

NUMBER 110

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Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism in Central America!

U.S. imperialism is in big trouble in Central America. The U.S.-backed junta butchers in El Salvador are losing, and losing badly, in the civil war. In Nicaragua, the U.S.-armed and supplied contras' incursions across the Honduran border have been successfully repulsed by the Sandinista forces. Nearly ten years ago, the mightiest imperialist power on earth was defeated on the battlefield by a desperately poor, desperately under-armed but heroic Vietnamese people. The spectre of Vietnam haunts the entire U.S. ruling class. And it could happen all over again in Central America.

Reagan came to power vowing to avenge the U.S.' humiliating defeat in Vietnam with a quick victory against "Soviet aggression" drawn in the blood

Vietnam Was a Victory!



to Yankee imperialism throughout all of Latin America. Direct U.S. intervention would be courting more than minor disaster: the murderous right-wing dictatorships throughout the continent are shaky from Chile to Peru, from Argentina to Bolivia. Furthermore, as Vietnam proved, there is no guarantee that even with the intervention of U.S. troops the embattled workers and peasants would not still win a military victory.

American partisans of the workers and peasants in Central America and enemies of blood-drenched U.S. imperialism must not only hail the battlefield victories of the Salvadoran insurgents. but organize concrete working-class solidarity with their struggle right here in the "belly of the beast." In total

of the Salvadoran workers and peasants. But it isn't working out that way. The hopelessly corrupt, demoralized and hated Salvadoran military probably couldn't win in military action against a well-armed city street gang, let alone against the leftist insurgents of the FMLN. CIA head William Casev's reported bombastic assertion that the counterrevolutionary invasion of Nicaragua would overthrow the radical nationalist Sandinista government before the year's end is belied by each account of contra defeats. And the Nicaraguans have not yet thrown their heavy battalions into battle.

The words "Vietnam" and "defeat" are synonymous for all wings of the U.S.

AFP/Pictorial Parade

ruling class—Democrats and Republicans, "hawks" and "doves." For the workers and peasants of Central America, locked in a life-and-death struggle against the U.S. and its butchers— Vietnam was a victory. Along with the Cuban Revolution, it inspires their fight and stays the hand of the U.S. warmakers. Democratic Party "liberals" fear that Reagan's policy is leading to sure defeat—a situation they urgently seek to avoid. Thus, their battle cry "No More Vietnams!" The Democrats are anxious, too, that—given the miserable performance of the Salvadoran army— Reagan may opt for a significant escalation, including the sending of U.S. troops. American troops in El Salvador would not only provoke potential mass protest at home, but inflame opposition

opposition to this elementary duty, the reformist organizers of the July 2 demonstration have taken as their primary slogan "No More Vietnams." Designed to rope in Democrats' support, the July 2 "action" joins the Democrats in seeking to avoid another "no-win" war for U.S. imperialism; it adopts their call for a negotiated sellout of the FMLN fighters. No accident that this "emergency mobilization" was scheduled months in advance to coincide with July 4, stars-and-stripes day. No accident that the rallying point is simply obscene: the Vietnam War Veteran's Memorial! A fitting site for an American Legion rally, the thing is a continued on page 8



EDITORIAL NOTES

Finish the Civil War! Stop Racist Rampage at Ole Miss!

The University of Mississippi (Ole Miss) was "integrated" for the first time in 1962 when James Meredith was brought onto the campus by federal marshals with bayonets at the ready. Meredith, a young Air Force veteran, was jeered and spat on by white racist students; he ate alone in the cafeteria in the company of armed U.S. marshals. Over 20 years later, the white racist "spirit of Dixie" lives on at Ole Miss. There are only 746 black students out of a total enrollment of 9,412. And the most basic and blatant symbols of the Southern slavocracy remain as a constant threat and insult to them. It all came to the surface this spring, when an outbreak of black student protest challenged the racist status quo; the students demanded an end to the school's official use of the Confederate flag, the singing of "Dixie" and the football team's mascot "Colonel Rebel"-complete with white goatee and grey tails.

It's not just symbols of slavery and the racist terror of Jim Crow that live on at Ole Miss, either. The school yearbook came out this spring with seven photos of hooded Ku Klux Klansmen, some of them with Confederate flags. The KKK had earlier this year marched in Oxford, the Mississippi town in which the university is located.

The black students fought back. It began in the fall, when the school's first black cheerleader, John Hawkins, refused to wave the slavery flag at football games. Then, this April, black students demanded an end to the official use of the flag, "Dixie" and "Colonel Rebel" as well as reforms in the recruitment of black students and faculty, tutorial programs, financial aid, counseling and cultural programs. In reaction, over 1,000 white racists mobilized a "Save the Flag" lynch mob on April 18. They paraded through the campus, waving the Confederate flag

and singing "Dixie" and finally converged on the only-off-campus-black fraternity house. There, they hurled ugly racist epithets and particularly went after Hawkins.

It takes guts to stand up to the entrenched white racism at Ole Miss. "We will not be moved off this campus, we will not be pushed off," Lydia Spragin, the black student union president, announced. The day after the lynch-mob scene at the black fraternity, black students gathered in a demonstration reminiscent of the early days of the civil rights movement, saying the "Lord's Prayer" and singing "We Shall rally is a cheerleader at the pep rally," Dr. Lucius Williams-a black vice chancellor at Ole Miss-declared (Washington Afro-American, 21 May). Williams had to earn his doctoral degree outside the state because the university was still closed to blacks at the time he was a student.

Even the most minimal protests against the despicable symbols of Southern slavery in the deep South are targets for Klan-like intimidation and terror against blacks. The racist U.S. government-whose agents have actively collaborated with the Klan terrorists from Birmingham to Greensboro-



Overcome." The next day, university chancellor Porter Fortune attempted to defuse the explosive mood on campus by announcing an end to the use and distribution of the Confederate flag in an official capacity, while maintaining the sale of flags at the campus bookstore to "individuals." He took no action on the other demands of the black students and the university's director of public relations dismissed the lynch mob as "nothing but a spring pep rally."

"Anybody who called that mob a pep

aren't going to put an end to it, either. The Spartacus Youth League has pointed out that the Civil War will only be completed when a victorious workers revolution-led by an integrated revolutionary party-takes power from the hands of the ruling class who are committed to brutal racist oppression from Pretoria to Mississippi.

It is a hideous insult to black people and an indictment of this sick, racist society that the flag of slavery still flies from most state capitols in the South.

from Cambridge, Massachusetts showed strong similarities-including bee hairs and heavy concentrations of partly digested pollen.

"The stuff is everywhere," said Dr. Meselson, including in the Harvard parking lot where they got their comparative sample. No doubt Reagan's Dr. Strangeloves in State will only take this as evidence that the Soviets have trained One of the first acts of a workers government will be to tear down and burn each and every Confederate flag in this country. As for the white-hooded terrorists who continue to do their dirty work with the benign aid of the government-they will pay. Young Spartacus is in fullest solidarity with the struggle of the black students throughout the South who refuse to submit passively to the trampling of their rights and dignity by the losers of the Civil War.

Our task is to win the most committed militants to socialism and to the SYL. Neither pacifism nor reliance on the Wide World



1962: James Meredith, guarded by armed marshal, enrolls at Ole Missbastion of segregation.

government nor prayer has substantially changed the reality of black oppression in America. To the anti-racist fighters at Ole Miss we offer the strategy of mass labor/black mobilizations such as the November 27 anti-Klan demonstration which stopped the threatened KKK march in Washington, D.C. We call for a fight to organize the non-union South and defend the right of armed self-defense against racist terror. Black liberation through proletarian revolution!

evidence" of deadly chemical poisons being used in Southeast Asia. As we pointed out, scientists quickly refuted Haig's lie that the supposed mysterious poison "discovered" did not occur naturally in Indochina: "Science magazine (2 October 1981) consulted experts who 'expressed surprise' at the U.S. claims, saying the mycotoxins are naturally produced by the fungus

Yellow Rain: Bee Shit!

We've always said the State Department's propaganda that the Soviet Union was dropping deadly "yellow rain" on Laos, Cambodia and Afghaniwas bullshit—turns out now it was

dirty propaganda campaign-Meselson is one of America's leading experts on biological and chemical warfare, and has often in the past been a consultant to the White House, Defense Department and State Department. Meselson and four other scientists reported that microscopic analysis of "yellow rain" samples from Laos and Thailand (part of the same batch the State Department claimed were evidence of "yellow rain" attacks) and samples of bee excrement

U.S.

Vietnam.

really bee shit! Moldy bee shit, too.

"It is possible that yellow rain is bee excrement," announced Dr. Matthew Meselson on May 31 at a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. His report is a devastating blow to the Reagan crew's



a horde of killer bees to bombard Harvard Yard with "yellow rain." That might have some logic, though-Harvard is, after all, the home of the Russian Studies in Counterrevolution Department and John F. Kennedy School of Imperialist Chicanery, breeding ground for America's would-be future imperialist rulers. There is no / basis in fact and never has been to the U.S. government's charges that the Soviet Union and Vietnam have been dropping weird poisons on primitive tribal peoples in remote jungles. Meselson and his co-reporters'

discovery of how the "yellow rain" spots got on the leaves and twigs in the jungles-that is, via the periodic "cleansing flights" of Indochinese bees who dump the stored pollen-laden droppings-is but the final blow to a tale that was utterly unbelievable right from the start. General Alexander Haig, then secretary of state, dropped the "yellow rain" bombshell in September 1981, claiming the U.S. had "physical fusarium which 'is found almost continued on page 9

loung 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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SUMMER 1983

20 Years Ago Malcolm X Called It "The Farce on Washington" For Labor/Black Struggle! Not Democratic Party Rallies!

Twenty years after Martin Luther King's "I have a dream" speech to the 1963 March on Washington, conditions for black people in this country are more than ever a nightmare. Now under the slogan, "Jobs, Peace and Freedom," on August 27 Democratic Party politicians and their lackeys in the labor bureaucracy will drape themselves in the banner of the civil rights movement. Yet by the time of the 1963 March on Washington the left wing of the civil rights movement was beginning to break out of the Democratic Party trap, recognizing that the party of Kennedy and Johnson was fundamentally committed to the racist status quo. In a speech prepared for the march the chairman of SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee), John Lewis, declared:

"...the party of Kennedy is the party of Eastland.... We cannot depend on any political party for both the Democrats and Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence... Where is our party? Where is the political party that will make it unnecessary to have Marches on Washington?"

At the demand of the Kennedy White House, that section of Lewis' speech was *censored* by King, A. Philip Randolph, Walter Reuther and the other march notables.

It was the Democratic Party which above all killed the civil rights movement. And under Democratic as well as Republican governments-federal, state and local-black militants have been killed by cops, FBI agents, Klansmen and other racists. The August 27 rally will be addressed by the same Democratic politicians who paved the way for Reagan by opposing school integration and busing, cutting back social services and whipping up the anti-Soviet Cold War. It will be addressed by trade-union bureaucrats who have enforced massive layoffs, plant closures and wage cuts, throwing millions onto the unemployment/soup lines. And it will be addressed by the BEOs (black elected officials) who serve as the indispensable front men for Reagan's austerity in the big, black proletarian cities like Detroit, Chicago and Gary.

The question John Lewis asked

forces. Ku Klux Klan and Nazi racist terror is on the rise, having gotten a green light from the government. Remember the Klan/Nazi murderers who were acquitted in Greensboro, North Carolina under the Democratic Carter administration. Cop terror against blacks is still the order of the day. Recently in Orange County, California a cop killed a five-year-old The civil rights movement was an attempt to confront the unfinished business of the Civil War. Black chattel slaves had been emancipated only to be stripped of political rights and economically subjugated through sharecropping and debt peonage. Today blacks are still segregated at the bottom of American society, but are integrated into its economy, especially in the strategic Workers Vanguard Photos



November 27, 1982: SL/SYL-initiated Labor/ Black Mobilization stopped KKK; militants honored Malcolm X.

black boy, Patrick Mason, who was at home watching TV. This killer still walks the streets. And the black Democratic mayor of Los Angeles, Tom Bradley (himself an ex-cop), sympathizes with this baby-killer's "remorse"! That's black life and death in America.

After the dismal experience of the last Democratic administration of Carter/ Mondale, many black voters stayed home in the 1980 elections. The Democrats want to recover the black vote and need a fast face-lift. That's where the August 27 demonstration comes in. The reformist left is only too happy to get the old Democratic "coalition" politics back on its feet in time for the elections. The recent election of a black Machine Democrat, Harold Washington, as mayor of Chicago has sent the fake-left into paroxysms of "anti-Reagan people's front" enthusing. Chicago's aficionado of black capitalism, Jesse Jackson, lost no time after the Washington election in launching a crusade for the Democrats. His Southern tour demonstates just how reactionary-even compared to King's politics-this "new" Democratic coalition is. At the May 14 demonstration of some 10,000 black residents and workers in Norfolk, Virginia protesting the elimination of school busing, Jackson declared, "I'm not in town marching for desegregation. I'm marching for the voter registration boost" (Virginian-Pilot, 14 May). His next stop was Alabama, where he chatted with George "Mr. Segregation" Wallace on election strategy. The next day, appearing before the Alabama State Legislature, Jackson declared, "The South can rise again"! This black traitor who raises the slogan of the Dixiecrats in the capital of the old slavocracy should be reviled by every partisan of black freedom.

sectors of the proletariat. The key to social revolution in this country is the united struggle of black and white workers led by a multiracial vanguard party. It took the Civil War—the Second American Revolution—to free blacks from the chains of chattel slavery. It will take the Third American Revolution—a proletarian revolution to free blacks from the chains of wage slavery and racial oppression.

The Democrats Killed the Civil Rights Movement

When Rosa Parks was arrested in Montgomery, Alabama in 1955 for refusing to give up her seat on a bus to a white man, she sparked a movement which shook the South as it had not been shaken since the days of Reconstruction. For the next decade the struggle against the Jim Crow system which derived from the counterrevolution against the Civil War and radical Reconstruction—convulsed the South and largely dominated the political life of the country as a whole. The freedom riders who braved Klan terror, the black youth who courageously faced Bull Connor's police dogs in Birmingham galvanized black anger across the country. Practically the entire black population of the South was mobilized in the struggle against segregation, while Northern blacks wholeheartedly identified with their cause.

The liberal-pacifist leadership around King sought to channel the explosive anger of the civil rights movement into legalistic reform and electoral support to the Democrats. This was the purpose of the 1963 March on Washington, to pressure the White House and Congress into passing a civil rights act. The organizers made every effort to avoid embarrassing the Kennedy administration. They prohibited "subversive" groups from participating and, as we have seen, censored the views of the SNCC militants.

Malcolm X saw through the false promises of the civil rights liberals. He dubbed the March on Washington "the farce on Washington" and declared:

"In '63, it was the march on Washington. In '64, what was it? The civil-rights bill. Right after they passed the civilrights bill, they murdered a Negro in Georgia and did nothing about it; murdered two whites and a Negro in Mississippi and did nothing about it. So the civil-rights bill has produced nothing where we're concerned. It was only a valve, a vent, that was designed to enable us to let off our frustrations."

> -quoted in George Breitman, ed., Malcolm X Speaks (1965)

But these frustrations were not let off so easily. Increasingly the liberal leadership around King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) came into conflict with the aspirations of the black masses to go beyond legal reforms and their rejection of turn-the-other-cheek pacifism. This clash threw up a left wing of the civil rights movement, located mainly in SNCC. When in 1963 Birmingham police chief Bull Connor set loose his storm troopers, police dogs and fire hoses against defenseless civil rights demonstrators, the black population junked King's philosophy of nonviolence and responded with sticks, rocks, knives and bottles against attacks continued on page 10

twenty years ago is if anything even more urgent today—"Where is our party?" Our party must be an integrated revolutionary workers party. That party can be built only by ripping from the Democratic Party the working people, black and white.

King's Dream, Black Nightmare

Twenty year ago it was a liberal article of faith that black equality was only a matter of time. The moderate civil rights leaders favored a slower pace; the radicals demanded "freedom now." But all believed that black progress was inevitable. Who thinks this today living in Reagan's America?

Lunches for black schoolchildren are being cut while white-only private schools get tax credits through all kinds of loopholes. In some cities unemployment among black ghetto youth approaches 80 percent. Massive cuts in social services and education have forced an entire generation of black youth onto the streets or into the armed



June 1963: M.L. King, Robert Kennedy, Roy Wilkins, Lyndon Johnson. Kennedy authorized FBI surveillance/harassment of King. Dems killed civil rights movement.

UPI

Harvard Loves Walesa, Hates Local 26

It sounds like a skit from "Saturday Night Live," but it's really Harvard University, June 1983. America's most elite institution of higher learning selected a self-avowed illiterate to address the proud parents, alumni, distinguished professors and new graduates at its commencement exercises. What did this learned group crave to hear from Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa who once proudly declared "I've never read a book in my life"? Answer: a shared fierce anti-Communism and support to "free world" imperialism.

Walesa stayed home to await his mentor the Pope, but his praise for Harvard as a "magnificent university" and his call for CIA "free trade unions" was ceremoniously read by labor-hating Harvard president Derek Bok. Indeed, Walesa is the only "unionist" Harvard loves and unabashedly honored at commencement while simultaneously conferring an honorary degree to the vicious Washington Post union buster Katharine Graham.

Applauding Harvard's choice of Walesa, the Harvard Crimson (9 June) noted "... he is a rare public figure whose political views would hold enormous appeal to virtually every member of the hodgepodge Commencement audience, from the most outspoken student radical to the stodgiest reactionary alumnus." Ain't it the truth. The pettybourgeois campus "leftists" march to the beat of Reagan's war drums in reactionary solidarity with the counterrevolutionary Solidarity movement. So when the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) organized student support for the university's food service workers and forthrightly exposed the imperialist hypocrisy of Harvard whose love for Walesa is matched only by its hatred of campus unionists, our rad-lib opponents reeled in spasms of anti-Sovietism (see accompanying letter to the Crimson by Mike Anderson).

The contract for Harvard dining hall workers, organized in Local 26 of the International Hotel, Restaurant and Institutional Employees and Bartenders Union, expires June 19. The Harvard administration, which likes to keep up pretenses by practicing its anti-labor chicanery behind closed doors, arrogantly refused the union's demand for public negotiations. Harvard's chief labor negotiator Edward Powers declared publicly that he "could not survive on a food service worker's wages," while he refused to negotiate at all on the union's demand for a dollaran-hour wage hike and free medical insurance. He fully deserves to receive a wooden nickel (engraved with a picture of the Pope of course) from Lech "too much affluence and laziness in the West" Walesa as a reward for his services for Harvard workers—or maybe he should just take on the name of Mr. Marie Antoinette!

On May 3, 300 workers came out to Local 26's call for a demonstration, angry at the refusal of the richest, most elite school in the country to grant a decent wage and low cost health care. Workers met at individual dining halls to march to the rally site, and SYL supporters who responded to our leaflet gathered with food service workers at the Freshman Union dining hall. There, many bought copies of Workers Vanguard and Young Spartacus and told us they appreciated our efforts to mobilize student support. Our placards were also well received, particularly the one reading, "Harvard Loves Walesa, Hates Local 26," the slogan which drove the campus fake-leftists up the wall.

The mood of the workers was militant, as they met other dining hall contingents along the way, marching through Harvard Yard, past the administration's Massachusetts Hall, chanting their demands for a decent contract. The fact that the SYL is the only campus student group which stands forthrightly for the struggles of the workers and oppressed did not go unnoticed by the dining hall workers: one kitchen worker in the Winthrop House contingent, trying to come up with militant chants, was heard to say, "We need the SYL here" and, referring to our recent demonstration against Marine recruiters on campus, stated that the union needed chants like the SYL's "1,2,3,4-Workers Take San Salvador!" We reprint below the SYL's response to Mike Anderson's anti-communist diatribe, printed in the 10 May issue of the Crimson.

May 10, 1983

To the Editors of the Crimson:

On Monday, May 2 the Spartacus Youth League widely distributed a leaflet calling on Harvard students to take a stand in solidarity with the food service workers and attend the official Local 26 union rally on May 3. As our leaflet said, "Harvard's attempt to isolate Local 26 and prevent students from taking a side with the campus workers must be defeated."

The Harvard Crimson

The Sparts

To the Editors of The Crimson:

The noble partisans of the Spartacist League have struck again.

For years, the Sparts have harassed, disrupted, and attacked every left-wing movement on campus. Their internal party directives stress the slogan "Split and Wreck": that is, attack and destroy any non-Spart political formation, so that the Trotskyist vanguard can pick up the pieces.

Spart tactics include the personal harassment of campus leftists, and physical attacks on leftist rallies. But the most common Spart stunt involves raising the most strident, obnoxious slogans possible: my personal favorites are "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Smash Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" These wacked-out slogans almost seem *calculated* to upset the delicate balance that goes into any political coalition.

Usually, considerations of free speech prevent the campus left from responding to the Spart attacks. Now, however, the Sparts have done something much worse than disrupt student activism; they have jeopardized a workers' union. In a leaflet issued today, the Sparts call on students to support Local 26: their main criticism of Harvard's union-busting administration, however, is that it has invited "the pro-capitalist, clerical-reactionary head of Solidamosc, Lech Walesa" to speak at Commencement. For the Sparts, supporting workers at Harvard means opposing them in Poland.

Now, these miserable ultra-lefts are generally free to push their nauseatingly Stalinist line wherever they

The Spartacus Youth League calls on all students to support Local 26 in its fight against the union-busting Harvard administration. Build the rally Harvard would like to silence! Contrary to the ravings of Mike Anderson (*Crimson*, May 6), we were not excluded from the march or rally; in fact, workers took our signs and our efforts to mobilize students were enthusiastically supported by many in Local 26.

Anderson's Big Lie is so self-evidently false that his only hope can be to scream loud and often enough and perhaps people will start believing. Of course, like all Big Lies, this one, that "the Sparts" are a "right-wing front" that "jeopardized a union" does not have to be widely believed so much as accepted as an excuse for excluding, attacking and silencing revolutionary socialists like the SYL.

SYL slogans like "Harvard Loves Walesa, Hates Local 26" frustrate cold war liberals like Mike Anderson, but any class-conscious worker knows something's fishy when Harvard honors Lech Walesa while busting Local 26. Solidarność is the only "union" loved by Ronald Reagan, Harvard, Wall Street, want, but this time their stupid sectarianism is hurting real people. Harvard dining hall workers desperately need student support, and they can ill afford to have Sparts running around "splitting and wrecking" their base of student solidarity. Nowhere in the Spart leaflet is there any mention of the official Local 26 rally, or any indication of the fact that Local 26 will be excluding Sparts from the rally in the church. Union contract negotiations are serious business; Local 26's fight for a decent workplace cannot turn into a playground for would-be junior Bolsheviks.

The funny thing is, the Sparts don't even act like real communists. There are plenty of Leninist parties, notably the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CPUSA) which oppose Solidamosc, but none of them would endager a union by mixing their anti-Walesa slogans with support for a negotiating American union.

It's time to stop the charade. The Spartacists are not real leftists; their organization has got to be some kind of right-wing front to discredit the left. This does not mean that every Spart is an agent, but it does mean that every Spartacist action is directed by someone with no interest in building the workers' movement.

There, I said it. If I'm wrong, the Sparts are free to sue me for libel. It's more their style, however, to come beat me up.

Michael T. Anderson '83

Harvard Crimson (6 May) printed anti-SYL anti-communist diatribe by frustrated Cold War liberal. Reply reprinted below.

and the apartheid regime of South Africa because it is a movement to bring Poland back to the "free world" of capitalist exploitation.

Mike Anderson used to be a Friend of the SYL and was a co-signer of a letter to the *Crimson* (never printed) protesting an attempt by Moonies, Dean Epps and the Conservative Club to break up an SYL forum "Stop Solidarity's Counferrevolution" back in November 1981. It appears that it is Mr. Anderson who has bolted toward the right wing.

The SYL has a proud history of strike support work at Harvard. When Mike Anderson was still wearing short pants the SYL was mobilizing student support for Local 26. From a defense campaign for Sherman Holcombe, a black union activist victimized by Harvard in 1976, to bringing students out to rally with Local 26 today, we actively take a side with campus workers against the racist, union-busting Harvard administration.

Victory to Local 26! Nationalize Harvard! For worker, student, faculty control of the University!

Alden Cavanagh Spartacus Youth League

SYL how long the sit-in would last. He replied, "As long as it takes. You take over a building, you just don't leave. You stay there until your demands are met." The SYL certainly appreciated the unionists' choice of songs for the occasion, "We're gonna teach Harvard's bosses a lesson...up against the ivy walls." Forced up against the ivy wall by the power of 200 angry unionists, Harvard gave an inch. Harvard must grant all Local 26 demands. Victory to the union!■

CAMBRIDGE, June 20—Today 200 Harvard food service workers took over the office of Ed Powers, Harvard's Mr. Marie Antoinette and associate general counsel for employee relations. The



food service workers, represented by Local 26 of the International Hotel, Restaurant and Institutional Employees and Bartenders Union struck when their contract expired on June 19, after

> SYL supporter on Harvard food service workers picket, June 20. Victory to Local 26!

Harvard lawyers repeatedly refused to negotiate with the union. But the militant occupation of Powers' office forced Harvard University to the bargaining table, with Powers agreeing to extend Local 26's contract until June 30.

Spartacus Youth League (SYL) supporters marched in the union's picket lines at 5:30 in the morning on Monday, the only visible student support during the strike, later joining unionists at a 9:00 a.m. rally at Cambridge Common. Shortly before noon 200 angry workers at the Holyoke Center picket poured up the elevators to Powers' ninth floor office—Powers turned tail, ran and hid himself in an undisclosed location.

For over two hours Local 26 members occupied Harvard's hated labor negotiator's office, and the unionists were determined to win. Chief Shop Steward Jim Burke was asked by the SL Video Showing

Labor/Black Mobilization Shakes Washington "We Stopped the Klan!"

Saturday, July 9, 2:30 p.m. Church of the Holy Spirit 525 River St., Mattapan Square

BOSTON For more information: (617) 492-3928

SUMMER 1983

Mass Expulsions in Nigeria, State Terror in Zimbabwe AAPRP Peddles Myth of Pan-Africanist Utopia

African Liberation Day Flops

"Africans must go to African Liberation Day as Christians go to church." That's Kwame Toure (formerly Stokely Carmichael) in a recent interview (Washington Living, May 1983). African Liberation Day (ALD) 1983 has come and gone and what do American black people and the African masses have to show for it? Nothing! Carmichael's Pan-Africanist cult, the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) spent one full year building for this event nationwide. But more people turned out to peruse the African wares on the sidewalks around Malcolm X Park in Washington, D.C. than the 500 who participated in the march and rally. Year after year, ALD has become less a political demonstration and more an ethnic festival. Or, to quote Carmichael again, "Just like St. Patrick's Day has been going on for a long time-as long as the Irish are around it will be going on-so too African Liberation Day will be doing this."

Typically, one of the main slogans for ALD was "wear white." Wear white? One could wear white—or green, for that matter—from now until doomsday and it would not liberate an inch of Africa from imperialist and neocolonialist subjugation nor a single black victim of racist America. Those who came to Malcolm X Park on May 31 to express solidarity with the struggles of the oppressed in Africa or to seek a strategy for black liberation in the U.S. came to the wrong place.

The AAPRP's "answer" to black liberation is ostensibly that blacks return to the African motherland; here it boils down to submersion into "African"_culture. It is, finally, an accommodation to the status quo. Young Spartacus has exposed the AAPRP for its criminal abstension from the 5,000-strong anti-Klan demonstration in Washington, D.C. on November 27—organized by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League-

Workers Vanguard Photo

initiated Labor/Black Mobilizationwhich drove the white-sheeted terrorists back into their holes. More recently, in the wake of the apartheid South African government's execution of anti-apartheid fighters, we communists organized emergency protest demonstrations demanding "Stop the Hangings!" and "Smash Reagan/Botha's Anti-Soviet War Drive!" (see article this issue). Rather than organize against the very real and pervasive racist terror which flourishes from Pretoria to Washington, the Pan-Africanists indulge in flights of fantasy to an Africa that never was and never will be.

Carmichael claims the AAPRP stands for "one socialist unified Africa." By this, however, he means "unity" with neo-colonialist butchers like Idi Amin and "socialists" like Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. For good reason Pań-Africanism has never gained a mass following among the African workers and peasants. Such an ideology benefits and covers for the imperialists and their front men; it is worshipped from afar by a section of the black petty-bourgeois intelligentsia longing to play the same neo-colonialist role. The stark reality of neo-colonial Africa flies in the face of Pan-Africanist myths. Only when those peoples are ripped from the imperialist stranglehold and the neo-colonial puppets who maintain it will the masses of black Africa obtain freedom from mass starvation and bloody state terror.

AAPRP: "Black Zionism"

Ironically, Carmichael's program is not qualitatively different from that of the early Jewish Zionists, although the AAPRP indulges in some of the most unrestrained and repulsive anti-Semitism allegedly aimed at "Zionism." Its Educational Brochure No. One "Zionism is Racism... It Must Be Destroyed" barely stops short of calling for the virtual extermination of the Jewish people. It rails against "Zionist plots and intrigues" as being responsible for everything from financing the slave trade to controlling the entertainment industry. This stuff could have been lifted straight from the pages of the Protocols of the Elders' of Zion or Mein Kampf. In fact, Carmichael's Semitic bigotry so disgusted the Los Angeles "Committee in Solidarity with the Palestinian People" that they felt compelled to disassociate themselves from him when he took "credit" for freeing the civil rights movement and Back Panthers from "Jewish domination" (UCLA Bruin, 24 May). Should the millions of black Americans go back to Africa as the AAPRP advocates, which peoples already there will be singled out for extermination or forced population transfers? Who will be the African Palestinians? Will they end up in refugee camps or on bantustans? This is the logic of Pan-Africanism. In March of this year, Nigeria expelled one million black workers who had emigrated from other African states in order to make a decent living. Hundreds of thousands poured into makeshift border camps, clogged the roads in a 300mile trek* on foot or clambered into cattle trucks. Others were packed shoulder-to-shoulder in rickety boats in conditions reminiscent of the infamous Zimbabwe strong-man Mugabe's troops beat suspect (right). Ghanaian workers, expelled from Nigeria, beaten back by Togolese soldiers (below).



Francolon/Gamma

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Middle Passage in the slave trade. In a rare criticism of an African regime, Carmichael called this action "unafrican" and insisted that it would "speed up the revolutionary process in Nigeria itself." The exact opposite is the case. The mass expulsions, the chauvinism whipped up by the Nigerian ruling class are both a defeat for the workers and peasants of the region and all too typical of neo-colonial Africa.

In Zimbabwe this year, Mugabe declared war on the Ndebele-speaking minority led by Joshua Nkomo, citing an alleged threat to his regime. Thousands were killed as the praetorian guard of Mugabe, the entirely Shona speaking Fifth Brigade, invaded the Ndebele area of Matabeleland in southern Zimbabwe. These terrorist attacks were the culmination of years of tribalbased clashes. But the Pan-Africanists simply deny it ever happened; AAPRP members dismiss the whole thing as fabrications of the capitalist news media. Since white rule was nominally ended three years ago, Zimbabwe has been a model neo-colony for the imperialists. White commercial farmers continue to own 50 percent of the arable landusually the choicest acreage-while comprising but three percent of the population. The government has broken workers' strikes and maintains good relations with the apartheid regime of South Africa. Mugabe has agreed, in fact, to repay debts to South Africa incurred by the white-settler regime of Ian Smith and has refused to allow antiapartheid guerrillas to operate out of Zimbabwe. Things remain much the same for the impoverished Zimbabwean masses as they have been for decadesbe they squatters on white-owned farms or servants in the posh suburbs of Harare, formerly Salisbury. And let no one think that things would be any better under Nkomo. When the attacks started against the Ndebele, he ran straight back to the bosom of the colonial motherland—England.

The chauvinist tribalism now showing its deadly effect in Zimbabwe is an obstacle to the development of proletarian and socialist consciousness among the masses necessary to achieve genuine liberation. The development of such class consciousness is exactly what the



SL/SYL contingent at June 8 NYC demonstration.

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

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

Chicago

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

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

Trotskyist League , of Canada

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

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Spartacist League/Spartacist League/Spartacist League/Spartacist League/Spartacist League/Spartacist Launch Suit Agai



The SL/SYL lawsuit against the Moonie libel should be of particular interest to readers of Young Spartacus (YSp). Thousands of young people in this country have had their lives ruined and their brains twisted by the cult of multimillionaire, anti-Communist fanatic Sun Myung Moon. His dangerous and purportedly religious cult has recruited heavily, and continues to carry out much of its work, on college campuses. The Moonies have earned widespread animosity and disgust from students-both for their deceptive recruiting techniques and their ultraright political campaigns, including frequent provocations against events of the campus left.

Throughout the country, Moonies can be found howling for U.S. intervention against "Communism" in El Salvador, burning anti-junta insurgents in effigy, praying for Ronald Reagan and supporting the draft and ROTC. The Moonies have a track record of attacking—including physically—rallies and demonstrations with whose aims they differ. On more than one occasion their provocations against radical student activists have resulted in police arrests/harassment of the latter. An example: at the University of Illinois at Chicago (Circle) in May 1981, some 20 Moonies jumped demonstrators from the Circle Organizing Committee on El Salvador, effectively breaking up the demonstration. One protester was arrested. At Harvard University in November of 1981, a "counterdemonstration" by Conservative Club members and Moonies attempted to shut down an SYL-sponsored public forum on Poland. Subsequently, one of our supporters was the victim of an attempted frameup on phony "assault" charges brought by one of the "counterdemonstrators."

Albeit in an extremely bizarre way, the Moonies have filled in for the lack of activism by more traditional right-wing forces on campus. YSp noted the collaboration of Moonies and conservatives after the Harvard provocation; but we weren't the only ones to observe the connection. In March of this year, the Wisconsin Student Association in Madison distributed an "information package documenting the connection between the Unification Church (Moonies) and the New Right." It also called attention to "the connection between the Moonies and the College Republicans" and noted that Moon's cult is "trying to establish itself politically on college campuses and in the American political system."

Below we reprint the statement of the Spartacist League Central Committee and Spartacus Youth League National Committee on the SL/SYL libel suit against the Moonies' *Washington Times*. We urge our readers to support this case financially and otherwise. The complete text of the SL/SYL legal complaint filed 14 June is reprinted in *Workers Vanguard* No. 332 (17 June).

Today, a libel lawsuit was filed by the Spartacist League (SL) and Spartacus Youth League (SYL) in Superior Court of the District of Columbia against News World Communications, Inc., the publishing arm of Sun Myung Moon which owns and operates the Washington Times. The Moonies, a purportedly religious, but highly dangerous anti-Communist cult, have targeted the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League because the SL/SYL, Marxist political organizations, were the initiators and principal organizers of the successful Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27.

On November 30, 1982, this Washington Times published a feature article about November 27 with the headline: "Left-Wing Group Linked to D.C.



Moon: "My words will almost serve as law."

Riot." This article viciously accuses the Spartacists of "provoking violence" against the police. This dangerously false article smears the Spartacist League as a violent, criminal, paramilitary, terrorist organization whose members wear "blue, black or red berets according to their rank." Spinning a web of grotesque fabrications out of whole cloth this libelous article accuses the Spartacists of handing out rocks and "heavy metal bolts" to "even children" to throw at the police, while refusing to hand out political posters to nonmembers.

The Moonie libel falsely brands the SL/SYL as would-be cop killers, to set us up for police harassment and violence, right-wing attack, and stepped-up secret police surveillance/disruption/ provocation. The Moonies target us as outlaws who should be dealt with militarily and who can be denied the democratic rights of free speech and political association. In short, we are being set up to be shot first and questioned later.

We are forced to bring this suit because these are libels that kill. The Moonies' vicious slanders are aimed at setting us up for the same kind of campaign of government slander, provocation and ultimately murder that destroyed the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s. Especially now when the government's new FBI domestic security/terrorism "guidelines" promise increased infiltration and witchhunting of "violent" and "terrorist" groups, we must fight the Moonie libel. We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims who can, with impunity, be blown away in the dead of night. The Moonies have more than the SL/ SYL in their sights. Their libel goes after all those who endorsed and participated in the massive protest of 5,000 which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27. They want to destroy the leadership and discredit the strategy which works: militant black and white workers and other oppressed people in mass mobilization to stop the fascists. The militant and orderly demonstration of black people from the Washington area backed up by a segment of the labor movement was the largest and most effective anti-fascist action in decades. And it struck a direct blow against

We Need Lots of Money

influence-making operation. The cult uses its newspapers as weapons in its war on the "Satanic" world—a world which includes Christians Laws

To Fight Moonie Libel

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—a class-struggle defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—is launching a fund-raising campaign to help pay for and publicize this important legal battle. The SL/ SYL suit against the Moonie libel deserves your support.

The SL/SYL faces the most dangerous kind of lie—the kind that can kill. But it will take more than the truth to win against this dangerous cult in the courts. It will take hard cash. The SL has very limited financial resources, while the Moonies are made of money. They've got the high-priced lawyers, the big bucks, the New Right connections in high places. And we are going to need your help to win.

The Moonie training manual says,

"Messiah must be the richest." And the Moonies seem to draw their money from a bottomless well. Many people think Moon's sole source of income is bilking his victims/followers-that army of glassy-eyed, vacantly smiling creatures who try to sell flowers in airports. The Moonies are a worldwide corporate giant. The multimillionaire "messiah" started piling up his vast wealth with a munitions plant in South Korea under the protection of the Korean government. Now his business and financial interests include dozens of enterprises: big-time real estate speculation, a host of slavelabor operations in the fish and produce industries, ginseng tea imports, karate schools, and much more.

Moon's publishing empire, however, is not a money-making but an

which includes Christians, Jews, blacks, labor, and especially the left and all those who struggle against oppression-from South Africa to El Salvador to the streets of Washington, D.C. The Washington Times is the Moonies' most important and expensive thrust into American political life. That is why this case is so important to so many. This lawsuit can strike a blow against the Moonie threat. Everyone on the Moonie hit list-every parent who has seen his child twisted by the cult, every clergyman and professor who has been used in the Moonies' "heavenly deception," every decent American who wants to see the raceterror of the Klan and Nazis stoppedhas a stake in this case. Your financial support and endorsement is urgently needed to win this lawsuit.

Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

artacus Youth League inst Moonie Libel

growing racist terror in the U.S. What more outrageous example of that terror than the recent killing of Patrick Mason, a black child of only five who was gunned down in his own home while watching TV—shot by an Orange County killer-cop who has gone free. Had the Klan marched in Washington on November 27, it would have meant more shotgun blasts in the night, more burning crosses, more black families' homes firebombed.

It won't be easy to fight the Moonies in court. Sun Myung Moon, a multimillionaire from a South Korean munitions plant with connections to the Korean CIA, is driving for respectability and increased influence in America. With his plans for Armageddon against "Satanic Communism" he has found some friends in high places, particularly among those who are planning thermonuclear holocaust against the Soviet Union. The same right-wing fringe of the Cold War which has cultivated the growth of the Klan and Nazis also fertilizes the Moonies.

Moon is establishing a publishing empire to use as a weapon in his "holy war." The Moonies' News World Communications, Inc. operates a daily newspaper in New York City and Washington, D.C., a weekly directed at black people in Harlem and another at Hispanics. Following the axiom that in capitalist society freedom of the press belongs to the man who owns one, Moon spent an estimated \$75 million to found the Washington Times last year as a daily "alternative voice" of the extreme right in the nation's capital. Besides their two other newspapers, the Moonies recently changed the name and format of their New York City paper which achieved its first notoriety as a scab sheet during the NYC newspaper strike in 1978. Their New York Tribune vowed to "rise up in a crusade" against Communism and to "liberate especially the Russian people." But this Moonie "liberation," as the New York Tribune puts it, "must not stop with communism, but embraces every country and creed." Every country and creed is a lot bigger target than the Spartacist League. And some of the various creeds had better know what Moon has in mind for their Moonie "liberation."

Who is this supremely arrogant Moon who calls himself "Lord of the Second Advent," better than Jesus Christ? Financially dubious, his "religion" holds him above mere mortal laws and the truth. His "Unification Church" systematically destroys families because only he is the "True Parent." Thousands of young lives are ruined by this extremist cult as the Moonies work round the clock like zombies peddling flowers for their "messiah," who resides on a \$600,000 estate, owns two yachts and manages a corporate empire which spans three continents. His victims/ followers are married by the thousands in Madison Square Garden as designated couples and consummate the act only at the behest of Unification Church authorities



Washington, D.C., November 27, 1982: 5,000 stop the Klan. Targets of Moonie libel: Anti-Klan protesters organized by SL/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization.

of the theocratically inclined New Right and Moral Majority. Even the mainstream Republican Ripon Society is "disturbed" by Moon's "three-pronged campaign to influence the highest levels of our government. The resurgent 'New Right' political movement, elements of the Republican Party, and the media are all in danger of being manipulated by Reverend Moon" (*Ripon Forum*, January 1983).

This racist Moon says that Asians are "spiritual," whites "analytical" and "black people can contribute in the physical area" (*Master Speaks*, 29 July 1974). Jewish people, Moon writes, dredging up the anti-Semitic filth of the Nazis, suffered the holocaust "to cleanse all the sins" because of "killing one man, Jesus."

So you don't have to be a Marxist to get on the Moonies' hit list, but it sure helps. As a small socialist organization with limited resources we are suing this dangerous cult reluctantly and in selfdefense. The Moonies sit atop a corporate empire with legions of lawyers, big money and political connections. The Spartacist League has the truth on its side, but we know it takes more than the truth to do battle in the courts. Nevertheless we are cornered. And we will fight with all the political, moral and legal resources we can muster. The Spartacist League has a proud record of successfully fighting for its reputation against slander and set-up. In 1981 we sued the then-California Attorney General George Deukmejian for including the Spartacist League among a list of "terrorists... with which law enforcement would have to deal." The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League obtained a retraction which the California Attorney General sent to police agencies throughout the country.

The Moon cult hopes to use the power of its publishing empire to silence and intimidate its opponents. We say: *the continued on page 9*



Moon wants to get rid of the elementary democratic principle of separation of church and state, to establish an "automatic theocracy" in America in which he says: "my words will almost serve as law." The Moonies have made headway among the fanatics





Vietnam Was a Victory!

(continued from page 1)

tribute to the U.S. armed forces who slaughtered, napalmed, defoliated, tiger-caged and terrorized the Vietnamese people. That grotesque "monument" to baby-killing cowards will not last long after the victory of the American working-class revolution.

The "call to action" for July 2 (printed in the New York Times, 1 May) should turn the stomach of even mild opponents of the Vietnam War: it sums up the "result" of the Vietnam War as "300,000 GIs wounded and 57,000 dead. Over \$150 billion spent on a cruel, illegal and unjust war that finally had to be abandoned." It was "abandoned" all right-when the victorious NLF forces drove the U.S. out, down to the last CIA agent clinging to the last helicopter out of Saigon. As for dead and wounded--hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese died or were hideously maimed fighting valiantly against the U.S. and its puppets!

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) says: Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism! Military victory to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador! For the reformists, as for their Democratic Party masters, anything but "another Vietnam."

Keep the Butchers on the Run!

The U.S. bourgeoisie has become increasingly divided over what to do about its losing plight in Central America, with all wings hedging their bets. The Dr. Strangeloves in the Reagan administration and Pentagon leave open the possibility of deployment of troops, while declaring—as Reagan did in his May address to Congress— "there is no thought of sending American combat troops to Central America." Yet.

Army chief of staff Edward C. Meyer came out against immediate mobilization of troops, noting that the U.S. "might have to consider intervention with troops if there was turmoil after the elections in El Salvador later this year" (*New York Times*, 10 June). He also came out against limiting the number of U.S. "advisers." Retiring head of the U.S. Southern Command in Panama, Lt. General Wallace Nutting, also railed against Congressional restrictions:

"As long as those limits on our willingness to engage the ultimate resolution of the problem are evident to the guerrillas, they will persist. They have the example of Vietnam to refer back to."

-Washington Post, 22 May

To clear the way for more hard-hne policy. Reagan has dumped Thomas Enders, head of the State Department's Latin American section, and is replacing Deane Hinton as the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador. Enders was deputy chief of mission in Phnom Penh where he collaborated with Henry Kissinger in the secret bombing of Cambodia. But even he ran afoul of the anti-Communist fanatics around Reagan—particularly dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick (recently distinguished by her inability to step foot on a U.S. campus without vociferous protest). Hinton had suggested a two-pronged program of war with negotiations; so he's out. Meanwhile, 100 Green Berets have been sent to Honduras to train Salvadoran troops. Reagan expelled 21 Nicaraguan diplomats as "spies" in a bellicose retaliation for the exposure of a CIA scheme to poison the Nicaraguan foreign minister. The new special emissary to Central America, Richard Stone, is described as "a militant figure with rightist connections in the region" (*Washington Post*, 5 June).

The Democrats likewise keep their options open. Presidential front-runner Mondale denounced the White House for "widening," "Americanizing" and "militarizing" the war "where they're going now will lead to the introduction of troops in any event" (New York Times, 20 June). At the same time, Mondale warned that "If the Soviet Union or the Cubans, in conjunction or alone, were to establish a major base or military position in Central America, I think it would...go to the vital interests of our country and it would raise grave challenges." Read: if negotiated sellout doesn't happen before the battlefield victory of the rebel forces, if Nicaragua refuses to buckle under to the Democrats' "demand" that they negotiate with the invaders-Mondale would be just as willing to opt for direct military intervention as Reagan. In this spirit, Congressional Democrats are proposing to cut off Reagan's "covert" funding of the contras in Nicaragua, in favor of "overtly" channeling \$80 million to the counterrevolutionary invaders through the right-wing regimes which surround Nicaragua, ostensibly for the purpose of interdicting nonexistent "Soviet arms shipments." They also gave Reagan his MX missile as "leverage" against the Soviet Union in upcoming arms talks. The Dems and Republicans have unity on the anti-Soviet war drive, even as they differ on how best to pursue it.

While Washington squirms over how best to "contain" Central America, the Salvadoran rebels continue to rack up victories. In late May, guerrillas overran a military communications base at the top of the Cacahuatique volcano in northern Morazán-while the U.S.trained Atlacatl Battalion was only 12 miles away. The Salvadoran army continues to fall apart. Its officer corps must surely be one of the most corrupt ever; according to former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Murat Williams, "The Salvadoran chief of staff [was] convicted in New York in 1976 for trying to sell \$2.5 million worth of machine guns to gangsters" (New York Times, 17 June). Williams also noted the "conscription" techniques of the Salvadoran army: "Teen-aged youths, seized by press gangs and marched off to barracks with their thumbs tied behind their backs, could scarcely know what they would fight for if the time came to use the guns we have provided." While forcible conscription is carried out in early morning sweeps of poor and workingclass neighborhoods, draft exemptions for the wealthy are easily bought. It is hardly surprising that the desertion rate for the army is over 10 percent and at the first sight of combat many government troops simply lay down their arms and

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In Nicaragua, where sections of the ruling class supported the anti-Somoza revolution for their own reasons, the attempt at class compromise, a "middle



SL/SYL-organized Anti-imperialist Contingent at May 3, 1981 El Salvador demonstration.

surrender, taking advantage of the FMLN's policy of releasing prisoners almost immediately to the Red Cross.

For that matter, U.S. imperialism's own military is plenty shaky at the base. The U.S. defeat in Vietnam shattered the morale of the American armed forces. Moreover, with the draft temporarily shelved in favor of an "allvolunteer" army, the army and especially the infantry and combat units have a large component of blacks who don't see an American dream to fight for. They see a nightmare—unemployment and the hideous poverty of the ghetto-from which they're trying to escape by joining the army. Marching off to Central America on behalf of the Cold War and "14 Families"—Salvador's the oligarchy-to fight the rebel workers and peasants is not something these GIs will do with any commitment.

All of this has a familiar ring: an unpopular and dirty colonial war, a horribly corrupt and repressive native ruling class with virtually no support among their people, a guerrilla fighting force which continues to pound the hell out of the government army. That's why the Democrats are going defeatist—and calling for a "negotiated bloodbath."

For our side, there is nothing to negotiate! The civil war in El Salvador pits the toiling masses who work from birth to an early grave in hunger and deprivation against the tiny Salvadoran ruling class which lives in opulence and for whom the only acceptable "political solution" is the "peace of 30,000 dead." Should the leftist rebels disarm, the war will go on. "La Matanza"-the 1932 massacre of over 30,000 peasants and Indians-would be repeated on an even larger scale. "You're sitting in town sipping your gin and tonic talking about negotiations, but we're out here getting our asses blown off and we don't want any negotiations." That's a Salvadoran rebel speaking to the FDR as reported by Alex Drehsler, San Diego Union reporter and special correspondent for ABC in El Salvador. We have consistently exposed the liberals' calls for "negotiations"-embraced by the popular frontist FDR/FMLN leadershipas breathing space for the imperialists and their butchers in order to head off the real possibility of rebel victory. The Salvadoran rulers are quite clear about "negotiations" too; asked about negotiating an "interim government" or road" is likewise untenable. The Sandinistas' attempt to conciliate imperialism by maintaining capitalist property has had just the opposite effect; it has encouraged the counterrevolutonary designs of the imperialists and provided them with an internal fifth column. It is the commitment to the gains of the July 1979 revolution of the Nicaraguan masses which has so far prevented counterrevolution and frustrated the imperialist-backed invasion. Kill the *contra* invaders! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution!

Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!

Reagan has presented the civil war in El Salvador as a confrontation with the Soviet Union and Cuba in order to mobilize American society for an actual war with the Soviet bloc. Behind every movement for social justice anywhere in the world the imperialists see the hand of "Soviet aggression." Yet the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and Cuba have not substantially aided the leftist rebels in El Salvador and only minimally aided the Nicaraguan revolution. The Soviet Union has not supplied Nicaragua with MIGs, whereas the U.S. puppets in neighboring Honduras have the strongest air force in Central America. It is unfortunately a lie that shipments of Soviet

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weapons are making their way to the Salvadoran insurgents; most of the latter's weaponry is captured from the government army.

Reagan's (and Carter's before him) Cold War drive has the reformist "left" running scared. They are intent on burying the global war drive against the Soviet Union so obviously posed by the U.S. war moves in Central America. The SYL's call for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!" and "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!" has sent the reformists from Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP) and the Communist Party (CP) into a frenzy. Both at the May 3, 1981 El Salvador demonstration and in March of the following year, the reformists attempted to seal off SL/SYLorganized Anti-Imperialist Contingents carrying these slogans through physical attack and calling the cops. They wanted to assure the Democrats that there were "no reds here" and limit the protests to the call for U.S. withdrawal and whining for "No More Vietnams." It is *precisely* the Cold War drive supported by all wings of U.S. imperialism—that now leads the reformists to sink to spitting on the Vietnamese Revolution on July 2.

It is also the fundamental defeatism of the reformists which leads them to rely on, of all things, the party responsible for orchestrating the genocidal war in Vietnam. They see no possibility of mobilizing the American working class and oppressed in a struggle against Reagan reaction. Revolutionists know otherwise: that's why militant International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) members supported by the SL have fought for hot-cargoing arms shipments to El Salvador. That's why hundreds of ILWU members overwhelmingly supported militant Stan Gow against the union bureaucrats' attempt to railroad him on trumped-up charges because of his class-struggle agitation (see article, this page). Isaac Deutscher pointed out during the heyday of campus protest against Vietnam that a single strike of dock workers would do more to bring the war to an end than all the teach-ins, sit-ins and student demonstrations put together. Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!

Workers World—the primary organizers of the July 2 demonstration—had a more radical veneer during the anti-Vietnam war days. They led breakaway "anti-imperialist contingents" at Democratic Party-dominated peace crawls and denounced illusions in the proimperialist "doves":

"The doves' do not want Washington to exhaust itself prematurely on the battlefields of Asia at a time of upsurge of the world-wide liberation struggle and the Afro-American struggle at home. They want to be in a stronger position for the next war. And when it comes, now or later, they will support it.

"That is the role of the bourgeois opposition and all revolutionary opponents of imperialist war should say so." — Workers World, 20 October

1967

Today Workers World provides the water boys for the bourgeois opposition, whose representatives can be found on the endorsers list of the July 2 demonstration.

Lecturing that "closer attention be paid to the growing Congressional opposition to the U.S. war in Central America," Sam Marcy writes in *Workers World* (6 May) that the Democrats "used some very potent arguments" and that "much of it came as a healthy antidote to the viciousness and crude

"Stop Death Cargos to El Salvador!" Militant Longshoreman Beats Witchhunt

JUNE 17-A dramatic victory was scored last night when the ILWU Local 10 membership resoundingly defeated a guilty verdict of Stan Gow by a 40 to 1 ratio! On June 11 Gow, 24year veteran of the ILWU and 9-year member of the Executive Board, was found guilty of "conduct unbecoming a union member" at a witchhunting trial contrived by the treacherous Local 10 bureaucrats. This purge trial was a result of Gow's attempt to mobilize the ILWU membership for a 24 hour coastwide shutdown against Reagan's genocidal war in El Salvador. Gow's call to action was signed by dozens of ILWU members and a resolution to that effect was recommended to the April ILWU convention by the Local 10 Executive Board. On March 29 Gow organized a picket to stop the loading of cargo onto the El Salvador-bound Lafayette.

. Terrified by any concrete labor action to stop Reagan's aid to the butchers of El Salvador, the union

redbaiting falsehoods of the Reagan administration." Later in the article, Marcy concedes that "Senator Dodd very clearly and unambiguously solidarized himself with the objectives of the Reagan administration" and that "what really divides the opposition from the Reagan administration is merely a question of tactics..." Well, that's true—and the Marcyites—along with the rest of the reformists—are nonetheless committed to channeling opposition to U.S. policy in Central America into the voting fodder for just this "Congressional opposition."

The only way to fight imperialist war and imperialist military intervention is to fight the system that breeds it. We do not entreat the American bourgeoisie to act "progressively" or to "return to the ideals that made this country what it is." This country became what it is by genocide against the American Indians, enslavement of black people, plunder of the oppressed on a world scale. We communists fight for the destruction of U.S. imperialism. The American worktops threatened to order ILWU members to cross the picket lines and then hauled Gow before a kangaroo court in an attempt to purge him from the union. The union tops are acting in the true tradition of Harry Bridges, who "opposed" the war in Vietnam but kept the arms shipments running-even during strikes. The bureaucrats hypocritically claim to be opposed to military aid to El Salvador yet will stop at nothing to prevent any real actions of labor solidarity. Especially when it means witchhunting honest union militants who want to fight for international labor solidarity.

Despite the charges, Gow didn't back down. When the South African apartheid regime announced its plan to lynch three ANC militants, Gow and Militant Caucus members from ILWU Local 6 organized an emergency picket of the South African bound *Nedlloyd-Kimberley* two days before Gow's trial. The bureaucrats didn't dare go after Gow for this action for

ing class led by a revolutionary Trotskyist party will dig the grave of American imperialism, and in so doing it will settle the score for the exploited and oppressed the world over.

Yellow Rain (continued from page 2)

everywhere'."

Furthermore, as we noted, Haig's claims were based on a single leaf and twig: "And where did the tell-tale twig come from?...this single piece of dubious 'evidence' for Haig's bombastic charges was supplied by...the Pol Pot forces in Cambodia, authors of gruesome mass murders who are supplied by the Chinese (and now the U.S.) in their war against the Soviet-backed Vietnamese!" ("See You at Kronstadt," Workers Vanguard No. 297, 22 January 1982). Other scientists discovered that "yellow rain" was yellow because it contained pollen-a natural and protein-rich medium conducive to the

fear of alienating the substantial black membership of Local 10.

The "trial" itself was nothing but a heavy-handed attempt by the Stalinist and social-democratic leadership to drive Gow out of the union. Gow's attorney was not allowed to attend the trial and Gow himself was barred from speaking while his union defense counsel was in the room. Secretarytreasurer Bill Bancroft refused to allow Gow to call as witnesses members of ILWU Local 6 who picketed the *Lafayette*, labeling them as "outsiders."

However, Bancroft and his ilk got a taste of what's coming to them at that meeting when the "verdict" was brought before the membership for a vote. Four hundred Local 10 members filled the room, many speaking in defense of Gow. When it came time to vote the ten Exec Board traitors including Leo Robinson, CP fellow traveler, upheld Gow's suspension. But the entire rest of the room stood up to vote NO, many chanting militantly "No, no, no!"

Now is the time for labor action to hot cargo aid to El Salvador. Stan Gow's class-struggle program points the way forward. Military victory to Salvadoran leftists! Hot cargo all goods to El Salvador! For labor action to bring down Reagan!

mold that produces the mycotoxins; yet others pointed out that some of the symptoms of "yellow rain" poisoning reported were similar to illnesses resulting from fungal poisoning. So there it is: moldy bee shit.

All those eager-beaver journalists and, shamefully, even some leftists so eager to display Cold War credentials that they jumped right on the Pentagon/ State Department's fantastic hoax should be pretty red-faced now. The *New York Times*, no doubt feeling rather stung itself for having retailed the State Department's hoax, editorialized rather stiffly on June 3 in "The Sting in the Tale of Yellow Rain" that:

"The scientific advice the Administration drew upon is evidently insufficient. The failure to notice that yellow rain is yellow because of its pollen content was a ludicrous oversight. And the bee hypothesis should at least have occurred to someone."

Well, maybe they had James Watt running the investigation. Or some Moral Majorityites—who reject modern science and biology in favor of the Bible, and think it's subversive to teach kids about "the birds and the bees." Now we know why: obviously a little knowledge about elementary biology can be a very dangerous thing—to Reagan's anti-Communist war propaganda, that is.

What's behind the U.S.' bizarre hoax is deadly serious business: "yellow rain" was a shameless justification for expanding America's already huge arsenal of poisonous binary nerve gases and other horrible agents of chemical warfare. All the Pentagon's screaming about supposed Soviet "violations" of international conventions against chemical warfare are cynical, crude lies, designed in part to divert attention from the Pentagon's own ten-year bombardment of Vietnam with deadly dioxins, Agent Orange, Agent White, Agent Blue-and napalm, Dow Chem's flaming gasoline jelly that sinks into its victims' skin burning flesh away down to the charred bone. Not to mention all the bombs dropped over Indochinamore than in all of World War II-by the war criminals of U.S. imperialism. So now we know the truth about "yellow rain." But that's not going to stop the U.S. government's mad drive toward nuclear holocaust against the USSR. There's so much blood on the hands of the American ruling class that we doubt a little bee shit is going to bother them. The point is to stop them through socialist revolution before they kill again. 🔳

Moonie Libel...

(continued from page 7)

working class and the workers party have the right to organize. Socialists have a right to speak and to organize for their views without being set up as copkillers, terrorists and criminals by the Moonies or anyone else. In particular, we Marxists must have the right to organize the power of labor to defeat fascist terror on the streets. If the Moon cult prevails in their libel of us, any group or individual in the lead of struggle against fascist terror will be marked for destruction. The SL/SYL has been politically active in the U.S. for twenty years. We are well known for our controversial political views and we want to be known for what we do. Over the last three years in which the KKK and Nazis have staged provocations in major urban centers we have initiated five mass labor/black mobilizations against the fascist threat. Many thousands of blacks, unionists and defenders of black rights in Washington, D.C. and around the country rallied behind our calls for labor/black anti-fascist action, and countless more have embraced these victories as their own.



As a genuine Marxist internationalist organization dedicated to a future



Moonie mass marriage of 2,200 couples in Madison Square Garden July 1, 1982. Couples can consummate act only upon approval of Unification Church authorities.

socialist America, we have more than enough enemies. We are now going to court because we know this: if the Moonie cult prevails, the cops will have a reason and an excuse to shoot on sight. And we are a precious resource. As capitalism spins off toward World War III we are America's last, best hope. The future may pose the choice between proletarian revolution and some killcrazy dictator to the liking of Sun Myung Moon. Those who disagree with our Marxist aims should understand that we are being attacked by sinister forces hostile to the democratic political and cultural values prized by a wide spectrum of the American people. The Moonies are not only trying to wipe out the Spartacist League, but liberties we all treasure. It is in this sense that our fight against the Moonie libel is also yours.

AAPRP...

(continued from page 5)

petty-bourgeois black nationalists-the African "socialists" and Pan-Africanists currently in power throughout much of Africa—fear the most. The black front men for neo-colonialist oppression like Mugabe and Nkomo mouth phrases about "anti-imperialism" but have always sucked at the imperialist teat. Their aspiration is to divide the spoils left by the colons—at the expense of the toiling masses-or in the case of Zimbabwe, simply to administer the state for the imperialist concerns and white commercial farmers still in the country.

Ghana under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah is an example of Pan-Africanism in action. He came to power immediately following Ghanaian independence, and proceeded to become the broker for bloody British imperialism. During his reign between 1957-66, food prices more than quadrupled, real wages of workers fell. He broke a general strike in 1961 by starving out the workers and arresting their leaders. Meanwhile, landlords and capitalists flourished and imperialist foreign investment increased. Nkrumah sent his troops to help the CIA and UN "peacekeeping" forces to destroy the leftist, anti-colonial fighter in the Congo, Patrice Lumumba. Since Nkrumah did flirt with the Chinese and indulged in "antiimperialist" rhetoric, he was overthrown in a bloodless coup by those among the military who wanted a more pro-Western foreign policy. To this day, the AAPRP considers Nkrumah to be a great revolutionary.

Communism Not Pan-Africanism

Despite the rhetoric of the AAPRP. there is another road for the masses of Africa, Asia and Latin America beside the corrupt rule of native agents for international imperialism. Over 60 years ago, the Communist International brought to the colonial world the message of international workers revolution. They called upon the oppressed to rise up against their colonial masters, to throw off the chains of imperialism and to expropriate the expropriators. These revolutionists won a hearing and were able to build communist parties and nuclei throughout the Third World because of the authority of the Russian Revolution which in 1917 accomplished the tasks posed still today in the Third World.

In conscious opposition to the communists, a group of elitist black Westerners first promulgated the theory of Pan-Africanism. Led by American black liberal W.E.B. Du Bois, the Pan-Africanist Congresses advocated only that the African educated and "civilized" elite be given an opportunity to work out with the imperialist powers the peaceful and ever-so-gradual transition from colonialism to neo-colonialism.

The Pan-Africanist Congresses of the '60s and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), composed of the leaders of all African states, explicitly accept the framework of the imperialist division of Africa as the basis for their rule. Concretely, this has meant maintaining the social and property relations set up by the colonialists so that they could plunder Africa. In other words: genocide for the Ndebeles in Zimbabwe, for the Ibos in Nigeria, for the blacks in southern Sudan; genocide for the Eritreans and Somalis in Ethiopia. Thus we see "revolutionary" Mozambique selling contract labor to the South African mines, "Marxist" Angola protecting Gulf Oil's profits at the Cabinda refinery, Tanzania defending landlords while declaring a state of emergency due to starvation.

What is posed in Africa today is the need for workers revolution. South Africa, with its millions-strong black proletariat, is key to the fight to rip Africa from the hands of the neocolonialists and establish workers and peasants governments. South Africa is the industrial powerhouse of all black Africa, its working class is militant, increasingly conscious and wellorganized. This is why the imperialist chieftains in Washington back the apartheid regime to the hilt.

In order to accomplish revolution, it is necessary to build a party of fighters who will brook no halfway measures, who will wage uncompromising battle against both the imperialist masters in Pretoria, London and Washington as well as the nationalist demagogues of the Mugabe/Nkrumah stripe. It must fight for land to the tiller, to take the gold and diamond mines from the exploiters who have fattened off of black labor. Such a party will take as its slogan that of the South African revolutionary socialists during World War I-sifuna zonke-we want all!

Labor/Black Struggle...

(continued from page 3)

by racists in the streets.

With the mass of the black population and many young militants visibly rebelling against King's bankrupt liberal pacifism, even a relatively small revolutionary party could have gained significant influence in this movement and thus radically changed the course of American history over the past 20 years. At this critical moment the Spartacist tendency (initially a left opposition in the Socialist Workers Party) sought to link the fight for black equality with the working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation through the call for a

South-wide Freedom/Labor Party. Such a party, breaking with the Democrats of Johnson and Wallace, would have given tremendous impetus to similar action among Northern workers. However, the Spartacist tendency's forces at the time were too small to influence the mass of young civil rights militants.

The impossibility of achieving black equality within the framework of capitalism became evident when the civil-rights movement went North in the mid-1960s. The main demands of the Southern movement-voting rights and access to public facilities-had existed for Northern blacks for decades. The conditions weighing upon the impoverished black masses-police brutality, last hired/first fired, condemned to a life of desperation in the ghettos with their mean streets, lousy schools, rat-infested housing-these could not be solved by a new civil rights act. Genuine equality for blacks is inconceivable without socialist revolution and the massive redistribution of society's wealth, possible only through socialist economic planning.

The civil rights movement was killed in 1966 in the lily-white suburb of Cicero outside Chicago, the most segregated city in the country, lorded over for decades by Democratic boss Richard J. Daley. A decade later school integration through busing was defeated in the heartland of Kennedvite liberalism. Boston, Massachusetts. In Daley's Chicago and Kennedy's Boston the ruling Democratic machine did nothing to oppose the racists in the streets, who in fact were its constituents. These racist mobs could have been stopped through a mass labor/black mobilization. Key to such a mobilization is the fight against the pro-Democratic bureaucracy in the trade unions.

Repression of the Militants, Rise of the BEOs

Although King fought to contain black struggle within the framework of "respectable" capitalist politics and denounced the radical elements in the movement, his following was so large and potentially "uncontrollable" that even he was targeted for harassment by the federal government. Liberal hero Bobby Kennedy personally authorized J. Edgar Hoover's FBI to tap King's phone calls, spy on his personal life and generally make his life miserable. According to former FBI agent Arthur Murtaugh of the Atlanta Bureau, "There was a crew of people who did almost nothing for a period of seven or eight years, except investigate King and try to destroy him" (quoted in Mark Lane, Codename "Zorro" [1977]). Did the FBI's efforts to destroy King have anything to do with his assassination in 1968 at the hands of racist James Earl Rav? We demand to know the truth.

The ruling class tried to use King as well as subject him to FBI intimidation. But the "black power" radicals like Stokely Carmichael and Hubert "Rap" Brown and later the Black Panthers were dealt with solely by police terror. When in 1966 SNCC adopted the radical slogan of "Black Power," the federal government moved to crush the organization. In 1967 Congress passed the so-called Rap Brown bill making it a federal crime to cross state borders to "incite a riot." The government's war on the black left focused on the Panthers. By the end of the 1960s practically every Panther leader had been killed or imprisoned on capital charges. One of them. Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt. remains in prison to this day. Free him now! At the same time, the ruling class, especially its Democratic Party, made a deliberate effort to co-opt the "moderate" civil rights leaders and activists. Here Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" poverty programs were important in buying off a layer of youthful black activists and making them overseers of the ghetto masses. Former SNCC chairman Marion Barry is now mayor of the nation's capital, Washington, D.C. Former King aide Andrew Young

is mayor of Atlanta. Another SCLC notable, Walter Fauntroy, is D.C. Congressional delegate and in the leadership of the Black Congressional Caucus. When King was assassinated in Memphis in 1968, he was supporting a strike of black sanitation workers. Today it is black Democratic mayors like his former aide Andrew Young and Detroit's Coleman Young who break the strikes of black sanitation workers.

The 1963 march on Washington was organized by people who were at the head of-and trying to contain within the bounds of capitalist reform—a mass movement against racist oppression. But this August 27 march is organized by the very people who have suppressed significant black struggle for over a decade, even struggles to defend the limited gains of the civil rights movement. In this way the Democratic BEOs have paved the way for and encouraged Reagan reaction. Reagan believes that he can take the ax to school lunch and CETA programs, to welfare, public health and education without provoking a massive, militant black reaction. He depends on the Marion Barrys, Coleman Youngs and Ron Dellums to keep the ghettos quiet. That is, after all, the job of the BEOs.

The most fervent supporter of the black Democrats in the reformist leftand among the most active builders of August 27—is the pro-Moscow Stalinist Communist Party. Like Jesse Jackson, the CP has no qualms about embracing George Wallace if that is what it takes to put together a new Democratic Party coalition. The CP has praised Wallace for "taking a strong position against Reaganomics." Will they support any Democrat, however racist?

November 27: We Stopped the Klan!

The militant, class-struggle way to defeat Reagan reaction was dramatically demonstrated in Washington last November 27. When the Ku Klux Klan announced that it would march in the nation's capital that day, for the first time since 1925, it was a signal that these white-hooded killers had friends in high places. The black population of Washington and points south understood that this fascist provocation was directed against them. When the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League initiated the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan November 27, scores of black and union activists supported this action and on that day 5,000 turned out determined that the Klan would not march. And march they didn't. The anti-Klan militants then took over their intended route for a victory march up Constitution Avenue.

Marion Barry conveniently left that day for a "mayors' conference" in Los Angeles, while his cops took out their frustration by tear-gassing and clubbing some black youth who were breaking away from a diversionary rally called by the reformist All-Peoples Congress two miles from where the Klan was stopped. Washington Congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy engaged in virulent redbaiting, outside-agitatorbaiting and violence-baiting against the anti-Klan organizers. The most vocal tailists of the Barrys and Fauntroys, the Communist Party, was nowhere to be seen in Washington that day, and the Daily World-unique among the bourgeois and left press-did not even cover the events of November 27. But for those who participated in it, it was surely a victory to savor and remember. One trade unionist who organized a contingent exclaimed: "This is history being made.... Something just like Nat Turner's insurrection. I think this is just like when old John Brown marched in 1859 and ignited the Civil War, This Klan evolved after the Civil War, and we're here to stop them."

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

Ann Arbor: SYL, P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 662-2339

Atlanta: Box 4012, Atlanta, GA 30302

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

Boston: SYL, Box 188, M.I.T. Station Cambridge, MA 02139, or call (617) 492-3928

Chicago: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 427-0003

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

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

Houston: SYL, c/o SL, Box 26474, Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 663-1216 or 1217

Madison: SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 251-3398

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

Norfolk: P.O. Box 1972, Main P.O., Norfolk, VA 23501, or call (804) 543-4300

San Francisco: SYL, Box 11685, San Francisco, CA 94101, or call (415) 863-6963-

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

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8, or call (416) 593-4138

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8, or call (604) 681-2422

We intend to finish the Civil War and to stop the Klan and the racist, capitalist forces behind them forever. Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

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Avenge ANC...

(continued from page 12)

being unrepentant members of the ANC and opposed to the apartheid regime. This crime of the South African apartheid regime of hanging these three people was met with militant opposition around the country and around the world. The Spartacist League in particular recognized the urgency to protest the action of the South African regime and was active around the country in protesting it.

In New York City the Spartacist League participated in several rallies. A candlelight vigil which was going to be organized by the Communist Party in New York City was turned into a more militant rally with the introduction of the Spartacist League [slogans] like "Reagan/Begin/Botha: Brothers Under the Skin," Botha being the prime minister of South Africa. In Chicago and Botha in the White House recognized that as well.

A big thing these days and over the course of the past few years has been the pushing for divestment. The liberals and the hangers-on on the left aren't interested in fundamental social change in South Africa. Instead they indulge in these empty moralist gestures calling for divestment of stock or boycotts of consumer goods that are produced in South Africa, things of that nature. The argument that they use is that blacks are treated badly in South Africa, therefore we should not do business with businesses that do business in South Africa. Howard University has some stock in IBM which does business in South Africa. What they say is that Howard University should get rid of all its stock in IBM. Well, how does that help the blacks in South Africa? It doesn't help them one iota because not only will other people buy up that stock in IBM but even if they didn't what would they like to see? Would they like to see the



Nelson Mandela in Robben Island prison, 1966, and Winnie Mandela, now under house arrest—historic leaders of anti-racialist fight against apartheid. Free the Mandelas!

again the Communist Party organized a picket line and the Spartacist League participated. The Communist Party, afraid of the trenchant criticism of the Spartacist League, actually left their own picket line! In San Francisco and L.A. again there were demonstrations with large participation by the Spartacist League. Supporters of the Spartacist League in the ILWU—the Longshoremen's Union—picketed and protested a South African ship which was coming into the harbor to offload.

That's important because...it's not just a question of people coming out to protest, it's a question of organizing where the power is. The power in this country and around the world lies with the working class.

The distance between South Africa and southeast D.C. is not too great because the racial oppression is real in both cases. I'd like to talk a little bit about what happened here in D.C. back in November because last November 27 the KKK threatened to march. The Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League, said that the KKK must be stopped. It was Ronald Reagan who gave the green light to these killers-in-white to march in D.C. As an additional slap in the face, Reagan was meeting with Prime Minister Botha of South Africa on that very same day. We couldn't stop Reagan from meeting with Botha, but we did stop the KKK from marching. We think that that victory against the KKK was a victory against race-terror both here and in South Africa. Because the KKK was stopped-it was blacks and workers who stopped them-and it's blacks and workers who will be the gravediggers of the apartheid system in South Africa, just like it will be blacks and workersblacks and their white working-class allies-who will bury the Jim Crow system here in the United States, and the racist capitalists who've gotten so wealthy from the exploitation of labor. People who were there felt the revolutionary potential of the alliance of black and white workers under communist leadership when we stopped the KKK. You better be certain that both Reagan Americans pull out completely and hence the supposedly more benevolent South African capitalists take over the administration of the corporations there or would they like to see the factories dismantled in South Africa and the companies pull out completely? We say no, we don't want to see the factories dismantled and African workers sent back into the bantustans or sent back into the bush. We would like to see the South African workers take over those factories as their own. They are the people who built those factories, they are the people who work them, they are the people who should reap the benefits from it.

Say Howard University again divests of its stock in IBM in South Africa, where is it going to invest? It could invest in copper mines in Chile or coffee plantations in El Salvador or auto plants in Detroit. It's the same difference. Implicit in the divestment argument is that somehow American capitalism isn't as bad as South African capitalism, and that's entirely wrong. The crimes of the South African bourgeoisie pale before the crimes of the American bourgeoisie. Look at the history of the United States-from the millions killed during the slave trade and slavery to the plunder of Central and South America since the early 1800s, the incineration of hundreds of thousands of Japanese during the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. No, the main enemy is at home—the main enemy is right here in Washington, D.C. I'm recently from Detroit where I was an auto worker for several years. I was laid off back when the depression first began back in '79 and things still haven't picked up in Detroit. At that time there were organizing drives going on in the factories of Port Elizabeth, South Africa-the auto factories, the VW plants, the Ford plants.... We tried to organize for sympathy strikes in Detroit with the South African workers who were on strike trying to organize unions in South Africa. Now that's an example of the concrete solidarity which we would like to see. Could you imagine the

<u>UC Santa Cruz</u>

SYL Turns Guerrilla Theatre Into Anti-Imperialist Protest

SANTA CRUZ-On May 24 an ad hoc grouping of students from the University of California here (UCSC) called a protest against military recruitment on the campus. Earlier, upon hearing that no one had signed up on the recruiters' roster, the ad hoc grouping had actually considered signing up themselves to insure that the recruiters would be on campus! Fortunately, this harebrained scheme was scotched; as it was, 40 students sat quietly on a lawn while drama enthusiasts performed guerrilla theatre. It was the Spartacus Youth League which transformed this enactment of a day in the "male chauvinist life" of a military recruit into a genuine demonstration against. U.S. imperialism.

In 1972, Santa Cruz students militantly drove Marine recruiters off the campus. In this spirit, an SYL spokesman turned the mood of the rally around:

"It is an outrage to have military recruiters coming onto campus when the workers and peasants of El Salvador are being slaughtered by the thousands with the aid of U.S. 'advisers' and Huey helicopters. These recruiters should be run off campus'like they were in '72 because they are here for one purpose—to recruit and train future Lt. Calleys for future My Lai massacres."

The SYLer counterposed to the reformists' cry "No More Vietnams" the slogan of "Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!" and was greeted with a hearty round of applause.

On campuses throughout the country—from Harvard to the University of Illinois to the University of California—the imperialists seek to

chord that a sympathy strike in Detroit by the black auto workers in Detroit would have struck in South Africa? I mean the unions could have been recognized like that (snap).

Aside from the divestment liberals there's the Pan-Africanists and various other sundry nationalists. And so what is their strategy for the liberation of South Africa? How do they say we ought to express our solidarity with the workers and peasants of South Africa? Well, they say absolutely nothing about it. I mean look, these three people were hanged last week and they didn't have a word to say about that. In D.C., which is the base of the All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party of Stokely Carmichael, they've got their biggest branch here, they did nothing! And that's a real crime. I mean no doubt these people were at home thinking "African" and "wearing white" because that's about the extent of their program. They say everybody should think

make "respectable" once again the training and recruiting of their dogs of war. This is part and parcel of the attempt by Reagan & Co. to wipe out U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat in Vietnam with a victory made with the blood of the Central American working masses. As we pointed out at the Santa Cruz demonstration:

> "Reagan is seeking an escalation of U.S. military intervention in Central America all in the name of rolling back Communism. The Democrats and Republicans will do anything to stop workers revolutions around the world from El Salvador to Nicaragua to Cuba and ultimately restoring capitalism in the USSR. That's why we say "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America! Defend, Extend and Complete the Nicaraguan Revolution! Kill the Invaders! Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists! Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home!"

One of the rally organizers congratulated the SYL for giving the best and most militant speech. In fact, we gave the only militant speech. UC Santa Cruz has always been a fertile ground for mushy, beansprout "politics"-embracing everyone from armchair "Marxist' professors to eco-freaks to the State Department Socialists of the DSA. Our task continues to be to cut through the reformist mush on this campus which was purposefully designed to dilute student radicalism in the 1960s. We seek to recruit the best militants in Santa Cruz to our program of revolutionary Trotskyism and have had modest success in doing so. To those at Santa Cruz who genuinely desire to smash U.S. imperialism: Join the SYL!

African. Well sure, sometimes they'll give you some rhetoric about "people's war" or "revolutionary struggle," but at bottom it's nothing more than rhetoric. Nothing more than rhetoric.

From Soweto to southeast D.C., things are bad, but you're not going to get anything unless you fight for it. We don't need any more Democrats' lies, we don't need any more black Democrats. What we need is a workers party that's going to fight for a workers government. Now we of the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League are revolutionary fighters who are dedicated to mobilizing the power of labor and the power of black people to fight for what's rightfully ours. And November 27th when that alliance of blacks and labor drove the KKK out of D.C., that was a powerful example of what blacks and workers fighting together under communist leadership can do. And that's what we seek to do from here to El Salvador to South Africa.



Der Spiegei

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Young Spartacus

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution in South Africa!



On June 9 the racist butchers of South Africa executed three anti-apartheid fighters of the African National Congress (ANC). Jerry Mosololi, Thabo Motaung and Thelle Mogoerane were fighters in the war between Reagan's allies in Pretoria and the 21 million blacks suffering under the yoke of apartheid. Forced into exile by the bloody repression which followed the Soweto uprising of 1976, these militant youth were recruited and trained by Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the ANC's military arm. They returned to South Africa to participate in the ANC's campaign of attacks on institutions of apartheid. Their mission was successful, but they were captured. Mosololi, Motaung and Mogoerane

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support it has won-through decades of struggle-from all sections of the population, including some whites. Despite more than two decades of imprisonment-most of it on the notorious Robben Island off Cape Town-ANC president Nelson Mandela is enormously popular among South Africa's black masses. Winnie Mandela, his wife, is widely respected for her open defiance of the regime, even during her six-year banishment to the desolate Afrikaner farming town of Brandfort. The ANC has retained this support by carefully selecting its targets for military action: police stations, a nuclear power plant and, most recently, an air force headquarters. Thus in contrast to nationalist groups prone to indiscriminate terrorism like the Irish Republican Army, the ANC inflicts its damage on the institutions of oppression while minimizing civilian casualties. The ANC's anti-racialist program is embodied in the call for a multiracial democratic republic.

basing itself on any particular tribe. Throughout Africa, national borders were drawn many decades ago by the imperialist powers, in order to divide tribes and nations and inhibit nationbuilding. In countries like Zimbabwe and Uganda, liberation from colonialism has been followed by bloody tribal conflicts. In South Africa cracks have already appeared in the apartheid state apparatus, due in large part to the impact of an increasingly powerful and organized black working class. The ANC is representative of the aspiration, given the centrality of the black population, of uniting all the disparate forces in South Africa across racial and tribal lines, including Indians, Cape Coloureds and sections of the white population, in struggle against the brutal apartheid regime. The ANC's goal, however, is not to topple the apartheid regime, but to reform it through pressure on the imperialist powers and through an alliance with its own "progressive" white bourgeoisie. During the 1950s this pressure took the form of passive "defiance." When the ANC was banned after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, Mandela formed Umkonto we Sizwestill exerting pressure, but now with the gun and the bomb. The Spartacus Youth League hails the heroic martyrs of the ANC and calls for the release of Nelson Mandela. But it is the fivemillion-strong black proletariat that holds the hammer that will smash apartheid. What is urgently necessary in South Africa today is the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist party to break wide open the cracks in apartheid rule and to lead the working class in the struggle for a black-centered workers republic.

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League built and participated in several important protests in this country in response to the death sentences and executions. Many of the protesters were black youth taking part in political action for the first time, and were highly receptive to the revolutionary perspective put forward by the SL/SYL. On June 18 in Washington, D.C., the Spartacist League held a forum entitled, "Black Workers Shake South Africa." The speakers were SL Central Committee member Reuben Samuels and SYL spokesman and former auto worker Brian Manning. Among those attending was a former member of Stokely Carmichael's All-African People's Revolutionary Party, which didn't lift a finger to protest the executions of the ANC fighters. Reprinted below are excerpts of Manning's presentation.

correctly demanded treatment as prisoners of war. The apartheid regime responded by lynching them.

The executions brought vigorous protests by workers and black organiza-` tions in South Africa and around the world-and a light slap on the wrist from the Reagan government. Reagan's concern was not with the "human rights" of the three ANCers, but with the survival of his staunch anti-Soviet allies in South Africa. In his drive to overturn the gains of the Russian Revolution, Reagan has strengthened the military bloc with the government of P.W. Botha. The U.S. imperialists back these nuclear-armed savages to the hilt-from their raids on Angola to the massacre of women and children in Mozambique, from the shooting down of black strikers to the attacks on the "terrorist" ANC.

The ANC's capacity to carry out spectacular, though limited, military actions in the urban centers of South Africa demonstrates the breadth of

Equally important, the ANC claims to speak for all the oppressed instead of

Ten days ago three young South Africans were lynched, they were hanged and their alleged crime was continued on page 11