

Young Spartacus

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APRIL 1984

Smash U.S. Anti-Soviet War Moves in Central America!



U.S. troops land in Honduras during Big Pine II "war games."

Granma

APRIL 4—The death squad "elections" in El Salvador, the second such farce in two years braintrused by the American CIA, the Pentagon and the Reagan administration, have nothing to do with "democracy" nor are they intended to. While the attention of the American bourgeois press has been riveted on "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson's "de rigueur" bulletproof vest," the new computer at the Central Elections Council and similar matters revolting and inane, the Reagan administration has made the Salvadoran "elections" the occasion for an ominous escalation of U.S. military intervention in Central America, including explicit new threats and war provocations against Cuba and the Soviet Union. It is the urgent duty of the American working class and all who oppose U.S.-backed slaughter around the world to act now to stop Reagan's war moves in Central America and roll back and smash the whole anti-Soviet war drive of the U.S. government. The Spartacus Youth League says: Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador! Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! For Unconditional Military Defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union!

Operation "Ocean Venture '84," slated to begin April 20, will involve 33,000 American sailors, marines, airmen and soldiers in, among other things, a "practice reinforcement" of the U.S. base in Guantánamo, Cuba. Another military "exercise," code-

Salvadoran "Elections by Death": Made in USA

named "Granadero I," began April 1 and will last through June 30. As part of this operation American soldiers will build two airstrips in Honduras for use by cargo and troop transport planes and train alongside Honduran troops in "maneuvers intended to stamp out guerrilla operations." Granadero I was preceded by a series of "Emergency Deployment Readiness Exercises" including the sending of 2,000 U.S. troops to the San Lorenzo region of Honduras between Nicaragua and El Salvador. The declared intent of these maneuvers ostensibly is to "deter the Soviet Union, Cuba and Nicaragua from interfering in the Salvadoran election and spreading their influence later" (*New York Times*, 25 March).

Meanwhile NATO naval exercises were taking place off the coast of Norway, and the U.S. aircraft carrier

Kitty Hawk rammed a Soviet submarine in the Sea of Japan as part of Operation "Team Spirit '84"—involving more than 200,000 American and South Korean troops. On April 3 it was reported that an American frigate in the South China Sea had ignored two warnings (by signal flag and bullhorn) from a Soviet ship gone dead in the sea as it approached within 300 yards, finally coming to a stop only after the Soviet carrier *Minsk*—the largest in the Soviet navy—had fired eight flares!

Earlier, on March 20, a Soviet tanker bringing oil into Nicaragua's Puerto Sandino was damaged when a mine exploded, resulting in injury to five Soviet crewmen. Reagan administration spokesmen coyly suggested that the mine was "homemade" by the Nicaraguan *contras*, but a representative of the so-called Democratic Revolutionary

Alliance, the *contra* group headed by ex-Sandinista renegade Edén Pastora, confirmed to the *London Times* (22 March) that the mines at Puerto Sandino and two other Nicaraguan harbors were planted by "a special commando unit directed by an American." The same day, U.S. navy submarine surveillance planes provocatively passed about a dozen times within 1,000 feet of Soviet military vessels headed toward Cuba.

Reagan has made Central America the front line of U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive because the USSR is the military and industrial powerhouse of all the countries where capitalism has been overturned, capable of thwarting U.S. imperialism's ambitions to drown every struggle of colonial peoples in blood. The petty-bourgeois Nicaraguan Sandinistas and the leadership of the Salvadoran FDR/FMLN (Revolutionary Democratic Front/Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front), their reformist co-thinkers here and around the world, all deny that the struggle in Central America has anything to do with the "East-West conflict." While it is unfortunately true that the nationalistic Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin is *not* arming the Salvadoran guerrillas nor adequately supplying Nicaragua with the advanced weapons it needs, the purpose of Reagan's lies about "Cuban and Soviet aggression" in Central America is precisely to mobilize the

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Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftist Insurgents!

EDITORIAL NOTES

To Hell With School Prayer!

Ronald Reagan thinks he's got god on his campaign committee. For a president who prefers the saddle to the pew on Sunday mornings, he is surprisingly outdoing even the born-again Carter in putative piety these days. The press flashes pictures of Reagan's face all wrinkled up in prayer; he declared 1983 the "Year of the Bible" and has lately appointed an ambassador to the Vatican, the first American president to do so. He's all but claimed to be god's candidate in the elections: in a grotesque misuse of a statement by Eric Lydell, the Scots Olympic runner portrayed in the movie *Chariots of Fire*, Reagan intoned at a recent speech, "God made me for a purpose, and I will run for His pleasure" (*New York Times*, 9 March).

But Reagan's main push for godliness and morality is the School Prayer Amendment, an amendment to the U.S. Constitution which would make it illegal for any state or federal body to "prohibit" the "right" of organized prayer in the public schools. In his January state of the union address, his speech opening his candidacy for reelection, and in numerous other talks before both religious and lay groups, Reagan is sermonizing on such themes as god being "expelled from America's classrooms" and claiming that since his election in 1980 the country has experienced a "spiritual rebirth." In a highly unusual move, he personally lobbied many Senators for his amendment, inviting them to cozy chats in the White House and phoning them up when unable to meet in person. Meanwhile, Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority organized a grassroots phone-in campaign

which swamped Congressional switchboards with pro-amendment calls, while one anti-amendment Senator received a telegram signed, "Your Pal, Satan." On the night of March 5, evangelists held a prayer vigil on the rain-drenched Cap-

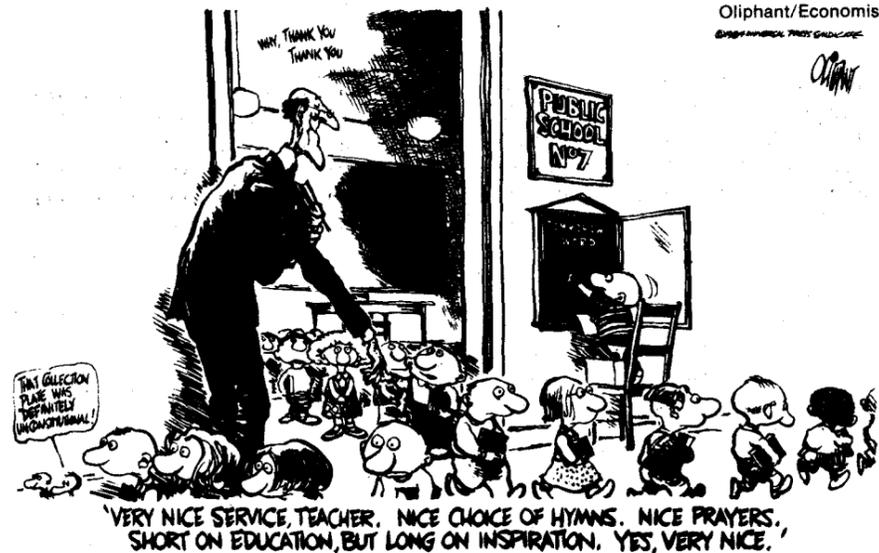
itol steps; one of their banners read, "Return God to Our Schools and Live as a Nation Under Christ." Busloads of students from Falwell's Liberty Baptist College forged a human chain between the Supreme Court and the Capitol. After a March 20 vote on the amendment in the Senate fell eleven short of the two-thirds majority needed to begin the lengthy process of constitutional amendment, Reagan declared, "The issue of free religious speech is not dead as a result of this vote... We have suffered a setback but we have not been

defeated" (*New York Times*, 21 March). Rev. Jerry Falwell called for retribution at the polls against anti-amendment Senators, and has planned a national voter registration drive among fundamentalist religious groups. Others are

come in through the back door" (*New York Times*, 1 April). In large part, Reagan's school prayer campaign is a piece of electioneering calculated to embarrass anti-amendment Democrats by branding them as anti-god, while ensuring his continued support by the conservative religious right-wing Moral Majority. The support of the evangelicals and the "electronic church" was a significant factor in Reagan's 1980 victory. But recently they, along with conservative Republican Senators like Jesse Helms, have been critical of him as not pushing hard enough on their three main political goals: overturning the 1962 and 1963 Supreme Court decisions banning organized prayer and bible reading in the schools, illegalizing abortion and putting an end to busing. Of course, Reagan has done plenty to attack these crucial rights, but it isn't enough for the likes of Jerry Falwell. So in embracing school prayer as a cornerstone of his 1984 election campaign, Reagan has announced that his second administration will further increase attacks on important social gains such as a woman's right to a safe, legal abortion and blacks' right to a decent education in an integrated school. Already, he's given the green light to right-wing groups, from the Moral Majority to the Ku Klux Klan. Abortion clinics are picketed and bombed; fascists march, calling for race war.

But in school prayer Reagan has found an issue that is genuinely controversial throughout American society, even among the ruling class. As Harry

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looking for ways to get around the defeated constitutional amendment by introducing a new bill which would cut off federal funds to school systems that do not let student-sponsored religious groups meet in those public high schools that permit meetings by secular student groups. While this bill has gathered the support of anti-amendment Congressmen like liberal Democrat Barney Frank, California representative Don Edwards accurately pointed out that, "The proponents of school prayer lost in the Senate. So now they're trying to

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Poland: The Cross of Counterrevolution

Religion is the "principal moral arm of the bourgeoisie." So declared Leon Trotsky, commander of the Red Army, as the white armies and the expeditionary forces of 14 imperialist powers, including the U.S., sought to crush the Bolshevik Revolution in the egg. Today once again as world capitalism mobilizes to destroy the Soviet Union religion is the principal moral arm of reaction, from Reagan's efforts to restore school prayer in the U.S. to the battlecry of the CIA-organized *contras* invading Nicaragua, "With God and with patriotism, we are combatting Communism."

Religion as the counterrevolutionary arm of the bourgeoisie is nowhere more powerful and more immediately threatening than in Poland. Under the banner of eagle and cross Lech Walesa's *Solidarność* brought Poland to the brink of a pro-imperialist counterrevolution. Since the suppression of *Solidarność* by the Stalinist bureaucracy in December 1981, the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood have moved center stage as the direct organizers of anti-Communist reaction. The pilgrimage of Pope John Paul Wojtyla, formerly of Krakow, to his homeland last summer unleashed an orgy of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist frenzy.

And now there is the "battle of the crosses." In a basic democratic measure for the separation of church and state—Thomas Jefferson certainly would have

supported it—the Warsaw government decreed that crucifixes should be removed from the public schools. Priests led students in taking over an agricultural college 40 miles southeast of Warsaw, which the authorities then closed. The entire church hierarchy, including the supposedly "moderate" Cardinal Glomp, as well as Wojtyla in Rome have thrown themselves behind this "battle of the crosses." Glomp, returning from a visit to the right-wing military dictatorship of Brazil, the "world's largest Catholic country," challenged the legitimacy of any law limiting the prerogatives of the church: "Is the law right that sweepingly and rather deeply hurts the feelings of the majority of the believing society?" (*New York Times*, 15 March).

Given the popular authority of the church in Poland and the total political (not to speak of financial) bankruptcy of the Jaruzelski regime, the "battle of the crosses" could spark a dangerous counterrevolutionary mass mobilization. Not only class-conscious workers but all defenders of democratic principles must support the Polish government against the forces of clerical-nationalist reaction.

Hitler "Purified" Poland for the Catholic Church

One of the local priests leading the "battle of the crosses" declared in effect that non-Catholics have no right to exist

in Poland as he denounced the secular authorities: "They were not Poles, they were enemies. There is no Poland without a cross" (*New York Times*, 9 March). This call for an anti-Communist Inquisition was endorsed by no less an organ of Western imperialism than the *New York Times* in a March 16 editorial:

"Thus when Communist leaders order crucifixes removed from schoolrooms and send the riot police to enforce the order, a priest can plausibly declare that the authorities are 'not Poles.'... 'Poland's religion, infused with nationalism and populism in ways not found elsewhere in Europe, has sustained the ideal of the nation for centuries.'"

Poland, supposedly the universally, eternally and fervently Catholic nation, is a Cold War myth.

If the Jaruzelski regime had a sense of historic justice, they might answer the priests by suggesting a Star of David be hung in the schools. Before World War II there were three million Jews in Poland—10 percent of the population—proportionally the largest Jewish community in the world. Here it is important to remember that Marshal Josef Pilsudski, the fascistic dictator of interwar Poland, is the great hero figure for *Solidarność*. During the 1930s the Catholic church openly incited anti-Semitic pogroms. As Cardinal Hlond proclaimed in a 1936 pastoral letter:

"It is an actual fact that Jews fight against the Catholic Church, they are free-thinkers, and constitute the van-



Spanish Inquisition, anyone? Lech Walesa sporting the cross of counterrevolution.

guard of atheism, bolshevism and revolution. The Jewish influence on morals is fatal...."

—quoted in Simon Segal, *The New Poland and the Jews* (1938)

Clerical-fascist bands attacked Jewish communities with the tacit support of Pilsudski's successors, the so-called "regime of the colonels." But it was the Nazi occupation and Holocaust which finally "purified" Poland for the Catholic church. And the Vatican showed its gratitude by providing a "ratline" for escaping Nazi war criminals such as SS mass murderer Walter Rauff, now in Pinochet's Chile.

Fight Clerical-Nationalist Reaction!

When the Soviet Red Army liberated Poland from the horror of the Nazi occupation in 1944, much of the Polish

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Dumb Moonie Stunt at Cal

SYL Response to Berkeley Moonies

We print below our response to a recent article (shown here to the right) concerning members of the University of California at Berkeley chapter of the Moonie CARP organization which appeared in the World University Times. The SYL is submitting this letter to the Berkeley campus newspaper, the Daily Californian, for publication.

5 April 1984

Daily Californian
To the Editor:

In a recent letter to the *Daily Californian* (13 March) as well as an article in the Moonie *World University Times* (19 March), two members of the

concerned about the presence of Moonies—male, female or other—at our events. For one, the Moonies have a long track record of violent attack and provocation against the left. On more than one occasion these provocations have resulted in police and administration harassment of radical student activists. At the University of Illinois at Chicago (Circle) in May 1981, some 20 Moonies jumped demonstrators from the Circle Organizing Committee on El Salvador, effectively breaking up the demonstration and getting one protester arrested. In November 1981 at Harvard University, a “counterdemonstration” by Conservative Club members and Moonies attempted to shut down an

Young Spartacus Photo



2 October 1979: Crazy Moonie provocateurs try to disrupt SYL demonstration against war criminal McGeorge Bundy at New York University. What are Berkeley Moonies doing trying to attend forums of Marxist “Satan”?

Moonie CARP (Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles) complain that they were asked to leave an SYL forum on women's liberation held at Berkeley last month. We foolishly let in two young women who refused to pay the door donation and when they proved to be violence-prone Moonies, we asked them to leave. In a way, we apologize to the two young women in question.

We note that there are a plethora of reasons for a Marxist organization to be

SYL-sponsored forum on Poland. Subsequently, one of our supporters was the victim of an attempted frame-up on phony “assault” charges. More recently at Columbia University this fall, the Moonies held a crazed, anti-communist rally as part of their national hysteria over the downing of KAL 007. An innocent student bystander, whom the Moonies assumed to be a critic of theirs, was attacked physically. At about the same time, the Moonie *World Student Times* bragged about getting

the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) “kicked off” the Cal State L.A. campus after a Moonie provoked a confrontation with an RCYB member.

And another reason, the press of this sinister cult is notorious for slander of a deadly sort against leftists. We call it “libel that kills”—setting up leftist organizations for government and secret police persecution. Recently, the SL/SYL won a retraction from the Moonies' *Washington Times* newspaper of their libelous accusation that we provoked “violence” against the police at the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C. in November 1982.

Then there are the documented Moonie links with death squad regimes, a subject of interest at the *San Francisco Chronicle*. The *Chronicle* reported on the joint work of Moonies and right-wing Salvadoran émigrés in the Bay Area, including their sponsorship of a campus speaking tour by Salvadoran bishop Aparicio. “It was in Aparicio's diocese of San Vicente that four U.S. churchwomen, whom Aparicio accused of ‘working with subversives,’ were murdered by government forces in December 1980” (*Chronicle*, 20 November 1981). Furthermore, according to the *Chronicle*, the Salvadorans with whom the Moonies were working had been “providing junta officials with the names and photos of government opponents who live in the Bay Area.”

The same issue of *World University Times* mentioned above contains an article bewailing the refusal of the U.S. State Department to grant Roberto D'Aubuisson—a.k.a. “Blowtorch Bob”—a visa to enter this country. D'Aubuisson is, as is well known, a pathological killer sometimes in the Salvadoran military. The Moonies bleed for D'Aubuisson, noting that “His popular appeal has been growing in El Salvador in direct proportion to the inability of the army to solve the terrorist guerrilla problem.” The Moonies' friends worldwide—which includes the recently “resigned” Alvarez of Honduras—certainly do not restrict their war on “communists” to the ideological plane.

Such a track record must cause any sane leftist organization to ask: For what purpose would Moonies choose to attend an avowedly communist event? However, in the unlikely event that these proven provocateurs should abide by the rules of order at such meetings, their presence could be tolerated and they should be accorded the same democratic rights as anyone else in attendance.

We cannot conceal our amusement that in their letter to the *Daily Cal*, Sheila Stroud and Jane Rees—the CARP members in question—write: “We must ask, ‘what is a truly liberated woman?’” In the negative, we can answer that she: 1) is not brainwashed into worshipping the Master of an ultrarightist cult; 2) does not require the permission of the Master to marry and/or cohabit with a chosen mate; 3) does not need the prior permission of the Master to consummate the (approved) marriage; 4) can engage in non-marital sex.

Finally, the *World University Times* makes note that “ironically” the Spartacist League has filed a friend of the court brief in the case of Moon's appeal of his federal conviction for tax evasion. As have many other opponents of Moon's outfit, we understood that the issues in

World University Times

Spartacists discriminate against CARP women

Two women, both CARP members, were thrown out of an open forum on Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution at UC Berkeley last week. The women, Jane Reese and Sheila Stroud, were ordered to leave the public meeting, organized by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, before it had even started. The only reason given for their eviction was they were members of CARP, the campus branch of the Unification Movement of Rev. Moon. They were told by one of the SL/SYL organizers (a male no less!), “I do not want to discuss it, you are Moonies and are not welcome in our meetings.”

“Talk about Women's Liberation,” commented Ms. Stroud, “they even had to get a man to throw us out!”

The forum was open to the public and had been widely publicized. Earlier in the day the Spartacists had talked at a UC Berkeley rally about discrimination against women, particularly black and gay women, but apparently their Socialist ideology can comfortably accommodate discrimination based on a woman's (and a man's, too, no doubt) religious beliefs. This hypocrisy is no surprise given the SL/SYL's support for the oppressive, discriminatory Soviet socialist system and the description in their *Woman's Forum* leaflet of the bloody Bolshevik revolution as “this great victory for the working classes and the oppressed masses”—a victory presumably over the “ancient oppressions of the family and religion.”

Ironically, the Spartacist League has filed a *Friends of the Court* brief supporting Rev. Moon, joining most of the mainline religions in the fight against his conviction on charges of tax evasion, a charge currently on appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court. □

this case threaten the democratic rights of a variety of religious and political organizations. Simply because the government's target in this instance is the despicable Reverend Moon does not make the implications of a government victory in this case any less dangerous for us. ■

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Young Spartacus

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School Prayer...

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Truman put it when he refused to visit Franco's Spain (a country with the Catholic church as its state religion): "I ain't going to a country where they have to bury Protestants at night." So those Congressmen, governors, mayors, both Republican and Democratic, as well as those bourgeois mouthpieces like the *New York Times*, who agree that women, blacks, workers and Russians are all legitimate targets for American government attack, aren't so sure about this School Prayer Amendment. All-night debates raged in the Senate. And opposition to the amendment was hardly confined to the non-religious or the liberals: Senator Danforth, an Episcopal priest, and Barry Goldwater were among those who voted against it. The *Washington Post*, the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* (albeit regretfully) all editorialized against the amendment. The National Council of Churches, an umbrella group of 31 Protestant and Orthodox institutions, lobbied against it, as did various Jewish groups. And legal experts reviewed the case law and argued about the intentions of the Founding Fathers.

The Supreme Court's 1962-63 rulings against organized prayer and bible readings in the schools were based on the First Amendment guarantees of the right of free speech and of the separation of church and state ("Congress shall make no law regarding the establishment of a religion"). With occasional exceptions, the position of the Court historically has been that law must remain neutral on the issue of religion or non-religion. Its recent ruling on the Pawtucket crèche case, allowing public money to be spent in putting up a religious Christmas display, was completely at odds with this bourgeois legal principle. Now, some school prayer

advocates look toward the court as a potential ally should any one of the 19 states that have "silent prayer" or "meditation" statutes be challenged.

And what about the intentions of the Founding Fathers? When the Declaration of Independence was written in 1776, slavery was still legal in all 13 of the original states. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, the man who wrote "all men are created equal," were slave-owners and members of the Virginian aristocracy. Even as bourgeois revolutionaries, these men had grave contradictions. But they and their fellow rebels like Benjamin Franklin were dead right about religion: they believed that religion was entirely a matter of one's own conscience and no affair of government. This was a tremendous historical lesson learned through 500 years of brutal religious war all over Europe. Many of the original European colonists of the U.S. were refugees from those wars, looking for a place in which to practice their religions in peace, far from the massacres of Huguenots in France, the Spanish Inquisition and the persecutions of Quakers and Puritans by the Church of England. In states such as Virginia, where the established Anglican church held sway before the Revolution, it was still legal to burn a "heretic" in the 1780s. Jefferson argued for "a wall of separation between church and state":

"Millions of innocent men, women and children, since the introduction of Christianity, have been burnt, tortured, fined, imprisoned; yet we have not advanced one inch towards uniformity. What has been the effect of coercion? To make one half the world fools, and the other half hypocrites."

And make no mistake about it, prayer organized in the schools, which are government institutions, is coercion, in a matter which the Calvinists, deists, Quakers and Unitarians of the eighteenth century knew was much too important for mere Senators. Today, of

course, the United States is qualitatively even more diverse in religions. And be you a Presbyterian, Catholic, Jew, Buddhist, practitioner of voodoo or Druidism or even an atheist, the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution says you have the right to worship (or not) any god(s) you may wish, however you like (barring human sacrifice).

Legal commentators have pointed out that Reagan has confused the right of free speech with the guarantee of freedom of worship by claiming that organized school prayer is "free speech." Reagan has shown that he frankly doesn't give a shit about the legality of the question—it's too convenient a political football for him. Children can pray in school right now any time they like—and as one wag pointed out, as long as there are math tests, children will undoubtedly pray in school! When asked the obvious question—*whose prayer?*—Reagan made up pretty fantasies about children taking turns leading their class in their own personal prayers, with "voluntary" participation. How nice for the children to learn about each other's faiths! This line was shared by Jerry Falwell, a lying hypocrite who has never shown an ounce of tolerance in his life. So whose prayers? Jerry Falwell's. After all, the Moral Majority bigots' vision of the "perfect" American society is one that is completely segregated—put blacks in one school, Jewish kids in another, and the WASPs will be able to pray together happily ever after. In spite of its religious and ethnic diversity, though, the United States is a white Protestant country, the prayers will be white Protestant prayers, and those children who don't mouth along will be branded as un-American.

In 1981, JoAnn Bell, a member of the Church of the Nazarene, sued to stop organized school prayer in her home town of Little Axe, Oklahoma because she didn't want her children being told by other people how to pray. After she won her case, she was physically beaten by a school worker in the parking lot

and her home was set on fire. And this woman was a white Protestant! What will happen to the Spanish-speaking Catholic children in Texas when it's their "turn" to lead prayers? Or to the French-speaking black Catholic Haitians? Or the Jews? The U.S. is a profoundly racist WASP country where, it is worth noting, not only has there never been a black or woman president, but only one out of 40 presidents in over 200 years was not a Protestant, John F. Kennedy.

Mixing religion and politics means persecution, war and death. It means Lebanon, India and Ireland, as *New York Times* columnist James Reston pointed out in a March 7 editorial. Any interference by the government in religious matters is a move toward the establishment of a state religion and in the 20th century religion has been used repeatedly to mobilize for imperialist or communal war, to set up an unquestionable authority behind which all were to step in place. It is no accident that the words "under god" weren't added to the Pledge of Allegiance until World War II. Today Reagan hopes to use religion in his war drive against "godless Communism," the "evil empire" of the Soviet Union. So in the White House a "freedom fighter" is an Afghani Muslim who shoots teachers for instructing little girls how to read. It's a measure of how far the capitalists have degenerated from the old bourgeois ideals of free speech and free worship that they can so embrace those who want their country to look like the ayatollah's Iran.

We communists happen to be atheists. There are a lot of things we don't like about Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, but we do strongly uphold the views of the Enlightenment, the French Revolution of 1789 and the first American Revolution regarding the separation of church and state. And we know that the founding ruling class of this country was right when it said that religion was a matter between a man and his god, and nobody else's business. ■

Poland...

(continued from page 2)

working class were—as they had been historically—socialist and anti-clerical. However, decades of bureaucratic oppression, gross corruption and endless broken promises of "socialist democratization" caused the working masses to turn against the Stalinist version of "real existing socialism." At the same time, the Stalinists allowed the powerful Catholic church to become the only tolerated voice of political opposition. In the early 1970s the head of the government Office of Religious Denominations told a Western journalist, "There is, of course, censorship, except for 18,000 pulpits where the priests say what they like and it is really nobody's business what they can say on occasions" (quoted in George Blazynski,

Flashpoint Poland [1979]). Jaruzelski now complains of priests "who have confused the pulpit with the Radio Free Europe microphone" (*Washington Post*, 17 March). But it was precisely Jaruzelski and his ilk who allowed these Radio Free Europe pulpits to become so influential. A gross example of the Stalinists' overt encouragement of clerical reaction in Poland is Pax—which at least prior to the suppression of Solidarność counterrevolution was probably the largest free enterprise outfit in Poland. Pax got the same preferential treatment as state-run firms; it controlled the manufacture of the blessed candles, rosaries, religious souvenirs, etc. In addition to being an essentially state-sanctioned pro-Catholic front, Pax was headed by one Boleslaw Piasecki. Piasecki is a bona fide fascist who formed a pro-Nazi group and during the interwar years in Poland attacked Jewish university students, earning the nickname Gillette Man for his use of the razor.

The growing force of clerical-nationalism in Stalinist Poland exploded with the formation of Solidarność in the summer-fall of 1980. To be sure, the masses of workers who flocked into Solidarność were motivated by legitimate grievances against the bureaucracy and a desire for an easier life. However, this "free trade union" was from the first led by hardened clerical-nationalist reactionaries who consolidated around a counterrevolutionary program at Solidarność' first national congress in September 1981. Significantly, this program called not merely for crucifixes in the public schools but a full-scale, universal Catholic education: "Catholicism is the living faith of most Poles, we take the view that the process of national education must make an honest and suitably extensive provision for the role and place of Christianity and the Church in the history of Poland and of the world" (quoted in Abraham



Historical Museum, Warsaw

Warsaw, 1943: Nazi roundup of Jews. Holocaust "purified" Poland for Catholic church.

Brumberg, ed., *Poland: Genesis of a Revolution* [1983]).

While the Western fake-left hailed this Polish company union for Wall Street, the CIA and Vatican, we warned "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" What if the Russian and Polish bureaucrats had been intimidated and Lech Walesa & Co. had taken power? Foreign investment and NATO bases flow in as the country reconstructs capitalism. Clerical-fascist squads terrorize Communists and other leftists, also militant workers and other "troublemakers." The workers soon find out it's not what they expected it to be. The International Monetary Fund orders half of them fired as an "austerity" measure, and they never see meat again. But they would have plenty of priests. Fortunately, the Polish Stalinist regime had enough instinct for survival to prevent this for the moment.

What is to be done now? We do not underestimate the strength of anti-Communist nationalism in General

Jaruzelski's Poland. Yet there are undoubtedly militants, in the factories and universities, inspired by genuinely socialist ideals who can be won to the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet bloc against imperialism and proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Key to realizing this program is the formation of a network of clandestine Trotskyist cells for propaganda and education.

What would a genuinely communist government in Poland do with all these Radio Free Europe priests? During the Great French Revolution of 1789 a left-wing Jacobin, Jean-François Varlet, proposed to exchange refractory priests, who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the republic, for French prisoners held by the Barbary pirates. We might consider trading some reactionary Polish priests for the working-class and leftist political prisoners held by blood-drenched juntas of the "free world" in Latin America. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

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

Chicago

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

New York City

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

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

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

CIA Murder, Inc. Comes to Oberlin

SYL Protests as "Third Campists" Squirm

In our last issue we reported that the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) handed the blood-stained U.S. Marine recruiters at Oberlin College their "best placement in three years" on February 7 by channeling student protest into a limp "die-in": the Marines recruited happily while the social-patriotic DSA dropped dead on the floor in front of them (see "DSA 'Die-Ins' Won't Drive Marines Off Campus!", *Young Spartacus* No. 116, March 1984). The Spartacus Youth League held a militant protest to drive the Marines off campus and the wimpy "third campists" of the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP) sat quietly with the DSA dead while the campus cops excluded the SYL from the site of the "die-in."

This month the demoralized and discredited Oberlin DSA couldn't even get it together to drop dead in front of recruiters for U.S. imperialism's Murder, Inc., the CIA, when they came to campus on March 22. Instead of even attempting a protest, the DSA held a pathetic "teach-in" in order to be "helpful in clarifying the role of the CIA" and "encourage a critical attitude towards this agency." This disgusting diversion was too mealy-mouthed even for the Shachtmanites of the LRP, who are still smarting from their exposure as the left tail of the pro-Democratic Party DSA last month. So the LRPies called a protest demonstration with the Gay and Lesbian Union in order to... "educate the Oberlin Community about CIA activities and policies around the world!"

The Oberlin Spartacus Youth League called our own demonstration, calling for "Bloody CIA Off Campus!" and protesting the spy agency as the shock troops of U.S. imperialism's bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. The LRPies came whining to us about our "sectarianism." They even wrote us a letter calling upon us to: "Have the courage to stand on the same platform as us before a larger audience—certainly a larger audience than a programmatically sectarian demonstration could draw. We once again invite you to participate in the demonstration and/or co-sponsor it." The LRP stands on the same side of the barricades as the murderous CIA in both Poland and Afghanistan... and has the gall to condemn us as cowardly and "sectarian" because we refuse to drop our defense of the gains of the Russian Revolution. What hypocrisy!

On March 22 a spirited SYL protest rallied at Oberlin's Wilder Bowl and marched to the anti-Soviet "educational" of forty or so at Peters Hall, where the CIA was recruiting. The SYL speaker exposed the fact that the LRP action was in fact simply a not-even-more-"militant" version of the DSA's anti-Soviet teach-in. The LRP speaker confined himself to a mealy-mouthed exposure of some of the CIA's more notorious plots, while the speakers from the Gay and Lesbian Union simply protested the CIA's discrimination against homosexuals, who, they claimed, should not be denied the career option offered by the CIA's "extremely important task." It is fitting that the LRP, which claims to oppose the CIA, has a united front with a group that merely wants to "democratize" the Company. The SYL certainly opposes discrimination against homosexuals, even in the U.S. military and spy agencies, but we want to see the entire imperialist war machine swept into the dustbin of history by a victorious workers revolution.

We reprint below the Oberlin SYL's

response to the LRP's invitation to participate in their anti-Soviet CIA "protest."

SYL Letter to Socialist Voices-LRP

March 19, 1984

To: Michael Friedman
Socialist Voices-LRP

Michael:

The Spartacus Youth League plans to hold a demonstration on Wednesday, March 21 [date later changed to March 22], in Wilder Bowl, to drive the CIA off campus. The slogans that we will be protesting under are: "Bloody CIA Off Campus!", "Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution—Kill the Invaders!", "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!", and "Abolish the CIA!" We want to see these imperialist spies defeated in all their murderous ventures



and thus prevent them from recruiting for same. And their main target, standing behind their aid to the butchers in El Salvador and the reactionary *contras* invading Nicaragua: is the Soviet Union!

Just like your mentor, Max Shachtman, the LRP is always eager to proclaim a mythical "third camp," claiming that they have no side in the U.S. war drive against Russia. And as with Shachtman, who came out in favor of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, standing firmly in the camp of State Department "socialism," so the LRP stood with the DSA in their "die-in" diversion around the marines last month, making every effort to make sure they were not associated with the Soviet-defensists of the SYL. So, while the SYL took a firm stand for "Marines Off Campus!", the anti-Soviet LRP has some mud on their face for their association with the DSA diversion. And so now they come to us to propose yet another anti-Soviet diversion! Forget it! The LRP's got some nerve to expect us to look to them for opposition to the CIA; after all, you're the group that lines up with the CIA's company union in Poland, and the barbaric mullahs they call "freedom fighters" in Afghanistan! The SYL is the only group that is consistent in our opposition to U.S. imperialism and all its spies and cutthroats, because we defend the revolutions that they have targeted. You can't be a revolutionary if you can't defend the gains of the revolutions that have already taken place in Russia and Cuba!

Your refusal to call for even the basic slogan: "CIA Off Campus," as well as

"Bloody CIA off Campus!" Oberlin SYL protests U.S. spy agency recruiters, defends Central American workers and peasants, Cuba and Soviet Union. Below, U.S. troops during "Big Pine II" operation in Honduras.



UPI

your expressed fears of alienating people and breaking the rules flow from your anti-Sovietism—they are all a result of a capitulation to the rightward political drift under Reagan. Your recent undated letter addressed to the Spartacus Youth Club exposes the fallacy behind your claims to want a "united front" in the Trotskyist tradition. Your call is for a basic pop-front-style rally under the lowest common denominator politics in order to "speak

before as many people as possible," and make the rally palatable for the Democratic Party liberals of the DSA. Your anti-Soviet politics will certainly leave any rally "safe" for the "more bang for the buck" Democratic Party of War. The LRP's regular picket sign reading: "Defend Central American revolutions, not Cuba and the USSR" would make these anti-Soviet warmongers and their Latin American butchers like Edén Pastora, feel right at home!

Once again, the SYL plans to demonstrate to drive the CIA off campus. You will be allowed a speaker if you so desire. I'm sure many students would be interested to hear you explain why you line up with the bloody CIA in Poland and Afghanistan!

Sincerely,
Lisa Martin

The Spartacus Youth League

SYL Class Series

BOSTON

Marxist Class Series
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
April 12, April 26
Sever 307
Harvard University
For more information: (617) 492-3928

DETROIT

Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.
April 11, 25, May 9
Rm. 580 SCB
Wayne State University
For more information: (313) 961-1680

LOS ANGELES

For International Workers Revolution!
Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m.
April 11, 18, 25, May 2
Ackerman, Rm. 3520
UCLA
For more information: (213) 663-1216 or 1217

MADISON

ABCs of Marxism
Saturday, 3:00 p.m., April 21

Memorial Union (see "Today in the Union" for room)
UW Madison
For more information: (608) 251-4321

OAKLAND

Basic Marxism
Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.
April 11, 18, 25
1634 Telegraph Ave. (3rd floor)
For more information: (415) 835-1535

OBERLIN

Smash Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive! (Exco Course)
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
April 18, May 2
Wilder 102
Oberlin College
For more information: (216) 775-5839

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
Monday, 7:00 p.m.
April 9
Blackburn Center, Rm. 148
Howard University
Sponsored by Howard FOSYL
For more information: (202) 636-3537

It is with great pleasure that *Young Spartacus* prints below an edited version of our recent interview with Lydia Spragin, the central leader of black student protest last year at the University of Mississippi (Ole Miss). Fighting the entrenched white racism at Ole Miss, black students organized against the official use of the Confederate flag and protested the outrageous publication in the school yearbook of no fewer than eight photographs of white-hooded Ku Klux Klan scum.

Writing at some distance, basing our coverage on what could be gleaned from the press reports, *Young Spartacus* (No. 110, Summer 1983) carried an editorial note on the events in Mississippi entitled "Finish the Civil War! Stop Racist Rampage at Ole Miss!" We quoted Lydia Spragin, then president of the Ole Miss Black Student Union, using her statement, "We will not be moved off this campus, we will not be pushed off." At the time, we certainly had no idea that we would have the privilege of

the flag" and terrorize black students. They refused to be terrorized—despite Klan marches in nearby Oxford, Mississippi, official "benign neglect" from the university and rampaging racist punks on campus. Indeed, through sheer determination, intelligence and courage, Lydia was able to win some of the formerly hostile white students to the other side. She acted as a leader in the real sense of the word: the articulate spokesman and able strategist in the service of a fight which belonged to hundreds.

We regret that space limitations make it impossible to publish more of the extensive interview. *YSp* has sought to retain important biographical information on Lydia Spragin herself and print as fully as possible her story of the Ole Miss struggle. In the course of the interview, we also exchanged views on a variety of political questions. We differed on many of them. For instance, Lydia supports the Jesse Jackson presidential campaign. As regular read-

Danny Lyon



Danville, Virginia sit-in outside mayor's office after 40 civil rights demonstrators hospitalized with billy-club wounds and busted heads. 1960s mass civil rights struggles won partial victories over Jim Crow system.

discussing the Ole Miss struggle with her personally.

It was for us, therefore, very gratifying when Howard University supporters of the SYL were able to arrange this interview with Lydia for *Young Spartacus*. Her account of the year-long battle at Ole Miss not only makes fascinating reading for militant anti-racists, but is also an eloquent indictment of racist America from the perspective of a student at one of its most blatantly racist institutions. In 1962 Ole Miss was "integrated" for the first time; James Meredith was brought onto the campus by federal marshals with bayonets at the ready. Meredith, a young Air Force veteran, was jeered and spat on by white racist students, he ate alone in the cafeteria—accompanied only by armed U.S. marshals.

At the time of last year's black student protest, there were some 750 blacks at Ole Miss out of a total enrollment of over 9,400. The symbols—and the reality—of KKK-style racist terror and Jim Crow remained. As she describes below, Lydia Spragin, along with John Hawkins—the school's first black cheerleader and the man who refused to carry the flag of slavery and Klan terror at football games—decided to stand up for their rights and their dignity. These courageous spokesmen were able to lead the black student population of Ole Miss in a successful battle against the Confederate flag. Their fight drew nationwide attention to the racist mobilizations which took place to "save

ers of *YSp* know, we give no political support to Jackson or any politician of the twin parties of capital—the Democrats and Republicans. We fight for an independent, multiracial workers party. The SYL and Lydia Spragin do agree that integration is an important aim, although the means of struggle to defend and extend it would undoubtedly-

No Credit



"HOW WE I CONFEDERATE FLAG

Interview with Southern

ly be an area of difference. As Marxists, we fight for revolutionary integrationism, for the working-class strategy of uniting the labor movement with the oppressed against their common enemies—the racist, capitalist system and its agencies—in order to put an end to the capitalist order and all its filthy inequities once and for all. Critical to this is the construction of a revolutionary vanguard party with a key component of black leadership. We seek to win the best black militants—fighters like Lydia Spragin—to the party of socialist revolution. We view racial oppression not merely as bigotry among large sections of the white population, but as a *materially* rooted cornerstone of this society which likewise can only be eradicated by removing the material, economic, social barriers to black equality. We struggle for the day that race in this country will have no more effect on the life of any individual than one's first name and shoe size. Meanwhile, we propose to take the racists *out of power* through victorious workers revolution.

We share with Lydia her fighter's commitment to oppose the hideous racist oppression which permeates every level of racist American capitalist society. As we wrote last summer:

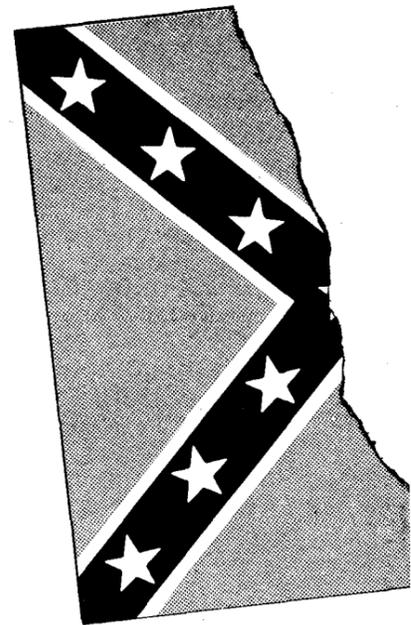
"One of the first acts of a workers government will be to tear down and burn each and every Confederate flag in this country. As for the white-hooded terrorists who continue to do their dirty work with the benign aid of the government—they will pay. *Young Spartacus* is in fullest solidarity with the struggle of the black students throughout the South who refuse to submit passively to the trampling of their rights and dignity by the losers of the Civil War."

The story of the Ole Miss battle follows. We trust our readers will enjoy it as we have and we look forward to continued discussions with Lydia Spragin and others like her who not only have something to say, but have undertaken genuinely heroic deeds.

Note: Lydia Spragin is not affiliated with the Spartacus Youth League.

YSp: Tell us a little about yourself, where you grew up, what your parents do, that kind of thing.

Lydia: I'm a 21-year-old graduate from the University of Mississippi. I hold a



Finish the C

Bachelor of Science degree in biological sciences with minors in chemistry and English. My home town is Clarksdale, Mississippi and my father is a Christian Methodist Episcopal minister. I graduated from Immaculate Conception High School in 1979 where I distinguished myself as a valedictorian, National Honor Society and star student.

YSp: You grew up in Clarksdale?

Lydia: Right. I spent all my years there in this little-bitty town, about 10,000 people I suppose.

YSp: Whereabouts is Clarksdale located?

Lydia: Clarksdale is located 77 miles south of Memphis, Tennessee. It's in what we call the Delta region of Mississippi.

YSp: How did the civil rights struggle affect Clarksdale? Were there any large struggles there?

Lydia: As you know the Klan does not like schools that try to help black people. Well, the Catholic school that I

New York Public Library

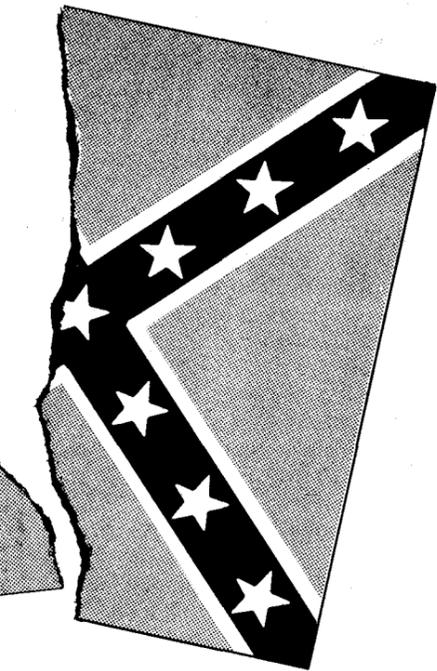


1866: Black school burned in Memphis during rioting by police and ex-Confederate soldiers. 48 people killed, 90 homes, 12 schools, 4 churches burned. Betrayal of radical reconstruction depicted by Thomas Nast cartoon (right). Black Union soldier (left).



"DROVE THE G FROM OLE MISS"

Black Student Leader



Civil War!

went to is 100 percent or 99.9 percent black. And they had cross-burnings in front of their yard. They built a little circle of stones in front where [the Klan] burned the cross and they plant tulips every year to remind them of the struggle that went on and how they are dedicating their lives not only to god but to black education and welfare.

We've had boycotts and sit-ins in Clarksdale. I remember when I was little, mama and daddy used to shop at Mark's which is about 15 miles away from Clarksdale because they had what they called the black Christmas where we only supported black businesses.

I guess one of the things that impressed me most was when I was about two. They still had separate waiting rooms and separate bathrooms. I went to the doctor and I said, "Mommy, I have to go to the bathroom." So she took me and we went down the hall and it was in the meter room where they have all the working equipment and all of that, spider webs

Thomas Nast



and ducts. There was this commode sitting out in the middle of the floor. Mommy said, "Okay baby, go." And I said, "Go? Go where?" She says, "Here, in the bathroom." I said, "Mommy, what did I do to make you do this to me? You be so mean to me."

That's the day mommy sat down and told me about the differences between being black and white. She says, "See your hands?" And I said, "Yeah." She says, "What color are they?" I said, "They're black." She says, "And the other side is white." I said, "Yeah." So she says, "Okay look, this is the thing I want you to remember. The people that look like this are always going to treat you like you don't belong, like something's dirty or something's defective about you. But see, if you look, if you notice, you'll notice the black is on top of the white. And it always shall be. In mind, in body, in soul, in spirit and whatever—remember that you're still number one and they're always on the bottom." That's the lesson that I learned way back then out of the whole struggle. Because they still had separate lines—at the health clinic they had separate lines where you go to get shots.

YSp: Do you think that growing up in the Deep South impelled you to become a fighter?

Lydia: Well, see, I don't know anything else about any other part of the country. This is my first time more than 300 miles away from my house. So the only thing I know about is what's happening there.

The three boys that they killed, civil rights workers killed in Mississippi—that was the first time I ever remember being mad, when I watched that on TV. And I guess seeing a lot of other things. When you walk into a store they call the white people "Mr." and "Mrs." and when they see daddy, "How you doin' Ore Lee?" And I know that ticked me and my brother off the first time.

YSp: Would you say that things have really changed very much since when you were growing up?

Lydia: Outwardly things have changed a lot. You just don't see open segregation, open discrimination, open racist attitudes anymore.

YSp: Did you have any other experience with the KKK and race-terrorists aside from what happened when you were in Catholic school?

Lydia: Not me directly, but indirectly. When we were at Ole Miss the Klan came up to Oxford to march against the things that we were trying to fight for. I got a letter, this cute little letter. It's written in red and black and crayon and black ink, and it's got lots of cute little pictures, you know, toilet paper and all kind of stuff in it. I can't say for sure that it came from the Klan, but a Klan-like organization. It said such things as, "I was always told that 'niggers,' like children, are supposed to be seen and not heard." I think the letter was meant more to intimidate us than anything else. But it provided a joke for me and my friends because when we sat down and read it we couldn't believe that anybody actually had a mentality of such a low level.

YSp: Why don't you go back a couple of steps and tell us exactly what happened out at Ole Miss last year and what the

origin of the struggle was.

Lydia: John Hawkins ran and won a cheerleader position at the University of Mississippi. He then decided that it would not be fitting for his black cultural heritage if he carried the Confederate flag which was also the symbol used for slavery, the Klan and all kinds of other things that people were out lynching his forefathers about. He didn't feel comfortable carrying it and he refused to wave it. The first pep rally came along and John didn't carry the flag. Of course he had bodyguards, his own fraternity brothers were his bodyguards.

YSp: What fraternity is that?

Lydia: Phi Beta Sigma. Then John started getting a lot of threats and hate mail. I said, "Well, wait a minute. There's an organization on this campus that I'm the president of, that you're the vice president of, that's supposed to be taking this sort of heat. You shouldn't have to be out there all by your

South and across the country." They said, "We're taking it under advisement, we're studying it, we shall meet on it, we shall discuss it." In other words, they shall shelve it for the moment.

At the same time we started trying to get them to do something about our Afro-American Studies Department. It had been defunct, hadn't been offering but maybe three courses and you were supposed to be able to get a minor in the subject. You couldn't get a minor in Black Studies if all they were offering was three courses. And you couldn't really expand the program if there was no director. You know, the director they had had quit and they hadn't bothered to put anybody over there in a permanent position. We heard that some of our professors were quitting and wanted to know why they were leaving all of a sudden. We didn't have but five out of 300...

YSp: Five black professors out of 300?

Lydia: Uh-hm. And we felt like that was

Smash the Klan!



Tupelo, Mississippi, 1978: Klan marches with flag of slavery and racist terror. For labor/black mobilizations to smash Klan/Nazi terror!

lonesome trying to fight this battle."

So I went to the Black Student Union meeting, and I said, "We're all in favor of supporting John for not carrying the flag. Are there any dissensions?" And there weren't any. So when I went to the press I said, "We have a unanimous vote in favor of John Hawkins' stance on the flag."

Throughout the year the battle grew. The Klan decided it would come down, I think about the 23rd or so of October, and march in Oxford in support of the flag and how it was a tradition in the South. Of course I had been telling the chancellor and the vice chancellor—we were on the Black Concerns Committee which is a chancellor's standing committee—how it was Klan-associated. They told us, "Well, the Klan doesn't have a thing to do with the Confederate flag."

So it was just a small paragraph in the paper about the Klan to march on October 23 in support of the Confederate flag. I picked it up and trotted over to the vice chancellor's office and I said, "Hello, is the vice chancellor in?" And she says, "No, he's on a trip." I said, "Well, when you call him or when he calls you, make sure you tell him that I came by and I brought the clipping that says that the Klan is going to march with the Confederate flag. And make sure you put emphasis on *with the Confederate flag* for me." I said, "That's why we got to get rid of this flag. If we get rid of this thing we completely dissociate ourselves from any sort of racial bias and prejudice. And it would do wonders for Ole Miss and morale across the

just outrageous. So time went on and we fought this battle all throughout the year—basically me and the Executive Council of my Black Student Union.

Then later on in the year the annual popped out, the Ole Miss annual. Immediately before it popped out I had heard a rumor that it had pictures of the Klan in it. When the annual popped out I walked over there to the coliseum. Well, I didn't even have my book yet. And I heard that they were having a meeting over in the chancellor's office, that the black students were hot and they were waiting on me. When I came in the meeting John was flipping from page to page and there were eight photographs of the Klan and one was an eight-by-ten in color that you could clip out and hang on your wall. There were pictures in the index of the Klan, pictures in the front, pictures in the back, pictures all over the place.

One of the "rebel recruiters," which is what they use to recruit high school students, minority recruitment as well as majority recruitment—she was a black student—said, "I'm a rebel recruiter, and you expect me to take this out here with me and ask some black child to come up here to this institution? Either you're sick or I'm stone crazy." And I said, "Of course you're going to live up to your name, the most racist institution in the South."

So after that meeting where everybody was very hot somebody said, "Well, you should call an emergency meeting of the Black Student Union." I said, "Okay." They said, "Get a room

continued on page 8

"HOW WE DROVE THE CONFEDERATE FLAG FROM OLE MISS"

(continued from page 7)

and let us know the time and the place." So I got a room. I let them know the time and the place by word of mouth. I didn't have time to put up posters because it was going to be that night. All year long I had been putting up posters and I had had a small gathering of black students. I got there that night and there were 350 folks sitting in the meeting!

I said, "Look, I'm willing to put my life on the line. I'm willing to stand up for what I believe. And I'm willing to go as far or further than you're willing to go. As long as I know that you're back there. I don't want to look back there at some point and you're gone. How far are you willing to go?" And they agreed. "We're ready to march. We're ready to go, whatever it takes."

I called my dad and my brother up because I knew it was going to be a big thing. "Things are getting hot down here," I said, "and I'm in the forefront as usual. I want you to contact the lawyer so if we go to jail we won't have to stay there all night, because when the sun goes down in the Mississippi jail house I hear that you don't go out the same way that you went in, standing up and walking. Sometimes they carry you out in a box." Daddy said, "Okay." After I had their support it really didn't matter to me what anybody else said or did—the threats, the telephone calls, whatever went down.

That's one thing I liked about the students at Ole Miss. The black students got together; when they decided that they were ready to move they participated in everything. They all knew what they wanted, and they as a group were the force. All they needed was somebody to speak for what they wanted. They wanted more faculty. They wanted an explanation for the Klan in the book, they wanted the Confederate flag to be abolished. They wanted to stand up and be counted as black people, and not oreo cookies—black people on the outside and white or some other filling on the inside. And that's why I am proud of them and that's why I'll always be proud of them.

When they were dedicating this multi-million dollar health complex is where we made our first stand. We knew every rich white alumni would be there, and the governor would be there and the president of the College Board would be there. So we worked undercover-like, to plan a sit-in demonstration at the dedication of this building. Somehow or another we wanted to get it out to the press so that they would be there. Of course my phone got disconnected for some weird reason we have yet to figure out, and it didn't get turned back on until about 7:30 the next morning. But the *Commercial-Appeal* had a reporter on call because they knew that something was going to go down. So he was there.

We all came, and it was a big shock. I

looked around when I got over there—I saw people coming from all over. I mean every dorm, every direction, cars, trucks—I was like, "Oh my god I'm seeing a dream come true!" People were organized. They followed directions of the marshals and everything was just so orderly and together.

I had set up a strategic council in addition to my Black Student Union Executive Council to help me strategize. We also had some planning meetings with some of the other members of the Oxford community who had been involved in the civil rights struggle before. The night before they were saying, "You might get kicked, you might be spit on, you might get shot. The thing is you got to be ready." There was this old, old lady there and she gave me so much inspiration from the way that she was talking about the things that she had been through through the civil rights struggle. I said, "If that old lady can make it then surely I can make it!"

We had the sit-in, and as I was coming in I was escorted by two student bodyguards, self-appointed. And I remember one guy [who said], "I want to be Lydia's bodyguard. If [there's] any shooting, if one of the crackers go off and they shoot somebody, I would rather me die than she dies. She's more important to us than I am." At that particular point I never felt so much, I don't know what it was, pride in my race, and love and compassion than I did at that moment for one person. And then for all of them because they all turned around and they were just looking like, "We're here now—lead! You have followers. You said you'd lead, now lead."

We were set up so that it would be like we were in rows of seven or eight, something like that—it was a column of us like a marching army. And we all had our little red, black and green flags all rolled up for liberation, and we were all sitting there—we filled up the whole entire middle section of the white folks. We got there before they did, and we were filling up the whole middle. We wanted to be seen. Then we took the other half of the right section. Then we pulled some chairs up and took the rest of their seats. It was 300 of us sitting in there. And the only part of the service that we participated in was the prayer, because we weren't against god and we were praying for his guidance that everything would be alright.

It kind of threw everybody there because they would clap and there was this large multitude of 300 people sitting there doing nothing. They would crack a joke and they would all bust out in a short laugh, they'd turn around and see us not cracking a smile. Then it got to the point where everything that they said was focused on us. The governor got up and he said that he wished he was



Ole Miss "integrates" at gun point, 1962. Gov. Ross Barnett on campus during racist demonstrations (above); James Meredith with NAACP attorneys (left).

out there in the audience where we were, because he felt that what we were doing was something right. And he offered to lend us his assistance [after that].

YSp: Now who was this?

Lydia: The governor, Governor William Winter.

YSp: Governor of Mississippi.

Lydia: He's also a former alumnus of the University of Mississippi and he recently turned down the chancellorship of the University of Mississippi, which was very embarrassing for the state.

At the same time there was an important black guy—knowing that he is scared to make this move in action I won't call his name—he's very important. He could have been somebody that could really have helped us out. He told us, "Shhhh! Be quiet! We going to help you all out." I said, "When?" "Be patient! We're going to get around to this." I said, "Look, we've been waiting for 20 years!" He said, "You ain't been waiting 20 years, you ain't been waiting but 12!" I said, "Twelve, 20, what's the difference?" He called me up on the phone, wanted to fly me and six of my advisers down to his house for a dinner. He wouldn't talk to us in public but he was willing to fly us down on a private plane to come and talk to him over dinner.

YSp: What is he, some kind of mayor or politico?

Lydia: Let's just say he has a great deal of political clout in the state. I found that this was his usual tactic, you know, to break up black student movements for marches, for rights, whether it was on a white college campus or a black college campus.

We started just trying different

strategies on our own. Of course the white students had already started a "save the flag" petition. After we raised up such a ruckus over the annual and the flag, I think the chancellor and some of the alumni finally [said], "Well, you know we can see what it's doing and we love our school more than we love the flag." And a lot of them wouldn't sign the petition, although they did get about 4,000 or 5,000 names.

At the same time our movement was growing and getting nationwide in scope. We had reporters down from the *Los Angeles Times*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *New Orleans Picayune*, *Atlanta Constitution*. We had the *Commercial-Appeal*, all the Mississippi papers were carrying it, the [Memphis-based stations] Channel 5, Channel 3, Channel 13 television stations. WDIA radio program was airing views about the whole thing. We were doing radio interviews, telephone radio interviews with stations in Florida and Boston and places like that. I [said], "Get as many signatures as you want but I know that the right people are behind [us]." They had fights in some of the classrooms.

YSp: White students attacking blacks?

Lydia: Uh-hm. Of course a couple of my friends didn't want me sleeping in my room because I had a corner room with two windows and this window already had a bullet hole in it from some other previous time. So my friends sort of took that as indicative of what might happen this time. So any time I was in there I just left the door open.

This girl didn't even knock on the door, she just walked in and said, "I want you to know that I just got slapped with one of them Confederate flags and



Workers Books



(Right) SNCC leader James Forman under the gun of Confederate flag-clad Sheriff Clarke in Selma, Alabama. (Left) 1960 sit-in at segregated lunch counter.

Norris McNamara

called a 'nigger' on top of it. And I want you to know that I didn't pick up that folding chair that was standing right there and knock the 'Pure, D' shit out of this person." I said, "Right. I appreciate that, thank you for telling me." Before I could get on the phone somebody else was in my room, complaining.

So I went over to the chancellor's office and I said, "Chancellor, this thing is getting out of hand. You need to make a move. The students are waiting for you to do something." He says, "I'm going to Houston or somewhere."

While he left and went to Houston the white students got together and had a 2,000-people march and rally. We called it a riot. They called it an "over-spirited pep rally." When the Department of Justice in Atlanta called and asked me how things were going I said, "Well, they had a public over-spirited pep rally last night." He said, "Well, what's that?" I said, "That's where 2,000 white students get together and they begin to chant and wave flags and wait for you to come to a meeting or burn books so that they can attack you." They threw eggs at the Phi Beta Sigma fraternity house.

They didn't exactly march. They kind of gathered and stormed from place to place, wherever they heard that we were

Greensboro Daily News



No more Greensboros! Klan/Nazi hitmen massacred five anti-Klan protesters, 1979; Klan/Nazi scum acquitted by all-white jury.

going to be meeting. They thought that we were actually supposed to meet to burn the annuals. It had been brought up at one of our meetings and of course the press propagated it out that we were going to burn the annuals at 7:00 on Monday night. But if the press had listened closely, it never came from my mouth nor did I put it for a vote. And I knew wasn't nobody going to make a move that we hadn't all agreed upon. So I got a call from the press earlier, "Are you all going to meet tonight to burn books?" I [said], "No comment," because I felt that this was our best defense, we were so few in number.

I saw where they could gather 2,000 together on a rumor that we might be somewhere. There were only 750 of us and I said, "Now that's two for each one of us, one to hold us and one to beat us up. We need to think and have an element of surprise before we plan something out and let it leak too early in advance."

So in response to that we got together and had what we called a get-together in the middle of what they considered the most historic site on Ole Miss campus. That was the Lyceum, one of the oldest buildings on the campus. Primarily we wanted them to know that we were there to stay. They would have to deal with us because none of these tactics were going to push us out of the way.

We were organizing, let us say, on shaky ground, and the Lyceum was not the easiest place to get out of. Of course we had had a practice with our marshals. They had scouted the place enough to know exactly where was what and how we might possibly make an exit if it came down to that.

We made it about five minutes or six minutes—we had timed it so that we would know that we would meet there at a certain time and we would leave at a certain time. And while we were in progress a lot of other students came and joined it. I had some journalism students who were working for me. They said, "We had about 600, 700 folks." I said, "There are only 756 of us on campus so that's 100 percent participation!" At that point I think everybody began to know that we were a unified effort and they had seen that we were being intelligent. We weren't about violence, we weren't about trying to hurt anybody. We were just about trying to get what we felt was our due as far as rights were concerned, civil rights, the right to express yourself and not feel oppressed at the same time.

They felt like us being in the minority, we didn't have a right to say that we didn't want a flag there. When it finally turned around I told one guy, "If you were Jewish, and I asked you could I wave a swastika in your house, that's the same way I feel when you wave a Confederate flag. Now you know how insulting that is to a Jew. It's the same way with blacks."

From that point on we finally got them to address our demands. Right now they have a few more black instructors there.

YSp: What, maybe ten instead of five, something like that?

Lydia: Right. At least we're getting a growing number. Right now the sale of flags are banned on the University of Mississippi campus. They haven't gone quite so far as to ban them coming into the stadium. But they did ban the selling of them. And they banned the use of our student activity fees, \$10,000 of it, to purchase those flags every year. We got that.

A lot of the white students down there eventually got to the point where they could sit down and talk to you about it rationally. [I got] harassing calls—when they called me up, I'd always hear them out. I never hung up on them. I'd always listen to them. And they'd be surprised that I'd still be on the phone. Then I'd say, "Now what prompted you to call me? What did I say that made you that mad that you felt like you had to call me up to say that to me?" And one guy, the most vulgar one, he ended up asking me if there was anything that he could do to help us out now that he understood better where we were coming from. I said, "Just go out and talk to your friends. You called me up tonight with what you had to say. Call up some of them. You woke me up. Surely you can disturb their sleep with this new revelation—if they're not already in your room waiting on you to get off the phone to see what I said."

YSp: So you never actually had any support from any of the white students or faculty?

Lydia: There were some white students and faculty that were behind us. As a matter of fact the faculty senate which is composed primarily of white faculty drafted a resolution that urged the chancellor to get rid of the Confederate flag. A number of student leaders got together and drafted a resolution to urge all student leaders to ask their fraternities, sororities, etc., to support the banning of the Confederate flag. In the middle of things there was some support that came out.

There was one white girl that did an interview with me for one of the campus publications and she ended up in my room crying and I was asking what was the problem. She says, "Well, I just can't discuss it." She left and a couple of days later she came back and said, "I want to read you what I'm going to write." I heard it and it was very sensitive and to the point. I said, "Why did you leave my room the other day?" She says, "Because I had to go call my mama. Mama taught me to hate and taught me prejudice. She taught me that I was better than you and



The Battle of Boston: Spartacist contingent demands labor/black mobilization to defend school busing against racist rampage at 1975 demonstration.

taught me that it was okay and here I was—you were everything that was different from what I was taught. I told her, 'Don't teach my little brother this, because he's going to get out there in the world and find that it's just not right. These stereotypes that you're teaching me just aren't right.'

She lost her job when she proceeded to try to tell the other white students how she really felt. They asked her to cover something else and she covered it from the perspective of her newly found insight and she got fired. Of course they said a reporter's supposed to be unemotional and unbiased when they're doing a report.

YSp: Did you ever make any attempt to broaden out the struggle off campus to the neighboring community? I'm sure there must have been a lot of blacks in the area who were following what was going on.

Lydia: Yeah, there were. A lot of people in New Orleans called me up to say that they had three buses ready to come down and march with us. I said, "No, because the black students here have got to show that they can push this to the maximum effort by themselves. It's good to know that we have your support, and to tell people that we have your support will do us good. I don't want any outside agitation like the Klan came down."

After 2,000 white students marched, the Klan called the guy up who was so-called leading it. I heard he cursed them

out on the phone. He said, "Look, we can take care of our own problems up here. We don't need your happy souls coming in here every time we have a problem. If y'all want to come I'll meet y'all out there with a baseball bat and we'll see how far your head will fly." And I was like, "He said that to the leader of the Klan?" They said, "Yep. Apparently they want it to be an intra-student struggle." I said, "If we're going to all play by the same rules and win fairly then we don't need any outside help either."

It was nice to have the support off campus and I wouldn't have had it any other way, because if we had just a movement by ourselves it might never have worked. People knew that we had this outside support. And it gave us a little more legitimacy to what we were doing, knowing that we weren't out there by ourselves and at any moment we could pick up the phone and maybe call buses of folks from across the country to come. And they [Ole Miss] knew it, so the pressure was on them from outside. And we were pushing on the inside. It couldn't help but at some point reach a boiling-over point.

YSp: I think that's about all I've got. Do you have anything else that you want to say?

Lydia: I enjoyed the interview, and it's an honor and a privilege to be asked.

YSp: I feel likewise, I really learned a lot, and appreciate you spending the time with us. ■

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U.S. War Moves...

(continued from page 1)

American population for an *actual* war against the Soviet bloc. That is why the Spartacus Youth League says: Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in Central America!

"Elections by Death": Made in USA

The Salvadoran "elections" would be a suitable subject for treatment by Gabriel García Marquez, the Latin American leftist novelist who explained that his surrealistic writings reflected the terrifying and even maddening reality of Latin America. Each of the "candidates" is a certifiable mass murderer. The U.S.-backed José Napoleón Duarte of the Christian Democratic Party, who came to power in October 1979 in a "human rights coup" engineered by the Carter administration, presided over the Salvadoran government until March 1982. During his reign the death squads and the Salvadoran military murdered 30,000 workers and peasants. The Duarte regime created legal cover for the slaughter in a series of decrees which

communism" if not outright communists, and is useful to U.S. imperialism not least in that he allows Duarte to posture as a "moderate" in somewhat the same sense that Mussolini might be considered "moderate" in comparison with Hitler.

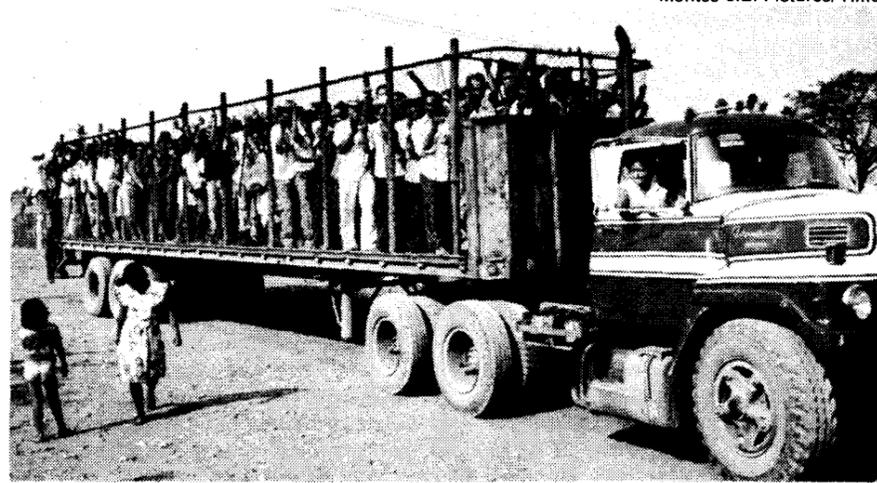
The 1982 U.S.-sponsored elections resulted in a stalemate between the Christian Democrats and ARENA, with the latter dominating the so-called National Assembly in alliance with the Party of National Conciliation, the historic party of Salvadoran military dictatorships. The second round of the current elections, scheduled to take place in early May, will be a face-off between Duarte and D'Aubuisson.

D'Aubuisson and his followers have made it clear by their actions that they do not regard themselves as hostages to Washington's policies in El Salvador. Whether D'Aubuisson wins or loses, he could order the initiation of a massive new bloodbath even *without* Reagan's approval, and a coup attempt by D'Aubuisson-loyal elements in the army cannot be ruled out if Duarte takes the "election." But in the wake of the disclosure by an ex-official of the Salvadoran government that Colonel Nicolas Carranza, the head of the Salvadoran treasury police—the most murderous of the "security forces"—has been a paid informer for the CIA since the days of the Carter administration, only the most gullible could believe that there is any real difference between D'Aubuisson and the American political/military establishment where mass murder is concerned.

Indeed, in the Salvadoran elections "voting" is compulsory. The formal penalty for not casting a ballot is a fine; "unofficially," it can be death. As the *New York Times* (27 March) cynically put it, "citizens who have an election stamp on their national identity cards tend to feel more comfortable in their contacts with officials and security forces than those who do not." Hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans stood in line for hours, or wandered from one polling station to another desperately trying to find their prescribed "voting" location. Many Salvadorans couldn't vote at all, even though they thought their lives depended on it. This is democracy? According to the Reagan administration—yes. Administration spokesmen were reportedly pleased with the "high voter turnout." And so were many Congressional Democrats—so much so, according to the *Times*, that "the size of the voter turnout [has] improved the prospects in Congress for President Reagan's request for more military aid to El Salvador."

For Workers Revolution in Central America!

In El Salvador a civil war has raged for five years, pitting leftist guerrillas against the Salvadoran butcher government backed up by U.S. imperialism. Today the guerrillas dominate one-third of the country while, increasingly, government troops are "recruited" into the army at gunpoint off the streets. But the guerrillas' political leadership in the FDR/FMLN attempts to use the rebels' battlefield victories to the end of striking



Montes-J.B. Pictures/Time

Salvadoran "democracy" on the move... "voters" literally being herded to the polls to cast a ballot for the butcher of their "choice."

a political deal with El Salvador's ruling rightist butchers for a "Government of Broad Participation." As liberal bourgeois commentators have anxiously noted, however, it is questionable "whether any future political deal will be respected by the people with the guns" (*New York Times*, 1 April). The political polarization is too deep. Such a "deal" will certainly *not* be respected by the rightist death squads. *The leftist rebels must win the war!*

In neighboring Nicaragua, the U.S.-installed butcher Anastasio Somoza's National Guard murdered 50,000 young Nicaraguan men in the civil war before the Sandinistas ousted him from power in the 1979 political revolution. But while the revolution sent the military fleeing across the border into Honduras—effectively destroying the armed bodies of men which constituted the bourgeois state—the Sandinistas have refused to expropriate the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie as a class both economically and politically. The petty-bourgeois Sandinista nationalists seek to *balance* between the workers and peasant masses on the one hand and the Nicaraguan capitalists—the "fifth column" of imperialism and *contra* terror—on the other. The so-called "middle road" of political "pluralism" and a "mixed economy" is willy-nilly the *road to counterrevolution*. Only the expropriation of the Nicaraguan capitalists and the extension of revolutionary struggle throughout Central America and north into Mexico can prevent the return of Somozaist tyranny in Nicaragua!

Conciliation of imperialism actually works to *facilitate* an eventual U.S. imperialist invasion by sapping the *revolutionary will of the masses*—a crucial factor which has so far greatly limited U.S. imperialism's room for maneuver. It was above all the lack of revolutionary mobilization of the masses in Grenada, where the popular left-nationalist Maurice Bishop came to power in a palace coup and was ousted in the same way, that was responsible for the absence of indigenous resistance to the U.S. invasion of that country. The U.S. imperialists know that they could not invade Nicaragua today, or especially Cuba, without encountering fierce resistance which would result in massive American casualties and provoke social turmoil here at home.

Democratic Party of War

In his soon-to-be-released memoirs, Alexander Haig complains that when he as much as advocated a U.S. military invasion of Cuba in 1981, all the other Cold Warriors of the Reagan administration rejected the idea as portending "another Vietnam." Likewise in the Democratic Party primaries Gary Hart has seen fit to capitalize on the "Vietnam syndrome" by portraying Walter Mondale's refusal to commit himself to withdrawal of American combat troops from Central America as a continuation of his diehard support for the Vietnam War. Mondale for his part regrets that this was "the worst mistake in my life." For the capitalist politicians of "left," right and center, Vietnam was a "mistake" because U.S. imperialism was

defeated in its war against the Vietnamese social revolution. But for the workers and oppressed of the world, Vietnam was a *victory*. We say: Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!

The Democratic Party "liberals" are for wars *that win*. Gary Hart wants to cut the U.S.' losses in Central America by taking the Sandinistas and the FDR/FMLN leadership up on their offer of a deal which would recognize the "legitimate security interests" of U.S. imperialism before it is too late. The liberals want a negotiated sellout of the Salvadoran civil war and slow-motion counterrevolution in Nicaragua in order to contain and reverse the threat of social revolution in the region and maintain Central America as U.S. imperialism's "backyard." In the meantime Hart's program is to prepare for Grenada-style invasions throughout the Third World. As the *New York Times* (30 March) stated:

"In Congress, as a leader of the bipartisan 'military reform' movement, Mr. Hart has said the Pentagon should spend more on manpower and combat readiness and less on procurement of expensive, complex weapons. He has recommended less emphasis on heavy firepower and more reliance on rapid surprise maneuvers to disrupt the organization of enemy forces."

It is thus entirely fitting that this aspiring white knight of Camelot II takes as his mentor John F. Kennedy, sponsor of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and architect of the early escalation of U.S. military intervention in Vietnam.

To the extent that Democratic Party liberals are actually interested in "peace," it is because they fear that Reagan is rushing toward a *nuclear war* which will *really* be an "unwinnable mistake." But while urging a buildup of conventional weapons, Hart by no means proposes to neglect U.S. imperialism's nuclear arsenal. Hart's support for the nuclear "freeze" has been coupled with support for the so-called "build-down" of U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe, which involves replacing "obsolete" weapons with more modern weapons which contain fewer but *more accurate* warheads—a *first-strike*



"Kill the Invaders!" SL/SYL protests U.S.-backed contra invasion of Nicaragua.

established a nationwide state of siege, made civil disobedience a terrorist act, banned strikes and outlawed all labor union activity, militarized public services and gave the "security forces" a free hand in the fight against "subversion."

Yet the inability of the Duarte regime to militarily turn the tide against the leftist guerrilla insurgency impelled the leaders of the death squads and sections of the military and the oligarchy to create their own direct political agency in the form of the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), a paramilitary organization headed by the macho *caudillo* Roberto D'Aubuisson. D'Aubuisson acquired his nickname, "Blowtorch Bob," from his preferred method of torturing "subversives"—inserting a blowtorch in the anus. He accuses the Christian Democrats of being "soft on

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OBERLIN

If the Shoe Were on the Other Foot, Then...

A Central American satellite of the Evil Empire has declared war on the United States. At 5 a.m. one morning a Soviet MIG piloted by Darth Vader, camouflaged as a civilian Korean airliner overflew American airspace leaving a trail of big red letters hovering over the Pentagon. Peeking through the bedroom curtains Nancy screamed, "Ronnie, it's a message from the Nicaraguans—it says 'Live Free or Die!'" "Goddamn commies," says Reagan. "Nancy, call Cap at the Pentagon. He better have an explanation for this." Nancy dials. The phone rings...and rings... "I don't think there's anyone back there," whispers Nancy. Weinberger finally picks up the phone and stammers, "The enemy has airdropped dangerous ideas over a sensitive American military installation." "Goddammit Cap, I can see that for myself," says Reagan. "What I want to know is where's the beef?" "I'll get right on it, sir," Cap replies.

At 6 a.m. the Voice of America's morning news program is interrupted by strains of a mariachi band playing the Marseillaise in Spanish with Russian doo-wop girls. The radio crackles. Then the clipped voice of Darth Vader announces that, "In defense of the

liberties we all cherish, the Nicaraguan junta has voted \$23 million to fund the *contras* on the Mexican border who are fighting for a return to democracy in the United States."

Weinberger phones back. He says, "We're really in a jam, Mr. President. Sir, they've mined San Francisco harbor, blown up the Golden Gate Bridge and took out our oil reserves in Santa Barbara. Worse yet, a stealthy whirlybird they call *Red Thunder* blew out the Olympic torch in L.A." "For Christ's sake," screams Reagan, "we're not some little Central American's backyard. I want you to get every battleship we've got to move off the East Coast and start firing those 16-inch guns right away." "Well, sir, I'm afraid they've blockaded the East Coast. The North looks bad too. The Sandinistas are training the Canadian army right on the border. In fact, they crossed into Michigan last night and liberated Detroit."

That evening, Ted Koppel interviews former Senator Edward Kennedy live from Tijuana on Nightline. Kennedy has set up a government-in-exile and tells the world, "Rest easy America. I'll soon be back at Hahvahd's gates."

The next day Reagan calls a press

conference to declare a national state of emergency. The presidential elections scheduled for November have been postponed indefinitely. Reagan describes the situation as "fatal, but not serious." The Communist Party's (CP) perennial presidential candidate, Gus Hall, walks out of Congress in disgust and refuses to talk with Reagan unless Kennedy is included at the negotiating table. Reagan resists demands from Al Haig to cut off the supply of newsprint to the CP's *Daily World* in retaliation.

A beleaguered Reagan confers with Ed Meese late into the night in the Oval Office. They decide they've got no choice but to negotiate with the Sandinistas, but they draw the line at discussions with Vader. Meese sends Daniel Ortega an expensive pair of cuff links to be personally delivered by the new U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua, Jeane Kirkpatrick, along with a personal note from Reagan pleading for an end to Evil Empire aggression and offering negotiations.

At dawn they receive the Sandinistas' response. They've spurned Kirkpatrick as an "imperialist Mata Hari." It seems that when Kirkpatrick snuck into

Ortega's bedroom to "negotiate," he took one look at her and dropped dead. The Sandinistas insist that they do not seek the overthrow of the U.S. government, only a return to democracy, claiming that the United States is a Nicaraguan "vital interest." They will consider negotiations only after the following conditions have been met: 1) The U.S. must have free elections with all oppositional parties represented. The U.S. government must pay for and publish all subversive propaganda and election platforms for all oppositional parties seeking the overthrow of the U.S. government; 2) There will be no prayer in the public schools. Colonel Qaddafi must be appointed final authority for review of all children's textbooks; 3) An international peacekeeping force of Cuban and Vietnamese flotillas will patrol both coasts to stop U.S. gun running to Israel and prevent the "export of counterrevolution"; 4) Animal liberation.

"What does it all mean?" to quote the infamous Phoebe Zeitgeist. Well, dear reader, if you don't get the point of this fable, you are perhaps a dull clod, perhaps a CIA agent, or very possibly both. You should be running the U.S. government. ■

strategy targeting Soviet military installations.

Jesse Jackson stands a (very small) step to the "left" of Mondale and Hart—for example, proposing "zero real growth" in the present astronomically high level of military spending, while his Democratic opponents call for increasing it further—mainly because he has no chance of winning and therefore has a freer hand in what he can promise. The entire purpose of Jackson's campaign is to keep black people, hardest hit by the domestic austerity which is the counterpart to imperialist preparations for war against the USSR, in the camp of the racist, warmongering Democratic Party. The Democratic Party is historically *better* able to mobilize the population for war because it claims to be the party of "the people."

The common thread that unites all wings of the capitalist establishment is their shared hostility to the gains of the 1917 workers revolution in Russia—the smashing of capitalism and the establishment of a planned, collectivized economy. As Trotskyists, we of the SYL unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against the attacks of U.S. imperialism, while fighting for a proletarian political revolution which will oust the conservative Stalinist bureaucracy and make the USSR once again a champion of world revolution against

capitalism *in fact* and not just in the fevered minds of imperialist Cold Warriors. In the meantime the Kremlin bureaucrats gravely endanger the defense of the USSR—strikingly demonstrated by the combination of their political "solidarity" with the sellout schemes of the Sandinistas and the FDR/FMLN and their *explicit disavowal* of a Soviet military response to the threat of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua. If the imperialists were able to carry off such an invasion their next stop would be Cuba and then the USSR itself. Given U.S. imperialism's massive arming of its Central American "friends," it would be in the interest of the Soviet Union to supply much-needed guns to the leftist rebels in El Salvador and MIGs to Nicaragua.

Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle At Home!

It is the responsibility of American revolutionaries and all who claim to stand with the Central American masses to struggle for the destruction of U.S. imperialism *from within*, by mobilizing labor and the black population against the domestic consequences of imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive—declining living standards, increased racism and repression—and in defense of the just revolutionary struggles of oppressed peoples abroad. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League's fight for American *labor action* to stop U.S. imperialist-backed slaughter in Central America—for example by refusing to handle military equipment bound for El Salvador—is an integral part of our commitment to building a workers party in this country to fight for a workers government.

Undoubtedly many of our readers have participated in some form of protest concerning Central America. You may wonder why the dearth of protest today when U.S. imperialism is more heavily involved in aiding the Salvadoran butchers than ever before, when the U.S.-backed *contras* are staging their most deadly attacks ever against Nicaragua, and when Reagan is trying to sink Soviet ships. Reformist groups like Workers World Party, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and the Communist Party, prominent over the last few years in organizing protests against Reagan's policies in Central America, are today channeling their energies into voter registration and campaigning for Democrats. Echoing the liberals' pleas for

"no more Vietnams" and urging a negotiated sellout of the Salvadoran civil war, these groups resorted to slander, violence and the bosses' cops to exclude the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League from demonstrations against U.S. policy in Central America. Our call for military victory to the Salvadoran rebels and defense of Cuba and the USSR interfered with their efforts to seal a bloc with the imperialist "liberals."

The alternatives which imperialism

and its regional butchers have posed before the worker and peasant masses of Central America—*revolution or death*—are in a larger sense the alternatives which are posed before the whole of humanity by U.S. imperialism's bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. The issue will largely be decided on American soil, in the struggle of the American working class against its capitalist masters and their political front men. The question for radical students and youth is: *Which side are you on?* ■

SYL Four...

(continued from page 12)

a symbolic but real blow against U.S. imperialism, a blow to the advantage of the heroic Salvadoran rebels. Uncle Tom Berky must be taught the lesson that students will not stand by and let death squad democracy reign at UCLA. Professor Edward "Batista" Gonzalez, who personally invited the blood-drenched Rivas-Gallont to campus, writes counterrevolutionary scenarios for overthrowing Castro for the U.S. Air Force and State Department. Did Gonzalez place the call through CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia? Does he have a hot line to "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson? If he doesn't, he might as well have. The death squad strategist Gonzalez should be run off campus! The SYL will continue to fight from UCLA to Harvard to drive war criminals off campus. Drop the Charges Against the SYL Four! U.S. Hands Off the World! ■

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Young Spartacus

Drop the Charges Against the SYL Four!

LOS ANGELES, April 2—The Spartacus Youth League Four, arrested for protesting the campus appearance of the bloody Salvadoran ambassador to Washington, Ernesto Rivas-Gallont, were met with enthusiastic applause and chants of "War Butchers Off Campus!" at an SYL speak-out held at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) on March 14. Under the slogans, "War Criminals Off Campus! Drop the Charges Against the SYL Four! Hands Off All Anti-Imperialist Protesters!" the speak-out drew more than a dozen students, including some of the 75 protesters who participated in the March 5 demonstration against the butcher Rivas-Gallont.

The UCLA administration brought the Salvadoran "Ambassador of Death" to campus March 5 as a provocation against students who had protested the campus appearances of a series of U.S. imperialism's butchers. On January 12 a speech by Lieutenant Colonel Waghelstein, the chief of U.S. military "advisers" in El Salvador from March 1982 to July 1983, was cut short by boos, hisses and cries of "Murderer!" Then on February 29 Thomas Casstevens of the Agency for International Development—the agency responsible for "training" Salvadoran death squad leader and presidential candidate "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson—was

UCLA cops moving in to arrest SYL protester against Salvadoran "Ambassador of Death" Rivas-Gallont, March 5. UCLA stands by Reagan's butchers—"answers" student protest with police.



UCLA SYL Protests Reagan's Butchers

days in jail and/or \$680 each in fines for the "crime" of using "offensive" words against the Salvadoran death squad diplomat. The next court appearance is scheduled for April 11.

But the administration's provocations backfired on them. Outrage against the arrests spread on campus, and the authority of the SYL has grown. During two weeks of soapboxing and campaigning at UCLA, where over 300 copies of *Young Spartacus* No. 116 headlining "Drop the Charges Against the SYL Four! Drive War Criminals Off

administration has, however, sent letters threatening discipline against other students who participated in the Waghelstein protest, targeting in particular students who are alleged to have shouted at the murderer Waghelstein, "You deserve the same fate as Schaufelberger!" The administration cries for Lieutenant Schaufelberger, who was blown away in El Salvador, where he was training Salvadoran butchers in the midst of a civil war. At UCLA Waghelstein got only a small taste of what he deserves. If he were back in El Salvador—back at his job training the death squad officers of the Salvadoran army—he too would face the consequences of fighting on the opposite side of the workers and peasants. No Reprisals Against the Anti-Waghelstein Protesters!

The pages of UCLA's student newspaper, the *Daily Bruin*, have lately been filled with a debate over "academic freedom" and "free speech," raised by the administration as a smokescreen. "Free speech"?! This is a cruel hoax. True, Rivas-Gallont didn't appear at UCLA bearing the bullet-riddled bodies of students from San Salvador's National University, closed down by his government as a "center of subversion." That's "free speech" Salvador-style.

Those like the *Daily Bruin* editors who cry "academic freedom" echo the administration's excuse for repression against student protest and *obscure* the issue. American campuses abound with right-wing academics who are apologists for U.S. imperialism's death squad "democracies" in Latin America. Student protest has been aimed, not at ideologues, but at those who strategize for and direct U.S. imperialist forces and their puppets in campaigns of mass murder. Jeane Kirkpatrick, Lieutenant Colonel Waghelstein, Rivas-Gallont and U.S. Defense (read "War") Secretary Weinberger are war criminals, not academics. The U.S. ruling class is on a campaign to drape these butchers in academic robes and shove them down the throats of students in order to make mass murder "respectable," overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" and whip up anti-Soviet war hysteria. According to administration Uncle Tom Berky Nelson, those who shout down war criminals are "close to Nazis" (*Daily Bruin*, 28 February). What obscene hypocrisy!

Just who is defending mass murderers, Berky? The administration equates student protesters with Nazis in order to pave the way for the use of riot gear-equipped cops at campus functions and the arrest of leftists. And those like Michael Puente, leader of the Chicano nationalist student organization MEChA, who called the campus cops on SYLers when they were in the MEChA office on March 20, are doing the administration's dirty work.

Today, with the leftist rebels winning on the battlefield in El Salvador and a military victory within reach, the class-collaborationist leadership of the Salvadoran rebels calls for a "provisional government of broad participation"—a call for a return of the "reform" junta of 1979 which murdered 30,000 Salvadoran workers and peasants under José Napoleón Duarte, the current "presidential candidate" of the Salvadoran Christian Democrats. At UCLA groups like MEChA, U.S. Out of Central America (USOCA) and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) simply cheerlead for treacherous Salvadoran leaders like Guillermo Ungo—a former member of Duarte's murderous junta! The closer the leftist rebels are to victory on the battlefield the louder these reformists and liberals yell "Stop the war!" They cry, "No more Vietnams," i.e., no more *losing* wars for U.S. imperialism. USOCA played a leading role in a March 24 demonstration in Los Angeles billed as a "March for Peace"—a march for the Democratic Party liberals and their calls for "negotiations." As Juvenal Martínez explained at our showing of *Revolution or Death*, we have been in the forefront of the struggle against war criminals at UCLA because we are for the *victory* of anti-imperialist forces around the world:

"We of the SL/SYL call for a military victory to the leftist rebels to smash the ... bloody capitalist state and open the road to socialist revolution throughout Central America. We defend the USSR and Cuba against imperialism—more urgently today than ever... Reagan and the Democrats want a victory for U.S. imperialism in Central America to gear up the American bourgeoisie after their humiliating defeat in Vietnam on the road to war against the USSR and Cuba."

Running war criminals off campus is
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Military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents! Guerrilla fighters put the butchers on the run; American revolutionaries take their side in Salvadoran civil war.

heckled and hissed at a Central America teach-in. The SYL played a prominent role in each of these protests and we distributed 6,000 leaflets which drew over 100 students into Dickson Hall on March 5 to protest the blood-drenched Salvadoran ambassador. The UCLA administration wanted to silence those who protest imperialist war criminals once and for all. As students shouted "Butcher!" and "You're responsible for the death of 50,000!" four members of the SYL—each chosen by administration thought-cop Berky Nelson in advance—were arrested, handcuffed, dragged from the hall and thrown in jail! Rivas-Gallont was temporarily driven from the podium when campus cops dragged SYLer Jeanne McNiff from the hall. The SYL Four now face up to 90

Campus!" have been sold to date. Juvenal Martínez, one of the arrested, was stopped by a guide giving new UCLA students a tour of the campus and introduced: "This is Juvenal Martínez. He is one of the best militants on campus. He fights for what he believes in." As Martínez explained at a March 30 benefit showing of the powerful film about El Salvador's civil war, *Revolution or Death*: "The administration singles out the SYL Four for arrest because the SYL has been in the leadership of the drive to keep war criminals off campus."

While prosecuting the SYL for the protest against Rivas-Gallont, the administration has backed down from its threats of disciplinary action against the SYL for the Waghelstein protest. The

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