensboro Massacre, November 1979. Nelson Johnson kneels by victim of KKK/Nazi murderers. Killers were acquitted by all-white jury.



Below: Stars and Stripes racism—screaming "Kill him," anti-busing thugs attacked black lawyer, Boston, April 1976.

S. Forman/Boston Herald American



dropped into—the reality of racist America. To take a bunch of eighth-grade kids and throw in a fine, beautiful book loaded with the word "nigger"—it's like pulling the pin of a hand grenade and tossing it into the all too common American classroom.

sense of relief I felt when I would flip ahead a few pages and see that the word "nigger" would not be read that hour."

The word "nigger" is a *program*. It means not only racist terror and lynch mobs but that the victims "deserve it." It's fightin' words and everyone in this

person.

That word has a lot to do with growing up black in a society in which blacks are a desperately oppressed minority and yet so closely integrated with the rest of society, at the bottom, that by and large blacks and whites share some of the same racist values. It's the internalization that hurts most. Malcolm X in his autobiography says that when whites talked about "niggers" in front of him, "It used to just slip right off my back." Then one day a teacher brought it all home with a comment about Malcolm's ambitions: "A lawyer—that's no realistic goal for a nigger."

Richard Pryor's "Sunset Strip" movie offers another insight. Pryor talks about his trip to Africa (he went looking for his "roots," he says, but there wasn't a single Pryor in the phone book). Being

continued on page 4

Hail Rosa Luxemburg! Poland's Communist Tradition

See Page 6

