

Young Spartacus

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FEBRUARY 1986

"American Dream"— Nightmare for Blacks

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!



Young Spartacus Photo

Berkeley, April 1985—At "National Day of Protest" against apartheid, Spartacist contingent raises class-struggle program for black liberation at home and abroad.

Racist Hypocrisy On Martin Luther King Day

Martin Luther King Day, 1986: black America was inundated with the message from the racist ruling class and the black front men who serve them that "the dream" of racial equality has been fulfilled. Ronald Reagan—among those who fought hard to keep M.L. King Day from becoming a national holiday—praised the slain civil rights leader as a "great man." His vice president George Bush joined King's widow, Coretta Scott King, in the Atlanta commemoration. Alabama governor George "Segregation Forever" Wallace added his voice to the chorus of racist hypocrisy, reading a proclamation in King's honor from the Montgomery capitol steps. Teddy Kennedy, the "great white liberal" who was justly protested during his sanctimonious trip to Soweto last year by black South African militants, declared: "Martin's dream of equality has become the American dream." This spectacle is enough to make any anti-racist militant gasp with revulsion. The

enormous gulf between the hypocritical establishment hype and the nightmarish reality of black life in Reagan's America was captured in the San Francisco events: the march was led off by a contingent of black homeless under the official banner "Living the Dream."

Adding insult to injury, these very racist hypocrites extolling the virtues of "nonviolence" are the most brutally violent forces on the face of the planet. Indeed, whether King's assassination in 1968 was carried out at the behest of certain government quarters is an open question. Despite the fact that King sought to disarm black struggle and sink it into the cesspool of the Democratic Party, he was targeted by the FBI for a vicious campaign aimed at "neutralizing" him as a civil rights leader. The smear campaign escalated when King criticized America's dirty colonial war in Vietnam. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover (and Hoover's bosses John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson) feared nothing so much as the joining of the black struggle for freedom with a communist working-class perspective. King was far removed from such a perspective, but the government nonetheless considered him a threat. If the FBI did not pull the trigger, they fueled the social climate that spawned vermin like James Earl Ray, King's assassin.

King tried to serve two masters—the oppressed and the oppressor—but the latter would not accept a dual loyalty.

As for all the talk about "the dream"—in 1986, in Reagan's America—ask the residents of Philadelphia's Osage Avenue, ask the mourning families of the eleven black MOVE members incinerated last May when the Philadelphia cops bombed the MOVE commune. That unspeakable atrocity was carried out on the orders of black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode and orchestrated from the highest levels of the Reagan administration. Racist pig mayor Edward I. Koch (who resisted for years official recognition of Martin Luther King Day) has unleashed his cops against the black population with a vengeance. Ask the family of Eleanor

Bumpurs, an infirm black grandmother shot to death by the police because she was behind in her rent; ask the family of 25-year-old black artist Michael Stewart—beaten to death by New York transit police in front of over 40 witnesses—about the "dream."

Pouring billions into anti-Soviet war preparations and high-tech weaponry, the capitalists have slashed social services to the bone. An entire generation of black youth have been thrown on the scrap heap; massive unemployment has meant that for many the only alternative to life on the streets is life in the army. At least a third of the swelling ranks of the "homeless" are black. Funds for education, welfare, housing, job training are slashed; money for cops

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Leon Trotsky on
Building the South African
Revolutionary Party

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In Memory of Comrade Kim

Young Spartacus received the following letter from comrade Jim S., who was a close friend of Kim Kilmer's and worked with her in the Boston SYL branch in the mid-1970s.

2 February 1986

Dear Comrades,

I worked closely for nearly two years in the Boston youth local with our comrade Kim Kilmer. Some incidents that I recall may attest to her strengths as a young communist activist as well as her personal character. Boston was an active youth local and Kim was one of our best activists. Once during a large outdoor student protest against the Boston University administration, a couple of hundred students spontaneously entered the student center building. Kim moved quickly and was, I believe, the only one of our team to get into the building before the cops locked the doors. She pretty much single-handedly soapboxed to the student occupiers while she polemicized against the student bureaucrats who were attempting to collaborate with the administration at that point. Even with



Kim and her companion Paul (right) in Bluefields, Nicaragua, 1985.

her hands full she would periodically rush downstairs to the first floor and through the windows use sign language to instruct the rest of us on how to carry on the work with the demonstrators who were left outside the building.

Kim had a real knack for getting the floor at political meetings under ad-

verse conditions. Once at Brandeis University from a large audience, Kim intervened against CP luminary Angela Davis, who had a number of members and supporters in the audience. Even while they tried to intimidate Kim she forcefully put forth the program of revolutionary Trotskyism against Sta-

linism. Angela was nailed and couldn't take up the issues posed by Kim.

Once while doing political work at Boston University, she was jumped from behind by a larger Workers League woman. Kim was feisty and athletic, and in about five seconds she had shaken her off and had her jacked up helplessly against a wall before any of us could come to her assistance.

At that time in Boston, individual contacting for recruitment was one of our main activities, and Kim, because of her superior competency in this work, directed it. She paid attention to details, and would routinely debrief comrades who had returned from political discussions with students interested in the SYL. She would ask for the questions that were asked of us, and then ask "Well, how did you answer?" If she thought the answers were inadequate she would discuss it with the comrades so that it could be taken up again and done better next time. It was critical training for the comrades. She was truly an example and an inspiration for those of us that worked with her.

Comradely,
Jim S.

Black Liberation...

(continued from page 1)

and prisons has been vastly increased. Klan-endorsed Reagan has made it unambiguously clear that on the question of black rights, as far as his administration is concerned, there are none.

There is a problem for the warmongering, racist, anti-communist fanatics running this country, however.

Workers Vanguard Photo



November 27, 1982 SL/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C.: 5,000 black workers and youth stopped the Klan. Anti-racist militants honor Malcolm X.

Black people fought long and hard for the real, if minimal, gains achieved during the civil rights movement. While the same people who want to "roll back" Communism abroad think they can "roll back" America to the days of Jim Crow, the history of struggle for the rights of labor and the oppressed suggests that won't be so easy. Currently U.S. support for the South African apartheid regime and sympathy with the

17-month-long black revolt in that country has pitted blacks, unionists, students against Washington's policies. In the brutal apartheid system, American blacks see a magnified reflection of their own oppression "at home." While in the main liberal-led and dominated by Democratic Party politicians, massive protests have occurred both in the cities and on the college campuses. Popular outrage against the U.S.-South Africa partnership is such that Reagan has been unable to ram through "overt" aid to South African puppet Jonas Savimbi's UNITA contras who are fighting against the Angolan MPLA and the Cuban troops defending Angola. Even the racist Cold Warriors in the AFL-CIO leadership issued a hasty denial when rumor had it Savimbi would be meeting with them.

Reagan & Co. have sought, but have not achieved, ideological conformity for their war on Russia and its domestic corollary—a war on the rights of labor, blacks, women, students, homosexuals, leftists and everyone else they consider "deviant." The organized labor movement—which has the potential social power to launch a struggle on behalf of the workers and all the oppressed—has mainly been hit with givebacks, strikebreaking and union-busting. However, there have been some real class battles waged; most importantly right now workers in Austin, Minnesota are in a pitched battle with Hormel & Co.'s bosses and National Guard strikebreakers. The bitter five-month strike is consciously seen by both the bourgeoisie and the UFCW strikers as a decisive labor showdown.

Time to Finish the Civil War!

Things are not going all that well for some of U.S. imperialism's "moderately authoritarian" regimes abroad—in addition to South Africa, both the Philippines and Haiti are in massive turmoil. There is an integral connection between keeping the lid on domestically and pursuing the role of world cops for counterrevolution. The bourgeoisie knows this only too well after their ignominious defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. The present abysmal social/economic conditions for blacks at home and widespread solidarity with the anti-apartheid struggle abroad threatens to spark anti-racist upsurge. Precisely for that reason, a

section of the bourgeoisie would like to create the following pantheon of black leaders: Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, Martin Luther King and Uncle Tom. In this way, the fight for black freedom is to be bound to the truly impossible dream of reforming the capitalist system. Since decaying capitalism has nothing to offer the masses of blacks, the attempt at co-optation through "respectable" black leadership and "black elected officials" is coupled with grotesque state terror (e.g., Philadelphia MOVE) and state sanction for race-terror by fascistic scum (e.g., the acquittal of Nazi/Klan hitmen who in 1979 massacred—in broad daylight and on television—five anti-Klan protesters of the Communist Workers Party in Greensboro, North Carolina).

In such a climate, the Klan mobilized racist provocations on Martin Luther King Day. Even as the sanctimonious paeans to King were mouthed from the podiums, Reagan's KKK dogs of war marched in Raleigh, North Carolina—hailing the birthday of Confederate general Robert E. Lee. Shouting "White power!" and "Smash commies!", Klansmen also demonstrated in Pulaski, Tennessee, birthplace of the KKK in 1865. Resurgent racism reared its ugly head on the campuses as well. At Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, right-wing scum took sledgehammers to an anti-apartheid "shantytown" in the early morning hours the day after the M.L. King holiday. The attack was led by the racist, anti-gay, anti-Semitic *Dartmouth Review* newspaper. In response, anti-apartheid students engaged in "a 30-hour takeover of an administration building, a bitter confrontation with the school's president and the first suspension of classes for a political teach-in since the 1960s" (*Washington Post*, 24 January).

There is a way out of the dead end of reliance on the racist rulers of both Democratic and Republican parties: it is the *class-struggle road to black freedom*. It took a bloody civil war to abolish slavery and extend a tenuous legal equality to blacks. It will take a class war—this time pitting the multi-racial working class against the capitalists, just as the Civil War was a struggle between the slavocracy in the South and expanding Northern industrial capitalism—to win black liberation.

Racist America can no more be "reformed" into granting genuine social equality to black people than the apartheid regime can be "pressured" into doing away with itself. From Harlem to Soweto: the only solution is workers revolution.

The civil rights movement came up against this fact harshly, particularly when the movement came north in the mid-1960s. Here the questions of formal legal rights—the vote, access to public facilities—were not the issue. The hellish conditions of ghetto life, mass chronic unemployment, racist police brutality—none of these could or would be solved by a new civil rights legislation. In the South, brutal repression against civil rights workers—the police dogs, the clubs, the firebombings, the water hoses—compelled young black militants to reject King's "love thy enemy" pacifism. In the North, the fact that racial oppression is inextricably linked to the capitalist system of production for profit posed the question of the need for a thoroughgoing social revolution.

In the mid-1960s black anger exploded in Harlem, Watts, Detroit, Chicago. These ghetto uprisings were ruthlessly repressed by the state. Indicative of King's role—and a reason for

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Young Spartacus

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No. 133

February 1986

Our comrade Kimberly Sue Kilmer died tragically on 24 January 1986. She was only 32, but had been a member of our movement for almost eleven years. She died of carbon monoxide poisoning from a faulty gas oven in her San Francisco home. Comrades, concerned because her companion Paul Costan had not turned up for an appointment, went to their home in the early hours of January 24. There they found Paul overcome, but in time to get him to the hospital; he has since substantially recovered. Kim, a small slender woman, was already dead.

It was "landlord murder." Their apartment had central heating, but the landlord would never supply enough heat. And it can get damn cold in San Francisco.

Kim was a socialist all her adult life. She joined the Spartacus Youth League in April 1975 in Ann Arbor, Michigan and first joined the SL two years later in Boston, where she was youth organizer. Kim worked in the Detroit and Los Angeles branches, and in New York as part of the *Young Spartacus* comp crew. In a brief period of demoralization in 1979 she resigned, but soon came back hard, actively selling the paper in L.A. where she rejoined in 1981. A tenacious, driving comrade, Kim was always in there fighting for the party. She was a party activist. Kim felt strongly that communists must champion the cause of the oppressed—every incident of police brutality or racist victimization became her fight. At the time of her death, she was a member of the SF local committee of the Spartacist League.

It's not easy to be a communist in America, and the bitter tragedy of Kim's death is that she had put in that hard decade of work it takes to make a seasoned communist cadre, and was visibly growing and maturing politically. She and Paul, an active trade unionist, had visited Nicaragua in the summer of 1985 as an act of solidarity with that embattled country. Upon their return she gave an insightful report to the Bay Area district committee that illuminated the necessity of revolution. Kim paid special attention to the condition of women, and how the U.S. imperial-



Kim Kilmer



17 June 1953 — 24 January 1986



Workers Vanguard Photo

ists' overt/covert war against Nicaragua led to impoverishment of the population.

A longtime friend and comrade said of her, "Kim was moved immediately and directly by the sight of oppression, to the point of imperiling her own welfare. This could be a cop arresting or messing with someone on the street or a scene during a movie. The oppression of blacks in Detroit, where Kim grew up, was a formative factor in her worldview, and a contributing factor in becoming a communist." Kim came to the party during the course of a bitter campus strike and sit-ins against discrimination at the University of Michigan. Her years on the West Coast, particularly in Los Angeles, reflect the SL's ongoing struggles for labor black defense of minorities against racist terror.

"She was extremely competent, energetic, sometimes too energetic. She seemed to have no threshold of exhaustion," one comrade recalled. Kim put this energy to work, meticulously calling contacts, organizing to build the April 1983 demonstration demanding, "Vengeance for Patrick Mason," the five-year-old black child shot down in his own home by Orange County cop Anthony Sperl. That same June, news reached this country of an international campaign to try to save the lives of three South African black militants facing imminent execution by the apartheid regime. They had less than 24 hours to organize a demonstration—Kim

had all the comrades in the L.A. office within two hours, working against time.

A comrade recalled his work with Kim on the Los Angeles docks: "For two years plus, we did the ILWU longshore sale. This was a tough sale, but Kim knew this turf inside out. The longshoremen there knew that we were reds and *WV* was the working-class paper down there. Kim saw the presence of the timid SWP sales team there as an opportunity to engage in political debate. Week after week, she popped out of a car at 6:30 a.m., ready to fight those disgusting reformists. After our November 27, 1982 victory over the Klan, she hit the SWP hard over their

'free speech for fascists' line." Kim was particularly feisty in defending the Trotskyist program against opponents.

The L.A. comrades elected Kim as their first alternate delegate to the 1983 Spartacist League national conference, primarily based on her biting interventions against the whining quitters of the ET (External Tendency). She furiously attacked the ET's worse-than-"color blind" line that the Spartacist League was supposedly turning away from the working class by the formation of the labor/black leagues. In 1984, Kim moved to the Bay Area. Her last political action was participating in the 4 December 1985 demonstration called by the Labor Black League for Social Defense in defense of black unionist Jeff Higgins against Jim Crow discrimination at San Francisco General Hospital.

Kim had been a pre-med student, and because of her medical background during her time in L.A. she helped out veteran Trotskyist Dick Fraser when he was in the hospital and out. "She'd bring him cigarettes and vodka, go to the races with him," a comrade remembers. "They were both fairly stubborn, and so they would go at it a bit. But they both cared about each other a lot."

Last October, after returning from Nicaragua, Kim spoke at the University of California at Santa Cruz and talked to the students about the responsibilities of American revolutionaries: "We say to really fight imperialism abroad you have to wage class struggle at home against our own bourgeoisie. And we're looking to labor/black America to build a revolutionary party that has the power to bring down the biggest enemy of all the working and poor people of the world, and that's U.S. imperialism. That's our job, and we're looking for people who want to fight with us."

Kim Kilmer's death was a widely and bitterly felt loss in our organization. Comrades came to her funeral in Farmington Hills, Michigan from New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Atlanta and the West Coast. Her closest friends and comrades observed that Kim came out of the New Left, and had a sense of struggle. "Maybe she struggled too much against herself, which is often the case with women. But she always kept on fighting." We extend our heartfelt condolences to her family and her companion.

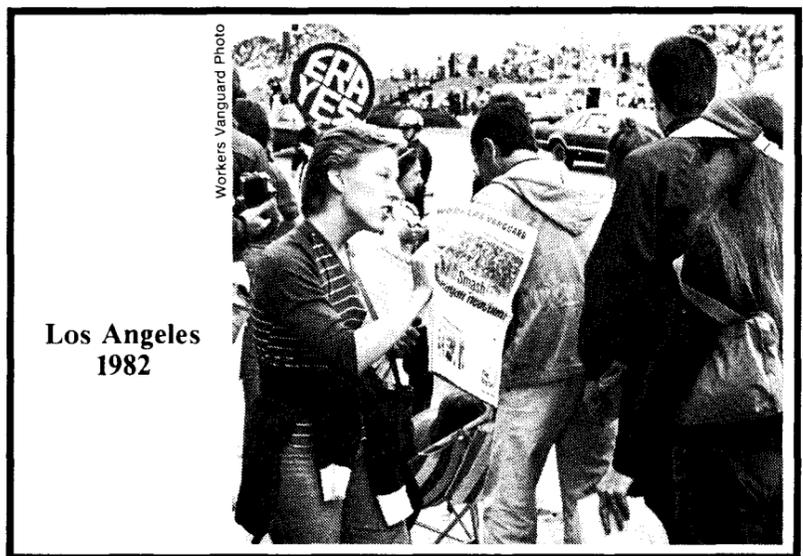
A memorial meeting for Kim Kilmer will be held in the San Francisco Bay Area.

POLITICAL BUREAU
SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
28 JANUARY 1986



Workers Vanguard Photo

Los Angeles 1983



Workers Vanguard Photo

Los Angeles
1982

Trotsky on Building the South African Revolutionary Party

We reprint below a letter by Leon Trotsky to the International Secretariat of the Left Opposition. The letter was written in 1932 in response to a communication received from black workers in Johannesburg expressing their desire to join the International Left Opposition, the revolutionary Trotskyist opposition to the Stalinized Communist International. Trotsky's message, that communists must reach the most oppressed and exploited toilers and become the vanguard fighters for their rights, has particular validity for youth today engaged in the struggle against racist terror from Harlem to Soweto.

Proletarian internationalism has always been the hallmark of Trotskyism. Trotsky's Left Opposition fought the Stalinist-led bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution. The triumph of the Stalinist bureaucracy was manifested internationally as a rejection of the class struggle in favor of blocs with alien class forces for the pipe dream of "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism. Stalin's class-collaborationist policies led to tragic defeats for the international proletariat, such as the 1925-27 Chinese revolution referred to in Trotsky's letter. Over Trotsky's vehement objections, Stalin ordered the Chinese Communist Party to liquidate into the Kuomintang (a bourgeois-nationalist formation) and lay down their arms during the 1927 Shanghai insurrection. Politically and literally disarmed by Stalin, tens of thousands of workers and communists were then massacred by the Kuomintang.

In South Africa, the struggle for the most elementary democratic rights is inextricably bound up with the struggle for socialist revolution. The Trotskyist program for *permanent revolution*, for the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat, is an urgent necessity for the black masses fighting apartheid capitalism today. In contrast, the strategy pursued by the African National Congress (ANC) is to negotiate with South Africa's "progressive" bourgeoisie for a "democratic, non-racial" (i.e., capitalist) state. To this end,



Above: Black South African workers' demonstration, 1930, raises class demands to unite all the oppressed. Sign in center demands "Equal Rights for All Toiling National Minorities!" Right: Letter to American Trotskyist organization, the Communist League of America (CLA), from black workers in Johannesburg printed in CLA's *Militant* (4 June 1932).

the ANC's tactics such as calls to weaken the economy through international divestment and to "make the townships ungovernable" are designed to *pressure*, not overthrow, the white ruling class. Such policies are not only utopian, but dangerous. More hardline nationalists like the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) suicidally call for the final battle to be waged along race lines here and now in a situation where the overwhelming majority of victims will be black. Despite a year and a half of black revolt, the apartheid police state remains intact—with overwhelming military superiority against the unarmed masses of blacks, coloureds (mixed race) and Indians.

The key to the victory of the South African revolution lies in the power of the six-million-strong black proletariat. But the power of the working class must be politically organized and led by a Leninist vanguard party. Today in

From Negro Comrades in South Africa

"Secretary
"Communist League of America
"Dear Comrade:

"At our last meeting, held on April 22, 1932, all the undersigned Negro comrades decided to apply for membership in your league. In regard to your appeal for literature agents it was agreed that we request you to send us 8 dozen copies of *The Militant* per week, which we hope to sell and return you the money. We are particularly anxious to introduce *The Militant* amongst the African Negro workers, and in order to handle it effectively, a committee consisting of twelve of our members has already been selected. Send us also 2 dozen copies of your constitution. Send us 12 copies of advertising posters, if you consider such necessary, and send us from time to time propaganda material, leaflets, etc., if you have any.

"The first copy of *The Militant* that came to our notice was Vol. 5, number 97, dated January 2nd, 1932. It contained an article entitled "Stalin and the Chinese Revolution". But we were disappointed for not having been able to obtain the previous copies. Is the issue in question, which we believe contains the first part of that article, available?

If so, will you send us in the next mail two copies of that issue which we desire to keep on our file.

"Comrades! Do not worry over seeing all these applicants being Negroes, and think that we are purposely refusing to unite with the European comrades. No, we are not. It is only about two months ago that we have been considering joining your league. Although it is difficult for a Negro comrade to organize a European worker, we hope that later on white militants will follow our lead. The color question makes organization difficult. Negro workers are generally being considered inferior even on such matters as revolutionary organization, and usually European workers are being considered superior. We have been functioning under the name of Communist Party of Africa.

"The undersigned Negro comrades pledge themselves to accept your instructions and to see that they are carried out, for the building of the revolutionary movement, for the complete overthrow of capitalism for the establishment of Communism in Africa."

"We are":
(Signatures of the comrades follow)

South Africa there are unprecedented opportunities for building small communist cells in and oriented toward the workers movement. A Bolshevik party must be built in irreconcilable struggle against every kind of class collaboration and nationalism, counterposing the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution

and proletarian internationalism to lead the black proletariat to victory and liberate the rest of black Africa from the chains of neocolonialism. It is to building such a party that the Trotskyists of today, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League, are dedicated.

"Closer to the Proletarians of the 'Colored' Races!"

By Leon Trotsky

To the International Secretariat
(Copy to the National Committee of the American League)

I have received a copy of the letter dated April 26, 1932, sent by an organization of Negro comrades from Johannesburg. This letter, it seems to me, is of great symptomatic significance. The Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) can and must become the banner for the most oppressed sections of the world proletariat, and consequently first and foremost for the Negro workers. Upon what do I base this proposition?

The Left Opposition represents at present the most consistent and most revolutionary tendency in the world. Its sharply critical attitude to any and all varieties of bureaucratic arrogance in the labor movement makes it possible for it to pay particular attention to the voice of the most oppressed sections of



Revolutionary internationalism: The 2 July 1932 *Militant* reprinted Trotsky's letter on the communication from South Africa. To Left Oppositionists internationally, Trotsky insisted on the importance of the black workers' application to the CLA; that communists in every country orient to the oppressed, that revolutionary parties must be the "tribune of the people."

the working class and the toilers as a whole.

The Left Opposition is the target for the blows not only of the Stalinist apparatus but also of all the bourgeois governments of the world. This fact, which despite all the slanders is entering gradually into the consciousness of the

masses, is bound to increasingly attract towards the Left Opposition the warm sympathies of the most oppressed sections of the international working class. From this point of view, the communication addressed to us by the South African comrades seems to me not at all accidental, but profoundly

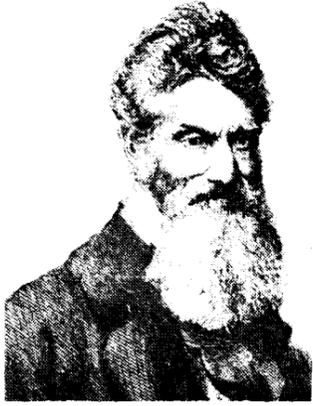
symptomatic.

In their letter, to which twenty-four signatures are appended (with the notation "and others"), the South African comrades expressed particular interest in the questions of the Chinese revolution. This interest, it ought to be acknowledged, is wholly justified. The working masses of the oppressed peoples, who have to carry on the struggle for elementary national rights and for human dignity, are precisely those who incur the greatest risk of suffering the penalties for the muddled teachings of the Stalinist bureaucracy on the subject of the "democratic dictatorship." Under this false banner, the policy a la Kuomintang, that is, the vile deception and the unpunished crushing of the toiling masses by their own "national" bourgeoisie, may still do the greatest harm to the cause of the liberation of the toilers. The program of the permanent revolution, based on the incontestable historic experience of a number of countries, can and must assume primary significance

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Historical Picture Services

SYL Celebrates Black History Month



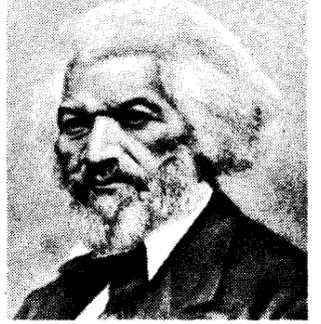
John Brown

Finish the Civil War! For Workers Revolution!

Workers Vanguard Photo



Spartacist contingent in NYC demonstration to stop the execution of African National Congress militant Benjamin Moloise, 20 August 1985.



Frederick Douglass

LOS ANGELES

SYL Forum

John Brown and Frederick Douglass—Anti-Slavery Heroes
**Finish the Civil War—
Black Liberation Through
Socialist Revolution!**

Speaker: Don Alexander, SL CC
Wednesday, February 19, 7:00 p.m.
North Campus, Room 22, UCLA

SYL Film Showing & Discussion

"The Murder of Fred Hampton"

Wednesday, February 12, 7:00 p.m.
North Campus, Room 20, UCLA

For more information: (213) 384-9716

SAN FRANCISCO

SYL Forum

**Finish the Civil War!
Black Liberation Through
Socialist Revolution!**

Speaker: John Kenney, Spartacist League
Thursday, February 20, 12:00 noon
Student Union, Room B-112
San Francisco State University
For more information: (415) 863-6963

BAY AREA

SYL Class Series

**Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today**

Alternate Tuesdays, 7:00 p.m.
February 11, 25, March 11
Dwinelle Hall, Room 215
UC Berkeley

For more information: (415) 835-1535

MADISON

CHICAGO

SYL Forums

Reagan's Anti-Soviet Cold War Drive Means Racist Reaction

Speaker: Bernard Vance, Spartacist League Central Committee
Thursday, February 20, 8:00 p.m.
See "Today in the Union" for room
UW-Madison
For more information: (608) 257-8625

Tuesday, February 18, 12:30 p.m.
316 Stevenson Hall
University of Ill.-Chicago (Circle)
For more information: (312) 663-0715

<p>A Spartacist Pamphlet 25¢</p> <p>Black History and the Class Struggle</p> <p>25¢ (16 pages)</p>	<p>A Spartacist Pamphlet 75¢</p> <p>Black History and the Class Struggle No. 2</p> <p>On the Civil Rights Movement</p> <p>75¢ (32 pages)</p>	<p>Marxist Bulletin 5</p> <p>WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK LIBERATION?</p> <p>Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism</p> <p>\$2.50 (64 pages)</p>
<p>Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116</p>		



Mendel/AFP

Defiant members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions

NEW YORK

SYL Forums

**Black Liberation Through
Socialist Revolution!**

Speaker: Ed Kartsen, SL CC,
Spartacist candidate for Borough of
Manhattan President, 1985
Thursday, February 20, 7:30 p.m.
Hamilton Hall, Room 517
Columbia University
Friday, February 28, 7:30 p.m.
N-402
BMCC
For more information: (212) 267-1025

for the liberation movement of the Negro proletariat.

The Johannesburg comrades may not as yet have had the opportunity to acquaint themselves more closely with the views of the Left Opposition on all the most important questions. But this cannot be an obstacle to our getting together with them as closely as possible at this very moment, and helping them in a comradely way to come into the orbit of our program and our tactics.

When ten intellectuals, whether in Paris, Berlin, or New York, who have already been members of various organizations, address themselves to us with a request to be taken into our midst, I would offer the following advice: put them through a series of tests on all the programmatic questions; wet them in the rain, dry them in the sun, and then after a new and careful examination accept maybe one or two.

The case is radically altered when ten workers connected with the masses turn to us. The difference in our attitude to a petty-bourgeois group and to the proletarian group does not require any explanation. But if a proletarian group functions in an area where there are

workers of different races and, in spite of this, remains composed solely of workers of a privileged nationality, then I am inclined to view them with suspicion. Are we not dealing perhaps with the labor aristocracy? Isn't the group infected with slaveholding prejudices, active or passive?

It is an entirely different matter when we are approached by a group of Negro workers. Here I am prepared to take it for granted in advance that we shall achieve agreement with them, even if such an agreement is not yet evident, because the Negro workers, by virtue of their whole position, do not and cannot strive to degrade anybody, oppress anybody, or deprive anybody of his rights. They do not seek privileges and cannot rise to the top except on the road of the international revolution.

We can and we must find a way to the consciousness of the Negro workers, the Chinese workers, the Indian workers, and all the oppressed in the human ocean of the colored races to whom belongs the decisive word in the development of mankind.

Leon Trotsky
June 13, 1932



no credit

Moscow, 1920: Delegates to Second Congress of Communist International view Red Army parade. Second Congress stressed need for Communist parties to forge "closer union" with working masses of oppressed nations, assimilate lessons of Russian Revolution.

Black Liberation...

(continued from page 2)

the bourgeoisie's praise for his "nonviolence" (for the oppressed)—was his call for swift suppression of the Watts explosion. The militants who had broken from King's Democratic Party/pacifist strategy and had begun confronting the racist system remained tragically isolated in the ghetto and never found the road to link the black struggle with the power of the working class. The best representatives of black militancy and defiance—Malcolm X as well as the Black Panther Party—were singled out for physical extermination. Until the day of victorious workers revolution, there will be no holiday in honor of Malcolm X, nor will there be any streets named in honor of the martyred Panthers—systematically set up for police/FBI murder. Dedicated to the right of armed self-defense against racist attack, Malcolm was unsparing in his exposure of "respectable" black leaders. The true identity of his assassins is not known to this day. No ambiguity exists regarding the murder of Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark—it was the same racist state which to this day keeps Panther Geronimo Pratt languishing in prison on manifestly trumped-up charges.



Shanties erected by Dartmouth students protesting apartheid were leveled by hammer-wielding racists in early morning raid January 21. The next day 175 students took over administration building to protest this racist violence.

That a demagogic, anti-Semitic, race-hate hustler like Louis Farrakhan could pose himself, with any credibility, as a "militant," much less a modern-day Malcolm X, is an obscenity. It also testifies to the lack of any black leadership even pretending to go outside mainstream bourgeois politics. The sinister minister Farrakhan is a preacher of *race war*; he was an avowed enemy of Malcolm X and wrote: "The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape.... Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death" (*Muhammad Speaks*, 4 December 1964). Farrakhan worked as the shill for Jesse Jackson who was the shill for loser Democrat Walter Mondale in the last

elections; his current scam is a version of "black capitalism," the marketing of his brand of soap, deodorant, etc. As Malcolm X's widow Betty Shabazz said of Farrakhan, "I regret the day I ever had the unfortunate opportunity to meet him or to know him."

Potential for black struggle exists; the missing component today is that of revolutionary leadership. Against both the Democratic Party con artists and the despairing nationalists who have given up on the prospect of real struggle, we in the communist SYL are committed to a class-struggle fight for black liberation. There can be no social revolution in this country without such a united struggle

of black and white workers led by a multiracial vanguard party, and there is nothing short of a workers revolution which can finish the Civil War and fully emancipate the black masses. Since our inception, the Spartacist tendency has fought for *revolutionary integrationism*, the struggle for black freedom in an egalitarian socialist society.

Socialism is what we want, and communism is how to get it. Urgently required is the forging of a revolutionary workers party with a strong black leadership component, dedicated to the seizure of state power. Such a party would break the working-class organizations and minorities from their shackles to the Democratic Party of war and racism, would mobilize the immense social power of labor on behalf of all the oppressed, intransigently defend the Soviet Union and all those states where capitalism has been overthrown against U.S. imperialist aggression, mobilize in concrete acts of solidarity with the just struggles of the workers of the world—from Durban to San Salvador. The black masses of this country have millions of allies at home and abroad; a revolutionary party in the tradition of Lenin's Bolsheviks is necessary to unite and lead them to victory. The banners of the victorious socialist revolution in America will be emblazoned with the call: "Finish the Civil War! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" ■

Defend Guillermo...

(continued from page 8)

Against Anti-Imperialist Protesters!

Students who attended Guillermo's disciplinary hearing were treated to quite a farce: a picture of how "blind justice" works at UC Berkeley. The university presented not a single independent witness, only the cops who mauled Guillermo and the Marine whose recruitment efforts were interrupted by the successful SYL-initiated protest. Officer "Chokehold" Johnson swore he never touched Guillermo's neck, but restrained him around the chest. In the now infamous photo shown on page 8, a 5'4" Guillermo Bermúdez, legs dangling, is being choked around the neck by the 6'4" Officer Johnson.

The university has not announced yet what disciplinary action it will take against Guillermo Bermúdez. More importantly, Guillermo still faces nearly three years in jail and a lifetime of jeopardy if convicted in his upcoming trial on the lying charge of cop-beating. Noted civil rights attorney Howard Moore, who is legal counsel for Guillermo's case, maintained that the hearing itself was a flagrant violation of Guillermo's rights and argued for its postpone-

ment until the criminal charges are resolved. After more than a year of stalling this case in the courts, the university proceeded with their own kangaroo court.

In his closing argument, Moore laid bare the university's frame-up: "There were numbers of students who were present in Sproul Plaza on the day in question; none of them have been offered by the University of California to independently support or corroborate any of the allegations made by the police officers. It would appear that if the university were interested in a fair and impartial hearing, that it would have made an effort to have produced student observers... in support of the allegations in these proceedings. They failed to do that.

"Most importantly, Sproul Plaza is recognized by the rules of this university as being a place which has been traditionally designed for the expression of free speech. And the evidence shows, beyond any doubt, that on this particular occasion Mr. Bermúdez was engaging in an exercise of free speech. And what he said was apparently offensive to the Marine sergeant and offensive to Officer Johnson. But he had a right, an absolute right, to condemn the practices of his government, in coming onto this campus after the ROTC and Marine recruiters and armed force recruiters

had been removed from the campuses during the Vietnam War, due to student protests. [That they] come back here again and raise among college students—young people who have a responsibility to the future of this democracy—the spectre that America's finest and brightest will again be recruited into the armed forces to go off to places like El Salvador, Grenada, probably even South Africa, the Philippines and who knows where else, to fight against the popular uprisings of those people there who are seeking nothing more than to have a democratic way of life where they can have, for themselves, education, food, clothing and medicine.... I submit that young people such as Mr. Bermúdez should be commended rather than vilified.... Mr. Bermúdez should be completely exonerated."

On campuses across the country, anti-imperialist students are learning about "democracy" as their heads get acquainted with police batons. Reagan and the Democrats want star-spangled cannon fodder, not young "troublemakers" obstructing their aim to put America back in the saddle for an anti-Soviet "High Noon." From coast to coast, universities are revamping their "conduct codes" to strip students of their rights to engage in organized opposition to the war aims of this government, and setting up their own repressive machinery to stand above constitutional rights.

The National Association of College and University Attorneys met in Washington, D.C. last September to discuss "regulating campus dissent and enjoining campus disruption." Special guests at this "off-the-record" conference included representatives from the State Department, the South African embassy and Mobil Oil. One critic described the conference as "a strategy session designed to develop a 'first-strike' capability against campus protest" (*Daily Californian*, 18 September 1985). The San Francisco chapter of the National Lawyers Guild published the notes of one conference attendee who wrote, "The conference participants shared 'war stories' and bemoaned the fact that 'unfortunately [disciplinary] boards sometimes look beyond [their] own interests [sic] to enforce First Amendment rights'" (*The Conspiracy*, Winter 1985).

The campuses have become a battlefield for ideologues of the right. Take, for example, "Accuracy in Academia"—an outfit of junior "Big Brothers" that

finks on teachers who deviate from the Flat Earth Society, teach evolution, Marxism or anything else the right wing defines as "secular humanism." The "New Math" according to Reagan means teaching that a trillion-dollar deficit equals a balanced budget—as long as the money goes to "Star Wars" and "commie"-killing contras from Nicaragua to Afghanistan to Angola.

UC Berkeley in particular has long been considered as "enemy territory" and a haven for "subversives" by former California governor Reagan and his underlings. Recall that Reagan's attorney general, Ed Meese, earned his spurs in the Alameda County D.A.'s office during the '60s. He led the prosecution of the Free Speech Movement activists and destruction of the Black Panther Party. They brought in the National Guard to smash the "People's Park" protests. Regarding People's Park, Meese openly declared that anyone attending a political demonstration deserved to be shot! The present governor of California, George Deukmejian is cut from the same cloth. His most recent appointment to the University of California Board of Regents is one Tirso del Junco—a surgeon who was involved in the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Twenty years ago, the fight for black equality, to smash Jim Crow segregation, spawned the Free Speech Movement and broke the back of McCarthyite reaction. The ruling class is determined that this will never happen again, that no domestic unrest will grind the gears of the anti-Soviet war drive. At Berkeley, the administration wants to nail Guillermo as an "example" to intimidate all who would oppose U.S. imperialism's policies and agents. But the campus has not been turned into the docile, mindless mass the administration hopes for. Large-scale student protests against apartheid racism, U.S. war moves on Central America and military training on campus have continued despite police and administration attacks. A mass, united-front mobilization of students, Bay Area labor and black organizations is needed now to stop the cop rampage and regimentation of youth. Drop the Charges Against Guillermo Bermúdez and All Anti-Imperialist Protesters!

Contributions for Guillermo's defense are urgently needed. Make checks payable to the Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Fund. Mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101. ■

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UW-Madison Protest Drive CIA, NSA Off Campus!

MADISON—Chanting “Cops and Spies Off Campus!”, spirited student picketers demonstrated against CIA and National Security Agency (NSA) recruitment at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (UW) outside the office of chancellor Irving Shain January 29. The demonstration included members of the Spartacus Youth League, Progressive Student Network (PSN) and others, numbering 70 at its peak. After picketing Shain’s office for several hours, the protesters marched to the CIA recruitment site at the Engineering Building where the UW cops had set up barricades in front of and inside the building, barring entry to all except those with “legitimate business” as defined by Shain and his police “designees.”

The bloody CIA is notorious throughout the world as the counterrevolutionary Murder, Inc. of U.S. imperialism. As part of Reagan and the Democrats’ global crusade to “roll back

Communism,” the CIA is up to its neck in the terrorist attacks of apartheid puppet Jonas Savimbi’s UNITA in Angola and the Somozaist “contras” in Nicaragua. For these *real crimes* against workers and peasants struggling against imperialism, the CIA should be driven off campus.

It is for precisely this reason that the SYL made a proposal to the PSN on January 15 to hold a united-front demonstration against the CIA recruitment on the 29th. In sectarian fashion the PSN refused, saying it did not want to compromise its “autonomy.” The PSN wanted to keep its distance from the communist SYL in order to appear more clean and respectable to pressure and persuade the administration to ban CIA recruitment. It is fully in keeping with this perspective that virtually the entire PSN voted for Walter “Quarantine Nicaragua” Mondale in the last election.

However, several PSNers were disgruntled at the machinations used by the PSN leadership to torpedo a united front with the SYL. These people are obviously caught in a contradiction: they oppose and have militantly protested the counterrevolutionary aims of U.S. imperialism, but they do this in the name of U.S. laws and university regulations rather than open partisanship for the anti-imperialist struggles of the oppressed. (Shain, after all, will hardly be persuaded to ban the CIA



Young Spartacus Photo

“Cops and Spies Off Campus!” Picketers protest recruitment by CIA and NSA killer spies at Madison, January 29.



Young Spartacus Photo

Madison cops bash and arrest student protesters, 23 October 1985. Drop All Charges Against Anti-CIA Demonstrators!

because he wants the U.S. to be defeated in Central America.) Yet it is essentially such partisanship that brings students out to protest, and students at the January 29 demonstration eagerly took up the Spartacus Youth League’s chant “Smash Reagan’s Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua Needs MIGs!” calling for Soviet military aid to the embattled Nicaraguan Revolution.

Despite the PSN’s pro-Democratic Party sectarianism, the anti-CIA demonstration turned out to be a *de facto* united front after all, clearly centered on hatred for the CIA and the need to get them off campus, with an open mike allowing all who wished to address the rally to speak. As SYL spokesman Richard Genova said in his speech to the rally, “We know why we’re out here: because around the world the CIA is in the business of mass murder and torture of those people—workers and peasants—who are fighting for their liberation.”

Militant, united student protest is particularly needed in Madison because the administration and its cops have resorted to vicious repression of student demonstrations against the CIA killers over the past year. Last April a group of anti-CIA protesters was maced by police at the Engineering Building, and then on October 23 the cops brutally charged into another anti-CIA demonstration, badly cutting one of the protesters above the eye and arresting six. Five students are still facing trumped-up charges from these arrests. The SYL demands: Drop All Charges Against Anti-CIA Demonstrators! Cops Off Campus! In the wake of the police attack on the October 23 demonstration, the SYL and PSN held a united-front protest against recruiters from the NSA—an act of defiance against the administration’s repression and a concrete example of how organizations with differing views can fight to win students to their political program within the framework of common action.

Shain has not only shown his determination to smash student dissent, he also sits on a Defense Department/NSA “manpower” committee—so it is grotesquely ludicrous to look to him to ban the CIA. Universities are not class-neutral institutions; they are part of the fabric of capitalist society, tied by a thousand threads to the capitalist state

and its war machine. In today’s climate of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, the Pentagon funds more than 80 percent of university research (*Daily Cardinal*, 11 September 1985), and the CIA crowds that whereas 20 years ago it was “persona non grata” on the campuses, now it has “re-established its ties and is receiving research and advice from a growing number of university professors” (*New York Times*, 20 January). The SYL opposes and fights against the use of the universities as direct agents of U.S. imperialism—as recruitment centers for the military and spy agencies and as Pentagon laboratories. Mass student protest during the Vietnam War drove ROTC off campus and put a stop to open CIA activity in universities. What’s needed today is more such protests—and despite the CIA’s trumpeting about its newfound welcome on the campuses, there have been significant anti-CIA demonstrations at Brown, Tufts, Ann Arbor and Boulder, Colorado in the last two years.

The SYL is committed to winning youth who are outraged by the CIA’s crimes, by imperialist oppression and exploitation, to the side of the working class. As we said in our leaflet distributed to the Madison anti-CIA demonstration:

“The fight against imperialist militarism and its spy agencies goes far beyond the campus and requires the building of an integrated, revolutionary workers party to lead the working class and the oppressed in a struggle for state power. Students who want to oppose the crimes of imperialism must *take a side*—for the defeat of U.S. imperialism internationally, for the defeat of the U.S. ruling class at home. This necessarily involves the recognition that not only the CIA but also Irving Shain and the ‘liberal’ imperialist politicians are all part of the *other side*. DRIVE THE CIA/NSA OFF CAMPUS!” ■

Smash racist terror! Doug “The Greaseman” Tracht has got to go!

Howard Spartacus Youth League

Howard University...

(continued from page 8)

the Civil War! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!”, offering a program of integrated, revolutionary working-class struggle to put an end to the hideous racist oppression of American capitalism. A few of the rally organizers unsuccessfully attempted to limit slogans to the call for ousting “The

Greaseman.” Such a perspective narrows this struggle when what is needed is a massive mobilization that draws on the widespread disgust and anger among this city’s black workers and ghetto masses against this million-dollar racist garbagemouth.

We reprint below the Howard SYL’s statement distributed to the February 3 demonstration.

Doug “The Greaseman” Tracht is a clear and present danger to black people in this city. On January 20, the first federal holiday marking the birthday of Martin Luther King, “The Greaseman” told his predominantly white listening audience of 63,000 that, “if the assassination of a black leader was cause for a day off, then killing ‘four more’ would result in getting the rest of the week off” (*Washington Post*, 24 January). This was an invitation to racist murder!

Last year, the FCC received a letter from a listener who was outraged by “The Greaseman’s” call for “steamrolling blacks and Koreans to create blacktop highways with yellow stripes on them” (*Washington Post*, 24 January). An organization of Howard students, the Black United Youth, has launched protests of this racist creep and is demanding his ouster. The Spartacus Youth League fully solidar-

rizes with their efforts—this dangerous mouthpiece for racist genocide has got to go!

From the bombing of Philadelphia MOVE to the racist rollback of busing, attacks on voting rights and savage union-busting—it’s open season on blacks and working people in Reagan’s America. But “The Greaseman” and WWDC-FM better know that Washington, D.C. is not Klantown. This Southern city is filled with black residents who know an incitement to racist terror when they hear it and whose

experiences with the Klan, the lash and the noose are not forgotten. When the KKK tried to march through D.C. in November 1982, over 5,000 people, predominantly black workers and youth, came out and stopped the race-hate terrorists in their tracks in a Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League.

Smash racist terror! Doug “The Greaseman” Tracht has got to go!

Howard Spartacus Youth League

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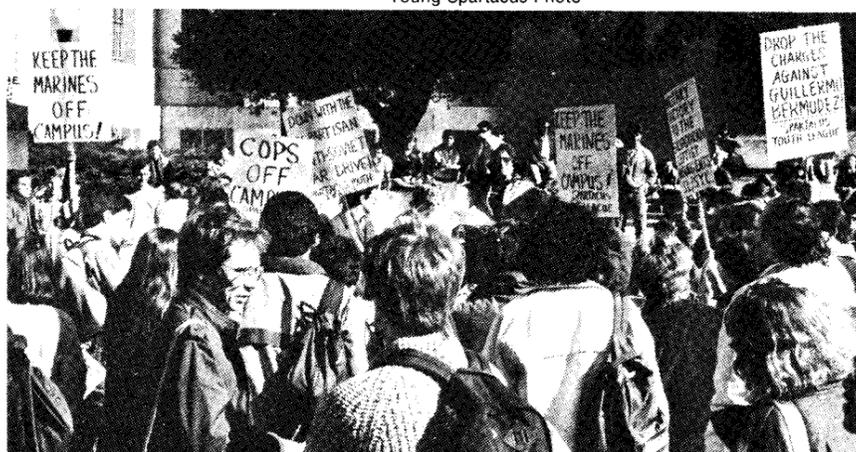
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Berkeley: "Try the Cops—Not the Victims!"

Defend Guillermo And All Anti-Imperialist Protesters!

"Down with UC's Inquisition! Try the Cops, Not Their Victims!" and "Marines. ROTC—Off Campus!" chanted Berkeley students and others picketing a university disciplinary hearing for Spartacus Youth League member Guillermo Bermúdez on January 30. The administration is determined to make Guillermo pay for leading a militant demonstration against Marine recruiters on 29 January 1985. For taking action against U.S. imperialism's dogs of war, Guillermo was nearly choked to death and had his arm broken by the campus cops. On top of the deadly assault, the cops have turned the victim into the assailant, charging Guillermo with "battery" of the officer who beat him up.

The university must be pretty frustrated. In the past year they have arrested hundreds of students for protesting apartheid racism and U.S. war moves on Central America, but so far they have failed to nail a single conviction in court. Perhaps fearing that their case against Guillermo will be



Young Spartacus Photo

seen for what it is—a patent frame-up—the university rammed through their own disciplinary hearing in an attempt to pre-empt the court trial scheduled for February 10.

Members of both the Campaign Against Apartheid (CAA) and Students Against Intervention in Central Ameri-

ca (SAICA) came out to the hearing in a show of support for Guillermo and in defense of their own rights to political dissent. Five students from SAICA and the CAA also face a disciplinary hearing on February 6 for protesting ROTC last August. All defenders of democratic rights should come out and pack the

courtroom for Guillermo on the 10th and for CAA and SAICA on the 6th. Three other students, David Lucas, Michael Donnelly and José Carrasco still face criminal charges stemming from protests last year. An injury to one is an injury to all! Drop All Charges
continued on page 6



Jane Scherr

Howard Students Mobilize Against Racist Pig DJ "The Greaseman" Has Got to Go!

WASHINGTON, D.C., February 3—Proclaiming "We will not cease until you clean up The Grease!", over 50 protesters formed a spirited early morning picket line today in front of the WWDC-FM studios in downtown D.C. This was the third time in the past eight days that outraged Howard University students have rallied to demand the ouster of the vile racist disc jockey known as "The Greaseman." Any listener would have thought he had mistakenly tuned in to "Radio KKK" on the Martin Luther King holiday, when this pig revoltingly "joked" on the air that "if the assassination of a black leader was cause for a day off, then killing 'four more' would

result in getting the rest of the week off"! Last Monday over 100 Howard students demonstrated in front of the station against "The Greaseman," and two days later a rally was held on the Howard campus.

Chanting "From Black Soweto to Black D.C.—Smash Racist Terror!", the Spartacus Youth League contingent pointed to the mounting number of murderous attacks on black people in Reagan's America, exemplified by the government's bombing and burning alive of MOVE members in Philadelphia. SYL signs at the protest included "We Will Not Forget—Avenge MOVE Martyrs!" and "Finish

continued on page 7

Howard students picket WWDC studios February 3, demanding ouster of DJ who called for racist murder.



Young Spartacus Photo