

Young Spartacus

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U.S./South Africa: Anti-Soviet Partners

Cuban Troops Defend Black Angola

**Smash
Apartheid!
For Workers
Revolution!**

Washington has again made it crystal clear that in southern Africa its chosen partner is the white supremacist apartheid police state. As Pretoria launched its most recent invasion of Angola, the U.S. rulers have put "destabilization" of the nationalist MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) high on their anti-Soviet hit list. Central to U.S. policy is "pressuring" the black Angolan government into committing suicide by getting rid of the 25,000-30,000 Cuban troops whose presence is key to repelling the apartheid army and its Angolan henchmen in Jonas Savimbi's UNITA contra force. Joining forces with UNITA and white mercenaries from the U.S. and Britain, the South African army attacked black Angola last month, backed up by aerial bombardments of oil tanks, railway lines, schools, factories and farms.

On December 20, 4,000 South African troops crossed into Angola from Namibia while another 4,000 were massed just south of the border. Pretoria claims this invasion is aimed at guerrilla bases within Angola of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) which is fighting to free Namibia from South African occupation. But this invasion—the third in a year—is no doubt designed to divert pressure from the anti-UNITA offensive. It is an escalation of South African attacks on Angola which began when the former Portuguese colony won independence ten years ago. The Soviet-supplied Cuban troops are there today for the same reason the heroic expeditionary force was initially deployed in 1975-76 when they smashed South Africa's CIA-backed invasion: to hold the apartheid regime at bay and prevent Angola from becoming a gigantic bantustan. MPLA president dos Santos has recently reaffirmed that the Cubans who have irrigated Angolan "soil with their blood" will remain and Cuba's Fidel Castro announced that he was ready and willing to send up to 200,000 more troops if that's what it will take. We in the SYL hail the Cuban troops defending Angola against the



Newsweek



William Campbell

Soviet-backed Cuban troops (above) defend Angola against South African army (left) and local contra forces.

South African/U.S. racist axis.

December's invasion takes place in the context of apartheid's bloody repression of the continuing black revolt at home as well as its general policy of terrorizing the bordering black African countries. On the same day the troops entered Angola, a South African raiding party crossed into Lesotho and murdered nine South African political refugees. Four black women and three black men were massacred at a Christmas party, a coloured (mixed-race) man and his white wife were killed in their home. Pretoria denied responsibility, while the apartheid regime's "State Security Council" issued a warning aimed particularly at Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and Swaziland that "all the peoples of southern Africa will pay a heavy price' if they permit insurgents to use their territory" (*New York Times*, 21 December 1985).

The methods of this state-sponsored racist terror were described by British

mercenary Trevor Edwards, who fought in Angola alongside the South Africans and UNITA:

"Our main job is to take an area and clear it. We sweep through it and we kill everything in front of us, cattle, goats, people, everything. We are out to stop SWAPO...."

"Sometimes we take the locals for questioning. It's rough. We just beat them, cut them, burn them. As soon as we're finished with them, we kill them."

—quoted in Richard Leonard, *South Africa at War* (1983)

This is the CIA's type of "freedom fighter." South Africa frequently reminds the U.S. of its strategic role as the anti-Soviet gendarme of the region. And here, the likes of dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick, Jack Kemp and their acolytes in the College Republicans seek to bolster Pretoria's "respectability" by emphasizing its role as a bulwark against "Soviet influence." Thus, Angola assumes importance as a proxy; the *Wall Street Journal* (25 November 1985) put it: "Hard-liners see support for Mr. Savimbi's 'freedom fighters' as a

global litmus test of loyalty to President Reagan's staunch anti-communism." Dotting the i's and crossing the t's, Conservative Caucus chairman Howard Phillips exclaimed, "If that means aligning ourselves with South Africa, better with them than with the Soviets" (*New York Times*, 16 December 1985).

But the Republican right has far from cornered the market on Angola; "liberal" Democrats such as Claude Pepper (whose Florida constituency contains a lot of anti-Castro Cuban *gusanos*) have pushed for "overt" aid to the UNITA contras. For now, Reagan's administration prefers "covert" support (to the tune of \$15 million so far). It's the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive in living color.

The Soviet Union's planned, collectivized economic system—an achievement of the workers revolution of 1917—evokes the implacable hostility of imperialism despite the bureaucratic political counterrevolution under Stalin. It is an unintended acknowledgment of the remaining power of the Russian October Revolution that the imperialists see behind every struggle for social justice and national liberation on the planet the hand of the USSR.

The Soviet workers state continues to be the military-industrial powerhouse of the non-capitalist world, forced by the U.S. war drive from time to time to defend not only its own borders, but also to aid the just struggles of the oppressed. Such is the case in Angola. However, Soviet intervention is not

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Angola...

(continued from page 1)

everywhere and always progressive. In Africa, for instance, the Soviets also back the bloody Mengistu regime in Ethiopia, thereby aiding Ethiopia's brutal repression of the just national struggle of the Eritrean people. It will require a return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky—a proletarian political revolution—to make the USSR a beacon of world socialist revolution once again.

Angolan Proxy War

As the bourgeoisie is well aware, for them "the last CIA intervention in Angola's affairs, in 1975, was a disaster" (*Wall Street Journal*, 11 December 1985). This, along with queasiness in some quarters about flaunting the domestically unpopular South African alliance, accounts for what liberal opposition exists to backing the Angolan contras. The Angolan MPLA came to power in 1976 after it and other guerrilla forces militarily defeated the Portuguese colonialists. After the withdrawal of the Portuguese military in 1975, a three-way civil war ensued between the guerrilla nationalists of the MPLA, UNITA and the FNLA—one in which the toiling masses of Angola had no clear stake. The USSR had long provided assistance to the MPLA. Under the sponsorship of Henry Kissinger, then-U.S. president Gerald Ford's administration encouraged UNITA and the FNLA to enlist in a CIA-backed alliance with South Africa to smash the MPLA—thus internationalizing the conflict.

The civil war was transformed into a "proxy war" between the Soviet Union, Cuba and the MPLA on one side and the U.S., South Africa and China on the other. Foiling Kissinger's expectations, the Soviet Union did not step back. Instead it vastly increased its military aid to the MPLA and when in October 1975 South African troops invaded Angola, capturing large parts of the country and coming within 100 miles of the capital city of Luanda, Cuba sent 15,000 troops to Angola who in turn played the decisive role in driving the apartheid army back over the border. The workers and oppressed had a very clear side: for victory to the Cuban/MPLA forces!

The Angolan "proxy war" exposed the weakening of U.S. imperialism only a year after its historic defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. The Clark Amendment, passed by Congress in 1976 and repealed last summer, prohibited U.S. aid to the Angolan contras in an effort by more "farsighted" liberals to insure that Ford/Kissinger would not get the U.S. into yet another losing imperialist adventure.

U.S. hostility to the MPLA was and is due to its Soviet backing and not to any "Marxist-Leninist" aims on the part of the MPLA, which is committed to the maintenance of neocolonial capitalism in Angola. Despite its new-found professions of "Marxism-Leninism," the Angolan MPLA (which has re-

Oakland Teachers Strike

Shut the Schools Down Tight!

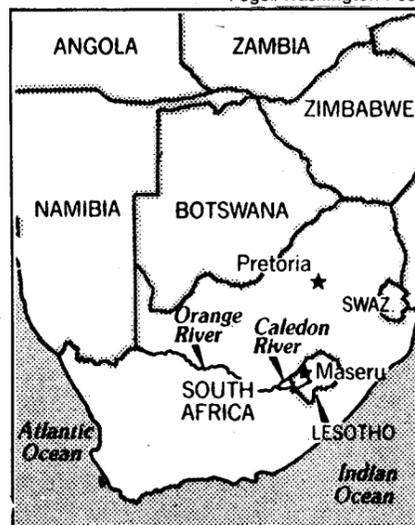
OAKLAND, January 7—Teachers here voted overwhelmingly Sunday night to go on strike, after rejecting the Oakland Unified School District's insulting "final" offer of miserly pay increases that would leave Oakland teachers among the lowest paid in California. This was the final straw for teachers here, already angry about the procrastination of the union misleaders of the Oakland Education Association, who had kept them working without a contract since July. The District claims it has no money, but was able to give its very large, highly paid administrative staff a hefty 14 percent raise last summer, while teachers face overcrowded classrooms, a lack of support personnel and textbooks, and substandard salaries. Thus far, the strike has been effective—attendance at schools was down by over 75 percent on the first day of the strike, as Oakland parents show support for the teachers and contempt for the

school administration by keeping their children out of school.

What is obvious in Oakland is that educating its mostly black and Hispanic working-class students is not important to the District and city administrations. In Reagan's America education for youth, particularly for minorities trapped in inner-city hellholes, has been cut below minimal subsistence to help finance the anti-Soviet war drive. Just as Oakland's Highland Hospital "Butcher Shop" is a dumping ground for the poorest and sickest people in the county, so also do Oakland's public schools serve as a dumping ground for its minority kids. What is needed in Oakland is a strong show of labor solidarity—a walkout by the many unions that work in the District—to effectively shut down the schools. To date, only the Teamster truck drivers have voted to support the strike. For mass picket lines! Victory to the Oakland Teachers strike!

named itself "MPLA-Workers Party") is not a revolutionary workers party nor even a Stalinist bureaucracy presiding over a deformed workers state like Cuba. The class nature of a state is not determined by the ideology professed by the ruling group but by its economic structure: in a workers state the means of production have been expropriated from the capitalist class and are state property. This is not the case in Angola. Its primary export is oil and 70 percent

Fogel/Washington Post



of it is produced by American companies like Gulf. (In a rightist version of "divestiture," the College Republicans have called for a boycott of Gulf because it does business in Angola.) The South African mining company DeBeers maintains lucrative holdings in mineral-rich Angola as well. Angola's workers and peasants still await their liberation.

South African Revolution is Key

The road to liberation from social oppression and capitalist economic enslavement for the southern African masses lies through the power of the six-million-strong black working class of South Africa. It has the social power not only to overthrow white racist rule but to liberate all of black Africa from the murderous military despots, tribalist chieftains and treacherous nationalist demagogues who suck the blood of their people. At the same time, South Africa's war against Angola and Namibia has been a major factor destabilizing the apartheid state internally. For South African blacks, the sight of the white supremacist army retreating before the Cubans and black Angolan nationalists was inspiring.

The rout of the apartheid army in Angola a decade ago gave impetus to the

Soweto black student rebellion. After the brutal massacre in June 1976 by South African security forces of unarmed school children, the revolt spread to townships throughout the country. The black union movement had begun as well to enter into struggle against the apartheid bosses; Soweto was a precursor to the massive anti-apartheid upheavals of the past year and a half.

Over 1,000 blacks—many of them young children—have been killed by the white racist police state since September of 1984. The black population has pushed its defiance to the limit, but in the absence of revolutionary leadership committed to waging the struggle against apartheid on a class basis, the apartheid state still has the whip hand. Urgently required is the construction of a racially-integrated Leninist party, armed with a program of working-class struggle for the seizure of state power, for the smashing of South African capitalism and the apartheid apparatus to which it is inextricably linked. A black-centered South African workers government—an anti-racist society in which there must be a place for those whites willing to put their skills at its disposal—would be the motor force for the socialist development of all black Africa.

Southern Africa: Achilles Heel of U.S. Cold War Drive

A victorious workers revolution in South Africa would also be an inspiration to the struggles of the oppressed internationally, not least in the U.S. where black workers rightly see in apartheid a magnified mirror of racial oppression at home. This identification with the black struggle in South Africa—centrally, but not solely, among black Americans and anti-apartheid student youth—boiled to the surface last spring/summer in massive, albeit liberal-led, protests. Secretary of State Shultz was moved to warn that the U.S. "cannot afford to let Southern Africa become a divisive domestic issue—tearing our country apart" (*New York Times*, 17 April 1985). But South Africa is a burning question in racist America, and a major obstacle in the ruling class drive to mobilize popular support for the new Cold War against the Soviet Union. Washington's alliance with the apartheid state flagrantly exposes its "free world" rhetoric, and millions of black Americans sympathize with the Cuban troops defending Angola against South Africa.

Central to any perspective of mobilizing the American working class against

"our own" racist rulers is a hard fight against the mobilization for anti-Soviet war. It was precisely on this issue that the once-sizable Maoist organizations which issued out of the radical student antiwar movement of the 1960s became shipwrecked. Parroting China's opposition to Cuban troops in Angola, the American Maoists found themselves in an objective bloc with the CIA and South Africa against black Angola. It was much easier to wave Mao's "little Red Book" than to fight anti-Sovietism in a society where it is pervasive. The anti-Soviet military alliance between the Chinese Stalinists and U.S. imperialism was sealed over Angola—Mao's China actually provided military and technical assistance to the South African-backed forces.

This gross betrayal finished off much of the Maoist organizations; some simply liquidated, others descended into weird irrelevance (e.g., Avakian's "Revolutionary Communist Party") and still others flipped over to augmenting the ranks of mainline pro-Moscow Stalinist reformism behind the campaign tables of a dwindling number of liberal Democrats. Virulently anti-Soviet groupings like the misnamed "League of Revolutionary Struggle" (aka "Unity") brazenly carried placards demanding "Soviet Union and Cuba Out of Angola!" in 1976. While its objective bloc with its "own" bourgeoisie against Soviet Russia remains unchanged, "Unity" buries the logical pro-U.S./South African conclusion. That would interfere in a big way with keeping student anti-apartheid protests within the bounds of liberalism—Unity's "practical" work today.

The fight against racist capitalist oppression from South Africa to the U.S. must begin with defense of the Soviet workers state against all wings of U.S. imperialism. Last spring American campuses erupted in protest—sometimes quite militant—against apartheid. Liberal politicians and their reformist "left" tails worked hard to divert newly politicizing student youth into the pro-Democratic Party "divestment"/moral witness campaign—as if the corporate heads and university trustees of this racist country could possibly be on the side of the South African black masses. Not a single Democratic Party politician—black or white—supports the Cuban/Angolan troops, or the Namibian guerrillas, who are actually fighting the apartheid butchers and their puppet terrorists. The SYL says: Defend Angola—Hail Cuban Troops! Independence for Namibia—South Africa Out! Military Victory to SWAPO! Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution! Precisely because we are the party of the Russian Revolution, based on the politics of Lenin and Trotsky, so too are we the party which fights for workers power—from Durban to Detroit. ■

Young Spartacus

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

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EDITORIAL NOTE

“Nicaragua Exchange” Liberals Exclude Reds

“Are you now or have you ever been...” is a sinister refrain well known to communists and partisans of the working class. It’s a line that carries the distinct stench and purpose of the man who made it infamous: the Cold Warrior and witchhunter par excel-

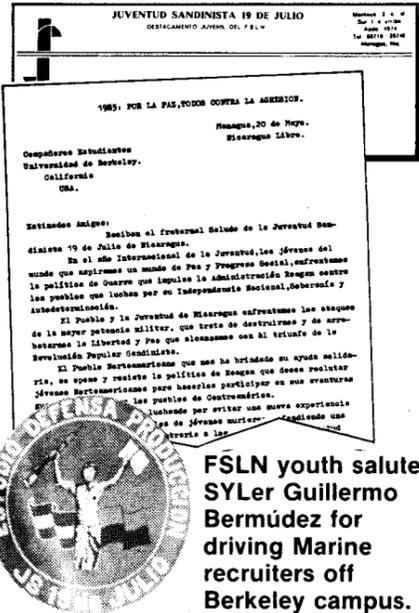
Nicaragua” created their own Red Squad for the express purpose of excluding Marxists of the Spartacus Youth League in New York City and Madison from volunteer work brigades to Nicaragua.

Like actors from some grade B remake—let’s call it “Baby HUAC”—the Nicaragua Exchange coordinators run their own “screen tests.” It goes something like this: “You have been identified by your photograph as a salesman of *Workers Vanguard*... you must be a ‘disrupter’ in your community... you are hereby notified that you do not qualify for our brigades.” Anti-Imperialists Beware: Class-struggle fighters need not apply!

There is a logic to these “solidarity” fakers’ red hunt: anti-communist exclusions and sectarianism in the service of their Democratic Party masters and the “Contra Congress.” When the CIA was mining Nicaraguan harbors in 1984, the self-avowed chums of Nicaragua quashed all protests and instead devoted their full resources to stumping for that all-time Democratic Party loser, Walter “Quarantine Nicaragua” Mondale. Even the pretense of Democratic “opposition” to Reagan’s policies disappeared when Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega went to Moscow seeking relief from the U.S. trade embargo imposed last May. In an anti-Soviet frenzy, the Democrats voted overwhelmingly

for “humanitarian” aid to the contra mercenary scum. The faint-hearted “friends” of Nicaragua did nothing, caught in their own contradiction of higher loyalty to anti-Sovietism and the

Exchange is working in concert with a section of the FSLN who, in the interest of conciliating the bourgeoisie, may find it important to exclude communists such as ourselves. On the other hand,



FSLN youth salute SYLer Guillermo Bermúdez for driving Marine recruiters off Berkeley campus.

lence, Joe McCarthy. It’s a question we’ve heard recently in late night phone calls to friends and neighbors posed by staff members of the Nicaragua Exchange. These so-called “friends of

Sandinista newspaper, Barricada, publicizes NYC Spartacist protest against contra scum Edén Pastora.

—9 July 1984



LETTERS

The Horror of Napalm

Birmingham, England

The Editors
Young Spartacus
New York, NY

Dear Comrades,

Congratulations on *YSp* No. 128. We shall need the sturdy voice of Communist (Trotskyist) youth to speak out with the truth as decaying imperialism again pushes humanity towards barbarism.

I have one comment on a point of fact which might interest you. You say that the U.S. war machine “developed and refined” napalm (jellied gasoline) “scarcely twenty years after incinerating Hiroshima and Nagasaki.” In fact this weapon was used by the United Nations (i.e., U.S. and British imperialism and their allies) in Korea.

Rene Cutforth, Korean correspondent of the B.B.C., wrote in the Manchester *Guardian*, March 1, 1952:

“In front of us a curious figure was standing a little crouched, legs straddled, arms held out from his sides. He

had no eyes, and the whole of his body, nearly all of which was visible through tatters of burnt rags, was covered with a hard black crust speckled with yellow pus... He had to stand because he was no longer covered with a skin, but with a crust-like crackling which broke easily... I thought of the hundreds of villages reduced to ash which I personally had seen and realised the sort of casualty list which must be mounting up along the Korean front” (Horowitz, “The Free World Colossus”, Macgibbon & Kee [1965]).

I need scarcely add that in Korea Trotskyists unlike cowardly renegades were for the military defence of the degenerated/deformed workers states and for the defeat of “their own” imperialist rulers. I am proud that today *Young Spartacus* is a sharp weapon for us in following that tradition.

More power to you!

Fraternally yours,
Lionel

Democratic Party than to embattled Nicaragua.

We Trotskyists in the SYL called the embargo an *act of war* and warned that an invasion could be the next step. We launched a campaign for material aid to Nicaragua and raised over \$27,000 at factory gates, universities and street corners, every penny of which was transmitted to the Nicaraguan government. This was a concrete expression of solidarity which helped, in a modest way, to provide Nicaragua with the hard currency needed for everything from arms to medicine and spare parts. We undertook this campaign as our elemental duty as class-struggle revolutionaries here in the imperialist heartland. Our call to “Donate Dollars! Crush the Contras!”—publicized in the pages of *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus*—became a key vehicle for anti-imperialist workers and youth to express their opposition to U.S. war moves on Nicaragua. Apparently, the popularity of this campaign was viewed as a “disruption” by the hollow “solidarity community” in the grip of anti-communist paralysis.

What took place in Nicaragua in July 1979 was a giant political revolution which overthrew the Somoza dynasty and thus had important social consequences. More than five years later, Nicaragua’s fate—social revolution or bloody counterrevolution—still hangs in the balance as the ruling petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FSLN remain committed neither to capitalist nor proletarian property forms. We have to wonder whether the Nicaragua

the Sandinistas are directly up against U.S. imperialism on the battlefield and face Yankee economic strangulation in the marketplace—that’s their contradiction.

As Trotskyists, we understand that the Nicaraguan Revolution can only be defended by its completion and extension: by expropriating the 60 percent of the Nicaraguan economy still in private hands and by fighting for workers revolution throughout the Central American isthmus and beyond—to the powerful Mexican proletariat and north of the Rio Grande, here in the belly of the beast. Sandinista Nicaragua is caught in the cross hairs of the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive. That is why we say, “Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in Central America!,” “Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!,” “Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home!”

Prominent Sandinista leaders wondered why we Trotskyists were raising money on street corners while the “solidarity” types sat on their asses muttering against Soviet aid. No doubt, some youth involved with the Nicaragua Exchange are wondering the same thing. Hundreds of leftist students have gone on brigades to Nicaragua for the same reason members of the Spartacus Youth League did—to see the revolution firsthand and provide what assistance we could. But the slimebucket witchhunters running the Nicaragua Exchange have a different motivation and purpose: excluding reds to feather their beds with the Democratic Party of imperialism. ■

Government Out of the Bedroom!

19 November 1985

Dear Editor:

While glancing at your article “It’s Only Rock ‘n Roll but Some of Us Like It” in the latest *Young Spartacus*, I was reminded of something I read a few weeks ago. The October 18 *Los Angeles Times*, in reporting on a hearing of the Attorney General’s Commission on Pornography, made the following remark: “An attorney for the Adult Film Assn. of America said that 54 million adult videotapes were rented in the U.S.

last year, 2 million more than the number of votes that reelected Reagan. That comparison, he said, should be considered to suggest ‘at least as great a mandate for free choice’ as for the President’s policies.” It also suggests that Marilyn Chambers would probably make a more popular president than the current one.

Enclosed is \$2.00 for a subscription to *Young Spartacus*.

Fraternally,
Bert M.

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"The Main Enemy Is At Home!"

Karl Liebknecht and World War I

Young Spartacus reprints below Gregory Zinoviev's "Karl Liebknecht and the War." The young German revolutionist Liebknecht earned, through his heroic fight against the mass slaughter of World War I, a singular place in the history of the socialist movement. An organizer of and spokesman for the youth who were being sent to their deaths at the front by the millions across Europe, Liebknecht's name is synonymous with revolutionary antiwar activity. With Rosa Luxemburg and the other German Spartacists, Liebknecht fought to turn the imperialist war into a *civil war* against the enemy "at home," the capitalist rulers. For this, he and Luxemburg were brutally murdered by the ultraright Freikorps with the active complicity of the Social Democratic leadership in 1919. The article below is the version which appeared in the *Fourth International*, the theoretical organ of the revisionist International Secretariat, Winter 1959.

The carnage of the First World War was such that "the proletariat was positively decimated on the battlefields ... by 1 January, 1918, the number of the killed had been approximately 8 millions. If we assume the average weight of a soldier to [be] 150 lb., this means that between 1 August 1914 and 1 January 1918, the capitalists had brought to market twelve hundred million pounds of putrid human flesh" (Bukharin, *The ABC of Communism*). Throughout Europe, the Social Democrats shamefully supported their "own" rulers in the war effort. This betrayal of Marxist principle decisively split the workers movement, with Lenin in Russia and Liebknecht/Luxemburg in Germany leading the revolutionary opposition to the social traitors. In a hitherto unheard-of challenge to the warring bourgeoisies, delegates from eleven countries—belligerent and neutral—came together on 5-8 September 1915, in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, to affirm their international solidarity against the disgrace of the Second (Social Democratic) "International." Lenin led the Bolshevik delegation, Liebknecht's greetings were brought by the German; the conference was to be a forerunner of the Third (Communist) International.

In 1917, Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks successfully led a workers revolution, ending for the Russian masses the horror of the imperialist war. Liebknecht's rallying cry in Germany—



Dietz Verlag

Karl Liebknecht speaks in Berlin, 5 January 1919. Liebknecht called for international working class to unite against their capitalist rulers.

"The Main Enemy Is At Home!"—was not silenced, either, by his assassination. Inspired by the Russian October, the German workers—in 1918-19 and again in 1923—rose up against their capitalist masters. Tragically, these revolutionary upsurges were defeated due to the absence of a capable communist leadership. (For a thorough review of this history, see the two-part article "Germany: Revolution and Counterrevolution," *YSp* Nos. 121 [October 1984] and 125 [March 1985].)

Zinoviev—a central Bolshevik leader and chief executive of the Third International—does more than pay tribute to Liebknecht, the hero-martyr. He describes the process of development and growth through which Liebknecht became a great revolutionist, able to

Dietz Verlag

give expression to the antimilitarist sentiment of the workers and oppressed "better than anyone except Lenin." Precisely for this reason, Zinoviev also notes bitterly, in losing Liebknecht, the cause of international socialist revolution lost much more than one comrade. For Karl Liebknecht could have been a principal leader of a successful German proletarian revolution.

With the failure of international socialist revolution—particularly in Germany—a conservative, nationalist bureaucratic caste took political power in the Soviet Union, destroying the cadre of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. Zinoviev was executed by Stalin in 1936 for "crimes" he did not and could not have committed but, broken, had nonetheless confessed to. The continuator of Lenin's struggle for revolutionary internationalism, Leon Trotsky, defended Zinoviev against Stalin's grotesque frame-up while remaining politically adamant against Zinoviev's capitulation to the Stalinist political counterrevolution.

Despite the Stalinist degeneration, the fundamental gains of October remain: the capitalists and landlords were expropriated as a class and a planned, collectivized economy replaced the irrational system for profit. Ever since the victorious workers revolution in 1917, the imperialists have been implacably hostile to the Soviet Union. Fourteen capitalist powers—including the United States—invaded the young workers state soon after the revolution, while it was embroiled in civil war against the "Whites," the contras of their day.

Today, the prospect of a third world war is posed pointblank as an anti-Soviet thermonuclear holocaust. In this

global confrontation, the workers and oppressed *have a side*: the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. In order to forever end the threat of World War III, it is necessary to take the road of Lenin and Trotsky in the struggle for socialist revolution in the imperialist countries. *The enemy is at home.* We are proud to claim the heritage of the German Spartacists, from whom our international tendency takes its name; we aspire to emulate the Bolsheviks in building here a party capable of leading the working masses to the conquest of state power.

By Gregory Zinoviev

Karl Liebknecht did not all at once become the Karl Liebknecht that the international proletariat knows today. In his political activity there was a long-drawn-out period during which he was but little different from the other leaders of the German Social-Democracy. In that far-off time nothing suggested the international historic role that Karl Liebknecht was to fill during the war. Suffice it to say that during the 1905-1915 decade, in the struggle of the "Russian" currents, Karl Liebknecht more often stood nearer to the Mensheviks¹ than to the Bolsheviks.

The "growing up" of the Social-Democratic Liebknecht into the Liebknecht of the Spartakusbund and of the armed insurrection took place during the world war. The international communist youth movement, that brings the youth up in an ardent love for Karl Liebknecht and quite rightly sees in him its best leader together with Lenin, must become acquainted with the real Liebknecht, with all the weak and strong sides of his political activity, all the more so in that Liebknecht's failings were not individual failings, but rather the failings of a whole wing (and not the worst one) of the international workers' movement. The figure of Liebknecht loses nothing of its greatness thereby. Lenin wrote that Rosa Luxemburg was mistaken on the question of the independence of Poland, that in 1903 she made an incorrect evaluation of Menshevism, that she was wrong about the accumulation of capital, that she committed an error in July 1914 with her support of a fusion of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks (at the so-called Brussels Conference called by the Second International), that she erred on several fundamental questions of the Russian revolution in her 1918 prison writings. "But," Lenin added, "despite these failings, she was and remains an eagle"—quoting thereby the well-known Russian verses to the effect that it happens that the eagle sometimes descends lower



Rosa Luxemburg (left), revolutionary heroine and leader of Spartacist workers and soldiers (above) in armed demonstration, Berlin, 6 January 1919.

Desch

Wilhelm Liebknecht, a founder of German Marxist workers movement, father of Karl Liebknecht.

VEB Vlg. Wissenschaften



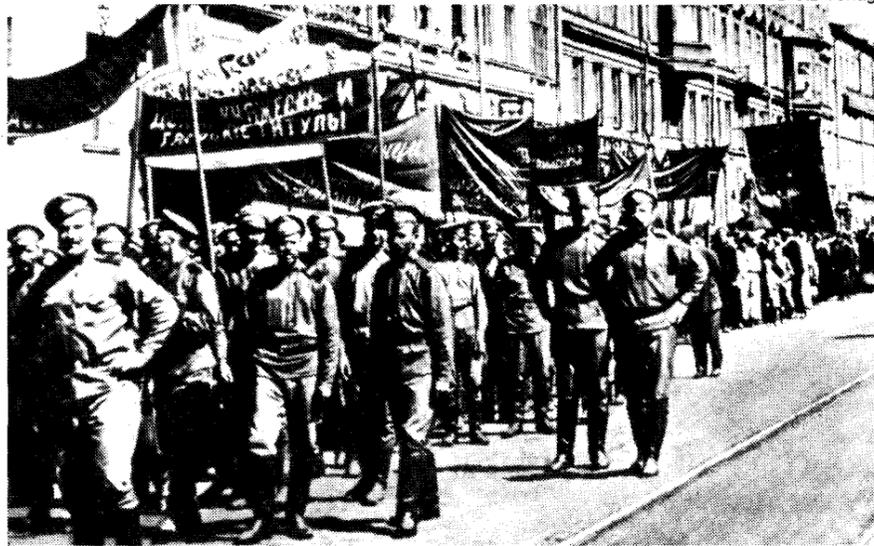
than the hen, but hens never rise in the air like eagles.

Naturally Karl Liebknecht also was and remains an eagle. The truth, the whole truth, about his life and his struggle, about his failings and his virtues, makes the genuine heroism of his stand during the first imperialist world war still clearer and more gripping.

The name of Karl Liebknecht, as it has gone into world history, is inseparably connected with the war. The greatness of Karl Liebknecht consists in the fact that he succeeded better than anyone except Lenin in expressing with unusual forcefulness the turn in the proletarian revolution that took place in the working class of Germany and the other warring countries in connection with the first imperialist world war.

It is not especially necessary to recall that the working class of Europe which emerged from the first imperialist world war was not at all the same that it had been at its beginning. Every month of the imperialist world war was an enormous lesson for the international proletariat. Every salvo on the imperialist battlefields hit also the reformist pacifist illusions in those layers of the European working class which had entered the First World War with the feelings generated in them by the 25-year-long peaceful development of the Second International.

Blood poured out in floods. Every week tens and hundreds of thousands of



Petrograd, 1 July 1917: After being banned from demonstrating, Bolsheviks turned an intended pro-government, pro-war action into a sea of Bolshevik slogans.

immediate revolution against the war.

Even before the war Karl Liebknecht was very strongly interested in the Russian revolution. He paid intense attention to the events of the revolution of 1905. But Liebknecht did not at that time succeed in forming a full and clear idea of the class significance of the Russian events: he found no correct estimate of Bolshevism and Menshevism. Until 1915 Liebknecht did not support the Bolsheviks.

Within the German Social-Democratic Party (SPD) Liebknecht was

VEB Vlg. Wissenschafften

of war credits, that Liebknecht made his declaration and, alone among the 111 Social-Democratic representatives, voted openly against the credits. But even this declaration of Karl Liebknecht was so indecisive that the Bolsheviks, in the article "Not Heroes," felt themselves obliged to say:

Now Liebknecht's declaration has also been published. In the first part, the character of imperialist piracy of the war is excellently stigmatized; the second part exhausts itself in proclaiming the slogan, "Peace." The conclusion so much contradicts the premises that it clashes like a discord. If all that Comrade Liebknecht says about the essence and causes of the war is correct (and it is undoubtedly correct), then for socialists the conclusion can be only: transformation of the imperialist war into civil war.

At this stage of the war Liebknecht expressed only the workers' elementary drive for peace and the first glimmerings of understanding of the imperialist character of the war among the Social-Democratic workers. It was only in the Summer of 1915, when the first Zimmerwald Conference met, that Liebknecht approved the Leninist slogan of the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war. Karl Liebknecht had by then been called to military service and could not take part in the work of the Zimmerwald Conference. He sent a letter to the Conference, however, ending with the words: "Not civil peace, but civil war, is the password for the day."

At this time there was being formed

the Spartakus group, that played so glorious a role in the history of the German revolution. At the head of this group stood Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Liebknecht as the political leader and agitator, Rosa Luxemburg as the theoretician and ideological initiator. Just the first appearance of this group won from the bourgeoisie and the Social-Democrats a hatred that was an honor for it. The historical significance of the first actions of the Spartakus members is indubitable. Nevertheless there cannot be passed over in silence the fact that the Spartakus group in the first period of its existence still did not have a resolute Bolshevik programme. The members who represented this group at Zimmerwald and at Kienthal went partly with Martov² against Lenin. Organizationally the group still remained tied up with the broadest union of oppositional German Social-Democrats who later founded the USP [Independent Socialist Party].

The theoretical position of Karl Liebknecht was also at this period not yet thoroughly worked out. Nevertheless the figure of Liebknecht from this time on grew not merely daily but hourly. Mobilized into military service, he continued his anti-war propaganda in the army, and neither the state of siege nor the moral poison of the official Social-Democracy intimidated him. His "comrades" of the Social-Democratic Party did not fear even to present him as crazy. The deadly hatred of the Prussian military regime followed his every step. But Karl Liebknecht's determination grew only the more, the timbre of his voice was hardened, and his revolutionary will was all the more tempered. At the head of a handful of Berlin workers he demonstrated on the Potsdamer Platz, to raise openly the banner of the fight against the war. This demonstration of the Berlin workers, relatively weak numerically, under Liebknecht's leadership, will go down in world history as one of the most famous episodes which testifies to the great boldness of this fighter for the proletariat during the darkest years of the war.

At that time Karl Liebknecht issued the famous slogan: "The enemy is in your own country! Turn your bayonets against your own bourgeoisie!" These words had the effect of a bomb. It is necessary to have lived through that

continued on page 6



Karl and Sophie Liebknecht with their children.

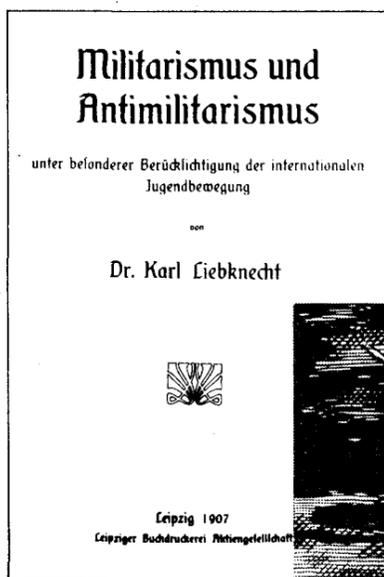
men lost their lives. With every day, poverty, sufferings, and hunger grew. Already in the first months of the war, hesitations and doubts began to seize the patriotically disposed workers who were under the influence of the Social-Democracy. Soon the hesitations and doubts gave way to an ever greater hatred of the war, which the Social-Democratic leaders were calling the "great" and "liberating" war. It fell to Karl Liebknecht, we repeat, to express in the broadest and deepest way precisely this swing taking place in the mass millions of the working class; together with these masses, to drive through to revolutionary decisions; and, together with them, and in their name, to protest against the war with the whole might of his ardent heart. He succeeded better than anyone else in expressing the anger and pain, the sufferings and protest, and, developing therefrom, the ripening revolutionary determination of the best part of the European working class that the criminal hands of the bourgeoisie and their Social-Democracy had sent on to the imperialist battlefield.

In Barbusse's remarkable book, *Le Feu*, that gives a hitherto unequalled artistic description of the imperialist war, the author shows us, in one of the work's most brilliant passages, how—the war was then at its height—the image of Liebknecht blended with the best aspirations of the workers and soldiers.

Liebknecht's strength came precisely from the fact that he had understood, when the war was going full blast, how to express with incomparable force the workers' passionate and flaming hatred for the war, and, together with this, their fresh and still partly naive hopes for an

cy Liebknecht was in the left, Marxist wing. He had, however, no positions that especially differentiated him, no special sort of general platform on "German" questions. He stood for the need of anti-military propaganda at the moment when the "fathers" of the German Social-Democracy considered it "tactless" to speak about it. He paid great attention to the organizing of the youth at a time when the same "fathers" considered it almost a joke. (A negative and anything but benevolent attitude about the organizing of the youth was and still is one of the characteristic traits of opportunists.) These were extraordinarily great merits in Liebknecht. By his stand for anti-militarist propaganda and his support of the youth organization Karl Liebknecht was in a certain way preparing his future role during the imperialist war. But these were the only "buds" that an outside observer could discover as fore signs of Liebknecht's future role in the coming war.

Liebknecht was in the left wing of the German Social-Democracy. But he considered this party to be his party, and the unity of the German Social-Democracy was, in 1914, still untouchable. Until the outbreak of the war and during its first period, Karl Liebknecht could not bring himself to form an open opposition to the majority of the German Social-Democracy and still less to think of a split. On August 4th, 1914, on the occasion of the famous vote of the German Social-Democrats for the war credits, Liebknecht, who had led a hot fight within the parliamentary fraction against the vote, still limited himself in public to a weak protest. It was only on December 2nd, 1914, at the voting of five hundred million additional marks



"THE MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME!" (top right). Liebknecht's pamphlet, *Militarism and Antimilitarism* (top left), was addressed especially to youth. Imperialist war meant big profits for the ruling class, misery and death for the international proletariat.



Karl Liebkecht...

(continued from page 5)

time of war to understand what an effect these words of Liebkecht must have had. For these bold words, German militarism, to the approving murmurs of the official German Social-Democracy, sent Karl Liebkecht to jail. But even in prison Karl Liebkecht remained the banner-bearer of the German workers. And it was just there that he became the banner-bearer of the world revolution.

The longer the imperialist war went on, the higher grew the mountain of corpses, the more dreadful the situation of the working class became, the greater became the discontent of the toilers and the revolutionary determination of the proletarians in all the warring countries, and the brighter Liebkecht's name shone out to the workers in the bloody darkness of the imperialist war. At that time, the name of Liebkecht was known to far wider circles than the name of Lenin, who was in those days forced to act directly only in the illegality of the emigrés.

The Russian revolution broke out. From prison Karl Liebkecht sent the Russian workers a fiery message of support. At this time Karl Liebkecht began to become convinced of the full correctness of the position of the Bolsheviks. His former "friends," the Russian Mensheviks, including all the "radicals," showed themselves to be as vulgar social traitors as the Scheidemanns and Eberts.³ Only the Bolsheviks brought Karl Liebkecht's programme, his slogans, and his name to the mass millions of workers and soldiers set in motion by the revolution. In the 1917 July Days Lenin and those comrades standing nearest him experienced a fate that was close to Karl Liebkecht's—an effort was made to slander them, too, to cover them with mud, as had been done with Liebkecht, and they also were branded as "agents of foreign powers," and were put in prisons and fortresses as "enemies of the fatherland." And those who were only yesterday their comrades of the party and of the International, the Libers, the Dans, the Tseretellis, and the Chernovs,⁴ had their hand in these shameful calumnies.

Through the thick walls of his prison the news of events in Russia penetrated to Liebkecht. With ever growing interest Liebkecht collected every bit of news from the first country in which the revolution had broken through the fiery ring of war. He enthusiastically greeted the Bolsheviks' October victory while still within the walls of the same prison. The Bolsheviks had seized power. They are proud to have had the friendship and total and unreserved political support of a fighter like Karl Liebkecht.

For a few months the proletarian revolution in Russia made a triumphal march from victory to victory, as Lenin expressed it. But now the first great international difficulties rose up before it. German imperialism was still sufficiently strong to force the revolution to

**Bloodhound
Gustav Noske
(center),
leader of SPD,
addressing
the ultraright
Freikorps,
murderers of
Liebkecht.**



pass through the Brest-Litovsk⁵ period. In the discussions inside the Bolshevik Party about the permissibility of signing the Brest-Litovsk peace, the name of Liebkecht played no small role. In Germany the revolutionary wave was certainly rising. The victory of the German revolution could be expected, not each month, but each day. If Liebkecht wins, he will naturally free us of all our difficulties and correct all our stupidities, said Lenin to the "left" communists, but it does not follow therefrom that we can permit ourselves to commit many stupidities and that we can in the present correlation of forces refuse to sign the Brest-Litovsk peace.

The Russian revolution signed the Brest-Litovsk peace. This fact provoked from all the social-patriotic elements of Russia an unprecedented explosion. Petty-bourgeois patriotism reached white heat. The leaders of the Second International throughout the world, including Germany, for their part did everything in their power to slander the Bolsheviks, to cast suspicion on the motives for their action, and to put them in the most unfavorable light in the eyes of the working class of Western Europe. Once more it was Karl Liebkecht who from prison gave the signal to the best part of the German working class as well as to the European proletariat. He said to the West European workers: If the first proletarian revolution must accept the harsh Brest-Litovsk peace, the Bolsheviks are not to blame for this: in the first place it is the fault and the misfortune of the West European workers themselves in that up to now they have not been able to go to the aid of the Russian revolution in an adequate way.

Meanwhile the strength of German imperialism was declining more and more and approaching complete exhaustion. With ever greater speed the revolutionary crisis in Germany drew near. The war-crushed masses drove toward the revolution. The official German Social-Democracy did everything it could to keep these masses under the yoke of imperialism. But it was already too late. The military defeats of Hindenburg and Ludendorff precipitated the collapse. Every day, every hour, the German workers grew more revolutionary. Karl Liebkecht was their banner-bearer, their leader. Liebkecht's fame shone forth to all the oppressed, all the revolutionary workers of the world.

The revolutionary movement of the

German workers and soldiers freed Liebkecht from prison. Directly on emerging from prison Liebkecht went at the head of a powerful workers' demonstration to the building of the Berlin Soviet Embassy, before anything else, to bring his greeting to the Russian proletarian revolution. He took off his hat to the red flag of the Soviet republic: his first speech in revolutionary Germany was in honor of the Russian revolution and the Soviet power.

From this first minute on, Liebkecht's whole work was uninterruptedly at the service of the proletarian revolution. Around the Spartakus members there rallied the whole revolutionary part of the German working class. Liebkecht's name was a torch

end. The January uprising of the men of Spartakus was stifled in the blood of Germany's best workers. The young German Communist Party was by a treacherous murder of their best leaders, Karl Liebkecht and Rosa Luxemburg—deprived of their leadership. Only the day before, Noske and Liebkecht, Ebert and Rosa Luxemburg, were still members of the one and only "united" German Social-Democratic Party. Today Noske and Ebert are the murderers of Liebkecht and Luxemburg. Not only by his life and struggle, but also by his heroic death, Karl Liebkecht served the great cause of the German revolution. The circumstances of his death enabled the German workers to realize how decomposed was the German Social-Democratic Party, the same party that to this very day is the first paladin of bourgeois domination.

In the analysis Lenin made, in 1921 after the March action, of the causes of the defeat of the revolutionary uprising in Germany, he said the following in the "Letter to the German Communists":

At the critical moment, the German working class did not yet have a genuine revolutionary party, as a result of delay in splitting, as a result of the influence of the fatal tradition of unity of the soldout men devoid of character (Kautsky, Hilferding, & Co.), the whole gang of lackeys of capital (Scheidemann, Legien, David, & Co.).

As a result of delay in splitting! It was just that mistake that the Bolsheviks had



Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945), revolutionary artist and friend of Liebkecht, captured the grief of thousands of workers in her 1919 woodcut "Karl Liebkecht Memorial."

that showed the way to the growing ranks of the revolutionary German proletariat. Daily and hourly the influence of the Spartakus group grew.

But the German bourgeoisie and the German Social-Democracy were incomparably better organized and cleverer than the Russian bourgeoisie, the Russian Social-Revolutionaries, and the Mensheviks. Above all else they were studying the experiences of the Russian revolution. If the Kerenskys,⁶ Tseretellis, Chernovs, Libers, and Dans, who had the power in their hands, launched the slogan, "Continuation of the war to a victorious conclusion!", the Scheidemanns and Noskes,⁷ as well as Ebert, who also had been given power, launched above all the slogans, Conclusion of peace at any price! Peace with the Entente imperialists; war with the revolutionary workers! Peace with Clemenceau and Lloyd George⁸—war against Karl Liebkecht and Lenin! These were the slogans of the "Social-Democratic" government that came out of the November revolution. The Eberts and Noskes cold-bloodedly used the readiness to fight of the German revolutionary workers, who were driving for action, to lead them into a premature uprising and then stifle it in the proletariat's blood. This criminal plan of the "fathers" of the German Social-Democracy was successfully prepared and carried through to the

not made. Already long before the war they had split with the Mensheviks. The enormous advantage possessed by the Bolsheviks was that they went into the war and therefrom into the revolution as an independent Bolshevik party whose hands could not be tied by "unity" with the Mensheviks. That was the guarantee of the Bolsheviks' victory.

Enriched by the "Russian experience," and driven to paroxysm by the imminent proletarian revolution, the German and the whole international bourgeoisie, the leaders of the German and the whole international Social-Democracy, did everything to make the not yet reinforced ranks of the ill-armed revolutionary workers fall into a trap and to smash them as quickly as possible. The workers, inhumanly tormented by the war, pushed for insurrection. "Hatred led to a premature uprising," said Lenin.

Over the corpses of the Spartakus workers, over the corpses of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebkecht, the Social-Democracy led the bourgeoisie in "free" Germany (which was called by the first "Social-Democratic" government, to the derisive hoots of the workers, a "socialist" republic) to power, which it held thereafter. The German proletariat has paid dear for the delay in splitting away from the Social-Democratic Party, for its failure to make a solid and strengthened

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Guillermo...

(continued from page 8)

protesters for the slime that they really are. So instead of relying solely on the bourgeois courts the witchhunting ayatollahs who run this campus are setting themselves up to be judge, jury and executioner.

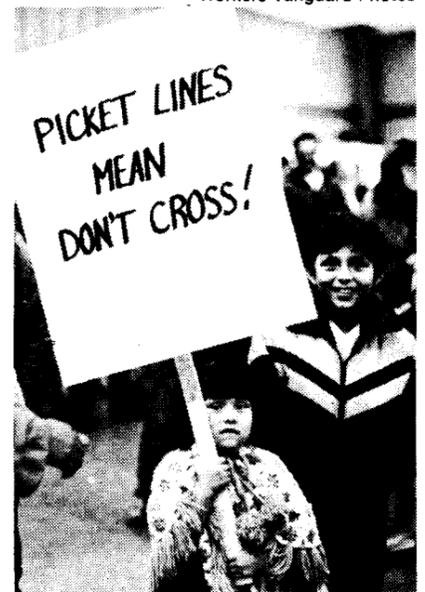
The administration has its own hit list and has geared up its own "law and order" machinery, the Office of Student Conduct, to dictate what they constitute to be "legitimate" protest or "conduct." That this body is a political purge body is no secret. They want to suppress student protest and are doing their part for Reagan and the Democrats to turn us into a docile, mindless mass ready to march off as cannon fodder for their next imperialist war. After holding "hearings" which "need not be conducted according to technical rules of procedure and evidence," their "recommendations" are given to the Chancellor whose decisions are "final." The administration and cops want to run this campus like some medieval fiefdom where the "highlord's writ" is law!

Chief Inquisitor, Alan "Kangaroo Kourt" Kolling has been threatening "troublesome" students with "hearings" and "academic sanctions" all semester. Student militants have told Kolling where he can put their signed confessions of guilt. Now Kolling is trying to preempt Guillermo Bermúdez' upcoming trial on frame-up charges in the Berkeley courts by dragging him before the "Committee on Student Conduct" on December 5th at 7 p.m., the night before the last day of classes.

This is an outrage! Their plan is to hold a rigged "hearing" before his trial, thus allowing the administration and cops to wave a "certified" guilty verdict in front of the jury and throw Guillermo out of school no matter what happens in court. This is the second time that the administration has said "fuck you" to Guillermo's basic constitutional rights by trying to force him to testify in a "star-chamber" procedure where they make the rules.

Guillermo Bermúdez, a member of the Spartacus Youth League, was one of the first victims of the UCPD rampage. Arrested last January for leading a demonstration that drove Marine recruiters off campus, Guillermo was

Victory to Watsonville Strikers!



Workers Vanguard Photos
Watsonville, California: November 10, 1985 rally in defense of striking cannery workers. Labor's gotta play hardball to win!

For four months cannery workers organized by Teamster Local 912 in Watsonville, California have been locked in a bitter class struggle against Watsonville Cannery and Richard Shaw, Inc. Mostly Hispanic women, the workers went out on strike after the arrogant bosses imposed wage cuts up to 40 percent and more, two-tier wages and other insulting, provocative take-aways. In October strikers voted down a "final offer" of a 25 percent pay cut by 800 to 1. Unbroken in their mili-

tancy, the strikers have been targeted for vicious state repression. Eighteen have been slapped with felony charges for defending their strike against a busload of scabs in nearby Gilroy. Amador Betancourt has been in jail for almost four months—with bail set at \$250,000—on phony charges of throwing a Molotov cocktail at a scab bus.

Students from UC Berkeley, UC Santa Cruz, Stanford University and San Francisco State have joined in

strike support rallies in Watsonville. Forty-six Santa Cruz students were arrested and charged with breaking the strikebreaking injunction limiting pickets to four per gate. The Spartacus Youth League has actively supported the strike. As our banner (above) at the November 10 strike rally says: "Victory to the Watsonville Cannery Workers Strike! Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!" Defend Amador Betancourt, the Gilroy 18 and all victimized strikers and supporters!

chokeholded and had his arm broken by the UC uniformed thugs who arrested him. After assaulting Guillermo, the cops tried to turn their victim into the criminal by slapping him with charges that could send him to prison for over two years, including the standard frame-up of "assault" on a police officer, a charge being used more and more against student protesters. In the fighting tradition of class-struggle defense, we pursue every avenue of legal defense while placing no confidence in the class "justice" of the capitalist courts. It

is through militant protest and public exposure these charges can be beaten.

At Cal the ax is coming down without mercy in order to keep this enclave safe for Cold War II and ROTC training for an invasion of Nicaragua. We can promise Kolling & Co. that no matter how well oiled, their repressive machinery will be resisted. For us to be judged by these small-time Reagans and Bothas, these ruling-class proponents and apologists of race-terror, attacks on unions and war from Durban to Detroit, is the height of hypocrisy. We say—You are

the ones who should stand trial, to be judged by your victims. **No Reprisals Against Anti-Imperialist Protesters! Drop All Charges!**

December 3, 1985

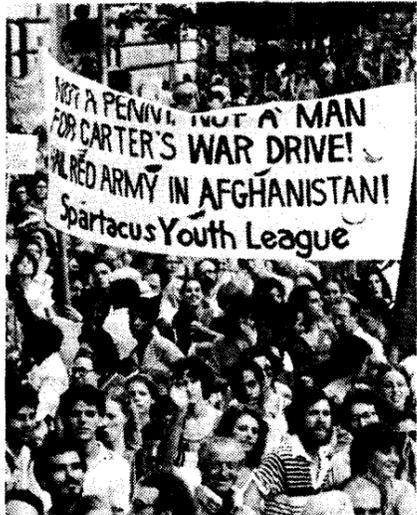
Defense efforts cost big bucks. *YSp* readers are urged to make a much-needed contribution to Guillermo's defense. Make checks payable to the Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Fund. Mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101. ■

Bolshevik Party.

The heroic uprising of the men of Spartakus was fought down, but it sowed the seeds of victory. Those seeds are germinating.

The way from the official Social-Democracy to "Spartakism" is, natu-

Young Spartacus Photo



New York City, July 1980: SYL fights imposition of draft registration for imperialist armed forces; hails Soviet Red Army fighting Afghan mullahs.

rally, an enormous step. The way from the Spartakusbund to the Bolshevik Party is a still greater stride forward. But the way from Bolshevism to "Spartakism" would be a step backward.

From Liebknecht forward to Lenin! If Karl Liebknecht were still alive, he

would be the first to say that precisely this, and not the contrary, must be the way of the revolutionary proletariat. Liebknecht himself was going just this way, and only the treacherous bullet that killed Liebknecht prevented him from leading the German proletariat further along this road. ■

¹ The Mensheviks were the right-wing faction arising out of the historic 1903 split in Russian Social Democracy. During 1917 the Mensheviks, along with the Social Revolutionaries (a populist party based on the peasantry), participated in a series of capitalist coalition governments and were subsequently overthrown by the Bolshevik Revolution of November 7.

² Julius Martov (1873-1923), a founder of Russian Social Democracy and early co-worker with Lenin on the newspaper *Iskra*, led the Mensheviks in the 1903 split. During World War I he adopted an internationalist though pacifist stance and opposed breaking openly with the Second International. Martov opposed the Bolshevik Revolution and emigrated to Germany in 1920.

³ Philipp Scheidemann and Friedrich Ebert, leaders of the right wing of German Social Democracy, presided over the crushing of the November 1918 revolution after coming to power after the Kaiser's overthrow.

⁴ Tseretelli, Liber and Dan were leading Mensheviks in the Petrograd Soviet and bourgeois coalition governments in 1917; Chernov was a leading Social Revolutionary in the coalition governments. They continued Russia's participation in the war, attempted to stabilize capitalist rule by strangling the Soviets and brought Russia to the brink of ruin before they were over-

thrown by the Bolsheviks.

⁵ The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed 3 March 1918, concluded peace between imperialist Germany and the newly formed Soviet state during World War I. The Bolsheviks saw the treaty as a necessary compromise while continuing to encourage the German workers to rise against their "own" rulers, a call taken up inside Germany only by the Spartacists.

⁶ Alexander Kerensky (1882-1970) was a right-wing Social Revolutionary and was the

head of successive bourgeois coalition governments leading up to November 1917.

⁷ Gustav Noske, Scheidemann and Ebert's war minister, was complicit in and encouraged the assassination of Luxemburg and Liebknecht on 15 January 1919.

⁸ Georges Clemenceau and Lloyd George were the respective leaders of French and British imperialism during the latter part of World War I; they were prime architects of the imperialist wars of intervention against Soviet Russia, 1918-21.

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Young Spartacus

Down with UC Berkeley's Kangaroo Court!

All Out to Defend Guillermo!

Young Spartacus reprints below a leaflet distributed by the UC Berkeley Spartacus Youth League in response to the administration's unrelenting attacks on elementary democratic rights. The university's "Committee on Student Conduct" attempted to hold one of its star-chamber hearings against SYL member Guillermo Bermúdez on December 5. Comrade Guillermo is facing frame-up criminal charges for leading a successful protest last January against Marine recruiters. The notoriously brutal UC cops choked him and broke his arm in the course of their "arrest" and then, as is standard operating procedure for cops everywhere, charged their victim with "assault." Two weeks before the case was to go to trial in the Berkeley Municipal Court, the administration's conduct committee outrageously tried to get its own "guilty" verdict on record.

The SYL responded to this none-too-subtle railroad attempt with a spirited picket line outside the "hearing," chanting, "Down with UC's inquisition! Try the cops, not the victims!" Inside, Howard Moore—the noted civil rights attorney who is representing Guillermo in the criminal trial—charged the administration with a flagrant violation of Guillermo's constitutional rights. After two hours of debate, the hearing was rescheduled to January 30. In addition to Guillermo, five other stu-

dent militants face criminal charges; several others are also facing university disciplinary measures for their participation in an August anti-ROTC protest. Now is the time for a united-front defense campaign on behalf of all the victims of cop/administration repression! Guillermo's trial date has been reset for February 10, 9:00 a.m.,

Department 3 in the Berkeley Municipal Court, 2000 Center Street. Pack the courtroom—all out to defend Guillermo! An injury to one is an injury to all!

The UC administration must be pretty frustrated these days. After arresting hundreds of students in anti-imperialist

actions for over a year, the administration and cops have so far failed to net even one conviction. In their attempt to quash political protest with manufactured and trumped-up charges, the administration and cops have been further exposed through testimony given at the trials of anti-apartheid

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UC's Racist Cops Beat Chinese Scholar

UC's "finest" are well known to Berkeley students and readers of *Young Spartacus* as dangerous, gun-toting beasts run amok. Now, the campus cops have earned international notoriety by provoking a scandal in East-West relations that has brought the People's Republic of China down on their heads. On November 18, a distinguished 44-year-old visiting Chinese scholar, Li Xizhi, was beaten, hospitalized and jailed by UC cops on the prowl for an alleged "Peeping Tom" described as an Asian man 21 years younger than Li. As the *Daily Californian* editorialized on December 17, "By now, we at UC Berkeley have grown pretty sick of hearing about violent confrontations involving the UC police: clubbing demonstrators outside Moffitt Library in March, skirmishing with Biko Plaza protesters last Spring to clear off sleeping bags, ripping down signs during ROTC protests so the video cameras could get a good angle.... The stories keep coming in. The protestors scream at the cops for stepping out of line, the cops say they are responding to violence initiated by the protestors. This time, however, the UC police picked the wrong guy."

On December 11, Peking issued an

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angry letter of protest to the U.S. government declaring Li's arrest and beating "a grave incident which constitutes a violation of the freedom of person and the safety of Chinese nationals in the U.S. and a willful infringement of human rights." The Chinese government demanded an official apology by the United States and insisted that Li be personally compensated for his mistreatment. The U.S. State Department grudgingly apologized only for their abuse of protocol in failing to notify the Chinese consulate of Li's arrest, while the UC administration stood by its thugs insisting that "everything was done properly" (*Tribune*, 12 December 1985). For such "proper" treatment by the UC police, Li deserves an apology to the tune of thousands in compensation for the physical torture, anguish and degradation he experienced.

While walking to his office on the Berkeley campus, Li, who is not fluent in English, was stopped by an undercover cop who Li thought was a

solicitor and reluctantly agreed to talk to. As soon as Li stopped, the cop, with the assistance of another plainclothes thug who had been hiding, tackled him to the ground. As Li stated in an interview with the *Daily Cal* (13 December 1985), "I thought they wanted to kill me.... I shouted for help." His call was heard by two uniformed cops who handcuffed him, dragged him to the campus police station and threw him in a jail cell. "My stomach hurt and I vomited all over the floor of my cell...I lost consciousness." Li finally awoke in Berkeley's Herrick Hospital with his arms and legs tied to the bed.

Meanwhile the cops had already arrested another suspect as the alleged "Peeping Tom." But a weak, battered and confused Li was removed from the hospital in handcuffs, brought back to the campus gestapo station, charged with "resisting arrest," and fingerprinted. Li told the police, "in China, only criminals have their fingerprints taken," and tore up the cards with his prints. Denying Li the right to even a

phone call, the UC cops threw him in Santa Rita Prison for the night where he was refused food until 4:00 a.m. and not released until 2:00 p.m. the next day. As Li told the *Daily Cal*, "Before I went to the police station, I was a gentleman. When I left it, I became a criminal."

It is standard operating procedure for the UC cops to turn their victims into "criminals." After they beat their victims to a pulp, they pile on lying charges of "assault," or "resisting arrest" to "justify" their manhandling. This is precisely the case with SYL member and UC Berkeley student Guillermo Bermúdez who is charged with assaulting the cops who nearly choked him to death and broke his arm. But Li had the backing of a state power behind him. Only after the intervention of the Chinese government did the Alameda County D.A.'s office stand down and drop the charges. A traumatized Li, with bruised ribs and handcuff-scarred wrists, still awaits retribution.

Down with UC Cop Terror! At a minimum, these maniacs who act as if they are a law unto themselves should be stripped of their guns before some innocent student or campus worker is blown away. Cops Off Campus!