

Young Spartacus

NUMBER 127

25 CENTS

X-523

MAY 1985

From Harlem to Soweto - The Only Solution: Workers Revolution!



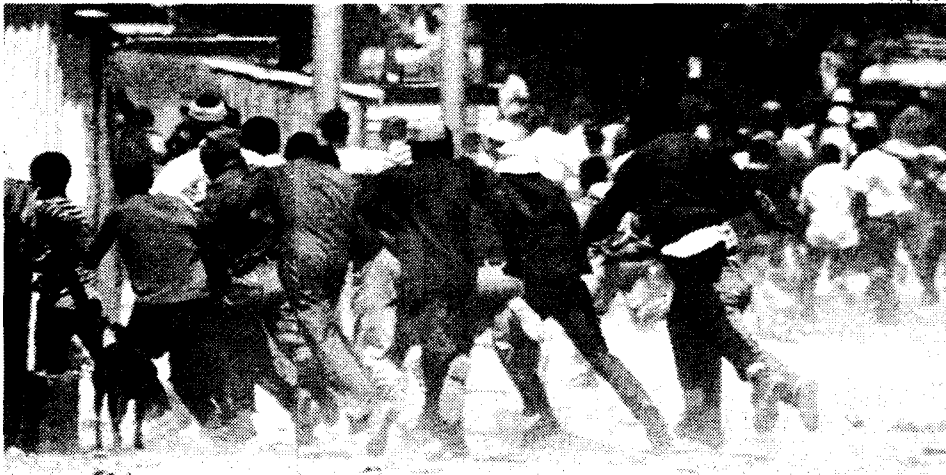
Young Spartacus Photo

Student Protest Against Apartheid

Tens of thousands of American students protesting South African apartheid defied administration threats and police crackdowns on campuses throughout the country this spring. "U.C. Regents: Make Our Day!" read one banner at UC Berkeley's Sproul Hall—renamed Biko Hall in honor of the martyred Black Consciousness Movement leader—symbolizing a mood of resistance and protest among

the students. This was supposed to be the generation of mindless flag-waving "new patriots," but April saw the largest campus demonstrations and most militant actions—building occupations, "sit-outs," massive rallies—since the Vietnam antiwar protests. The spark for the student upsurge was the massacre of at least 19 South African blacks at Langa near Uitenhage—the vicious apartheid regime's way of marking the

Reuter



Black protesters at Crossroads township in South Africa flee state terror. Smash apartheid!

anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre which silenced black revolt for a decade. But Uitenhage did not silence the anti-apartheid revolt in South Africa and proceeded to call forth outrage in the U.S., itself a hideously racist society and senior partner of the Washington/Pretoria anti-Soviet axis. Anti-Soviet war maniac Reagan not only alibied the racist massacre in South Africa, but went on to Bitburg—there to honor the graves of Nazi SS troops—en route he instituted a trade embargo in an act of war against Sandinista Nicaragua. But "Sieg Heil" and virtual black slavery are not popular with almost *anyone* in this country—and are downright repugnant to most. To these sick manifestations of a sick society, the student youth have responded with militant protest—shot through with all the contradictions and liberal illusions which marked the early days of the last major student upsurge.

It started at Columbia University on April 4 when students blockaded Hamilton Hall (renamed Mandela Hall after the "banned" and imprisoned leader of the African National Congress [ANC]). Berkeley students followed suit the next week, "sitting out" in front of Biko Hall

in an action which continues as we go to press. The anti-apartheid protests spread across the country—from Cornell to Rutgers, from UCLA to Harvard, from Tufts to Santa Cruz to Madison. Thousands have been arrested in the last month: hundreds at Berkeley, hundreds at Cornell and nearly 500 in a mass bust of anti-CIA protesters in Boulder, Colorado. The old adage that there's more education on the receiving end of a cop's billy club than in four years of college has become a reality for scores of newly politicized students as the universities and powers that be respond to the burgeoning protests with a mixture of brute state repression and sophisticated political co-optation. For the most conscious student militants, it is critical to draw the lessons of the anti-apartheid actions, to learn first and foremost who your friends are and who your enemies are.

Clearly, Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" is nothing less than defense of apartheid slavery. His secretary of state, George Shultz, warned that the U.S. "cannot afford to let southern Africa become a divisive domestic issue—tearing our country

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Build a Workers Party!

Finish the Civil War!

Young Spartacus prints below Part Two of an edited version of the presentation and discussion at an SYL forum held at Howard University on February 15 entitled "The Legacy of John Brown and Frederick Douglass—Finish the Civil War!" Addressing the Howard audience was Ed Kartsen, a leader of the Spartacist League/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982. Among those in attendance was Thembekile ("Twiggs") Enoch Xiphu, a South African student at Howard fighting deportation and an outspoken opponent of Pretoria's murderous regime. Some of Twiggs' comments are also included below.

In Part One, *YSp* No. 126 (April 1985) printed Ed Kartsen's presentation on the tradition of the early revolutionary abolitionists John Brown and Frederick Douglass and its meaning for the struggle for black freedom during the civil rights movement and today. Part Two consists mainly of remarks made by Kartsen during the discussion period in answer to questions from the audience. Beginning with the role of Martin Luther King and the liberal Democrats in the early days of the anti-Jim Crow struggles in the South, the discussion takes up the central questions of strategy and tactics for revolutionaries today in the fight to smash apartheid in South Africa and capitalist imperialism here in the "belly of the beast." In particular, the urgent necessity for a conscious revolutionary vanguard—a party based on the working class—both in South Africa and in the U.S., a party which forthrightly exposes the hypocrisy of the "liberal" imperialists and their hangers-on, is taken up in this second and final part

PART TWO OF TWO

Kartsen: Martin Luther King was probably the most important accepted leader of the civil rights movement. But he was not *the* civil rights movement. The civil rights movement in fact started without King in the South, when a good deal of Korean vets came back and were not about to just go back in the same old segregated status, when they had been armed and organized. There was a long delay with regard to school integration going on throughout the South. There

were cases of black community members escorting their children up to schools that were supposed to be integrated, and confronted by mobs determined to violently keep black children out of the school. That situation became intolerable, and blacks began to spontaneously organize themselves militarily, to resist the local police departments in their attempts to preserve the racist status quo. And that situation was beginning to unravel itself into some kind of revolutionary upsurge.

Black people were beginning to initiate the fight for equality by organizing themselves independently, and defending themselves with weapons against the Ku Klux Klan. Martin Luther King intervened in that situation to cool it down. He specifically went throughout cities in the South which were hot, to say that our objectives are not to organize and arm ourselves, our objectives are instead to be peaceful, to pray and to hope that change will occur. What he did, in a very powerful way, was to provide a brake, a stop. He provided a leadership to prevent the struggle from advancing in terms of a serious challenge to the racist status quo.

This frustrated the youth which had joined the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, SNCC, looking for equality now. Freedom Now. That was the slogan. Not later, not 100 years from now, but now. And when they were beaten by racists, when they were harassed by race-terrorists in the course of carrying out nonviolent activity, their blood boiled, they got angrier and angrier. And that finally blew up in the black power movement. The slogan now was for black power. But that movement did not lead toward the formation of a revolutionary organization which counterposed itself to the Democratic Party and fought to unite with the working class. Instead it led toward isolation and demoralization, to the point where today there is no civil rights movement, nor is there a major black movement. Its most militant expression was the Black Panther Party, which was hacked to pieces by the government....

Question: I would like to know how, for instance, do you go about, in this country, breaking from this country, how do you go about organizing the masses of the people, say in areas like down at the South African embassy and

Workers Vanguard Photo



Washington, D.C., 7 September 1984—Spartacists join united-front protest over racist terror against South African black toilers.

Spartacist Richard Bradley tears down Confederate flag of slavery from San Francisco Civic Center, April 1984.

Workers Vanguard Photo



the people in the street without unnecessarily alienating them... by criticizing some of their respectable well-known leadership. What are the strategies to get across?

Kartsen: The working class in this country has a great interest in solidarity with black South African workers, just as the black South African workers realize that it is important to have alliances with other unions in other countries. Solidarity strikes are critical to make that solidarity real and effective. South African workers have difficulty being recognized. The participation of American workers with common strikes and common political actions is critical. The demand for divestment has nothing whatever to do with the interests of the South African workers. It is a false moral statement, being used by the political misleaders in this country to present the image that they are opposed to apartheid. But the whole question of opposition to apartheid means the destruction of the South African apartheid system, its ability to carry out, through military oppression, its racist system. Those industries should be in the hands of black workers. Those industries should be run for the production and liberation of all of sub-Saharan Africa. The industrial might is there, and the black African labor that creates all the wealth of South Africa should enjoy the full fruits of it under a black-centered workers government. Divestment is not even an effective moral gesture. Because as soon as one company divests some other capitalist somewhere else is going to invest.

So the strategy of building protests, militant protests, which seek to link the struggle of black people and the working class in this country to the struggle in South Africa is the strategy that we advocate here, and the exposure of the official leaders is all part of making that strategy effective. So too is the same kind of political struggle necessary in South Africa. South Africa needs its revolutionary party too. It needs a party with a program that's not going to accept a token, moral reform, but one that's going to fight unconditionally against every aspect of the apartheid system, and for the unconditional right of workers to organize, and the unconditional rights to have access to all the fruits of that society. Which of course is

going to mean the same kind of social struggle that was necessary in this country to abolish slavery. It'll mean civil war. But it'll take a revolutionary leadership to accomplish that. At the same time that means a strategy, the fight for a strategy that's going to lead to ultimate success, ultimate victory, the abolition of the system that carries out atrocities every day. To destroy the military capacity to implement this terror, but that's only possible through a revolutionary strategy based on working-class revolution....

The question of what is to be done right now and the question of political strategy are not separate. They actually are the same exact question. The working-class movement in this country has been horribly beaten down, not defeated—but betrayed. It has a leadership which has been either bought off or neutralized. There are militant workers however, who—if given a leadership that poses a realistic, militant and effective program, and proves that in struggle—these workers would follow. But as with black people, the same is true with the working-class movement. Black people are suffering because of the betrayal of their leadership. And so too is the working-class movement. It's suffering the defeats of having its leadership bought off.

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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Nine issues yearly; published monthly except December/January and June/July/August, by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7867 (Editorial, Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. Domestic subscriptions: \$2.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Young Spartacus*, Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

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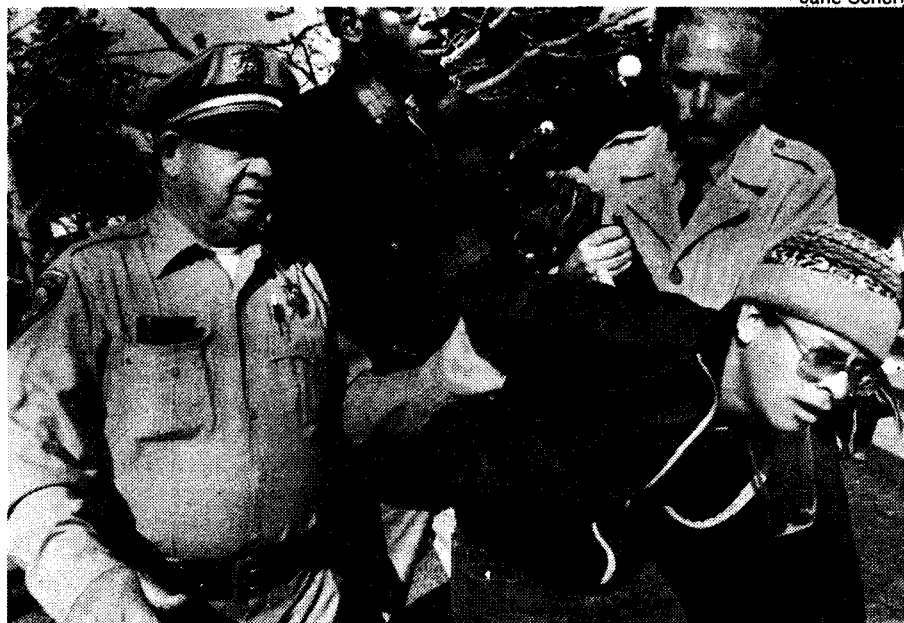
May 1985

Berkeley: "No Choke Holds, No Guns for Cops— Police Rampage Must Be Stopped!" Defend Guillermo!

Reagan's drive toward war, most immediately against Nicaragua, also means police-state repression on the home front. The rulers of this country have bought their own myth that they lost the Vietnam War not on the battlefields of Southeast Asia but on America's campuses and in the TV newsrooms. For them, radical student protest is now tantamount to treason. Nowhere is this clearer than at the University of California at Berkeley, long detested by the right as a center of left/liberal activism. The Berkeley cops are literally running amok. Hardly a day goes by without some student being clubbed, kicked, choke-held or thrown into maximum-security jails on outrageous bail. This escalating wave of cop terror has not, however, cowed the Berkeley student community but has been met by an escalation of protest.

To date almost 400 Berkeley protesters have been arrested. Of these, Guillermo Bermúdez has been singled out and framed up for "assaulting a police officer," a felony charge which carries years in jail. With this charge even on his record he risks being blown away by the Magnum Force cops of Dirty Harry country.

Last January in retaliation for the successful demonstration, initiated by the Spartacus Youth League, that drove Marine recruiters off Berkeley, Hispanic SYL student Guillermo Bermúdez was the victim of a



Jane Scherr

Berkeley, January 29: UCPD thugs assault Marxist student Guillermo Bermúdez.

vicious cop attack in which he was nearly choked to death and had his arm broken. While in the deadly grasp of Officer "Choke Hold" Johnson, Guillermo kicked over a Marine recruiters' table. For this defiance of U.S. imperialism's number one strike force, Bermúdez faces nearly three years in jail on frame-up charges of battery against the 6'3" cop who came close to killing him. The attack on Guillermo—a known red on campus—was intended as a threat to all the students.

Now three others—José Carrasco, Stephen Doig and Michael John Donnelly—face felony charges of "resisting," grand theft (of a cop baton) and "lynching" (attempting "to take, by means of a riot, a person" from police custody).

The latest cop riot, resulting in the arrests of Carrasco, Doig, Donnelly and Joseph Todd, broke out on April 26 when anti-apartheid protesters "sitting out" at Sproul Hall (renamed Biko Hall) objected to police confiscation of their banners and sleeping bags.

One of the demonstrators was dragged across concrete and held in police custody inside Sproul Hall, to be joined by the other three, arrested after the cops regrouped for a second assault. Donnelly and Carrasco were held for five days on bails of \$15,000 and \$12,000 respectively, and one of them was subsequently rearrested for violating the South Africa-style campus banning order.

Drop the charges against Bermúdez, Donnelly, Carrasco, Doig, Todd and all victims of the Berkeley cop rampage! For a united-front mobilization of students, Bay Area labor and black organizations—guided by the old labor canon that an injury to one is an injury to all—to stop the police repression! We salute the non-sectarian spirit of Andrea Pritchett of the Campaign Against Apartheid, who spent three days in maximum-security detention at Santa Rita for her participation in an anti-apartheid sit-in, speaking at a joint campus rally on March 28 protesting cop violence:

"If they can bring Guillermo down, then they'll be coming after us next. They'll be coming after you next... They'll be taking people off to jail for hanging a damn banner. So I think we have to stand together on this one. I think everybody ought to go down to the courthouse tomorrow to defend Guillermo, and also to defend the UC'S."

The widely publicized testimony of the victims and witnesses of cop violence at a hearing of the Berkeley Police Review Commission, along with the well-circulated photograph of "Choke Hold" Johnson's assault on Guillermo, has produced widespread outrage. The Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Committee has gotten a considerable number of endorsements from trade unionists, members of political and campus organizations and others seeking to put an end to campus cop

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The question is not immediately posed, but is raised, of the organization of strikes, for example, in solidarity with South African blacks. This is not an immediate possibility, but it is raised, and even at the time in which it was a popular idea a few years ago, it was not taken up at large, but it posed the question in such a way that today, militants are at least facing the questions of organizing the working class in this country and the black movement, as tied together with the international struggle.

In this city, as you all know, there were 5,000 people, working-class and black people, who came out to stop the Ku Klux Klan. A good percentage of those people should be organized into a labor struggle organization, whose purpose would be to rally the community and tie together everything that Reagan is doing to black people here to everything that Botha is doing to blacks and the working class of South Africa. And raise an effective protest, a militant protest. It [takes] the organization of the people of this city around the program of revolutionary integration. I'm sorry [if] it sounds perhaps too theoretical, but in fact it is concrete.

The stopping of the Ku Klux Klan, as a social struggle around which to build [such a revolutionary] organization, is also concrete. The kind of organization that we build is also concrete. But first we have to declare who the misleaders are, and we have to counterpose in a clear way a program of social struggle, which will advance the struggles of the oppressed and exploited, to the chicanery and the illusions, the lies, the distortions put out by a Democratic Party leadership in order to pacify. It's great what they did to Kennedy. That was perfect. The South Africans in that case did a tremendous service for the American working class.

Question: So what is the League's

position on divestment? Are you for it or against it?

Divestment: A Diversion

Kartsen: The answer is, we don't tell the stock market what to invest and what not to invest. We are for expropriation. That industry belongs to the workers of South Africa. It does not belong to a stockholder, okay? And the divestment movement is an illusion. It is, as has been said by so many speakers here tonight, it is just a diversion. The real question is economic, social power to eliminate oppression. And it's that issue that the misleaders want to avoid. They want to avoid it in South Africa, and by any means necessary they want to avoid it here, particularly right here in Washington. So while they can get arrested at the embassy for solidarity with the struggle in South Africa, where are they addressing the question of police terror right here? Where are they addressing the question of fascist terror right here? They're nowhere. They want to talk about who's going to own what stocks in South Africa.

Twiggs: ...the forces at home decided that it was time to really break with these people, expose the smiling face of imperialism for what it is. That's one thing that we need, and it's the one thing that needs to be done here. And now the question is, how do you go about in terms of translating that theoretical understanding into action...

Divestment, that's a very dear issue [to] our people at home and internationally—it's so popular. You cannot run away from it. But it has to be put in proper perspective. In the hands of the reformist, and the liberal, and the apologists of imperialism it has been used by them as something you hear, for instance occasionally there will be a call that those corporations that are invest-

ing over there are leaving our brothers and sisters in Detroit without jobs. That's not our position. We're not in any way trying to say that this corporation should not invest there, but should invest here. In which case we'd be addressing now the stockholders, would be addressing now the managers, the corporate management. The question is really [that] these corporations are part and parcel of our oppression. That is how imperialism functions.

We also understand that with the present social economic system here, the capitalist system, the seat of capitalism in this country, for them to actually, physically divest is something that is inconceivable. But some things have to be raised as part of political consciousness-raising. Because it's when you talk about divestment that you can

talk now about the actual economic connection, and even talking about revolution here, how it is linked with the revolution of the world, talk about solidarity strikes, talk about what the workers right now are presently fighting for. For instance, recently there is a campaign by the black miners and blacks allied with the miners, in solidarity with that union, to campaign against asbestos. They are calling for the closing of asbestos mines. Try and take that struggle up, link it up with the struggles that are going on, as in the same light that people here will link up the struggle of the people of India against Union Carbide, and try to draw these connections. That should be the work of revolutionaries internationally. So these, therefore, these items, or these topics

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Danny Lyon



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

From Harlem to Soweto...

(continued from page 1)

apart" (New York Times, 17 April). But South Africa has become a burning question in this country where outrage at South African apartheid is keenly felt, particularly but not solely among the black population. Reagan is wedded to Pretoria not simply or mainly because he rules a deeply racist society as well, but because South Africa is a strategic ally in the global anti-Soviet war drive; it is also a source of super-profits extracted from the blood and sweat of the five-million-strong South African black working class. Effective opposition to apartheid, therefore, necessarily runs smack up against the entire capitalist system.

The issues which have sparked protest action on the American campuses today are much the same ones which broke the back of Cold War McCarthyism in the early 1960s: racism, the threat of nuclear world war and dirty colonial adventures (yesterday Vietnam, today Central America). Democrats Kennedy and Johnson were responsible for the cops and courts which defended Jim Crow racism in the South, for the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, for the escalation of U.S. imperialism's genocidal war against the Vietnamese people, for the brutal cop assaults on student protesters. Today, Republican Reagan sits in the saddle and the Democrats, having presented themselves as a duller version of Reagan in the 1984 elections, have suddenly "discovered" the apartheid issue. Wrongly believing South Africa to be so distant as to be "safe," the Democratic Party posers initiated an orchestrated media-event campaign of selective arrests at South African embassies. But when it hit the campuses, the protest threatened to go beyond liberal gestures. The SYL has actively intervened in these anti-apartheid upsurges in order to provide a militant, anti-capitalist pole against the attempts of the bourgeois liberal politicians, their fake-left supporters, the pontificating administrations and their student bureaucrat lackeys to render impotent the student struggles. The ever visible Jesse Jackson has made himself most useful to the racist status quo in this regard, appearing at demonstrations from Harvard to Columbia to Rutgers to preach the beauty of moral suasion and ...the necessity to work within the system. Jackson, it may be remembered, traveled to South Africa in 1979 only to praise the regime's minister for "Black Affairs" (equivalent to Hitler's minister of "Jewish Affairs," Adolf Eichmann) as a "courageous man" for some cosmetic reforms of apartheid.

The SYL has participated, understanding that these demonstrations have for the most part become a referendum on apartheid. We do so despite the fact that the liberal/utopian demand for corporate and/or university divestment has been the central demand in all the major campus protests. We seek to "divest" students of their illusions in the "democracy" of this racist, capitalist society and the "good will" of its institutions—



Young Spartacus Photo

Berkeley, April 24—"National Day of Protest": SYL contingent raises class-struggle road for black liberation at home and abroad.

academic and otherwise. At an SYL-called rally on May 1 at UC Berkeley—protesting apartheid and defending all the student victims of cop/administration attack—Spartacist spokesman Al Nelson warned against such illusions. Below is an edited and abridged version of comrade Nelson's speech:

"Instead of nice, controlled, peaceful, legal, very polite 'thank you for arresting me' protests, a lot of students, who didn't wait for anybody to tell them what to do, sat down on steps, occupied buildings, did things that haven't been seen in 10 or 12 years in this country.... Most of the existing 'left' in this country, who 10 or 15 years ago used to chant during the antiwar movement 'Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh—Yankees Out, NLF In' these days say 'No More Vietnams.' Well, to say 'No More Vietnams' really is a call against revolution, because the social revolution that happened in Vietnam was an enormous historical victory. The other night on Channel 7 news, Ted Koppel interviewed Vietnamese premier Pham Van Dong and Henry Kissinger, the architect of the bombing of Cambodia and other atrocities. And Kissinger was very upset that the networks were publicizing the defeat of American imperialism. Last night, Richard Nixon was on the same show. He said, 'Well, if the victory of the Communists in Vietnam didn't cause the

domino theory we were talking about all those years, it did cause some other dominoes to drop.' He said, 'It caused us to lose Mozambique and Angola.'

"If it hadn't been for the Cuban troops, themselves a product of a social revolution that succeeded against American imperialism, carrying with them Russian guns made by the workers who made the first workers revolution of this century, South Africa would have conquered Angola. Instead there was a victory there, and Angola won independence from Portuguese imperialism, never to be returned.... And the struggles and the victories in Vietnam encouraged the revolution against Somoza in Nicaragua because the hand of the U.S. was stayed.

"The party that waged that war, that bloody, horrible war in Vietnam, was mainly the Democratic Party, the same party that is now agreeing with Reagan—that while they don't want to give money to the contras, they will support an embargo of Nicaragua.... War is inherent in capitalism. Racism is inherent in capitalism. For black people in America, the so-called 'American Dream' is an awful, bloody nightmare. And for people around the world who are struggling against their oppressors they know that the Number One enemy is U.S. imperialism. And therefore the Democratic Party... which postures as

the party of all the people is not our friend. It is our class enemy. It is the party of imperialism. What we need in this country is a mass workers party that understands that the working class has to have its own political instrument to struggle for its own interests against the capitalists. Such a party is where the students and the workers can be brought together in a common fist. Do not be co-opted to believing that everything you've been fighting for these last weeks is somehow going to be resolved by electing the right person to Congress in 1988. This is a lie and a deception."

Such a deception was most overtly practiced by the New York City Democrats to quell the Columbia protest. The Columbia trustees—who parenthetically have already divested themselves of some \$50 million in stock, with no discernible impact on the stability of the apartheid regime—went out of their way to avoid a repetition of 1968. Then, the NYPD brutally dispersed students, leading to a campus strike and nationwide solidarity actions. Today, the despised killers in blue have so run amok against the city population that even sections of the ruling class are demanding selective purges and "reform" of the force. Had the cops been called in to dismantle the student blockade in 1968-style, it could have touched off explosions in neighbor-

Defend the Oberlin Four! Anti-CIA Protesters Busted

Oberlin College has declared war on student protest. At a militant demonstration against CIA recruiters on campus, Dean George Langelier personally orchestrated the arrest of four demonstrators, including three SYL supporters. Seventy students were gathered at Peters Hall when the administration escorted the CIA in. Foot-stomping and chants of "CIA Off Campus!" erupted in protest against the killer spies who work hand in glove with the vicious contra murderers in Nicaragua. After petty harassment of the protest failed to stem its militancy, the administration went after David Cardarelli and Ann Pearson, well-known SYL activists who were leading the chants from a bullhorn. When demonstrators protested this outrageous bust, the cops arrested SYL supporter Roger Shaheen and Oberlin student Caleb Layton. Cardarelli was hauled off in handcuffs and Layton was slammed against a patrol car.

Cardarelli was booked for disorderly conduct; incredibly, Pearson, Shaheen and Layton were charged with a *third-degree felony*, "inciting to violence," and held for \$5,000 bail! These opponents of CIA terror such as operation contra in Nicaragua face years of prison for their protest against Murder, Inc.

We wonder, with such outrageous charges for chanting in a picket line, is COINTELPRO really dead?

The protest at Peters Hall was initiated by the SYL around the slogans "Put the CIA on the Run! Smash U.S. War Moves on Nicaragua! Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" As a liberal diversion *away* from the CIA recruitment site, the campus chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) called another demonstration. When approached by the SYL and other protesters for a united rally against the CIA recruiters, the response of the DSA apologists for imperialism was to call the cops! Thus the DSA set the stage for administration repression, like the stooges they are.

After the arrests 40 students marched to the police station, many remaining throughout the day. Others spread the word of the arrests across campus, some taking out emergency loans to raise bail. That evening the student Executive Council, largely run by the DSA, called a meeting which was attended by over 100. Amazingly the DSA cowards wanted to exclude Shaheen and Pearson from being defended because they are not Oberlin students! But the meeting overwhelmingly voted to include all four in the defense and constituted the

Committee to Free the Oberlin Four.

On May 6, 40 committee supporters packed the Oberlin courthouse where the defendants pleaded not guilty to all charges. A noon rally jointly sponsored by the committee and the SYL was actually boycotted by some committee members because the SYL had issued its own leaflet calling on students to defend its own members. As Michelle Lewis of the SYL stated, "It was no accident that it was the SYL that led the militant demonstration against the CIA and it's no accident that we were singled out for the arrests because we're communists." Other committee members didn't fall for the anti-communist bullshit and participated and spoke at the rally in defense of the Oberlin Four. DSA honcho Jeff Goldwasser damned himself when he said, "Students will not tolerate having police called on them when they hold a protest." Then the DSA whined that the SYL has publicly condemned them for calling the cops on us!

As Roger Shaheen, one of the arrested protesters, stated, "It's particularly important after Friday's arrests that there should be no illusions in what the role of the cops are. Both the city and the campus police are part of the state apparatus. Just as the CIA is part of the state apparatus.... So while the campus cops and the city cops are the junior partners in the capitalist state, the CIA are the big cops for U.S. imperialism, the international organizers of terror. So, what are the cops doing? They are protecting their big blood brothers."

Defend the Oberlin Four! ■

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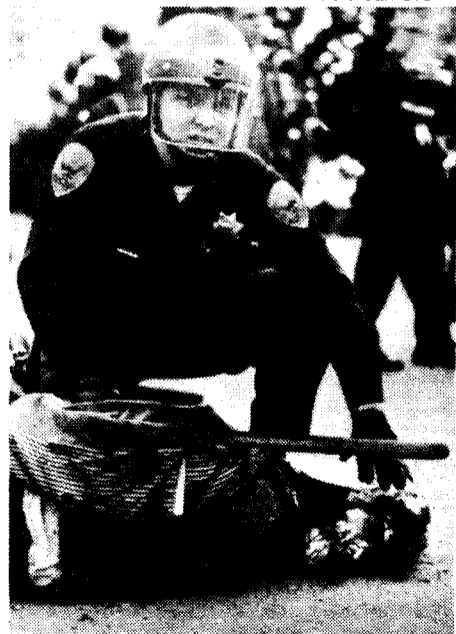


Columbia anti-apartheid protesters march through Harlem, April 25.

ing Harlem and throughout the city. Instead, the Coalition for a Free South Africa (CFSA—organizers of the blockade) announced the end of the action the same day that Columbia got its court injunction against the protest. On Thursday, April 25, 1,000 anti-apartheid protesters were led from Columbia through Harlem only to be delivered to a Baptist church, where CFSA attorney C. Vernon Mason announced his candidacy for district attorney.

At UC Berkeley, however, students had contended with a full-scale cop rampage for months before the outbreak of anti-apartheid protests nationally. The case of SYLer Bermúdez is one of the most serious among countless beatings, arrests, choke holds, used by the UCPD against student demonstrators (see page 3). But the escalating cop attacks—instead of terrorizing students into silent submission—have resulted in increased militancy and resistance by the students as well as bad publicity and an outcry against the UCPD thugs. And at Berkeley, many of the student protesters are to the left of the “divestment” leaders who managed to dissipate a combative demonstration 6,000-strong on the Wednesday, April 24 “National Day of Protest” into a do-nothing “dialogue” with the Regents and their fellows. Here, as at Columbia, the university spokesmen had the staggering hypocrisy to lecture the students on the “correct” method of civil disobedience, holding up as examples of “responsible” protest Gandhi, Martin Luther King and Bishop Desmond

Nacio Jan Brown



Geoghegan/The Cornell Daily Sun



Cops vs. student protest: San Francisco State 1968 (top left); UC Berkeley 1985 (top right); Cornell 1985 (left).

Tutu. Hold on to your wallet when the people who are beating you bloody, arresting you and threatening disciplinary action claim to embrace your cause.

Behind the “divestment” strategy is the false assumption that a section of the capitalist class can somehow be made to act in the interests of the oppressed black masses, that Wall Street can shame Pretoria into reforming. But U.S. imperialism has no interest in black freedom in South Africa, any more than it has in black freedom in Mississippi or Harlem. The bloody crimes against humanity perpetuated by this ruling class at home—both its “liberal” and conservative wings—are on a scale unknown to the South African rulers. The question posed to radical youth is: what can be done?

Our answer is that a party must be built representing the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class and oppressed, determined to take state power and reorganize society along rational, socialist lines—i.e., a planned economy based on nationalized property. A workers revolution is necessary in this country to complete the unfinished tasks of the Civil War—to win the full social and economic emancipation of the black population—and it is necessary in South Africa. There, the enslavement of an entire nation under the system of apartheid is the basis on which capitalism rests. There will be no freedom for the black masses at home or abroad until the system which perpetuates their oppression is smashed.

continued on page 6

Young Spartacus Photo

SYL Protest at UICG

“Ted Kennedy, Jesse Jackson—AZAPO’s Got Your Number!”

We reprint below a letter which appeared in the Daily Illini (8 April), newspaper of the University of Illinois, Chicago campus. Student supporters of the SYL submitted the letter in the aftermath of an SYL-organized anti-apartheid protest there on March 28.

To the Editor:

The police murder of black South Africans in the township of Langa on March 21 was one of the worst apartheid atrocities since the notorious Sharpeville Massacre of 25 years ago. That is why we in the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) knew it was urgent to demonstrate outrage against the Langa massacre and show solidarity with the black revolt erupting in South Africa.

We thought the leadership of BSOC [Black Student Organization for Communication] already had plenty of egg on their face after they backed out of the demonstration they had endorsed. But now, BSOC president Thomas Harris’s letter, published in the April 1 *ILLINI*, has made him a laughing stock all over campus. Perhaps the BSOC honchos should get together with the idiot sectarians of InCAR to form a new group: “L.S.G.—the League of Sour Grapes.”

While Harris throws around a lot of hot air about being a “true revolutionary” and so on (this from the president of the Student Senate!), the real reason BSOC objected to the rally, as the *ILLINI*’s article correctly pointed out, is because they support the imperialist Democratic Party, and we don’t. This particularly gores the BSOC leaders’ ox because they aspire to be Democratic front men for racist American capitalism, just like Jesse Jackson and Harold Washington.

The black Democrats—who to a man supported loser Walter Mondale for the presidency—suddenly rediscovered the address of the South African embassy after the elections, staging a “civil disobedience” campaign to refurbish their tarnished credentials as some kind of fighters for black liberation. We are not the only people to recognize the hypocrisy of the liberals’ new-found concern. The black South African group AZAPO (Azanian People’s Organization) held protests against imperialist swine Teddy Kennedy’s recent trip to South Africa and said of Jesse Jackson, “we see Kennedy and Jackson in the same light.” At the March 28 rally, the SYL hailed the AZAPO protests and chanted: “Teddy Kennedy, Jesse Jackson, AZAPO’s Got Your Number: Liberal Agents of Imperialist Plunder!”

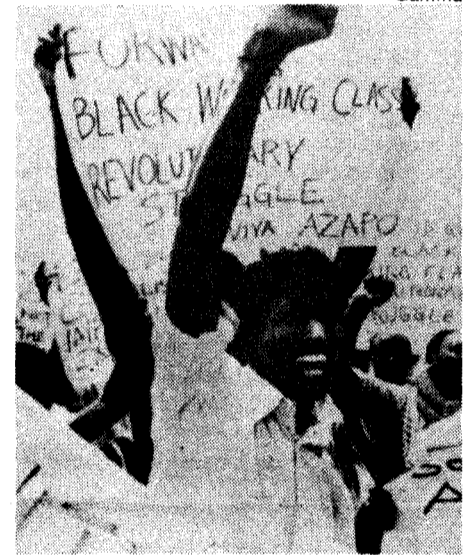
As for Harold Washington, he recently spent an evening at a dinner of Zionist bigwigs raising money for Israeli war bonds. Israel not only routinely massacres Palestinian Arabs and others but is also a major military collaborator and supplier of the apartheid butchers. Both Israel and South Africa are strategic allies in U.S. imperialism’s drive toward war against the Soviet Union, a war drive which is supported by both the Republicans and Democrats. Reagan has savagely slashed social programs and demanded wage cuts in order to pay for a massive military buildup, and the black Democratic big-city mayors do their part by enforcing this capitalist austerity with union-busting and cop terror.

BSOC endorsed our call for a demonstration only after it had obviously received widespread support and could not be ignored, which is what Harris clearly would have preferred. He, himself, though scheduled to speak at the rally, didn’t even bother to show up! (Perhaps he was busy “meeting the challenge of social change” by hobnobbing with the university president or

some other “true revolutionary.”) So we are not surprised that Harris sees fit to denounce the only demonstration in Chicago organized against the Langa massacre—it’s all in a day’s work for a two-bit student government flunky for the racist status quo.

The SYL does not organize “motley coalitions” but united fronts, where within the framework of united action around particular slogans, each participating organization is free to express its own views. This was made clear to the BSOC leadership at the time it endorsed. The 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK from marching through Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982, as well as the demonstration of 3,000 against the Nazis in Chicago on June 27, 1982, were vindications of the effectiveness of united-front action. Initiated by the Spartacist League, these mobilizations were endorsed and built by numerous trade-union officials and locals, as well

Gamma



January 1985: South African black militants at AZAPO protest in Soweto against “liberal” imperialist Teddy Kennedy.

as others. In Chicago, no members of BSOC were to be seen that day. In Washington, the sight of thousands of black workers and youth taking action under the leadership of an integrated communist organization was hateful to black Democrat Walter Fauntroy, who lined up alongside his racist white capitalist masters to rail against the demonstration, just as on this campus Thomas Harris rails against the SYL for leading students in protesting apartheid.

Harris accuses the SYL of “capitalizing” on what he dismissively calls “black liberation fervor” and “righteous indignation against apartheid.” That’s right! We want to see mass, militant anti-apartheid actions on campus, and labor action to support black unions in South Africa. The SYL fights to win students to partisanship with the struggles of the working class worldwide—from South Africa to Central America to the U.S.—and to the perspective of forging an integrated revolutionary workers’ party in this country with a key component of black leadership. For black liberation through socialist revolution! Smash apartheid—for workers’ revolution! That is the only genuinely revolutionary program.

By the way, one of us “declassified intellectuals” was briefly a member of BSOC’s “political education committee” earlier this year before quitting that do-nothing organization in disgust. Thomas Harris, who runs his group like a little czar, brought charges of “disruption” against Mark Daniels for the “crime” of putting forward Marxist views during the discussion period at a BSOC event!

Mark Daniels
Troy Slaughter
Spartacus Youth League

No Administration Reprisals!

Harvard Militants Put Apartheid Apologist on the Run!

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts, May 2—South African consul-general Abe Hoppenstein arrived at Harvard University expecting to have a cozy luncheon chat with the Harvard Conservative Club; instead, he was greeted by over 100 militant protesters determined to give this agent of apartheid terror the reception he deserved. Chanting militantly against Pretoria's apologist, the protesters barricaded Lowell House dining hall, locked Hoppenstein in his meeting room, drowned out his speech and forced him to finally escape by scurrying through an underground tunnel with the rest of the rodents.

The protest was organized at the spur of the moment during an all-day "teach out" on divestment in Harvard Yard. And it was run over the heads of the divestment movement leadership, supporters of the stars-and-stripes Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) and liberals of the Southern Africa Solidarity Committee (SASC), who argued that the way to "stand in opposition" to Hoppenstein was to "choose to let him speak." But Spartacus Youth League activists would not tolerate this outrage, and succeeded in breaking through the divestment crew's "gentleman's agreement" to let Hoppenstein have his say. Both at the teach out and in the dining halls SYLers announced the protest. Our call for militant protest against Hoppenstein carried the day.

Shortly after noon the demonstrators converged on Lowell House, the site of the Conservative Club event. When Hoppenstein arrived, surrounded by bodyguards and Harvard cops, the crowd angrily rushed up to stop this apartheid mouthpiece from getting to his luncheon. Hoppenstein was finally pushed into the room, as protesters began knocking on the windows and chanting loudly, "They

get away with murder!" and "Conservative Club, what do you say: would you invite the KKK?" When the word passed through the crowd that their chants were drowning out Hoppenstein, the students chanted even louder. After about an hour, Hoppenstein attempted to leave, but the protesters blocked the waiting car and the escape attempt was swiftly aborted. He only got out after Conservative Club goons and Harvard cops created a diversion and then charged the demonstrators, knocking down a woman on crutches and pushing and punching anyone in sight.

Even at the height of the most militant action seen at Harvard in years, the DSA and SASC leadership did everything in its power to defuse the situation, to stifle the protest. The DSA and SASC did not want to drive Hoppenstein off campus in the first place. They issued a leaflet that stated, "The United States is a free country. [!] Just as the Nazi Party had a right to march in Skokie, IL, so even a spokesman for a regime so heinous as that in South Africa deserves the right to speak unmolested in this country!" DSAer Damon Silvers twice tried to silence the crowd and invited the widely hated Dean of Students Archie Epps to speak, to warn students of "the consequences of their actions." Epps tried to intimidate the protesters by taking away one student's ID card, only to be forced into returning it amidst militant student chants of "Hands Off!" led by the SYL. The DSA, though, would prefer that this obese enemy of the students be welcomed to a platform. Silvers also proposed that a delegation be appointed to meet with the apartheid agent and ask him some "hard questions." SASC member John Ross expressed touching concern that the demonstrators may be blocking students who

Young Spartacus Photo



Flush of victory: successful anti-Hoppenstein protesters march at Harvard.

wanted to eat lunch, and others claimed that the protesters had "already made their point" and should leave. Liberal law student and former SASC activist Jamie Raskin began to suggest that the protesters set up three committees (!) but stopped when students began chanting "Bureaucrat!" at him.

The students who were proud to have given Hoppenstein a small taste of apartheid by placing him under virtual "house arrest" should take a good look at SASC, DSA and the rest of the divestment "movement" at Harvard. These are the people who build diversionary rallies for Jesse Jackson and other capitalist politicians; who cuddle up to the Harvard administration to beg it to become "moral" and divest; and who showed what racially insensitive "liberals" they are by proposing an obscene "apartheid commencement" whereby blacks would sit separately, use separate bathrooms and receive separate de-

grees (would they protest Bitburg by putting barbed wire around Jewish students?). Fortunately, the proponents of this grotesque idea were pretty quickly forced to back off, no doubt after being embarrassed and chastised by outraged black students on campus. And at their sit-in at the Office of the Governing Boards on April 24 they were reminiscent of the Women's Battalion of Death, the diehard defenders of tsarist Russia who lasted all of five minutes after the Bolsheviks came to power. These "protesters" dressed up in their Sunday best, waltzed into the Harvard Corporation office at 9:00 a.m., spent the day reading quietly and praying, and then swaggered out at 5:00 p.m. sharp, looking as if they were debarking from a successful space shuttle mission.

DSA, SASC and the other divestment groups cannot and will not offer students what is needed: a class-struggle perspective. They continue to rely on the Harvard administration, the same administration that threatened two Harvard SYL members with expulsion for their participation in the 600-strong protest of War Secretary Caspar Weinberger in November 1983, and that immediately after the Hoppenstein protest ominously began talking about taking disciplinary action against the over 100 demonstrators. As SYL spokesman Tom Crean told the protesters, "It should be very clear what side Harvard is on. This is where napalm was invented to be used to slaughter millions of Indochinese."

We in the SYL were pleased to have played the leading role in exposing what Harvard University and its administration stand for and in mobilizing with other militant students to break up the DSA/SASC gentleman's agreement with apartheid murderers. Keep the butchers on the run! No reprisals against student protesters!

From Harlem to Soweto...

(continued from page 5)

Such a Marxist perspective has attracted interest among student activists. For instance, at Cornell University, where sit-inners had been daily arrested and where students have attempted to block buses filled with their arrested compatriots, an SYL team sold over 400 copies of *YSp* and *WV*. In the "shantytown" constructed on campus—dramatizing the plight of the landless, disenfranchised black South Africans—one hut was dubbed "Karl Marx Shanty" and plastered with our press. Not only do we offer a consistent

program for socialist revolution, but our organization has proven in action that we can lead successful struggle. In 1982, on the same day that South African foreign minister Botha was in Washington, 5,000 mostly black unionists and youth stopped a threatened Klan march on the streets of Washington, D.C. on November 27. That Labor/Black Mobilization was initiated and led by the SI/SYL, against the opposition of the entire Democratic Party administration of black Washington.

While fake-leftists told students to vote for Walter Mondale, who called for a quarantine of Nicaragua during his campaign, the SYL rallied in defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. From Harvard to UCLA, we have initiated militant action against U.S. imperialism

and its representatives. Because of our forthright stance, we have also become the target of administration attempts at repression. When social struggle breaks out, the "democratic" façade of this state drops swiftly—arrests and disciplinary action are used to frighten people into silence. The answer is united, mass, militant action to defend all victims of such attacks.

Organized by themselves, no matter how militantly, students lack the social power to fundamentally change society. During the Vietnam antiwar movement, veteran socialist Isaac Deutscher told a gathering of Berkeley students that he would trade them all for one dock strike; in fact the potential for such action by the multiracial working class on behalf of the anti-apartheid

struggle is great. Last November/December San Francisco longshoremen refused to unload South African cargo for ten days until their union misleaders ordered them back to work in the face of a government injunction. While currently crippled by a pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy, the unions can be powerful weapons in the fight against war and racism under a class-struggle leadership. Solidarity strikes, hot-cargoing, political demonstrations: such proletarian actions can have real impact on the internal class battles in South Africa. Linked to a fighting workers movement, student struggle can serve as a catalyst and important ally. This is the future we offer student youth: for a working-class struggle for power from Durban to Detroit. Join us! ■

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Finish the Civil War...

(continued from page 3)

should really be used as part and parcel of political consciousness-raising and for political struggle, to really bring out the real issues about the revolution over there.

Lastly can I say that on April 9 I'm supposed to appear in Baltimore for my deportation hearing.

Kartsen: In agreeing with what you said about social struggle, and disagreeing with the aspect of the particular tactic you raised with regard to political consciousness-raising, I want to say [that] political raising of consciousness occurs most sharply through exposing the contradictions in struggle. Most sharply. When we talk about the question of the leaders it is important to be concrete, particularly with regard to struggle. First of all, a lot of these political leaders right now are being played up on television, in order to become the next stars for the next election, which is the only reason why

they're doing it [protesting at the South African consulate]. They're capitalist politicians, they have capitalist ambitions, and they have every intention of using the political credibility based on what they're doing—supposedly for those South African workers, and black South African people—for their own political careers. And they will get in office here, and they will maintain racist oppression right here in this country. Now, realistically, politically advanced workers know that. When these protests occurred in South Africa against Kennedy, there was an automatic solidarity with that, a link, an understanding that these black protesters understand the political nature of the beast, of the Democratic Party. We don't give credence to the Democratic misleader there, we don't give credence to the Democratic misleader here. If he wants to exploit the struggles of South Africans over there, and there's protest [against Kennedy], that's good. And if he's over here trying to pull the same thing, to get himself into office, to preserve the capitalist system, the protest [against him] is just as important. The real issue is the question of the liberation of black people in South Africa, which will not occur on the

divestment issue. The divestment issue will only, in that struggle, be a detour. It'll be only used as an excuse on the part of any politician or institution that feels that in order to appeal to the sentiment, or make the appearance of being progressive, [they ought] to readjust their investments. But the question [is] of political struggle, of the example of the protest against Kennedy, linking this up to the struggle that needs to happen in this country against racist oppression, against Reaganism on all levels of society, and to link this to the struggle of working-class revolution, particularly with regard to the history of struggle in this country, and how this was in particular manifested by the November 27 demonstration in 1982. That demonstration occurred for only one reason, and will not occur again unless the same leadership, with the same program, fight today, in particular against the black Democrats and against the other misleaders, for a clear revolutionary program.

Had the leaders of the Civil War, Frederick Douglass and John Brown, decided that the way you go was to go along with the misleaders, the issue of slavery would never have come to the forefront in that Civil War. The same is

true with the question of misleaders that occurred during the civil rights movement, resulting in its decline and collapse. And so the fight for advancement, for people internationally, requires that the most advanced political program fight for its triumph, whether that's in South Africa, or whether that's here. The real struggle in solidarity with South Africa is the struggle the Spartacist League is doing right here, right now, organizing the political wings of blacks, in particular as one of the groups of society which is most sane, which didn't vote for Ronald Reagan, for the political struggle, and to organize around the political program that is going to link it to the struggle against segregation and racism at home, which must mean a revolutionary struggle linking the black movement to the working-class movement behind a revolutionary party that is going to fight to establish a working-class government. The concrete attempt at accomplishment of that task will be the greatest act of international solidarity for the black working class of South Africa. For without this monkey of this American government on their backs, they'll be a whole lot freer to struggle to overthrow apartheid. ■

Partial List of Endorsers

Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Committee

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Stephanie Allan, Member, Berkeley PRC*
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Sam Wellbaum, Faculty member, San Francisco State University
Tony Zamacona, Executive Board member, ILWU Local 10,* San Francisco

*Organization listed for identification purposes only.

Guillermo...

(continued from page 3)

violence (see endorsements above).

At a court hearing on April 16, prominent black civil rights and criminal attorney Howard Moore announced he was Guillermo's new defense counsel. Moore is best known for his successful

defense of black Communist Party leader Angela Davis on false murder, kidnapping and conspiracy charges in the early 1970s. Reagan's present attorney general, Edwin Meese, earned his spurs in the Alameda County D.A.'s office by targeting Berkeley radicals and seeking to destroy the Black Panther Party. Meese has declared that anyone attending radical political demonstra-

tions deserves to be shot.

As Guillermo noted, however, following his April 16 court hearing:

"When the administration began its attempt to picture me as an assailant with these serious frame-up charges, they hoped to set an example that would intimidate others from challenging and protesting the U.S. government's bloody policies in Central America and South Africa. They clearly have underestimated the depth and determination of this generation of students to fight racism and war."

It will take thousands of dollars to

defend Guillermo against these frame-up charges backed up by the vast financial resources in the hands of the University of California Regents and the state government. Publicize the case and raise funds in your classes, union, workplace and organizations! Demand the charges against Guillermo Bermúdez and the other Berkeley protesters be dropped.

Make checks payable to Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Fund. Mail to: Parisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101. ■

Students: Educate Yourself in Marxism This Summer!

For information on classes and other events, contact the nearest SYL local:

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

Atlanta: SYL, Box 4012, Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston: SYL, P.O. Box 1644, Cambridge, MA 02238, or call (617) 492-3928

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

Detroit: SYL, c/o SL, Box 32717, Detroit, MI 48232

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Madison: SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 257-8625

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Oberlin: SYL, Box 58, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH 44074, or call (216) 775-6067

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

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

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6, or call (416) 593-4138

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 8)

fallen behind the "Iron Curtain." The Russians should be very annoyed: Reagan just dumped a baby on their doorstep. And the Kremlin bureaucrats don't seem very happy about the prospect, thus Ortega came away with promises of assistance in every conceivable way but militarily. Washington, however, chose to draw the line—much as it did with Castro—leaving the Sandinistas to declare, in the words of vice president Sergio Ramirez, "We will become closer to all countries that support this revolution, and that includes the Soviet Union."

Of course, anti-Sovietism was the pretext for such imperialist adventures as the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the genocidal, losing war in Vietnam. These defeats for U.S. imperialism were more than military—they

were political. For the past decade, U.S. imperialism has been stymied by the "Vietnam syndrome." The rulers' fear of repeating their humiliating defeat in Indochina prevented among other things Jimmy Carter from intervening to prop up Somoza in 1979. Vietnam was a victory for the world working class—two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!

The imperialists are playing with fire in their insane anti-Soviet war campaign. U.S. troops into Central America could spark a revolutionary conflagration throughout the region and must be met by class struggle at home. Here in the imperialist heartland, we must ready the youth who are tagged as Reagan's cannon fodder and the workers who have no earthly interest in a war against Nicaragua. In battling this attack on the workers of Central America, they will also be fighting their own battle against the main enemy—the ruling class at home. ■

Young Spartacus

Reagan Wants War—

Defend Nicaragua!

Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

May Day 1985 may go down in history as the day Ronald Reagan ordered the expropriation of the Nicaraguan capitalist class. En route to an acrimonious imperialist economic summit and his Bitburg infamy, Reagan signed an executive order declaring a total embargo on U.S. trade with Sandinista Nicaragua, as well as cutting air and sea links. In one blow, Washington has cut off the local "branch office bourgeoisie" in Nicaragua from their home offices. As the *New York Times* (2 May) editorialized: "The Administration has been so afraid of 'another Cuba' that it has made it almost impossible for the Managua regime to behave like anything other than Cuba." Indeed, Reagan may have pushed the Sandinistas down the "Cuban road," i.e., to the expropriation of private property and the establishment of a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The arrogant trade embargo is clearly *an act of war*, presage to direct U.S. military intervention. It is urgently necessary to defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Reagan's idea of "negotiations" owes not a little to that of his fellow anti-Soviet maniac, Adolf Hitler, who employed the *Diktat* or ultimatum. Washington's "peace" offer amounted to, as Nicaraguan foreign minister D'Escoto put it: "You drop dead, or I will kill you." To the U.S. demand that Managua cease military action against the "contras"—the cutthroat rapists, torturers and murderers left over from the Somoza dictatorship who have assassinated almost 3,000 civilians in the last three years—Nicaragua's ambassador replied simply "Never!" The Sandinista publication *Barricada* answered the embargo with the headline "Not One Step Back!" As Daniel Ortega vowed last October at the UN:

"... we want the world to know that the Nicaraguan people—barefoot, ragged, and with empty stomachs—are going to fight to the end, until we achieve peace, by either defeating the invaders or immolating ourselves if imperialist aggressiveness leaves us no other choice...."

"We are certain that our sacrifice would not be in vain... but our example would triumph and multiply among the peoples of the world and among the people of the United States as well."

It is our duty as American revolutionists to do everything possible to stay the bloody hands of imperialism. The so-called "new patriotism" is brittle; the "Vietnam syndrome" is still real. This time, there could be labor strikes against imperialist war from day one of a U.S. invasion of Central America.

In calling the trade embargo against Nicaragua, the Reaganites have accurately taken the measure of the pusillanimous Democratic Party "opposition." During the Congressional wrangling

Managua, 1979—
Sandinista
rally honoring
Vietnamese
victory. One
slogan read
"Imperialism:
you couldn't
defeat Vietnam,
you won't defeat
Nicaragua."



over aid to the contras, it was the "liberals" who called for exhausting other options such as a trade embargo and it will be recalled that loser Democrat Mondale called during his campaign for a "quarantine" against Nicaragua. When Democrats joined Republicans in condemning Ortega's trip to Moscow, the White House saw its opportunity, and the Democrats are already falling into line.

U.S. trade sanctions will have little direct economic effect on Nicaragua, especially since the U.S. NATO allies have refused to go along. Given that no one believes the contras capable of a military victory, the only real alternative Washington has to accommodation with the Sandinistas is to send in the Marines. Twenty thousand U.S. troops barely managed to take Grenada from 700-plus middle-aged Cuban construction workers in 1983. No wonder the press was blocked from the Grenada operation—the U.S. army evidently acted with the same bumbling ineffectiveness demonstrated by the aborted Teheran embassy "rescue" mission. The targets of U.S. imperialist attacks can thank in large measure the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants for the disarray of the American armed forces. And Nicaragua will be no Grenada—the people are armed and determined to defend their revolution.

Forward to a Workers State!

The parallels to Fidel Castro's Cuba have been evident since the first days of the Nicaraguan Revolution. A reaction-

ary dictator, a puppet whose strings were pulled by the U.S. right to the end and moreover who personally *owned* most of the country, was overthrown in a popular revolution led by the radical-nationalist Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). In overthrowing a one-family state, the political revolution had profound social implications; the unstable result was a petty-bourgeois government not committed to the defense of either private capitalist or collectivized proletarian property forms. Rather, the FSLN embarked on a balancing act between the bourgeoisie and toiling masses. Castro initially came to power by sending the Batista dictatorship packing, in the name of a petty-bourgeois nationalist regime. But the refusal of Esso (backed by the U.S. State Department) in June 1960 to refine Soviet oil led to the first wave of nationalizations of American property; the second wave, marking the expropriation of the Cuban bourgeoisie (many of whom reside now in Miami) went hand-in-hand with a U.S. trade boycott decreed in October.

Defense of Cuba against imperialist aggression brought to radical politics a new generation of young activists—who defied "travel bans" in droves and joined work brigades in Cuba or defense committees at home. Post-revolutionary Cuba, of course, has the lowest infant mortality rate and the highest literacy rate in the region. Today the U.S. press manages never to mention that thousands of American youth have gone to Nicaragua to see the Sandinista revolution for themselves: if Reagan's against

it, they figure they'll like it. This sentiment of defiance against Reagan's war moves must be mobilized *now*—particularly and strategically within the American labor movement.

Imperialist hostility (and that of the weak domestic bourgeoisie) cuts the ground out from under the Sandinista plans for a "mixed economy." Today 60 percent of the Nicaraguan economy is still in private hands—but cut off from dollar exchange, restricted to the paper *córdobas* which are worthless outside Nicaragua, the bourgeoisie won't be able to realize profits or attract capital. The Sandinistas cannot simultaneously win the war against the contras, prop up the bourgeoisie and feed the people. As they go under, the "patriotic" capitalists of Sandinista pipe dreams will be driven to violent acts of hostility to the regime; the expropriation of this dangerous "fifth column" in order to break their economic stranglehold has become a life or death question for the Nicaraguan Revolution. Under the constant threat of Yankee imperialist invasion and forced to wage war against the contra scum, Nicaragua must devote 40 percent of its budget to defense needs. Prices for basic foods have tripled just this year. There is penury at every level: the poor can't buy meat and the middle class can't buy designer jeans. The time is overripe to resolve this contradiction—and Reagan may have just provided the impetus to do so.

The pretext for the embargo was Ortega's trip to Moscow; for Reagan & Co. further "proof" that Nicaragua has

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