

Young Spartacus

Number 33

X-523

25 cents

June 1975

Laotian Rightists Collapse

Pathet Lao Consolidates Power

May 28—The shock waves from the historic destruction of capitalist rule in Cambodia and South Vietnam are now reverberating through Laos. Over the past several weeks the fragile right wing of the Laotian coalition government has collapsed under pressure from the discontented masses and Pathet Lao forces; and capitalists, usurers, landlords, profiteers and military brass have been leaving the country en masse for Thailand and France.

Although the shell of the coalition and its Premier, the perennial Prince Souvanna Phouma, still remain, the Pathet Lao is being forced to fill the vacuum left by the fleeing ruling elite. As *Time* (26 May 1975) morosely lamented, "Thus last week did the inexorable march of events sweep tiny Laos, to all intents and purposes, into the Communist camp on the heels of its neighbors in Indochina."

For decades the Stalinist Pathet Lao has refrained from waging a revolutionary struggle against the feudalists and capitalists. When in the past the Pathet Lao has held a decisive military advantage, these Stalinists refused to overthrow the ruling classes, pressuring them instead to form a multi-class "democratic" coalition government. The two previous unstable coalition governments simply gave the reactionaries a lease on life, and the Stalinists therefore directly contributed to prolonging the civil war at the tremendous expense of the Laotian masses.

But the emergence of anti-capitalist



SL/SYL contingent marches in Bay Area May Day demonstration.

YOUNG SPARTACUS

states in Cambodia and South Vietnam has profoundly changed the balance of forces in Indochina. Emboldened by the military victories of the Khmer Rouge and NLF over the puppets of imperialism in Phnom Penh and Saigon, the Pathet Lao in late April began to step up military and political pressure on the bourgeois forces in the coalition.

In an attempt to check and ease Pathet Lao pressure, Meo warlord Vang Pao in early May ordered his CIA-trained mercenary troops into Pathet Lao-controlled territory. The Pa-

thet Lao turned back the advance in a battle at Sala Phou Khoun and set out on a march down Route 7 toward Vientiane.

Concurrent with, and no doubt encouraging, the Pathet Lao advances were the large demonstrations in several towns protesting the rocketing inflation, corruption of the venal rightist strongmen and continued U.S. presence in Laos. The Vientiane demonstrations, organized by the nationalist National Student Federation and the Workers' Federation, led to

the removal of a number of rightist military bosses and the sacking of five of the six anti-Communist ministers in the coalition cabinet. Revolts erupted in the Royal Army and police against anti-Communist commanders.

The civilian upsurges also resulted in detention of U.S. government personnel by demonstrators and violence against U.S. government installations. Fully realizing that the tide was turning in Laos, the U.S. government began to evacuate its personnel.

continued on page 5

For Labor-Student Mobilizations Against Cutbacks and Layoffs!



SYL-initiated united-front demonstration against cutbacks and layoffs in Madison.

YOUNG SPARTACUS

The current economic crisis has produced a sharp deterioration in the living standards of the broad masses of working people. Along with such "luxuries" as employment, medical care, public transportation and welfare, education has been hard hit by the effects of the depression, especially the budget cuts.

And behind the budget cutbacks affecting education looms the specter of mass unemployment. In times of severe economic slump, the ruling class has almost no need for a new generation of highly-trained and educated youth, because its crisis-ridden economy cannot profitably employ them. Schools are increasingly becoming way stations for more and more youth on their way to the unemployment lines, and especially high school "education," in both the inner-city prison-schools and the suburban country-club schools, is ever more increasing its character as a form of disguised unemployment. Capitalism clearly holds no future for youth.

In the past few months, threatened and announced tuition hikes and cutbacks in academic funding have brought forth a wave of student protest sweeping campuses across the country, including Brown University, Brandeis, Boston University, Harvard, Howard University, City College of New York, North Carolina A and T, Wayne State University, University of Wisconsin at Madison, San Francisco State, Santa Barbara and Irvine campuses of the University of California, and the Claremont Colleges. In most instances the student protests have had a largely

continued on page 9

EDITORIAL NOTES

SYL Participates In Black Student Conferences

Over the weekend of May 9-11 a black students' conference was held at Kent State University, sponsored by black student organizations of Hiram College, Akron and Kent State. This "First Annual Ohio Black Student Conference" was initiated in response to "an atmosphere of disorganization, stagnation, little political activity, and apathy" among black students and sought to promote a "re-surgence of interest in the struggle for liberation of Black peoples." Despite the numerous political speeches and workshop discussions, the conference achieved no clear organizational or political perspectives.

Following greetings from the sponsoring organizations, Ron Daniels, President of the bourgeois National Black Political Assembly (which includes Black Democrats) and notorious for his red-baiting of "Marxist-Leninist" Imamu Baraka, huffed and puffed about the bankruptcy of small-time "Black Capitalism" and even spouted some pseudo-radical rhetoric, but advocated nothing more than support for the NBPA 1976 presidential campaign.

The next speaker was Sababa Akili, a member of the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP) and the NBPA, who discussed CAP's turn to Mao Thought(lessness); the Tapson Mwere of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) spoke on the struggle in Zimbabwe. During the ensuing discussion period, several supporters of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League attacked the speakers for their failure to present any program for black liberation and counterposed our working-class program and examples of struggles initiated or supported by the SL/SYL, particularly the fight for a labor-black defense and implementation of city-wide busing in Boston (see article this issue) and the UAW Local 6 defense of the home of a union member firebombed by racists.

The following day Mtanguliza Sangika, representing the Black Humanist Fellowship, gave a presentation criticizing "narrow nationalism" (his former political persuasion) and upholding "revolutionary nationalism." When an SYL speaker began to explain that, since American black people do not constitute a nation by Leninist criteria, black nationalism is a false consciousness, Sangika responded with repeated interruptions intended to cripple our intervention.

The feature addresses were by Stokely Carmichael and Imamu Baraka, leaders respectively of the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party and the CAP. Carmichael, a self-proclaimed Nkrumahist, proselytized for petty-bourgeois Pan Africanism and racially exclusionist organizations, but also declared that liberal-pacifist misleader Martin Luther King "was right for his time." When SYL supporters counterposed the need for a racially united vanguard party and pointed out the basis for black-white unity in struggles like the Chicago UAW labor-black defense, Carmichael cynically replied, "That's good, keep on doing it."

Imamu Baraka confined himself to a simplistic summary of Marx's *Wage, Labor and Capital* and an account of CAP's evolution toward Maoism. He put forth his conception of the "united front," which amounts to the revisionist Communist Party's "anti-monopoly coalition" warmed over, and called upon all "progressive" black organizations to follow CAP's gravy-train opportunism and join the NBPA.

During the discussion period a speaker from the Communist Labor Party, an ultra-Stalinist sect, leveled at Baraka an elementary, orthodox Marxist attack on nationalism. Baraka flew into a tirade, attacking this Stalinist as a "Trotskyite" for "liquidating the national question." In a spectacle of shameless, spineless opportunism, the CLP supporter totally capitulated, meekly replying, "I can unite with that!"

When an SL supporter stepped to the microphone, the sound system was immediately disconnected and Baraka launched into a foam-flecked, race-baiting, sex-baiting frenzy. Baraka raved, "I know this Trotskyite, this Trotskyite came to the Black Women's United Front with two white women!" Many black men in this racist country have been jailed, beaten, mutilated, murdered or executed by racists for the "crime" of socially mixing with white women. The self-ordained "Marxist-Leninists" like Baraka who viciously sex/race-bait reveal themselves to be brothers under the skin of the anti-communist "cultural nationalists" like Kalamu Ya Salaam, who baits, "always there are white boys at the center/core pulling the strings...providing the money...(and women)" (*Black Scholar*, January-February, 1975).

Likewise, Baraka made every effort to muzzle

our comrades attending the workshop sponsored by CAP. The SL and SYL supporters politically attacked CAP for calling for a utopian-reformist "community control" of the cops, for refusing to support busing as a measure breaking down Jim Crow segregation of the schools, and for defending its support for the mayoralty campaign of Gibson in Newark as a "necessary stage in the struggle." Infuriated at our exposure of his seamy political career, Baraka jumped up and pugnaciously confronted our comrades, threatening to call the campus cops! When the SL and SYL supporters firmly demanded that workers democracy be observed and stood their ground, Baraka backed off. Baraka is politically quite cordial with the red-baiting Ron Daniels, but goes berserk when confronted with the revolutionary politics and criticism of the SL/SYL.

A second gathering recently attended by the SL/SYL was the conference of the Ethiopian Student Union of North America held in Boston May 2-3. The SL/SYL had been invited to present a message of solidarity to the conference, which included a significant delegation from the Eritreans for Liberation in North America. In our formal presentation as well as in the lively discussion periods, the SL/SYL supporters explained the meaning of the permanent revolution and self-determination for the Ethiopian province of Eritrea (see "Eritrean Independence Struggle Intensifies," *Young Spartacus*, April 1975). The SL/SYL presentation was well received by the conference participants.

YSA Invites Reprisals Against PL Thuggery

At Wayne State University in Detroit this year the Progressive Labor Party (PL) has indulged in repeated threats and physical attacks against opponent radical organizations on campus, particularly the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA). On March 18 a PL supporter allegedly provoked a bloody brawl with a member of the YSA distributing leaflets. The most recent incident occurred on May 17 at the boarding area for the NAACP/NSCAR-chartered buses to Boston. A group of PL supporters approached a bus while openly brandishing clubs (supposedly for protection against Boston racists), a provocation which led to a confrontation with some SWP/YSA marshals. Refused entrance, the PL supporters remained and then brutally clubbed from behind the last SWP/YSA supporter to board the bus.

PL has to its discredit a long-standing reputation and record of using exclusionism, intimidation and violence against individuals and tendencies in the working-class movement. This dangerous, anti-working-class behavior, which PL over the years has consistently and proudly defended as a policy, represents a last resort of political cowards and reformists unable to defend their opportunist politics and unprincipled conduct through political struggle according to the norms of workers democracy. The SYL vigorously condemns PL for its campaign of intimidation and violence against the YSA at WSU!

Such criminal thuggery strikes a blow against the struggle for political clarity fundamentally necessary for the development of class consciousness and a revolutionary leadership in the workers movement and opens up the left and labor movement to increased victimization by the agencies of the class enemy. PL's threats against not only ostensible socialists but also faculty and student representatives to the WSU Student-Faculty Council (S-FC) have resulted in further isolating PL at WSU, rendering it a vulnerable target for administration harassment and severe reprisals.

With students, faculty and campus workers at WSU confronted with ever more dire prospects of tuition hikes, program cuts and layoffs, the administration stands poised to seize some pretext for purging the campus of radical activists who seek to spearhead struggles against these attacks. Desiring a docile campus community in this period of sharp social crisis in Detroit, the administration would certainly follow a successful attack on the campus left with a crackdown on those limited democratic rights still permitted the student body as a whole.

All groups and individuals at WSU who support the elementary democratic right of the YSA or any left organization on campus to conduct its political activities must bring the pressure of public denunciations of this Stalinist hooliganism to bear on PL. Furthermore, we call for the organization of united-front defense measures and precautions on behalf of anyone threatened or attacked by PL.

Although now howling hypocritically over PL's

violence, the fake-Trotskyist YSA has on numerous occasions assaulted left-wing opponents of its own reformist politics. These renegades from Trotskyism pummeled supporters of both PL and the Spartacist League for verbally protesting the keynote address of imperialist politician Vance Hartke at the July 1971 antiwar conference of the National Peace Action Coalition. Last year at WSU the YSA roughed up *Young Spartacus* salesmen and then appealed to the administration to deny our access to campus facilities. Most recently, the SWP/YSA forcibly ejected from a public forum in the Bay Area trade-union militants of the ILWU when they attempted to speak against the SWP's baseless exclusion of the SL/SYL.

But when the YSA finds itself on the receiving end of physical violence, these "respectable socialists" rely on another non-proletarian response. The YSA has met PL's Stalinist attacks not with a campaign in defense of workers democracy, but with a campaign calling for a draconian purge of PL by the WSU administration! The YSA's *Young Socialist* (April 1975) despicably smears PL as "outside the bounds of legitimate student political activity." Reporting the S-FC threat to rescind recognition, funding and facilities for PL, the same article gloats, "The statement by the executive board of the S-FC was a step in the right direction." Not satisfied with mere threatened administration reprisals, the YSA in its national press demands that the WSU administration drive PL "outside the bounds" of the campus!

The SYL, unlike both the PL and YSA reformists, is committed to upholding workers democracy, which enjoins that differences and conflicts within the workers movement must be settled within the workers movement, and not by the agencies or lackeys of the capitalist state. In the past we have actively defended supporters of both the YSA and PL at WSU from administration attacks. While not for a moment relenting from our principled opposition to PL's Stalinist attacks, we will come to the defense of PL should the administration, goaded by the YSA, attempt to strip it of its democratic rights or ban it from campus.

Reformists Move to Curb SYL Activities

In an act of blatant political discrimination, the Activities Committee of the Associated Students of the University of California (Berkeley) has recommended to the administration that the SYL at Berkeley be denied funding as a recognized student organization. The SYL is the only active political organization on campus threatened by this high-handed attempt at political suppression; the Young Socialist Alliance, the Revolutionary Student Brigade and the Radical Student Union have all been granted requested funding for their activities. The Activities Committee has refused to justify its action and has taken the extraordinary measure of closing its meetings.

This bloc with the administration (which at that very moment was initiating disciplinary proceedings against a leading SYL activist on campus for "disrupting" a faculty meeting) against the SYL was instigated by supporters of the RSB, Iranian Students Association and Left Alliance (New Left and liberal student government politicians) in the Activities Committee.

The SYL has been the most active left organization at Berkeley this year. We have regularly conducted classes and forums, initiated and largely built the anti-ROTC campaign, and held two demonstrations opposing U.S. imperialist intervention in Cambodia which drew hundreds of students. The sectarian hostility of these members of the Activities Committee to our Trotskyist politics and principled campaigns is a flippant betrayal of the interests of the entire left at Berkeley. To call upon the administration to restrict the democratic rights of the SYL solely on the basis of our political views is a treacherous invitation for a purge of the entire left.

A referendum placed on the ballot in the recent student elections by conservative student activists was just such an attempt to slash the funds presently allocated to radical and minority campus groups. It was the SYL which initiated and played a leading role in the campaign, endorsed by over 30 campus organizations and individuals, which successfully led to the defeat of this referendum.

The SYL is determined to mobilize opposition to this sleazy attack that will force the Activities Committee to overturn its ill-considered action. An SYL-sponsored petition opposing discrimination in the funding of left organizations on campus has received nearly 500 signatures (including those of members of the Left Alliance, faculty and campus workers) in less than two days. We call upon all students at Berkeley to protest this political victimization!

May 17 Boston March

NAACP/SWP Fiddles While Racists Burn Homes

YOUNG SPARTACUS

BOSTON—As the capitalist courts accommodate the anti-busing backlash and the racist mobilization here continues unabated, the liberal NAACP and its present servile valets, the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), organized the May 17 "March on Boston" as a spectacle of pacifism and social-patriotism ostensibly to commemorate the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation ruling. The 10,000 to 15,000 demonstrators were mobilized around not a militant strategy to defeat the racist attacks and insure the implementation of city-wide busing, but vague, meaningless sentiments such as "Save the Children" and "Schools for Everyone." The NAACP/SWP led the march not to the cadence of resounding militant slogans but to the ecclesiastic strains of "Onward Christian Soldiers" blared by a Shriners' band. And the rally itself was conducted according to a "program" including invocation, hymns, the "Star Spangled Banner," sermons, messages of "inspiration" and a benediction.

In his May 12 press statement Boston NAACP leader Tom Atkins croaked that the demonstration was "in support of quality, desegregated education and the Constitution, rather than a protest against anything." And at the rally "Uncle Tom" Atkins tremulously intoned, "we were told to have faith in the American system" and "our faith paid off." Because of the good Judge Garrity, Boston "is finally on C.P.T.—Constitutional Protection Time." But Boston next fall well may be on Race Riot Time, and the NAACP-SWP will bear the burden of partial responsibility for deflecting into "faith in the American system" the felt desire of black people for action that can force desegregation of the schools and can demoralize and disperse the racist reaction.



SL/SYL contingent raised class-struggle slogans in sharp contrast to the SWP/NAACP's pacifism and liberalism.

from this morass of spiritualism and mildew liberalism was the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League contingent, spirited and 150 strong, amassed under banners carrying slogans such as "No Retreat! Implement City-Wide Busing and Extend it to the Suburbs!," "Not White Against Black, But Class Against Class!," "No Trust in Capitalist Politicians, Troops and Cops—For a Labor and Black Defense Against Racist Anti-Busing Vigilantism!" and "For a Workers Party to

YOUNG SPARTACUS

call showed a militant mood and desire for struggle surpassing the tame, do-nothing reformism of the NAACP and SWP/YSA.

Impotent and Adventurist Parades No Answer to Racist Attacks

The growing anti-busing forces in Boston were in no way intimidated or demoralized by the December 14 "March Against Racism" staged by black Democrat Bill Owens, with a little help from his friends of the SWP/YSA and Youth Against War and Fascism. According to the Pollyanna reformists of the SWP/YSA, this demonstration "dealt the racists a major blow." This is a conscious, despicable fraud.

Black families who have settled in white areas of Dorchester have repeatedly been driven out of their homes. On April 19 five Puerto Rican families that had moved into East Boston's Orient Heights housing project were firebombed by a frenzied mob of racists. The recurrent incidents of racial strife at South Boston and Hyde Park high schools have seen the cops even more systematically than usual arrest black students and not white students. The racially integrated Amalgamated Meatcutters Union, whose union hall is located in South Boston, continues to face difficulty holding meetings and protecting its black members.

The racist offensive in Boston has whipped up a general reactionary climate, which played an important role in the conviction of Dr. Edelin, a black physician charged with performing a legal abortion. Many of the leading figures in the reactionary anti-abortion and anti-ERA movements are also involved in Restore Our Alienated Rights (ROAR—the main anti-busing organization), which disrupted a pro-ERA rally on April 9.

Had the NAACP and other black groups as well as the trade-union leaders used their authority and resources to begin organizing a labor-black defense organization, as advocated by the SL/SYL since the beginning of the Boston busing crisis, then many of these incidents could well have been prevented. Tied to the bosses Democratic Party, the NAACP

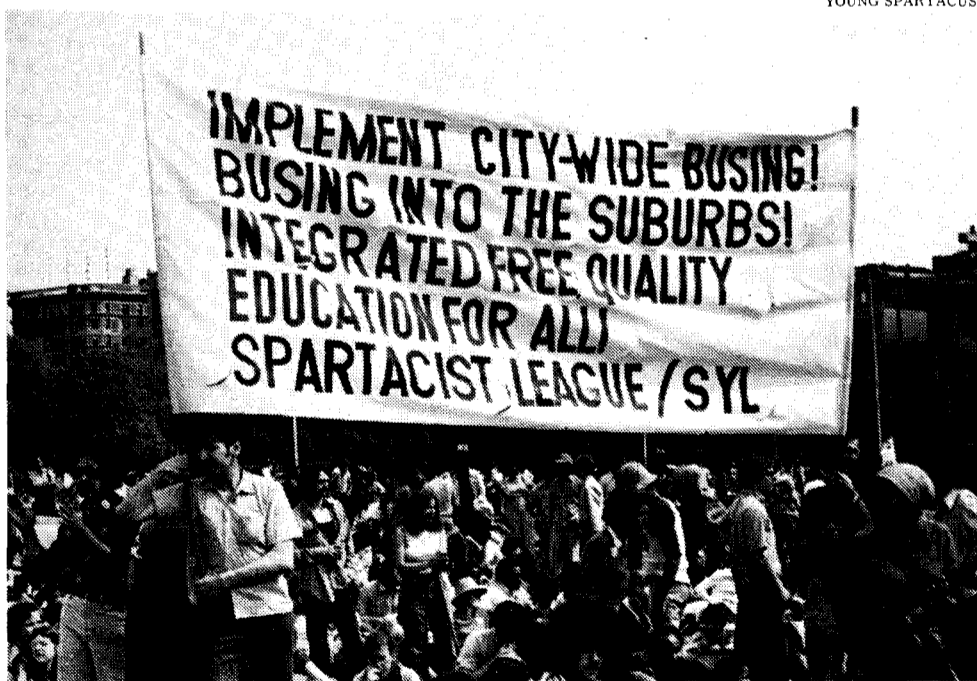
civil rights misleaders and their "labor statesmen" friends in the trade-union bureaucracy have instead preached reliance upon capitalist politicians and the federal government. The ROAR forces are organized and have a strategy; black and working people must meet this racist offensive with the formation of labor-black defense, relying on the power and resolve of working-class organizations and forces.

The May 3 march through South Boston organized by the Progressive Labor Party provoked a racist reaction of the intensity of last fall. PL publicized the action as an invitation for a confrontation, throwing down the gauntlet with battle cries such as "Death to the racists!" Lacking any program for linking the struggle against racial oppression with the class struggle against capitalism, PL careens from confining its politics to liberal moral appeals for banning "racist textbooks" to substituting itself and its few followers for masses mobilized around a program against racial oppression. Like its reckless demonstrations at ROAR functions and at the home of ROAR leader Louise Day Hicks, this march was a sectarian, senselessly provocative stunt that could well have ignited a full-scale race riot.

The approximately 600-1,000 marchers were met by no less than a thousand rock and bottle throwing racists. Despite the army of cops, there were skirmishes that resulted in ten arrests and numerous injuries. After the march disbanded, white gangs roaming the streets stoned a black man near Andrew Station in South Boston, wrecked the automobile of a black cab driver, forced a black motorist off the road into a brick wall and pulled another out of his car and beat him severely.

Then on May 7 a black youth with more guts than good sense carried a PL flag into violence-wracked South Boston High School. He was set upon and beaten by racist punks and then arrested, along with his assailants. The next day a racist mob of 500 mobilized by ROAR menacingly gathered outside the school and demonstrated. Three hundred cops were required to hold back the crowd. The NAACP/SWP preaches reliance upon the government and cops to protect these black students, knowing full well

continued on page 10



SYL calls for extending busing to the relatively more privileged schools in the suburbs.

At the rally Kathy Kelley of the National Student Association resurrected the ghost of Martin Luther King, a man opposed to all violence except against black people in Watts; NAACP Chairman Margaret Bush Wilson, Roy Wilkins, and Dick Gregory all exhorted the crowd to "keep the faith"; and Joseph Rauh of Americans for Democratic Action/NAACP/Miners for Democracy fame urged the demonstrators to "stand up for our two great Massachusetts senators," Brooke and Kennedy.

SL/SYL Contingent—The Militant Alternative

The only militant force standing out

Fight for a Workers Government!" Also intervening in the demonstration with slogans calling for implementing busing and a labor-black defense were trade-union militants from the United Auto Workers, the United Steel Workers and other unions. Supporters of the International Workers Party and the small Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist) marched behind the SL/SYL contingent and joined in chanting many of our slogans.

Along the march route black demonstrators and onlookers cheered our class-struggle slogans, and several joined our contingent. Many of the black youth, as well as black trade unionists from AFSCME and 1199 locals in New York, who had responded to the march

For United-Front Defense Action Against Rightist Terrorism!

Fascist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), National Socialist White People's Party (Nazis) and smaller local groups like the Texas-based United Whites of America (UWA) recently have been attacking the left with increasing frequency and boldness. The Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) has been victimized on several occasions by both the Nazis and the KKK. Luckily no SWP/YSA supporters have been killed in these vicious, anti-communist attacks, although several have sustained injuries requiring hospitalization. It is an elementary obligation of class solidarity for all self-proclaimed socialists and working-class militants to come to the defense of any member or tendency of the working-class movement under attack by these racist scum.

On February 20, about 20 Klansmen in sheets and fatigues, two of them brandishing rifles, converged upon the Houston office of the SWP/YSA, shouted racist and anti-communist epithets, and plastered the area with their racist "literature." Only one week later the home of Andrea Cordes, a supporter of the YSA, was entered in his absence by the KKK, who left a threatening note.

The Volunteers and Veterans to Vietnam, a newly formed ultra-rightist group, has been conducting a similar campaign of intimidation in Houston. On the night of April 27, first the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League and then the SWP/YSA received telephone calls from one J.A. Johnson, who hissed, "before going to Vietnam, we'll take care of the commies here!"

Houston Police: Klan-Infested

The response of the SWP/YSA to these serious threats and attacks has been to relinquish, publicly and demonstratively, all initiative for protection to the Houston cops. Disclaiming any intention to organize a working-class self-defense, the SWP/YSA hopes to bolster its "respectable" image and on that basis alone bring liberal public opinion to bear on the authorities.

Announcements for the SWP/YSA's Militant Forum scheduled for February 21 declared, "Mayor Hofheinz and the Police have been asked to protect us against these criminal terrorists.... Unarmed monitors will be present at the forum to prevent disruption" (original emphasis). In response to the fascist visitation at his home, YSA supporter Cordes publicly announced, "I am not armed and I have no intention of arming myself," and asked "where the Mayor and City Council stand on the question of the Klan" (YSA statement to the Houston City Council, 5 March 1975). The very same day the SWP/YSA campaign headquarters issued a press release criticizing the capitalist city government, including the racist meatheads in police uniform, for moral laxity and negligence in discharging the lofty civic duties of their office:

"When will the city use its enormous power to stop despicable Ku Klux Klan from roaming the streets of Houston.... As long experience has shown, the KKK is a cowardly group who will crawl back into their holes at the first sign of the police upholding the law against them."

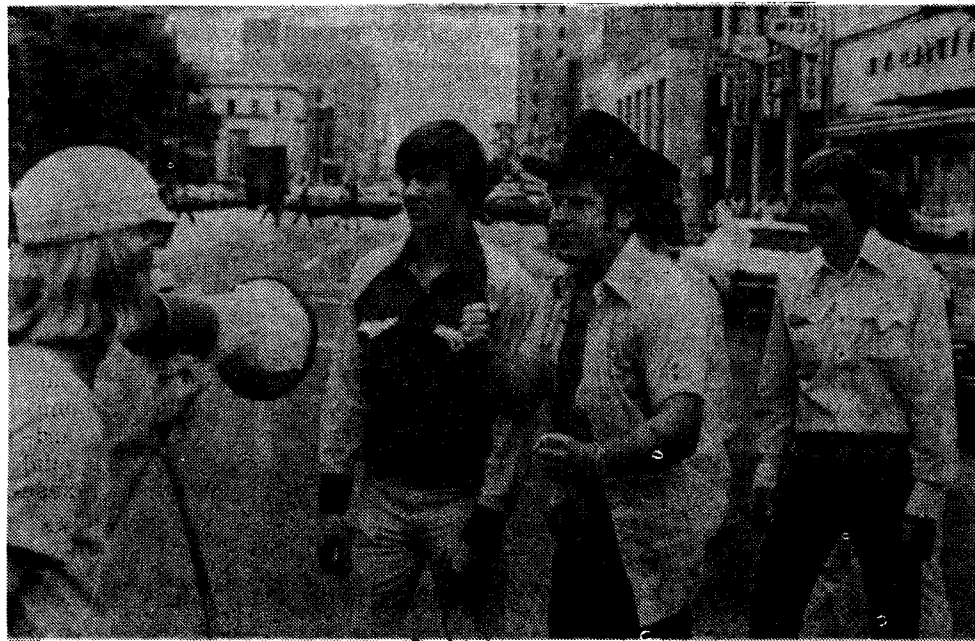
Especially when under direct attack by paramilitary gangs, com-

munist certainly should seek to exploit to their advantage every formal right and available recourse afforded under bourgeois democracy, recognizing without illusions that the courts and cops may provide some protection. But refusing to rely on any agency of the bourgeoisie, revolutionists must seek to organize working-class defense of all the oppressed against forces in the service of capitalist reaction. Precisely how this strategy of working-class self-defense should be imple-



MILITANT

HOUSTON CHRONICLE



SWP/YSA relies upon Klan-infested Houston cop department to "protect" victims of fascist attacks (top). Houston cops knew in advance ultra-rightist hoods would attack RU-sponsored May Day march (bottom).

mented in any given situation is a matter of tactics.

Repudiating any measures of a working-class defense, the SWP/YSA adopts the strategy of relying upon the legal system and repressive agencies of the class enemy to restrain the fascists. This policy, so characteristic of reformists, is a transgression of principle which can only disorient the oppressed masses and embolden the capitalist state and the fascists. As Trotsky so incisively stressed in *Whither France?* (1934):

"Nothing is so dangerous for the proletariat, especially in the present situ-

ation, than the sugared poison of false hopes. Nothing increases the insolence of the fascists so much as 'flabby pacifism' on the part of the workers' organizations."

And what could be more dangerous for the proletariat and all black people, especially in the South, than the false hopes that the city government will smash "its boys" in the KKK, than the sugared poison of lies that "long experience has shown" that the cops can be expected to "uphold the law" against the fascists! Even to suggest that the oppressed should place confidence and trust in the bourgeois state, especially in Houston where the organized right wing deeply penetrates the police department, is to foster disastrous, lethal illusions.

Houston Police Chief Carrol Lynn freely admits that in Houston there are cops "whose views are very close to those of the Klan" (quoted in the *Militant*, 21 March 1975), a monumental understatement. While the "flabby reformists" of the SWP/YSA whine for the cops to "uphold the law," we point out that twice in only the recent past the cops have known of planned fascist attacks on leftists *in advance* and not

To the supporters of the SWP/YSA in Houston, we warn: When defenseless you call for the cops to "protect" you, they may well come... in white sheets!

YSA Sabotages Left Defense

At Cleveland State University the campus office of the YSA was vandalized during the night of April 23 and left strewn with signs reading "White Power," "Nazi Power," "Hitler Was Right," "America for Whites, Africa for Blacks," "Communism is Jewish" and signs bearing the swastika. The YSA wrote a letter of protest to the campus newspaper which was also endorsed by the SYL at CSU.

When the SYL proposed a joint protest demonstration under the slogans "For a United Defense Against Fascist Attacks!" and "Down With Fascist Scum!", the YSA refused, dismissing such action as "futile" and "meaningless." However, the SYL proceeded to build for a rally to protest the fascist attack and received endorsements from Curtis Wilson, the Director of Black Studies; Earl Emerua, the Student Government President; and Laural Brummet of CSU Women's Liberation. (The Revolutionary Student Brigade, Youth Against War and Fascism and Workers League/Young Socialists all refused to endorse the rally.)

First the YSA attempted to prevent the SYL from going through with the rally, arguing that since the YSA was attacked, only it had the "right" to consider any protest action. Then the YSA flatly offered a deal: If the SYL abandoned the planned rally, our comrades could have a speaker at a YSA-called "press conference."

Failing to dissuade our comrades from protesting the fascist attack on the YSA, the YSA supporters (who in the past have been completely passive at CSU) madly dashed to those they knew had already endorsed the rally and sought (in every case unsuccessfully) to convince them to withdraw their support for the rally, not to speak at it or even attend. They approached individuals with whom our comrades were talking to ask them not to attend the rally, and in an effort to discover the names of other endorsees one YSA supporter even tried to rip a notebook from the hands of a SYL member!

The defense rally, held on April 29, was visible, militant and well publicized. Despite the YSA's attempted sabotage, a representative of the Student Government as well as a black CSU student spoke, in addition to the SYL.

Since the YSA was so pre-occupied trying to wreck the rally, it had no time to build support for its press conference, so that almost no one attended, and the only press present was *Young Spartacus*. At this "press conference," the SWP's mayoral candidate in Cleveland called upon the Cleveland cops to defend the SWP/YSA from illegal harassment.

Just as the SWP/YSA responded to our principled physical defense of its Argentinian co-thinker Juan Carlos Coral from gusano attack with despicable assassin-baiting (see especially "Denounce SWP Gangsterism!", *Workers Vanguard*, 23 May 1975), so at CSU they publicly denounced our rally as a "meaningless demonstration": "We wholeheartedly disassociate ourselves from their so-called defense demonstration and take no responsibility for it" (YSA letter to the *Cauldron*, 1 May 1975).

Fascist and right-wing attacks will not be smashed by the SWP/YSA's faith in the capitalist state and its cops, its ridiculing of working-class defense efforts, its traitorous sabotage of anti-fascist protest actions and its vicious slanders heaped upon competing tendencies in the working-class movement. The reformist politics of the SWP/YSA will only encourage the fascists and pave the way for defeat. ■

unexpectedly have refused to act. When asked about the Klan hooliganism outside the SWP office on February 20, Chief Lynn blandly reported that "his department has been aware for days the incident was to happen" (*Houston Post*, 22 February 1975). A premeditated attack by the KKK and UWA on the May Day march sponsored by the Houston Revolutionary Union was reportedly known to the cops assigned to accompany the march, who just "happened" to be on a rooftop during the attack, and apparently also to the news media, which happened to be at the right place at just the right time to televise the entire attack!

Pathet Lao...

Continued from page 1

Seeing the decisive rout of the ruling classes of Vietnam and Cambodia, and faced with the advances of the Pathet Lao forces, the turbulent urban demonstrations, disintegration throughout the Royalist forces, and the beginnings of a precipitous U.S. withdrawal, the tiny Laotian commercial elite was thrown into a panic. According to all recent press reports, the powerful ruling clans, most Vietnamese and Chinese merchants (the backbone of the Laotian economy) and numerous military officers are rapidly fleeing the country.

As the U.S.-backed anti-Communist forces crumbled and the Pathet Lao proceeded to occupy areas long held by the Royalists, bourgeois "neutralist" Phouma formally passed control of the military to the Pathet Lao Deputy Minister of Defense, who immediately warned that any Royal Army units resisting the now Pathet Lao-dominated coalition government would be "suppressed by a joint force of Royal Army and Pathet Lao troops" (quoted in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 23 May 1975). The ultra-right commanders who did not flee or submit totally to the Pathet Lao reportedly have been "quickly stamped out" (*ibid.*).

array in the Royal Army and the decisive military predominance of the insurgent forces, only massive intervention by counterrevolutionary forces from the outside, or an even more improbable deal at an international bargaining table, can seriously endanger or reverse the present process of consolidation of state power by the Stalinist Pathet Lao. But there can be no "third road" or intermediary stage in Laos. With its predominantly feudal and even pre-feudal tribal relations of production, a Laotian state established by the Stalinists would tend to lean on and take on the social character of the neighboring more advanced Vietnamese and Chinese deformed workers states. Despite their talk of a "national democratic" state, and whatever the pace of nationalizations or the fate of forms of coalition government, the Stalinists, as in Cambodia and South Vietnam, will be forced to create proletarian forms of property in order to consolidate and defend their rule. However, the peasant-based Stalinist parties cannot create organs of workers democratic rule like the soviets of the Russian state under Lenin and Trotsky. They can at most achieve only a *deformed* workers state whose petty-bourgeois bureaucratic regime politically expropriates the working class.

As previously in Cambodia and South Vietnam, the advances of the Stalinist-led forces and the disintegration of the ruling classes in Laos dramatically explode all the myths of the Menshevik-Stalinist schema of the "two-stage revolution." The destruction of capitalist class rule in Indochina is impossible to explain within the framework of the "two-stage revolution."

The Maoist *Guardian* (14 May 1975), a literary tendency occasionally sensitive to Trotskyist criticism, has felt compelled to manufacture "two stages" for the revolution in South Vietnam. In a muted polemic obliquely directed against Trotskyism, "Vietnam Marxists Played Decisive Role," *Guardian* scribe Irwin Silber sets forth the "Marxist-Leninist theory of the two-stage revolution in colonial countries," explaining that a "national-democratic" stage "constitutes a separate and indispensable" first stage and that it is "only upon the completion of the first stage of the revolution that the second stage—the revolution in social relations leading to the socialist transformations of society—can fully develop." In reality the "two stage revolution" schema is a justification for class collaboration, just as is its corollary, the theory of "socialism in one country."

According to the Stalinist dogma, the "first stage" requires the formation of a multi-class government representing the "bloc of the four classes." This supposedly is necessary to carry out the democratic tasks of expelling imperialism, liquidating the comprador capitalists and feudalists, achieving radical agrarian reform and securing bourgeois democratic rights.

Prior to the military victory of the NLF, the Vietnamese Stalinists, parroted by Maoist cheerleaders including the *Guardian*, unambiguously maintained that the "first stage" of the revolution could only be carried out by a coalition government, which was promised by the Paris Peace Accords. But in marching into Phnom Penh and Saigon, the Khmer Rouge and DRV/NLF had to trample over these accords! This proves that, far from being "a step toward final victory," the accords

were an obstacle to the seizure of power.

The Vietnamese Stalinists defeated the puppets of imperialism, set the stage for agrarian revolution and are preparing for the national reunification of Vietnam not arm in arm with the "patriotic" bourgeoisie and landowners, but over their political corpse! Since the destruction of capitalist rule resulting from the Khmer Rouge and NLF victories clearly involves the "revolution in social relations" that allegedly is possible "only upon the completion of the first stage," pundit

Thus in the economically underdeveloped countries the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution fall to the proletariat in revolutionary alliance with the peasantry. But since, as Marx and Lenin concluded, the peasantry is too atomized and stratified to rule as a class, the proletariat led by a Leninist party must rally behind its class leadership the broad masses of peasants. If successfully brought to state power by the agrarian revolution the proletariat can only establish its class dictatorship, thereby opening the road to the socialist transformation of

YOUNG SPARTACUS



SYL in Chicago demonstrates solidarity with Indochinese revolution.

Silber is reduced to implicitly suggesting that the elusive "first stage" was the decades-long struggle of the Viet Minh and Viet Cong against imperialism. But the unfolding of not a single anti-capitalist revolution can be crammed into Maoist categories. Following Mao, who felt it necessary to revise his long-standing position that "New Democracy" existed in China from 1949-56, now declaring that it came to an end in 1949 with the victory of the Stalinist-led armies, Silber is hinting—cautiously—at a revision that terminates the "first stage" *precisely when it was supposed to begin!*

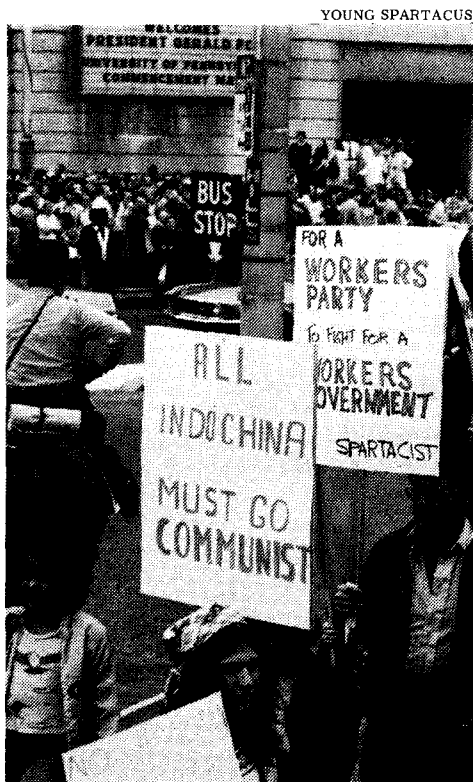
Turning to the situation in Laos, where according to this position the "first stage" should be completed, the *Guardian* (28 May 1975) proclaims that the "bloc of the four classes" is alive and well in the present coalition government. The fleeing of the bourgeoisie and the consolidation of power in the hands of the Pathet Lao is reduced by the *Guardian* to merely the departure of some "feudal politicians" and their replacement with "moderates" and "genuine nationalists!"

Counterposed to the reformist schemas of "socialism in one country" and the "two-stage revolution," the Trotskyist theory of the permanent revolution is derived from the historically proved fact that in the epoch of imperialism the weak bourgeoisies in the economically underdeveloped countries are closely intertwined economically and socially with the feudal landowners and other pre-capitalist social parasites, so that consequently these exploiters are mortally afraid of the agrarian revolution which would sweep away their social rule. These classes are thus incapable of carrying through any of the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and are fundamentally dependent upon the power of world imperialism to prop up and preserve their rule over the masses.

society.

The Stalinist parties in Indochina repeatedly have betrayed the interests of the working masses. Forced in spite of their class-collaborationist programs to take power, the Stalinists are a fetter upon the defense of the gains of the working class and the extension of the revolution. To open the road to workers democracy and proletarian internationalism, the Stalinist bureaucracies, from Moscow and Peking to Hanoi/Saigon/Phnom Penh, must be ousted by a workers political revolution led by genuine communist, that is, Trotskyist, parties.

- *U.S. Out of Southeast Asia! For unconditional Defense of the Deformed Workers States Against Imperialism!
- *Down with the Vientiane Agreements—No Confidence in the Pathet Lao! Extend the Indochinese Revolution—For the Direct Rule of the Laotian, Cambodian and Vietnamese Workers through Soviet Forms of Proletarian Democracy!
- *For Communist Unity Against Imperialism through Political Revolution—All Indochina Must Go Communist!
- *For the Reforging of the Fourth International! ■



Demonstration against Gerald Ford at U. Penn., Philadelphia.

At this time the dominant exploiting classes of Laos are rapidly melting away as a substantial social/political force. Consequently, the Pathet Lao is being compelled to gather and tighten all the reigns of state power in its own hands. The Pathet Lao now commands decisive control over the coalition government and will dictate its fate. As one Pathet Lao senior official bluntly declared: "We want the coalition to continue. It will continue" (quoted in *Time*, 26 May 1975). And the unstated corollary clearly is that when the Stalinists no longer consider it expedient to continue this facade, it can be dictated out of existence.

Given the absence of the proletariat contending for power in its own name, the continuing deep erosion of the social and economic bases of bourgeois-landlord rule, the dis-

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA	CHICAGO	NEW YORK
Friday and Saturday } 3:00—6:00 p.m. 330-40th Street (near Broadway) Oakland, California Phone 653-4668	Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m. Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m. 538 So. Wabash Room 206 Chicago, Illinois Phone 427-0003	Monday through Friday } 3:00-7:30 p.m. Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m. 260 West Broadway Room 522 New York, New York Phone 925-5665

Now Available In Pamphlet Form--

Reply to the *Guardian*

The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited • The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited • The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited • The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited • The Stalin School of Falsification

Articles reprinted from *Workers Vanguard*

A Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet

Make checks payable/mail to: **75¢**
 Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10013

Campus Student Elections: SYL Campaigns As Communist Alternative

During the last month the Spartacus Youth League has campaigned for our revolutionary communist program in student government election races on nine campuses across the country, from Boston University to Berkeley. Posing the key problems facing youth today and raising the revolutionary solution, the SYL candidates used the elections as a vehicle for advancing our struggle to win students to a revolutionary, working-class perspective. Our communist campaigns boldly presented the alternative to the traditional quagmire of academic careerism, administration flunkiness, campus parochialism, and "student-power" radicalism.

The response to the SYL campaigns reflected not only increased receptivity to communist politics by students becoming more restive and disaffected under the impact of the general social crisis, but also the growing influence and recognition of the SYL as communist activists on campus. This year the SYL ran twice as many election campaigns as last and at several campuses polled double the votes. At the University of Chicago an SYL candidate was elected, and now the SYL will be able to extend and enhance its activities through the platform provided by the Student Government. On several campuses the "Trotskyist" Young Socialist Alliance, an organization several times our size which runs campaigns based on soft-sell liberalism, limped ahead of the SYL by only a narrow margin.

Unlike the low-level reformism, electoral opportunism and student-government cretinism of our "socialist" contenders, the SYL campaigns were all conducted on the basis of a full program. From campus to campus the SYL campaigns often were able to emphasize particular issues and aspects of our program as well as to contribute to ongoing struggles on campus.

SYL Directory

ANN ARBOR: Call (313) 662-1548
 BAY AREA: SYL, Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, CA 94701, or call (415) 653-4668
 BOSTON: SYL, Box 137, Somerville, MA 02144, or call (617) 492-3928
 BUFFALO: SYL, Box 6, Norton Union, SUNY, Buffalo, NY 14214, or call (716) 882-3863
 CHICAGO: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 427-0003
 CLEVELAND: SYL, Box 02182, Cleveland, OH 44102, or call (216) 651-4613
 DETROIT: c/o SL, Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 921-4626
 HOUSTON: SYL, Box 9054, Houston, TX 77011, or call (713) 926-9944
 LOS ANGELES: SYL, Box 29115, Vermont Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 485-1838
 MADISON: SYL, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704, or call (608) 257-4212
 NEW HAVEN: SYL, Box 1363, New Haven, CT 06505, or call (203) 432-1170
 NEW ORLEANS: SYL, c/o SL, Box 51634, Main P.O., New Orleans, LA 70151, or call (504) 866-8384
 NEW YORK: SYL, Box 825, Canal Street Sta., New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 925-5665
 PHILADELPHIA: SYL, c/o SL, Box 25601, Philadelphia, PA 19144, or call (215) 667-5695
 TORONTO: SYL, c/o Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, or call (416) 366-4107
 VANCOUVER: SYL, c/o Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency, Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., Canada

San Francisco State University

The most significant—and most controversial—political event this year at San Francisco State was the anti-Nazi demonstration on campus March 10 organized by a united front initiated by the SYL. The demonstration resulted in the physical ejection of the group of fascists who unfortunately had been invited to speak in a speech class. In an attempt to purge the campus of radical activists, the administration retaliated with disciplinary proceedings against those allegedly involved in this "disruption," including the SYL (see story this issue).

The SYL immediately organized a defense campaign on a united-front basis. Recognizing the need to address directly the issues of fascism, the "right" of fascists to "free speech" and administration reprisals which were being hotly debated on campus, the SYL campaign included in our platform the points, "Stop the Witch-hunt" and "No Platform for Fascists." The SYL used the elections to the Associated Students to build support for the united-front defense campaign and advance our position on the fascists.

During the period of election campaigning the Progressive Labor Party (PL), also charged by the administration, opportunistically refrained from even mentioning the anti-fascist demonstration and the administration witchhunt so as not to jeopardize the liberal appeal of its reformist campaign, conducted through a front group, "Coalition to Fight the Cutbacks." PL for popularity purposes even endorsed the BEER slate, which is as apolitical as the acronym suggests. The SYL campaign also opposed the undemocratic candidacy requirements, which forced the SYL candidate to run as a write-in candidate.

University of California/Los Angeles

At UCLA the SYL ran candidates for president and first vice president of the Student Legislative Council; the latter received 261 votes, while the former polled a mere 20 votes less than our "socialist" opposition, the YSA. Ours was the only campaign to stress the issue of deportations of "illegal aliens" and advanced the demand for an end to deportations and for full citizenship rights for all foreign workers and students.

The SYL campaign also urged full support for the struggles of campus workers and solidarized with the Militant Caucus of AFSCME Local 2070, a class-struggle opposition in the UCLA campus employees union. In contrast, the YSA actually stated that students were not interested in supporting campus workers! When the campus workers union called a rally in defense of union militants harassed and victimized by the UCLA administration and requested student support, the YSA not only refused to endorse and build the demonstration, not only refused to attend, but attempted to sabotage the union demonstration by calling for another demonstration, around the "student issue" of amnesty for draft evaders, for the same time.

University of Chicago

In the elections to the Student Government Assembly at the University of Chicago, SYL candidate Emily Turnbull was elected, polling 23 percent of the votes in her constituency. The second SYL candidate was narrowly defeated. The SYL campaign pointed to the exemplary strike-support organizing the SYL had conducted in the fall during the UC employees' strike

(for details see "Workers Strike at U. of Chicago—SYL Builds Support, Fake Lefts Scab!," *Young Spartacus*, November 1974). Our campaign literature prominently advanced the demands for the nationalization of elite UC and for the implementation of a policy of open admissions and urged support for the unionization drives on campus.

The SYL centered its campaign activities on attempting to force our ostensibly socialist opponents, primarily the social-democratic New American Movement, to debate the SYL on the issues raised by the various candidates. During the campus workers' strike last

has recommended a complete revision of policy that would open up all areas of the campus for sale and distribution of literature.

The SYL campaign used the issue of democratic rights—an end not merely to regulations on literature sales, but also to all administration control over campus organizations—as a basis for posing the demand for student/teacher/campus-worker control of the University. The SYL candidate also opposed the announced firings of politically active and outspoken leftist professors, demanding the replacement of the present tenure system with hiring and firing



SYL candidate at University of Chicago, Emily Turnbull, was active in supporting strike of campus workers in the fall. Turnbull and striker halt scab truck.

fall NAM publicly took a position supporting scabbing on the strike, and now NAM refuses to oppose categorically tuition hikes, instead calling for a rise in the student activities budget (itself a grossly undemocratic administration operation) for every increase in tuition.

University of Illinois/Chicago Circle Campus

At this plebian, politicized campus, the SYL 3-candidate slate for student government made a strong showing with 113 votes, only 27 votes behind the YSA, whose candidates ran for unopposed seats. This significant vote—representing 10 percent of the ballot—was a response to our full communist program and our reputation on campus as communist activists.

Although not a major focus, the campaign also contributed to the ongoing struggle against the administration's undemocratic and repressive regulations restricting the distribution and sale of literature on campus that has been waged by the SYL-initiated Committee for Democratic Rights (CDR). Present administration rules permit literature sales at only one place—a small lobby—on this sprawling urban campus; moreover, at events funded through the University literature sales are prohibited. The CDR was initiated by the SYL as a united front based upon the demand for the repeal of the repressive regulations and has been endorsed by eight groups on campus.

Because representatives of the CDR have presented extensive legal evidence (court decisions upholding students' rights to free expression on campus) before three University committees, the administration has felt sufficient pressure to re-evaluate its repressive policies. Administration officials repeatedly stressed that they do not want any large student mobilizations or "shouting and yelling" around the issue. As a result of the CDR's campaign, driven forward primarily by the SYL, one University committee

controlled by one union of all campus employees, from dishwashers and janitors to professors (excluding, of course, supervisory personnel, foremen and campus cops).

The other ostensibly radical candidates, mainly the YSA and Progressive Labor (running through its left-liberal front group, the "Committee Against Racism"), refused to accept our challenge for a debate. While occasionally mentioning student/teacher/campus-worker control in its literature, the YSA campaign statement at UICC "forgot" the workers, asserting instead that "the only people who have the right to make decisions are those who are affected by them—Circle students." Apparently feeling the need to respond to the SYL's strong pro-working-class campaign, the YSA candidates grudgingly told the campus press that they "agree with the SYL in that students should join forces with the working class in their movement" (*Illini*, 28 April 1975). That, however,

Young Spartacus

Editorial Board:
 Charles O'Brien (editor),
 Susan Adrian, Joseph Drummond,
 Peter Atkins

Production manager: K. Johnson
 Circulation manager: M. Sanders

Young Spartacus is published by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co. The Spartacus Youth League, the youth section of the Spartacist League, is a revolutionary socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

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

Subscriptions: \$2 for 11 issues. Write Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

was the first and last mention of the working class by the YSA campaign.

Wayne State University

At Wayne State University the SYL has challenged the discriminatory requirements for serving on the Student-Faculty Council (grade point average and credit hours carried). The SYL prompted the S-FC to place on the ballot a referendum eliminating these undemocratic requirements which are biased against student activists and working-class and minority youth who suffer the disadvantages of inferior preparatory education and the need to work part-time. The credit-hour requirement alone disqualifies at least 36 percent of WSU students. Enrollment at WSU should be the sole requirement for representation on the S-FC.

The SYL at WSU has taken the initiative in building support for the referendum, which has received more than 30 endorsements, including campus organizations and faculty. The SYL candidate, forced by these requirements to run on a write-in basis, has stressed the need for a labor-student mobilization against the proposed tuition hike and 15 percent budget cutbacks as well as the massive layoffs in Detroit.

Cleveland State University

At CSU where the SYL ran for student government president, the campaign laid particular emphasis on the demand for a policy of open admissions and a state-provided stipend for all students. Considered a "community college," CSU is only 14 percent black, although Cleveland is 38.5 percent black. Which "community" the bourgeois CSU trustees serve is abundantly clear. The SYL campaign literature elaborated on the need for active recruitment of minority students, establishment of special remedial courses and tutoring to compensate for previous inferior education, and an end to flunk outs and the class-biased degree system.

The SYL also emphasized the need for a united response to the increasing right-wing attacks in Cleveland. When the fascists carried out a night raid on the offices of the YSA at CSU, the SYL responded by organizing a militant united-front demonstration against the fascist scum (see article in this issue). SYL campaign literature pointed to this attack and the appearance of the Nazis during the racial strife at Collingwood High School as ominous threats which at once must be met by a defense force based on the organizations of the black community, labor movement and their allies that can deal decisively with these swine.

Boston University

At Boston University the SYL ran a slate for elections to the Student Union and also the College of Liberal Arts, receiving a significant 77 votes. While stressing the need to abolish the undemocratic student Provisional Code which enforces repressive *in loco parentis* and to defeat administration attacks on campus workers and faculty,

the SYL centered its campaign on the issues raised by the busing crisis in Boston. The SYL utilized the elections to propagandize our demands in support of city-wide busing and its extension to the suburbs and in favor of the organization of a labor-black defense force to ensure the implementation of busing and the protection of black people



SYL candidate at Boston University, Irene Granovsky, addressed the National Student Conference Against Racism, denouncing the YSA's call for federal troops to Boston.

imperiled by the racists (see article in this issue).

The SYL campaign sharply countered our revolutionary politics to the obnoxious liberalism and pallid reformism of our "left" competitors; significantly, the YSA chose not to attend the official candidates' debate. The YSA does not call for free quality higher education, but merely no additional tuition hikes. While opposing on paper the Provisional Code, the YSA candidate, concerned only with mobilizing students to carry NAACP placards at the May 17 fete, dismissed the Code as not a "burning issue." The YSA's response to cutbacks in the BU budget is not to make the capitalist pay, but to make the students bear the burden of mandatory student fees to compensate for the shrinking budgetary allocations (YSA candidate quoted in *Daily Free Press*, 22 April 1975):

City College of New York

At CCNY the SYL campaign for Student Senate placed particular emphasis on the question of the budget cuts facing students and the issue of deportation of "illegal" immigrants. The elections were postponed for several weeks, when the personalist cliques presently running the Tammany Hall regime in the Student Senate turned on one another and spilled the most sordid revelations of their opponents (in response to which the CCNY SYL distributed a statement appropriately entitled "Student Election Slapstick at CCNY!"). Shortly thereafter, however, the elections were actually physically disrupted by the outbreak of pitched battles between unemployed black and Latin demonstrators and employed construction workers on campus (see article in this issue). Once again the YSA statement of position makes no mention of revolution

or socialism, no mention of the working class ("the struggle of women and oppressed nationalities are the business of our students"), no mention of open admission and free education, and no mention of campus workers and union prerogatives in its call for "student-faculty control of hiring, firing and curriculum"!

MICHIGAN DAILY

Board of Regents, the hand-picked flunkies of the capitalists!

Defeat the Discount Bookstore Referendum!

This year's ballot includes the Discount Bookstore Referendum. If it passes, it will result in a *drastic* cut in the funding of *all* student activities, from Blue and Gold to *Black Thoughts* to the SYL. The referendum is a hoax: for \$50 worth of books, students will only save up to \$1.80! Why then has this referendum been put on the ballot? Because its backers, Apathy Party senators Steve Mehlman and Ray Nikels and arch-reactionary Ray Van Buskirk, aim to underhandedly strike a blow against left and minority student groups!

The solution to the rapidly increasing cost of education does not lie in schemes to make the ASUC more profitable, or in shifting already limited funds from one area to another. The solution is to fight for *free* education with a state-paid stipend for all. The state should fund all student organizations and freely provide students with necessary course material.

When Mehlman suggests that "other expenses can be reduced in the administration of the ASUC" (*Daily Cal*, 4/10/75) what else can he mean but wage-cuts or lay-offs for ASUC employees? It is an outrage that ASUC employees are paid even *less* than other university employees! We call for one campus-wide union for all university employees. Ultimate decisions on hiring must rest with the union with student consultation in the hiring of faculty.

Cops and Military Off Campus!

Last winter when the Academic Senate moved to review the status of the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) the Spartacus Youth League immediately built a demonstration uniting many different opponents of the U.S. military around the demands: Stop Accreditation! ROTC Off Campus! We went on to initiate the Committee to Stop ROTC which held two rallies and circulated a petition which success-

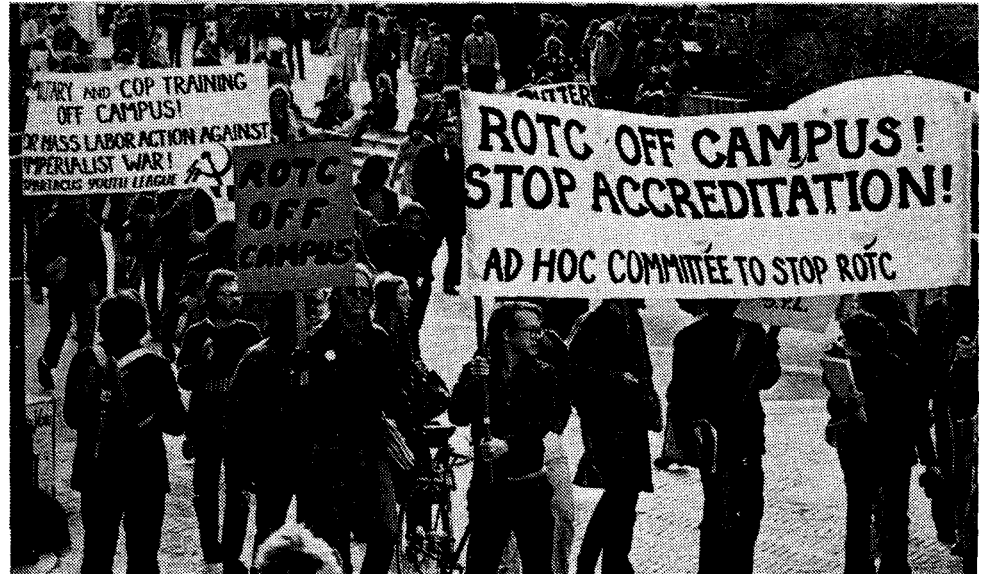
YOUNG SPARTACUS

University of California/Berkeley

The following reprint of the election platform of the three-candidate SYL slate for the Associated Students of the University of California (Berkeley) indicates the full programmatic basis of an SYL campaign and illustrates well the manner in which our program has been presented through or linked with particular issues and struggles.

For a Program for Working-Class Revolution—Vote SYL!

ASUC elections are characterized by personalism, meaningless campaign promises and tacit agreement among



SYL initiated the anti-ROTC campaign at UC Berkeley.

the candidates to ignore the most important questions facing students and society as a whole. The Spartacus Youth League candidates, John Burkett for President, and Bonnie Breen and John Sefton for Senators, make only one campaign promise: we are committed to the overthrow of the corrupt and oppressive capitalist system through working-class-led revolution. We are running to present our program for socialist revolution. If we win we will seek to use the ASUC as a platform to continue to mobilize and fight around this program.

We do not see the solution to students' problems in the usual panacea of a "more responsive" or "more effective" ASUC. These problems cannot be solved in the framework of the ASUC, which wields only as much power as the administration and the Board of Regents permit. We call not for "representation" which leaves real decision-making power in the hands of the Board of Regents, but *student-faculty-worker control of the universities. Abolish the*

fully pressured the Academic Senate to hold two open hearings on ROTC.

Many students who take a stand against the atrocities committed by American imperialism argue that ROTC should remain on campuses. This, the argument goes, would lead to a more "humane" military by exposing cadets—the future officer corps—to a liberal education. The SYL rejects this argument: neither the military nor the capitalist state as a whole can be reformed. These institutions exist to defend capitalism by putting down the just struggles of workers, peasants and students around the world and in the U.S. Liberalism does not divert the military from this task, but permits this *dirty* work to be carried out in a more sophisticated fashion.

We made this same point in the *Crim* struggle last spring, proclaiming that "Cops Break Strikes, Kill Blacks, Bust Students." While we stood with Tony Platt and other radical professors against the administration's attempt to

continued on page 11

Young Spartacus

Monthly newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacus Youth Publ. Co., Box 825, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013
\$2 for 11 issues (one year)

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____



YSp 33

Union-Busting Demagogues Demand "Racist Unions Off Campus"

Construction Workers, Unemployed Clash at CCNY

NEW YORK—On May 14 a long-tense confrontation between the building trades unions working on a new academic complex at the City College of New York (CCNY) and the minority-job-promoting Manhattan North Coalition (MNC) erupted in a pitched street battle which raged for hours. The unemployed demonstrators and the unionized construction workers clashed with heavy bolts, bottles, lead pipes and steel bars. Students demonstrating in support of the MNC as well as onlooking students were caught in the bloody melee, and many were driven into nearby buildings by the surging charges and fierce countercharges and then by the sweeps of marauding cops who swarmed over the area.

The near cop riot, which included reckless firing of warning shots and driving speeding patrol cars into crowds, interjected into the ugly union-MNC confrontation a fully warranted anti-cop component, as other students began to gather, chanting "Cops Off Campus!" The bitter fighting sent 28 persons to the hospital, one—a black construction worker—critically injured. The winners in this fratricidal battle among the oppressed were the bosses and their servants, the CCNY administration.

MNC: Scraping the Bottom of the Pork Barrel

Since the beginning of construction on the CCNY site last October, the MNC—a class-collaborationist conglomeration of seedy contractors, poverty program politicians, some fake lefts, "Third World" nationalist groups and misled unemployed construction workers and youth—has been organizing confrontations and demonstrations against the administration and the unions. The demands of the MNC are for 50 percent of the jobs to be given to minority workers from "its" community (presently 42-47 percent of the workers on the site are black and Hispanic, but many happen to be from "other" communities), for one half of these jobs to be filled by the MNC, for one fourth of the contracts to be awarded to non-white bosses (guess who!), and for the election by the community of a non-white "site coordinator."

The fake leftists, community hustlers on the make and bosses running the MNC are cynically mobilizing against the unions unemployed construction workers and ghetto youth, who are justly angry and ready for some militant action for jobs. While paying cheap lip service to more jobs and no layoffs, the MNC unambiguously states that it is not fighting for union jobs and for union protection against layoffs. A recent MNC leaflet flatly declares, "Who's going to protect you? Certainly not your union." The main slogans of the MNC, raised in leaflets and chants on several occasions during the simmering confrontation, are "Racist Unions Off Campus!" and "Racist Unions Must Go!"

Stripped of their pseudo-radical rhetoric (which various hustlers and careerists have discovered can be quite lucrative as well as necessary for mobilizing a base), the MNC demands are a direct attack on the union hiring hall and seniority system and are designed to break the power of the unions on the site. The MNC tops clearly aspire to set up their own job trust, but this first requires destroying the important union right: the closed shop. The leading group of the MNC, the "Fight Back" outfit, has a long, sordid record of union-busting campaigns; as one example, "Fight Back" a number of years ago dragged the city transport union into the bosses' courts, appealing to capitalist judges to decertify the union on the basis of

its strike in violation of the anti-labor, no-strike Taylor Law.

Defend the Unions! Dump the Bureaucrats!

The labor skates lording over the building trades unions traditionally have ranked among the most conservative and racist in the labor movement. These staunchly pro-capitalist pie-cards have tenaciously fought to preserve their craft domains as bastions of a lily-white, privileged labor aristocracy. As unemployment in the building trades soars to an estimated 35-50 percent, these "business as usual" bureaucrats have done absolutely nothing to fight for the jobs of these discharged workers, who are disproportionately black and Hispanic.

Although presently misled by a class-collaborationist, chauvinist, die-hard racist, fat-cat bureaucracy, the construction unions, like every trade union, are the sole organizations through which construction workers can protect their interests as workers from the rapacious, profit-greedy class of capitalist exploiters. Without these defensive organizations, which historically have been formed only by the most determined struggle and sacrifice of the working class, construction workers—especially black and Hispanic—would be helpless before the vicious onslaught of wage gouging, speed-up, mass layoffs and arbitrary victimization, all of which the capitalists must maintain and intensify in this period of economic downturn.

The bosses backing the MNC recognize that the unions are the main obstacle to reaping higher profits; these small-scale operators must bid for contracts against the construction giants and desire to overcome their competitive disadvantage by operating through a "community" job trust hiring the unemployed at below-union, coolie-level wages. The capitalists for years have been attempting to use "affirmative action" frauds to intervene into and weaken the construction unions: the union-busting "Chicago Plan" of Jesse Jackson and Co. was bankrolled by the Ford Foundation and large Chicago banks, while the similar "Philadelphia Plan" was engineered by the racist, anti-labor Nixon and ex-cop Mayor Rizzo.

Revolutionists and class-conscious militants must struggle to deflect the desperate rage and pent-up militancy of the unemployed away from confrontations with the organizations of the working class and toward the bosses and their state. But defense of crucial workers' gains such as the union hiring hall and the closed shop must be linked not with preservation of the status quo but with the most resolute struggle against every manifestation of racial and sexual discrimination within the labor movement.

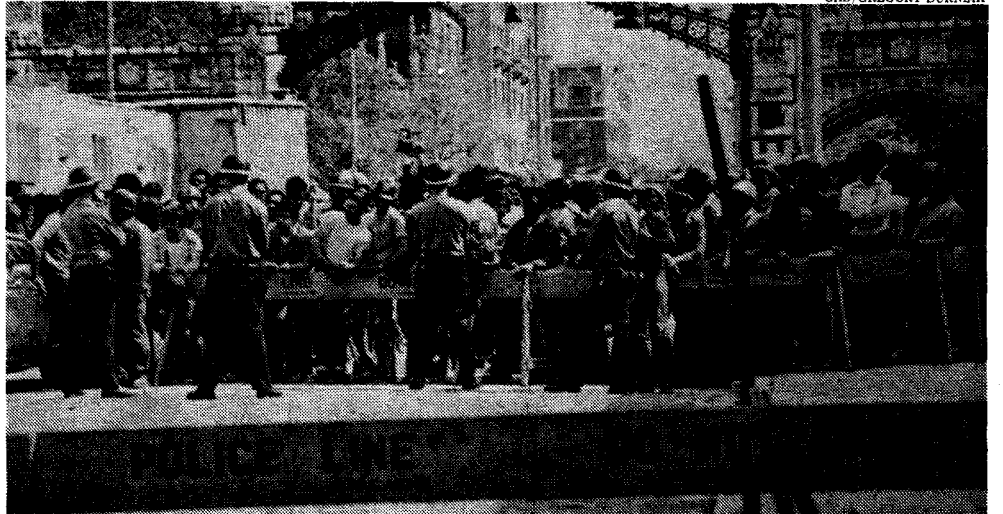
This requires a struggle to oust the present trade-union bureaucracy—the "labor lieutenants" of the capitalist class—and replace these pro-capitalist fakers with a leadership committed to forging class unity through uncompromising struggle against the very source of racial oppression, capitalism. In the absence of militants struggling to become such a class-struggle leadership, the union misleaders will be able to mobilize their ranks against other sections of the class in the name of opposition to union busting, just as aspiring job trusters and their capitalist backers will continue to mobilize the unemployed against the discriminatory unions.

Make the Bosses Take the Losses!

To schemes which disastrously pit one section of the oppressed against another in a clawing fight for an ever decreasing number of available jobs,

militants must counterpose the struggle for full employment at the capitalists' expense through a sliding scale of hours (dividing the available work among all who wish jobs at the highest wage). For those construction workers presently unemployed, we call for full, unconditional and ongoing unemployment compensation and for their organization into union unemployed committees, retaining full union rights and seniority. The myriad craft unions presently representing building trades workers should be amalgamated into one industry-wide construction union.

To combat inflation we advocate full cost-of-living increases for all workers, as well as those receiving unemployment compensation, welfare benefits, pensions, social security and student stipends. Construction workers must fight for an end to all discrimination in hiring and advancement and for an aggressive, contractor-funded union-conducted recruitment drive and apprenticeship training program for minorities and women to rectify in the shortest possible time the imbalances of past discrimination.



Cops cordon off CCNY campus from angry unemployed workers and students.

For construction workers the fight for full employment above all entails the struggle for a nationwide, massive program of public works construction, not WPA-style, but planned and administered by the labor movement and the unemployed and at top union wages. Make the corporations pay for construction of high-quality, low-cost integrated housing, schools and hospitals, public day-care centers, efficient mass transportation systems, public recreational facilities, and conservation/beautification projects!

Finally, the entire construction industry should be nationalized without any compensation to the capitalists, and class-conscious workers must struggle for workers control. All these measures will provoke the furious resistance of the exploiting class. The struggle for these felt needs of the masses of working people and unemployed thus must be directed toward the goal of proletarian dictatorship that will expropriate the entire capitalist class.

For a Labor-Student Mobilization Against Budget Cuts and Layoffs!

Since the beginning of the MNC/administration dispute, the issue of more jobs for minority workers on the CCNY construction site has been closely linked with the movement on campus against threatened cutbacks in the funding of the SEEK program ("Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge"). Early on, the leadership of the MNC made calculated appeals for student support with "worker-student alliance" rhetoric, including giving support to the struggles on campus against the budget cuts.

Likewise, the "Third World" nationalists involved in the SEEK campaign, notably the Puerto Rican Reve-

lutionary Workers Organization, El Comité and Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Asian Studies, as well as some Student Government careerists like Donald Murphy and Boreysa Tep included in the slogans of the "Committee for SEEK and Financial Aid" the demand, "Support all the demands of the Manhattan North Coalition." For the nationalists MNC represented a militant-sounding ally for the budget cuts fight; for discredited student politicians like Murphy, championing the MNC cause was a means to deodorize the stench of their corrupt careers. Given the MNC's militant rhetoric about struggle and solidarity, many students involved in the budget cuts struggle rallied around the oppressed workers and youth misled by the demagogues of the MNC.

The Spartacus Youth League at CCNY has intervened on campus with propaganda exposing the union-busting nature of the MNC demands and presenting a program for working-class unity forged through a struggle against the special oppression of racial and national minorities at the expense of

the capitalists, and not another section of the oppressed. The SYL drew out the perspective of a militant labor-student mobilization against the budget cuts and layoffs, affecting especially municipal workers (see article this issue).

When the MNC shut down construction on the CCNY site last October, the SYL intervened in the campus meeting called around the action and sharply counterposed to "Fight Back"'s union busting, bigger-slice-of-the-pie reformism our class-struggle demands capable of uniting the working class in a fight for full employment. Outraged by our exposure of their fake-radical rhetoric and pork-chop nationalism, the "Fight Back" honchos, supported by some Stalinist and nationalist student hangers-on, excluded the SYL contingent from the meeting. The SYL developed its full analysis of the construction conflict in a special issue of the CCNY *Spartacus* in November.

In the days of mounting confrontation immediately preceding the May 14 clash, the SYL distributed a leaflet, "Union Busting or Class Struggle at CCNY," which once again sharply opposed union busting and the MNC's strategy, which provides no program for fighting the special oppression of black and Latin people. At the MNC-called demonstration at the site on May 13, the leaflet received a very sympathetic response from numerous employed black and Hispanic construction workers, who correctly viewed the MNC's demands as a direct threat to their jobs and union security.

The MNC leaders were enraged to see these minority workers approaching SYL comrades and discussing at length the political points of the leaflet. One demonstrator from the MNC picket line confronted our comrades and threatened them with a baseball bat.

continued on page 9

Cutbacks and Layoffs...

Continued from page 1

spontaneous character and often have involved large numbers of students and militant tactics.

In the City University system of New York (where the majority of students are black, Hispanic and working-class), the proposed cutbacks have brought out large numbers of students in numerous demonstrations over the past six months. Mayor Beame's drastic austerity program will slash CUNY funding by \$18.9 million and eliminate the SEEK ("Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge") program, which has enabled thousands of minority youth to attend CUNY by providing counselors, teachers, tutors, remedial classes, as well as partial transportation costs and rent subsidies. The CUNY cutbacks are clearly an attack on the policy of open admissions, won a number of years ago by militant mass student demonstrations, and have triggered protests on most of the 19 campuses of the CUNY system (the largest occurring at Richmond College, Queens College, Staten Island Community College and CCNY). On May 16 students involved in SEEK occupied offices of the Board of Higher Education demanding no cutbacks in the program.

The cutbacks in educational funding by both state and private colleges threaten the open admissions programs and special studies departments which were reluctantly instituted in response to the militant student upheavals of the late 1960's and early 1970's. In its majority never politically identifying with the struggle of the working class against capitalism and linking up with the labor movement, the once influential radical student movement collapsed. While the present sporadic upsurges on campuses across the country may portend a renewed period of militant student activism, student movements prove to be inevitably rudderless and ephemeral unless there is a leadership capable of linking volatile campus-based student struggles with the social power of the organized working class through a revolutionary perspective.

On several campuses around the country the SYL has participated in struggles against tuition hikes and budget/program cuts. The SYL has argued for the need for broad-based, united-front protest actions by all who are affected by and oppose the cuts (excluding the campus cops, of course) around demands such as no budget cuts, no layoffs of university faculty or campus workers, defend ethnic and women's studies programs under administration attack and save open admissions.

But we stress that without the working class even such broad mobilizations will not be assured victory. In situations such as the present in New York City the SYL advances the perspective of labor/student mobilizations building toward a city-wide general strike in opposition to all state budget cutbacks and layoffs. In broad-based demonstrations appealing to all those opposing educational cutbacks, we seek to build a labor solidarity contingent that would raise this perspective.

City and state workers, employed and unemployed, find their immediate interests directly opposed by the bourgeois state, and thus these workers are more accessible for common actions with students affected by the same fiscal policies. In New York City alone, \$100 million was sheared from the 1975-76 budget and 10,000 layoffs have been announced.

These attacks on job security are a dangerous threat to the municipal unions. The pro-capitalist, passive labor bureaucrats misleading these unions ensure that the rage of these workers is contained and would deflect it from erupting in a city-wide general strike.

The massive dissatisfaction with Beame's austerity campaign provides an objectively favorable basis for united action by workers, students, the unemployed and welfare recipients against the common enemy. But the misleaders of these struggles have

pitted "their" constituencies against other sections of the oppressed in competition for the spoils of the shrinking capitalist pie, at CCNY leading to a bitter clash between students fighting against SEEK cutbacks and employed construction workers fighting against union busting (see article this issue).

The SYL intervenes in these defensive struggles to fight for a strategy pointing to free, quality higher education for all. The private universities should be nationalized, and all schools must be opened up to all who wish to learn through the abolition of tuition and a policy of open admissions. To undercut further the class bias inherent in education under capitalism we demand that the capitalist class provide a state stipend to cover fully living expenses and all necessary related educational expenses. Education should be nationally funded and at the direct expense of the exploiting class.

Communists also struggle to eliminate that decisive control over the institutions of education exercised by the capitalist class and their bureaucratic underlings and stooges. Otherwise, education can only continue to be a tool of social policy for the ruling class. Thus we demand the abolition of the present system of administration and educational bureaucracies, like the Board of Higher Education, and their replacement with student/faculty/campus-worker control of all institutions of higher education. An important aspect of this struggle is the organization of all campus employees (excluding administrators, foremen and campus security) into a single campus-wide industrial union.

In the recent struggles at the Madison campus of the University of Wisconsin the SYL has raised our program and was responsible for initiating the May 1 united-front demonstration against cutbacks. About 50-60 demonstrators behind SYL banners marched to the State Capitol, where a rally was held. Because of the efforts of the SYL, the planned demonstration received significant support from trade unions, being endorsed by AFSCME Locals 1 and 634 and the Executive Board of the American Federation of Teachers Local 3220.

At CCNY the SYL likewise intervened with this perspective in the first meetings of the anti-cutback coalition last fall. We defeated the sleazy attempt of the RSB to submerge this coalition into its front-group "CCNY Fightback," which peddles grab-bag "student-power" demands.

The RSB responded with the slanderous charge that the SYL "disrupted" the work of the coalition and does not defend ethnic studies programs under attack by the administration. As the RSB knows, the SYL consistently has defended the jobs of teachers and staff in minority/women's special programs and supports the continuation of such programs. These cowards later were able to engineer our exclusion from the CCNY anti-cutback coalition.

The RSB, which "fights back" without a socialist or even a pro-working-class program, has no strategy for defeating the cutbacks and for struggling for free, quality higher education. The RSB simply claims that "the students themselves" can defeat the cutbacks every time (*Fightback*, 15 February 1975). The RSB bandies about the slogan "Fight for the Right to an Education," but its mentor, the Revolutionary Union, by calling for the "smashing" of busing, fights against the right of black students to an education in Boston's white schools.

While the RSB enthuses over programless militancy and the allegedly inevitable rebirth of a mass radical student movement, the reformist Young Socialist Alliance preaches a symmetrical strategy of reliance on the educational bureaucracy. When the University Student Senate of the CUNY came out with the absurd, do-nothing slogan, "Only the Board of Higher Education Can Stop the Budget Cuts!," the YSA jumped on the bandwagon. If "only the BHE can stop the budget cuts," then quite logically the only strategy the YSA can, and in fact did, advance is for bringing pressure to



The SYL marched with thousands of students at New York's Gracie Mansion (Mayor Beame's residence) protesting cutbacks and layoffs.

bear on the BHE! But alas for the liberals and the YSA, the BHE (which is hand-picked by the Mayor) has no control over the budget, but simply decides how the already slashed funds will be allocated in the CUNY system.

The struggle against tuition hikes, budget cuts and for a program of free higher education for all requires for victory the social muscle of the or-

ganized working class. But to mobilize fighting support from the labor movement for the social needs of the working people and minorities requires that the present economist, class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy be replaced by a class-struggle leadership committed to uncompromising struggle for a program that can lead the working class to power. ■

syl events

[To contact local chapters for more information, see Directory.]

Albany

Class Series—
MARXISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE
Alternate Fridays beginning June 6, 8:00 p.m. Room 207, Draper Hall, SUNY Downtown Campus. For more information call (518) 463-5642.

Bay Area

Forum—
WHAT IS THE SOVIET UNION: A MARXIST ANALYSIS
Tuesday, June 3, 7:30 p.m. Place to be announced.

Cleveland

Class Series—
THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP—
THE TROTSKYIST SOLUTION
Every Tuesday beginning June 17, 8:00 p.m. Room 110. University Center, Cleveland State U.

Houston

Class Series—
FUNDAMENTALS OF MARXISM
Beginning June 16, 7:00 p.m. Room to be announced, U. of Houston.

Madison

Class Series—
RUSSIA AND CHINA: 1917 TO 1975
Every Thursday beginning May 29, 8:00 p.m. Room 2211 Humanities, U. of Wisconsin (Madison).

New York

Class Series—
MARXISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE
Time and place to be announced. For more information call 925-5665.

Philadelphia

Class Series—
BASIC MARXISM
Alternate Sundays, June 8 and 22. 6:30 p.m. Room 10, Houston Hall, U. of Pennsylvania.

Unemployed, Workers Clash at CCNY...

Continued from page 8

Then, several honchos from the MNC and supporting nationalist student groups came over, shouted that our leaflet was "confusing the people" and "racist" and physically pushed our comrades out of the area. Although the SYL contingent was forced to withdraw some distance from the picket line and work site, the MNC apparently continued to fume over the impact of our leaflet on the minority construction workers and even their own ranks, since a squad of MNC goons soon were dispatched to rip up our remaining leaflets and drive our comrades away.

Although politically endorsing the MNC and lending token participation in an earlier action, the Young Socialist Alliance abstained from intervening in the several days of tense confrontations, considering electioneering for its "student power" campaign more important. The Revolutionary Student Brigade, youth front group of the Maoist Revolutionary Union, distributed MNC literature and marched in MNC demonstrations, but played a deliberately insignificant political role in the campus coalition supporting the MNC. The RSB is caught in a contradiction, feeling the pressures both to support the RU line against preferential hiring and to support the popular "people's struggle" against the unions.

Since the May 14 melee further violence has been prevented only by an army of cops in riot gear stationed on the site. The spectacle of more pitched battles between workers divided along racial lines and between the employed and unemployed can be welcomed only by the bourgeoisie. We will continue to struggle against the false "solutions" advocated by the MNC, but give absolutely no quarter to the backward, racist, national-chauvinist consciousness of some of the white construction workers, who have hoisted American flags on the building superstructure and openly fraternize with the cops. Above all, we maintain that the responsibility for racial discrimination in the unions lies squarely on the shoulders of the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, which must be replaced by a class-struggle leadership committed to a program which can unite all the oppressed in the struggle against capitalism, and not another set of anti-union job trusters. ■

NAACP/SWP Fiddles...

Continued from page 3

that the windows of City Hall are bedecked with ROAR letters and that leaders of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association attend ROAR meetings!

While all the preconditions are present for another outbreak of racist violence on the scale of last fall's, the NAACP billed the May 17 demonstration as a victory march! The demonstration occurred one week after the announcement of Judge Garrity's "Phase II" plan for desegregating the schools. The new plan is clearly an attempt at compromise with the racists, in that the schools of East Boston, a major area of the city and a stronghold of the ROAR, are left lily white. Moreover, the "Phase II" plan will close a number of schools, mostly in black neighborhoods, contributing to overcrowding in the integrated schools, thereby exacerbating anti-busing sentiments. While even bourgeois politician Bill Owens protested the exemption of East Boston, the NAACP actually hailed the Garrity decision "a job well done": "Well done" only from the standpoint of those who beg for token integration

parade decided to stay home.)

At the rally the SWP/YSA spoke through its mouthpiece Maceo Dixon, billed as an NSCAR leader "representing students." Acclaiming the political significance of the demonstration, Dixon raised the liberals' classless call for the unity of all "who believe in justice and democracy." "If Ford can send bombers, troops and ships to attack Cambodia," Brother Maceo crowed, "he should be able to send troops and tanks to Boston to enforce the law!" When the cops and troops occupy the black community to enforce "law and order" and to quell ghetto rebellions, it is the oppressed black masses first and foremost who suffer the intimidation, insult, harassment and casualties!

The treacherous pro-troop policy of the SWP/YSA moreover exposes its former enthusing over organized black self-defense as rank opportunism. When a small band of right wingers gathered near the rally, about 40-50 supporters of the SL/SYL, militant trade unionists and other demonstrators moved in a formidable squad to confront this handful of reactionaries. Spying the right-wing provocateurs and

S.F. State Anti-Nazi Victory...

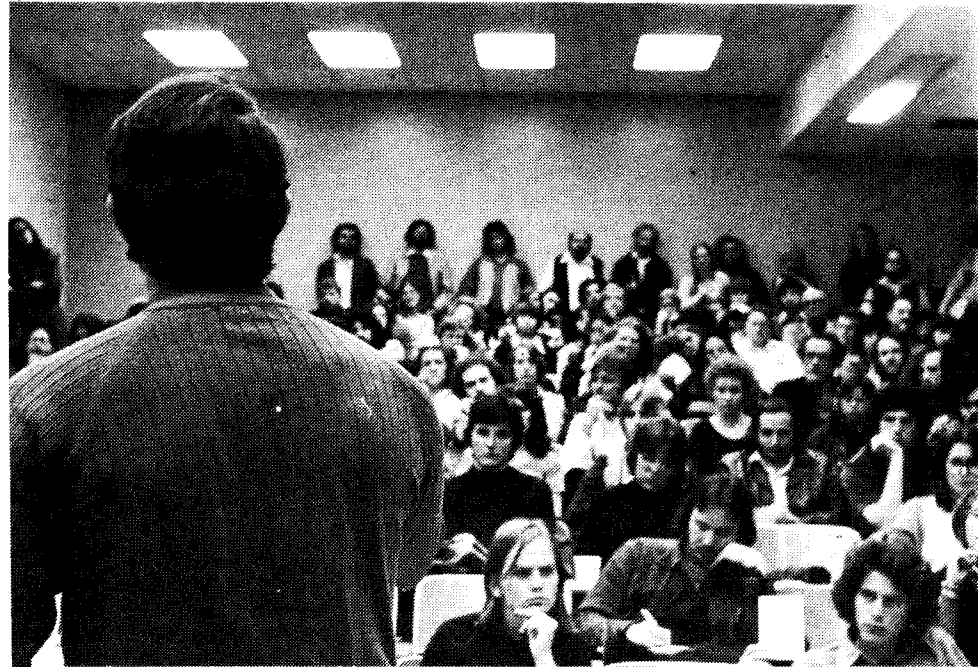
Continued from page 12

North Carolina in Chapel Hill. Last January the BSM organized a protest demonstration that successfully prevented the national leader of the fascist Ku Klux Klan from speaking on campus. The militants involved then proceeded, in an atmosphere of intense racist reaction, to defeat the ensuing attempted witchhunt. The M10 Committee sent

imperialist" Revolutionary Student Brigade, who sneaked to the administration and behind closed doors blubbered that they had nothing to do with the demonstration. As the chorus of anti-communist criticism directed at the SYL and PL on campus became more raucous, the RSB bawled about "the Trotskyite Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and the 'Progressive' Labor Party ('P'LP), who proclaim themselves the New Messiahs, THE leaders who have to either sucker, manipulate, guilt trip, or intimidate the people into going along with them, whether it's about the Nazis or others."

—RSB leaflet distributed at SFS

YOUNG SPARTACUS



SYL spokesman at debate with liberal professors Keller and McGuckin.

the BSM a letter congratulating them on their victory and informing them of the struggle at SFS. The BSM responded with a statement of support for the struggle at SFS and an endorsement of the M10 Committee. This is the kind of solidarity that is needed if the attempted purges of militants in factories and on campuses around the country are to be defeated!

In the first week after the demonstration, when the uproar over "free speech" was at its peak, the SYL ran a candidate, on a write-in basis, in the elections to the Associated Students. With attention focused on the SYL as a result of our initiation of the March 10 demonstration, the SYL used the campaign to thrust forward our full communist program. Central points in the SYL platform were "No Platform for Fascists" and "Stop the Witch-hunt!" (see article on campus elections this issue).

Likewise, the SYL used the ORC hearing as a platform from which to denounce the administration attack and support the anti-fascist demonstration. The SYL spokesman declared:

"We are asked to answer this question: Was there in fact a disruption of the educational and administrative process? We answer, yes. There has been a long-standing disruption of education on this campus. But we point the accusing finger not at the students, workers and organizations who carried through their democratic right to protest, but straight at the administration of this campus. Our response to the charge of the administration is 'Abolish the administration-trustees-regents. For student-worker-faculty control!'"

Our statement before the ORC went on to denounce the repression carried out by the SFS administration, from the blacklist and suspensions that followed the 1968-69 strike, to the overriding of democratic votes in the Associated Students, to the union-busting attacks on the Service Employees Union on campus, to the refusal to hire Angela Davis for explicitly political reasons.

Administration Attacks, Opportunists Cringe

Under the pressure of the administration witchhunt and the pervasive mood of hostility to the demonstration among students, the so-called "radical" organizations on campus revealed their lack of revolutionary fibre. Most cowardly were the supporters of the "anti-

Howling that the "pimping" SYL and PL were "lumping the BRIGADE in the same camp," the RSB rabidly attacked the SYL for "calling on 'working-class elements'" to demonstrate against the fascists and shrieked that the SYL used its working-class line "as a club to beat the student movement down"!

The "respectable" YSA, which had done absolutely nothing to protest the appearance of the Nazis on campus, echoed the wail of the liberals and smeared the militant demonstration as "unfortunate," "counterproductive," and even a "disruption." These tongue-clucking "Trotskyists" lecture that fascism should be discouraged through "an educational campaign" (Zenger's, 19 March 1975)! But when it came to defending the left under administration attack, the YSA flounced out of the M10 Committee and did absolutely nothing, not even an "educational campaign," to beat back the witchhunt.

Wooing the liberal vote in its front-group election campaign for the Associated Students, PL buttoned its lip about the demonstration and the administration purge attempt for weeks. Only after the votes were tallied did PL suddenly begin a campaign around the issue, claiming sole responsibility for the action and having the gall to accuse the SYL of "do-nothingism." Not once did PL come out and defend the other groups charged by the administration. Furthermore, PL never responded to the SYL's public challenge to debate, tacitly admitting its political bankruptcy.

Join the SYL!

We have every reason to believe that it was the campaign of the M10 Committee which took the wind out of the administration's sails and checked the witchhunt at SFS. A vigorous, well-publicized defense campaign, combined with the proper political offensive, can often make attempted repression backfire. At SFS the SYL has gone a long way in turning the attack around, putting the administration on trial and gaining support for the left in the eyes of significant numbers of students. Next year at SFS the SYL will capitalize on these gains and draw increasing numbers of students around the banner of Trotskyism. ■



YOUNG SPARTACUS



Seamen of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU marching in Boston (top). Large SL/SYL contingent of militants in May 17th march chanted (bottom): "Smash the Nazis, Smash the Klan, Only Workers Defense Guards Can!"

and reformist sops to avoid any real fight against the racist status quo!

SWP/YSA: "Send U.S. Troops From Cambodia to Boston"

The SWP/YSA liquidated itself organizationally and politically into the "official" march. The banners of the SWP/YSA's front group—the National Student Coalition Against Racism—were politically indistinguishable from those of the NAACP, and the sprinkling of SWP/YSA banners were indistinguishable from those of NSCAR. The Stalinist Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League likewise camouflaged its "socialist" politics with NAACP liberalism. (In the absence of a pseudo-militant, demagogic capitalist politician like Bill Owens to tail, the assorted Maoists and Pan Africanists who comprised the "Fred Hampton Brigade" at the December 14

the approaching phalanx of demonstrators, the SWP/YSA and NSCAR marshals quickly rushed to throw up a defense line around the bigots, protecting them until their friends in blue escorted them away safely! Despite the efforts of the SWP/YSA, it was the crowd of demonstrators who drove the scum away when they later attempted to return.

In the evening following the march, the SL/SYL sponsored a forum on the busing crisis in which Gerald Smith, a former member of the Black Panther Party, set forth the militant, class-struggle alternative to NAACP liberalism and SWP/YSA class-collaborationism. Guest speaker Marc Freedman of the Labor Struggle Caucus of the UAW reported on the progress of the labor-black defense guard that has been organized by Local 6 in Chicago in response to racist attacks on the homes of black union members. ■

Campus Elections...

Continued from page 7

get rid of them, we called for cops and cop training off campus. In raising this demand our goal is not to purify the university but to disarm the bourgeoisie!

For Black Liberation!

We support busing in Boston. While busing is not the solution to black oppression, it is a step away from the racist status quo in the direction of integration and equality in education. We demand that busing be extended to the lily-white suburbs to include the relatively better schools and call for the construction of quality, low-rent, racially integrated public housing.

American society is profoundly racist. During periods of economic crisis like the present, the bourgeoisie inflames racial divisions to deflect class struggle. When racist mob violence broke out in Boston, the Spartacist League/SYL went to the trade unions, the black organizations and civil rights groups agitating for labor/black defense of imperiled school children and black neighborhoods. We rejected the liberals' defeatist call for federal troops to invade Boston. In defending capitalist "law and order," the bayonets of these "protectors" would be fixed squarely upon the black masses.

The solution to racial oppression is not black nationalism or "community control," but in a united working-class struggle to overthrow capitalism and establish a workers government. Separatism only plays into the hands of the capitalists, who desire to maintain blacks as a segregated caste filling the ranks of the unemployed and underemployed. The working class must fight for demands which win gains for the oppressed at the expense of the ruling class.

End the Oppression of Women!

At our rally on International Women's Day, we hailed the day as a working-class holiday. It was International Women's Day 1917 and the strike of women textile workers which signaled the beginning of the victorious Russian Revolution.

Under capitalism the main institution of the oppression of women is the nuclear family. Locked into this reactionary cell, with its solitary confinement to the drudgery of household work, women are cut off from productive labor and the social power derived from it. We advance demands which undercut the economic pressures that drive women into domestic enslavement, including free abortion, free 24 hour child care controlled by parents and staff, and the socialization of household tasks. We support the Equal Rights Amendment as a statement of simple equality for women, while fighting for the labor movement to preserve protective legislation and extend it to men.

The current Affirmative Action plan—a deal between HEW and the University tops—reveals the dead end of quota hiring plans. The end goal under the plan is the hiring of 29 women—both white and minority—two Asians and one black by the end of thirty years! To such quota programs we counterpose a fight for full employment: 30 for 40, a shorter work week with no loss in pay.

To such schemes which place hiring in the hands of the racist government and employers we counterpose union control of hiring—no discrimination on the basis of race and sex.

Because the emancipation of women is only possible through socialist revolution, it is clear that the strategy of feminism, which places "sisterhood" above working-class solidarity, must be rejected. The power of "sisterhood" is limited to the few reversible reforms around which both bourgeois and working women could unite. Democrat Bella Abzug first and foremost defends the class rule of the bourgeoisie, and her interests have more in common with those of her male cohorts in capitalist politics than with the masses of women.

No Platform for Fascists!

When we heard that members of the Nazi Party had been invited to speak on the San Francisco State Campus we initiated a demonstration around the slogan, "No Platform for Fascists." The Nazi scum were driven off the campus by enraged students and trade unionists. The State administration, with its history of brutal suppression of all dissent on the campus, reacted with great moral outrage at the "suppression" of the free speech of the Nazis and launched a witchhunt against the campus organizations which initiated the anti-fascist demonstration. This is an outrage! The demonstrators should be applauded for a courageous act in defense of blacks, the working class and Jews. The Nazis speaking on a campus is not a question of the "free exchange of ideas" but of whether or not the working class, students and minorities should allow the organization of a group which advocates and carries out terror against them. We say no! In response to the administration attacks, we initiated an aggressive defense campaign through the March 10th Defense Committee, a united-front committee supported by Charles Garry, the noted attorney, Charles Jackson of the Black Student Union, faculty members, students and trade unionists. We demand an end to reprisals and the dropping of the charges against the anti-Nazi demonstrators at State!

Break with the Democrats and Republicans! For Workers Revolution!

Every four years the Democratic and Republican parties produce their latest vote-getter, from "peace" candidate Johnson to "clean" Gene McCarthy to Vietnam "dove"/Near East "hawk" McGovern. These tweedle-dees and tweedle-dums of the capitalist parties have no solutions, because they are committed to the problem—capitalism. The working class and the oppressed need their own political party, a party based on the enormous social power of the working class organized in the trade unions. This party cannot be just another name on the ballot, but a revolutionary party like the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky.

The Meanys, Woodcocks and Abels, with their policy of support for the Democratic "friends of labor," attempt to harness the militancy of the working class and deliver the workers' votes to the capitalists to secure their bureaucratic privileges. These misleaders are a roadblock to the mobilization of

the working class and must be ousted and replaced by a leadership conscious of its tasks leading a socialist revolution. The SYL seeks to aid in the emergence of this opposition in the trade unions by organizing support for workers struggles as we did at Cal in last summer's AC Transit strike and by pointing out the political lessons of these struggles.

All Indochina Must Go Communist!

The deathblows being dealt U.S. imperialism today in Cambodia and Vietnam by the Indochinese workers and peasants is a victory for the working class and the oppressed the world over. The end of capitalism in Cambodia and its likely demise [now accomplished!—Ed.] in Vietnam will mean the end of imperialist slaughter and domination, land to the peasants, the nationalization of industry and expansion of the productive forces.

Even now with military victory within grasp in Vietnam, the NLF program calls for a coalition government including elements of the bourgeoisie and the preservation of capitalism. As happened in Cambodia, it is likely that events have gone too far for a coalition government. There is no intermediary stage between imperialist domination and social revolution. No coalitions with the bourgeoisie! Workers and peasants to power!

Capitalism has been overthrown in Cambodia; it is now a deformed workers state. This means that rather than a government based on workers democracy, the political power has passed

into the hands of a petty-bourgeois bureaucracy. This bureaucracy will be fundamentally similar to that of the Soviet Union, China and Cuba. These bureaucracies seek to maintain their privileges, prestige and power by collaboration with imperialism: sacrificing world revolution for trade deals, "detente," and dinner parties with U.S. presidents. These parasites must be overthrown by the working class through political revolution. At the same time, the social revolutions in these countries—overthrowing capitalist property forms—must be unconditionally defended against imperialism. They will not, however, fully secure the gains of the revolutions until the working class is in power and capitalism is eliminated internationally. The capitalists have never hesitated to call on their class brothers in other countries to help break a strike or crush proletarian revolution. The working class must also organize internationally. The SYL, as part of the International Spartacist Tendency, is committed to the construction of an international party of socialist revolution based on the program of revolutionary Trotskyism.

The achievements registered by the SYL election campaigns this year are modest. Most significantly, the SYL campaigns around the country have placed before thousands of students the only program capable of leading the struggle of the working people forward to the destruction of this oppressive capitalist society. ■

Canadian Spartacists Champion Proletarian Line in Women's Liberation March

TORONTO—About 800-1,000 demonstrators participated in a march here on May 10 called around the slogan, "Why Not!—Our Rights! Women Unite!" Built as the main event of International Women's Year in Toronto, the march was sponsored by assorted capitalist politicians, "progressive" pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats, prominent professional women, church and community groups, feminists and ostensibly left organizations, including the self-proclaimed Trotskyists of the reformist League for Socialist Action/Young Socialists (LSA/YS) and the centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG).

This classless coalition was lashed together with minimal democratic demands, such as "safe effective birth control for all," "universal access to quality childcare," "remove abortion from the Criminal Code" and "equal rights in marriage and property law." These slogans stop short of addressing the needs of the vast majority of women: for free, quality health care (including legal abortion and birth control), child care at the direct expense of the employers and the state available to all who wish the service, and the end to sex discrimination in every area of social life. But even these necessary reforms are too "radical" for the bourgeois and reformist forces perched on the feminist bandwagon.

The Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency (CCIST) and the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT, recently bureaucratically expelled Trotskyist opposition of the RMG) refused to endorse the march, since its entire thrust was for uniting women on the basis of sex, not class, and moreover on a liberal program. The CCIST and B-LT joined forces and marched in a separate contingent, raising militant class-struggle slogans, such as "For a Class Line, Not a Sex Line!" and "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

Fearful of alienating the feminists, the RMG refused to join in these chants. Rather, the RMG, whose right-centrist downsliding over the past period has led it to ever greater capitulation to petty-bourgeois feminism, chanted "Women Unite" and called for "pissing" on Trudeau.

The intervention of the LSA/YS, the RMG's sister section in the fac-

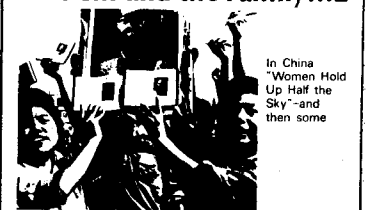
tionally polarized "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," was even more shamelessly capitulatory to feminism. Following its U.S. mentor, the ultra-reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance, the LSA/YS has long sported the anti-communist line that "consistent feminism equals socialism." These "consistent feminists" were indeed consistent: liquidating politically into the bourgeois-feminist politics of the march and raising absolutely no additional slogans.

One feminist, reportedly a member of the YS, was so enraged by the CCIST/B-LT's chant, "Socialism Yes, Feminism No!," that she actually attempted to seize the megaphone. Such frenzied hostility to class-struggle demands and working-class politics is the logical outcome of opportunist capitulation to petty-bourgeois radicalism such as feminism. Only a revolutionary socialist program, the Trotskyist program upheld by the CCIST and B-LT in Canada, points the way for an uncompromising struggle against every manifestation of women's oppression through the class struggle of the working people against capitalism, the source of all special oppression. ■

Subscribe!

Women and Revolution

Maoism and the Family...2



In China "Women Hold Up Half the Sky" and then some

Selma James Peddles Male Chauvinism, Anti-Communism... 8
Witchcraft and Statecraft... 9
The C.L.I.T. Papers—Feminism Ad Absurdum...15
Brookside Organized After 13-Month Strike...24

\$1 for 4 issues.

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, New York 10001

WORKERS VANGUARD

\$5 for 24 issues (one year)

Bi-weekly newspaper of the Spartacist League

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, New York 10001



Young Spartacus

SYL Fights Back, Administration Retreats Defense of Anti-Nazi Demonstrators Scores Victory!



"If the enemy had known how weak we were, it would probably have reduced us to jelly. ... It would have crushed in blood the very beginning of our work."
—Goebbels

SAN FRANCISCO—A concerted attempt by the administration of San Francisco State University (SFS) to purge organizations charged with "disruption" in connection with the militant demonstration that drove the Nazis off campus on March 10 has been thwarted. The successful anti-Nazi demonstration and the aggressive, resourceful defense campaign, for both of which the Spartacus Youth League was centrally responsible, stand as significant examples for left-wing activists, who increasingly will come face to face with the fascists and other right-wing goons.

On May 6 Associate Dean of Students Sandra Duffield ruled that "no action should be taken regarding the groups alleged or admittedly involved" in the anti-fascist demonstration, namely the SYL, Progressive Labor Party and the Revolutionary Student Brigade. The ruling was made on the basis of the recommendation by the Organizational Review Committee that "no action be taken against any group named."

Both the ORC recommendation and the Duffield decision, however, maintain that a "disruption" occurred and reaffirm the "right" of the fascist scum to "free speech" on campus in the future. Both assert that such "disruptions" should be prevented by ensuring that cops are mobilized on campus for any future demonstrations.

With this warning, the administration has backed off from pursuing the witchhunt. However, one of the students who originally filed charges against the SYL, PL and the RSB has now stated his intention to appeal the Duffield decision. Whether or not the administration will choose to renew its campaign against the left through this appeal is not at this time clear. While Duffield has spoken unsympathetically of the appeal, the Dean of Student Affairs, responsible for making a ruling in the case of such an appeal, has not yet released a statement. This Dean was one of the first to denounce the March 10 demonstration as a "disruption" and was responsible for initiating the "investigation" into the action.

Militants Demonstrate, Fascists Cower

The so-called "disruption" on March

10 was the outcome of a militant demonstration by 100-150 students, faculty and trade unionists which had been called by the Ad Hoc Committee to Stop the Fascists, a united front initiated by the SYL around the demand, "No Platform for Fascists!" (for full coverage, see "SYL Builds Anti-Nazi Demonstration," *Young Spartacus*, April 1975). Unfortunately having been invited to make a "presentation" to a speech class, "Advocacy and Issues," the fascist feces dared not to appear before the class and instead cowered in a nearby office, spewing their filth to reporters seeking a sensationalist story.

When the demonstrators discovered their lair, the cops arrived and tried to escort these aspiring SS men to their waiting army surplus truck. Several of the fleeing rodents were pummeled by angry demonstrators before they were able to make their getaway under cop protection.

In a statement distributed at SF State the following day the SYL solidarized with the "education" given the Nazis, declaring:

"This is just as it should be. There is no legitimate platform for would-be Hitlers. The abstract question of 'free speech' to such small-time petty thugs is clearly subordinate to the class question of defense of minorities and the labor movement as a whole."

Communists and labor militants recognize no democratic rights for fascists, who terrorize and murder black people today and who would stoke ovens with mountains of corpses should they rise to power. The leaflet went on to caution that the administration might well seize upon the "disruption" to attempt reprisals against the campus left involved in the action.

Witchhunt

The administration indeed moved quickly to begin whipping up an atmosphere for a witchhunt of student radicals. Within hours of the demonstration, SFS President Romberg issued a public statement which thundered, "We will not tolerate the destruction of academic freedom at San Francisco State University by an organization which denies the reasonable exercise

of free speech by others." Two days later, Romberg's lackey, Dean of Humanities Leo Young, brought formal charges against the Spartacus Youth League, PL, RSB and the Jewish Lesbian Gang, demanding that they be barred from campus, quite a denial of "free speech"! The Dean of Student Affairs then rushed out letters to all students registered in the class requesting them to fink on the demonstrators.

The bourgeois media likewise fully backed up the witchhunting administration. The *San Francisco Chronicle* (March 12) vented its spleen on the demonstrators in an editorial that equated the protestors with the fascists. Other papers and radio stations blared

lic, the SYL began to organize the March 10 Defense Committee (M10) as a united front based on the slogans, "Stop the Witchhunt!, Drop the Charges!, No Reprisals!" The M10 Committee held a press conference, at which attorney Charles Garry, Charles Jackson (former activist in the SFS Black Student Union), several trade-union militants and a representative of the SYL spoke.

The M10 Committee held fundraising events, notably the showing of the film "Night and Fog," which depicts the sickening horrors of Nazi barbarism in searing images that shatter pedantic, academic disputations on the "moral right" of fascists to "free speech." The SYL also held forums on campus pedagogically explaining the nature of fascist movements and the working-class strategy to defeat fascism.

Before an audience of over 150 students and faculty the SYL debated the proposition "No Platform for Fascists" with the liberal professors Keller and McGuckin who were responsible for inviting the Nazi swine on campus. Against the pervasive liberal attitude on campus, most articulately voiced by Keller and McGuckin, that fascism can be defeated in the "free marketplace of ideas," the SYL in one of its several special *Young Spartacus* supplements argued:

"Fascism is a military phenomenon. It cannot be defeated through polemical struggle. We didn't organize on March 10 around 'No Platform for Fascists' because we stand in fear of fascist 'ideas.' (In fact we recommend to Professor Keller that the next time he wants to discuss fascism in one of his classes that he assign *Mein Kampf*, an important historical document.) Rather, we refuse to wait until the

**Spartacus Youth League
FORUM**

FASCISM :

**WHAT IT IS
AND
HOW TO FIGHT IT**

SYL forums, debates and leaflets explained how to smash fascism.

shrill editorials hypocritically ranting about "free speech" and the U.S. Constitution.

On campus, hostility to the demonstration was also widespread, even affecting many students who considered themselves to be left-wing radicals. For several weeks the campus newspaper was deluged with letters denouncing the denial of "free speech" to the Nazis—more accurately, to anyone, including the Nazis. The letters particularly criticized the SYL, the recognized leader of the united-front demonstration.

SYL Initiates Defense Campaign

As soon as the charges became pub-

fascists get strong enough to carry out their terrorist program, possibly taking the precious lives of some workers and leftists, before we act against it."

—SFS *Young Spartacus* supplement, 31 March 1975

The M10 Committee set up informational picket lines, spoke before classes, distributed thousands of leaflets and circulated a petition demanding no reprisals. The M10 Committee also sent letters to every major trade union in the Bay Area soliciting support.

One of the most significant endorsements came from the Black Student Movement (BSM) at the University of

continued on page 10