

Young Spartacus

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For Workers Revolution in South Africa!



Smash Apartheid!

The "free world" has brought us another gruesome massacre. On March 21, as several hundred from the black South African township of Langa, near Uitenhage, marched peacefully in a funeral for a student activist killed by police, they were suddenly confronted by at least two police armored personnel carriers. Without warning, the cops armed with semi-automatic assault rifles, pistols and shotguns opened fire on the crowd. The government's dubious official figures put the number killed at 19—witnesses say at least twice the number were murdered. Thus the apartheid butchers marked the 25th anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre—in which 69 blacks were slaughtered by police—with the bloodbath at Uitenhage.

In Washington, the commander in chief of the "free world" alibied this racist massacre, declaring that "rioting was going on" and there is "an element... who want a violent settlement, who want trouble in the streets." In defense of his anti-Soviet allies in Pretoria, Reagan denounced as rabble black marchers mourning one of their martyred. The massacre also called forth deep-felt outrage in this country, as thousands turned out to liberal-led protests from Boston to Washington, D.C. While black Democrats—who until Mondale's inglorious defeat at the

U.S. Liberal Democrats Are No Friends of Black Struggle!

polls had not launched even token protests over South Africa—dominated the official leadership of these demonstrations, it must be understood that they have been *forced* to provide some outlet for their angry constituency.

P.W. Botha, South Africa's president, vowed that he would "keep order in South Africa and nobody is going to stop me," as 29 black organizations, notably the United Democratic Front, were banned from meeting for three months and the army was mobilized to occupy black townships throughout the Eastern Cape region. Meanwhile, the government's "inquiry" into the Uitenhage massacre began to bring a fraction of the government's lies to light. Even this corrupt body now contradicts the original fabrications of the "law and order" minister. According to the testimony of both the commander of the police unit and his second in command, no gasoline bombs and only one stone were thrown before the cops opened fire.

On March 24 an estimated 35,000

streamed into Kwanobuhle in the Eastern Cape to turn the funeral which had been murderously dispersed into a mass protest. Whereas the 1960 Sharpeville massacre and the bannings and roundups which followed it crushed black opposition for a decade, the Uitenhage massacre has so far only outraged the anti-apartheid forces. For eight months, the rising tide of defiance against the apartheid regime has drawn in virtually all the sectors of the South African oppressed—the Indians, the "coloured" (mixed race), the students, black township residents and—most significantly—the powerful black working class. For what has changed since 1960 is the emergence of the 5 million strong black proletariat, many of whom are now organized into unions, and who wield potentially devastating economic power against the apartheid regime. Last September, striking gold miners struck at the heart of the South African economy when they joined the generalized outburst of anti-government protest. In November, the largest-ever

"stayaway" general strike hit the industrial Transvaal region. The Uitenhage massacre itself occurred right after a three-day "stayaway" shutdown by black workers in nearby Port Elizabeth.

For the apartheid regime, the previous methods of repression are no longer sufficient and, armed to the teeth, it looks to be heading for a major confrontation. The Uitenhage massacre could be the signal for unleashing a Sharpeville many thousands of times over. Apartheid's back is clearly up against a wall, but the white population is not only a sizable minority—over 20 percent—its vast arsenal includes nuclear weapons. South Africa has been "home" for centuries, as it is now, to the whites whose society is directly based on the superexploitation of black labor. Majority rule, "one man, one vote" means to the white minority "drop dead." They don't want to drop dead—and they have all the guns.

Up to now the class principle in South Africa has been subordinated to a nationalist program. Although militant, the black proletariat has not been organized politically as a class for itself and is still being used as cattle to haul the cart of nationalism. As long as the national principle predominates, a bloody conflict at the expense of the unarmed masses could be the regime's

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SPECIAL
FEATURE

BERKELEY: HANDS OFF GUILLERMO!

See pages 3-6



Organizer of November 27, 1982 Anti-Klan Rally Speaks at Howard University

Finish the Civil War!

During Black History Month, the Spartacus Youth League held a number of successful forums on the fight for black liberation, including talks, at SUNY-Binghamton, Borough of Manhattan Community College and at Howard University in Washington, D.C. At Howard, Ed Kartsen, a leader of the November 27, 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching through Washington, D.C., gave a well-attended talk entitled "The Legacy of John Brown and Frederick Douglass—Finish the Civil War!"

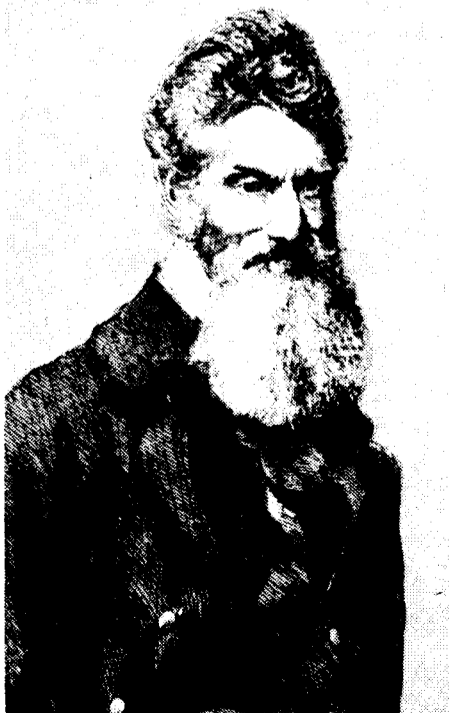
The forum at Howard was held in the wake of the Spartacist League's and SYL's recent legal victory against the FBI and U.S. Attorney General's 1983 Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines. Kartsen stressed the importance of the SL/SYL lawsuit when he noted during his presentation that, "Even in the Reagan period it is possible to win successes, it is possible to win victories. And the FBI had to back down off of a characterization of the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League as terrorist groups, and they had to characterize us as what we are, a political organization."

We print below Part I of the Howard forum, an edited version of the presentation. Part II, to be printed in a subsequent issue of *Young Spartacus*, includes much of the discussion period, which centered on the question of reform or revolution, from the role of the black misleaders of the Democratic Party to the fight against apartheid in South Africa, and of the necessity of building a Leninist vanguard party to fight for black liberation through socialist revolution.

PART ONE OF TWO

John Brown and Frederick Douglass stood on the side of a revolutionary struggle to abolish slavery. Revolutionary integration stands on the side of the abolition of inequality, the abolition of racist oppression and the abolition of class oppression in this country. John Brown and Frederick Douglass were political giants, revolutionaries of their times. The current opinion of their time believed that the abolition of slavery is possible through reform of the slave system or through reform of the Southern slavocracy, or through the

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John Brown and Frederick Douglass: revolutionaries in fight against slavery.



"We Stopped the Klan!" Labor/Black Mobilization marches in triumph in Washington, D.C., November 27, 1982.

gradual process over periods of years. The North tried to ignore it; particularly, Northern capital tried to make believe slavery didn't exist and would simply go away. But John Brown and Frederick Douglass forced that issue on the American political consciousness. John Brown in particular today is visualized as some kind of maniac, some form of lunatic who tried to carry out a desperate and wild action in Harpers Ferry. But in fact John Brown had a strategy, a strategy that made a lot of sense and a strategy which basically was the only effective strategy that could abolish slavery. He was inspired on the one hand by the British revolutionist Cromwell and on the other hand by revolutions that occurred in the Caribbean. And the tactics he was to use, was to organize blacks into armed groups which would have a military base in the Allegheny Mountains and periodically would go down into the valleys in the South and liberate black people imprisoned on the plantations, leading eventually to a revolutionary insurrection on the part of slaves and the overthrow of slavery.

Frederick Douglass was won over to that opinion by John Brown. Frederick Douglass came to the understanding that slavery cannot be abolished through anything but bloodshed and

Historical Picture Services

[he] shocked the Garrisonians and pacifists with that statement. Now while John Brown carried out the Harpers Ferry military adventure, Frederick Douglass opposed it primarily for tactical reasons. He felt that the situation of John Brown was militarily unacceptable and militarily impractical. John Brown nonetheless carried through that action and the result was that his entire group was militarily defeated and John Brown was hung. Now these are common events which are taught in history except [that] the understanding of why John Brown did what he did and the results of his actions are not taught in bourgeois history books. While Harpers Ferry was a tactical defeat, it was a political victory. It forced slavery to the front of American political consciousness—the question of whether the stagnating economy, based on slavery, was going to expand and refurbish itself by exporting slavery to the West and into the Caribbean, or whether it was going to allow itself to be constrained by Northern capitalism. The South's choice of course was to fire on Fort Sumter.

But even then, the question of the liberation of blacks from chattel slavery was not the primary issue on the minds of the North and was not the primary issue in the mind of Lincoln. The primary concern as far as Lincoln went was the preservation of the Union and he refused to put blacks under arms. During this time Frederick Douglass fought strongly to carry out John Brown's objectives, fought for blacks in particular to form up as militant groups as part of the Union Army, to fight for the liberation of black people from slavery. It also just so happened at that same time that labor in this country, organized labor, as well as organized labor in Europe recognized the struggle against slavery as their struggle, recognized that the abolition of slave labor was the heart of the future of labor that already was without chains. In fact workers were unionized for the first time in the North—the very beginnings of the labor movement—at the outbreak of the Civil War, and virtually entire locals dissolved to form up into military units to go to [fight against] the South.

Everybody knows that at the end of the Civil War, although slavery was destroyed, racism as a policy of maintaining black oppression continued. The North was dragged into the Civil War. it

was dragged into arming 200,000 blacks, it hesitantly allowed for the initial carrying out of Reconstruction, which was supposed to lead to black equality, but it made its alliance with the Ku Klux Klan and with the terrorist organizations which organized afterward to drive black people back onto the farms, back into conditions of virtual slavery. Now slavery was abolished, but the liberation of black people was to be put off the agenda.

From Civil Rights to Black Nationalism

The goal of the civil rights movement was to fulfill those objectives. The goal of the civil rights movement was, in terms of its ideals, to finish the Civil War, to finish the quest for emancipation. Those objectives have not been fulfilled. That's clear. The civil rights movement broke down on the questions of reacting against the liberal pacifism of its leadership. Nationalism first emerged not as a reactionary refusal to carry out struggle and total demoralization, but initially started as a slogan of black power, of independence from the Democratic Party and from the pacifists. That's how it started out. But black nationalism led most of the young blacks who protested against this liberalism into do-nothing, dead-end and reactionary organizations except for one, and that was the Black Panther Party, who while maintaining the idea of blacks organizing for blacks as the only way to accomplish social advancement, nonetheless had some kind of theory of social struggle as the only way to overthrow racism. And they recognized, at least in their deformed way, that racial oppression cannot be passively and gradually worn away over a period or through some natural process of time. Except that their theory of ghetto rebellion relied on the most poor, disadvantaged blacks, relied also on those which were more lumpen, criminal elements, which was not a force capable of accomplishing the mission of liberation. Ghetto rebellions and riots and police provocations provided more of an opportunity for the government to slaughter many, many scores of black people in the streets and to bloodily suppress any attempt at a forceful accomplishment of equality. The result was that the Black Panther Party stood out alone, the black masses being beaten down by bloody defeat. The Panther Party was isolated, and the FBI did the

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Young Spartacus

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Young Spartacus

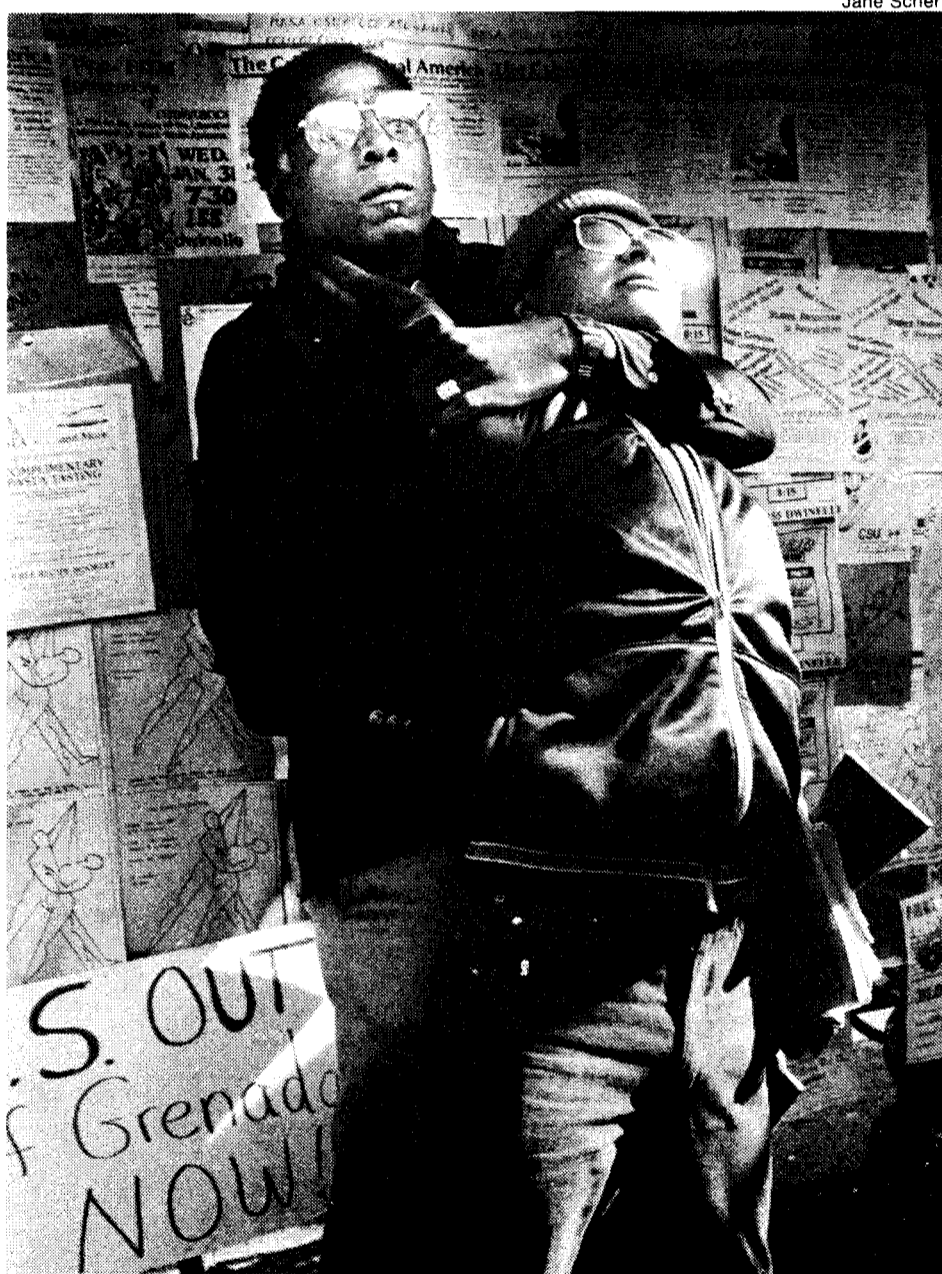
UC Berkeley: Free Speech Under Cop/Administration Attack

HANDS OFF GUILLERMO!

BERKELEY—The University of California and its rampaging cops have declared that student protest on this campus is *verboten*. Students' illusions in the "democracy" of this society and its institutions—including the birthplace of the 1960s Free Speech Movement—are being more than challenged by the blows of the business end of police truncheons, deadly choke holds, days in maximum-security cells for the "crime" of exercising supposedly constitutionally guaranteed rights to free speech and assembly. The photo at right was carried on the front page of the *Daily Californian*. It shows quite clearly a vicious cop assault on Guillermo Bermúdez—a 22-year-old Hispanic Berkeley student and member of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL). While UCPD cop "Choke Hold" Johnson (6'3") held comrade Guillermo (5'5", 129 lbs.) in this potentially lethal "pain control restraint," Guillermo was able to land a kick to a recruiting table set up by the U.S. Marines. It was for his leading role in protest against the Marines, U.S. imperialism's Number One strike force, that Guillermo was attacked and arrested. He was dragged away in a hammer lock which broke his arm, and as he recounts in his speech to a March 28 rally on campus (see page 6), "The intent—and the effect—was to cause me such extreme pain as to silence me."

Such police violence against even the tamest expressions of student opposition to U.S. government policy in South Africa and Central America have become the order of the day here. The campus cops act as if they're auditioning for Salvadoran death squads. They are a brutal, dangerous, extralegal marauding gang of licensed, armed criminals. But Guillermo Bermúdez was not only brutally attacked, he also now faces nearly *three years* in jail on trumped-up charges, including "battery" on the cop who choked him. UC and its cops want to make a Nazi-style "example" of this young Marxist, hoping to intimidate the entire campus. This vindictive campaign is clearly being directed from on high.

It is no accident that the UCPD rampage coincides with stepped-up U.S. aggression against the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, and new horrors perpetrated by the U.S.-backed apartheid butchers ruling South Africa. Reagan & Co.'s policies are not overwhelmingly popular—particularly among some student youth, who face becoming cannon fodder for Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. The rulers want to impose discipline and ideological conformity for their "Cold War II" and are more than willing to break some heads and arms to do so. Those who recall Kent State will remember that they're also willing to *kill*—something the UCPD has stopped short of, but is quite prepared for on the basis of their performance to date.



Jane Scherr

The picture worth a thousand words: UC's cop "Choke Hold" Johnson assaults Berkeley student and SYLer Guillermo Bermúdez.

"You drop dead, or I will kill you." That's how Nicaragua's foreign minister Miguel d'Escoto Brockman accurately summed up Reagan's latest "peace" offer. The U.S. rulers are itching to "draw the line against Communism" and overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" in Central America. Knowing it will take more than the mercenary "contra" losers to do the job, the Pentagon is rehearsing a Yankee invasion of Nicaragua every day in Fort Honduras. And war is being waged on the home front. Economic and social attacks on the working class, blacks, the poor are in full swing and on the campuses maximum force is brought to bear against all who would oppose U.S. policy and the resurgent military presence. The campus gestapo at UC Berkeley has written Reagan's diktat in blood: "Drop dead or we'll kill you."

Berkeley students are rapidly learning what every inhabitant of a black ghetto or impoverished Latin barrio knows: cops are pigs. The infamous cop

choke hold has become synonymous with racist cop terror. The notorious paramilitary sadists of the LAPD have killed many blacks and minorities with the "bar arm" choke

hold inflicted on Guillermo. The *Daily Cal* photo of Guillermo's victimization shocked the campus and prompted the Berkeley City Council to finally ban the use of choke holds by any police force in the city. But the UCPD arrogantly insists on their "independence" in the face of generalized outrage—and they are backed up by the UC Regents and their masters in Washington.

Recall that former California governor Reagan and his underlings have long considered Berkeley as "enemy territory" and a haven for "subversives." Attorney General Edwin Meese and top Justice Department official Jensen earned their spurs in the Alameda County District Attorney's office by prosecution of Free Speech Movement activists and destruction of the Black Panther Party. The National Guard was brought in to smash the "People's Park" protests. Regarding People's Park, Meese openly declared that anyone attending a political demonstration deserved to be shot.

This *Young Spartacus* Special Feature includes testimony given at the March 18 hearing of the Berkeley Police Review Commission (PRC)—a meeting which drew some 48 victims, opponents and witnesses of UCPD terror. In addition to the testimony reprinted on pages 4-5, the following elucidating examples of Berkeley campus cop violence came to light:

- On December 7, 1984 38 anti-apartheid protesters were clubbed, choked and hauled away for staging a sit-in for divestment at University Hall. Seventeen of these students were sent to jail for three days, some in maximum-security cells in Santa Rita. Five protesters, dubbed the "UC 5," still face prosecution for the "crime" of protesting South African apartheid.

- On February 27 the UC cops staged a full-scale riot at Moffitt Library on the UC campus against students protesting U.S. war moves against Nicaragua. A UCPD prowl car was used as a "cattle

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Hundreds rallied against apartheid butchery and UC cop rampage at "Charter Day" protest, March 22.



Young Spartacus Photo

Guillermo...

(continued from page 3)

prod"—ramming into the back of protesters' legs. Students were clubbed with batons and one cop reportedly drew a gun in the midst of the demonstration.

• Cop surveillance is now standard operating procedure for all student protests—videotaping rallies and presumably maintaining files on all "disidents." During the PRC hearing Guillermo Bermúdez' attorney Valerie West exposed an "off duty" UC cop tape-recording testimony at the meeting.

The overall conclusion of the liberal PRC, backed up by the none-too-radical Associated Students (ASUC) and *Daily Californian*, is that the UC cops are "out of control." No wonder UC Reichschancellor Ira Heyman deemed the PRC hearing "decidedly not helpful." Heyman's preference is for internal whitewash commissions to redeem his swine force. The minutes of the Police Chiefs Advisory Board (1 March) clearly reflect the mentality of the right-wing cabal running the campus: it bears no small resemblance to the führer's bunker. An unnamed participant asked, according to these minutes, "Was the Spartacus Youth League in the group of demonstrators?" referring to the February 27 "BART Alert" demonstration at which the UCPD cops rioted.

UCPD chief Derry Bowles replied: "a sense of something being wrong was felt on the part of the officers at the scene" ...there's a spectre haunting Berkeley! Bowles went on to suggest that the victims of his cops' terror at Moffitt "staged" the "incident" to "generate support" for their causes.

This conspiratorial fantasy is both projection and pretext: it is the cops and their masters who live in the underworld of conspiracies, spies, informers, public lies and private deals. In Cold War II, a little "red scare" can be used as an excuse for depriving opponents of the government of their supposed rights to protest. At Berkeley, the administration and cops hope to wave Guillermo Bermúdez' scalp before a restless student population as a warning. They must not get away with this shameless frame-up.

The same methods of terror and destruction by which U.S. imperialism is known worldwide—from backing the racist apartheid butchers in South Africa to counterrevolutionary genocide in Central America—are what UC is using on a modest scale against student protest. Twenty years ago, the fight for black equality, to smash Jim Crow segregation in the South, spawned the Free Speech Movement and challenged McCarthyite "law and order." The ruling class is determined that this

will never happen again, that no domestic unrest will grind the gears of the U.S. war machine.

But the campus has not been turned into the docile, mindless mass the administration longs for. On February 19, over 150 students turned out for an SYL-initiated rally demanding charges be dropped against Guillermo and the anti-apartheid protesters. On March 22, hundreds of students participated in the traditional "Charter Day" protest where the upcoming hearings of Guillermo and the anti-apartheid protesters were announced from the podium. Speaking at the March 28 rally, veteran militant and H.W.U. Executive Board member Stan Gow pointed to the necessary ally of leftist student struggle—the organized labor movement:

"Labor has a lot to lose in the general strangling of academic freedom and of student protest.... They had a lot to lose in the '50s, in McCarthyism, and they do now. And I lived through both eras.... I'm a longshoreman now, but I went to UC back in the days of the post-World War II GI Bill.... Then Rule 17 ruled the campus. That meant no student politics allowed on campus. That was the time of McCarthyism triumphant, of the special University of California professors' loyalty oath.... The only way these special acts were overturned was by the militant student struggle."

A mass, united-front mobilization of



UC cops drag Guillermo away from anti-Marine p

students. Bay Area labor and black organizations is needed now to stop the cop rampage and the regimentation of youth. Drop the charges against Guillermo and the anti-apartheid protesters! ■

March 28 Rally: "Drop the Charges Against UC Student Protesters!"

On March 28, members of the Campaign Against Apartheid (CAA) joined SYL spokesmen in a rally protesting the UC cop Sturm und Drang. Steve Rosing is a victim of choke hold violence by the UCPD and is still facing charges from the December 7 protest; CAA activist Andrea Pritchett spent three days in maximum-security detention at Santa Rita prison for participating in a peaceful anti-apartheid sit-in on December 7.

We print below the speeches of Stefan

Arnold and Guillermo Bermúdez (see page 6), Berkeley SYL members, and CAA members Rosing and Pritchett.

Stefan Arnold

We are here today to protest cop attacks against leftist students. The cops think they are a law unto themselves. They want to decide who speaks and who doesn't. They want to pick off reds and other activists and smash dissent. We are here today to show our defiance. We will speak. We will organize.

We are also here to defend those already victimized by these cop attacks. Namely Guillermo Bermúdez, a 22-year-old Marxist student who faces two years and nine months in prison from a lying cop frame-up, and also the remaining five anti-apartheid protesters: Steve Rosing, Oliver Nicholson, Michel Brode, Eric Seebass and John Day. All these people are facing jail terms. We need to show our solidarity with these people. We need to mobilize and coordinate our defense efforts and demand that these charges be dropped....

So if you have been attacked by these cops you should tell your story here today. I welcome representatives of organizations or individuals who want

Montague/Grassroots



Digby/Daily Californian

What's Next—Grenades Against Students?

Below we print the remarks of attorney John Soffer to the Police Review Commission hearing, March 18.

I had specialized, over the last three years, in legal support for people arrested in demonstrations. I participated in legal support in demonstrations totaling about approximately 10,000 arrests over the last five years. When I heard this hearing was going to happen I procured a copy of the mutual aid agreement between the UC police and the Berkeley police officers. Initially my interest in this arose because of the demonstration against apartheid at University Hall, at which there were no arrests, which I believe occurred on February 14. On that date Berkeley police department officers were called in for mutual aid and did form part of the Tactical Squad line, with the UC police. I might add that the conduct of the Berkeley officers was relaxed, their body posture was not stiff and was in marked contrast to the conduct of the UC police....

There are two main mutual aid agreements between the city of Berkeley and UC. One of them is the general statewide emergency mutual aid agreement which is for natural disaster or civil disturbance, including political demonstrations, I might

add. They have a nice list of arms that are available in Sacramento for such events, including grenade launchers. (Voice: grenade launchers?) Yes.

More to the point is a departmental order, I believe a joint departmental order of the UC and Berkeley departments issued 10/1/82 and in its twelfth revision, so I guess it's been rather controversial.... By this agreement the UC police and the Berkeley police have primary responsibility, the UC police on the campus and the Berkeley police in the city. I would suggest three rather radical solutions that could arise if this agreement were to be abrogated.

One would be for the Berkeley police to abrogate the agreement, for the Berkeley police to patrol the campus, particularly during demonstrations and to prevent excessive force by the UC police, at least in the case of what are essentially the commission of felonies, felony use of excessive force, such as I believe was used against Mr. Bermúdez, and to report the commission of such felonies to the grand jury. It would be interesting to see if they were pursued with the same vigor that Mr. Horner, the D.A., used in making this the only community in America where anti-apartheid protesters were prosecuted.

Steve Rosing in choke hold at December 7 anti-apartheid sit-in (left); UC cops riot at February 27 protest of U.S. threats against Nicaragua (below).

Police Rampage Must Be Stopped!

Jane Scherr



protest in "hammer lock"—breaking his arm.

the work of the dictatorship of the capitalist class in this country gearing up for imperialist war....

Reagan, the Democrats and the cops want a consensus behind the war drive. So they are bent on harassing, intimidating and repressing anyone who opposes that consensus. Well, luckily there are a lot of people out there who are not ready to go to war for U.S. imperialism. That's why Jeane Kirkpatrick got driven off campus two years ago. And all the crocodile tears shed for Kirkpatrick's "free speech" were really shed because it showed that the youth were not ready to go to war. That's why all this repression, harassment and intimidation. Kirkpatrick got a taste of what she deserved, but the Reaganites were embarrassed and want to make sure that no one else gets the Kirkpatrick treatment. They want the youth ready for war, ready for a draft, and they are willing to break some arms and some heads to do it.

This anti-Soviet war drive is bipartisan. The Democrats have voted for every Reagan war measure, including the MX missile. This doves vs. hawks is bullshit. Birds of a feather bomb together. So never forget—I say never forget that it was the Democrats that nuked Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Democrats that invaded Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, and the Democrats that tried to bomb Vietnam back into the Stone Age. The Democrats only disagree about where and when the U.S. war machine should be let loose.

So now more than ever Reagan wants the Soviet Union destroyed.... Reagan wants to destroy the victories of the working class, from trade unions to the Soviet Union. He wants capitalism to reconquer what it has lost. And we stand for the unconditional defense of the gains of the working class, for defense of the Soviet Union. What we like about the Soviet Union is just what Reagan

hates: there is no capitalism there. In spite of the 1917 revolution's degeneration it still embodies its most important gain: a planned economy. We say defend the gains of the Russian Revolution.

So that's why we Marxists want to fight this war drive. But that fight is inseparable from the democratic rights of dissent and protest.... And I say unite, because the cops don't care whether you're for divestment or workers revolution. We cannot let our differences divide us in the face of these vicious and deadly cop attacks. The cops want to set a precedent, to use Guillermo as a scalp to frighten would-be militants. Well, as long as we are divided the cops have won half their battle. It is desperately necessary to answer these cop attacks with a maximum show of strength.

Steve Rosing

Good almost-overcast afternoon. I'm not here today to scream about human rights violations in South Africa or any other remote part of the world. I'm here to bitch about the blatant repression of our First Amendment rights at the very plot of land on which we stand. Now first of all, I'm not a Spart, and never thought I'd speak at anything organized by the Sparts. I don't agree with their ideology or their general tactics. And I expect many others here present today feel in a similar way. But I feel I must stand behind Guillermo Bermúdez... against attempts by the university to make a big example of him, as well as the UC 5, bringing him on charges that he supposedly committed violence toward the police officer back here, one of our big brothers, "Choke Hold" Johnson. Shit, people have big brothers of their own. Why must our university maintain a position as our enemy rather than work with us as a friend in harmony toward higher education? Do you want to know why? It's because it is not our university, a "public institution," with which we must try to deal. It is the firm corporate hand of the swine regents we are forced to face. And as to justice for the political protesters currently being railroaded by UC, they now

face even expulsion plus criminal charges or even jail time. This very moment every word I'm saying is being scrutinized. And I'm a bit nervous with my big brother looking over my shoulder here. So I think I'll call up on Oliver Nicholson, a good friend of mine and co-defendant, to give me a little support. Please support Guillermo Bermúdez and the UC 5 tomorrow morning and on May 1st when the trial of the apartheid protesters begins.

Andrea Pritchett

My name is Andrea Pritchett, I'm with the Campaign Against Apartheid. While we disagree with the Spartacus Youth League on many points, very strongly disagree on a number of issues, I think the one thing that is clear and

Berkeley 1964: Free Speech Movement protesters surround cop car holding arrested civil rights worker; turn it into podium for 32-hour-long rally.



that we can unite on is the fact that the police have gone too far on this campus, and it is not a matter of isolated incidents, of the Moffitt Library incident, it's not the December 7 protest. It's coming down to a daily conflict with the police over where we have our tables, over where we're hanging our banners, over what kind of banners we're hanging.... They're intimidating people. They're trying to keep people out of the movement. I think the most absurd example of this is Guillermo Bermúdez'

case, and I just want to stress that if we're going to protect any kind of semblance of free speech, or free exchange of ideas, excuse the cliché, but if we're going to continue the dialogue, we have to stand in defense of Guillermo because these trumped-up charges, you know, this is an example case. If they can bring Guillermo down, then they'll be coming after us next. They'll be coming after you next. And it won't be a matter of, "Well, were you involved with the Marine recruiters table?" 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 5.

Now, just some testimony aside. I spent three days in a maximum-security cell at Santa Rita for having blocked the sidewalk, and I had to ask myself, was I there because I blocked the sidewalk? They don't put people in jail for

blocking sidewalks. What I'm supposed to believe is that they put people in jail for protesting, and I think that is a clear indication that we have to go down to that courthouse tomorrow and make a stand. We have to have a lot of public outcry about this stuff, because the longer we wait, the greater degree of suppression of our rights to speaking are going to be made. So go down to the courthouse and let 'em know we're not going to take this anymore. Thanks. (applause) ■

Down with Deadly Cop Choke Holds!

In May 1982 Los Angeles police chief Daryl Gates "explained" the disproportionate number of blacks who had died at the hands of the LAPD, victims of the choke hold: "We may be finding that in some blacks when it is applied the veins or arteries do not open up as fast as they do on normal people" (L.A. Times, 8 May 1982). Such is the swine mentality of the cops run amok at Berkeley. Racist thugs in uniform are not restricted to the ghettos—they now roam the UC campus. We print below the remarks to the Berkeley PRC meeting of Steve Becker, M.D., a Spartacist supporter, on the deadly effects of the choke hold, a tool for racist murder.

My name is Stephen Becker and I'm a physician in San Francisco, and a member of the faculty of the University of California in San Francisco, and I'd like to speak about the choke hold, because of the recent outrageous behavior of the California campus police. I think in order to understand the significance of the choke hold one only has to remember the vital structures that are located in the neck. The carotid arteries deliver oxygenated blood to the brain. The entire respiratory apparatus is located in the larynx and the trachea, and obstructing that, of course, prevents respiratory exchange, breathing. Compression or

disruption of the vocal apparatus, damage to the thyroid gland and blockage to blood draining the head. So the consequences of this are very significant and I think it's been made clear that people need to expose this, this is why I'm here, to expose this, it needs to be fought, and it needs to be stopped. (applause)

Question: In the other photograph we saw, with them using their fingers, I'd like to ask how important after this hold has been applied to someone, is it that these people be checked by a physician? One of the people said that after this was applied they were just left there, there was nothing done, and do they not need to check right after they have had this hold applied?

Becker: Well, given that the carotid restraint can lead to death, the answer would be yes, of course. It is a maneuver that is potentially fatal. If applied for too long, it can lead to death. If applied for something shorter than that, it can lead to syndromes such as a stroke, where there's deprivation of blood supplied to the brain and permanent loss of brain tissue, and therefore function.... And I think it only underscores the point about the very bonapartist nature of the University of California police, that they have seen [fit] to continue this practice. (applause)

There are other consequences of this as well, and the photograph of Guillermo makes this clear. That choke hold, as applied to Guillermo, runs a significant risk of compromising the cervical spine, the spinal column and the spinal cord in the neck. If that's stretched to capacity the vertebra can break and can lead to paralysis. In addition there are somewhat less spectacular consequences of fracture of the larynx,

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

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

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Here's How You Can Help!

What you can do: Contribute! It will take thousands of dollars to beat these charges in court. Make checks payable to the Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Fund. Mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101. Send letters/telegrams demanding all charges against Guillermo Bermúdez be dropped to: John J. Meehan, Alameda County District Attorney, 1225 Fallon St., Oakland, CA 94612; UC Chancellor Ira M. Heyman, Office of the Chancellor, 200 California Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720; and copies to the Partisan Defense Committee. Publicize the case and fundraise—in your union, your classes, your workplace or your organization. Endorse the demands to defend Guillermo Bermúdez: Drop the Charges Against Guillermo Bermúdez! Down with Cop/Administration Attacks on Student Protest! No Administration Action Against Guillermo or Any Other Protesters!

Drop the Charges Against Guillermo Bermúdez!

We print below an edited version of Guillermo's speech at the March 28 rally, which reiterates the testimony he delivered to the Berkeley Police Review Commission.

My name is Guillermo Bermúdez. I am a junior at UC Berkeley and I am a member of the Spartacus Youth League chapter on campus. On January 29, the Marines set up a recruitment table on Sproul Plaza. Aware of the bloody terror the Marines have spread around the world, from the Philippines to Nicaragua, I and other members of the Spartacus Youth League approached other student groups and proposed a joint protest of the Marines' presence. A crowd of 75 to 100 students gathered around the Marines' table, chanting and calling for "Marines Off Campus!"

I was among the most vocal of the protesters and was singled out. A big burly undercover police officer named Joseph Johnson, well over six feet tall, came from behind me and seized me around the throat in a choke hold. You may have seen the picture on the front [page] of the *Daily Cal*. I was jerked up in the air, off my feet, and carried by the neck for about 30 feet. I was breathing only with extreme difficulty. And I can only remember thinking to myself, "Am I still breathing?"

Finally Johnson put me down and two other officers grabbed me as well. One of them, by the name of Finger, twisted my left arm behind my back, and as I tried yelling against the Marines' presence he twisted it more and more, pushing my arm up higher between my shoulder blades. I could also feel one of the cops grinding his knuckles into my shoulder. The intent and the effect was to cause me such extreme pain as to silence me. They were finally successful in doing this. Subsequent medical examination revealed that my throat had been internally bruised, ligaments in my left elbow were torn and the radius

bone in my arm had been fractured.

I have been charged with four separate crimes: battery on a police officer, resisting arrest, vandalism and disturbing the peace on the campus. If convicted of these charges, I face up to two years and nine months in prison. This is the classic cop tactic: beat somebody up—particularly if they are black or Hispanic—and then charge them with assault to cover it up.

I ask everyone here for their support in beating this frame-up. The label



Barricada

Nicaraguans prepare to fight U.S. war moves.

of being a "cop attacker" can have very dangerous, indeed deadly consequences. As a Hispanic, my life would be in jeopardy if I'm stopped by the police and their computer reports that I have a record as a "cop attacker." Many black and Hispanic youth have been murdered by the police for less.

The job of the campus police is supposedly to protect students from crime, to make sure coeds get to their dorms okay and to regulate traffic flow. But this is not the case. The cops have become a law unto themselves, an out-of-control killer elite SWAT squad. We

know they have batons, pistols and repeater shotguns in their squad cars. We want to know: what kinds of reserve arms do the UC police have? Do they have M-16s? Tear gas generators? Sniper rifles with night scopes? Submachine guns? And what are the police "contingency plans" to use these arms? Clearly the intent of the campus police is to kill students in the event of a new major student upsurge.

The mentality of the police was captured in a recent statement by UC police chief Bowles after the Moffitt Library police riot. Referring to his cops he said, "They've had training, but they've never really been there under fire." *Under fire!* This outrageous remark is intended to serve the same purpose as the "anti-terrorist" barriers now surrounding Reagan's White House: to create a "State of Siege" mentality to justify repression of political protest. They want to bludgeon public opinion to facilitate their bloody counterrevolutionary policies in Central America and South Africa.

When 38 students were arrested last December for a protest against apartheid, the university and district attorney were the only ones to prosecute those charged among the over 1,000 anti-apartheid arrests nationally in the recent past.

Everyone knows that there is massive surveillance of student protests, yet in court, in response to discovery motions filed by my attorney, the police said they had no files on me, the Spartacus Youth League or the Spartacist League. This is stonewalling. What is the extent of this surveillance and other intelligence op-

erations? And who has access to these files? Do the campus cops share their information with other police agencies, the FBI, the CIA, or military intelligence agencies? What is the extent of their infiltration of student groups? These are questions that need to be answered.

As Marxists, we understand that the UC police are part of the state apparatus whose job is repression on behalf of the capitalists. We do not believe the police can be fundamentally reformed under capitalist rule. But the UC police—whose job on campus is clearly not to protect students but to attack them with deadly force—should be dismantled. At the minimum, they should not be allowed to carry guns. The choke hold should be banned.

The cops who assaulted me, the cops who rioted and beat students in front of Moffitt Library, the cop who pulled his gun on the demonstrators in front of Moffitt, the cops who repeatedly ran their patrol car into the crowd that night should be fired. We urge the students who were hit by that car to file charges. There are savage hit-and-run laws in California—the cops in that car are guilty of assault with a deadly weapon.

The UC police are a bonapartist hit squad. They more and more resemble the crazed Manson family. All the victims of the vicious UC police attacks should unite. There should be maximum coordination between our defense efforts. And all who are opposed to these beasts run amok, the students and citizens of Berkeley should join together in massive protest against UC police violence. Thank you. ■

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Trotskyist League of Canada

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

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

"solution" to continuing challenge.

To smash the state power which maintains white racist rule requires a revolutionary organization dedicated to the seizure of state power. White supremacy, whether in the form of apartheid or by some other name, is the foundation of South African capitalism, just as slavery was to the pre-Civil War American South. It will only be abolished by civil war—i.e., by a victorious workers revolution. When Bishop Tutu warns against bloodbaths, he does so as an excuse for pacifism and reconciliation with the apartheid state. Marxists must address the question not whether blood will flow—it will—but whose blood, when, where, why and how. Even the most militant variants of nationalism do not address the danger of taking on the formidable regime on a purely racial basis. Meanwhile, advocacy of interracialism is seen as connected with a program of do-good liberalism and "reform" which vastly overrates the humanity of the South African rulers and "democratic" imperialism abroad.

Desperately necessary is the construction of a Bolshevik party based on the black proletariat and capable of linking this powerhouse to the struggles of all the oppressed and disenfranchised in the nation. South Africa is the one place in sub-Saharan Africa where there exists the possibility for a workers state;

it is a modern industrialized society which can, if reorganized along revolutionary lines, provide a decent life for its citizens. There must be a place in such a society for sections of the white population—not least because on the road to workers power it will be necessary to break down the opposition of some of them, and their skills must be put to work in the new society. Only the perspective of a black-centered workers government, through forging a multiracial working-class vanguard, can break down the iron white-vs.-black line.

For International Labor Action Against Apartheid!

Anti-apartheid protests in the U.S. have been under the thumb of anti-revolutionary Democratic Party hucksters. Indicative of the outrage in this country following the March 21 massacre were protests of 7,000 at Harvard University and 4,000 in Washington, D.C. on April 4. At Columbia University, several hundred students barricaded Hamilton Hall in an action which continues as we go to press—they face possible expulsion and arrest. Democrats Jesse Jackson and Mayor Marion Barry were keynote speakers in Cambridge and D.C. respectively. Kennedy, too, had been invited to the Cambridge protest but failed to show. In solidarity with the militant protests of the black nationalist Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), Spartacus Youth League members carried placards at Harvard, including: "Jackson,

Kennedy—AZAPO's Got Your Number!" When Kennedy staged his hypocritical visit to South Africa in January, AZAPO protested against him as an imperialist enemy of the anti-apartheid struggle. It is indeed the most nauseating hypocrisy for U.S. imperialists—the brutal gendarmes of racist oppression from Detroit to Durban to San Salvador—to preach about the "immorality" of Pretoria. The U.S. rulers can have "one man, one vote" and still keep the black population forcibly on the bottom; it would not work that way in majority-black South Africa.

Most of the anti-apartheid protests in this country center on the liberal call for "divestment"—a tactic which is at best meaningless, at worst counterproductive and built in any case on delusions about the primacy of "conscience" over profit for Western imperialism. Divestment is a call for an international strike of *capital* against apartheid. The net result in those isolated cases where a "progressive" city council or embattled university administration does "divest" South African stock is to allow some sharp speculators to buy South African shares at a discount. (How about demanding that the profits from Columbia's disinvested stock be turned over to the Cubans in Angola?)

In the absence of a fighting workers movement engaged in concrete acts of solidarity with the anti-apartheid struggle, by default many students see "divestment" as a means to express their

opposition to the South African regime. In those instances, such as at Columbia, where the divestment demand becomes in effect a referendum on apartheid, we take our side with the opponents of the South African rulers while maintaining our opposition to this strategy of pressuring the "democratic" hypocrites who are mass murderers on a scale unknown to Pretoria and are the senior partners of apartheid to boot. The Columbia Spartacus Youth League has joined other students and militants in the Hamilton Hall protest in a simple act of anti-apartheid, anti-administration solidarity.

Communists seek to organize the vast power of the international *working class* to make fundamental social change—as opposed to those reformists and liberals whose efforts are aimed at mobilizing "progressive" wings of imperialism to give an inch. To the question "What can we do here?" we answer that political strikes by the multiracial U.S. labor movement, refusing to handle military cargo bound for South Africa and other concrete acts of proletarian solidarity would carry far more clout than any exchange of corporate portfolios, not to mention Democratic Party hot air. To lead such struggle, a revolutionary party in this country must be built—and its fights would be supplemented by militant student actions on the campuses. It is to that task that the SYL is dedicated, in order to realize the only solution to brutal oppression at home and abroad: socialist revolution. ■

Finish the Civil War...

(continued from page 2)

rest of the work: infiltration and destruction. Some elements went further underground, most of the primary political elements went to the Democratic Party. And meanwhile, the question of black nationalism still stands as a critical political issue.

Today black people are still held down as a race-color caste at the bottom of society. And racism still prevails. It prevails as segregation on all levels. It prevails as maintaining black people as second-class citizens. The ideals of the civil rights movement led history in a progressive direction, by challenging every institution of segregation. The civil rights movement posed the question of American revolution, because it challenged something which was at the foundation of American capitalism, and that is, what happened to the slaves. It is impossible, impossible to rectify black oppression, without going to the root of what runs America.

Today, we find that once the labor struggle and the black struggle are separated, one or the other are crushed. The civil rights movement challenged the foundations of American society. But the labor leadership, in the form of the leadership of the AFL-CIO, did not back that up. At the same time, there were people like DRUM [Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement], the Detroit auto workers who formed as black nationalist groups, who separated out the race struggle from the class struggle. The result was that they were in no position to make an impact in that militant city to unite black and white workers in the struggle that would have won. The race question and the class struggle are inseparable in this country. That's why the Civil War is at the heart of the American revolution and integration at the heart of the advance of civilized society in this country. The other side of racism, segregation, is accepted by nationalist ideology.

And today, there is a tremendous sense of demoralization, particularly given the fact that there's a Reagan administration, the conditions in this country are dominated by forces of counterrevolution, the politics which permit fascist organizations to mobilize and arm, to allow these mercenary nuts

and every other form of abortion clinic bomber and terrorist to organize; it's a heyday of a situation where Ronald Reagan can meet Botha in the White House, and allow the Ku Klux Klan to march on Washington.

But the fight for revolutionary integration is the centerpiece of a political program, which led the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League to initiate that demonstration on November 27, 1982, which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching. And there again that demonstration was an example of exactly what to tie together, the black struggle and the labor movements; it means social power. Social power that can effectively check the fascists, the racists, and open the way for social struggle in the direction of revolutionary integration. Because it was black people of this city and it was union workers in the Tidewater area, who combined forces to expel the Ku Klux Klan from the city. And we are enjoying right now the fruits of that victory. The Ku Klux Klan has been effectively, through this demonstration principally and ones prior to this, kept out of the metropolitan centers, so their terror and their bombings have been primarily in the rural, backwater areas. But even that victory's challenged, unless the Spartacist League and the people who participated in that demonstration can organize themselves and grow, to the point of preventing more Greensboro massacres, which are being planned right now.

Black Liberation Through Workers Revolution!

Now there's a reason why the Civil War was seen as the last progressive war that the bourgeoisie, the ruling class in this country has ever fought. That was understood by Karl Marx, who supported the struggle against slavery, he supported the struggle for its abolition. It was recognized by Marx, through the same method as is understood by the Spartacist League today, that social progress doesn't happen by accident, doesn't happen through prayer or pacifism, but social progress is the result of struggle. Now Marx realized that capitalist society is heading towards a dead-end, and he understood that the only way that it could be buried and replaced was by the organization of the working class in power. He saw the working class as the only class in capitalist society which did not directly

benefit off capitalist exploitation, and was its direct victim. For him, the Civil War meant the fight for the destruction of a form of labor which was directly counterposed to the objectives and interests of the working class. He sought for that reason, as a critical struggle, to advance the objectives, the ideals, not only of the French Revolution but the ideals of civilization itself. So it was for that reason that the Civil War stood as a revolutionary war, but a revolutionary war that the ruling class could not endorse afterwards. Reconstruction was destroyed. It wasn't simply a failure as is taught in history books, it was destroyed. It was drowned in bloody terror. And following the Civil War the entire ruling class, which relies on exploitation of labor not only within the boundaries of the United States but outside it, took the whole world out into a blaze of world war.

The Reagan administration today is preparing for another war. That's the war against the Soviet Union. Allowing the Nazis to organize the way they're doing, and preparing weapons is part of preparing for the organization of a wartime economy needed in order to make the war against the Soviet Union possible. In order to extract the Medicaid money and Medicare money, in order to build the necessary MX missiles and orbiting space laser stations, Ronald Reagan needs an armed, military force, just in case the normal means of oppression don't work. So anti-communism and racism are important allies, in the form of fascist terror, for Reagan's preparation for war.

It should be explained that the leadership of the Soviet Union is not the leadership which carried out the 1917 Revolution. The leaders that carried out the 1917 Revolution in Russia were revolutionary internationalists. For them the black struggle was critically important for America. They too, like Marx, understood that the core of the American revolution is the black question. The leaders of the Soviet Union today are not internationalists, though they stand on the gains of the October 1917 Revolution which overthrew capitalism. They think that a deal can be struck with Ronald Reagan and imperialism will simply lie down and negotiate with the Soviet Union. It's clear that there is no possible future with regards to American imperialism without throwing the world again into war. In Latin America it is clear that, particular-

ly with the recent cancellation of loans to nations like Brazil, the pre-revolutionary situations are on the rise. War against the USSR, war against Latin America and the preparation for war at home require the organization of right-wing terror for the purpose of preserving Reagan's power.

To carry [ahead] the struggle which Frederick Douglass and John Brown stood for, it is necessary to fight for revolutionary integration, which means the breaking out of despair and isolation which the black movement found itself in at the end of the civil rights movement. It means the fight for unconditional equality on all levels of society, now. It means centrally, political education, particularly for those who are, for example, here at Howard and who are in a city where the historic November 27 demonstration occurred. It means the fight for union rights, the right to strike, the right to fully enjoy all fruits of labor, the right to job safety, the right even to a job. It means fighting to defend the basic gains of two American revolutions, the separation of church and state, the right to bear and possess arms, and freedom of political dissent. It also means fighting to unite black and white in a revolutionary struggle to finish the Civil War.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Young Spartacus

2, 3, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!

Hail the Victory of the Vietnamese Revolution!

30 April 1975: "Giai Phong! Giai Phong!" rang the cries down the wide avenues of Saigon—"Liberation!" Triumphant North Vietnamese combatants rolled in on tanks to join National Liberation Front guerrillas to proclaim victory from the steps of Independence Palace. The swiftness of their final offensive had surprised everyone—not least their own military command—as the U.S.-backed puppet army crumbled like rotted, worm-eaten wood. A half million American soldiers, a million South Vietnamese troops, the most advanced military arsenal in the world, massive B-52 carpetbombing, napalm, chemical defoliants, assassination programs organized by the CIA—one of the most brutal wars in history could not crush the fighting spirit of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. As we wrote then:

"The military victory of the DRV/NLF marks the end of 30 years of civil war against colonialism and imperialism and their local allies. It means the overthrow of capitalist rule in South Vietnam, a historic conquest for the working people of the entire world and one which must be unconditionally defended by class-conscious workers against imperialist attack.

"We hail this stunning defeat of U.S. imperialism, the first in a major war during this century, and greet the victory of our class brothers and sisters in Indochina with internationalist proletarian solidarity. The struggle against the imperialists' Vietnam war has also been a major task of socialists in the imperialist centers, dominating the political experience of a whole generation of young aspiring revolutionaries."

—*Workers Vanguard*, No. 68,
9 May 1975

The Vietnam War marked a decisive turning point in U.S. history. The so-called "American century" died in the rice paddies and jungles of Vietnam. The anti-communist prejudices of the '50s that portrayed America fighting to save the world from the red menace were shattered as young soldiers discovered they were sent to fight an entire people,



Left: Saigon, April 1975—Victorious National Liberation Front rolls into presidential palace. Right: Last flight from U.S. embassy roof—see how they run!



Tenth Anniversary of Liberation of Saigon

an armed people united in a revolutionary war for national liberation and socialism. A generation of American youth saw the true face of this racist capitalist system, its arrogant, blood-thirsty barbarism.

Richard Nixon—who as vice president in 1954 argued the U.S. should use nuclear weapons against Vietnam to forestall the final defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu, who as president directed massive bombing raids against civilian areas of North Vietnam—today titles his memoirs *No More Vietnams*. All the insipid "left" apologists for the Democrats eagerly embrace the slogan of a section of the U.S. ruling class: "No More Vietnams" means no more humiliating defeats for imperialism—no more *losing* wars. It is a consciously counter-revolutionary call. We Marxists reply:

"Long live the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!"

For the victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants was *our* victory, and the victory of opponents of injustice and class exploitation everywhere. Their heroic defeat of the U.S. war machine stayed its bloody hand for a decade, buying time for precarious victories of anti-colonial insurgencies in Angola and Nicaragua. But the imperialist monster is on the rampage again, as Reagan drives headlong toward nuclear holocaust in his lust for war against the Soviet Union and its allies. Today a new generation of American youth is taking its first steps in opposition to Reagan's bloody war plans in Central America, voicing its first cries of outrage at racist police state terror in South Africa—a new generation for whom the lessons of the Vietnam War are vital.

Those who would fight against death squad terror in El Salvador, against CIA-backed "contra" murder in Nicaragua, must learn from the Vietnam War that there is no "political solution," no "middle road" between capitalism and social revolution; that only the international extension of insurrectionary class struggle can prevent imperialist-inspired counterrevolution. A movement against imperialist war bound to any wing of imperialism cannot win. In Vietnam, it was the heroic NLF/DRV forces which drove the U.S. and its puppets from the country, while the liberal-led antiwar movement dissolved. The task remains today to build a genuinely anti-imperialist movement which looks to the international working class to advance the cause of the oppressed

to victory.

The revolution in Vietnam established a society like the Soviet Union, where capitalism has been overthrown but a privileged caste, the bureaucracy, maintains political control over the workers. Those youth of today who are groping toward a Marxist understanding, a program to guide them in the struggle to change the world, have much to learn from the indomitable revolutionary will of the Vietnamese combatants. But youth must also understand the bitter fruits of Stalinism—the nationalist ideology of a bureaucratic strata seeking "peaceful coexistence" with capitalist reaction—which today finds its most grotesque expression in China's obscene counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism against the USSR and Indochina. For proletarian political revolutions to shatter the Stalinist bureaucracies, establish mass organs of workers democracy and open the road to socialism!

Vietnam today, despite enormous poverty, has taken great strides forward in achieving genuine national reunification, regaining self-sufficiency in food production, reconstructing a land devastated by four decades of imperialist aggression, persevering in the face of a vindictive international blockade of foreign trade and technical assistance. Recent victories by Vietnamese and Kampuchean forces have driven out of Cambodia the last nests of CIA-sponsored counterrevolutionaries fighting to return to power the genocidal Pol Pot clique. Today, ten years after the liberation of Saigon, we hail these victories, and fight here in the belly of the imperialist beast for workers rule, under the Trotskyist banner of international socialist revolution. ■



Ho Chi Minh (above). Spartacist called for military victory of NLF/DRV forces from outset of Vietnam War. 1965 solidarity telegram (right).

Telegram

Sunday, 7 February 1965

President Ho Chi Minh
Democratic Republic
of Vietnam
Hanoi, North Vietnam

Spartacist in fullest
solidarity with defense of
your country against
attack by United States
imperialism. Heroic struggle
of Vietnamese working
people furthers the
American revolution.

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