

Young Spartacus

NUMBER 124

25 CENTS

X-523

FEBRUARY 1985

U.S. Going for War—Defend Russia!

Reagan's Rocky Horror Show



Department of Defense

Reagan's "Star Wars" weapons mean First Strike! U.S. drive for nuclear Armageddon means war against labor, blacks, youth. Defeat U.S. imperialists through worldwide socialist revolution!

The only thing icier than the sham Geneva disarmament talks was the big chill which blasted Washington for the second coming of the Gipper. "It's mondo wacko," said Nancy Reagan's hairdresser, and for once someone in the Reagan administration was right. Reagan's Cold War inaugural extravaganza was "scaled down" (to \$11 million) from 1981's imperial coronation. The White House even placed an ad for 200 "clean-cut, All American" (non-union, of course) performers to entertain the "First Couple" for free! Obscene quantities of foliage and Young Republicans were shipped into Washington, D.C. for the festivities, which were pitched especially to youth. But the reality of Reagan's America is that while Nancy gets four new designer dresses and Ron gets four more years, youth get the shaft.

Much has been made of the "conservatism" of the younger generation, the phenomenon of "youth for Reagan." But there aren't very many black youth for Reagan. Unemployment among black youth is running upwards of 40 percent. When black youth aren't dodging bullets in decrepit gang-infested projects, they're being used for target practice by the racist cops. Even for the white, smart ass frat

types on the college campuses there is no real basis for optimism. *Newsweek* dubbed 1984 "The Year of the Yuppie," but today's freshmen are entering the decade of the janitor. Two Stanford economists "estimated that 779,000 janitorial positions will be created by 1995 and said that only 53,000 computer-technician jobs will open" (*Daily Northwestern*, 17 January). And with fewer yuppies there will be less trash to clean up, though the young janitors will slave for a sub-minimum wage.

Despite all the media hype over "America standing tall," the fact is that the U.S. government has *not* been able to reestablish the Cold War ideological consensus. The "American Century" lasted about as long as Hitler's Third Reich and was blown apart by the civil rights struggles for black equality and the Vietnam War. The "new patriotism" of middle-class college-age youth has yet to be tested in blood. If the nuclear maniacs running this country think they can finally get over the "Vietnam syndrome" of bourgeois defeatism with a generation of youth for whom Vietnam is at best a fuzzy TV-screen memory, they ain't seen nothing yet. The body bags returning from a Yankee

invasion of Nicaragua would gag the flag wavers faster than Dr. Strangelove could holler "Yahoo!" Even at this stage, before a direct military invasion, the U.S.-sponsored war against Nicaragua and support to the bloody Salvadoran junta are quite unpopular.

Reagan has even had to send government agents in to infiltrate the churches to keep the nuns on the "straight and narrow path." Some 180 churches around the country are providing sanctuary from Reagan-backed rightist terror in Central America, and in January six clergymen were among 16 sanctuary activists indicted on "conspiracy" charges. Reagan thinks the Maryknoll nuns in El Salvador are terrorists, but meanwhile the anti-abortion "religious" terrorists are given a green light by the FBI, which admittedly puts a "low priority" on investigating the wave of abortion clinic bombings.

In defiance of Reagan's "reds under the beds" scare, hundreds of students have gone to Nicaragua on work brigades replacing the Nicaraguan youth who have been pulled from the coffee harvest to the military defense of Managua. However, unlike the Cubans who carried out a social revolution which sent their bourgeoisie swimming

to Miami, the Sandinistas are still propping up a capitalist "fifth column," importing youth to work the fields for the same big landowners who back the "contra" scum. Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution!

At Tufts, Northwestern, Ann Arbor and Brown, university students have lodged militant protests against recruiters for imperialism's cloak-and-dagger hit men, the CIA. These actions are an index of an anti-militarist and anti-government mood among layers of students. But in the absence of a class perspective, student movements can get pretty weird. Take the example of the "cyanide referendum" at Brown University, where students "protest" the threat of nuclear war by demanding suicide pills! Hardly a sterling example of "fightback," this action stands as a monument to petty-bourgeois despair.

The Spartacus Youth League offers a way out of the hellhole of a "future" offered by the ruling class. The SYL stands out uniquely in this period of reaction as class-struggle fighters who *win*. The SYL doesn't duck the hard class questions. We stand four-square for the defense of the USSR against imperialism. When War Secretary

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MALCOLM X: STAND UP FOR YOUR RIGHTS! See page 6



SYL Black History Month Events

Finish the Civil War! For Workers Revolution!

LOS ANGELES

SYL Forum

The Rise and Fall of the Black Panther Party

Speaker: Don Alexander,
SL Central Committee
Thursday, February 21, 7:00 p.m.
Ackerman, Room 3525
UCLA
For more information: (213) 384-9716

MADISON

SYL Class Series

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today

Alternate Saturdays, 2:00 p.m.
February 9, 23, March 9
(See "Today in the Union" for room)
UW-Madison
For more information: (608) 257-8625

MADISON

SYL Video Showing & Discussion

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

Thursday, February 28, 7:45 p.m.
(See "Today in the Union" for room)
UW-Madison

BOSTON

SYL Marxist Study Group

Class Against Class

Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.

Beginning February 13
Phillips Brooks House
Harvard University

February 13:
Finish the Civil War!
Black Liberation Through
Socialist Revolution!

February 27:
International Women's Day 1985:
Defend Abortion Clinics! Down with
Reactionary Anti-Porn Crusade!

For more information: (617) 492-3928
(evenings)

BAY AREA

SYL Forum Series

Wednesdays, 12 noon UC Berkeley

February 6:
"We Tore Down the Flag of Slavery!"
Tan Oak Room, 4th floor
Student Union Building

February 13:
"Class Struggle, Not Liberal
Divestment Schemes—
Smash Apartheid! For Workers
Revolution in South Africa!"
Black Oak Room, 4th floor
Student Union Building

February 20:
"Lessons of the Civil Rights
Movement and the Struggle
for Black Liberation"
Tilden Room, 5th floor
Student Union Building

February 27:
"The FBI's War Against the Left and
the Frame Up of Geronimo Pratt"
Tilden Room, 5th floor
Student Union Building

For more information: (415) 835-1535



"No more Greensboros!" Detroit anti-Klan rally, November 1979.

NEW YORK

SYL Video Showing & Discussion

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

Speaker: Cindy Beckum, SYL
Thursday, February 14, 7:00 p.m.
Room N402, BMCC
For more information: (212) 267-1025

CHICAGO

SYL Video Showing & Discussion

"We Stopped the Klan!"

Thursday, February 7, 11:00 a.m.
and 12:30 p.m.
Chicago Circle Center, Room 505
University of Ill.-Chicago (Circle)
For more information: (312) 633-0715

"Secular Humanism Scare" in "New South"

Ignorance Serves the Ruling Class

ATLANTA—Book burning is getting to be a pretty popular pastime here in the so-called bastion of the "New South." *Penthouse* has been banned from sale in the city; in fact any literature that displays parts of the body (deshabille) or hints at sexual activity on its cover cannot be displayed in Atlanta bookstores. And we're talking about everything from *Hustler* to anatomy textbooks with Michelangelo's famous sketches of the human body. There is as well a racist selection mechanism at work here—*Penthouse* can't be bought in heavily black metropolitan Atlanta but is available in white Cobb County.

Now, in the name of protecting children from the influence of "secular humanism" the Cobb County school system has banned nine topics from the classroom. The two subjects to receive an absolute ban are homosexuality and "abortion as a means of birth control." Other "restricted" subjects include evolution; abortion as a social, political or governmental issue; communism; religion; witchcraft and the supernatural. Evolution will not be introduced to Cobb County students until high school. After they have been thoroughly indoctrinated in an academic curriculum that could have been laid out by

Jerry Falwell, students will be introduced to Darwin at the age of 16—no doubt as a nasty reminder that the ungodly are still out there doing Satan's work. In discussing communism, teachers are not surprisingly advised, "advocacy of this political and economic system is (to be) avoided" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 31 October 1984). A frightened teacher called her union president when the word came down on the "restrictions." She was having her students read *The Scarlet Letter* (written by that well-known commie pornographer, Nathaniel Hawthorne) and didn't know what to do—not only does the book mention witchcraft but the whole plot revolves around the Big Red "A"—adultery.

Cobb County bears the dubious distinction of being the home of late (and for us, unlamented) right-wing racist Larry McDonald who "met his maker" when the Soviets downed the KAL 007 flight, set up as a deadly Cold War provocation by the U.S. It is also the site of the Ku Klux Klan's rebirth with the lynching of Leo Frank in 1915. The racist terrorists still ride in Cobb County; the last black family who attempted to move there this year was forced out when their home was fire-

N.Y. Academy of Art

bombed (*Atlanta Constitution*, 10 January).

The county made the news last year when the school system refused to admit two "foreign" students because their parents' visas were not up to Cobb "standards." The two young "foreigners" were blond, blue-eyed Dutch. Now, Cobb continues its tradition as the vanguard of social reaction with the latest bannings and "restrictions" on basic knowledge.

Readers are probably familiar with the term "red scare," associated with the witchhunting McCarthy period. Well, Atlanta is in the throes of what one might call a "secular humanism scare." The *Atlanta Constitution* constantly runs articles with ominous headlines like "Athens Woman Warns Against 'Humanism' in Georgia Schools." ("Unless you stand up against this, we will all be influenced by humanism.") This crusade is not restricted to draconian legislation either; in the name of protecting the population from "secular humanism" gay bookstores have been raided, "happy hour" faces extinction and abortion clinics have been bombed. Those familiar with the 18th century intellectual flowering known as the Enlightenment have probably never thought "secular humanism" to be equivalent to moral degeneracy. But there's a method to the madness of the Moral Majority neanderthals.

The Enlightenment challenged the supremacy of the church and believed that man is born with certain inalienable rights. Not content to "roll back communism," the Moral Majority wants to roll society right on back into the Dark Ages. An *Atlanta Constitution* (25 March 1984) headline said it well: "Georgia Schools Make Religion the 'Fourth R'." Most schools in the towns and hamlets of Georgia have prayer in the classroom and their "literature" classes probably don't feature any fiction racier than the New Testament.

Atlanta claims to be a metropolitan oasis in a desert of crackerdom, but anyone who lives here—or god forbid, has to go to school here—knows that's utter crap. The social legislation—backed up by racist, reactionary terror—coming down in Atlanta today is aimed at promoting a breed of white racist fundamentalists determined to wipe out everything that "deviates"—like black families, abortion clinics and kids from Holland. At the very least the

Meyers/Warsaw Times-Union



Anti-freedom dimwits burn school books in Indiana.

process of being turned into such a creature must be excruciatingly boring for the students involved. Such "educational" programs as those found in Cobb County represent the true degeneracy and bankruptcy of the American ruling class in a Cold War frenzy. This attempted ideological straitjacketing goes hand in hand with the attacks on the working class and blacks going on today in Reagan's USA. We socialists are committed to the fight for the third American revolution to finish the Civil War and break the chains of this insane retrograde system which now bans Charles Darwin and Nathaniel Hawthorne along with Karl Marx from the classroom. Down with the book burners! ■



Given a chance, Moral Majority would make even Michelangelo's works smooth where it counts.

Down with "Search and Seizure" Ruling!

Supreme Court Mugs Youth

On January 15, just days before Ronald Reagan's racist scab inauguration into his second term as president, the Supreme Court ruled that "reasonable" (according to whom?) searches of students by school officials were fully constitutional. In a case originating in Piscataway, New Jersey the Court has in effect placed students outside Fourth Amendment protection against unreasonable search and seizure. Now youth may be searched in school when officials feel "reasonable grounds" to suspect that they have committed an offense—against what is deliberately left vague. This ruling gives the Court's blessing to harassment, invasion of privacy and violation of civil rights of students which have already become commonplace in many schools across the country, particularly for minority youth. The schools, for years oppressive holding pens turning out functional illiterates, *are* jails—patrolled by cops armed with guns and metal detectors, with school officials unfettered by the niceties of constitutional law in their policing of students.

In 1980 a young woman was brought before the assistant vice principal of her New Jersey school for the "crime" of smoking (cigarettes) in the lavatory. The principal decided this was "reasonable" cause to search her handbag, where he discovered cigarettes, some rolling papers and evidence that the student might be dealing in marijuana. A New Jersey juvenile court put her on probation for a year, a conviction which was struck down by a federal court on the grounds that the search of the student's handbag was in violation of her rights and therefore the evidence was inadmissible in a court of law. But the Supreme Court reversed that decision. So smoking in the lavatory is "reasonable grounds" for a legal police search now! Dissenting in the Court's decision, Justice Stevens commented that "This standard will permit teachers and school administrators to search students when they suspect that the search will reveal evidence of even the most trivial school regulation or precatory guideline for students' behavior. For the Court, a search for curlers and sunglasses in order to enforce the school dress code is apparently just as important as a search for evidence of heroin addiction or violent gang activity." The arbitrary strictures of school codes against innocent acts like enjoying tobacco can be

used to harass and threaten students with charges of violation of the law! It is crucial to note as well that the "crime" for which the young woman was sentenced to probation is perfectly innocuous: marijuana is in no way a dangerous drug. We call for the complete legalization of the so-called "crimes without victims" like drug use and pornography.

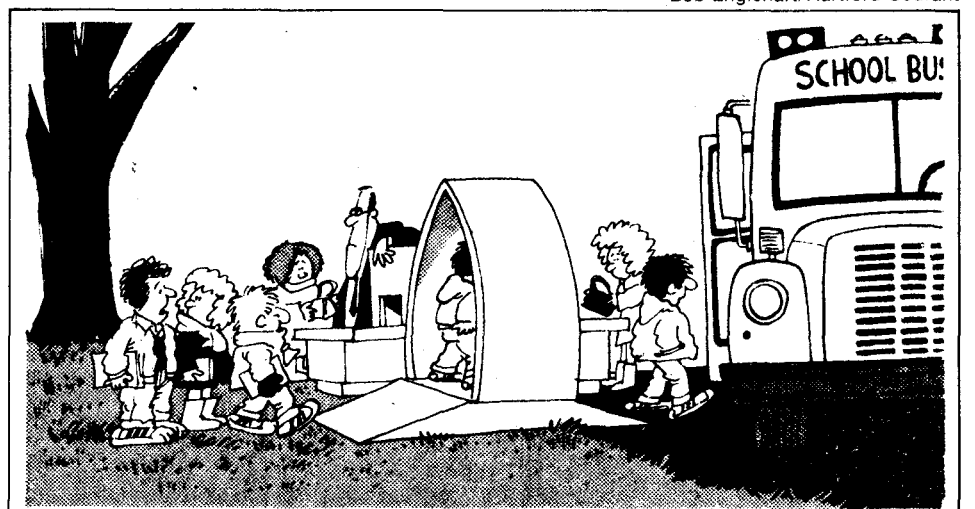
During his first term Ronald Reagan declared war on the youth. Minority youth now suffer from an unemployment rate even higher than that in the depths of the Great Depression—while Reagan steals lunches from schoolchildren to pay for his anti-Soviet war drive. Along with his Moral Majority netherthal friends, Reagan wants to regulate the everyday life of youth by enforcing such measures as prayer in the public schools and the Squeal Rule, which requires birth control facilities to notify the parents of young women receiving contraceptives. The School Prayer Amendment was barely defeated in Congress—there are at least a few Congressmen who remember that this country was nominally founded on a belief in religious freedom. The Squeal Rule was thrown out of court *seven times* before the Reagan administration, vowing to yet see it enforced, gave up for the time being. Then there is the drinking age bill, which will cut off federal funding for highways in states which do not have a legal drinking age of 21. Many states have set up roadblocks to harass drivers; happy hour has been declared illegal in Massachusetts! And now the Supreme Court has stripped youth of a basic constitutional protection which is supposed to be granted to every American.

It's all for Reagan's New America, where good little girls and boys stay home reading the Bible (TV is immoral, according to the Moral Majority and its ilk) and studying for ROTC exams. The end product, Reagan hopes, will be unquestioning conformists conditioned to accept that they have no rights. We wonder, will junior high Civics have to be abolished in order to prevent youth from learning about the Constitution? Reagan wants a generation of youth who avert their eyes from *Playboy* and fervently pray to god for the anti-Soviet holocaust Reagan's planning for his Star Wars weapons—good little "all-American type" clones who can dance and sing at the *next* inauguration. It's

Workers Vanguard Photo



Detroit, August 1983—Ford Rouge workers join SYL protest at Wayne State University against youth curfew.



"This is just to get on the bus. At school, we'll be strip-searched, fingerprinted and given denim work clothes with a number on it."

part of Reagan's plan for U.S. recovery from Vietnam Syndrome. The wholesale defeat of U.S. imperialism by the heroic Vietnamese revolutionaries substantially cooled support among the American population for further imperialist adventures. Reagan wants the entire country in step for his war plans; this is most crucial for the youth, who will be the cannon fodder in Reagan's war against "godless Communism."

Black Front Men Implement Reaganite Cop Harassment

Across the country police, school and city officials hailed the Supreme Court's new ruling. The "decision essentially affirmed a practice already common in many American schools," commented the *New York Times* (20 January). Even the putative liberals of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) failed to protest this blatant attack on students' basic democratic rights: ACLU legal director Burt Newborn said that "the special circumstances of the school setting require some tailoring of the Fourth Amendment to students" (*New York Times*, 20 January).

Big city mayors are stepping up police terror in the ghetto, all in the name of fighting crime. The Democratic mayors like Feinstein, Washington, Koch and Young have no program to combat the decrepit big-city conditions of rampant youth unemployment, mushrooming crime, deteriorating housing: all they can "do" is increase police repression against a population ever more disgusted with the conditions in which it has to live. "Let them eat cops" is their motto. Much of this cop harassment has been aimed at youth. In Chicago, the tragic death of a promising young basketball star in a gang-related shooting has been used as an excuse for Mayor Harold Washington and his cronies to institute a street curfew for youth 20 years and under. Such measures deprive youth of their ability to have a basic social existence and do *nothing* to stop crime. Now the cops have another reason to harass young people on the street, to arrest, beat and maybe murder. Remember Ron Settles, the high school football star who was murdered by cops in California for a minor traffic infraction!

In Detroit students regularly face such a high level of harassment in the schools that ACLU officials warned that the Supreme Court ruling might force the city to *cut back* its surveillance! Last December Mayor Coleman Young spearheaded the attacks on student rights with the announcement of a new program against youth crime. Young said police sweep teams:

"will descend without notice on any school in this city where we have reason to believe guns are in use and do a shakedown."

"We will search every student and every locker and any other orifice and opening that has to be searched. We will use electronic devices and whatever other means. That's a strong measure, but hard times call for hard measures. "I hope that what I'm saying does not violate anyone's civil libertarian sensibilities. The free ride is over. No more Mr. Nice Guy."

—Detroit Free Press,
28 December 1984

Detroit, ravaged by economic decay, has budgeted several hundreds of thousands of dollars for a 50 percent increase in school police forces. Young's STRESS III program began late last year with a series of surprise metal detector searches in the high schools, as well as some middle schools.

At Cody High School on December 5 students arriving to attend regular classes found rows of police cars lined up outside the school building. Forced into a single file line, students waited for an hour and a half to be searched, while guards wired shut first floor lockers. One boy was taken to the hospital after he passed out in the line. Two pocket penknives were found on the floors of the school during the search.

At Denby High School teachers were asked to assist the sweep team by popping out of classrooms to scan the halls for "loitering" students. A public announcement spouts the latest indoctrination chant: "You can be suspended for being in the hallways for no reason." At Finney High School ROTC students are assisting security guards in patrolling the halls.

City officials plan to establish a special police cadet unit, trained in spotting potential troublemakers in and around the school, while cop squad car patrols of school areas have been

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Young Spartacus

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

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Nine issues yearly; published monthly except December/January and June/July/August, by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7867 (Editorial, Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. Domestic subscriptions: \$2.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Young Spartacus*, Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 124

February 1985

Congratulations on SL/SYL Suit Against FBI

A Blow Against Racist Repression

Under the attorney general's 1983 Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorism, the FBI is directed to obliterate any distinction between political opposition to the government and "terrorism"—a set-up for the wholesale legal destruction of the left. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League sued against the application of these "terror" guidelines to our organizations and in November 1984 we won in a legal agreement the FBI's admission that Marxists are not terrorists. Central to our victory against the secret police was their change of definition of the SL/SYL: the FBI has now retracted its former set-up "definition" of us which maliciously attributed to us a conspiratorial putschism, and substituted a new one which defines us as exactly what we are—a Marxist political organization. This agreement represents the first successful direct legal challenge to the FBI guidelines and is rightly acknowledged by civil libertarians, unionists and fighters for black freedom as a blow against the new McCarthyism. (See "FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists," *Workers Vanguard* No. 368, 7 December 1984.)

It is particularly a victory for those committed to black liberation. Black history in this viciously racist society is a history of black resistance to oppression, and whenever that resistance has acquired the dimensions of a mass movement it has been savagely targeted by the ruling class. Thus the civil rights activism of the 1960s and 1970s was met by the FBI's murderous "Counterintelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) which targeted particularly the militant Black Panther Party for "neutralization" at the hands of the state. Liberals decry the "dirty tricks" aimed at harassing and smearing Martin Luther King, Jr. and indeed J. Edgar Hoover's obsession with "destroying" King is a case study in the pathological racism of the secret police. But the liberals ignore the militant nationalists who were the object of outright frame-up and assassination—the ultimate "disruption."

To this day, Panther leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt is fighting the FBI frame-up which has kept him in prison for 15 years—six of them in solitary confinement. Days after the pre-dawn raid in Chicago, an FBI-orchestrated police operation which murdered Panther leaders Mark Clark and Fred Hampton in their beds, a similar Gestapo-style attack was launched against the Los Angeles Panther headquarters. Pratt survived this massive "search and destroy" operation. Then he was set up and railroaded into prison for a murder he did not commit. Despite

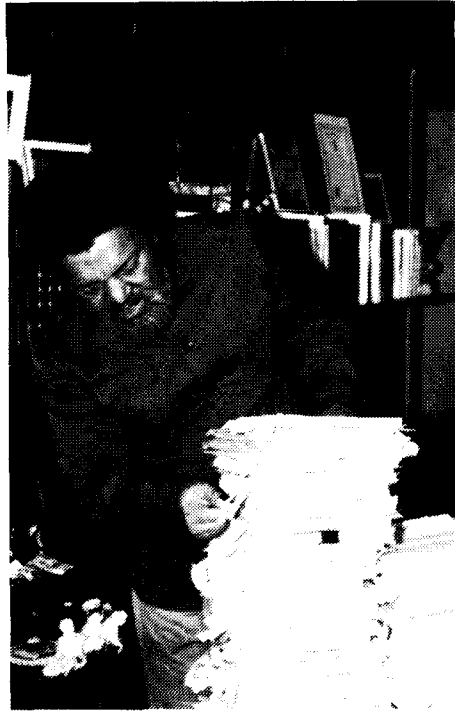
Spartacist Photo



Harlem, 1964—Spartacist editor James Robertson addresses Harlem Solidarity Committee rally.

overwhelming evidence that the FBI conspired to "get" Pratt—withholding evidence which would clear him of the murder charge and show that he was in Oakland when the murder in Southern California took place—a federal magistrate has recently cut short the evidentiary hearing on whether Pratt should get a new trial. The final decision is not yet in, but Pratt's treatment in the courts

Courtesy Robert F. Williams

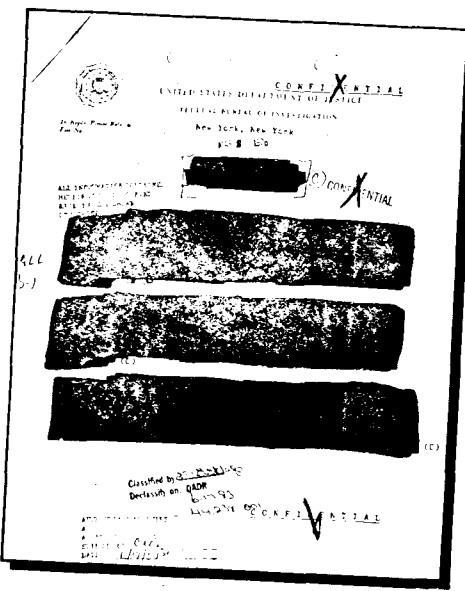


of this society is a monument to racist injustice meted out to those who challenge white capitalist rule.

As we noted when first launching our suit against the FBI—ask a surviving member of the Black Panthers what it means to be labeled a "terrorist" by this state. Below we print messages of congratulations on the outcome of the suit from prominent black activists, including Robert F. Williams—himself a victim of COINTELPRO. The courageous head of the Monroe, North Carolina chapter of the NAACP, Williams organized armed self-defense of the black population there against nightriding Klan terror. This made him an FBI target for "neutralization" and he was forced to flee the country in order to escape an FBI Pratt-style frame-up on a phony kidnapping rap in 1961.

For our part, what we can glean from the heavily censored and expurgated "files" released to the SL/SYL under the Freedom of Information Act is the FBI's frantic obsession with all Sparta-

cist activity on behalf of black freedom. In the South, our forthright defense of and support to Williams and others (such as the Deacons for Defense and Justice in Louisiana) who understood the necessity of armed self-defense for black people and civil rights workers provoked concerted FBI surveillance, infiltration and disruption. Our New Orleans local organization at one time

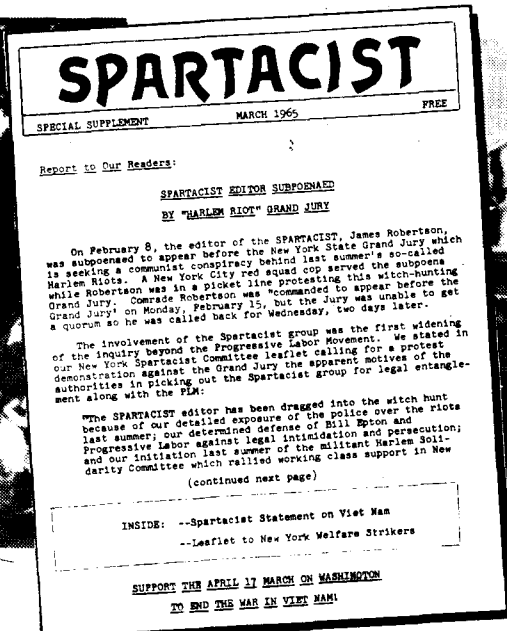


Robert F. Williams surveys FBI files on him (left). Exhibit A: Freedom of Information Act exercise in magic marker.

was infiltrated by no less than three agents—one of them reporting to the FBI—and subjected to witchhunting Dixie-style by the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities (a total farce from which no subpoenas to our members let alone charges against them resulted).

When in 1964 New York police rioted against the Harlem population, the Spartacists sought to organize working-class support for the embattled ghetto. Sweeping injunctions were passed against all those involved in any way with the Harlem Solidarity Committee, a united-front organization we initiated. A witchhunting grand jury, aimed primarily at Progressive Labor and its Harlem spokesman Bill Epton, subpoenaed *Spartacist* editor James Robertson as part of the overall attempt to "blame" the riots on a "red conspiracy." Not long after Harlem, the FBI instructed its field offices to intensify the hunt for communists in the civil rights movement, noting that, "we are in the midst of a social revolution with the racial movement as

Spartacist Photo



Spartacist calls to defend blacks against racist police violence.

its core" (Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*). When Chicago ghettos erupted the next summer in outrage over intolerable conditions, *Time* magazine carried an article containing a sinister example of FBI "disinformation" (20 August 1965):

"The FBI was investigating the origin of another, anonymous leaflet distributed in the area. 'After years of frame-ups, brutality and intimidation,' it said, 'the black people are throwing off the control of the same rulers who are making war on working people throughout the world—in Viet Nam, the Dominican Republic and the Congo.'"

There was nothing "anonymous" about the leaflet—as the cops and FBI knew well. As we wrote in an (unpublished) letter to *Time*:

"This leaflet was signed by the local Spartacist Committee, together with its mailing address and phone number. The leaflet was in no sense anonymous; it was part and parcel of our desire to help transform these spontaneous, leaderless upheavals into conscious political struggle for the social liberation of the Negro people."

Clearly the FBI intended to attribute sinister, clandestine, conspiratorial motives to our open defense of the embattled black ghetto populations. Thus, after Watts exploded that same summer our name prominently and falsely cropped up again in a nationally syndicated column datelined Los Angeles:

"Others said that the action was ultimately controlled by an organization with the sinister-sounding name of Spartacus [sic] a heretical Communist organization that seems to be present wherever there is serious trouble in big cities."

In its obsessive fear of communist-led black struggle, the FBI not only fantasized about "subversive" mentors pulling the strings of liberal-pacifist organizations such as M.L. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, but struck out murderously against the most militant expressions of black outrage. It is an unintended acknowledgment of the communist commitment to black liberation that the secret police saw the hand of (unfortunately all too few) reds behind every struggle for black rights.

In undertaking our suit against the FBI, we were under no misapprehension that the secret police have changed since Prussian agents harassed Karl Marx. We have no idea what interpretation the FBI gives to their agreement—we do know that their spying, harassment and deadly "disruption" of the left will continue despite the niceties of bourgeois "legality" at any given point. Our suit was launched in the conscious pursuit of our self-defense against the real "state-supported terrorism"—that of the U.S. state—and in so doing, we put ourselves in the vanguard of the fight for the civil liberties of everyone in this country.

That we have more or less uniquely been able to punch a hole in the state's "McCarthyism with a drawn gun" is inextricably linked to our fight outside the courts against the racist reaction which is a domestic reflection of Cold War II. It is no accident, as they say, that the SL/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington, D.C. successfully brought out 5,000 mostly black workers and youth on November 27, 1982—and stopped the damn Klan. We undertook that struggle in the same spirit of class-struggle defiance against racist Cold War II which guided our legal challenge to the FBI. And it evoked a response for the same reason—with any indication of a leadership willing to fight, a lot of angry and potentially powerful forces centered

The Hound Who Would Be Queen

"Me, Judy"

Just at the time the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League won a legal settlement forcing the FBI to concede that Marxists are not "terrorists" and accurately redefine the SL/SYL as a Marxist political party, the SYL went underground at San Francisco State University. We Marxists have an appreciation for contradiction, but there is more than the dialectic at work here. Spearheading the dirty work of banning Spartacist literature and Spartacist comrades is one Judy Moore (aka "Baby HUAC"), boss of SF State's Orwellian, anti-freedom, anti-homosexual Women's Center. Moore is a fitting head of this so-called "Women's Center" which came under scrutiny by the campus press last spring for anti-homosexual bigotry. When Liz Welles, a member of the Lesbian Gay Alliance, objected to Moore's bullying threats of violence against the SYL and testified on our behalf at the administration's star-chamber "hearing" last Decem-

ber, Moore responded with a vicious, threatening diatribe. Appalled by Moore's letter, Welles made it available to the SYL and sent copies as well to the acting director of the SF State Student Activities Office, Jeanne Wick, and to Dialo Reece, Associated Students vice president. Excerpts from Moore's infamous "letter to Liz" are printed below, complete with her threat to break up meetings of the gay students and her scornful dismissal of anyone's "oppression" other than her own.

Moore's allies in her crusade against communism (or anything else that "alienates" her) are the "oppressed" creatures of the SF State administration, its beefy white cops and the cesspool of pro-Democratic Party

"leftists" suffering miserably after their man Mondale bit the dust.

In their first communiqué, the Red Avengers of the Underground SYL put the thought police and junior-grade book burners on notice. "As for the female, doberman agents in the grip of anti-Soviet heat, they are going to have to face the just political rage of those driven underground. Beware of the Red Avengers!"

Baby HUAC & Co. tried everything from peddling pernicious lies of SYL "violence" to inventing a new form of "assault" called "your ideas are invading my space." Finally, a reborn Spanish Inquisition in the guise of the "Organizational Review Committee" met on December 6 to officially "ban" the SYL from SF State for the most

trivial violations of the University's bantustan regulations like sponsoring "unauthorized" rallies, distributing literature, etc., ad nauseam. But for Judy Moore, banning is not enough! True to her name, "Baby HUAC" is now menacing students whose only "crime" was to oppose the McCarthyite witchhunt of the SYL.

In willful mockery of the beansprout totalitarians, the Red Avengers adopted beansprout underground tactics, including counter-communiqué written in a voice from the Doberie. But Judy Moore has outdone in her own words any spoof we could ever have written. What emerges from her poison pen letter is a profile of a bigoted, threatening, powerless and power-hungry, "me"-generation egomaniac; *the hound who would be queen*. It's not a pretty picture, but it is the *real* Judy Moore.

Editor's note: In the interest of authenticity, J. Moore's violence to the English language has been preserved.

12-10-84

Dear Liz,

[The "Director" and Her Burly Friends]

"Ist, as Director of the ♀ Center I had a right to choose what type of material would be involved in any event we sponsor. All non campaign literature type material was irrelevant to the event. If any other than Sparts stuff was out it was their fault..."

"Tell you what Liz the next time you have an event I'll bring some of my burly friends from East Oakland to scream racism while you try to talk about Lesbian motherhood. These thugs will be the white mans greatest nightmare, and when they are through, they'll be yours too."

["This is Getting Personal"]

"The next 4 days bust loose into hell! You see people wearing pig masks and devil masks. One is dressed to be you. You read another flyer. Now you're BABY HUAC (It took me 3 days to find out what HUAC was) The

obvious insult is to call me Baby Huey (Nasty) High school but it still hurts. This is getting personal. The Women become *Wombats*. You walk through campus to have someone in a groucho nose call you Lady Doberman. You are standing with your classmates with them throwing flyers in *their* faces... In all this gibberish is some shit about helping the Black MASSES. I'm Black why are they Fucking with me. Another flyer. Now your sex life and professional life as a student is up for public scrutiny Am I a public figure? A fight ensues with one of your staff. Another thinks of quitting."

["Violent Stuff"]

"DPS [Campus Security] talks freedom of speech. Student Activities, & Student Union talk about policies that don't work. No one will help you. The Center has stopped functioning in any real sense. You had no idea this would happen. Were is your back-up! ... What does the law say? Oh don't do any of that violent stuff or you be arrested? What? You come to the

Center to see Viva Vanessa written on the door of the Center. How in the fuck did you expect me to react..."

["I'm the Expert!"]

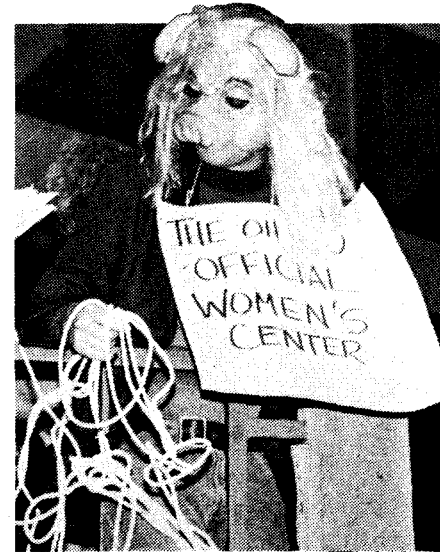
"The only difference between them and the KKK is their colors are RED instead of White they allow black members (FEW-TOKENITES)."

"You say you understand oppression because you are a lesbian. You were not born that way. When you walk into a room no one knows who you sleep with. More importantly you made the CHOICE. You knew what to expect."

"You made the judgement to fight for your right to be a lesbian. Or to be white. You chose your white side. You are in no position to decide or judge what is harrassment to *me* only I can! I'm the expert!"

["ME-JUDY!"]

"I wondered if it was worth fighting and killing myself with hard work, and battles (of every conceivable type). It is! Because for one month a group of



Young Spartacus Photo

people who didn't know ME—JUDY denied me my right to speak, move freely on campus, my peace of mind & body, my *dignity* and my respect as JUDY MOORE.... There is a war going on and when your life and sanity are on the line you only want those on your side that you can trust."

Judy

on the black working class are ready and eager.

The struggle for legality is precious to us—not least because we are determined to build a heavily black-led party to lead a proletarian revolution, which is the only means for fulfilling the Civil War's promise of black emancipation, a promise betrayed by the bourgeoisie. In the meantime, we will do everything possible to prevent those racist, capitalist forces—in the state and on their terrorist "fringes"—from blowing us away, faceless, nameless victims in the night. As we wrote in the preface to *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 (revised edition),

"Unlike chattel slavery, wage slavery has placed in the hands of black workers the objective conditions for successful revolt. But this revolt will be successful only if it takes as its target the system of class exploitation, the common enemy of black and white workers.... As black workers, the most combative element within the U.S. working class, are won to the cause and party of proletarian revolution, they will be in the front ranks of this class-struggle leadership. And it will be these black proletarian fighters who will write the finest pages of 'black history'—the struggle to smash racist, imperialist America and open the road to real freedom for all mankind."

Dissenting Voices Must Not Be Silenced

A victory for freedom is a victory for the freedom of all of us. It is especially important that radically dissenting voices should not be silenced and that smear tactics should not be successfully

employed to crush opposition. A successful fight for democratic rights deserves to be saluted: we can build fresh new victories on each success.

Professor Dennis Brutus
South African exile and
former political prisoner

Structured Outrage

The beauty of a free society is inextricably connected with the rights of its citizens to speak out and to assemble. When government can encroach upon these rights without triggering a response of outrage and rebuke among its populace, freedom becomes a meaningless buzz word designed to appeal to the ethos of a mindless majority. The Spartacist League's suit was structured outrage and should serve as a signpost, a warning of the dangers to freedom which still threaten us!

Sandra C. Ruffin
President, Harvard Black
Law Students Association*

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

Turn Back Government Subversion of People's Rights

This settlement represents a victory. Any type of victory against the government in the current environment is great. The Spartacist lawsuit also brought out an admission on the part of the FBI that they are carrying out a lot of activity that is illegal. Otherwise they wouldn't have made the settlement.

This victory, even a minimal one against the government, is cause for celebration. Hopefully it will inspire a new push and new drive to turn back the true subversive force in this country. Most certainly the government's "terrorist" drive and harassment of blacks and left groups is really action to subvert the constitutional and human rights of the people of this country.

Robert F. Williams
Author of *Negroes With Guns*

For Revolutionary Reconstruction of America

The settlement on your case against the F.B.I. on November 30, 1984 was a great victory for the people who know that a revolutionary reconstruction of American society is on the order of the day.

When I forecast on channel 6 in Philadelphia at the beginning of the Reagan Administration that he would prove to be the American fascist leader in Brooks Brothers clothes, the statement was blasted in many corners as too extreme. However, four (4) years later it has become clear that with the vicious and unprincipled backing of his "Moral Majority," Reagan is developing his program to impose a specifically American form of fascism in this country.

His first weapon was to charge anyone advocating fundamental change with being a terrorist. With this technique, the F.B.I. expects to have the United States Supreme Court reverse course and hold that any advocacy of

revolutionary means is ipso facto terrorism and unprotected by the First Amendment.

Your settlement is the first victory in this war. Congratulations!

Sincerely,
Conrad J. Lynn
Civil rights attorney

Congratulations on Your Victory

Congratulations on your victory over the Reagan so-called "anti-terrorist" guidelines. I enclose a modest check toward your litigation expenses.

Sincerely,
Vern Countryman
Harvard Law School

FBI Destroyed the Black Panthers

I want to offer my support to the Spartacist League in its successful legal victory against the F.B.I. This is a victory for all of us who are concerned about the growing threat to civil liberties and democratic rights, particularly as the Reagan administration begins its second term.

We who remember the tribulations that accompanied McCarthyism, who remember the lives shattered and destroyed by F.B.I. "dirty tricks," who recall the disruption of civil rights organizations and virtual destruction of groups like the Black Panther Party,

continued on page 11

Malcolm X Speaks to Mississippi Youth

STAND UP FOR YOUR RIGHTS!

Leroy Lucas

Malcolm X, who was assassinated 20 years ago this month, was at once the most hated and most admired black man of his time. He was hated by the racist rulers of this country and their Uncle Tom flunkys. He was admired by fighters for social justice the world over. Malcolm's extraordinary personality—his dignity and militancy, his intellectual honesty and moral courage—inspired a generation of young black militants.

We reprint below a speech given by Malcolm in December 1964 to a delegation of young civil rights workers from McComb, Mississippi. Their visit to Harlem was sponsored by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the most militant wing of the Southern civil rights movement.

Today's youth may not appreciate the explosive impact of Malcolm's attacks on Martin Luther King's turn-the-other-cheek pacifism in this period of mass black struggle. In upholding the right of black people to defend themselves against the terrorists of the Klan and White Citizens Councils, Malcolm was cutting away at the chains which bound the civil rights movement to the American ruling class. King and the other "respectable" black leaders—the "Big Six," as Malcolm called them—appealed to the "moral consciousness" of the Northern liberal establishment, which controlled the federal government, to move against Jim Crow in the South. King told black people to show the "good white massa" in Washington that blacks were peaceable folk who would answer the racists' beatings and bombings with Christian love and forgiveness. This infuriated Malcolm. It was degrading and dangerous, like the sheep reminding the wolf when it's time for dinner.

The white power structure insisted that black activists be nonviolent, or else. Any black man who stood up for the democratic right of self-defense was labeled a "dangerous extremist" and targeted for destruction. When Robert F. Williams, a former black Marine, organized armed defense for civil rights workers in Monroe, North Carolina, the FBI framed him up on capital charges. Williams fled to Castro's Cuba, where he was granted political asylum.

The speech reprinted below took



SYL Celebrates Black History Month

place at a critical point in the development of both Malcolm and the SNCC militants. Malcolm had broken with Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam some months earlier and was seeking to directly influence the young civil rights fighters. Freeing himself in part from religious sectarianism, he was wrestling with the Herculean task of black

liberation in racist, capitalist America.

For their part, the SNCC militants were breaking from liberal pacifism. Their own bitter experience had convinced them that the federal government, under the liberal Democrats Kennedy and Johnson, would *not* protect blacks from racist terrorists, but would protect racists from black anger. In 1963

Kennedy sent federal marshals into Birmingham, Alabama only *after* the black masses had junked King's nonviolent philosophy and fought back against the racists with sticks, rocks, knives and bottles.

By 1964 a majority of SNCC no longer believed in nonviolence as a moral principle. Many never had. But they were as yet unwilling to renounce liberal respectability and publicly attack King, whom they privately and derisively dubbed "De Lawd." It was Malcolm X who said loud and clear what many civil rights militants were thinking and saying privately. In this way Malcolm inspired young blacks to stand up for their beliefs in defiance of liberal public opinion. He understood that blacks never gained anything by appealing to the "moral consciousness" of their white rulers.

Malcolm had a gut-level sense of racist American society. He saw through American bourgeois politicians—liberal and right-wing, black and white—with almost x-ray vision. But he had considerable illusions in the ruling elites of the newly independent states of Asia and especially Africa, and in the moral authority of the United Nations. He believed that these states were becoming powerful enemies of U.S. imperialism and would use that power on behalf of American blacks. Here Malcolm's self-taught conceptions and misconceptions about world politics, his impressionism and impressionability played him false. Much of his energy in the last year of his life was devoted to the campaign of his Organization of Afro-American Unity—a small faction—and clique-ridden grouping that never really got off the ground—to pressuring the independent black African states to condemn the U.S. for racism before the UN. As if this collection of bloodthirsty militarists, nationalist demagogues and tribal chiefs *dependent* for their survival upon American might and military aid would so affront their imperialist overlord in Washington! Today, the very idea sounds like a bad joke. At the time, though, Malcolm's view was not unlike the basic worldview of New Left radicals of the early '60s, both black and white, who impressionistically saw a rising tide of national liberation struggles beginning to overwhelm U.S. imperialism. And Malcolm did not live to see the spectacle of petty despots of black Africa making alliances with racist South Africa against anti-apartheid fighters.

Malcolm X was a fighter for social justice, but he was not a Marxist. In the last period of his life he did come to recognize that there were genuinely anti-racist whites and he welcomed their efforts, something that prompted both liberals and fake-leftists to try to claim him as their own after his death. Malcolm X remained intransigent in his denunciation of *all wings* of the American ruling class, and particularly of the Democratic Party con game. His failure to recognize *class struggle* as the progressive motor force of history was largely what led him to seek his main allies outside of American society.

The civil rights movement tried to confront the unfinished business of the Civil War. Black chattel slaves had been emancipated only to be stripped of political rights and economically subjugated. The road to black freedom, to finishing the Civil War, requires the



"Either party that you align yourself with is suicide. Because both parties are criminal. Both parties are responsible for the criminal condition that exists" (Malcolm X at the Audubon, 1964). Above, SNCC leader John Lewis addresses rent strike rally in Harlem, 1964.

Earl Grant

establishment of working-class rule. Blacks are still segregated at the bottom of American society, but are integrated into its economy, especially in the strategic sectors of the industrial proletariat. It is the strategic weight of black workers in the labor movement which gives them the potential leverage to take the lead in toppling the entire racist, capitalist system. What is needed to release and direct that power is the construction of a racially integrated communist vanguard party. Shortly after Malcolm was killed we wrote:

"...such leadership will eventually be forthcoming. This is a statistical as well as a social certainty. This leadership, building on the experience of others such as Malcolm, and emancipated from his religiosity, will build a movement in which the black masses and their allies can lead the third great American revolution. Then Malcolm X will be remembered by black and white alike as a heroic and tragic figure in a dark period of our common history."
—*Spartacist* No. 4,
May-June 1965

**EXCERPTED FROM
MALCOLM X SPEAKS
GROVE PRESS (1966)**

One of the first things I think young people, especially nowadays, should learn is how to see for yourself and listen for yourself and think for yourself. Then you can come to an intelligent decision for yourself. If you form the habit of going by what you hear others say about someone, or going by what others think about someone, instead of searching that thing out for yourself and seeing for yourself, you will be walking west when you think you're going east, and you will be walking east when you think you're going west. This generation, especially of our people, has a burden, more so than any other time in history. The most important thing that we can learn to do today is think for ourselves.

It's good to keep wide-open ears and listen to what everybody else has to say, but when you come to make a decision, you have to weigh all of what you've heard on its own, and place it where it belongs, and come to a decision for yourself; you'll never regret it. But if you form the habit of taking what someone else says about a thing without checking it out for yourself, you'll find that other people will have you hating your friends and loving your enemies. This is one of the things that our people are beginning to learn today—that it is very important to think out a situation for yourself. If you don't do it, you'll always be maneuvered into a situation where you are never fighting your actual enemies, where you will find yourself fighting your own self.

I think our people in this country are the best examples of that. Many of us want to be nonviolent and we talk very loudly, you know, about being nonviolent. Here in Harlem, where there are probably more black people concentrated than any place in the world, some talk that nonviolent talk too. But we find that they aren't nonviolent with each other. You can go out to Harlem Hospital, where there are more black patients than any hospital in the world, and see them going in there all cut up and shot up and busted up where they got violent with each other.

My experience has been that in many instances where you find Negroes talking about nonviolence, they are not nonviolent with each other, and they're not loving with each other, or forgiving with each other. Usually when they say they're nonviolent, they mean they're nonviolent with somebody else. I think you understand what I mean. They are nonviolent with the enemy. A person can come to your home, and if he's white and wants to heap some kind of brutality on you, you're nonviolent; or he can come to take your father and put a rope around his neck, and you're nonviolent. But if another Negro just



Don McCullin



LeBeck/Black Star

Black GI near Saigon (left); New York anti-Vietnam War protest, April 1967. Malcolm X said: "they want to...send you to Saigon" but at home you have to "discuss how you're going to get a right to...vote without being murdered."

stomps his foot, you'll rumble with him in a minute. Which shows you that there's an inconsistency there.

I myself would go for nonviolence if it was consistent, if everybody was going to be nonviolent all the time. I'd say, okay, let's get with it, we'll all be nonviolent. But I don't go along with any kind of nonviolence unless everybody's going to be nonviolent. If they make the Ku Klux Klan nonviolent, I'll be nonviolent. If they make the White Citizens Council nonviolent, I'll be nonviolent. But as long as you've got somebody else not being nonviolent, I don't want anybody coming to me talking any nonviolent talk. I don't think it is fair to tell our people to be nonviolent unless someone is out there making the Klan and the Citizens Council and these other groups also be nonviolent....

If the leaders of the nonviolent movement can go into the white community and teach nonviolence, good. I'd go along with that. But as long as I see them teaching nonviolence only in the black community, we can't go along with that. We believe in equality, and equality means that you have to put the same thing over here that you put over there. And if black people alone are going to be the ones who are nonviolent, then it's not fair. We throw ourselves off guard. In fact, we disarm ourselves and make ourselves defenseless....

The Organization of Afro-American Unity is a non-religious group of black people who believe that the problems confronting our people in this country need to be re-analyzed and a new approach devised toward trying to get a solution. Studying the problem, we recall that prior to 1939 all of our people, in the North, South, East and West, no matter how much education we had, were segregated. We were segregated in the North just as much as we were segregated in the South. Even now there's as much segregation in the North as there is in the South. There's some worse segregation right here in New York City than there is in McComb, Mississippi; but up here they're subtle and tricky and deceitful, and they make you think you've got it made when you haven't even begun to make it yet.

Prior to 1939, our people were in a very menial position or condition. Most of us were waiters and porters and bellhops and janitors and waitresses and things of that sort. It was not until war was declared with Germany, and America became involved in a manpower shortage in regards to her factories plus her army, that the black man in this country was permitted to make a few strides forward. It was never out of some

kind of moral enlightenment or moral awareness on the part of Uncle Sam. Uncle Sam only let the black man take a step forward when he himself had his back to the wall.

In Michigan, where I was brought up at that time, I recall that the best jobs in the city for blacks were waiters out at the country club. In those days if you had a job waiting table in the country club, you had it made. Or if you had a job at the State House. Having a job at the State House didn't mean that you were a clerk or something of that sort; you had a shoeshine stand at the State House. Just by being there you could be around all those big-shot politicians—that made you a big-shot Negro. You were shining shoes, but you were a big-shot Negro because you were around big-shot white people and you could bend their ear and get up next to them. And oftentimes you were chosen by them to be the voice of the Negro community.

Around that time, 1939 or '40 or '41, they weren't drafting Negroes in the

same type we have today. When the Negro leaders saw all the white fellows being drafted and taken into the army and dying on the battlefield, and no Negroes were dying because they weren't being drafted, the Negro leaders came up and said, "We've got to die too. We want to be drafted too, and we demand that you take us in there and let us die for our country too." That was what the Negro leaders did back in 1940, I remember. A. Philip Randolph was one of the leading Negroes in those days who said it, and he's one of the Big Six right now; and this is why he's one of the Big Six.

So they started drafting Negro soldiers then, and started letting Negroes get into the navy. But not until Hitler and Tojo and the foreign powers were strong enough to put pressure on this country, so that it had its back to the wall and needed us, [did] they let us work in factories. Up until that time we couldn't work in the factories; I'm talking about the North as well as the South. And when they let us work in the factories, at first they let us in only as janitors. After a year or so passed by, they let us work on machines. We became machinists, got a little more skill. If we got a little more skill, we made a little more money, which enabled us to live in a little better neighborhood. When we lived in a little better neighborhood, we went to a little better school, got a little better education and could come out and get a little better job. So the cycle was broken somewhat.

But the cycle was not broken out of some kind of sense of moral responsibility on the part of the government. No, the only time that cycle was broken even to a degree was when world pressure was brought to bear on the United States government. They didn't look at us as human beings—they just put us into their system and let us advance a little bit farther because it served their interests....

At the end of the war with Germany and Japan, then Joe Stalin and Communist Russia were a threat. During that period we made a little more headway. Now the point that I'm making is this: Never at any time in the history of our



Price/National Guardian

SNCC member at work. SNCC militants agreed with Malcolm X that "If they make the Ku Klux Klan nonviolent, I'll be nonviolent."

army or the navy. A Negro couldn't join the navy in 1940 or '41. They wouldn't take a black man in the navy except to make him a cook. He couldn't just go and join the navy, and I don't think he could just go and join the army. They weren't drafting him when the war first started. This is what they thought of you and me in those days. For one thing, they didn't trust us; they feared that if they put us in the army and trained us in how to use rifles and other things, we might shoot at some targets that they hadn't picked out. And we would have. Any thinking man knows what target to shoot at. If a man has to have someone else to choose his target, then he isn't thinking for himself—they're doing the thinking for him.

The Negro leaders in those days were

people in this country have we made advances or progress in any way based upon the internal good will of this country. We have made advancement in this country only when this country was under pressure from forces above and beyond its control. The internal moral consciousness of this country is bankrupt. It hasn't existed since they first brought us over here and made slaves out of us....

In studying the process of this so-called progress during the past twenty years, we of the Organization of Afro-American Unity realized that the only time the black man in this country is given any kind of recognition, or even listened to, is when America is afraid of outside pressure, or when she's afraid of

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Stand Up for Your Rights...

(continued from page 7)

her image abroad. So we saw that it was necessary to expand the problem and the struggle of the black man in this country until it went above and beyond the jurisdiction of the United States....

I was fortunate enough to be able to take a tour of the African continent during the summer. I went to Egypt, then to Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea,

mental level and showed interest in the problem of black people in this country, they wouldn't be rebuffed.

And today you'll find in the United Nations, and it's not an accident, that every time the Congo question or anything on the African continent is being debated, they couple it with what is going on, or what is happening to you and me, in Mississippi and Alabama and these other places. In my opinion, the greatest accomplishment that was made in the struggle of the black man in America in 1964 toward some kind of real progress was the successful linking together of our problem with the African problem, or making our problem a world problem. Because now,

Uzzle/Magnum



For black population, the "American Dream" is a living nightmare.

Liberia and Algeria. I found, while I was traveling on the African continent, I had already detected it in May, that someone had very shrewdly planted the seed of division on this continent to make the Africans not show genuine concern with our problem, just as they plant seeds in your and my minds so that we won't show concern with the African problem....

I also found that in many of these African countries the head of state is genuinely concerned with the problem of the black man in this country; but many of them thought if they opened their mouths and voiced their concern that they would be insulted by the American Negro leaders. Because one head of state in Asia voiced his support of the civil-rights struggle [in 1963] and a couple of the Big Six had the audacity to slap his face and say they weren't interested in that kind of help—which in my opinion is asinine. So the African leaders only had to be convinced that if they took an open stand at the govern-

whenever anything happens to you in Mississippi, it's not just a case of somebody in Alabama getting indignant, or somebody in New York getting indignant. The same repercussions that you see all over the world when an imperialist or foreign power interferes in some section of Africa—you see repercussions, you see the embassies being bombed and burned and overturned—nowadays, when something happens to black people in Mississippi, you'll see the same repercussions all over the world....

I think in 1965, whether you like it, or I like it, or they like it, or not, you will see that there is a generation of black people becoming mature to the point where they feel that they have no more business being asked to take a peaceful approach than anybody else takes, unless everybody's going to take a peaceful approach.

So we here in the Organization of Afro-American Unity are with the struggle in Mississippi one thousand per

cent. We're with the efforts to register our people in Mississippi to vote one thousand per cent. But we do not go along with anybody telling us to help nonviolently. We think that if the government says that Negroes have a right to vote, and then some Negroes come out to vote, and some kind of Ku Klux Klan is going to put them in the river, and the government doesn't do anything about it, it's time for us to organize and band together and equip ourselves and qualify ourselves to protect ourselves. And once you can protect yourself, you don't have to worry about being hurt....

If you don't have enough people down there to do it, we'll come down there and help you do it. Because we're tired of this old runaround that our people have been given in this country. For a long time they accused me of not getting involved in politics. They should've been glad I didn't get involved in politics, because anything I get in, I'm in it all the way. If they say we don't take part in the Mississippi struggle, we will organize brothers here in New York who know how to handle these kind of affairs, and they'll slip into Mississippi like Jesus slipped into Jerusalem.

That doesn't mean we're against white people, but we sure are against the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils; and anything that looks like it's against us, we're against it. Excuse me for raising my voice, but this thing, you know, gets me upset. Imagine that—a country that's supposed to be a democracy, supposed to be for freedom and all of that kind of stuff when they want to draft you and put you in the army and send you to Saigon to fight for them—and then you've got to turn around and all night long discuss how you're going to just get a right to register and vote without being murdered. Why, that's the most hypocritical government since the world began!...

I hope you don't think I'm trying to incite you. Just look here: Look at yourselves. Some of you are teen-agers, students. How do you think I feel—and I belong to a generation ahead of you—how do you think I feel to have to tell you, "We, my generation, sat around like a knot on a wall while the whole world was fighting for its human rights—and you've got to be born into a society where you still have that same fight." What did we do, who preceded you? I'll tell you what we did: Nothing. And don't you make the same mistake we made....

You get freedom by letting your



Washington, D.C., November 27, 1982: Cops confront Labor/Black Mobilization. Anti-racists won the day, routing Klan.

enemy know that you'll do anything to get your freedom; then you'll get it. It's the only way you'll get it. When you get that kind of attitude, they'll label you as a "crazy Negro," or they'll call you a "crazy nigger"—they don't say Negro. Or they'll call you an extremist or a subversive, or seditious, or a red or a radical. But when you stay radical long enough, and get enough people to be like you, you'll get your freedom....

So don't you run around here trying to make friends with somebody who's depriving you of your rights. They're not your friends, no, they're your enemies. Treat them like that and fight them, and you'll get your freedom; and after you get your freedom, your enemy will respect you....

I want to thank all of you for taking the time to come to Harlem and especially here. I hope that you've gotten a better understanding about me. I put it to you just as plain as I know how to put it; there's no interpretation necessary. And I want you to know that we're not in [any] way trying to advocate any kind of indiscriminate, unintelligent action. Any kind of action that you are ever involved in that's designed to protect the lives and property of our mistreated people in this country, we're with you one thousand per cent. And if you don't feel you're qualified to do it, we have some brothers who will slip in, as I said earlier, and help train you and show you how to equip yourself and let you know how to deal with the man who deals with you.... ■

Supreme Court Mugs Youth...

(continued from page 3)

stepped, up. The city plans to sue for damages parents of students caught with handguns in school. And Young has announced intentions to build more prisons, to hold 4,000 more inmates, right inside the city so that those who don't behave in the high school holding pens can take a short paddy wagon ride to newly furnished prison cells and

graduate to a higher level of terror.

Young's harassment campaign is being conducted in the name of a law-and-order crackdown on youth crime in Detroit. Already in 1983 Young's cops began enforcing a martial law style curfew for youth under 18; hundreds of youth were arrested for being outside their homes after 10:00 p.m. on weeknights and 11:00 p.m. on weekends. In 1984 more than 220 school-age children were shot; at least 19 of them died. It's an undeniable and horrible truth that levels of crime and delinquency, as well as drug addiction and other symptoms of despair, are skyrocketing in Detroit

and other cities like New York and Chicago where minority youth see no future for themselves. Seventy-one percent of black youth in Detroit have no jobs, while many have simply given up the hope of obtaining an education in the wretched schools. The options for survival get slimmer as Reagan's war budget fattens: gang life, unemployment and cheese lines, the army or jail. In Detroit \$2,670 is spent per student per year in the schools, while the state of Michigan spends \$13,000 per year on each prison inmate! It's little wonder that faced with the unbearable oppression of ghetto life that some youth will become criminals, joining the dregs of society that prey upon black and working-class people.

At the same time that it is recognized that crime is on the upsurge in Detroit, the City Council wants to strip the city's population of its ability to defend itself against criminals by passing a gun control law. Young, a long-time opponent of gun control, is considering at the very least a crackdown on "unregistered" guns, while Chief Assistant Prosecutor Elliott Hall wants to bar anyone under 27 from gun ownership. The right to bear arms is a fundamental right of self-defense in this society of fear and gangsterism. Down with Detroit's gun control ordinances!

Certainly the police are not going to

defend blacks and workers against criminals. When they're not busy terrorizing youth in the schools, shooting turnstile jumpers and graffiti artists or harassing "loiterers" in the video arcades, the cops are going about their real business: protecting private property. Ultimately police defend not innocent citizens from crime but the ruling class from the workers, to maintain the oppressive status quo which breeds violent crime.

Many students and teachers, sick to death of crime in the schools, have greeted the Supreme Court ruling with hope. But stepped up cop harassment will not stop crime; it will only increase persecution of black and minority youth who already have too many obstacles in the way of obtaining a decent education. The only way to get rid of terror in the schools and on the streets is to build a workers party to fight for socialist revolution. Youth must join forces with the working class to fight for a decent future: in Detroit students should look to the power of the heavily black organized working class, under a class-struggle leadership, to fight for an integrated, quality education for all, including higher education. Only a socialist revolution will form a society where everyone has a job and education and health care are free. Fight for a future under socialism! Join the SYL! ■

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Resignation from Chicago PL/InCAR

"Flag of Communism Says Spartacist!"

We print below the resignation statement of Mark D. from the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR), liberal front group of the anti-Soviet Stalinist Progressive Labor Party (PL). A black student at the University of Illinois-Chicago (Circle) campus, Mark outlines his reasons for breaking with PL/InCAR in favor of the revolutionary Trotskyist program of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League.

January 8, 1985

Dear Members of PL/InCAR:

With the events of the past couple of months, I find it impossible and contradictory to my current beliefs to maintain my membership in InCAR and affiliations with PL. However, I feel a deep need to let my reasons for leaving PL be known to my comrades who to my great regret still belong to that organization, not only to develop an understanding but to protect them from false explanations for my departure—explanations which may resemble the truth as little as Stalin resembled a fighter for a world-wide workers revolution. My reasons for terminating my membership are the following.

I disagree with the concept of communism directly after a workers revolution. Communism can only be reached with the elimination of scarcity. This can only be done with the development of the agriculturally and industrially backward regions of the world, not simply by the equal sharing of poverty. The main lesson to be learned from the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian Revolution is the necessity for world socialist revolution. The Soviet Communist Party became defunct as a fighter for world socialism when Stalin

Blacks, Gays, Jews, Minorities — Nazis Want to Destroy Us & Ours!
STOP THEM!
7 Committee Against the Nazis



PL boycotted SL-initiated demonstration which stopped Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day in Chicago, 27 June 1982. PL's Challenge (7 July 1982) called gays and Nazis flip sides of the same coin!

succeeded in imposing the theory of "socialism in one country," for his own corrupt, bureaucratic reasons. PL's distorted view of history does not lead them to this obvious conclusion.

Genuine Communists, from Marx to Lenin and Trotsky, maintain that there must be a transition—the dictatorship of the proletariat—between capitalism and communism. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the vanguard party politically leads the masses on the basis of democratic soviets, overcoming material scarcity, the resistance of the defeated capitalists and the influence of bourgeois ideology among the masses themselves. PL wishes me to believe that the masses would simply toss aside their bourgeois ideologies all at once, head straight into communism and live happily ever after. I find this hard to believe coming from PL, who themselves have already capitulated to bourgeois pressure with their absurd condemnation of

the Soviet Union.

PL feels that the Soviet Union is "capitalist" and therefore not worth defending. PL fails to recognize the enormous gains made by the October Revolution. When considering PL's line on the Soviet Union, one must ask the question: how could a workers state convert back to capitalism without a violent counterrevolution? It goes without saying that if this were possible then a reformist movement in the Soviet Union could convert it from "capitalism" back to a workers state, which is of course ridiculous. This concept contradicts basic Marxism on two major counts. First, if a peaceful counterrevolution has taken place in the Soviet Union, logic has it there could be a peaceful revolution against capitalism. Secondly, Marx held that a social revolution can only be accomplished by a change in property relations. But the property relations in the Soviet Union established by the October Revolution remain the same, in spite of the bureaucratization. Therefore, according to Marxist materialism the Soviet Union is not capitalist. It is a bureaucratically degenerated workers state which must be defended against U.S. imperialism, and part of that defense is the call for workers political revolution to overthrow the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy.

Because of PL's ridiculous position on the Soviet Union, it does not recognize the need to defend anti-imperialist struggles which obtain aid from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is the only military power on the

face of the earth which can check U.S. imperialism. If anti-imperialist strugglers cannot turn to the Soviet Union for some degree of military aid, then to whom do they turn? The answer of course is no one. PL puts them at the mercy of the imperialists and says, well at least they stood on their morals. With this backward line PLers dare to call themselves internationalist. How can you be an international revolutionary when your policies eliminate the chances of progressive revolutions from defending themselves? In order to defeat imperialism the masses need weapons. Without them they cannot win. If you don't support them arming themselves, then you should not support them at all. You are denying them their basic right to defend themselves by any means available to them. I've yet to hear of an F-16 being downed by a spear.

I also disagree with the fashion PL has chosen to fight racism. PL's tactics are basically the following: posturing, suicide raids, or absolutely nothing of substance. PL is neglecting the one force which has the power to stop racist violence in its tracks, and that force is the working class. On November 27, 1982, the Klan planned to march on the predominantly black capital of Washington, D.C. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League initiated the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan. Over 70 union leaders, exec boards and locals endorsed and distributed the call to action. 200,000 leaflets were distributed in all. When the 27th finally came the Spartacist League had organized a force 5,000-strong with hearts set on meeting and stopping the Klan. The overwhelming majority were from the black communities and working class. To sum up the day, the Klan did not march. While the organized workers were on one side of the street, PL was on the other side with its few members walking around in a circle. This action by PL shows total bankruptcy as a significant fighter against racism. The conduct of this sectarian organization shows its total lack of effectiveness in dealing with the working class. PL itself admitted that it did not have a base in the working class—it did not have one then and it does not have one now. The Spartacist League saw the necessity of a united front in order to stop the Klan, and it worked.

I call on all members of PL/InCAR who truly want to walk under the flag of revolutionary communism, anti-imperialism and anti-fascism to analyze closely. You will soon see that that flag also has the Spartacist League written on it.

It is for these important disagreements that I can no longer remain a member of InCAR. This resignation is effective immediately.

Sincerely,
Mark D.
InCAR Steering Committee
University of Illinois-Chicago

Dig Deep for the Miners!

For almost a year, striking British miners have waged a courageous struggle against the Tory government of "Iron Lady" Margaret Thatcher. The miners have stood firm against great odds and their battle has been widely backed by others under Thatcher's iron heel—trade unionists, black and Asian minorities, Irish workers and students.

Thatcher's Sequestration Order has prevented the miners from receiving much-needed union funds; she's trying to starve the miners and their families back to work. In the tradition of the International Labor Defense, the Partisan Defense Committee has launched a fund-raising campaign of Aid to Striking British Miners' Families. Central to this effort has been the PDC's approach to trade-union locals in the U.S., where many unionists remember Reagan's union-busting against PATCO, have seen their own organizations under increasing attack and solidarize with the British miners' hard-fought class battle.

The strike has polarized British society, including the college campuses. Unlike 1926, when British universities essentially served as recruiting centers for strikebreakers, today Miners Support Groups have sprung up on the campuses—often in defiance of right-wing hoodlums and the government. Students have been "twinned" to particular mining lodges to assist in strike support work and fund-raising and have joined the miners' flying picket squads.

Class struggle—the question of "which side are you on?"—has been posed pointblank for students as they find themselves under attack by Thatcher and her flunkies, cops and scabs. A meeting of the University of Birmingham Miners Solidarity Group was attacked by the notoriously right-wing Rugby Club. The government threatened to expel miners participating in flying pickets from campus dormitories, where students were housing them. And the sniveling junior-league bureaucrats of the National Union of Students have upheld the government's ban on NUS donations to the miners.

To date, the Partisan Defense Committee has collected \$11,915.36 in the U.S. and Canada from trade-union locals, union membership collections and individual contributions. This includes \$5,000 the PDC has donated from its own funds; the PDC is also assuming all administrative costs so that every cent collected goes to the miners' cause. Contributors receive numbered receipts, and the financial records of the fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization. More funds are urgently needed—*Young Spartacus* urges our readers to "dig deep for the miners!" To mobilize for the fund drive in your area, write to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. Make checks payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners' Families. ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

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

Atlanta: SYL, Box 4012, Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston: SYL, P.O. Box 1644, Cambridge, MA 02238, or call (617) 492-3928

Chicago: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 663-0715

Cleveland: SYL, Box 6642, Cleveland, OH 44101, or call (216) 621-5138

Detroit: SYL, Box 32028, Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 961-1680

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 384-9716

Madison: SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 257-8625

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

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

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

Oberlin: SYL, Box 58, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH 44074, or call (216) 775-6067

San Francisco: SYL, Box 11680, San Francisco, CA 94101, or call (415) 863-6963

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

Trotskyist
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Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6, or call (416) 593-4138

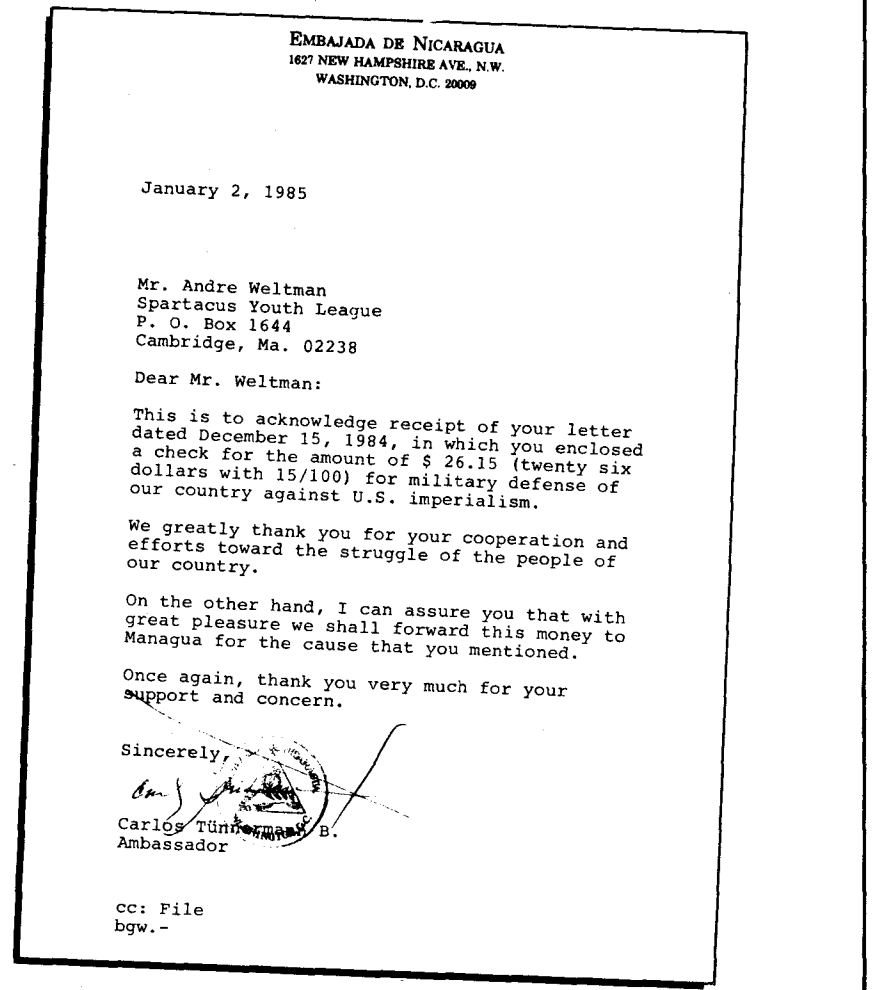
Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Young Spartacus is pleased to print at right the very gracious letter from Nicaraguan ambassador Carlos Tünnermann acknowledging receipt of a modest donation collected by the Harvard SYL for the military defense of Nicaragua. This money was collected by students attending a November 19 emergency demonstration called by the SYL. Too, in San Francisco the Red Avengers of the Underground SYL have been collecting for the urgently needed military hardware,

including Soviet MIGs, SAM-7 anti-aircraft rockets and SAM-8 missiles, necessary to crush the "contra" scum and repel Yankee invasion threats. On January 15, the \$117.18 collected to date at San Francisco State was forwarded to the Nicaraguan embassy. Although our campus collections represent more symbolic than material aid, we have undertaken them in a determined spirit of internationalism—the ambassador's kind reply is much appreciated.



SYL-initiated emergency demo, Harvard, November 19.



Berkeley Students Drive Marine Recruiters Off Campus

BERKELEY, 30 January—FLASH! As we go to press we have learned that Marine recruiters at U.C. Berkeley were run off campus in an SYL-initiated united-front action yesterday by angry students not enthused about becoming cannon fodder in the bourgeoisie's next world war. One SYLer, Guillermo Bermudez, a Berkeley student, was viciously

Young Spartacus Photo



Guillermo Bermudez (center) with Red Avenger comrades.

manhandled and arrested on trumped up charges of assaulting a cop and resisting arrest. The student action against the recruiters made the front page of today's *Daily Californian*. The SYL held a rally again today to celebrate a victory against the Marines and to mobilize students in defense of Bermudez and other victims of cop harassment and brutality on campus.

Bermudez and other SYLers spotted the Marines' recruiting table on Sproul Plaza and approached SAICA (Students Against Intervention in Central America) and the

Campaign Against Apartheid group on the plaza. Together the students approached the Marines' table and surrounded it shouting, "Marines Off Campus!"

While about a hundred protesters and others watched, Bermudez (5'5" and 129 pounds) was grabbed around the neck in a choke hold by a 6'3" cop. Choking, legs dangling, he landed a kick to the Marines' table, collapsing it and sending them packing. He was then hauled off by at least three cops, one arm brutally held twisted behind his back.

Bermudez told *YSp*, "There were at least three cops including the tall one (he was about 200 pounds) who were dragging me. One was holding my right arm and pushing me along. The other was twisting my left arm behind my back and pushing it up, causing me considerable pain. As I was being taken away I kept yelling, 'Marines Off Campus!' but it seems that the more I yelled, the lower I went. They twisted my arm more and pressed their knuckles against my shoulder." Upon his release, Guillermo immediately sought medical attention for the injuries inflicted on him by the cops. He spoke at today's rally, his left arm in a cast.

As the SYL statement distributed today put it: "The real violence today was that of the cops and it's deadly. To be labeled a cop assailant is to be set up for murder at the hands of some vindictive thugs for bourgeois 'law and order.' The Berkeley cops act as if they're auditioning for jobs with South Africa's racist police or Salvadoran death squads. On December 7, 1984 Berkeley's 'finest' arrested 38 anti-apartheid protesters at a sit-in at University Hall. Drop the Charges Against the Anti-Apartheid 38! Drop the Charges Against Guillermo Bermudez! Cops Off Campus!" Keep Marine Recruiters Off Campus!

Horror Show...

(continued from page 1)

Weinberger turned up at Harvard, the liberals stopped their heckling for his anti-Soviet diatribe, but the SYL shouted him down. When the Klan tried to march in black Washington, D.C., the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League built a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the race-hate killers in their tracks. We fought the FBI's deadly equation of Marxists with "terrorists" and won, striking a blow against the new McCarthyism.

In fear of Reagan, the reformist "left" was caught up a creek without a program, paddling like mad for the Democratic Party. Mondale was truly a candidate only his mother could love, but that didn't faze the "left." Central America "solidarity" groups, disarmament coalitions, "pro-choice" networks slaved away for a Cold War hawk who stood for blockading Nicaragua, "conventional" war on the USSR, and who (in the Carter administration) eliminated federal funding for abortion. Mondale failed miserably, but the really big losers were the reformists who staked their wad on this ninny.

While the reformists lobbied their Congressmen to adopt more "responsible" policies in Central America, the SYL held rallies to raise funds for the Nicaraguans to buy Soviet arms. As an unholy alliance of loser Democrats and

their left tails banned the Marxist SYL from San Francisco State University, we struck back as the Red Avengers. This has earned us the wrath and "Love Cup for Sectarianism" from the rad-lib *Guardian* (30 January) which deems our protest of "gestapo-persons of the female persuasion" even worse than our telling the truth about KAL 007. Our fight is to win students and youth to the side of the working class which has the social power to overturn capitalism, the root cause of racism, unemployment and imperialist war.

Peace Hoax Means War—Defend the Soviet Union!

The Geneva disarmament talks are a transparent smoke screen for the anti-Soviet war drive. When Reagan talks "peace," the Russians better reach for their SS-20s. During his first administration we saw an escalation of anti-Soviet threats, slanders, provocation and subversion—from the KAL 007 spy plane, the pope plot, the "yellow rain" hoax, the stationing of missiles eight minutes from Moscow, and now "Star Wars"—designed to pave the way for a *first strike* against the "Evil Empire." Reagan is gunning for Armageddon in his lifetime. The Soviets walked out of the disarmament talks when the U.S. put the Pershings in Europe, but Reagan has lured them back with the promise that "everything" is negotiable—everything that the Soviets have for defense that is. The Russians must feel pretty stupid negotiating their *own* disarmament with a cabal of avowed First Strikers you wouldn't even buy a used car from, much less an arms treaty.

There is a *bipartisan* consensus for war against Russia; the only difference between the "hawks" and "doves" is over *how* and *when*. The Democrats worry that the massive war budget will eat a hole through their pork barrels and argue "more bang for the buck" with a "conventional" buildup. War Secretary Weinberger talks openly of winning a protracted nuclear war, and Presidential Directive 59 (introduced under Democrat Carter) specifically targets the Soviet *leadership* for termination (which of course solves the problem of who to negotiate arms treaties with)! The gang in power now is just nuts enough to push the button, convinced that they'll emerge from their bunkers to a cleaner, whiter world without reds or blacks.

Détente is a *deadly* illusion. The

CIA "COMIC" BOOK FOR "CONTRAS"



It's no joke—it's the genuine CIA article.

South African Militants...

(continued from page 12)

Gatsha Buthelezi, the government-appointed head of the Zulu "bantustan" (those desolate concentration camps for dispossessed blacks which are a principal institution of apartheid). In the same spirit as his glad-handing of arch-segregationist George Wallace here, Jackson praised Pieter Koornhof, South Africa's minister for "Black Affairs" (equivalent to Hitler's minister of "Jewish Affairs," Adolf Eichmann) as a "courageous man" for some cosmetic reforms of apartheid. Despite the multitude of programmatic differences we Marxists have with the nationalist AZAPO, their anti-imperialist protest of Kennedy was right on the mark, as is their sentiment against the hustler Jackson. It must be noted that the *Guardian* quoted ANC spokesmen reiterating the smear against AZAPO. Heroic and persecuted for its commitment to interracial struggle against apartheid, the ANC nonetheless has fastened itself to the illusion of "reforming" apartheid, positing a class-collaborationist program in South Africa and abroad. The ANC's fulsome support to Kennedy's visit is an example of its suicidal illusions in "democratic" imperialism.

Kennedy's trip to South Africa, like a play performed at the mouth of an active volcano, illuminates well the roles of the political actors. And South African society is indeed a volcano. Over the last decade white supremacist rule has been shaken by many-sided struggles: strike waves in 1973, the youth-centered Soweto uprising in 1976, ANC guerrilla sabotage attacks, the explosive growth and increasing militancy of black trade unions. Over the last six months successive outbreaks of revolt have built one on top of the other. Protests by the "coloured" (mixed race) and Indian minorities against the new constitution designed to offer them token representation while excluding the black African majority were followed by massive student boycotts, resistance against rent increases, attacks on puppet councilors in the black "townships," and a short, bloody strike by the black gold miners. The culmination was a two-day general strike in the industrial heartland of the Transvaal.

The apartheid state replied with police terror at every point, arresting thousands and killing at least 150. Armed with the Pass Laws and *sjambok*

(bullwhip), the apartheid regime ruthlessly enforces the total disenfranchisement of 22 million black Africans—non-citizens in their own land. But the severe repressive apparatus exposes the fragility and weakness of this brutal system as well. The anti-apartheid revolts are marked by a crucial factor—the power of the militant, six million strong black working class, increasingly organized into trade unions, whose sweat is the lifeblood of South African industry. The potential for genuine social revolution, led by the black proletariat and encompassing all the oppressed—the women, the youth, the peasantry—has not been missed by the enemies of revolution. From the "liberals" who, like Tutu and Kennedy, fear a radicalization of the anti-apartheid movement to the hopelessly bought-off "leftists" in this country who have compromised themselves as Democratic Party apologists, reaction is swift against any rocking of the "reform" boat.

In this country, the utopian/reactionary proponents of "divestment" are the clearest example of the anti-revolutionary strategy which simply seeks to eke out a few reforms of apartheid even as the black revolts threaten the whole ball of wax. The underlying assumption is that the U.S. imperialists—without a doubt the main enemy of black freedom from Grenada to Soweto to Detroit—can shame and pressure Pretoria into relaxing apartheid policies and "give a voice" to the black majority. The obscenity of such appeals to U.S. imperialism was highlighted in a perverse fashion when South African prime minister Botha and Kennedy exchanged insults over whose country oppressed blacks the most, brutalized and subjugated them more widely. Replying to Botha's charges that in the U.S. and even Kennedy's Massachusetts black poverty and mortality rates are far higher than white, Kennedy could only say: "The infant mortality rate for blacks in South Africa is not twice as high, but six times as high as for whites. Black people in South Africa are not three times as likely to be poor, but 30 times" (*New York Times*, 11 January).

In their board rooms and cabinet chambers, the imperialists see the writing on the wall for white rule in South Africa. This presents a first-rate problem. Not only does South Africa provide superprofits to the multinationals, extracted from the black workers in key industries, but it is a vital supplier of gold and strategic metals such as platinum, vanadium and chrome; around the Cape passes much of the capitalists' oil. While the U.S. gives South Africa intelligence on African



governments and organizations in the region, South Africa provides landing facilities for U.S. spy planes, a unique relationship recently noted by columnist Andrew Cockburn. Too, South Africa is U.S. imperialism's cop in southern Africa, occupying Namibia and backing "contras" in Angola and Mozambique. Pretoria's drive in 1976, backed by Washington, to turn Angola into a neo-colonial puppet of the white racist regime was smashed only by the internationalist aid of over 20,000 Soviet-backed Cuban troops.

Reagan & Co. embrace Pretoria as a bulwark against "communism" while more far-sighted imperialists fear that time is running out for "peaceful change." Nor is there any lack of self-interest here on the part of newly aroused liberals. While the apartheid state rained terror on the townships from August to November, the Kennedys and black Democrats had little to say. All 'he eggs were in Mondale's dreary basket of campaigning as a "responsible" tax-hiker and Cold Warrior. After Reagan's re-election, the Democrats decided that black frustration might be reasonably channeled into protests at South African embassies. While a sit-in at the White House was scotched in view of Reagan's "popularity," the daily round of protest and ritual arrest at embassies—featuring politicians and entertainers, labor bureaucrats and even a member of Reagan's Civil Rights Commission—was touted as the beginning of a new civil rights movement, a renaissance of moral conscience. Even Reagan felt a twinge; he spoke out against the "human and spiritual costs of apartheid" as 35 conservative Republican Congressmen "threatened to seek economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa unless it moved to end racial separation" (*New York Times*, 16 December 1984).

Such cynical horse trading—playing

on the genuine identification of American blacks with the viciously oppressed blacks of South Africa—was shown up for what it is by the protests against Kennedy. The uncomfortable reality for imperialist politicians and *Guardian* Kennedy-lovers alike is that the struggle against apartheid poses directly the destruction of the capitalist system in South Africa; the two are inextricably linked. The social tinder is there now but the South African proletariat lacks a revolutionary leadership to ignite and lead it to the conquest of state power.

Urgently needed in South Africa is a revolutionary Trotskyist party, rooted in the black working class and capable of leading all the oppressed independently of bourgeois forces, under the banner of proletarian internationalism. The wealth of South Africa belongs to the producers of that wealth, the black toilers. And the only real divestment is when they "divest" the white imperialists in South Africa and the multinational concerns through workers revolution. Our strategy is for international labor solidarity—labor boycotts of military goods and at particular moments of crisis boycotts of South African goods *in toto*. This is what we called for during the revolts in the townships and the gold miners strike. The black proletariat of South Africa is destined not only to be the liberators of their oppressed nation, but by placing the country's vast resources at the service of social and national emancipation, it can be the powerhouse for social revolution throughout deeply oppressed and economically backward black Africa. Here in America, the belly of the imperialist beast, the strategically located black working class, leading the entire labor movement, can be a powerful ally to the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. We will build the party of workers revolution here—over the political corpses of groveling reformists of the *Guardian* stripe. ■

U.S. imperialists will never disarm, just as they have never accepted the elimination of capitalist rule over a third of the globe. If Chernenko & Co. don't sell out anything at Geneva it may only be because Reagan won't give them a chance. But the Stalinist bureaucrats' pipe dreams of convincing the imperialists to beat their swords into plowshares represent a grave danger to the remaining gains of the Bolshevik Revolution, principally the planned economy and collectivized property. The only way to

secure and defend these gains is to defeat the imperialists with worldwide socialist revolution. Defend the workers states through proletarian political revolution—Clean the compromisers out of the Kremlin—Forward to the program of Lenin and Trotsky!

In his "Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam," Trotsky wrote that:

"The pretense of 'disarmament' has and can have nothing in common with the prevention of war.... The question of disarmament is one of the levers on the arena of imperialism in which the new wars are being prepared.... Petty-bourgeois pacifism, which sees in a 10 percent, or 33 percent, or 50 percent disarmament proposal the 'first step' towards prevention of war, is more dangerous than all the explosives and asphyxiating gases....

"Without the slightest confidence in the capitalist programs for disarmament or arms limitation, the revolutionary proletariat asks one single question: *In whose hands are the weapons?* Any weapon in the hands of the imperialists is a weapon directed against the working class, against the weak nations, against socialism, against humanity. Weapons in the hands of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations are the only means of ridding our planet of oppression and war."

—Writings of Leon Trotsky [1932]

What's needed now is some good old-fashioned class struggle. To unleash the power of labor, it's necessary to break with the Democrats and build a revolutionary workers party. The Gipper is getting near end game. The only possibility of a future lies in workers revolution to establish a workers government based on an internationally planned economy to end the violent, irrational capitalist system before it ends us. Join the SYL! ■

Against Racist Repression...

(continued from page 5)

must fight against all attempts by the government and its police agencies to make political opposition a "crime."

The successful conclusion of your lawsuit is a part of that fight, but we all know that the struggle to preserve democratic rights is an on-going one. Keep up the fight!

Very truly yours,
John George
Chairman, Alameda County Board of Supervisors

A Blow Against Racism and Oppression

Congratulations to the Spartacist League for this victory. This is a victory for all those people who are fighting against apartheid, racism and oppression, and more struggles of this sort will have to be continued to be won.

Bill Hampton
Brother of murdered Panther leader

**Spartacist League/
Spartacus Youth League
Public Offices**

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

Chicago
Tues: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone: (312) 663-0715

New York City
Tues: 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat: 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY
Phone: (212) 267-1025

SYL Film Showing & Discussion

"Revolution or Death"
Thursday, February 7, 7:00 p.m.
Ackerman 3525, UCLA
For more information: (213) 384-9716

LOS ANGELES

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MADISON

Young Spartacus

U.S. Rad-Libs Lie for Kennedy as Black South African Militants Protest Imperialist Swine

The career of Teddy Kennedy, that flabby personification of establishment American liberalism, can always do with a facelift. So it seemed a trip to apartheid South Africa with "photo opportunities" of Teddy meeting migrant workers, Teddy empathizing in the slums, Teddy conferring with anti-apartheid leaders would play well back home, especially with black Democrats' recent "discovery" of the South Africa issue. Kennedy was invited by Nobel "Peace" prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu and Rev. Allan Boesak, patron of the largest South African anti-apartheid formation, the United Democratic Front (UDF)—backed by the banned African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party. Being a big-time celebrity (and a Kennedy after all), he had the indulgence of the South African police as he ostentatiously broke several of the racist regime's laws muzzling speech, protest and association. But Teddy is the late born of a dwindling dynasty, and he found to his discomfiture that times have changed since his brother Bobby—in the false guise of a civil rights champion—got a hero's welcome from the brutally oppressed black population of Soweto.

Upon his arrival Kennedy was met with militant black protesters who justly denounced him as a "capitalist imperialist" and "the epitome of U.S. imperialism." Things came to a head on January 13 when a contingent of Azanian Peoples Organization (AZAPO) supporters protested his planned speech in Soweto which was to have been the climax of the visit. The U.S. bourgeois press took alarmed note that AZAPO, though small, had struck a chord of hostility to U.S. imperialism among black South Africans. Rev. Boesak, according to the *New York Times* (14 January) warned that "black South Africans have become profoundly distrustful of the West in general and the United States in particular." And the *Washington Post* (14 January) wrote:

"The strong anti-American and anti-capitalist themes of these demonstrations have alarmed members of the Kennedy party, who believe the Reagan administration's policy of 'constructive engagement' with Pretoria is aggravating a trend in the black community

that associates capitalism with racial oppression."

That's crystal clear and we wholeheartedly solidarize with those black militants who exposed this grotesque imperialist hypocrisy, calling the "great white hope" by his right name. One would think any leftist worth a damn would welcome a trend which "associates capitalism with racial oppression." In fact, it is especially incumbent on the U.S. left to denounce the disgusting pretensions and lies of the likes of Kennedy—to warn against the oily machinations of this CIA liberal. The whips and police dogs unleashed against black South Africans were unleashed against blacks in the American South—under his brother John F.

Kennedy's regime. The CIA overthrew and murdered radical nationalist Lumumba in the Congo under Kennedy's administration. Anything Teddy might be up to in South Africa, rest assured, is not in the interests of the struggle of the oppressed anywhere in the world.

But that mouthpiece of America radlibs, the *Guardian*, rushed to defend the swine Kennedy and denounce in the ugliest of ways the black militants who protested him. In fact, the *Guardian* doesn't limit itself to echoing the "concern" of the bourgeois press but stoops to insinuating that the AZAPO supporters were some kind of cop agents. After uncritically quoting Kennedy's blathering about how he found the "spirit" of anti-apartheid leaders "in

the small houses, villages and towns I have travelled through" the *Guardian* (23 January) pulls out the knife on AZAPO:

"[AZAPO] faced hostility from many respected black leaders, organizations and journalists. Percy Qoboza, writing in the black-circulation City Press, attacked the AZAPO demonstrators, noting it was 'odd that AZAPO should have aligned itself with the government, right-wing groups and hostile Afrikaans and English newspapers in opposing Kennedy's tour.'"

A crowning Big Lie touch is provided with the mention of an AZAPO protest in Johannesburg and the fact that "the police did not intervene. Observers noted that such official restraint had been previously unheard of in the face of black marchers in that city."

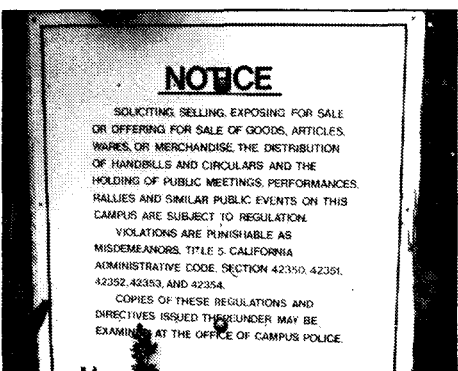
The reformists were no doubt stung by the fact that AZAPO holds no brief for the darling of the popular front, Jesse Jackson. "We see Kennedy and Jackson in the same light," AZAPO spokesman Haroon Patel stated and should he go to South Africa, Jackson can expect the Kennedy treatment. Militants may well remember that it was Jackson who, in a 1979 visit, met with

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Telling it like it is: South African militants protesting fat-cat imperialist Teddy Kennedy on his recent visit (above).

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