

Young Spartacus

NUMBER 134

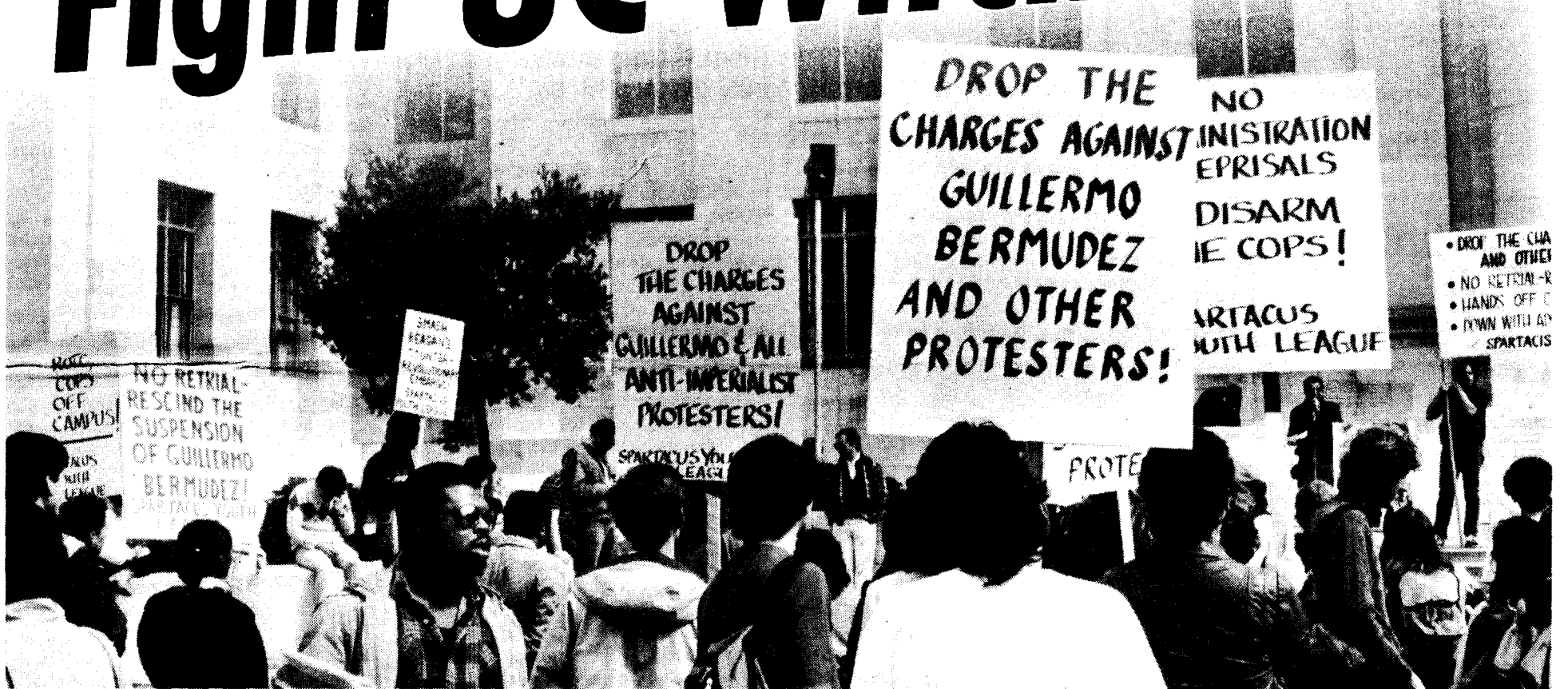
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X-523

MARCH 1986

Drop the Charges Against Bermúdez! No Retrial!

Berkeley Students Fight UC Witchhunt!



UC Berkeley, March 12: SYL-initiated united-front protest to defend Guillermo Bermúdez against UC/cop frame-up.

Workers Vanguard Photo

BERKELEY—On March 12 over 200 outraged students rallied here at the University of California's Sproul Plaza to condemn the university administration's vendetta against Spartacus Youth League member Guillermo Bermúdez. Arrested in January 1985 for leading a militant protest against Marine recruiters on campus, Guillermo has been dragged through both the criminal courts and UC Berkeley's own "disciplinary" bodies. Guillermo faced phony charges of "assaulting" the UC cops who brutalized him during his arrest, when UC cop Joseph Johnson held Guillermo in a potentially lethal choke hold and with the aid of another of UC's "finest," proceeded to break Guillermo's arm. More than a year later, these ludicrous charges resulted in a hung jury—thus adding to the long list of UCB's failures to get a single criminal conviction in court against the student protesters they have vowed to quash. Vindictively bent on "getting" Guillermo by any means necessary, the administration has suspended Guillermo on the same charges and cop "evidence" that fell apart in court. UC's cohorts in the Alameda County DA's office announced that they will take the case to court again in yet another trial—scheduled to begin May 8.

Uniting in defense of Guillermo and defiant against the university's attempt to make this Marxist militant an "example," student and local activists turned out March 12 to indict the real criminals—UC Berkeley and its uniformed thugs. The state/university conspiracy against Guillermo was designed to isolate him as an avowed communist and to spearhead the campaign to repress all student protest at Berkeley. Police savagery against student demonstrations, ostentatious videotaping of protest actions, the infiltration of campus



SYLer Guillermo Bermúdez brutally "restrained" in choke hold by UC cops for leading anti-Marine protest, January 1985.

groups by a spy (later arrested for theft) hired by the campus police, mass arrests and prosecutions: this is all supposed to create a climate of fear. But it has not worked—not by a long shot. Guillermo has become a symbol of resistance for all those determined *not* to be bound and gagged by the administration in the service of Reagan reaction.

Among those who spoke from the steps in Sproul Plaza were Rodney Ward from the Campaign Against Apartheid (CAA) and Rita Himes of the Students Against Intervention in Central America (SAICA)—both of whom were themselves recently dragged before

university kangaroo courts for protesting ROTC last year (see accompanying text of these speeches). Hundreds of students mobilized in their defense, and the "ROTC 5" have had all the charges against them dropped. But Berkeley stubbornly persists in its campaign against comrade Guillermo, in opposition to the findings of both its own "Student Conduct Committee"—designed to be a rubber stamp for administration repression—and the jury trial.

This obsessive determination to "get" Guillermo has been met with an impressively widespread, united protest throughout the campus. George Kauffman, a contributor to the local publication *Grassroots*, told the March 12 rally: "I admire anybody that can take on the Marine Corps.... They assassinated Sandino; they brought Somoza Senior to power; they kept Somoza Junior in power until the Sandinista revolution." Former American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Local 1474 organizer and Berkeley student John Williams stated he was "compelled to speak out against the railroading of Mr. Bermúdez, because I was an eyewitness to what happened the day he was arrested.... If anyone should be suspended, it should be the police officers who committed perjury in a court of

continued on page 8

**FLASH!
BRUTAL BUST
AT BERKELEY
SEE PAGE 10**

On the Future of the Spartacus Youth League

Walkabout

A short period of wandering bush life, known as the walkabout, engaged in by aborigines and other peoples as an interruption of regular work, may resemble what the editors of *Young Spartacus* might be doing for a while.

A discussion is underway in the Spartacist League and the SYL, disciplined youth section of the SL, over what to do with the youth group and its newspaper, *YSp*. The proposal which seems to be finding favor is to liquidate the national youth organization *per se* in favor of building active local Spartacus Youth clubs, and to establish a youth commission of the party Central Committee with the right to publish from two to four pages a month in *Workers Vanguard* under the *YSp* masthead. The cartoon printed at right, which appears on the front cover of the party discussion bulletin on the youth, gives a clue to how the discussion got started and how it is proceeding. A document written by an Atlanta comrade lays the situation out soberly:

"It is necessary to face the reality of the youth organization being a dead letter but that there are opportunities in the country for the party to intersect the next generation. I have more confidence in the ability of the party to lead this work than the weak and strapped youth organization."

A document by a Chicago comrade described the evolution of the difficulties of the present SYL:

"It's hard to say when the SYL stopped being 'vibrant,' 'dynamic,' and all the other things youth are supposed to be characterized by. One symbolic date is late April 1975, when the DRV [North Vietnamese] tanks entered Saigon. We organized a May Day rally in Sproul Plaza at U Cal Berkeley. About a thousand students showed up to celebrate. Country Joe McDonald sang the 'Vietnam Rag.' Our bloc partner, Mad Mike Delacour of People's Park fame, led the crowd into the street, and we 'took' Telegraph Ave. It was like the radical student movement breathing a last, sweet sigh....

"Nobody tried to make it hard to join the SYL; it was a result of the drying up of student radicalism. The RCY's T&P [Tasks and Perspectives document] of 1972 talked about establishing 'ourselves as the hard, communist proletarian pole within the radical student movement.' But the radical student movement ceased to exist shortly afterwards. From a group of largely uncommitted, questioning, subjectively revolutionary kids led by a core of hardened cadres, the typical youth local became a tight group of hard communists with at best one or two callow recruits clinging to the fringe."

A quip that has made the rounds for years, "the youth leaders of today are the youth leaders of tomorrow," indicates the problem of maintaining an organizationally independent youth group. Some of us centrally involved in the production of *YSp* and in directing campus work have had a rather protracted "youth," while the most innovative and aggressive ideas for youth work and our paper have continued to come from senior party leaders. As far as the youth center is concerned, aside from the occasional politically deviant act of New Leftist idiocy or mindless sectarianism, we've been characterized on the whole as dutiful, slouching toward geriatric. But with only a couple dozen non-party youth in the SYL, the maintenance of separate organizational structures and a press has become a luxury which an overstrained party probably can no longer afford.

The discussion was precipitated by a fight over the content, management and usefulness of *Young Spartacus*. A document authored by comrade Emily Tanner, the SL Political Bureau representative to the youth, entitled "Do We Have a Youth Organization?", dated 21 January 1986, centered on problems with *Young Spartacus* and complained, "The party never gets the full story." The debate quickly broadened to an assessment of the resources and stress points

of the party as a whole. A top party leader, long a patriot of the youth organization, noted the difficulty of our small party maintaining its geographical extension in this country: "Our presence in areas is a lot more important than the youth organization which can be reconstituted in any form within three months." Thus we gain something with the controlled contraction we are contemplating in giving up *Young Spartacus*—a relief of pressure on the comp crew and party editorial staff, and the ability to pour what resources we have, which are meager, into maintaining the weaker branches.

The viability of the present youth organization was already a big worry at the SYL National Committee plenum held last summer. In the wake of the widespread campus protests over South African apartheid, however, we hoped to make a breakthrough and regenerate the SYL.

At the SL Central Committee plenum held concurrently with the SYL gathering, the party assumed central responsibility for educating the youth members of the common movement. Education is traditionally one of the central concerns of a communist youth organization, but it was recognized that the SYL leaders, in part as a result of the general deterioration of public education in this country, were fit subjects for the benefits of an educational program rather than appropriate candidates to lead one.

It is telling that the present proposal has evoked virtually no opposition. In her document SYL national secretary Alison Spencer wrote: "It would be refreshing if there were hordes of youth members who would like to kill their elected representative for not fighting a proposal for liquidation of their organization." The contribution from Atlanta noted: "After an automatic reflex of youth patriotism... we realized it won't make much difference to us here.... Our new member... was barely affected, he joined programmatically, and was won on the question of the party. The youth clubs as proposed reflect what he has been experiencing as a youth recruit. Education has been the foremost activity here."

In the branches, the present structure has meant a cumbersome duplication of posts—party and youth organizers, party and youth treasurers, party and

youth sales directors. The document from Chicago noted: "The proposal, rather than posing a host of new organizational questions, will take some unnecessary, duplicative, ersatz organizational questions off the agenda. The comrades should be concentrating on the political tasks posed by the need to intersect today's not-so-radical student movement."

On the press side, *YSp* has been criticized frequently for tending to be a "mini-*Workers Vanguard*," recapping the month's top stories while slighting the work of the active campus fractions and only infrequently addressing questions of special interest to youth. The *YSp* articles which have been the most appreciated by comrades have been the "canned copy" consisting of editorials and public speeches given by senior party leaders—for example, comrade George Foster's class on Germany 1919-1923 (see *YSp* Nos. 121 and 125), comrade Ed Clarkson's educational on Lenin's "Left-Wing" Communism (see *YSp* Nos. 130 and 131), and the many presentations by comrade Joseph Seymour which have been a *YSp* staple over the years. We are confident that during a hiatus of a separate *YSp*, such material would be eagerly welcomed by the editors of quadrilingual *Spartacist* and *Women and Revolution* as well as *Workers Vanguard*.

Our political tasks have not changed: we need to continue building communist youth fractions that intervene in the political struggles of working-class, minority and student youth and getting out propaganda both pedagogical and agitational, addressing the issues confronting them. What the mechanisms are for carrying out this work is a subordinate question. Winning the new generation to Marxism is critical for the future of the communist vanguard and the continuity of revolutionary leadership for the working class. If we can't find among the youth of today some working-class leaders and party cadres for tomorrow, then we are sunk.

Our intention is to build vital youth clubs, which under the guidance of party locals and the party center will continue doing good communist youth work. We're proud of the work we have done, like the SYL "Nicabucks" campaign last year. SYLers hit the campuses and factory gates from coast to coast and collected over \$25,000 in hard currency



for embattled Nicaragua. While the rest of the left was stymied in anti-Soviet paralysis, the "Nicabucks" campaign for material aid to "Crush the Contras" became a vehicle for young workers and students to express their opposition to the war moves of this capitalist American government.

We also want to maintain the flexibility to publish, in special supplements where appropriate, agitational articles when things get hot. Last spring's anti-apartheid protests, for example, were an important opportunity for intervention on the campuses. Centered on the liberal call for divestment, however, that "movement" has largely fizzled and/or been co-opted to mainstream Democratic Party liberalism. But when thousands turned out—sometimes quite militantly—to express their outrage over apartheid's brutal repression, *Young Spartacus* was our political weapon. We intervened to "divest" students of their illusions that the American ruling class—the people who bombed Hiroshima, Vietnam and Philadelphia MOVE—can somehow become moral agents of social change against their junior partners in the apartheid regime.

There are pockets of genuine anti-imperialist sentiment among student youth today. The broad support for the defense of our comrade Guillermo Bermúdez who faces criminal prosecution because he led a protest against Marine recruiters in Berkeley attests to this. Often spontaneously, students have demonstrated their gut hatred of U.S. imperialism by running the key architects and agencies of counterrevolutionary terror off the campuses. Our party must win the best of these young militants away from "protest politics" aimed at pressuring imperialism—we must win them to the program of socialist revolution.

As Marxists, we understand that today is different from yesterday and tomorrow will be different from today. The Reagan regime is viciously grinding the population of this country, especially the black population. Busting unions and slashing social programs, the ruling class of this country is preparing quite openly for anti-Soviet World War III. This is an inherently and fundamentally unstable situation which promises a social explosion of some kind. American workers have begun to fight back; in a spate of strike actions throughout the country, there's plenty of determination. What's missing is a revolutionary leadership to take these struggles to victory. One solid win for the working class would dramatically alter the political climate, inspiring embattled labor, minorities and youth slated to be cannon fodder for U.S. imperialism to strike back against the insane warmongers running this country. Where and when it cracks, we better be there with the class-struggle program that can win. That's what we're here for and our present tasks are straightforward: education, walkabout—and be prepared to swing fast. ■

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In Search of The Amazon Basin

Ignorance is always weakness, and for a Marxist organization whose goal is the emancipation of all the oppressed and building a party to that end, ignorance is death. The *Young Spartacus* (March 1985) article entitled "Reagan Nukes Education" discussed the deteriorating American school system calculated to produce ignorant youth in a period of reaction and Cold War. Particularly now, the education of a Marxist cadre is a crucial task for a Leninist organization. In this spirit, the Spartacist League/U.S. has instituted a nationally centralized program of internal educa-

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Like literacy? Love Russia! Afghan women learning to read are protected against CIA-backed mullah scum by Soviet Red Army, founded by Leon Trotsky.

tion in Marxism and general knowledge, with overwhelming impact in the party. Over the past nine months we have had two national educational and examinations. We print below a selection of questions and possible answers given to all members of the SL/SYL in the mandatory national exams (it is left to our readers to try and figure out which are the allegedly correct answers). Through a combination of Jesuitical Catholic discipline, unholy dread, drill, peer pressure, cramming and/or simply a genuine thirst for knowledge, comrades have learned.

The first exam centered on geography and key dates in world history, such as the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. Comrades pored over atlases for weeks, memorizing the major cities, rivers, oceans and moun-

tain ranges of the world. The second exam was on basic Marxism (especially Marxist economics) and "general knowledge," touching on the history of natural and applied science, trade, philosophy and warfare. Assigned readings were Marx's "Theses on Feuerbach" (1845) and *Value, Price and Profit* (1865); Engels' "Principles of Communism" and the "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith" (both from 1847); Lenin's "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism" (1913); and Trotsky's "Ninety Years of the Communist Manifesto" (1937). The "Principles of Communism"—an early draft of what later became the *Communist Manifesto*—is particularly appropriate for our youth as it's a concise introduction to the Marxist worldview, written in a pedagogical question-and-answer format:

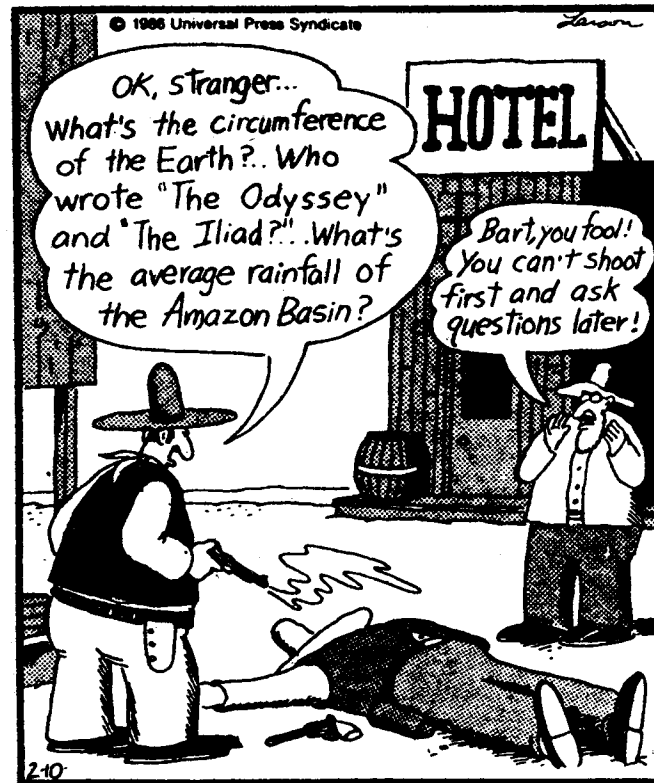
Question 1: What is communism?
Answer: Communism is the doctrine of the conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat."

These tests have been very effective in engendering among comrades interest in a wide variety of areas, a real motivation for study and a healthy amount of comradely competition. Another interesting effect has been a certain amount of controversy generated over historical/political/economic questions and the dogged pursuit for the correct answers *and* the correct questions. The job of the Education Commission (popularly known as the "EdCom") is not an easy one. For example, there's the challenge of constructing a question based on what Marx wrote in his "Theses on Feuerbach":

"The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men that change circumstances and that *the educator himself needs educating*" (emphasis ours).

One striking—but unfortunately not unique—example of the ignorance of American youth appeared in an item which, according to *Teen Age* magazine, was carried in the *Bulletin Journal* of Cape Girardeau, Missouri. A 16-year-old girl and her mother were outraged that "Lennon's tomb" (sic) was in Russia. "Maybe his music wasn't like everyone's, but... it has never been proven he wrote any music pertaining to communism" (!). Today, the bourgeoisie rightly views an educated population as a threat. The inner city schools are literally prisons patrolled by cops toting guns and metal detectors and the suburban enclaves have "country club" schools that don't teach much either. The result, even taking into account the gross class and race inequality, is roughly the same: ignorance is guaranteed. This situation has naturally reflected itself in our organization. A lack of knowledge of, or a philistine indifference toward, where the Amazon Basin is located is a death knell for the revolutionary party. To quote Marx: "Ignorance never did anybody any good."

To build a Leninist party, the tribune of the people and the vanguard of the proletariat, it is necessary that our members have an understanding of Marxist principles and world history. The point is to steel the cadre of this vanguard in the lessons of history and arm them with the program of class struggle. This education program is part of that crucial training process for revolutionaries. Youth seeking knowledge of the world in order to change it should look to revolutionary Marxism. That program is embodied in the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League. Join us! ■



A cartoon posted in NYC Spartacist local hall on day of the second national exam.

Educational Test Questions

- Put the following in their proper historical order.
 - The Peasant Revolt in Germany begins.
 - Arabic Moslems complete sweep across North Africa.
 - Galileo is persecuted for maintaining that the earth revolves around the sun.
 - Invention of movable type.
 - Columbus sails to the West in search of new trade routes.
 - 2, 4, 5, 1, 3
 - 2, 4, 3, 5, 1
 - 4, 2, 5, 1, 3
 - 2, 1, 4, 3, 5
- Why can there be no socialism in one country?
 - Socialism is possible only based on the world market created by large-scale industry which links all the peoples of the world together.
 - The backwardness of the peasantry acts as a fetter on the development of industry.
 - Because of the inherent tendency of a bureaucratic faction to seize power.
 - Because Marx and Engels said it was bullshit.
 - a and d.
- Marx defines the exchange value of a commodity as:
 - The value of capital used up in producing it.
 - The amount of socially necessary labor time it takes to produce it.
 - The interest, profit and rent embodied in it.
 - The wages of the workers who produce it.
 - All of the above.
- The Periodic table
 - defines the frequency with which elements appear in nature.
 - was drawn up by Mendeleev to arrange elements according to their atomic weight.
 - was drawn up by Heisenberg to define different levels of atomic particles.
 - is a chart Catholics use to tell when they can screw without getting pregnant.
- The Know Nothings were
 - an anti-intellectual movement of the 1930s who thought that common sense was enough to solve all problems.
 - a medieval heresy which taught that the will of God sufficed and knowledge was the devil's work.
 - the Berkeley SYL at the University of California.
 - a mid-19th century anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant movement in the U.S.
- Evolution is
 - a theory by a secret atheist.
 - God's truth discovered by Scots.
 - the theory that all species evolved from the beginning.
 - the idea that society only evolves without revolution.
 - the theory that animals are innately aggressive.
- The main historic reason the U.S. dropped the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was
 - to convince Japan to surrender.
 - to warn the USSR to stay out of Asia and to illustrate that U.S. imperialism was now master of the world.
 - out of pure spite.
 - to bring a quick end to the war.
- The radical-democratic (Jacobin) phase of the French Revolution
 - abolished the old feudal system of the Estates General and established the National Assembly.
 - was ended by the coup d'état of Napoleon Bonaparte.
 - completed the overthrow of feudal property and social relations and mobilized the nation for war.
 - represented in a crude way the beginning of socialist ideology.
 - all of the above.

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.

Editorial Board: Bonnie Brodie (editor), Dorie Reed, Kathie Somers, Alison Spencer

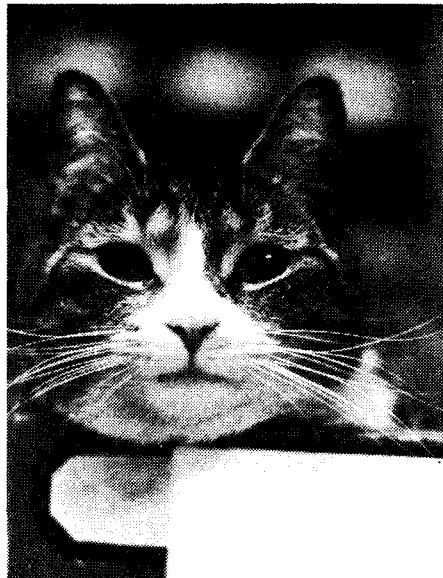
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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Gorilla Foundation



Young Spartacus Photos



Marxists and secular humanists find redeeming social value in these friends.

"A Dog Starv'd at His Master's Gate Predicts the Ruin of the State"

YSp has received the following communication from a supporter of the "Mongoose Conspiracy," a group of Marxists and secular humanists who believe that mongooses should be legal in the United States.

News has reached us of some particularly ghoulish impending research at the University of Florida at Gainesville. With possible funding from the American Heart Association, they want to drown dogs to see if the Heimlich maneuver (normally used to clear choking victims' windpipes) would be useful to revive drowned humans. Furthermore, according to the Fund for Animals, Inc., the university desires "to test the value of weightlessness on bone structure" by hanging scores of cats by the legs until they die.

On face value, these "experiments"

Telegram

17 March 1986

President of University of Florida, Gainesville, FL

Sirs:

Not sure of truth but if allegations of dog/cat experiments are true, then these are unusually gruesome and unusually pointless.

James M. Robertson

Protest telegram sent by a concerned individual comrade of the Spartacist League.

are a statement in point on the vicious idiocy of this society. As Marxists and secular humanists, we are not against animal experimentation *per se*; much of it helps alleviate human suffering. We

condemn the senseless bombings and sabotage of laboratories carried out by the more insane elements of the "animal liberation" milieu. But we cannot figure out the reasoning behind these proposals to senselessly kill cats and dogs—and neither can the scientists. Heimlich himself called the dog-drowning idea "a needless experiment [which] must be classified as cruelty." As for the "great cat massacre" weightlessness study—maybe it's a government plot by the same schmucks who couldn't launch a space shuttle without bloody sacrifice of

all humans on board to take their frustrations out on innocent pussycats.

Examples of such irrational acts abound. One incident comes to mind from the 1960s. The U.S. government tried to slaughter the only ("illegal alien") mongoose to make it across the border. They feared he would escape, breed—we suppose with female weasels—and take over the country with his progeny. It took a flood of protests to Washington to save the poor fellow. Mongooses, of course, are cute, friendly animals who will protect you from snakes.

The fact that capitalist researchers propose, in the quest for grant money, to hang cats and drown dogs is certainly a sick and bizarre symptom of a deeper disease. Barbaric, decaying capitalism showed its most hideous face—"scientific" and otherwise—in Nazi Germany, where Herr Doktor Josef Mengele conducted his "experiments," especially on twins, in the death camps. In their consummate irrationality, the capitalists don't give a damn about human beings, much less animals of other species.

Mongoose Conspiracy



no credit

The mongoose, native to India and the Caribbean, banned from the U.S. The Mongoose Conspiracy says: for a world without borders!

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Selections from Augurys of Innocence

By William Blake

To see a World in a grain of sand,
And a Heaven in a wild flower,
Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand,
And Eternity in an hour.

A robin redbreast in a cage
Puts all Heaven in a rage.
A dove-house fill'd with doves
and pigeons
Shudders Hell thro' all its regions.
A dog starv'd at his master's gate
Predicts the ruin of the State....

He who shall hurt the little wren
Shall never be belov'd by men.
He who the ox to wrath has mov'd
Shall never be by woman lov'd
The wanton boy that kills the fly
Shall feel the spider's enmity....

The harlot's cry from street to street
Shall weave Old England's
winding-sheet

The winner's shout, the loser's curse,
Dance before dead England's hearse.
Every night and every morn
Some to misery are born.
Every morn and every night
Some are born to sweet delight.
Some are born to sweet delight,
Some are born to endless night....



"Songs of Innocence and of Experience Showing the Two Contrary States of the Human Soul" by poet and artist William Blake (1757-1827).

How to Dump Your Dictator

Under Franklin D. Roosevelt it was reportedly said of Anastasio Somoza that "he may be a son of a bitch, but he's *our* son of a bitch." So long as the masses in American client states around the world remained mute and powerless, Yankee imperialism could rely on any upstart dictator to keep things in order. But following the United States' humiliating defeat in Vietnam, Washington discovered that endlessly pumping in dollars and guns was not enough to ensure the mandate of heaven for its toadies. In 1979, Jimmy Carter "lost" Somoza's Nicaragua and the shah's Iran, for which he was taken to task by the Reaganites.

"Neo-con" ideologues like Jeane Kirkpatrick have tried to proclaim a Reagan Doctrine of unlimited support for "moderately authoritarian" dictators like Somoza and the shah. Cooler heads in Langley, Virginia realized that even with a more "muscle" foreign policy, they can't keep their bully boys in power everywhere and always. In the last month, Reagan has had to pull the plug first on Haiti's Duvalier and then on Marcos in the Philippines. But the groundwork was already laid, as a whole legion of think tanks and academic contingency planners developed a pseudo-science of when and how to switch gears from backing your butchers to dumping your dictators.

One such hired brain is Harvard's

Samuel P. Huntington, who achieved notoriety during the Vietnam War by justifying carpetbombing as encouraging development by accelerating urbanization. Now, at the behest and expense of the Central Intelligence Agency, Huntington (together with Richard K. Betts) has produced an essay on "Dead Dictators and Rioting Mobs: Does the Demise of Authoritarian Rulers Lead to Political Instability?" in the Winter 1985/86 issue of *International Security*. No doubt for a hefty fee, Huntington produced such gems of socio-political

wisdom as the following:

"The level of instability in the year after the death of an authoritarian leader correlates more closely with level of pre-death instability than with any other identified independent variable. In seven out of eight cases of no post-death instability, there was no pre-death unrest; in all five cases of extensive post-death instability, there was serious pre-death unrest. Similarly, in seven of nine cases of no pre-death unrest, there was no post-death instability.... The correlations could hardly be closer."

Huntington's counterpart in the medical field would have noted the close

correlation between fatal heart attacks and previous coronary disease. But such a medical researcher would recognize the former and latter as phases in a degenerative disease leading inevitably to the death of the patient. Imperialism's prostitute intellectuals are prevented from recognizing these obvious connections, for to do so would be to admit that the fall of U.S. puppets and clients around the world is symptomatic of the mortality of the already moribund social system to which they have sold their outstandingly mediocre brains. ■



"Write in your own denomination and send photocopies direct to your favorite charities: freedom fighters, the Pentagon, Ferdy and Imelda, the deficit, the IRS, the PVB and poverty-stricken politicians. . . ."

Rigby/Daily News

"Moloch!
Solitude! Filth!
Ugliness!
Ashcans and
unobtainable
dollars!
Children
screaming
under the
stairways!
Boys sobbing
in armies!
Old men
weeping
in the parks!"
—Allen
Ginsberg,
Howl

The
Reagan-buck:
"In Moloch
We Trust"

Oberlin Anti-CIA Demo:

"Early to Rise—Kick Out the Spies!"

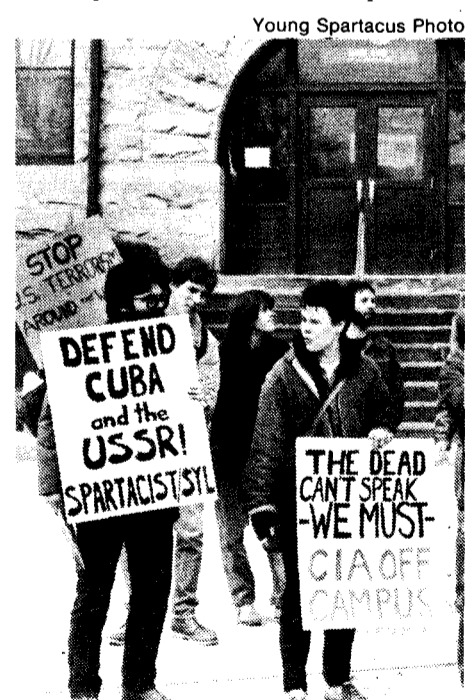
OBERLIN—On March 18 when the CIA attempted to recruit Oberlin students to work for U.S. imperialism's murderous spy network, they got the kind of "welcome" they deserve. By 8:30 a.m., a half hour before the recruiter was due to arrive, some 80 protesters assembled inside Peters Hall and linked arms to block the entrance, intending to make a "citizen's arrest" of the recruiter. A written statement read by the students charged him and the agency with over one and a half million murders, noting this was a partial figure. From engineering the massacre of hundreds of thousands in Guatemala and Indonesia to the assassination of Che Guevara in Bolivia, to the current war against Nicaragua, the CIA is drenched in the blood of workers and peasants around the world. Rightly seeing the CIA for the imperialist killers that they are, the demonstration demanded: "CIA off campus!"

Meanwhile the recruiter, not wanting to confront the angry protesters, moved his interviews off campus to an unknown location. One of his potential recruits wasn't so swift, however, and showed up to be blocked out by the students who confronted him with the CIA's role. The campus cops, who had been present to intimidate the protesters, whisked away the aspiring paid killer in a squad car to his interview.

The demonstrators moved outside and held a spirited rally near the main classroom building. They chanted "No pasarán!" "Early to rise, kick out the spies!" "CIA off campus!" Many students were motivated by solidarity with the Nicaraguan Revolution against the bloody counterrevolutionary terror being carried out by the CIA there. They particularly liked the Spartacus Youth League chant: "Roach Motels for the CIA, they check in and there they stay!"

Upset by the militancy of the crowd, one member of the Democratic Socialists of America, Jeff Goldwasser, whined that perhaps they should "whisper" the charges. The other protesters, not worried about "offending" the killer spy agency, laughed down this idiocy.

The protest was held in the spirit of a



United-front action kept CIA recruiter off Oberlin campus, March 18. Keep the butchers on the run!

real united front: unity in action where various political views were expressed. One clever leaflet advertised "summer jobs with the CIA" offering "many positions at scenic Camp Genocide—rural & urban locations around the world," and "Boating & Fishing instructor—enjoy red-baiting while relaxing in the sun, sand, and surf. Possible promotion to harbor-mining."

Another leaflet talked about "Career opportunities in Terrorism with our own CIA" stating: "You can build a rewarding career in any one of the following specialties: Assassin • Harbor Miner • School Bomber • Wiretapper • Mercenary • Disinformation Disseminator • Agent Provocateur."

While a lot of the students hit in a humorous fashion the real crimes of this government, they failed to address the main target of U.S. imperialism's war provocations and atrocities: the Soviet Union, homeland of the October Revolution. The KAL 007 spy mission, when Washington sent over 200 innocent victims to their death in order to test Soviet radar capabilities in preparation for a nuclear first strike against the USSR, is a grotesque example.

Spartacus Youth League activists made the connection between the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive and the crimes of U.S. imperialism's Murder, Inc. Returning SYL brigadista Michelle took on this key question when she addressed the crowd regarding her recent experience in Nicaragua working on a cotton brigade: "Reagan has declared the CIA-backed contra terror war against Communism. While the Democrats differ with Reagan on tactics, they share the same goals—destruction of the Nicaraguan Revolution and the Soviet degenerated workers state. Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs!" Defense of the Soviet Union is a critical stand for revolutionaries, particularly faced with Reagan's latest insane war provocations around the globe, including in the Gulf of Sidra and most dangerously in the Black Sea, inside Soviet waters near an important naval installation. In this crazed anti-communist climate, Washington is also stepping up its war moves against Nicaragua. Down with Reagan and the

Democrats' anti-Soviet war drive! U.S. keep your bloody hands off the world!

The militancy and determination of the March 18 anti-CIA rally stood as a refutation of the CIA's recent bragging about their supposed newfound success on campuses. The deputy director of intelligence, Robert Gates, gloated that whereas in the '60s the agency and other arms of the U.S. government became "persona non grata" on the campuses, now "there is generally a great deal of willingness to talk with us, share ideas with us" (*New York Times*, 20 January). The Oberlin students' answer for this plotter of mass murder was "Get the hell off campus!" Last spring when the CIA came to campus the cops moved in, arrested several protesters (slapping them with enormous bail and in some cases felony charges). SYL member David Cardarelli was among those arrested and he was subsequently suspended from school for daring to protest the killer spies. He has now been reinstated. This year the CIA was kicked off and the campus cops were reduced to escorting the lone student applicant to an off-campus location. This is a victory!

Despite the militant spirit of the demonstration, many of the protesters still hold illusions about the role of the campus administration. After a victory rally in the afternoon, students marched over to the Placement Office to question its director Julie Rea about why the college would let CIA recruiters come to campus. But, as the administration and its cops demonstrated brutally last year, Oberlin is not "neutral" when it comes to the CIA. A training ground for capitalist managers, technicians and ideologues, the universities are very much a part of this decaying system, not "above" it. It is no accident that Oberlin president S. Frederick Starr—a union-buster, anti-Soviet "expert," witch-hunter and avowed enemy of student protest—welcomes the CIA recruiters.

Driving imperialism's killer spies off the campus is a real, if symbolic, gesture of solidarity with their victims around the world. However, the CIA will continue to carry out bloody

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Soviet two-star general David Dragunsky ranks among the heroes of the USSR Red Army's victory over Hitlerite fascism in Europe. A Soviet Jew, Dragunsky lost his entire family when the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union in the fascist offensive called "Operation Barbarossa." But unlike so many other victims of the holocaust, the Soviet people were not helpless. General Dragunsky, as a tank commander in World War II, avenged the murders of his family and his countrymen, crashing through the gates of Berlin where the Red Army definitively smashed the Third Reich and liberated Europe from the Nazi scourge.

The Soviet Union lost 20 million lives in the war to defend the homeland of the October Revolution against Hitler. *Young Spartacus* is pleased to print below excerpts from Dragunsky's *Pages from the Story of My Life—A Soldier's Memoirs* (Progress Publishers, 1983). Since this country has not experienced a real war within its borders since the Civil War, Dragunsky's moving stories should be enlightening for American youth. Rambo hype to the contrary notwithstanding, when you mess with the Russians, you are taking on a state and people determined to defend themselves against imperialist aggression—and who have proved they can do it.

Reagan's salute to the Nazi butchers at Bitburg was a symbol of his determination to carry on Adolph Hitler's campaign, to root out the "Bolshevik menace." World War II was an *inter-imperialist war*; in that context we Trotskyists recognized the just cause of military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against Nazi aggression. While Stalinists claimed World War II was "a war against fascism" by all "democratically"-minded nations, the Anglo-American imperialists began preparations for World War III *against the Soviet Union* even before Berlin fell and Tokyo surrendered.

The U.S. rulers annihilated Nagasaki and Hiroshima, slaughtering hundreds of thousands of Japanese women, children and men in order to give the Soviets a message: the U.S. will stop at nothing in its drive toward global hegemony.

That Reagan honored the Nazi SS at Bitburg is inextricably linked to his crazed provocations against Russia today. The American rulers may think they can conquer the Soviets in a game of nuclear chicken, but they better think again. Hitler tried it too, and we all know what happened to him.

Despite the bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin, the fundamental gains of the October Revolution remain. As Trotskyist internationalists, we stand for the *unconditional defense* of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. And we sleep a bit better knowing that Marshal Ogarkov—who so impressively exposed the KAL 007 incident as a bloodthirsty anti-Soviet U.S. provocation—is now Supreme Commander of the Western Theatre of Military Operations.

Don't Mess With Russia!

Memoirs of a Soviet General



Colonel-General David Abramovich Dragunsky, twice Hero of the Soviet Union (top); Soviet flag raised over liberated Berlin, 30 April 1945.

Tank commander Dragunsky was nearly killed in battle when his troops came under German mortar fire. A 17-centimeter fragment bored through the Red Star Order on Dragunsky's chest and embedded itself in his liver. While recuperating from this wound, Dra-

gunsky was visited by a childhood friend, Pyotr Usov, who told of the horror of Nazi occupation of their native village of Sviatsk on the border of Russia, Byelorussia and the Ukraine. Dragunsky learned that his entire family had been executed and vowed to avenge their deaths.

They say the heart is a diviner. I was beset by sorrowful forebodings when I saw the marks of the nazi atrocities in the cities and villages we liberated in the Ukraine. As they retreated, the nazis left behind a trail of graves and corpses. And I had also seen Babi Yar in Kiev.

A few days later I went to see my friend again. And heard the sad tale once more.

On 25 January 1942, the nazis lined up and shot all members of the Communist Party in Sviatsk. They also exterminated old men, women, and children without pity. Among their victims seventy-four bore the name of Dragunsky, including my parents, sisters, nephews and uncles, and the rest of my family.

I had visited Sviatsk shortly before the war. By a fortunate coincidence, four of us brothers had come to see our parents at one time—my eldest brother

who was a builder in Moscow, Zelik, a student of the Moscow Institute of Chemical Engineering, who was younger than I, and the youngest among us, Mikhail, a tank school trainee who dreamed of a military career and had always followed my example.

All four of us went to the front when the war started. And our mother never learned that two of her youngest sons laid down their lives at Stalingrad. That was the thought that flashed through my mind as I listened to Pyotr Usov.

Our Russian neighbours had hidden my mother for a long time, at a risk to their own lives. Yet the nazis found her. It had been a bitterly cold day. The populace was herded into the square outside the building of the village Soviet. Then Mother was brought. An SS man shouted the question:

"How many sons have you, Jewess?"

Mother looked at him scornfully:

"Millions—the children of all mothers are my children."

"Where are your sons?"

"They're fighting—fighting against you, nazi scum."

"Curse your sons, Jewess, and we'll let you live."

People held their breaths, waiting for the reply.

The small, grey-haired woman squared her shoulders, drew in her breath, and shouted:

"I bless my sons, I bless all the sons of Russia. I bless them in their fight against the despicable enemy."

A burst of submachine-gun fire cut short her life.

After what I had heard from Pyotr Usov, I could no longer think of staying on at the sanatorium. I began getting ready to leave—for the front, for the active army, and if possible, for my old brigade.

* * * * *

By the end of October 1944, nearly all of Eastern Europe had been liberated by the Red Army as it stormed westward. The race for Berlin was on. Amidst the excitement of the troops on the eve of the final battle, Dragunsky recalls the personal tragedy of Red Army Hero and Civil War Veteran General Vassily Navokov, who lost his son in the battle for Berlin. The Soviet Red Army took Berlin in May 1945.

We were making slow headway, overtaking columns of lorries and cars, and all manner of artillery. Coming in the opposite direction were men, women, and children. They were in rags and barefooted, and followed the troops going north to Berlin with their eyes, waving to us fondly. They were the people who had been driven into slavery by the chiefs of the nazi Reich, liberated by the Soviet Army, and now on their way home....

The march of the liberated slaves had begun back in January, when our advancing troops flung open the gates of the first concentration camps and prisons. In Poland, we liberated the prisoners of Majdanek, Oświęcim, and other death camps. It was more than four months since those days, yet the stream did not end.

"Victory!", "Vive la paix!", "Pobeda!", "Frieden!" they shouted in different languages. And hearing them, seeing the joy in their haggard faces, I thought of the suffering the war had inflicted on us, of the toll of lives that it had taken. For the sake of liberating humanity, for the sake of these men and women returned to life, the trials endured by the Soviet soldier had certainly been worthwhile....

The second consecutive day we were fighting inside Berlin. The Heerstrasse area was cleared. Tanks and submachine-guns were at grips with the enemy in the Olympia Stadium and the adjoining streets.

Unexpectedly for us, the corps commander ordered us to head north. The red arrow that General Vassily Novi-

On 6 June 1985, three prominent Soviet Jews were excluded from the United States. Invited by *Jewish Affairs* magazine to a celebration of the 40th anniversary of V-E Day, Soviet general David Dragunsky, a Red Army war hero twice decorated with the Hero of Soviet Union medal, Lev Kaufman, chairman of the Jewish Autonomous Region, and historian Andrei Belaev were denied entry visas. Condemning the exclusion as "a blatant act of anti-Sovietism and anti-Semitism," General Dragunsky added, "We see this act as linked to President Reagan's laying of a wreath at Bitburg Cemetery where 49 members of the SS are buried" (*Daily World*, 12 June 1985). The Partisan Defense Committee sent the following telegram condemning this outrage:

Telegram

11 June 1985

Secretary of State George Shultz
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Condemn exclusion from U.S. of three prominent Soviet Jews, Andrei Belaev, Lev Kaufman and hero of Red Army triumph over Hitler, Colonel General David Dragunsky, whose family fell to Nazi terror. Reagan salutes SS at Bitburg, brings Nazi-style racist murder to Philadelphia as he prepares nuclear "Operation Barbarossa." This exclusion is outrage to every victim of and fighter against fascist terror.

Partisan Defense Committee

kov drew on my map stretched upward to Spandau, Ruhleben, a railway branch-line along the Spree and to the grounds of a large panzer repair works. The general wanted us to reach the river bank that day, make contact with troops of the 1st Byelorussian Front, and close the inner ring round the nazis in Berlin proper....

Our mission was thus completed. The inner ring of the envelopment was closed. The tankmen of the 1st Byelorussian and us, tankmen of the 1st Ukrainian, had made contact. Never were handshakes firmer, and welcoming shouts more joyous. The din in the square was unimaginable. There were cheers. Tankmen's and soldiers' helmets were thrown into the air. More and more men came running from both sides of the railway tracks. Tankmen kissed the infantry, gunners embraced the engineers. All of us were conscious of the historic significance of that moment. The capital of Hitler's Third Reich was tightly enveloped!...

The night was restless. It was the eve of 1 May. The fighting had abated, but we were on our toes. Corps headquarters was silent. I decided to ring the Corps Commander. General Novikov took his time coming to the phone. Then I heard his quiet voice. I told him who was calling, said hello, and began telling him what I needed:

"Comrade General, give me some infantry. I need hands. Owing to the shortage of submachine-gunners. Please, send me at least a battalion of submachine-gunners."

A minute passed, then another. I heard no reply.

"Hallo, hallo, do you hear me?"

"Yes, I hear you very well. I can't give you any infantry. I haven't any."

The general fell silent. I heard him breathing heavily. Then, he said:

"Dear David, I am overwhelmed with grief. My Yura, my son—he was killed yesterday. In Berlin—"

Stunned by the news, I was rooted to the ground. And the Corps Commander continued:

"He took charge of an attack, an attack of the motorised regiment." I heard the general sigh. "I've got Yura's body here, at my command post, right beside me."

"Dear Vassily Vassilievich, I'm too confused, I have no words. Please, be brave. I promise you we'll avenge your son's death, we'll avenge all those who have laid down their lives for the Motherland."

In reply I heard just one quietly spoken word:

"Thanks..."

By radio, telephone and other means of communication we had received the order: redouble your effort. At 18.30 hours all our artillery opened up in unison. The firing of many thousands of guns carried a symbolical message, warning the enemy that further resistance was senseless, that unconditional surrender was inevitable, that the Soviet troops would not stop until fascism was crushed for good.



Leaving for the front, fall 1941. The Soviet Union lost 20 million lives in the struggle to smash Nazism and defend the homeland of the October Revolution.

The nazi garrison capitulated. Frightened, hungry, unofficered, Hitlerite soldiers began creeping out of their hiding places before dawn—one by one, and in groups. They threw down their arms and surrendered. All morning and afternoon crowds of haggard, unshaven German soldiers came staggering to the pow pens. Apathy in their eyes, all they wanted was water, a chunk of bread, an end to the torment....

Meanwhile, the radio, the telephone, and elated voices all round made it known that the ordeal was over. No more offensives, no more attacks, no more shooting. It was unbelievable, though we had yearned for this hour of victory for four long years, for nearly 1,500 days and nights.

People accept historic events in different ways. But nearly in all cases, the events are impregnated in their memory to the least little detail.

We were gathered in the large sitting-room of a miraculously undamaged villa. At my side were those who had come here through the blood and suffering of war. We were out of our minds from joy, intoxicated with elation, and found no words to express our happiness. Not that words were needed. Everyone gave rein to his feelings in his own way. Dmitriev, the brigade's chief political officer, who had once been secretary of a district Party committee, wept like a little boy and did not try to conceal his tears. Chief-of-staff Shalunov, a man of great willpower, was wiping tears from his eyes like a child with the knuckles of his fist, mumbling something that I could not make out. The clumsy, unshaven Andrei Serazhimov yelled, "Oh, what a beast we've slain!", and showered the beast with choice unrepeatable curses. Someone kept chanting, "Oh boy, oh boy, oh boy!" And from all sides came a loud cheering, "Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!", rolling along the streets and squares of Berlin.

The Dragunsky family had no military background—for generations they were tailors and David Dragunsky, who was quite short, lacked the looks of

an officer. The General of the Army found Dragunsky insufficiently tall to lead his men in the victory parade in Moscow at the end of the war. But whatever he lacked in height, Dragunsky made up for in "nado" (the Russian word for something you feel you must do) and took his place at the head of the tankmen in the parade.

May 1945 was ending. The battles for Berlin were gradually becoming history.

A life of peace had begun for my brigade, stationed temporarily north of Prague. Saws and axes were at work: the men were building a camp in the forest.

One Saturday, when I was about to leave for a Prague theatre, the phone rang and I heard the corps commander speak:

"Rybalko wants you."



Bolshevik leader and founder of Red Army, Leon Trotsky, with his wife Natalia.

"What for," I asked in a troubled voice.

"I know nothing. You must leave the brigade and go to Moscow."

The news was entirely unexpected. I was stunned.

"Leave the brigade? How could I? Please, don't let me do it."

Novikov said:

"It won't be for long. If I were given your assignment, I'd be ready to walk all the way. Don't forget: you're to be at the Commander's at 10.00 hours."

I was decorated with the Order of Suvorov. After the ceremony, Rybalko said:

"The Army's Military Council has decided to send you to Moscow to take part in the Victory Parade. You will be in charge of the tankmen. What do you think of that?"

What happened then fills me with shame to this day. It is probably true that people grow foolish when they have an unexpected stroke of luck. I had never noticed before that I could be arrogant or over-confident, yet that moment I suddenly declared:

"I'm afraid all hell will break loose in the brigade if I leave—"

Rybalko glanced at me deprecatingly.

"Don't over-rate yourself. I suppose we better summon Sliusarenko, Shapovalov and Arkhipov. Perhaps it will be wiser to leave Dragunsky here, lest the 55th falls to pieces—"

I cursed myself. My appearance must have been pitiful. My eyes lowered to

the ground, I stood there, twirling the little box with the Order.

Military Council member Melnikov came to my rescue. He saw the state I was in, and knew I had blurted out something I did not mean.

"There's nothing wrong about a commander who cares for his men," he said, turning to Rybalko. "They have their hands full just now. Now that the war's over, the soldiers are converting to peacetime conditions. That isn't easy. I don't think we should look for a substitute. Let Dragunsky go—"

Bakhmetiev backed Melnikov.

"If you allow me," he said to Rybalko, "I'll take Dragunsky to headquarters and we'll settle the affair."

I recovered from my embarrassment. Rybalko walked right up to me.

"Well, what about it?"

"I can only beg your pardon, Comrade Commander. I don't know what made me say what I did. I give you my word, we'll not shame the tankmen's glory."

"That's different."

In the surviving military compound of a former military school in Dresden drilled the battalions of the composite regiment of the 1st Ukrainian Front. We were awaiting the Front commander for a final review before our departure for the Victory Parade. There was general excitement. And the most excited of all were probably the three colonels, one of whom was me.

We were on pins and needles, because the Front's chief-of-staff, General of the Army Ivan Petrov, had with his typical military forthrightness told the three of us we would have to go back to our units because we weren't tall enough. But he

had not ventured to boot us out before Marshal Konev came, and had put the matter off until his arrival.

It was quite true that comparisons with the rest were not in our favour. In command of the composite regiment was tall, slim, elegant Gleb Baklanov. The battalion of riflemen was under the strapping, handsome General Ivanov. At the head of the gunners was General Sergei Wolkenstein, who was both tall and smart-looking. Alexander Pokryshkin, leading off the battalion of flyers, was also of powerful build.

At dinnertime, Petrov's remark had become the topic of a general discussion. Wolkenstein suggested lending me his excess height. Pokryshkin advised getting boots made with high heels, and someone was handing out advice how to grow a few centimetres overnight. There were jests all round.

"Atten-shun!" The Front Commander, accompanied by the chief-of-staff and commander of the composite regiment, walked slowly along the files of men. He stopped before each of the battalions, and greeted it. He looked keenly in the faces of the men and officers, many of whom he knew. Then came our turn. My heart beat faster. I introduced the tankmen of our composite battalion. The Marshal was in high spirits. He smiled, jested, and was pleased with the outer appearance of the tankmen. Here I heard Petrov ask him:

"Comrade Marshal, what have you

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Young Spartacus Photo

Berkeley, March 25—Spartacist contingent protests U.S. war moves in Soviet waters and aggression against Libya.

Berkeley Students...

(continued from page 1)

law when they said Mr. Bermúdez resisted arrest!" Chrystalla Haili—one of two student members of the Student Conduct Committee who issued a stinging condemnation of the administration's action—read aloud their declaration, which concluded: "And as for the 'letter of censure,' please consider this a letter of censure from us, Berkeley administration, to you." The campus newspaper, the *Daily Californian* (6 March) editorialized:

"Not content to simply admit they were wrong, lick their wounds and crawl home, the university administration maintains it acted properly and redou-



Young Spartacus Photo

Guillermo and supporter at Sproul Plaza protest, March 12.

bled its efforts to make an example of someone—anyone—by suspending from school Guillermo Bermúdez.... If the university is really intent on enforcing university regulations regarding free speech let them punish the police videotapers and suspend themselves."

A resolution condemning the suspension was also passed by the ASUC (Berkeley student government), whose president and a number of student senate members endorsed the March 12 rally. Fifteen hundred faculty and students signed a petition demanding

Guillermo's reinstatement and the dropping of all charges against him. On March 26, Guillermo and his supporters were denied entry to California Hall (the administration building) when they tried to turn over these petitions to the Chancellor. Upon insistence, a uniformed guard yielded, and fetched Vice Chancellor Park to receive the petitions, while still keeping the students out of the administration's fortress. What's next? Concrete barriers and underground mines to bar students from campus buildings?

Guillermo slammed Berkeley's red-hunting campaign in his statement to the rally:

"Ever since the Free Speech Movement in the '60s, the cops decided that they would not let their patrol cars be surrounded by thousands of student protesters. Reagan and his top cop Meese still have Berkeley in their sights. And if they get me, they'll be coming after you next.... The mass protests and the sit-ins against apartheid last spring gave the administration a small taste of the student dissent that they are trying to stamp out. To this end they want to make an example out of me and this must not be allowed to happen."

Veteran champion of labor's cause, longtime supporter of the Spartacist League and executive board member of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Stan Gow—who attended Berkeley during the McCarthyite reaction of the last Cold War—also addressed the rally:

"This government wants to defeat the USSR and the working class in general all around the world—whether it be in the workers state of the USSR or whether it be in the unions of the United States. It's an all-out war. This government wants to regiment students mentally and straitjacket them to get them prepared for being agents of repression against revolution in Central America, Angola and wherever else they want to promote counterrevolution. The fight against repression of student protest is a fight against the government."

It certainly is. Reagan's attorney general Ed Meese, formerly with the Alameda County D.A.'s office, has quite a history, particularly with the Berkeley campus:

"When campuses across the state exploded in the late 1960s, he [Meese] directed Governor Reagan's hardline response.



October 1985—Berkeley cops rampage against anti-apartheid protesters.

"Nowhere was the hard line more apparent than at Berkeley.... It was the scene of pitched street battles.... In one of those battles, a 25-year-old local man, James Rector, was shot and killed by a deputy sheriff's shotgun.... But when Rector's name came up [in 1980] in the Mayflower Hotel, Meese said simply, 'James Rector deserved to die.'"

—quoted in Brownstein and Easton, *Reagan's Ruling Class* (1982)

These are the creatures with whom the Berkeley students have begun to tangle. UC and the D.A.'s office have made it their perverse task to frame up Guillermo because he had the nerve and audacity to challenge the presence of the Marines on "their" campus.

The campus-wide support for Guillermo is crucial, but the final battle has yet to be won. The state still wants to put him behind bars, to falsely label him as a "cop-beater," targeting him for constant harassment or worse by the police. The SL/SYL intend to put all the financial, moral and political resources at our disposal to defeat this nasty frame-up; the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) has been raising urgently needed funds for the enormous legal costs involved. The University of California has millions, Guillermo's legal defense depends on the generous contributions of those committed to the defense of democratic

rights and elementary justice.

The ruling class and its university lackeys are the enemy of student dissent; the problem is the whole capitalist system. Noting the recent battles against union-busting, takebacks and concessions by striking unionists in Austin, Minnesota and General Electric workers in Lynn, Massachusetts, Stan Gow explained: "An important win in the working class could change the nature of the social climate in the whole country. The social power belongs to the workers." Students must join forces with the only class with the social power to end oppression worldwide: the proletariat. At the March 12 rally, Spartacist League spokesman Martha Phillips stressed the urgency of the SL's *proletarian* strategy for socialist revolution here and in South Africa, for the construction of Bolshevik parties to mobilize the power of the proletariat, "to go to the roots of the problem—that means capitalism." That students who want to change the world must be won to the program and party of the class struggle was hammered home by Stan Gow:

"If there's one class-struggle organization that has been in the forefront on all struggles—for civil rights, against the attempt to have full-scale war in Central America—that organization is

Dumb Stunt on the Waterfront

The road to hell is paved with good intentions, as any connoisseur of Chinese fortune cookies knows. On March 10 and 11, the Berkeley Campaign Against Apartheid (CAA) organized student "picket lines" at Pier 80 on the San Francisco docks. The CAA "pickets" were aimed at stopping longshoremen from unloading the Dutch ship, the *Nedlloyd Kembla*, which carried some South African cargo. Falsely advised that workers in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 would welcome this action in a big way, the CAA issued leaflets proclaiming its protest as part of a worldwide effort to "quarantine apartheid," "to turn back the trucks, ground the planes, blockade the ships"—i.e., as part of a boycott of all things South African. This exercise in "divestment with a labor face" at Pier 80 was an objectively anti-working class stunt.

Longshoremen did not work the ship on March 10; the union invoked the "unsafe" conditions clause in its contract faced with the student "picket," evidently consciously designed to be menacing to the workforce. "An 'unsafe' judgment was the only way yesterday's blockade could have succeeded, said members of CAA" (*Daily Californian*, 11 March). On March 11 the San Francisco cops moved in, arrested over 50 student protesters,

and the cargo was moved. Political action by students can be an important auxiliary or spark to class struggle opposition within and by the union. But in this instance, the CAA action was designed, executed and wielded as a club against the union itself. Some worker-student alliance!

Throwing up a student "picket" against Local 10 workers for a demand (i.e., boycott everything South African) which amounts to starving black South Africans is *anti-labor solidarity*—and pretty dim to boot.

Berkeley CAA students were motivated by hatred of the bloody apart-



Turnley/Detroit Free Press

Real labor solidarity: 3M workers in Johannesburg demonstrate on behalf of 3M workers in Freehold, NJ last month.

heid regime; perhaps some sincerely wished to join with American workers in struggle against U.S. support to its fellow racist butchers. We suspect that they were set up for the nonsense at Pier 80 in no small part by some supremely cynical and provocative renegades from communism whom we know all too well. The "Bolshevik Tendency" (BT) is an increasingly dubious clot of embittered ex-Spartacists who cut and ran with the onset of Reagan reaction. A BT guru who sits on the Local 10 executive board, one Howard Keylor, explicitly linked the CAA adventure on the docks to liberal moralism: "Longshoremen have an extreme distaste toward having to handle cargo from South Africa" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 March). Keylor should know; the Local 10 membership has demonstrated its willingness to act on behalf of the anti-apartheid struggle, using their labor muscle, only to be knifed by the local officials with Keylor's servile assistance, as we shall show.

The strategy of isolating South Africa economically—whether in the form of corporate/university/municipal divestiture, hypocritical imperialist "sanctions" or "divestment with a labor face"—i.e., open-ended boycotts of all things South African—is a strategy for defeat. An international strike of capital against apartheid is a

liberal utopian pipe dream. Even if that did happen, mass unemployment, the exacerbation of ethnic and tribal rivalries, the weakening of the black unions: these are the likely results of such a "strategy" in South Africa. In the U.S., "divestment" is consciously pushed by the Democratic Party, its labor and fake-left tails as a *diversion* from genuine acts of working-class defiance against apartheid. That's why Democrats at Pier 80 complained that San Francisco was violating its own "laws" on trade with South Africa on March 10. After more than a year of widespread dumping of South African stock by "enlightened" institutions, it should be clear that "divestment" can't and won't bring down the apartheid butchers.

Internationalist working-class action necessarily runs afoul of the bosses' state. In 1984, Local 10 was slapped with an injunction during a ten-day boycott of another Nedlloyd ship carrying South African cargo. When Spartacist supporter Stan Gow fought inside the ILWU to rip up that injunction, "Howard the Coward" Keylor went mute. Minimal and token, the 1984 longshore boycott was nonetheless a workers' action which became a labor referendum on apartheid. But even this minimal gesture was sabotaged; the local officials set up individual longshoremen for victimization—insisting the boycott was not a union action but one of "individual conscience." Finally, with

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the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. I would like to urge everybody that wants to work in the class struggle, to work against the aims of the U.S. government and its military, to join the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League."

Smash UC Berkeley's Vendetta Against Guillermo! Drop the Charges! Rescind the Suspension! No Retrial! For Mass, Militant Mobilizations of Students and Labor!

Rally Speeches: Defend Guillermo!

Young Spartacus prints below slightly edited versions of speeches given by Berkeley students Rodney Ward and Rita Himes at the March 12 rally to defend comrade Guillermo. Rodney Ward is a member of the Campaign Against Apartheid (CAA) and Rita Himes represented the Students Against Intervention in Central America (SAICA). Both have been active in the protest against ROTC on campus.



Rodney Ward
Campaign Against Apartheid

UC's "Discipline"— "A Kangaroo Court!"

I didn't have much time to prepare a speech 'cause I spent most of yesterday in jail. I want to make this quick announcement before I go on with my speech. . . . You all may have heard that a South African cargo ship, carrying among other things windshields and probably barbed wire and uranium, coming from South Africa was stopped for 24 hours by Campaign Against Apartheid and a bunch of other organizations in San Francisco. We set up a picket line; the longshoremen refused to cross it and South African corporations lost thousands of dollars. So the next ship's coming in about two and a half weeks, and we're going to be organizing to go back.

Now about Guillermo. I'm a very good friend of Guillermo. I don't agree with probably most of what the Spartacus Youth League has to say, but I'm completely in support of Guillermo's struggle against what the university's doing to him. Last September about a hundred university lawyers, South African embassy officials, State Department officials, Mobil Oil officials got together for a conference in Washington, D.C. on how to crush student protest. At this conference, UC Berkeley's Vice Chancellor of Legal Affairs, Mike Smith, over in California Hall down there, led a panel discussion on responding to campus "disruption." At this panel discussion he suggested a

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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

Chicago

Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

New York City

Tues.: 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

All Out to Defend Guillermo!

SENATE

ASSOCIATED STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA • 300 ESHELEMAN HALL • BERKELEY, CA 94720 • 415/642-1431

To District Attorney John A. Meehan and

TO: CHANCELLOR IRA M. HEYMAN

UC Berkeley student Guillermo Bermudez and is being subjected to further legal action against Marine recruiters in January 1985 is contrary to the recommendation of the Student Conduct and was furthermore announced after the charges against Guillermo Bermudez resulted in a hung jury on February 14, 1986.

U.C. Berkeley student Guillermo Bermudez has been suspended from school and is being subjected to further legal prosecution for leading a protest against Marine recruiters in January 1985. The suspension of Bermudez is contrary to the recommendation of the university's own Student Conduct Committee and was furthermore announced after the charges against Guillermo Bermudez resulted in a hung jury in Berkeley Municipal Court on February 14, 1986.

We are outraged at the continued prosecution attempts of the University to make an example on campus.

We the undersigned demand that the suspension be rescinded, that there be no reprisals, that no re-trial take place, and that all charges against Guillermo Bermudez be dropped:

We demand that the suspension be rescinded, no re-trial take place, and that all charges be dropped.

NAME ADDRESS PHONE

1.

Sincerely,
Karen
Karen



U.C. Protestor Faces Re-Trial

U.C. student Guillermo Bermudez has been suspended from classes for one semester "with reinstatement thereafter uncertain." According to the Feb. 29 Student Conduct Officer Al...

Chancellor Heyman's trashing of Berkeley judges as "too short-sighted." He also stated he would get "tough as hell"



Letters to the Editor

Sure no sense

Editor:

In its recent decision to suspend Guillermo Bermudez, the UC Berkeley administration has willfully disregarded the recommendation of the Student Conduct Committee. Unable to use even internal courts to prosecute what cannot be upheld in a court of law, the administration has resorted to arbitrary and unaccountable procedures. Excessive punishment is being used to placate the police, and at student expense.

Assistant Chancellor John Cummins explains: "Censure was clearly an inadequate penalty." Excuse us, Mr. Cummins, did you say "clearly?" To the Student Conduct Committee it was not clear at all. And if the administration intends to persist in its self-appointed omniscience, it is not clear why the Student Conduct Committee exists.

Of course, such tactics are not unfamiliar. When the Faculty Senate voted to get ROTC off campus, they were overruled. Yes, you can always count

on the administration to defend the university from its worst enemies: the students, the faculty. As student members of the Student Conduct Committee, we are shocked and dismayed by the administration's actions against Bermudez.

Only last month we had occasion to be shocked and dismayed by the administration's actions against the ROTC 5. In that case, the administration's notions of discipline and punishment were so ill-conceived, unfair and, frankly, ridiculous, that we chose to dismiss the case against the ROTC 5 without even hearing the defense.

The administration made a cruel, costly and embarrassing decision in prosecuting those students and, again, in the case of Bermudez they have overreacted. We ask that the suspension of Guillermo Bermudez be suspended. And as for the "letter of censure," Berkeley administration, please consider this a letter of censure from us to you.

Laura Gibbs
and Chrystalla Haili,
Student Conduct Committee

that Guillermo had kicked such a course. In asking for another trial, the university is giving notice to students that they are being watched for any actions

Telegram

John J. Meehan
Alameda County District Attorney
1225 Fallon Street
Oakland, CA 94612

I am outraged at your continued prosecution of Guillermo Bermudez and other anti-imperialist protesters at the University of California, Berkeley and your efforts to suppress all dissent on campus. Down with cop/administration attacks on student protesters! Drop all the charges against Guillermo Bermudez and all anti-imperialist protesters! No retrial!

Please send copies of your telegrams to:
Partisan Defense Committee
Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101

number of things. One was use of video tapes and files to keep track of the leaders of protest organizations and stuff like that. He was asked whether or not it should be done if people haven't broken the law. He said "Absolutely. We need to keep track of the leaders." Then they suggested they change the rules over the summer. They did that here at Berkeley. They're using the video tapes and files. Then they suggested that—now this is directly related to Guillermo's case, and mine, because I was up for disciplinary charges along with four other people for protesting against ROTC—Mike Smith suggested that the university use internal methods, internal procedures to discipline protesters because the courts are unreliable. Why are the courts unreliable? I'll tell you why the courts are unreliable, because the university has been unable to get a single conviction over the last year as they've tried to put protesters in jail for honest and moral protests, even legal protests!

Now, what's happened to Guillermo, this disciplinary hearing process, the university wants to make sure—and Mike Smith said that it's very important that the universities make sure—the disciplinary hearing process is biased for the administration. We went before the disciplinary hearing process; now let me tell you about the disciplinary hearing process. The hearing officer is like a judge. The jury is appointed by the Chancellor's office. The jury and the judge only make a recommendation to the Chancellor's office. The Chancellor makes the final decision on whether or not people are guilty or innocent, or what to do to them! The Chancellor's office is who you appeal to, after the Chancellor's office has found you guilty.

Now, that's what we call a kangaroo court. We were very lucky. The prosecution made its case for us, it was so pathetic, during our disciplinary hearings. But Guillermo was not so lucky. Guillermo had a court case to take care of. And it was after his disciplinary hearing, so he was unable to give a defense, because he didn't want to give away his defense to the prosecution. But the hearing officer refused to allow him to postpone his hearing until after his trial. So he was unable to put forward any defense. So all the hearing committee heard was the prosecution—Officer Johnson, and Officer Phil Finger, and a Marines officer. They all got up on the witness stand and lied. They said that Guillermo had gone up and kicked the Marines, he had kicked the Marines' table and then he had gone up and kicked Officer Johnson. I was there. He did not do any such thing. It could have happened to anyone! The only reason it happened to him was because he is a member of an organization that maybe a lot of you don't like. But I don't care if you don't like it; you've got to support him! He was picked up off the ground by his neck! He may have kicked Officer Johnson trying to find some ground so he could stand on it so he could breathe. He may have actually kicked the table, so he could find some ground so he could breathe.

Now, Officer Johnson stepped on the witness stand and made this absolutely ludicrous statement. He said, "Guillermo went around chanting, 'Marines have short dicks!'" Nothing like that happened. It was absolute bullshit. Only one member of the disciplinary committee suggested that Guillermo be suspended. The rest of the committee either suggested that he just get a letter of

censure, or that *nothing at all* happen to him. The Chancellor's office in its everlasting commitment to democracy took the majority opinion of one and suspended Guillermo for a semester. And we can't let this happen! You've got to support Guillermo whether or not you like the Spartacus Youth League, because *next they're gonna come after you!* They're gonna come after me! They're gonna come after all of us if they can get Guillermo. *Drop the charges!*



Rita Himes
Students Against Intervention in Central America

"We Want the Marines Off Campus— We Want the Freedom to Organize!"

First of all, I want to commend all that went out to Pier 80 in the last two days to block the ship and prevent the unloading of South African cargo. That's the kind of action that is really affecting this administration and the powers that be all across the country. It's that mobilization, taking direct action against U.S. economic ties to South Africa, that's what our movement's all about.

I was involved in a case last fall, where we initiated a campaign protesting ROTC presence on campus. This

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Rally...

(continued from page 9)

university has a very strong connection with the Pentagon, with the U.S. military. It goes from helping to train the vast majority of U.S. officers in the military which come from ROTC, units on universities all across the country; it comes from defense funding for all sorts of research that goes on on campus—it's a very close connection. The university relies on its alliance with the Pentagon and can't really survive without it. That's why they were threatened when we started attacking ROTC. It's a direct attack against the military preparations for the war in Central America. We need to build that fight.

Guillermo—we mobilized a lot of support; it's clear that there's a lot of support for that action; there's a lot of very strong opposition to the administration's attempt at intimidation against that movement. Guillermo was more politically isolated. Now I have problems with the Spartacus Youth League too, but I don't have problems with what he did last spring. He attacked a Marines table when they came to recruit on campus. We have to build a movement that will not tolerate Marine recruiting on campus. That is a threat to the administration. The reason they were able to come down on Guillermo is because he is politically isolated. And now we have to say we won't let him be politically isolated. We won't tolerate his suspension from campus; it was an outrageous act that he was suspended from school for simply protesting the Marines' presence on the plaza.

So, we have to mobilize for action in the future, when his appeal comes up or when he gets a rehearing, we need to have a mass presence at that hearing saying, "We support him because we want the Marines off campus, we want freedom to politically organize on this campus!" Because what we have to do is build a mass movement on this campus, organizing around cutting ties to South Africa, around stopping the U.S. war in Central America.

So we need to unite our struggles. We need to unite around critical struggles,

and this is a critical one. When they can start suspending people for minor actions on Sproul Plaza because they think that people won't support him, that's a dangerous move for the movement as a whole. So we need to mobilize in Guillermo's support and more importantly build actions like the action out on the pier, build actions like the divestment of last spring, and really challenge the policies of this administration.

Young Spartacus prints below excerpts from the speech given by Jeff Higgins for the Labor Black League for Social Defense at the March 12 rally to defend Guillermo Bermúdez. Noting that "every day, thousands of ghetto youth are subjected to police choke holds, injustice in the racist courts and police terror with drawn guns," comrade Higgins connected the fight at Berkeley with the fight against the whole racist, capitalist system.

Jeff Higgins
Labor Black
League for
Social
Defense



On Racist "Justice" in Amerikkka

... Now, remember, it was black Democratic Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode—under Reagan's orders—who gave the order to bomb the MOVE house in which eleven men, women and kids were burned to death! Sixty other black families lost everything in the fire while Goode ordered Philadelphia firefighters to do nothing for at least one hour! Now Goode's racist cothinkers and collaborators in the Philadelphia courts have convicted Ramona Africa, the only survivor of the MOVE massacre, of "criminal conspiracy" and "riot." She faces 14 years in jail for a crime of

FIGHT SOUTH AFRICA-STYLE BANNING ORDER!



Young Spartacus Photo

The SF State administration banned and then prosecuted Guillermo Bermúdez for the "crime" of distributing SYL literature on campus. The Red Avengers were born to fight this witchhunt. The SF State administration covets Guillermo's hide as an object lesson to protesting student youth—shut up and be groomed for war. Following the Court of Appeal's denial of Guillermo's petition for a writ to dismiss the charges on March 7, he has appealed to the California Supreme Court. Smash the frame-up of Guillermo Bermúdez!

which Wilson Goode and the Reagan administration are wholly guilty! What racist hypocrisy! And what about America's foremost class-war prisoner, Los Angeles Black Panther Party leader Geronimo Pratt? He's served 16 years in the California state prison system under both Democratic and Republican Party national administrations for a crime he did not commit! The state says he murdered Caroline Olsen in Santa Monica in December 1968 when, in fact, the FBI's own wiretaps of Panther headquarters here show that Geronimo was in Oakland attending a Panther party meeting, at the very same time the same crime was committed. And just last week, in spite of retired Los Angeles FBI special agent Wesley Swearingen's remarks that "Pratt was set up," the federal court in L.A. denied Geronimo a new trial! Pratt was framed and is kept in jail as part of the capitalist state's violent, racist, terrorist vendetta that wiped the Black Panther Party out. There's no justice in America for blacks. And people better start to make the connection: this means there's no justice for you either in racist capitalist America.

Students must learn, they must understand, who their friends are and who their enemies are. Among your friends it's ridiculous and dangerous to include the Republican Party, the Democratic Party or the capitalist state. Nothing substantial has ever been won for working people, the poor, the oppressed in the bosses' courts or in their voting booths.

Every gain of black and working peo-

ple has been achieved and won in the streets, on the picket line of class struggle.

Just like the Spartacist League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization, November 1982 in Washington, D.C., which brought out 5,000 mainly black unionists, and kept the KKK killers off the streets, it will take labor/black mobilizations to free Geronimo Pratt. The freedom of all MOVE prisoners must become labor's cause. And believe this: it will take militant class struggle to make this university a place where students learn something real about this world instead of getting acquainted with it at the end of police clubs and the campus administration's racist intimidation.

Yes, know the enemy. The United States government rules in the interest of the capitalist class. No reliance on the bosses' courts, their politicians or their armed thugs, the racist cops! Fight to build a new multiracial class-struggle leadership of labor, one which will fight for a workers party and a workers government—the only viable alternative for working people, black people, the oppressed and all defenders of democratic rights!

Send your urgently needed contribution for Guillermo's defense today! Make checks payable to Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Fund and mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101.

Partial List of Endorsers Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Committee

Following is a list of individuals and organizations that have, to date, endorsed these demands:

- 1) Drop the Charges Against Guillermo Bermúdez and Other Protesters!
- 2) No Retrial—Rescind the Suspension of Guillermo Bermúdez!
- 3) Down with Administration/Cop Attacks on Student Protest!

Alex Alday, Counselor, Student Counseling Center*
Stephanie Allan, Commissioner, Berkeley Police Review Commission*
Joan Alsop, Commissioner, Berkeley Police Review Commission*
Michael Berry, Senator, ASUC Senate*
Michael Branch, Senator, ASUC Senate*
Al Broussard, Executive Board member, ILWU Local 10*
Campaign Against Apartheid
Canzata Castleberry, African Student Assoc.,* ASUC Senate*
Christopher Castorena, President, American Indian Grad. Student Assoc.*
Gerald Cavanaugh, Lecturer, UCB
Jim Chanin, Attorney
Robert Costa, Dispatcher, ILWU Local 10*
David Creque, Vice-President, United Teachers of Oakland (UTO), AFT*
John A. Dabell, Co-Coordinator of Steering Committee, Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual Alliance,* UCB
Margot Dashiell, Instructor, Laney College
Wilfred F. Denetclaw Jr., President, American Indian Science and Engineering Society,* UCB
Pete Farruggio, General Executive Board member, ILWU Local 6*
Kenneth M. Ganga, Juror on 1st (Feb.) Bermúdez trial
Charles R. Garry
Laura Gibbs, Student Representative, Student Conduct Committee,* UCB
Salvador A. Gonzalez, Assistant Coordinator, Chicanos in Health Education,* UCB
Stanley R. Gow, Executive Board member, ILWU Local 10*

Eddie Gutierrez, Executive Board member, ILWU Local 10*
Chrystalla Halli, Student member (alternate), Student Conduct Committee,* UCB
Bruce Haldane, Commissioner, Berkeley Police Review Commission*
Theresa Halula, Gallery Director/Lecturer, Cal State Univ., Hayward
Ritchie Havens, President, FTV Inc.*
Lois Rita Helmbold, Lecturer, Women's Studies Program, UCB
Charles Henry, Associate Professor, Afro-American Studies, UCB
Arlene Irlando, Chairperson, Berkeley Police Review Commission*
Randy Johnese, Sr. Field Representative, SEIU Local 535*
David Kakishiba, Commissioner, Berkeley Police Review Commission*
Rob Koenig, "Madison 5"*
Labor Black League for Social Defense
La Raza Law Student Association, UCB
MEChA, UCB
Estella Mejia, MEChA Co-Coordinator,* UCB
Osha Neumann, Commissioner, Berkeley Police Review Commission*
Nick Pacheco, MEChA Co-Coordinator,* UCB
Partisan Defense Committee
Alfred Rossi, President, UTO, AFT 771*
Charles Schwartz, Professor of Physics, UCB
Gary Soto, Associate Professor, English Department, UCB
Spartacist League
Spartacus Youth League
UC Legal Collective
United Teachers of Oakland, AFT 771,* AFL-CIO
Abel Valenzuela, ASUC Senate,* Communications Officer, Presidential Cabinet*
Lloyd K. Vandever, President, UE Local 1412*
Patricia Vattuone, ASUC Senate,* MEChA,* UPC,* UCB
Michael Welch, Fellowship Coordinator, Graduate Assembly,* UCB
Lemoin Werlein-Jaén, Madison PSN*
Tony Zamacona, Executive Board member, ILWU Local 10*

*Organization listed for identification purposes only.

BRUTAL BERKELEY BUST

BERKELEY, April 2—The UC Berkeley administration has instituted a virtual South African-style "state of emergency" on the campus. In a vicious pre-dawn assault on a symbolic anti-apartheid "shantytown" erected on Monday, March 31, UC cops rioted against student protesters. TV cameramen and news photographers, kept behind police lines, nonetheless recorded the brutal cop attack. As a crowd of 300 protest supporters chanted "Just like in South Africa!" riot-helmeted cops wielding batons moved in. With five and six cops on each protester, anti-apartheid students were grabbed by the neck, knocked to the ground, choked and beaten. In all, 61 were arrested on charges of trespassing and resisting arrest. Today the administration announced the banning of 19 protesters from the campus and sought a sweeping court injunction against the three campus groups—the Campaign Against Apartheid, the United People of Color and the UC Divestment Coalition—and eleven individuals who led the "shantytown" action. A temporary restraining order has been issued against 1,000 "John Does." What's next? Patrolling the campus with South African-style "hippos" mounted with machine guns?

An angry and defiant crowd of 2,000 rallied today at noon. Fifteen UC cops grabbed one protester leafletting on a street near campus. He is being held on over \$9,000 bail! Incensed demonstrators marched off campus to hear statements by banned activists, then escorted the "banned" onto the campus. The shantytown in front of the administration building, California Hall, was rebuilt.

The administration called the cops' actions Tuesday "restrained." Compared to what, Kent State? UC and its uniformed thugs are intent on spilling blood. These attacks must be met by massive united-front protest. Drop the charges against the 61 and all anti-imperialist protesters! Disarm the cops—Cops off campus!

Soviet General...

(continued from page 7)

decided?"

I knew at once that Konev had been told about us three. My eyes were riveted to his face. I pleaded with him in my mind.

The commander fixed his eyes on me, then shifted his gaze to my neighbour, Colonel Zaitsev, and grinned broadly:

"Let's leave them. They look smart enough. Not their fault they haven't the right height. When they crashed into Berlin, and then Prague, we didn't measure their height, did we? Besides, they aren't marching in the files, but at the head of their units. Look at their chests, at the decorations they carry."

I could not keep from smiling. The moment the Marshal and his companions moved on, I heard Pokryshkin say:

"Well, what d'you know!"

"Perfect," I exclaimed. "This time we'll manage without high heels."

After dark I was summoned by General Petrov, the chief-of-staff. The commander put me in charge of the

train taking the composite regiment to Moscow.

"And see there are no mishaps," he said....

The long-awaited morning of 24 June 1945 came at last. The sky was overcast and it was drizzling. From all parts of Moscow, the composite regiments of fronts and fleets, along with units of the Moscow garrison, were converging on Red Square. The streets and squares of the city were filled with people. They smiled fondly as we marched by.

On the rain-wetted cobblestones of Red Square, the parade companies lined up smartly front by front, at their head the commanders, and battle standards.

Raindrops sparkled on the steel helmets of the soldiers, the lacquered cap peaks of the officers, and the moustaches of the veterans.

That minute I remembered how, during combat, we had had no time to wipe the sweat off our brows, how it impregnated our blouses.

Not all had come to Red Square. Large as it was, it could not have held all those who deserved to be there. And many had not made it to victory, the best sons of our Motherland, men of courage beyond compare. But none of them are forgotten. ■

Oberlin...

(continued from page 5)

counterrevolutionary terror as long as capitalism exists. The secret police are integral to imperialism's machinery for repression around the world. Critical to defeating this system—to stopping, for instance, an all-out U.S. invasion of Nicaragua—is working-class political strike action against the war. A revolutionary party is desperately needed to take the lead in this struggle. Recent class battles such as that of the Hormel meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, demonstrate the potential social power and combativity of the American working class. However, for that power to be unleashed in the interest of the workers and oppressed, the stranglehold of the pro-capitalist union tops must be broken. Anti-imperialism abroad must mean class struggle at home. The SYL fights to win young militants to this perspective and to a lifetime commitment to the fight for a socialist future. CIA off campus! Down with the anti-Soviet war drive! ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 12)

capitalists in Nicaragua was a necessity. He told me that he was fighting for "a world without borders."

Although it was such a short trip, the impact it made on me is very deep and I'm still reeling from it. It is one thing to be a communist in America, to have gut feelings of hatred for capitalism and some understanding of Marxist struggle. But it makes a world of difference to go and live, work, make friends with some of the people who have made the revolution in Nicaragua and are willing to give their lives to defend it. This was the most gut-wrenching experience and graphic example of the need for a Trotskyist party internationally. This was my first trip out of the U.S. since I've been a communist and, I'll tell you, things become very real when you are there with the rest of the workers and you see flares light up the sky and hear the exchange of fire only five kilometers away. I left my friends, my compañeros who stood awake in the cold nights protecting the sleep of all the workers, knowing that it might be the last time I'd see them. It makes something inside me very angry and determined to fight.

There are so many problems there—free health care, but no medicine. You see more and more desperate women with botched self-abortions. The children of the rich are well-fed and clean. The children of the campesinos, as

young as three with their little baskets, out working in the coffee fields with their clothing of nothing more than tattered rags. You have the Sandinista government giving incentives to the private producers and then you see people at the UPEs going hungry while Reagan and the capitalists (bipartisan) continue to wage war on Nicaragua. The Sandinistas, in their bid to balance the interests of the propertied classes and the Catholic church, censor leftists.

I remember one thing that was often repeated by many Nicaraguans: "When you go back to the States, tell the truth about Nicaragua." This I promised to my friends as a communist I would do—not like a liberal or a nationalist whose interests serve to obscure and hide the truth. What is needed in Nicaragua is a revolutionary Trotskyist party to win the masses of workers and peasants to truly defend the revolution by completing and extending proletarian revolution throughout Central America, South America, and up to the bastion of imperialism, the United States.

The First Cultural Festival of Workers and Campesinos at Santa Lucia

About one-third of our brigade accepted an invitation to participate in the first cultural festival at the UPE Santa Lucia. The rest of the brigade decided to go back to Managua. We journeyed by truck, accompanied by members of the UPE, musicians, poets, etc. from La Pintada with four compañeros armed with their AKs. We rode high into the mountains, the compañeros told us that militarily this was an area subject to more contra attacks and that if we heard any gunfire to hit the floor of the truck. We traveled about four hours and reached Santa Lucia in the afternoon. That evening competition began with contingents from five different UPEs participating. We were the only North Americans there. It was an honor to have been invited to participate. Throughout the evening there were plays, poetry, songs and dancing. Late that night after the program we danced; it was strange to be dancing to Madonna's *Like a Virgin* high in the mountains of Nicaragua with members of the Juventud in fatigues and AKs slung over their shoulders. They were ready to fight at a moment's notice. At this UPE you felt caged in because there was a big wire fence surrounding the farm. I was told that the contras are very active in that area, which is primarily a cattle-raising area. They come and slaughter the cattle or steal them. Our contingent won a first prize for a song, *Brigadista Internacionalista*, composed by a Nicaraguan.

—Loretta F.

Mark Meyer



Siberian honor guard with AK-47 rifle at Soviet war memorial.

Dumb Stunt...

(continued from page 8)

the BT's "workers' leader" in tow, they killed it completely, using the injunction as a pretext.

Accepting and promoting the line that the ILWU can only strike with the company's permission, the BT turned up as "facilitators" of the CAA "picket line" on March 10-11. The BT's March 10 leaflet called upon individual longshoremen to "defy the injunction." So, with some Berkeley students running point, the BT exhorted dock workers to do what BT supporters within the union would not do. Howard Keylor emphasized to the Bay Area press that he was acting as "an individual" on March 10. The BT's antics at Pier 80 give opportunism a bad name.

We've ascertained that the BT stands solidly for: a) "Student Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!"; b) "Divestment with a labor face"; c) Liquidate the union as a political force, play by the bosses' rules, prostrate the workers before small change contractual clauses; d) Cover your ass—someone else should always be out front. The latter "principle" leaves plenty of leeway for capitulating to whatever milieu is most convenient at the time. Keylor is an advocate of union control over alcohol and drug testing—a sort of "proletarian Meeseism." The CAA might contemplate being followed around by Keylor with his Dixie cup, inquiring "on behalf of the working class" what they ingested while watching the David Letterman show the night before. While unionists from Philadelphia transit to General Electric in Massachusetts have a reflexive hostility to this attempt to regiment every aspect of their lives, Keylor's *Militant Longshoreman* (3 January) whines, "There is a traditional union solution to the problem of brothers who

use substances that affect their functioning... When our local tries to exercise union discipline as part of the effort to help our brothers overcome their problem, PMA has rushed in to stop us. Our union must reassert this right and exercise internal union discipline and control."

The flip side of kowtowing to the labor bureaucracy is pretending that unions don't exist; this time around the BT used some Berkeley students to play at "union action" requiring no action in the union. The road to the working class will not be found by throwing up student pickets against it. The road to the liberation of the oppressed masses in South Africa does not consist in pressuring imperialism to pressure Pretoria to reform itself. Within the heavily black key industrial unions in this country, there is plenty of sympathy with the struggle of their class brothers and sisters in South Africa. This is certainly the case in Local 10. Genuine labor actions—refusing to handle all *military* goods bound for South Africa, selected and limited labor boycotts called around specific demands such as stopping the execution of anti-apartheid militants—would reinforce the axis of international class struggle as well as give impetus to the black working class in South Africa. Hard class opposition to apartheid will be unleashed only through a political fight within the unions against the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. Anti-apartheid students seeking an alliance with the working class must link themselves to those fighting inside the unions to unchain labor's power on behalf of the oppressed. That means a hard break with the Democratic Party "liberals" and their fake-left water boys.

The program for the emancipation of the proletariat is the communist program of the Spartacist League/SYL. Join us! ■

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Defend Nicaragua!

Workers Vanguard Photos



Women and youth are in the forefront of defense of the revolution. Youth stand guard in Managua armed with Soviet AK-47s (left), celebrate sixth anniversary of overthrow of Somoza, 19 July 1985 (right).

Crush the Contras!

I arrived in Managua January 4, 1986. At the airport, two American Indians from the Bay Area—who were part of our “Third World Brigade”—began harassing the milicianos [members of the FSLN militia]. I think they were both drunk and my impression, from some of their comments, was that they were probably hostile to the revolution. As it turned out, by the next evening, they had told some brigade members that they had contact with people who would pick them up and drive them to the Atlantic Coast—presumably to hook up with Russell Means & Co. In conjunction with Nicaragua Exchange, the CNSP [Comité Nicaragüense de Solidaridad con los Pueblos, the Nicaraguan Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples] and their organization—the Peace Treaty Council in the Bay Area—it was decided to send them back to the States immediately.

We stayed at the Hotel Ticomo, one of the best hotels in Managua—tennis court, pool, electricity, cold water showers. On January 5, we had an orientation meeting which consisted mainly of being told where we were going to pick coffee—in Matagalpa—and that we would leave the next morning. After that meeting the Third World Brigade had a meeting to choose a name for the brigade. Tradition is that you name it for heroes, martyrs.... We ended up after some interesting discussion choosing three people—Malcolm X, Puerto Rican poet Julia De Burgos and Vincent Chin. I spoke in favor of Malcolm X and Vincent Chin. I was impressed by the political motivations some people gave for their choices.

The next point in the meeting was forced by a nationalist named Jaime

who insisted that all meetings be held in Spanish only. He was met with opposition; the compromise was that in brigade meetings, if you wanted to speak in another language besides English, you would have to translate your comments for the rest of the group. The next morning we set off for Matagalpa.

I spent two weeks on the state farm (Unidad de Producción Estatal, UPE) near Matagalpa—La Pintada—an UPE that was overwhelmingly Nicaraguan. In addition to our brigade, there was also a contingent from the Juventud Sandinista Brigade, volunteers from the Ministry of Culture, the Sandinista Popular Army, permanentes, and quite a number of exiles from El Salvador, Chile and Bolivia.

Monday through Saturday is the usual work week. The cooks have to get up at 1:00 a.m. in order to be ready to feed the workers by 5:00 a.m. Every day we got up at 4:30 a.m. and walked down the mountain for a breakfast of rice, beans and tortillas. Everyone ate quickly and then assembled in nice straight lines of 20 people (although it took the North Americans a while to catch on). This was “formación”: standing at attention for news and instructions for the day’s harvest, interspersed with exhortations for quality coffee to be picked and the saving of all coffee beans that had fallen to the ground. Interspersed were slogans for the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. The most popular chants were “¡Si Nicaragua venció, El Salvador vencerá!” (Since Nicaragua won, El Salvador will win!), “Por la construcción del socialismo” (For the construction of socialism), “¡Seguimos de frente con el Frente—Viva la alianza obrera-campesina!” (We go forward with the Front [FSLN],

Long live the workers and peasants alliance!). After “formación” we marched up the mountainsides, always led by a “responsable” armed with an AK.

Picking coffee is very hard, physically exhausting work. The hardest part is lugging your sack around all day—a full sack weighs about a hundred pounds. The coffee fields are on steep hills which are often muddy and jungle-like. There are times when in order to pick a tree you are literally on a steep drop-off with only your feet to hold you from falling and one hand around the base of the coffee tree, which leaves only one hand to pick with.

The integration of our “Third World” Brigade at the UPE was a unique experience for the brigadistas as well as the Nicaraguans who were able to make friends because of the overall capacity to speak Spanish. Fraternization is so much more possible when the barrier of language is broken. For this reason I would strongly urge every comrade to learn as much Spanish as possible if they are planning to go to Nicaragua. It makes a big difference when you have the capacity to speak the language and not remain just a clot of North Americans talking amongst yourselves.

“No Se Permite ...”

I am happy to report that attempts by the Nicaragua Exchange to thwart sex between North Americans and Nicaraguans were ignored on our trip. I was talking to some Nicaraguans who were quite disgusted with the fact that the Nicaragua Exchange had seen fit to appoint themselves the guardians of people’s natural feelings and desires. No one should impose those rules on anyone. They even went so far as to say

that we should have a “buddy system” so that if you are succumbing to an overwhelming desire to sleep with a Nicaraguan your “buddy” can talk you out of it! One of the reasons given was that North American women having sex with Nicaraguan men perpetuates the stereotype of “looseness.”

One night after “lights out,” I heard a Nicaraguan woman arguing with a North American from another brigade that would be leaving the next day. She was arguing against his “liberal ideas about the revolution.” She argued that it was necessary to have revolutions all over the world, telling him he was not looking at politics from the perspective of the working class. I tracked her down a few days later and we had an interesting discussion and some arguments. She had some ideas that maybe Jesse Jackson would be a lot better than Reagan. We discussed the Philadelphia MOVE massacre and the need to break from Democrats and the need for a workers party in the U.S. On the whole she was disgusted with liberals who come and see the devastation of Nicaragua and are then content to go home and say that Nicaragua is too poor to ever be a threat to the U.S. She was also angry that they didn’t come to defend the revolution and certainly were not interested in going home to fight for revolution.

Another friend, originally from Costa Rica, has lived in Nicaragua for thirty years and is in the Reserves now. He was the most critical of the Sandinista regime. He told me that the National Guard should not have been allowed to flee, that military defense of the revolution wasn’t just the business of Nicaraguans, and agreed that expropriation of

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