

Young Spartacus

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APRIL 1983

Nicaragua: CRUSH REAGAN'S INVASION!

American workers and radical youth must defend Nicaragua against the U.S.-sponsored counterrevolutionary drive! Ronald Reagan is openly aiming to overthrow the left-nationalist regime which came to power in 1979 after a bloody struggle to bring down the megalomaniacal U.S.-backed tyrant Somoza—a struggle in which the butcher of Managua attempted to wipe out virtually an entire generation of Nicaraguan young men. Brazenly, the U.S. does not even deny that it is providing support for the murderous *bestias*—counterrevolutionary mercenaries based in Honduras—who have repeatedly invaded Nicaragua, killing hundreds of people. An estimated 2,000 of the CIA-backed *contras* presently operate in Nicaragua's northern provinces, and the U.S. has twice staged provocative "war games" along Nicaragua's northern border in conjunction with Honduras. The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) says: Kill the Invaders! Complete the Nicaraguan Revolution! Drive the U.S. Out of Central America!

In 1961 CIA-backed Cuban exiles invaded Cuba and were ignominiously defeated at the Bay of Pigs. Similarly, the Sandinistas have been running a "roach motel" for the U.S.-sponsored counterrevolutionaries: "they check in but they don't check out." Each time the *contras* have seized a village they have been driven out by the Sandinista army, and they have suffered heavy casualties. For every one of these mercenary killers the Sandinistas take out, there will be that many fewer *gusanos* roaming the streets of the U.S., pushing drugs and attempting to assassinate diplomats: remember, it was CIA-trained anti-Castro Cubans who murdered Allende's ex-foreign minister Orlando Letelier in 1976.

But there is a crucial difference between Cuba 1961 and Nicaragua today. By 1961 the Cuban capitalist class had fled to Miami after having been expropriated of its economic holdings. And although the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie's state power was smashed by the 1979 revolution, it still owns 60 percent of the country's economy. These junior partners of imperialism constitute a potent internal base for counter-



Workers Vanguard Photo

New York City demo, March 25.

revolution. It was to this capitalist fifth column that Polish pope Wojtyla—godfather of Solidarność, the only "labor union" that Ronald Reagan loves—appealed in his appearance in Nicaragua on March 4. Unlike the herd of pro-Solidarność fake leftists, we have

consistently pointed out that the Vatican can only be an arm of imperialist reaction.

But Managua is not Warsaw, and the pope got a hot reception in July 19 Plaza (so named for the anniversary of the Sandinista revolution). Wojtyla was nearly driven off the stage as scores of thousands chanted "We want peace!" and "Popular power!" The pope offered condolences for imprisoned *somocistas* but pointedly said nothing about the 50,000 Nicaraguans martyred in the struggle against Somoza. As we wrote in last month's *Young Spartacus*, "The pope's visit will certainly be the occasion for a mobilization of the domestic

bourgeoisie in Nicaragua..." And although the rightists chanting "El Papa!" in July 19 Plaza were overwhelmed by supporters of the revolution, nine days later 500 wealthy Nicaraguans chanting "Long Live Catholic Nicaragua!" marched through the streets of Managua. "With God and with patriotism, we are combatting Communism," announced the radio of the CIA's "Nicaraguan Democratic Front."

And yet the Sandinistas spread illusions with slogans such as "between Christianity and the revolution there is no contradiction." The invitation to the pope was in itself an expression of their attempt to follow the impossible "middle road" of a "mixed economy" and political "pluralism." But this is completely untenable: either the Sandinistas will act as the Loyalists of the Spanish Republic did in the 1930s, sacrificing the revolution on the altar of "pluralism" and private property in an effort to placate the imperialists—or they will take the "Cuban road," expropriating the capitalists and bureaucratically carrying out a social revolution from above. Even in the latter case political power would remain in the hands of a nationalist, petty-bourgeois caste which is hostile to the extension of the revolution. The Sandinistas' narrow nationalism is an obstacle to victory in what is becoming a Central America-wide civil war: they are unfortunately telling the truth when they deny supplying aid to the Salvadoran leftist rebels. What is urgently needed is a Trotskyist party to mobilize the working class from Managua to Mexico City and beyond, to defend the Nicaraguan revolution by completing it and extending it internationally.

At the March 25 demonstration at the Honduran mission to the U.N. in New York City, called by Casa Nicaragua, there was a sharp political counterposition between the reformists who seek to conciliate imperialism and the Trotskyists, who fight to smash it. About 90 Spartacist-organized demonstrators

continued on page 9

**Extradite Kirkpatrick
to Salvadoran
Liberated Zone!...3**



**Leftist Rebels Must
Win the War!
El Salvador
Aflame!...6**

Letters

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) is the youth section of the Spartacist League (SL). As a youth league we have a dual purpose. We both work as part of a common movement with the SL, intervening in the youth arena in order to win young people to the side of the working class in the struggle for socialist revolution, and function as a school for training new conscious communists. We recruit young people who hate this racist imperialist system and want to see it smashed. But the ability to intervene effectively in social struggle does not flow automatically from our desire to change the world. As young communists we fight to implement our program and in so doing to assimilate the methodology of Marxism and the lessons of the historical experience of the world working class as codified in the writings of Lenin and

Trotsky. We sometimes make mistakes, from which we have to learn if we are to become the next generation of communist leaders.

We reprint below for the education of our membership and general readership a thoughtful letter of criticism from a reader of *Young Spartacus* about the work of the Bay Area SYL around the cutbacks in the Peralta (Berkeley/Oakland) Community College district. Lisa Smith raises a number of correct demands based on our past work on other campuses. If she was as familiar with this material as she claims to be, however, she would recognize that the strategy of the various student governments (including that at *Laney College*) is one of begging the Democrats in the California Legislature to rescind the fee hikes. The Bay Area SYL in their work on this issue drew a clear class

line against the Democrats and the anti-Soviet war drive. The SYL counterposes to pro-Democratic lobbying the independent mobilization of students and teachers, behind the power of the working class, against the bipartisan attacks on the rights of minority and working-class youth to a college education. Break with the Democrats! Build a workers party!

We also reprint below an exchange of letters between the SYL and the speaker of the Associated Students Legislature at San Francisco State University. Our inexperienced comrades really blew it when they mistook an ironic, liberal poster (see picture below) for a fascist propaganda tract. Our letter of apology speaks for itself.

V.I. Lenin summed up the tasks of young communists in one word: learn!

Young Spartacus Photo

On the SYL's Anti-Cutback Strategy

February 28, 1983

Editor, *Young Spartacus*:

As Ronald Reagan and his cronies in the Republican and Democratic parties eagerly race towards a nuclear World War III against the Soviet Union, minorities and working-class people throughout the country are being made to pay for this war drive with cuts in Medicare, employment programs, Social Security, Food Stamps, education, and everything else which we need to survive.

The Peralta Community College district is also being hit hard. Last year the Peralta Board of Trustees laid off 33 instructors and made drastic cuts in several programs including Ethnic Studies, Political Science, Chemistry, Athletics, and English. Now students in the Peralta District are threatened with tuition in the fall—something which would make it impossible for many working-class and minority students to continue to attend school. And, while last year's laid off instructors were recently rehired, there has again been talk of layoffs in the corridors of the Peralta District Office.

Now students and instructors are beginning to realize that simply writing letters to Congress and lobbying the Peralta Board of Trustees are useless "tactics" and they are searching for an effective way to fight against budget cuts, lay-offs and tuition.

The Spartacus Youth League, with your January 18 demonstration outside of the Peralta Community

SYL fights for militant student/labor action at November 17, 1975 NYC demo against City University cutbacks.



College District Office, had the opportunity to point out the way in which your demands could be won. Therefore it was a big disappointment to find that in your coverage of the demonstration, (*Young Spartacus* #106, February 1983), while you correctly criticize the abstentionism and reformist tactics of other left organizations, you forgot to say anything about what students and instructors will have to do to defeat these attacks.

The SYL is well known for its militant, class-struggle program. In 1979, during the attempted purge of five instructors by Boston University's president, the SYL wrote: "It is not, however, the cutback, tuition hike-crazy Board of Trustees... who can dump Silber and put a stop to the unrelenting administration attacks.

Such a fight can only be waged by mass protest actions of students, teachers and workers at BU and their allies in the city labor movement and among militants on other campuses."

Students and instructors in the Peralta district are increasingly becoming aware that the kind of fight you called for at Boston University is the only kind which will have any effect in beating back the cutback, tuition hike-crazy Peralta Board of Trustees.

On February 16 a one day boycott of classes was held at UC Berkeley. Originally called by the UCB student government as a protest against a \$100 tuition increase for this semester and an additional \$150 in the fall, the call for a boycott caught on and students at

continued on page 10

Sometimes Our Comrades Blow It

Date: February 16, 1983

To: Spartacus Youth League

From: Glenn Merker, Speaker
Associated Students Legislature

Subject: *The destruction of my personal property*

On Thursday, February 10, 1983 a poster of mine which was tacked up on a wall in my office was torn down by one of your members. This is not only an act of vandalism and a crime, but is totally opposed to the right of free expression and speech protected by the Constitution of this country and supposedly supported by the Spartacus Youth League. The destruction of my personal property by a member of the Spartacus Youth League was confirmed by Charles Overbeck, a member of your organization, later Thursday afternoon in my office with several of my colleagues present. This was an act of total disrespect of the property of another person and of the Associated Students.

I am filing a formal complaint against the Spartacus Youth League with the Organizational Review Committee, Chaired by Penny Saffold, Director of Student Life Services as a result of this vandalism. I also demand a formal apology from the Spartacus Youth League and the poster replaced or \$6.00 paid to me to replace the poster. Until I receive the formal apology and the poster is replaced or the money received, no member of your organization is allowed to enter the A.S. Legislature office, M-103. You have not only violated the law, but a trust that personal property of mine and that of the Associated Students will not be destroyed.

It seems strange to me that your organization, which

demands the right of free speech to express itself would be so intolerant of another person and his right of free speech that your organization would take it upon themselves to destroy his property.

GM/jer

cc: A.S. Legislature
A.S. Board of Directors
Jessellyn Saffold, Director, Student Life Services
Jon Schorle, Director of Public Safety

Spartacus Youth League
P.O. Box 11685
San Francisco, CA 94101

February 28, 1983

Dear Mr. Merker:

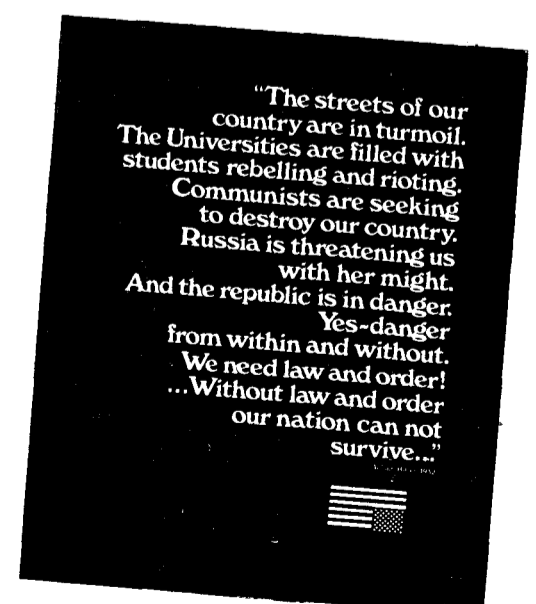
The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) extends its sincere apologies to you for the regrettable incident which occurred in your office on February 10. We are, as requested, enclosing a check for \$6.00 to cover the cost of the poster.

Our organization is intended to be a training ground in Marxist politics for young revolutionists. What you encountered on February 10 was an impulsive and mistaken act by a well-meaning young comrade incapable of making a clear distinction between fascism (which poses a present, active lethal threat to minorities, students, gays, labor unions, and socialists) and a poster which was intended to ironically mock the "law and order" rhetoric of conservative bourgeois politicians of the Richard Nixon/Ronald Reagan stripe.

We hope this incident, which dismayed us as much as it did you, will serve a purpose in helping to deepen the understanding of several of our members at San Francisco State on the questions of fascism and bourgeois democracy.

Sincerely,
Hursey Baker
For the SYL

cc: AS Legislature
AS Board of Directors
Jessellyn Saffold, Director, Student Life Services
Jon Schorle, Director of Public Safety



Not a fascist poster. Quote from Hitler is intended to mock Nixon/Reagan-style "law and order" rhetoric.

Fran Ortiz

"Ambassador" of Mass Murder Extradite Kirkpatrick to Salvadoran Liberated Zone!

Kirkpatrick Must Be Tried By Her Victims!

"The dead and pieces of the dead turn up in El Salvador everywhere.... Some are dropped in Lake Ilopango, a few miles east of the city, and wash up near the lakeside cottages and clubs frequented by what remains in San Salvador of the sporting bourgeoisie. Some still turn up at El Playón, the lunar lava field of rotting human flesh visible at one time or another on every television screen in America but characterized in June of 1982 in the *El Salvador News Gazette*, an English-language weekly edited by an American named Mario Rosenthal, as an 'unconfirmed story... dredged up from the files of leftist propaganda.' Others turn up at Puerta del Diablo, above Parque Balboa, a national *Turicentro* described as recently as the April-July 1982 issue of *Aboard TACA*, the magazine provided passengers on the national airline of El Salvador, as 'offering excellent subjects for color photography.'"
—Joan Didion, *Salvador*

"When Kirkpatrick mentioned 'El Salvador' they would shout '40,000 dead' and other irrelevancies."
—Abe Mellinkoff,
San Francisco Chronicle,
14 March

U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, came to the Berkeley campus of the University of California, fresh from her mission to the slaughterhouse of El Salvador, as a quintessential representative of Reagan's Cold War drive. In El Salvador, the U.S.-backed junta holds the line for the "free world" through its routine use of torture and assassination against workers, peasants, teachers, students, priests, correspondents, trade-union leaders, nuns, children. Kirkpatrick came to gloat over mass murder and to further its cause.

Kirkpatrick's February 15 speech,

scheduled for the following day—which promised more of the same. For opponents of U.S.-backed butchery in Central America, the Berkeley protest against this war criminal is a small victory. Had Kirkpatrick gone unprotected, it would have represented effective endorsement of the Administration's massive support to the Salvadoran junta. As Marxists, we have no illusions in abstract moral outrage as a strategy to fight imperialism, but commend the statement by a SAINTES spokesman that "... we also had a great fear of being too silent, that Jeane Kirkpatrick would come to campus and that this moment would pass and we would not fulfill what we see as our moral obligation to speak out" (*Express*, 11 March).

Subsequently, Kirkpatrick was met with student protest in Minnesota and her alma mater, Smith College, suggested that—given sentiment on the campus—Kirkpatrick's "security" could not be assured for her scheduled commencement speech and so that too was cancelled. These fairly mild demonstrations of opposition to Reagan's butchers in El Salvador, which took place on the eve of the U.S./Somozaist invasion of Nicaragua, have been seized on by the press in an orchestrated campaign calculated to outrage bourgeois public opinion. The press has kept up a merciless barrage of articles and editorials howling for reprisals against those who dare to protest the kill-crazy Mme. Ambassador, howling at the lack of "discipline" on the campuses. The "academic community" has fallen in line with pious statements "deploring" Kirkpatrick's treatment, most recently making the front page of the *New York Times* in a joint statement issued by national administration, faculty and student organizations. Unintentionally ironic, the article reports that "Mrs. Kirkpatrick, whose speeches have been a main target of campus protesters, yesterday interrupted her participation in a Security

Poveda Photoreporters



"Free world" in action: the closing of Salvador's National University, 1980.

"Human Rights and Wrongs in the U.S." was protested by Berkeley students, led by a rather militant group called "Students Against Intervention in El Salvador" (SAINTES). Driven from the stage, Kirkpatrick was reportedly overheard saying "That's it. I can't take it. I quit." She cancelled her appearance

Council debate on Nicaragua to hail the statement" (*New York Times*, 30 March). Chalk up another one for the "free world."

"What should we do—put security people out there with M-16s to make Kirkpatrick feel at home?" a Berkeley student senator demanded. Since the



Protest Against War Criminal Enrages Gentlemen of the Bourgeois Press

methods of Kirkpatrick's favorite "moderately authoritarian" regimes are not now in full force in America, we doubt that the entire student government of Berkeley will be lined up against Sather Gate, "interrogated" about their subversive affiliations, "disappeared," or executed in the dead of night. SAINTES, their families and friends won't be rounded up in the basement of Sproul Hall. Government troops will not be called in to forcibly close the Berkeley campus, as was the case with the National University in San Salvador—which had a comparable enrollment of about 30,000.

America's Madame Chiang Kai-shek

Kirkpatrick's evident admiration for and identification with her pet butchers in El Salvador is no secret. If she had her way, the campuses—among other things—would be purged of "totalitarian" 18-year-olds who differ with government policy. An example: the paper she prepared just before her U.N. appointment for the American Enterprise Institute entitled "The Hobbes Problem: Order, Authority and Legitimacy in Central America." The following extracts from her paper were printed in eunuch Alexander Cockburn's *Village Voice* column (30 March 1980):

"Hernandez Martinez is such a hero. General Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez, who governed El Salvador from 1931 to 1944, was minister of war in the cabinet of President Arturo Araujo when there occurred widespread uprisings said to be the work of Communist agitators. General Hernandez Martinez then staged a coup and ruthlessly suppressed the disorders—wiping out all those who participated, hunting down their leaders. It is sometimes said that 30,000 persons lost their lives in this process. To many Salvadorans, the violence of this repression seems less important than that of the fact of restored order and the thirteen years of civil peace that ensued. The traditional death squads that pursue revolutionary activities and leaders in contemporary El Salvador call themselves Hernandez Martinez Brigades, seeking thereby to place themselves in El Salvador's political tradition and communicate their purposes."

Irrelevant to Mme. K's tacit endorsement is the notorious fact that this "El Supremo" was one of the maddest, most far-out butchers to ever run a state. Idi Amin pales by comparison when it comes to the smaller idiosyncrasies. Joan Didion notes in *Salvador*, for instance, that the U.S. Government Printing Office's *Area Handbook for El Salvador* relates that "During an epidemic of smallpox in the capital, he attempted to halt its spread by stringing

the city with a web of colored lights." He also thought it "good" that children went barefoot. "That way they can better receive the beneficial effluvia of the planet, the vibrations of the earth. Plants and animals don't use shoes." (For more on Martinez, see "El Salvador Aflame!" this issue.)

The U.S., apartheid South Africa and Israel presently constitute the central axis of the so-called "free world"—the latter two being particular causes of Kirkpatrick's when she's not in Central America "stiffening" the Salvadorans' resolve to prevail over their population. Even bourgeois regimes outside the Washington-Tel Aviv-Pretoria axis have reason to be apprehensive. Take the recent report in India of a Kirkpatrick "paper" relishing "the real possibility of the Balkanization of India, which would destroy its influence in the Third World and elsewhere" as well as "undoubtedly seriously damage the interests of the Soviet Union" (*Washington Post*, 17 February). While the U.S. press is quick to denounce the story as "Soviet disinformation," the Gandhi government is not so sure; the "alleged" document also identifies 11 "Third World" countries to be "isolated, restrained or set against one another," India among them.

Most recently, Mme. Kirkpatrick has been a prominent mouthpiece for the U.S.' undisguised provocative gloating over the CIA/Somozaist invasion of Nicaragua (captured in the curious *New York Times* [29 March] headline, "U.S. Refusing to Dispel Impression It Is Helping Anti-Sandinist Forces" and the

continued on page 9

Young Spartacus

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

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Black Machine Democrat Wins Chicago Primary

White Racist Backlash in "Segregation City"

When black Democrat Harold Washington beat out incumbent Jane Byrne and Son-of-Boss Daley in the February 22 Chicago Democratic mayoral primary, a racist backlash hit segregation city. The Democratic Party machine has run Chicago for the last 50 years, and the Democratic primary has long been the only election that counts, but now the Republican candidate, the previously unknown Bernard Epton, has become a "legitimate contender for one reason only—because he's white" (*Chicago Tribune*, 13 March). And two weeks after pledging to support Washington, Jane Byrne outrageously tried to cash in on the racist backlash and steal the election with a write-in campaign—endorsed by the Nazi Party. She dropped the "white-in" only when national Democratic leaders pulled the rug out from under her: they're going to need Washington to get out the black vote to beat Reagan in 1984. The racist, capitalist Democratic Party will never fight for the most minimal needs of minorities and the poor. Nonetheless, Washington won the primary, and Byrne lost it. Although the Washington win is no gain for blacks, we defend his right to take office with all the normal prerogatives.

Washington has bent over backwards to prove his continuing loyalty to the Machine that made and keeps Chicago "Segregation City." He has promised to do exactly nothing about segregated housing and schools, refusing to call for busing. When his proposal for an impotent, whitewashing civilian review board upset the racist cops, Washington rushed to explain that it wasn't meant as "an attack on the police department in any way, shape or fashion." And of course he didn't mention his promise to end patronage at the March 24 Party meeting. Although six aldermen have followed Aloysius "racial pride" Majerczyk in jumping ship for Epton, the Democratic Party has by and large solidified behind Washington: a

March 24 meeting of the Democratic Party Central Committee endorsed Washington.

Elements of the racist Chicago Democratic Machine are still busy trying to deny Washington some of the perks of his victory. On March 1, barely a week after the primary, the Chicago School Board met in closed executive session to elect Loop College President (and Byrne supporter) Salvatore Rotella to a three-year term as chancellor of the city

literature in the hallways) and the recently opened new college building has virtually no facilities for students. One Loop student captured the situation, "They make you crawl on your belly like you're begging for something you don't deserve."

At the March 16 rally, SYL members pointed out that the petty tyranny of the Loop administration and rotten conditions won't change one iota with a black chancellor. The administration and

Phil Greene



Black Machine Democrat Harold Washington at St. Patrick's Day parade, doing everything he can to prove his loyalty to the capitalist system.

colleges, agreeing to the retirement of the current chancellor in September 1983, one year ahead of the previously announced schedule. This is a racist attempt to keep the chancellorship of the mostly black city colleges out of the hands of blacks.

The Loop College Spartacus Youth League (SYL) has actively participated in student protests against the School Board's action. On March 16 we participated in a picket line of 500 outside of the School Board headquarters to protest the Rotella appointment. At Loop anti-Rotella sentiments run high: the administration runs the place like a detention center (with student groups not even allowed to hand out

school board exist to run the colleges in the interest of the capitalists who have no use for black youth—least of all educated black youth—except as cannon fodder for their anti-Soviet war drive. Abolish the Administration! For Student/Teacher/Worker Control of the University! Chicago's decaying high schools are almost twice as segregated as the ones in Alabama, and many of those who graduate don't even have the skills and money necessary to attend Loop. For Free Quality Education For All! Open Admissions, No Tuition! Nationalize the Elite Private Universities! Washington, who prides himself on being "a product of the Machine," offers no alternative to the last half-century of

Democratic rule in this city: grinding poverty, rigidly enforced segregation and uncontrolled cop terror. Break With the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!

The March 16 protest was organized by a cabal of student government bureaucrats, Urban League members and supporters of Jesse Jackson's People United to Save Humanity. Their sole concern was exploiting student anger to hustle votes for Washington. Since the sole concern of these so-called leaders is votes for the Democrats, it is not surprising that the protest momentum has fizzled. An advertised "sit-in" and "walk-out" on the 16th did not materialize. A picket line on March 17 drew less than 20 protesters. Only 15 student government bureaucrats participated in a sit-in outside of Rotella's office on March 18. As it stands now, Byrne's racist coup has succeeded: Rotella is chancellor, effective September 1983.

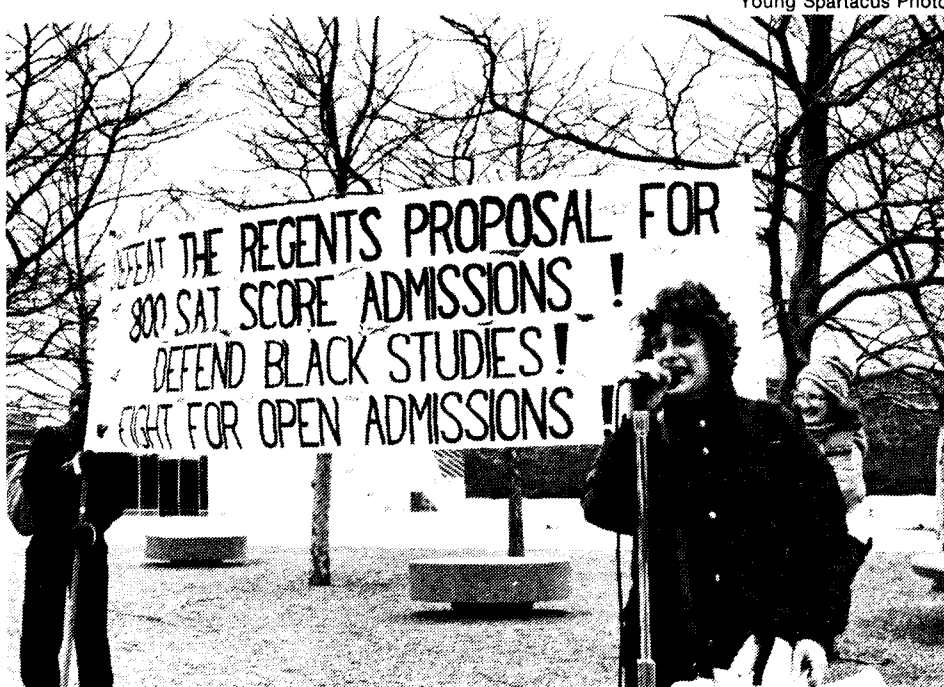
The furor against Rotella's appointment has resulted in at least one victory for Loop students: the resignation of Loop Student Government president Derek Shelton. Shelton, infamous for his witchhunt against the SYL last fall when he threatened to turn over the names of SYL supporters to the FBI (see "SYL Fights McCarthyism at Chicago Loop College," *Young Spartacus* No. 104, November 1982), was a hated figure at Loop. Over 300 students signed our petition demanding his impeachment. And no one ever elected him—he was appointed by Rotella! Shelton tried to posture as anti-Rotella at a Loop protest meeting, but he was heckled with shouts of "worm!" and "Rotella's grandson! You sold out!" When Rotella called him out on the carpet for even daring to posture against the administration, Shelton resigned. Good riddance!

As Spartacist League (SL) spokesman Bernard Vance said at a February 23 SL forum, "The big turnout for Washington is a defeat for black liberation. It means that the old line about the Democratic Party being 'where it's at' won again." The Spartacist League-initiated demonstration against the Nazis in Chicago last June 27 and the Labor/Black Mobilization against the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27 point the way forward: the independent mobilization of blacks and labor against the capitalist oppressors. The road to black liberation is through smashing capitalism. We need an integrated revolutionary workers party to lead all the oppressed in that struggle. Join us in the fight to build it! ■

UMass Students Protest Regents' Racist Rollback

BOSTON—Chanting "For open admissions at UMass! Keep it a school for the working class!", forty militant protesters demonstrated in front of the University of Massachusetts at Boston (UMass) administration building March 7. Outraged by the Massachusetts Board of Regents' proposal to raise UMass admission requirements to a combined score of 800 (see "No Jim Crow at UMass Boston!", *Young Spartacus* No. 107), the demonstrators demanded: Defeat the Regents' proposal for 800 SAT score admissions! Defend Black Studies! Fight for open admissions! The Spartacus Youth League (SYL)-initiated demonstration received the endorsement of several members of the Pan African Student Organization (PASO), professors and campus unionists in SEIU Local 285.

PASO leaders were irate that the SYL had taken the lead in fighting the Regents' proposal: they actually showed up at a planning meeting for the demonstration and attempted to shove an unelected "Central Committee" with undisclosed members down the throats



SYL spokesman addresses March 7 rally.

of student militants. Those present, of course, refused to swallow this heavy-handed bureaucratic maneuver, so

PASO decided to boycott the rally! PASO leaders wanted to censor the SYL's communist politics in order to

seek the support of liberal Democratic governor Dukakis. But Dukakis supports the Regents' racist proposal, so PASO has dropped the whole issue like a hot potato! The SYL will continue to mobilize opposition to the 800 SAT score admissions. Stop the Regents' Racist Rollback! ■

"We Stopped the Klan!" Benefit Concert

Jazz Concert for the
Labor/Black Mobilization

Performers: Ran Blake, Michelle
Feldheim Quintet, Jon Wheatley/
Greg Wall Quartet, Semanya
McCord Quartet

Sunday, April 24, 8:00 p.m.
Ryles, 212 Hampshire St.
(Inman Square), Cambridge

Tickets: \$5.00 (regular)
\$10.00 (contributing)
For tickets, call (617) 492-3928

BOSTON

Sponsored by
the Partisan Defense Committee

Fantasies of "the Talented Tenth"

Pan-Africanism vs. Class Struggle

Young Spartacus Photo

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

During the 1970s the influence of Pan-Africanism in black America was practically nil. However, in the past few years there has been a certain revival of Pan-Africanism, spearheaded by the All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Toure), among black college students. Suddenly people chanting "back to Africa" are getting a hearing on the campuses, though not anywhere else. How come?

Pan-Africanism is a despairing non-strategy, a defeatist response to resurgent racist reaction in Reagan's America. As such, it is directly counterposed to militant, integrated class struggle to bring down the capitalist system and hostile to even partial fights along that road. Carmichael himself turned to separatism in the mid-late 1960s when the liberal-led civil rights movement ran up against the limits of capitalism as the frustrated ghetto masses in Watts, Detroit, Newark and many other cities were shot down by police and national guardsmen. Carmichael's historical forebears in the U.S.—George Padmore's Pan-Africanist Congresses and Marcus Garvey's "back-to-Africa" movement in the

educated blacks, while committed militants like George Jackson were killed and Black Panther Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt was locked away in solitary. In the late 1960s-early 1970s doors were opened for "the talented tenth" which had previously been closed. New black studies departments appeared in universities and new black sit-coms on television. You could now watch the Jeffersons as well as Archie Bunker. Big corporations found it smart to have a few highly visible black executives. Especially important was the development of Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" poverty programs. Some "poverty" money trickled down to the ghetto poor, but the main beneficiaries were the well-paid administrators, white and black, with their many perks. At a higher level the 1970s saw black mayors elected in cities with large ghetto populations.

The road to success in white America for "the talented tenth" in the 1960s-70s was personified by Marion Barry. He began his career in the early '60s as chairman of the militant Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); he then became an official of Pride, Inc., a federally sponsored poverty program in Washington, D.C.; today he is the Democratic mayor of the nation's capital with its huge black population.

Along with the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state, the black frontmen for American capitalism—the

black slaves have in the most brutal way lorded over the native Africans (the so-called "country people") for more than a century (see "End of Black American Liberia?", *Workers Vanguard* No. 257, 30 May 1980). What Carmichael and the Pan-Africanists are selling is the hope that sometime, somewhere, somehow the American black elite will gain their own state.

In black Africa Pan-Africanism adopts as sacrosanct principles the artificial state boundaries and capitalist property relations which European colonialism and imperialism imposed to rape and rule the continent in the nineteenth century. These boundaries were imposed by the European powers to "divide and conquer" the continent, they were designed to balkanize the African peoples and serve as barriers to nation-building and social progress. Marxists hail the liberation of Africa from colonialism precisely to put social revolution on the agenda. Formal political independence within these boundaries and without a corresponding anti-capitalist social revolution by no means eradicated the legacy of imperialist-imposed economic dependency and social backwardness. On the contrary, from Nkrumah's Ghana to Mugabe's Zimbabwe it has only meant the rise of a nascent African bourgeois elite economically servile to imperialism, capable only of inflaming the old ethnic and tribal divisions to the point of genocide (witness the present reign of



Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Toure) at Howard University, February 28.

brunt of Reagan reaction, they are desperate to defend their livelihood and their rights here and now. Carmichael is obviously frustrated that his Pan-Africanist brand of pie-in-the-sky does not sell outside the groves of academe. "I know my people," he told an audience at San Francisco State last December, "If you give them some fried chicken they go to sleep."

This is an insult and it is a lie. Whenever there is any opening to confront the racist American ruling class, blacks are always in the forefront of the fight. Everyone knows that black workers are almost always among the most militant unionists. For example, last fall when Auto Workers chief Douglas Fraser negotiated still another giveback contract with Chrysler, workers in Detroit and elsewhere poured out of the plants determined to bring the company to its knees. And it was militant blacks who led the way. But the labor bureaucracy was able to put the lid back on.

When Reagan smashed the air controllers (PATCO) strike in the fall of 1981, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy organized a protest demonstration in Washington. September 19, 1981 saw not only the largest labor demonstration in American history but also the most racially integrated. Over a hundred thousand black workers marched proudly with their white union brothers and sisters to show their defiance and hatred for the racist strikebreaker in the White House. But the union tops turned this powerful display of working-class

continued on page 10



Militant black workers take the lead in united class struggle: September 16, 1982 wildcat strike against Chrysler (left); November 27, 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. (right).



Workers Vanguard Photos

1920s—were likewise the product of a period of reaction marked by the growth of the Ku Klux Klan into a mass movement, North and South.

Today, in the Pan-Africanist campus circles we are seeing the escapist fantasies of what W.E.B. Du Bois called "the talented tenth," who are considered expendable in Reagan's America. For example, at large commuter colleges like the University of the District of Columbia and UMass Boston proposed changes in admission requirements will drive thousands of black youth out of school, condemning them to sub-minimum wages at McDonald's and rat-infested slums. Tuition hikes combined with cutbacks in financial aid during a period of economic depression are having the same effect. The barriers of racist reaction are coming down on black student-youth. They don't know why. They don't know what to do about it. All they know is that they are not needed and not wanted in white America.

A decade ago the situation was different. In response to the spontaneous ghetto explosions which rocked the 1960s, the American ruling class made a deliberate effort to buy off ambitious,

Marion Barrys, Ron Dellums, Coleman Youngs—pacified the ghettos too well for the good of their younger brothers and sisters. U.S. imperialism, with its trillion dollar Pentagon budget to destroy the Soviet Union, can no longer afford to buy off "the talented tenth" and, moreover, sees no need to. Corporations and government agencies which ten years ago actively recruited black students now have no use for them and in any case money's tight. Blacks have again become, in novelist Ralph Ellison's phrase, invisible men. When, for example, was the last time Hollywood made a popular film like *Shaft*, where the super-cool hero takes on the white man's world (in this case the Mafia) and wins? Black student youth see no place for their talents, skills and ambitions in Reagan's America.

So they dream of another nation, where they will be the ruling elite. And in comes that peddler of dreams, Stokely Carmichael. Of course, the members and supporters of the AAPRP are not going back to Africa, nor would they be welcomed by the Africans if they did. The one successful back-to-Africa movement in history produced Liberia, where the descendants of American

terror against the Ndebele people in Zimbabwe), and generating an impoverishment of the masses that is often more brutal and desperate than that experienced under imperialism. The emancipation of black Africa no less than the emancipation of American blacks is the program of proletarian revolution. In Africa, it is the deeply exploited, powerful black proletariat of South Africa who hold in their hands the destiny of the continent.

In the U.S. Pan-Africanism in a sense resembles Zionism in Europe in the first years of this century. Zionism was then the movement of a small current of Jewish intellectuals who preached that Jews had no future in Western society. But American Pan-Africanists are not likely to find an imperialist sponsor as the British sponsored the Zionist colonization of Palestine after the First World War. So fortunately no African people is likely to be turned into dispossessed Palestinians by Pan-Africanist colonizers.

Pan-Africanism Does Not Sell to Black Workers

Black working people have no use for black Zionism. As they face the full

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

No Negotiated Sellout—Leftist

EL SALVADOR AFL

We print below an edited and abridged transcript of a public talk given by Jan Norden, Workers Vanguard editor and Spartacist League Central Committee member, at Harvard University on March 13.

I'd like to begin by quoting something from the Colombian author Gabriel García Márquez, who is frequently cited as a great advocate of Central American revolution. García Márquez recently received the Nobel Prize for Literature, and in his acceptance speech at a ceremony in Stockholm he explained that his own surrealistic writings about Latin America reflected the terrifying and even maddening reality of Latin America. He quoted a Florentine navigator who accompanied Magellan around Tierra del Fuego, the "land of fire" where he reported, accurately, that he had seen fantastical beasts, clawless birds whose hens laid eggs on the backs of their mates, a misbegotten creature with the head and ears of a mule, a camel's body, the legs of a deer and the whinny of a horse. The chronicler of Macondo went on: "Our independence from Spanish domination did not put us beyond the reach of madness. General Antonio López de Santanà, three times dictator of Mexico held a magnificent funeral for the right leg he had lost in the so-called Pastry War.... General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez, the theosophical despot of El Salvador who had 30,000 peasants slaughtered in a savage massacre, invented a pendulum to detect poison in his food, and had street lamps draped in red paper to defeat an epidemic of scarlet fever."

His point was that such a surreal reality is what produces novels of tyrannical sadism such as Miguel Angel Asturias' *El Señor Presidente*, Bastos Roa's *Yo, El Supremo* and García Márquez' own *Autumn of the Patriarch*. General Hernández Martínez actually seems like a caricature of the Central American dictator in the movie, *The In-Laws*. He declared, for instance, that "It is good that children go barefoot. That way they can better receive the beneficial effluvia of the planet, the vibrations of the earth. Plants and animals don't use shoes." Here's another of his "scientific" gems: "Biologists have discovered only five senses. But in reality there are ten. Hunger, thirst, procreation, urination, and bowel movements are the senses not included in the lists of biologists." And from this same Caligula came the

comment that, "It is a greater crime to kill an ant than a man, because when a man dies he is reincarnated, while an ant dies forever." Yet to the American ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, this genocidal general was "a hero" because he provided "order," that "precondition for all other public goods." And today, she notes, many of the death squads call themselves "Hernández Martínez Brigades, seeking thereby to place themselves in El Salvador's political tradition and communicate their purposes"! What's in a name!

That was back in 1980, in a paper for the American Enterprise Institute, one of the right-wing think tanks, on "Order, Authority and Legitimacy in Central America." Lately, Kirkpatrick has been hobnobbing with some of her contemporary "heroes." In Nicaragua, you may recall, she saw General Anastasio Somoza III as the prototype of the "moderately authoritarian" friend of Western democracy. Somoza's mercenary National Guard butchered more than 50,000 people, overwhelmingly youth, in a desperate effort to hold onto power. In some towns such as Monimbo and Estelí the Guard killed any boy they could find over the age of 14. Or in Guatemala there is a born-again dictator, General Efraín Ríos, who says he was elected by god and consults with him regularly on matters of state—while carrying out ethnocidal attacks on Mayan Indian villages, slaughtering more than 9,000 in the space of a few months last year. And in El Salvador there is the honorable president of the "constituent assembly," Roberto D'Aubuisson, who got his nickname "Blowtorch Bob" from torturing "subversives" with a blowtorch up their anus. In Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador alone, just during the last five years, more than 120,000 people have been

Military victory of the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas will open the road to workers revolution.



slaughtered by mercenary armies and blood-crazed death squads.

But back to García Márquez. For the masses of Latin America, condemned to a miserable existence in ramshackle shantytowns and hard-scrabble villages while a handful of oligarchs—*Las Catorce* they're called in El Salvador, "the 14 families"—inhabit palatial mansions and own tens of thousands of acres of incredibly productive land—for the working people their oppression is as bestial as anything in García Márquez' novels. But his appeal to the surreal is really a nationalist protest against what he calls "the interpretation of our reality through patterns not our own." This corresponds politically to the nationalists who say—in answering our Marxist politics, the politics of the

Spartacist League—who say, "only we Salvadorans (or Chileans or whatever) can say what needs to be done." But Hitler was even more grotesque than the hyena-strongmen of Central America, and it certainly wasn't just a matter for Germans to say how to fight Nazi fascism. Moreover, it's clear that much of the agony of these tortured lands stems from the domination of American imperialism, intimately connected with the domestic rulers, from the most "liberal" to the most reactionary. Reagan has put Central America onto the center stage of world politics, and it does no good to just tell him to go away. Because the struggle there directly affects the struggle here, and vice-versa.

But above all the struggle in Central America like every other region of the world is subject to the general laws of history, laws which have been drawn from the struggle of working people and oppressed of all countries as reflected and analyzed by the scientific method and program of Marxism. And as in any science, the power of Marxism lies in its ability to predict, and thus to help guide the struggle. As Leninists and Trotskyists, we stand on the achievements and traditions of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, an event which changed the course of history. For the first time there the workers took their destiny into their own hands, based on the rule of soviets and led by a Bolshevik communist party, they and their comrades throughout the world fought for international proletarian revolution. They created the Communist International because they firmly believed that they were able to make a revolution in Russia because of the *international* struggle for a revolutionary program during World War I, and that the same would be true for the rest of the world.



May 3, 1981: Anti-Imperialist Contingent at Washington, D.C. El Salvador demo fights for Salvadoran leftist military victory.

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Speaker: Jan Norden
Editor, *Workers Vanguard*
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For Workers Revolution—N

Left Rebels Must Win the War!

NAME!



We today as the international Spartacist tendency are continuing that struggle by fighting to reforge the Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky, as the world party of socialist revolution.

It was the gravedigger of revolution, Stalin, who imposed the counterrevolutionary doctrine of "socialism in one country." What that meant was that the Soviet leadership, the conservative and privileged bureaucratic caste which had usurped power following the death of Lenin, denied any responsibility for making world revolution. This was the result of the isolation of backward Russia with its peasant majority, the decimation of the Russian working class in the civil war, and the defeat—the repeated defeats—of revolution in the West, social processes which then were reflected in a *political* counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. The Communist International became mere "border guards" of the USSR. But as comrade Trotsky pointed out, this was a grave attack on the security of the Soviet Union itself, for without international extension of the revolution to the most advanced capitalist countries, the future of the Soviet peoples was threatened. Stalin soon developed his nationalist-reformist program further, with the "two-stage" revolution, the popular front and so on. They all stood in the way of proletarian revolution in the name of the "democratic" revolution, the "anti-fascist" revolution, the "anti-imperialist" revolution and what have you. And that led to a series of bloody defeats, from China in 1927 to Chile in 1973.

Forward to San Salvador!

So much by way of introduction. Tonight I want to talk about the

program for *permanent revolution* in Central America, beginning with a discussion of the so-called "guerrilla road" and the popular front. These two strategies have been the dominant themes of Latin American left politics for the past 20 years. The Castro/Guevara-inspired guerrilla struggles dominated the '60s and every single one of them ended in defeat, and usually in the annihilation of a whole generation of leftists. The popular front, particularly in Allende's Chile, led to a disaster which most people are familiar with. Now in Central America there has been an attempt to combine these two roads to defeat on the part of various Stalinist and nationalist forces. But whether presented as "prolonged people's war" or "popular armed insurrection" or some other variant, they all attempt to tie the working masses to a sector of their exploiters—and that spells disaster. The Trotskyist answer is for the *proletariat*, the workers, to lead the struggle for power, unleashing a peasant war throughout Central America, and extending workers revolution from the middle American isthmus to Mexico and throughout the hemisphere.

To begin with where we stand, then. The Spartacist League calls for *military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador*. The present state apparatus is that of the military dictatorship which has been in power continuously since the infamous *matanza*, or massacre, of 1932. It is what protects the rapacious landowners; it spawns the death squads, who are just soldiers and cops in plain clothes. If even a section of this kill-crazed apparatus remains intact, if these people—who are *all* pathological *killers*—are walking free, then it threatens a repeat of that *matanza*, only this time they are talking of a "peace of

200,000 dead." For the Salvadoran masses the choice really is "revolution or death." And if the rebels win on the battlefield, smashing the genocidal "security forces," the Salvadoran masses will not be content with a few cosmetic reforms. The most fundamental demands of the working people—for land, for freedom from grinding poverty, for emancipation from the imperialist yoke—cannot be met without overthrowing capitalist rule. Leftist military victory opens the door to workers revolution, which is why the reformists, nationalists and imperialist liberals fear that no less than do the Reaganite reactionaries and their fascist Salvadoran allies.

The Spartacist League also says that *defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador*. Reagan has repeatedly made it clear that Salvador is the "front line" of his global war to "roll back Communism." His ultimate aim is to reverse the historic gains of socialized property and the planned economy in the Soviet bloc states. Now a lot of petty-bourgeois radicals are sympathetic to Castro's Cuba, but don't understand what Russia has to do with it. Let's put it this way: if the Soviet Union didn't exist, the drug traffickers and casino owners would long since have returned to Havana under U.S. "free world" auspices. You see the USSR is the economic and military bastion of the countries that have thrown off the chains of capitalist exploitation. That's why it's Reagan's real target—as he put it, the issue in the Caribbean isn't nutmeg, and the U.S. isn't spending a billion dollars in Central America just to protect the coffee growers. On the other hand, the Stalinist bureaucrats—from colorful types like Castro to the dull gray conservatives of the Kremlin—fear extension of the revolution beyond their borders. And that is why, the State

nationalists really get the shakes. They want to claim that the issue of "communism" is a red herring, and just call for "self-determination" for Central America—as if butchers like El Salvador's D'Aubuisson and Guatemala's Ríos Montt weren't home-grown! You see, there's a civil war going on in Central America, and it's right in the center of imperialism's global anti-Soviet war drive. The reformist-nationalists want to deny it; they want to call off the civil war, calling for a "negotiated settlement" or a "political solution," by which they mean the opposition will get "a share of the power." The genuine communists—and there are a lot of imposters around—the Trotskyists take the side of the working people out of class solidarity and fight for them to *win*. The reformists want an alliance with the so-called "doves," the imperialist liberals who disagree with the way Reagan is waging the *bipartisan* war on Communism. So when the Spartacist League shows up the reformists and nationalists and liberals all see red. Those of you who have participated in various El Salvador protests in recent years will probably have witnessed how the official organizers—whether it's CISPES, the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party or Workers World—they resort to thug attacks and even, in fact repeatedly, calling in the capitalist cops to keep out the Trotskyists of the SL, because we call for leftist military victory and defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Just as an aside, the CISPES types pretend that the U.S. could have a different, less "anti-people" foreign policy if only the madman Reagan were replaced by the Democrats. Well, as Marxists we warn that the imperialist tiger can't change its stripes. If you look at the history of the 20th century you'll see that the Marines went into Nicara-



March 17, 1980: Salvadoran workers stage one-day political general strike against murderous junta.

Department to the contrary, they have *refused* to adequately aid the Salvadoran rebels. So we Trotskyists call for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist betrayers, while we unconditionally defend the USSR. Cuba and the other deformed workers states against imperialism. And we say openly: leftist rebels need Russian guns.

That's when the reformists and

gua, Haiti and the Dominican Republic under liberal Democrat Wilson; Somoza and Trujillo and Batista all came to power with the aid of the U.S. under Franklin D. Roosevelt; the Bay of Pigs and the Cuban missile crisis were Kennedy's doing, the Santo Domingo invasion was by LBJ and Carter's last act before leaving office was to restore U.S. military aid to El Salvador and send in American "advisers." The Democrats brought you the Bay of Pigs and the Gulf of Tonkin, as we say. The problem is not just a particular foreign policy—it's the imperialist system, and it's necessary to *defeat* it, by *socialist revolution* abroad and at home. That's what's behind another of the sharp

continued on page 8

Not Popular Front Betrayal!

El Salvador...

(continued from page 7)

differences between the communists and reformists: the CISPES bunch have a slogan "No more Vietnams." You've got to remember that many of them used to go around chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, NLF is gonna win" and Che Guevara's slogan, "Two, Three, Many Vietnams." But now they're appealing to the liberals who think, "we lost in Vietnam." Who's "we" baby?! The Spartacists say, "Vietnam was a victory—two, three, many defeats for imperialism!"

Just look at the developments in the last couple of months in Central America. We've just witnessed the biggest sustained guerrilla offensive in El Salvador since the beginning of the civil war there three years ago. Beginning last October, the leftist rebels of the FMLN swept out of the hills and took over more than 40 towns at the height of the fighting. The government suffered more than 1,000 dead, wounded and captured by the end of the year (for a total of 3,000 losses in 1982, out of a total army strength of only 22,000—that's a very high casualty rate). The FMLN further demoralized the junta military by releasing captured soldiers to the Red Cross, thus encouraging others to surrender. As a U.S. psy-war specialist said, "These freedmen are more dangerous to the army than a 120-mm. howitzer." The successful October offensive was then quickly followed up by the campaign "Revolutionary Heroes of January." The insurgents blew up all but one bridge across the Lempa River, so that the country was effectively divided in half. Following that they took over a town of 40,000, Berlin, which is one of the coffee centers of the country, held it for several days and then withdrew intact.

So one comment on the military situation, about the same point: how the popular front blocks the road to victory. Just a word on the popular front. This dogma was put forward by Stalin in the '30s, basically arguing that the enemy in country "x" would be fascism, or in another country it would be imperialism and in another country it would be the oligarchy, and so on, and therefore the workers would have to ally with the supposed "anti-fascist" sector of the bourgeoisie, or the "anti-imperialist" or "anti-oligarchic" sector, and there would be a "democratic, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, etc." revolution. The point was to find an excuse to tie the masses to a sector of their exploiters, in order to prevent them from going beyond the limits of capitalism. This was tried out in Spain, where it was the "anti-fascist" struggle against Franco. That meant there would be no proletarian revolution, and the Stalinists systematically persecuted, locked up and murdered any revolutionaries who attempted to organize the working class to take over the factories and farms.

The high point of the proletarian struggle in Spain came in May 1937,

when the Stalinists mobilized the capitalist state apparatus—the police and army—to crush a workers uprising in Barcelona. And basically from then on until the end of the war it was all downhill, because they had crushed the proletarian revolution which was the only real resistance to Franco. That's why the Francoists were able to pass. Because fundamentally when push comes to shove, when there is an actual possibility of the workers taking power, there is no sector of the capitalists that is going to side with a workers revolution against the fascists. As Trotsky put it, the popular front and fascism are not opposites, they are the two last defenses

Kalusny/Stern



negotiate, while you continue to fight. That way everyone will be happy." The problem comes if the fighting is successful, if the government army takes to its heels, what's going to be left to negotiate? So that with the FMLN's latest dramatic gains on the battlefield, the perspectives of military victory for the leftist rebels vs. a compromise "political solution" with the military butchers have become immediately and directly counterposed.

We've been saying this for a while, that the leaders of the insurgents don't want to win the war. And many people say: "If they don't want to win the war, why do they fight?" The answer is they have a strategy of military pressure. Just for example, at the height of the recent fighting, FDR spokesman Rubén Zamora, who's a dissident Christian Democrat, held a press conference in Washington and according to the *Guardian*—that's our local voice of the popular front—said, "Zamora cautioned that the FMLN is not trying to achieve a military victory in El Salvador, because the country's problems must be 'solved through dialog, through negotiation,

Gusanos training in the Florida Everglades (left). American B-26 bomber shot down at the Bay of Pigs (below).

Marzani & Munsell



of the bourgeoisie against proletarian revolution. The capitalists understand their class interests, and our job as communists is to educate the proletariat internationally in what *its* interests are and to pose a revolutionary leadership that can take it to victory.

Now in El Salvador there is a popular front. It's called the Revolutionary Democratic Front, the FDR. It's allied with a guerrilla coalition called the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, the FMLN. They basically form a unit politically. While the FMLN has the various "politico-military" organizations, the FDR also includes nominal social democrats—in this case they're small-time liberal bourgeois politicians, Christian Democrats, a small businessmen's organization and so on. And the program of the FDR/FMLN is for a "negotiated solution." Now you can imagine that if you're a guerrilla out in the field, it took you a lot of trouble to get that gun that you have in your hand, quite possibly some other comrade of yours held that gun until he or she was shot down by the army, and you are told that you may have to lay down that gun—which is your only protection against an army that has slaughtered 50,000 people—you have to lay down that gun in order to get negotiations with General García. So you can imagine that a lot of the fighters in the field are, to say the very least, uneasy about this.

Well, there have been a lot of tensions in the FDR/FMLN over this, so up until now they've sort of had a division of labor. FDR leader Manuel Ungo says, in effect, "look I understand that you, the guerrillas, are nervous about this, so here's what we'll do. I'll fight the battle of the cocktail circuits in Washington and Mexico City and Paris and

and not... a military solution.' To win only in a military sense," he said, "could mean 'to lose in the end.' One purpose of military pressure is to insure that the U.S. administration eventually will accept a negotiated solution that gives the rebel forces a share of the power." Now, I'll come back to that question of a "share of the power" and "losing in the end"—it's a question of *who* loses; what class. But the point is that they themselves state that their policy is one of military pressure. In other words, they're trying to turn the screws, but not too hard because that risks destroying the army. And if that happens, their political program for reforming the army and reforming the capitalist system isn't going to be worth the paper it's written on.

So I'd just like to lay out some elements of the Trotskyists' program in El Salvador and Central America. The key thing is that in the period of imperialism the bourgeoisie is not going

to carry out even the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution. Take the agrarian question, which was one of the key factors in the 1789 French Revolution; there is no sector of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie that is going to expropriate all the landed estates. Their owners are part of the same families as the people who own the industry. Nor can they break with imperialism, because they are essentially a branch-office bourgeoisie. The local branch of Coca-Cola is not going to turn into an anti-imperialist fighter. What instead is necessary is for the working class to stand at the head of the peasantry, to lead the peasantry in a struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, working-class rule. And the key to that is building a Leninist-Trotskyist party which can lead that struggle.

First of all the agrarian revolution. Not just an agrarian reform, with some government bureaucrats going around and handing out titles to the land which two years later another government can come back in and say those were illegally handed out and they're no good; but instead to sweep away all of the large landed estates and to give the land to the peasants who farm it. Furthermore, in El Salvador where you have a huge number of agricultural workers and landless peasants—almost half the rural population—it's not just going to be a matter of handing little plots to the peasants, but it's going to require in many cases immediate collectivization. They're already working on large modern capitalist estates.

Then there is the question of national emancipation. El Salvador is a tiny little country that shouldn't really exist. Central America was once a single country. The reason it is not today a single nation is that the ranchers and the large landowners together with the imperialists conspired against and destroyed the Central American Union in the 1820s and 1830s. Ever since achieving "independence" from Spain every attempt at unifying the region under capitalist rule has shattered on the shoals of economic competition. For example, the Central American Common Market blew up in 1969 with the so-called "football war" between El Salvador and Honduras. The reason was that the Hondurans were worried about their market being taken up by Salvadoran products. We have called for a Central American workers republic or alternatively for a federation of soviet republics, as part of a Socialist United States of Latin America. The course of the struggle will determine the particular form. But the point is there cannot be a genuine union of Central America except under working-class rule.

It's also necessary to expropriate the imperialists in order to achieve national emancipation in the semi-colonial regions. The imperialist bourgeoisie not only owns companies there, it also controls the marketing mechanism. In Nicaragua, for example, they've just nationalized the banana industry, whereupon the banana companies in the U.S. are preventing them from distributing Nicaraguan bananas in this

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country. The only reason that Cuba has been able to survive is because the Soviet Union buys up all its sugar at 40 cents a pound. Today on the world market sugar is six cents a pound. But there's only so much sugar that the Soviet Union can absorb, and you're not going to get all these countries breaking out of the imperialist orbit by getting on the USSR welfare gravy train. It's going to take struggle that overthrows that system at the source—in the United States. Simply to obtain national independence it is necessary to carry out a workers revolution, establishing workers and peasants governments.

In El Salvador and Nicaragua and elsewhere, we call for soviets. This name grew out of the Russian Revolution—it's a Russian word meaning councils. And what it basically says is that the democratic mass organs of the revolutionary struggle are going to become the state. There is a genuine historical basis in Latin America, by the way, for soviets. For instance, in El Salvador in 1932, at the time of the peasant uprising led by the Communist Faribundo Martí, the insurgents attacked the garrison at Santa Tecla shouting, "Viva la republica soviética!" In Bolivia in 1970 they had something called the Popular Assembly which could possibly have become a soviet. In Chile in 1973 there appeared something called the *cordones industriales*, which were sort of regional factory committees. They were called by different names, but they could have become bases for soviet power, where you have genuine workers democracy, where you could fight out politically what is the correct program for the revolution. That's what you don't have in a bureaucratically deformed workers state like Cuba. Workers democracy is the key to being able to establish a regime that can open the door to socialist revolution.

Key to all this is building a Trotskyist party, whose role is to educate and lead the proletariat in carrying out its historic tasks. It is the collective memory of the working class, the instrument to fight the various misleaders who want to tie the working class to their oppressors. It's also a tribune of the people, fighting on behalf of all the oppressed, leading the struggle for the liberation of women, for instance, and of oppressed minorities. As against this consider Nicaragua, where the Sandinistas to preserve a "mixed economy" and "national unity" have tried to conciliate the Catholic church. And that means no right to abortion for women.

Also a communist vanguard must be an international party, because the struggle of the working class is international. The real key to the struggle in El Salvador is to extend it to all of Central America and above all to Mexico and to the United States. In Mexico, you have a five-million-strong proletariat with heavy industry. A lot of steel imports

into this country come from Mexico, because production techniques in Monterrey are more advanced than in American steel even though Mexico's a relatively backward capitalist country. Mexico is the real basis for workers revolution in Central America.

Furthermore, right now Mexico is in one hell of a mess. When Reagan talks about fighting along the border on the Rio Grande, it's not just an apocalyptic vision. They've got an oil crisis, they've got an international monetary crisis, wages are being cut, there is mass unemployment. And the working masses could in fact be forced into militant struggle which under revolutionary leadership could lead to a tremendous explosion in that country.

But the reformists and nationalists all support the policy of the Mexican government for a negotiated solution in El Salvador and Nicaragua. The reason the Mexican bourgeois government has that policy is that if there is a leftist military victory in Central America it threatens the stability of their own class rule. These so-called leftists do not wage a revolutionary struggle against the Mexican government but instead try to push it to the left.

In the U.S. we also stress that it is necessary to have working-class struggle against American intervention. We call for labor to boycott and hot cargo all military goods to El Salvador. And in the face of a major escalation such as today, we call for shutting down the ports in a one-day protest strike. And there are in fact class-struggle militants whom we politically support in the unions who are attempting to do that.

We try to mobilize the working class from El Salvador to Detroit, and not just in solidarity struggle but in general revolutionary struggle. We call for labor/black mobilizations against the racist terror against blacks. We call for sit-down strikes against the mass unemployment that auto workers are facing among others. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League are attempting to forge the kind of vanguard in this country that can lead the struggle internationally for workers revolution. ■

Kirkpatrick...

(continued from page 3)

amusing "Mrs. Kirkpatrick Seems Stung by Disbelief Among Allies and Other Latin Nations"). "Is it any wonder," Kirkpatrick is quoted as sneering, "that the Nicaraguan people, versed as they are in recognizing tyrants, would turn increasingly against those whom they originally believed to be their liberators?"

Is it any wonder, that faced with the likes of Kirkpatrick, Berkeley students staged a mass puke-in? To raise the question of "free speech" in this context

is a grotesque joke. In a personal and direct way, Kirkpatrick must be responsible for exhorting the outright murder of maybe 15,000 persons a year. As odious as her views may be, it is her deeds as a certified war criminal—no different from the top Nazis who got theirs at Nuremberg—that evoke justified protest. Will Martin Bormann be invited to deliver next year's "Jefferson Lectures" on "Human Rights and Wrongs in Nazi Germany"? When Columbia University offered an academic post to Dr. Henry Kissinger six years ago, it was understood that student and faculty opposition had nothing to do with his various views—which occasionally had the redeeming quality of originality in contrast to Kirkpatrick's mouthing of every dumb, lying homily of the "free world." The Spartacus Youth League (SYL), which led the successful campaign to keep Kissinger off campus, wrote then:

"There are, at Columbia University, a plethora of right-wing professors fully capable of arguing in defense of American imperialist involvement in Vietnam. The ventilation of such opinion is a legitimate exercise of academic freedom. But Kissinger is not an academic apologist.... He is a shameless architect, the principal orchestrator, of the Christmas bombing of Vietnam; the coordinator of the Forty Committee which encouraged the Chilean right in preparation for the bloody junta...the principal living symbol of the mass murder and destruction by which American imperialism has become known worldwide."

Truthfully, Kirkpatrick received a fraction of what she deserves. Justice demands that this war criminal face a trial by her victims—and to this end the SYL at Berkeley put a motion to the student senate that Kirkpatrick be extradited to a liberated province in El Salvador. Our motion was counterposed to those advocating any apology or "explanation" and was narrowly defeated by a vote of 10-7. Both the *Wall Street Journal* (10 March) and the *Moonies' Washington Times* (16 March) in their respective articles demanding reprisals against the student protesters, singled out this motion. "Rules are on the books to be sure, but not a single student was called to task for infringing on the ambassador's right to speak," the *Journal* wails. The *Washington Times* article (which bears striking similarity to that of the *Wall Street Journal*) concludes that "The obvious solution is to suspend (or expel) students who engage in outrageous behavior...." The "concern" of the bourgeois press has less than nothing to do with academic "freedom"—but with the quashing of protest against U.S.-backed butchery in Central America. The articles carry an unmistakable warning: protest is barely tolerated and university softness on the "red menace" is not to be tolerated at all.

While grovelling before the

Administration and Regents (whose chairman happens to be a "longtime friend" of Kirkpatrick) and "deploring" the protest, neither the Berkeley administration nor faculty have endorsed reprisals against the Berkeley protesters. The student senate, while adopting a compromise "letter of apology" to Kirkpatrick, maintained that "the anger and distress that brought about these protests was, and remains, legitimate" and that Kirkpatrick's policies "implicitly endorse torture, murder and repression." No Apologies—No Reprisals! Keep War Criminal Kirkpatrick On the Run! Extradite Kirkpatrick to a Salvadoran Liberated Zone to Be Tried by Her Victims! ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

chanted "Contras no, obreros si, overthrow the bourgeoisie!" and "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua needs MIGs!" Around the corner, a roughly equal number of reformists shouted lamely that "the people united will never be defeated." This is a lie—the workers "united" with their exploiters will always be defeated, as in Chile in 1973. The refusal of the Chilean workers parties to mobilize the proletariat independently of the bourgeoisie and its army, their faith in the "democratic officers," set the stage for the CIA-backed coup that brought down the Allende government and drowned the working class in blood.

The reformists in the U.S. want unity with the anti-Soviet Democratic Party liberals, and so they consider our call for military defense of Cuba and the USSR to be a "provocation." We chanted "Remember Bay of Pigs, Remember Vietnam! Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!" While the reformists appeal to the capitalist politicians, the SYL looks to the power of the working class to get the U.S. out of Central America: for example, to the militants in the West Coast longshore union who are fighting for a port shutdown to stop weapons shipments to El Salvador. As the Reagan gang itself daily makes clear, U.S. imperialism's war against the Central American workers and peasants is part and parcel of its global anti-Soviet war drive. Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in Central America!

Defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution and the insurgent masses elsewhere in Central America requires hard class struggle in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast—struggle against the Reaganite reactionaries, and equally, struggle against the imperialist "liberals" and their reformist hangers-on. Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! Kill the Invaders! Smash Reagan's Nicaraguan Bay of Pigs! ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

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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

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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.: 210 7th St. S.E., Suite E12, Washington, D.C. 20003, or call (202) 636-3537

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Pan-Africanism...

(continued from page 5)

unity and militancy into a pressure tactic and election rally for the Democrats. It is necessary to oust the Kirklands and Frasers and to replace them with a revolutionary leadership, including a strong black component.

Just what such a revolutionary leadership could do was dramatically demonstrated in Washington last November 27. When the Ku Klux Klan threatened to march in the nation's capital, over 5,000 trade unionists and youth, overwhelmingly black, responded to the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization's call to stop them... and we did.

This most successful anti-fascist action since the 1930s was a challenge not only to the black liberal establishment but also the Pan-Africanist sectarians, both opposed to militant black struggle. Washington Congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy denounced "the Tarzan Trotskyites" who had led the black workers and youth against the Klan. Marion Barry, after granting the KKK permission to march in his city, left town for a mayors' conference in California where he got his marching orders from Reagan. And speaking in February at the University of the District of Columbia, Carmichael (a successor to Barry as chairman of SNCC) likewise denounced the anti-Klan action: "The reformist wants to stop the Klan. The revolutionary wants to make a society where there will be no Klan." By this he means the Pan-African utopia, not a multiracial socialist America. From Carmichael's perspective, stopping the Klan is a diversion from the Pan-African utopia. In his own way, Carmichael has a stake in the growth of the Klan to demonstrate that there can be no future for blacks in a multiracial society.

Carmichael Against the Panthers

We are far from the first to point out that Carmichael's brand of cultural nationalism strengthens the Klan. In the late 1960s Carmichael was in the *anti-communist, right wing* of the black nationalist current. He stood opposed to the Black Panthers who, while they rejected a working-class perspective in favor of a ghetto-lumpen orientation, defined themselves as "revolutionary nationalists" and "Marxist-Leninist" (i.e., Maoist-Stalinists). At a "Free Huey Newton" rally in Oakland in early 1968 Carmichael denounced Marxism as a "white" doctrine and went on:

"Communism is not an ideology suited for black people, period, period. Socialism is not an ideology fitted for black people, period, period, period."

—quoted in Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (1981)

This anti-communist tirade upset and infuriated his radical audience, black no less than white. Panther spokesman Bobby Seale, implicitly countering Carmichael, stated that the Panthers were not anti-white, "that's the Ku Klux Klan's game."

Privately the Panther leadership warned Carmichael "about moderating his anti-socialism thing." And when the Panthers openly broke with Carmichael a few months later, Newton attacked cultural nationalism as reactionary and declared "to be a revolutionary nationalist you would by necessity have to be a socialist." Newton went after Carmichael especially for his "honky"-baiting of white leftists:

"...the leadership of SNCC [under Carmichael] turned away from the white liberal, which was very good. I don't think they distinguished between the white liberal and the white revolutionary, because the white revolutionary is white also and they are very much afraid to have any contact whatsoever with white people.... So we don't suffer in the hangup of skin color. We don't hate white people; we hate the oppressor."

—Movement, August 1968

And while the oppressor was systematically gunning down the Panther leadership, Carmichael was jetsetting around neo-colonial Africa.

Maoism-Stalinism and Reagan Reaction

Following the split and disintegration of the Panthers in the early 1970s, the most serious, committed black radicals tended to join the multiracial "Marxist-Leninist" (i.e., Maoist-Stalinist) organizations. For example, a substantial section of the Detroit-based League of Revolutionary Black Workers fused with Nelson Peery's Communist League, soon to be Communist Labor Party. Other black radicals joined Mike Klonsky's now defunct October League-Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Union-Revolutionary Communist Party and Jerry Tung's Workers Viewpoint-Communist Workers Party. In this period the Spartacist League also won over activists from the black nationalist milieu, notably a circle in Los Angeles around a former dissident Panther, Joe Johnson. However, most black radicals went over to some version of Maoism-Stalinism. During the 1970s the overwhelming majority of black radicals considered Stokely Carmichael a bad joke, if they considered him at all. He was simply irrelevant.

But the betrayals of the Stalinists, both the Maoist and pro-Moscow varieties, helped produce the present reactionary political situation which has given Pan-Africanist escapism a new lease on life, at least among black students. When the New Left "Marxist-Leninists" turned to the working class in the early '70s, they did not bring a revolutionary program to set the base of the labor movement against the top or to fight racism in the labor movement. Rather the Maoists, just like the pro-Moscow Communist Party, ended up tailing slightly left-talking bureaucrats like Arnold Miller in the Mine Workers and Ed Sadlowski in the Steel Workers. Via the trade-union bureaucracy the New Left Maoists were absorbed back into Democratic Party coalition politics. And in some cases they did so directly. For example, in 1978 the Communist Labor Party ran General Baker, a former leader of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, in the Democratic primary for Michigan state assemblyman.

To the extent that Maoism had any influence in this country, it fed into Reagan reaction in a direct way. In the mid-'70s the Maoists were far more vocal, indeed hysterical, in attacking Soviet "hegemonism" than the mainstream of the Democratic and Republican parties. Their shrill warnings against the growing danger of Soviet "social-imperialism" fed into a political climate in which ghetto children are

being starved to finance MX missiles and Trident submarines.

Pan-Africanism Cannot Survive Black Struggle

The basic condition for the present influence of Pan-Africanist escapism among black students is the absence of significant black struggle against racist oppression. An upsurge of class and black struggle would wither the Stokelyite cult like a blast of cold air hitting an exotic and fragile plant. Once black workers take to the picket lines and the ghetto poor to the streets, those members and supporters of the AAPRP who have any feeling of identity with the black masses and genuine desire to smash racist oppression will be drawn into the struggle one way or the other. The main internal obstacle to black liberation is not Pan-Africanist pie-in-the-sky but the Democratic Party, the liberal face of the American capitalist class. The real danger is that a new wave of black militancy will be smothered by the layer of black bourgeois frontmen like Marion Barry.

The road to black liberation lies neither in pro-Democratic liberalism nor nationalist separatism but in *revolutionary integrationism*—the fight for the assimilation of black people into an egalitarian socialist society. That road is the road of the class struggle—the necessary fusion of the struggle for black freedom with the fight for proletarian revolution. The power of this program was demonstrated last November 27 when a 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the Klan from marching in the nation's capital.

There is no future for black people under capitalism. Black people in the U.S. are not a separate nation but a specially oppressed race/color caste segregated at the bottom of capitalist society, integrated into the economic life of the working class. Therefore, the question of revolution in America is the race question. There can be no social revolution in this country without united struggle of black and white workers led by a multiracial communist party, and there is nothing other than a workers revolution which can at last open the road for black people. ■

SYL Strategy...

(continued from page 2)

Merritt and Laney colleges also attempted to hold an action on that day. At least at Laney college, (whose well-meaning but inexperienced student government attempted to organize an action in only four days), the one day boycott was not passed off as the final solution, but as the beginning of a drive towards organizing a strike of all Peralta students, instructors and employees. Since there was so little time to organize a boycott action at Laney, most efforts were concentrated into organizing a rally for that day while calling for students and instructors to boycott their classes in solidarity with the actions at UCB and Merritt.

The action at Laney was called under the demands "No class cuts", "No layoffs", "No tuition", "Defend Ethnic Studies" (demands which the SYL has so often raised). While there were a few speakers at the rally who still clung to the idea of writing to congress and lobbying the Board of Trustees, most of the speakers called for militant student, instructor, employee action as the only effective way to fight. At Laney the SYL was in demand that day. I had notified the SYL of what was happening the night before and suggested that you show up, and on the day of the rally several other students made attempts to contact you so that you could speak at the rally. While it is logical that you would make the UCB and Merritt actions your priority, (no doubt they were larger and you have a base there), given the sentiment at Laney it was a mistake on your part not to have a speaker there.

However, much more serious is your

failure, in your article on the January 18 demonstration, to raise the demand for student, instructor, employee action to stop cutbacks and tuition. Your article instead concentrates on complaining about the actions of the Board of Trustees and criticizing the policies of other left organizations without saying anything about what needs to be done.

Your article and the demands of the demonstration (No fees or tuition, No hiring freeze, Defend Ethnic Studies) are insufficient in addressing the Peralta instructors and campus workers. Your demand "No Hiring Freeze" should have been backed up by the demand "No Lay-Offs".

The Peralta Board of Trustees is notorious for hiring non-unionized part time and temporary employees and instructors, making it impossible for them to become permanent employees, thereby avoiding paying them a decent salary and giving them benefits—and then carrying out massive lay-offs.

In *Young Spartacus* #79 (February 1980), again on Boston University, you wrote: "Campus workers and faculty would be much more powerful if they were united on one campus-wide union. A single union could replace the defeats rooted in the isolation of different sections of the campus workforce with victory through united action against the draconian BU administration."

You missed a very important point when you neglected to point this out in your article on the January 19 demonstration.

You write in *Young Spartacus* #106 that "Opposition to the cuts was stiffened by the arrogant and underhanded behavior of the Administration..." But what form do you think this opposition should take? You write: "Inside the Board Meeting itself three students from the Merritt SYL demanded that the cuts in ethnic studies be rescinded and pointed out that the root cause of these cuts is the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive." Since this article does not put forward an effective way to fight against the Board's attacks, someone not familiar with the SYL's history of militant class-struggle might be led by this to believe that you see making such demands on the Board as effective.

In the past you have put forward the correct program: "All university administrators engage in budget-slashing, union busting, political purges and victimization in the service of their bosses, the trustees; such is the nature of the university under capitalism." ("Dump Madman Silber!" *YSp* #79)

"We have had our pockets picked by tuition increases, been laid off, and have lost wages to inflation. So what is the administration anyway? It does nothing but serve the capitalist Board of Trustees in guaranteeing that BU leftists will be persecuted and that the staff and students will pay for the capitalist economic crisis. There is a simple enough democratic response to this situation. Abolish the Administration and the Board of Trustees; let those who work, study and teach at BU run the place." (from an SYL leaflet "Victory to the B&G Strike!" November 5, 1978)

Your article in the February 19 issue of *Young Spartacus* gives the impression that you view the January 19 demonstration as simply a token protest that will lead nowhere. Of course the problems we are facing are caused by the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive and the working class will be constantly under attack until this decaying system of capitalism is replaced with a workers government. However, it is necessary to wage a militant struggle against every attempt on the part of the capitalist government to put the burden of this rotting system on the backs of poor, working-class and minority people. The SYL has a unique history in doing just that. You have an opportunity to make a very effective intervention around the events taking place in the Peralta District. I hope you will choose to do so.

Lisa Smith,
Laney College student

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Herschel Walker Runs Into Bourgeois Racist Hypocrisy

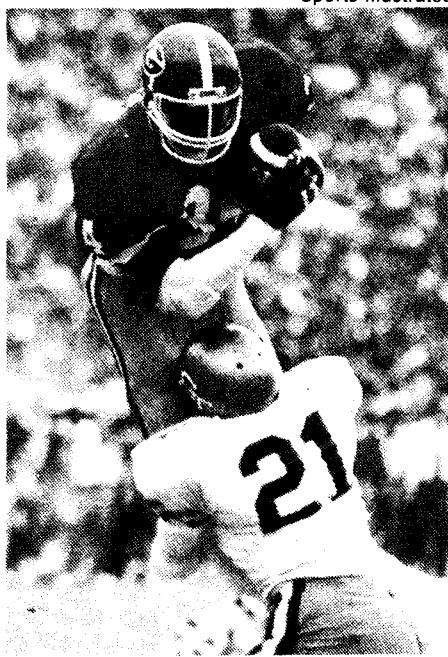
Herschel Walker, college's best football player, has become the subject of a furor that sheds light on the racist hypocrisy of amateur sports in this country. Walker, who won the Heisman Trophy in 1982, left the University of Georgia during his junior year and signed a three-year, \$3.9 million contract with the New Jersey Generals of the new United States Football League. Across the country, sports writers and college administrators deplored Walker's action with self-righteous sermonettes about the importance of getting a degree. "We've got to have the players with their college educations so they can move into their careers [outside football]," said Dallas Cowboys coach Tom Landry (*Sports Illustrated*, 7 March).

After four years of being knocked around on the playing field only a very few college football players make it into the pros. Most are tossed out into society with no education, no skills, and no prospect of getting a decent job. Of those who do make it, the ones who are not put out of commission by physical injury are soon replaced, as each year the colleges supply a new crop of fresher, younger, stronger players. And the class and race oppression of American society insures that the victims of this racket will overwhelmingly be black and working-class youth with few opportunities for advancement elsewhere.

In racist America stardom in sports is

often the only way out of the ghetto for black youth. Walker is one of the few with the talent to achieve what for millions will remain only a dream. City streets, welfare offices, gyms and playgrounds are filled with former high school and college stars who were just a step too slow to make it into the pros. Education isn't deemed necessary for those whom capitalism has already slated for joblessness: especially in the black community, public schools are little more than holding pens where the ABCs don't get taught. And the few black athletes who do get into college on scholarships are there to perform on the playing field, not in the classroom.

College basketball stars have been jumping to the NBA for years—no one raised a hue and cry when "Magic" Johnson quit school to join the L.A. Lakers. So why the sudden "concern" for Herschel Walker's diploma? College football is big business: TV rights and filled-to-capacity stadiums bring millions to the schools. As NFL commissioner Pete Rozelle put it, "Colleges are having financial problems. To many, football is the main source of revenue." The NFL has an "understanding" with the colleges: the colleges train the athletes for the pros, and the NFL doesn't offer the athletes contracts until they've been exploited for four years by the colleges. Concern for education has nothing to do with it: fully 71 percent of NFL players don't have degrees. College



Sports Illustrated

Running back Herschel Walker

coaches channel players into jock curricula where they frequently take nothing more useful than Theory of Push-ups 101. Frequent games and practices and extensive travel creates a situation in which "the coach often pressures the student-athlete to miss a class, drop a course, forget about studying for the exam scheduled for the next day" (*New York Times*, 27 March). Colleges recruit them and use them, but if an athlete does make it big in

collegiate football and decides to jump to the pros like Walker did, they vilify him.

Publicity about the recruiting practices of college athletics departments—such as giving a stipend to an athlete to turn off the lights in the gym once a week—has prompted the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) to "investigate" scores of colleges nationwide. The Spartacus Youth League demands open admissions to all colleges and universities, remedial programs for those who have suffered from inadequate education, and a living stipend paid for by the state for all students. But the coaches are covering their asses with a new rule which will further close off opportunities for black youth. Beginning in 1986, a high school athlete will need a minimum combined SAT score of 700 out of a possible 1,600 to be eligible for a scholarship in an NCAA school. And he will have to achieve a 2.0 grade point average out of a possible 4.0. It's an indictment of the public school system (as well as the race- and class-biased SATs) that less than 50 percent of black high school students have scored 700 in recent years. This new ruling prompted a threat by several of the 16 predominantly black colleges in the NCAA's major league division to leave the association. "I think it is patently racist," said Southern University president Dr. Jesse N. Stone, Jr.

Every four years at the Olympics, the U.S. raises a stink about the "professional" (i.e., subsidized) nature of Soviet sports—a hypocritical echo of the days when "sport" was the occupation of gentlemen of leisure. But, sports in America is big business and big bucks. In the college and professional leagues alike, capitalist athletics is a racist racket for profit. ■

Outrage...

(continued from page 12)

Sperl too) and is actually considering bringing the grieving mother up on a second-degree murder rap! On what grounds? "By leaving her child in a life-endangering situation," said the Orange County D.A. Yeah—being black in America.

At the funeral Patricia Ridge carried a stuffed Teddy bear—it was all she had left to remember her son. Poor, black and single, she couldn't even afford to fly Patrick's body back to Chicago and bury him near her family, but donations were raised for the expense. Patricia Ridge had moved with Patrick to Orange County last August. She went off welfare and had recently gotten a \$100-a-week job charging batteries at a Sears auto center. She couldn't afford a baby sitter. She had gone through the yellow pages, but in Orange County Patricia Ridge couldn't find any child care center that a poor black woman could afford. The government is closing the few federally funded day care centers, cutting back on aid to dependent children. Like hundreds of thousands of mothers, Patricia Ridge had been forced to choose between food, shelter and clothing for her family on the one hand, or day care. There is no way in this society she could afford it all. And then the state sends its killer cops after the children.

Every morning mothers leave their children at home agonizing over the possibility of a home accident, a boiler explosion, robbery, the all-too-common landlord arson. Now poor mothers must understand that the killer cops not only have a license to kill on the streets, their children are not safe from them even in their own bedrooms. The "ladies" of the Junior League who have nannies and maids for their offspring get real haughty about the "irresponsibility" of working mothers with their "key children." But Patrick Mason was sitting at home watching TV! And for that they're

going to bring his mother up on murder charges!

Last week Patricia Ridge filed a \$20 million wrongful death claim against the city of Stanton and against Sperl. Her lawyer Richard Farnell explained she had been forced to quit her job because of the emotional trauma of her son's murder. Patricia Ridge deserves all she can get from the killers of her child, but no amount of money can make up for this hideous act of racist murder.

The racism of the child-killer cops is matched only by their cowardice. Even in war, soldiers know the killing of children is a shameful thing. A 1959 West German movie, *The Bridge*, portrayed the last-ditch defense of a town on the Rhine by a squad of youth. They are blasted away by the American tanks. But the tough sergeants were struck with horror when they saw that the dead defenders were no older than Boy Scouts. Another example: in the movie *Dr. Zhivago*, there's a scene where some young cadets just out of the academy are sent by the Whites up against the Bolshevik cavalry. The victorious Bolsheviks are sick later to see the young bodies lying on the open field. Or in Mexico in 1847, when U.S. General Scott marched with his malaria-infected troops from Veracruz into Mexico City. The final battle was the scaling of the fortified hill of Chapultepec. On the crest stood the Mexican military academy valiantly defended by 100 boy cadets, *Los Niños*, who made a suicidal stand shouting "Viva México!" The American troops were mortified. But the L.A. killer cops are something else.

To engage in the slaughter of children, you have to be pretty degenerate—like Somoza who grooved on the fact that in the last days of his rule they killed 50,000 people in the cities, rounding up and shooting every boy age 14 and over. Or at the height of Stalin's purges, when the government authorized the execution of children down to the age of 12. The French Stalinists

cynically defended this horror, arguing that children mature fast under socialism! The Nazis, of course, had no compunction at all about killing women or children of "inferior" races—witness the bodies upon bodies piled up live by the SS Einsatzgruppen in mass graves at Babi Yar. The victims weren't seen as human. This kind of fascist mentality is now being seen in L.A. It was Chief Darryl Gates who last year said blacks die more often from choke holds than "normal people." This is a chilling indication of the rising line of racism in America.

As Orange County Deputy D.A. Tony Rackauckas told the press, "We're going to take to the grand jury the question of whether or not the police officer Anthony Sperl was below that high standard of professional conduct we have a right to expect." And just what are those "high standards"? The killer cops of Signal Hill, where black college football star Ron Settles was "hanged" in his cell after being picked up on a traffic ticket? The L.A. sheriff's deputies who just last April blasted nine-months pregnant Delois Young in the stomach and chest, killing her unborn child, when she opened the door at 2 a.m.? To say nothing of the kill-crazed LAPD who have strangled to death and shot down in cold blood dozens of innocent black victims in the past few years—and not one single killer cop has ever been convicted.

The savage murder of Patrick Mason has sparked repeated demonstrations and protests. Outraged telephone workers of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in Los Angeles CWA Local 11502 raised a motion in their union meeting demanding all charges and investigations against Patricia Ridge be dropped, the killer cop be jailed, and the local donate \$500 to the Patrick Mason Memorial Fund. MAC supporters told *WV* that the exec board instead passed a mealy-mouthed resolution and donated \$250 to the fund. A Partisan Defense Committee telegram to the Orange County D.A. has demanded all charges

and pending charges of Ridge be dropped and Sperl jailed.

In the ghettos and *barrios* of Southern California the kill-crazed police with their TAC squads and strike forces have singled out blacks and minorities for target practice. This mammoth killer elite with their 12-gauge shotguns and armored half-tracks, their cattleprods and choke holds, has an infinitely renewable license from the ruling class to kill blacks in Reagan's America. Statistics released last week show the LAPD kill rate is running 100 percent(!) higher than a year ago this time (*Herald Examiner*, 11 March).

It is necessary to build a strong labor/black defense effort to mobilize the workers movement, minorities and other targets of cop terror. It's not a question of impotent review boards to investigate the murders after the cops have kicked in the door. Reformist schemes like "community control" of police, or other calls for more black cops are patently absurd in Los Angeles where black mayor ex-top cop Bradley fronts for the racist massacre in the interests of the bourgeois class.

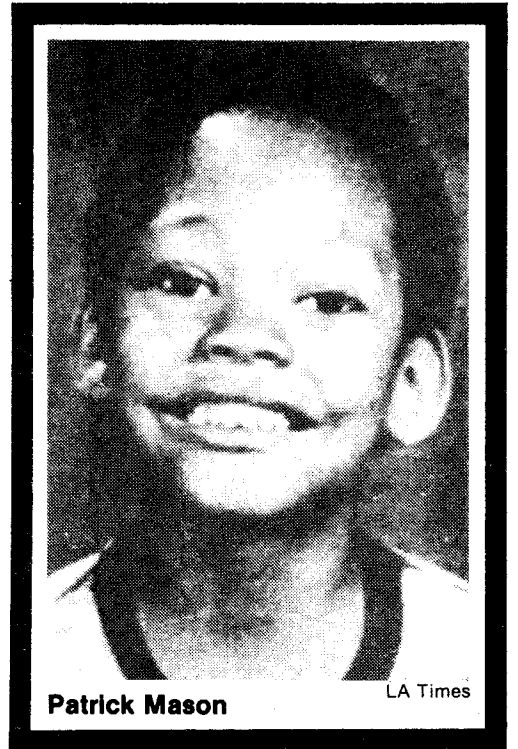
As for that cowardly killer Sperl with all of his "remorse": he should be made to pay for his unspeakable crime. Justice would be High Noon with the mother of that small black child given a 9 mm. Browning with a 13-round clip with one in the chamber, and the cop a toy pistol. A big realistic one so he can even pull the trigger during the duel. And just to make sure it's a fair fight, the eyeholes in his Klan hood can be cut very big so he can see well.

Sperl better be long gone by the time the working class takes state power. Him and FBI informer Gary Rowe (who was involved in killing the four black Sunday school girls in Birmingham), and the plainclothes cops in Montgomery, Alabama who recently shot and terrorized black mourners and are now trying to jail their victims for attempted murder. If they aren't, they'll wish they were. ■

Young Spartacus

Cop Killed 5-Year-Old Child, Now Black Mother is Tortured!

Stop This Racist Outrage!



Patrick Mason

LA Times

LOS ANGELES—As we go to press, additional information has emerged from the stench of racist “justice” surrounding the cop killing of five-year-old Patrick Mason on March 3 in the Orange County community of Stanton, California. Press accounts and a spokesman for the NAACP confirm that Stanton Police Department cop Sperl was *three feet* from the black child when he pulled the trigger. Even in a “darkened” room (at 5:30 p.m., with a window) you can certainly tell the difference between a five-year-old child with a red, plastic toy gun and a “set-up” from a distance of three feet! While the Stanton P.D. refused to disclose their standard firearm, we learned from both a local gun shop and the NAACP that they use .357 revolvers capable of firing either a .38 caliber or .357 magnum ammunition. And according to the testimony of neighbors, officer Sperl “talked with Nick Massaro, . . . and was told that Patricia [Patrick’s mother] worked and that she had a kindergarten-age son living with her” before he

entered the apartment (*Long Beach Press-Telegram*, 12 March). The building manager who let the cop into the apartment told the *Los Angeles Times* (15 March) that Sperl “entered with his gun in one hand and a flashlight in the other.” So, Sperl’s gun was already drawn when he entered the apartment he knew to be occupied by a working mother and her young son.

A grand jury is to be convened. Motivating the unusual procedure, County Deputy D.A. Rackauckas said, “I think it is clear that what we need here is a collective decision from a group of people who represent the conscience of the community” (*L.A. Times*, 10 March). We can guess the racial composition as well as the “conscience” of the Orange County grand jury! Too, Rackauckas initially had not intended to bring charges against Patricia Ridge. “At the time I said that, that was the very strong personal feeling I had,” he told the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (10 March). “A mother who left her son alone in the apartment comes back, her

son is dead, she’s suffering from this mourning. I just could not feature adding agony on top of the misery she was already suffering.” But now Patricia Ridge faces charges because a white cop blew her child away. Meanwhile the Orange County grand jury has not even met.

They have slapped a tight lid on the case; a gag rule has been imposed on all city officials by the city attorney and only police chief Ron Johnson is authorized to talk about the case. “From assistant apartment managers to desk sergeants to City Hall, there is no comment,” reports the *Long Beach Press-Telegram* (12 March). The ordinary demand, faced with this massive cover-up, is that Sperl be brought to trial on homicide charges for his hideous act. Even if it is a whitewash of a white cop, at least something factual or punitive would come out of it. But, considering that in this case the prosecution and the defense are one, there has to be despair not only about the obvious matter of some kind of justice but even of finding out something of the true facts. A five-year-old child is dead because he was black, his mother poor, and because the cops are racist killers. Our rulers and masters are very wise indeed to try to disappear this atrocity from the memory of black people. Everyone remembers the Birmingham, Alabama church bombing where four black children were slain. But you cannot even hope to avenge what you do not remember.

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“My god, the cops blew away a five-year-old black kid!” exclaimed decent people all across the country when they learned of the cold-blooded racist killing of little Patrick Mason in his home on March 3. Even in the Los Angeles area, where daily cop terror has had numbing effect, the horrifying story of the child-killer cop has brought a torrent of shock, tears and anger. The light from this single gun blast illuminates the whole brutal, vindictive racist system—of the cowardly cops as demented shock troops in capitalism’s war against black America.

The pattern is well known: the cops blame their victims. But in this case their victim is a dead child. So now they have found another victim. Incredibly they are blaming the little boy’s *mother* who—having had her only child mowed down—now faces a grand jury probe for

everything from child neglect to homicide! According to the *Los Angeles Times* (9 March), “Police officials . . . uncovered no wrong doing by Sperl,” the Orange County cop who kicked open Patrick Mason’s bedroom door, gun blazing, where the little boy had been at home alone quietly watching TV. Sperl claims he saw a gun, so “naturally” he pulled the trigger. Next to the small dead body was a small *red* plastic toy pistol. “Very realistic,” claimed the police. Oh yeah? How many cops carry red guns?

So vile a deed, but the papers are filled with disgusting excuses for the child-killer cop. We read that Sperl claims he saw a “shadowy figure” in the darkened room and the TV glare, he heard a “clattering noise” and became “panicky.” Now the newspapers say he is full of remorse. Bullshit! He went in for the kill. The Stanton apartment complex is considered “low income” and “anti-police.” (“Low income”? Patrick’s mother, Patricia Ridge, paid \$440/month in rent!) For the cops, these are code words for “race ghetto”—meaning it’s open season on black and minority residents. According to the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (10 March), the cops have hit the complex 430 times in the past 27 months!

Why did the cops barge into Patricia Ridge’s apartment in the first place? They keep changing their story. First they said they were following up a complaint about Patrick’s absence from kindergarten. Now they’re claiming Sperl had no reason to expect a child in the apartment. This is a lie. It has been reported that Sperl, on his way into the apartment, was told by kids in the building that Patrick lived there! But Sperl was conducting a search-and-destroy operation in “enemy territory.” If Patricia Ridge had been there that night, she might have been gunned down too.

As an LAPD commander noted, what Sperl did “would not have been against Los Angeles police policy” (*Herald Examiner*, 8 March). “What happened to Sperl could have happened to any officer in the field anywhere.” But in an effort to cover up, Patricia Ridge was blamed for child neglect, because she was out working. When her lawyer brought a multi-million dollar damage suit against the police department, they escalated this to homicide charges. A grand jury has actually been convened (which “evenhandedly” will investigate

continued on page 11

Spartacist Candidate for Oakland City Council Says “Jail Killer Cop!”

western union		Telegram					
MSG. NO.	DATE	PD-COLL.	CASH NO.	ACCOUNTING INFORMATION	DATE	FILING TIME	SENT TIME
	28 March 1983						
Anthony Rackauckas Orange County Deputy District Attorney 700 Civic Center Drive West Santa Ana, CA 92701							
THE VICIOUS MURDER OF FIVE-YEAR-OLD BLACK CHILD PATRICK MASON BY ORANGE COUNTY COP ANTHONY SPERL IS AN UNSPEAKABLE RACIST CRIME. THE COWARDLY SPERL FORCED HIS WAY INTO THE APARTMENT, KICKED IN THE BEDROOM DOOR AND SAVAGELY GUNNED DOWN A SMALL CHILD, KNOWING HE HAD A RACIST LICENSE TO KILL BECAUSE HIS VICTIM WAS BLACK. AS A CANDIDATE FOR OAKLAND CITY COUNCIL AND ON BEHALF OF OAKLAND CITIZENS OUTRAGED BY THIS COLD-BLOODED MURDER, I DEMAND THAT SPERL BE JAILED. THE GRAND JURY INVESTIGATION OF PATRICK'S MOTHER, PATRICIA RIDGE, MUST BE STOPPED. IT IS A GROTESQUE ATTEMPT TO WHITEWASH THE KILLER. JAIL KILLER COP SPERL. DROP ALL CHARGES AND INVESTIGATIONS AGAINST PATRICIA RIDGE.							
Martha Phillips Spartacist Party Campaign Committee							
copy to: Patrick Mason Memorial Fund P.O. Box 3071 Costa Mesa, CA 92626.							

Above, telegram sent by Martha Phillips, Spartacist candidate for Oakland City Council member-at-large. Phillips stated that Patrick Mason’s murder shows again the *only* priority of the police in this sick society: to guard the capitalist order through bloody terror against black people and the working class as a whole.