

Young Spartacus

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Draw Lessons of Indochinese Victories!

For the last decade the struggle of the Indochinese workers and peasants against their oppressors and a devastating U.S. imperialist intervention has made a profound political impact on the development of radical left-wing and revolutionary politics in this country. Many subjectively revolutionary youth became politically conscious during the radical student movement that emerged in response to, and ultimately largely in solidarity with, the struggle led by the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV).

The Vietnamese Stalinists were uncritically hailed by radicalizing youth in the late 1960's as the leaders of the heroic workers and peasants struggling against imperialism. The Students for a Democratic Society, the organizational expression of mainstream student radicalism, swung from professing left-liberalism and Cold War "Socialism" to idolizing Ho Chi Minh and Mao.

The insurgent forces in Indochina have now militarily defeated the puppet regimes of imperialism. Every class-conscious militant should hail the defeat of imperialism in Indochina as an important advance for the international proletariat. But while Stalinists around the world celebrate the victories in Indochina as a triumphant vindication of the political program of the Stalinist NLF/DRV, a thoughtful look at what actually happened this spring will reveal that the NLF was able to take power in Saigon only by denying and trampling upon its decades-

long, traitorous strategy of "two-stage revolution."

The fundamental difference between Trotskyism and Stalinism on the question of Vietnam has centered on the character of the Vietnamese revolution: was a socialist revolution against the native capitalist class on the agenda or was the struggle to unite all classes of the Vietnamese people against the foreign aggressor and its puppet regime?

"Two Stage" Schema

Stalinist dogma maintains that in the economically underdeveloped countries the revolution can develop only in two consecutive stages. As set forth by the Vietnamese Stalinists as early as 1930, the "two-stage" revolution is a rigid schema:

"The Vietnamese revolution must pass through two stages. In the first stage, the bourgeois democratic revolution is carried out under the leadership of the working class, to overthrow the imperialist and feudal rulers, achieve national independence, and give land to the tillers... After the above-mentioned tasks have been basically fulfilled, the revolution will move to the second stage when Vietnam is led straight to socialism..."

An Outline History of the Vietnam Workers Party (Hanoi, 1967)

According to this formula, the bourgeois-democratic tasks must be completed before anti-capitalist tasks may be undertaken. The bourgeois-democratic tasks supposedly can only

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NY TIMES

"Hail the Paris agreements that ended the war and restored peace to Vietnam"
—NLF sign

The SL/SYL has consistently called for victory to Indochinese socialist revolution. Stalinists delayed military victory in the search for political accommodation with capitalism.

Portuguese Military Strikes at Maoist Militants

SL/SYL Builds Defense Demonstrations

U.S. Maoists Silent

In Portugal political developments have been unfolding rapidly. For more than a year the Armed Forces Movement (AFM) has wielded political power by balancing between conflicting political forces, representing at bottom antagonistic class interests, which have been released since the fall of the repressive Salazar/Caetano dictatorship.

Despite its populist/"socialist" rhetoric and erratic, limited inroads into bourgeois private property rights, the bonapartist AFM has demonstrated that it is committed to preserving capitalist rule and preventing socialist revolution in Portugal. Wracked by internal political conflicts, the unstable AFM has lashed out to discipline the left and labor movement—banning "unofficial" strikes, suppressing political demonstrations, and legalizing lockouts by industrialists.

Socialists and labor militants join SL/SYL in Bay Area picket at Portuguese Consulate.



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On May 29 AFM-ordered police raids hit the Maoist Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party (MRPP), the largest party to the left of the pro-Moscow, pro-AFM Communist Party of Portugal (CPP). Carried out on the eve of a planned MRPP anti-NATO demonstration, the raids captured some 500 MRPP militants and were accompanied by the imposition of several repressive bans

on the MRPP (for coverage, see "Dead End for Portuguese Maoists," *Workers Vanguard*, No. 71, 20 June 1975).

The primary political reason that the MRPP has come under attack by the military authorities is that the MRPP, unlike the several other Portuguese Maoist organizations, sharply opposes the AFM as a bourgeois enemy of the working masses and insists that the proletariat must play the leading

role in the Portuguese revolution. But in contradiction to this revolutionary impulse toward the class independence of the proletariat, the MRPP stubbornly clings to the Stalinist schema of "two-stage revolution," which historically was concocted and utilized to justify class collaboration with the so-called "patriotic" and "democratic" bourgeoisie in the period of "completing

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EDITORIAL NOTE

No Troops to Boston!

On June 16 Paul Parks, Massachusetts Secretary of Education, announced before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights that 2,000 National Guardsmen as well as 300 Massachusetts State Police would be mobilized in Boston to "prevent violence" when the public schools reopen in September and busing is resumed. In addition, federal troops will be placed on alert for possible deployment. This will represent an ominous escalation of repressive force in racially polarized Boston. While Massachusetts state troopers were called in last fall to replace the Boston Tactical Police Force assigned to "protect" black schoolchildren from racist attacks, the National Guard to date has not been sent to Boston.

From the beginning of the reactionary mobilization against busing and the racist attacks on black people in Boston, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League has actively campaigned in support of busing and for its extension to include all city schools and also the relatively better suburban schools. Simultaneously we have opposed the introduction of any federal troops or National Guardsmen, calling instead for the formation of a labor/black defense to ensure the implementation of busing and to repulse racist attacks. Given residential segregation, busing is a step toward realizing the democratic

right of black people for equal access to educational facilities and must be supported and defended.

The National Guard is a repressive arm of the bourgeois state fundamentally no different than federal troops. The function of the National Guard is to protect by force of arms the private property and political rule of the bourgeoisie. The armed fists of the bosses' state can be trusted only to uphold the "law and order" of the racist status quo. It certainly cannot be trusted to defend the rights and struggles of black people under racist attack.

The National Guard is specially trained in "riot control" and usually employed to quell ghetto explosions. In Watts, Detroit, Newark and elsewhere the National Guard suppressed ghetto rebellions with racist brutality. Its "discipline" was demonstrated at Kent State, where the Guardsmen without provocation shot down unarmed demonstrating students. In announcing the decision to bring in the National Guard, Paul Parks threatened that "people will have to pay a price if they don't obey the law" (quoted in *New York Times*, 17 June 1975). But as always, black people will pay the highest "price" when the troops enforce racist "law."

The liberal NAACP, the Stalinist Communist Party (CP), and the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) have campaigned to pressure the government to send its armed forces into Boston. By preaching reliance on the bosses' troops, the CP and SWP/YSA foster dangerous illusions and build confidence in the bourgeois state. Having long ago renounced the Trotskyist Transitional Program and the traditions of its revolutionary past, the SWP/YSA dismisses our call for a labor/black defense as irresponsible, demagogically claiming that black people cannot wait for the "sectarians" to mobil-

ize the trade unions.

While the SWP/YSA is still waiting for the troops, a labor/black defense has been organized in Chicago and provides an example of what can and must be done in Boston. When Nazis and other racists harassed and firebombed a black family who had just moved into a white neighborhood, UAW Local 6 in Chicago organized union members to guard the home. The Labor Struggle Caucus, a militant opposition in the union with a class-struggle program, was responsible for proposing the defense squad in the union and has played an active role in the defense effort.

Not the National Guard or the U.S. Army, but a labor/black defense is the only sure way to defend black people from racist attack and advance the struggle against racial oppression.

YOUNG SPARTACUS



SL/SYL demonstrated in Boston on May 17.

Letter

June 12, 1975

Dear Comrades,

I have been a long time reader of *Young Spartacus*, and although I have generally considered your newspaper to be in the main, a sectarian rag, (sometimes laughable and sometimes sad) I did on occasion consider it a source of factually accurate information relevant to a number of areas of interest. But even this saving grace, which alone made the paper worthwhile reading, seems in the past while to be disappearing from its pages. A particularly gross example of this degeneration is apparent in the coverage you gave in issue no. 33 to the May 10th demonstration in Toronto around the questions of women's liberation. I will for reasons of space limit myself only to unmasking the prevaricating (lying) coverage you gave to the political line of the RMG intervention in the demo.

The only point made in your article in regards to the RMG's intervention was as follows.

"Fearful of alienating the feminists, the RMG refused to join in these chants [ie the chants started by the Spartacus contingent]. 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 content of this paragraph exemplifies the technique of lying through omission. It also contains a lie on the level of fact.

You say that the RMG "refused to join" in the chants ie "militant class struggle slogans" chanted by the 20 person Spart contingent (in a demo not of 800-1000 as reported in your article but rather in a demo of 1200). The fact is that the RMG contingent itself (about 300 strong, including of course those that joined it during the demo), initiated a chant whose content included "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution." We don't know whether the miniscule band of Sparts picked up this chant but we do know that it was picked up at various points by a large part of the demo.

But this is a small matter compared to the lies by omission contained in your article. As proven by the enclosed photo, the slogans put forward by the RMG contingent in the demo were:

1. Equal Pay and Equal Work
2. Free 24 hour Public Childcare
3. Free Abortion On Demand
4. Free Dr. Morgenthaler
5. Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution, No Socialism Without Women's Liberation.

We have heard that your organization does have disagreement with the formulation of the second half of the fifth slogan but as you will agree not with the rest of this slogan nor with the first four slogans. Could it be that you are not alone in advancing a revolutionary line? It is also the case that all these 5 slogans were incorporated into various chants that were vigorously initiated and carried by the RMG contingent and we might add at various times by most of the demo.

Really comrades, it is best that you not burden your readers with grossly misleading information in addition to the sectarian garbage you fill your paper with. I don't really care what you print but I do think that it is a matter of some concern when an ostensibly revolutionary newspaper violates the

practice of workers democracy by bold lying by both omission and commission.

If you do publish this letter together with the supporting evidence (the photo of the RMG's banners in the demo) it will indicate that you still do after all, have some contact with reality. If not, ah well, sects come and go, and the more sectarian, the faster they go!

Comradely,

Joe Flexer
Toronto

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Editor's Reply:

The author of the letter, a leading spokesman for the pseudo-Trotskyist Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), scoffingly dismisses the international Spartacist tendency as a doomed "sect" and its political positions as "sectarian garbage." Yet Comrade Flexer has felt compelled to write us a long letter vehemently protesting that "you are not alone in advancing a revolutionary line" and claiming that the RMG did join in the chanting of militant class-struggle slogans advanced by the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency (CCIST) at the May 10 demonstration.

Comrade Flexer wildly hurls his foam-flecked accusations of lying, but dishonestly avoids citing any "militant class-struggle slogans" initiated by the CCIST that allegedly were taken up as well by the RMG contingent. He dares not deny that the RMG contingent repeatedly refused to join in our chants "Feminism No-Socialism Yes!", "For a Class Line-Not a Sex Line!", "Men and Women-Black and White-Class Struggle is the Fight!" and "Equal Pay for Equal Work-30 for 40-Jobs for All!" Only once, at the very beginning of the march, did RMG supporters take up one of our chants, "Men and Women-Black and White-Workers of the World Unite!"

All Comrade Flexer can argue is that the RMG initiated the following chant which is similar to a CCIST chant: "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution-No Socialism Without Women's Liberation." The international Spartacist tendency certainly has no disagreement with this slogan. However, given that social inequalities are still rife in the "Socialist" Sino-Soviet countries, Trotskyists should explain, especially when intervening in the pervasively anti-communist liberal-idealist/feminist milieu, that the Sino-Soviet states represent not socialist societies but deformed workers states characterized by petty-bourgeois bureaucratic regimes based upon and drawing privileges from proletarian property forms but ruling on the basis of the political expropriation of the working class. The slogan "No Socialism Without Women's Liberation" should be placed in this context and linked with the Trotskyist positions for the unconditional defense of the deformed workers states from imperialist attack and for a workers political revolution to oust the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracies and open the road to socialist-development, through which the vestiges of women's oppression will be completely eradicated.

The RMG, however, has not always consistently

put forward these positions. The RMG omitted the call for unconditional defense of the deformed workers states from its electoral propaganda during its last Federal campaign (in a constituency with a high proportion of East European immigrants!). And the RMG refuses to characterize North Vietnam as a deformed workers state and to call for political revolution, thus reinforcing the arguments of the anti-communists who "prove" through the examples of Russia, Cuba and North Vietnam that socialism entails the continued oppression of women.

But unlike the RMG, we maintain that the RMG slogan "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution-No Socialism Without Women's Liberation" is counterposed politically to "Women Unite!," the main slogan of the march coalition which the RMG officially endorsed. The slogan "Women Unite!" sows political confusion and calls for class collaboration: uniting as "sisters" all women regardless of class position and political convictions.

The RMG, however, apparently did not want to risk antagonizing the feminists and liberals by giving any emphasis to this slogan on its own banner. During the entire, long march the CCIST supporters, who marched immediately behind the RMG contingent, heard the RMG raise this socialist chant only once. Although the CCIST contingent chanted "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" more than half a dozen times, the opportunist RMG repeatedly refused to join in.

Since the article in *Young Spartacus* did not mention every slogan advanced by the RMG (just as it did not cite every slogan raised by the CCIST and the other participating political tendencies), Comrade Flexer accuses us of "lies by omission" and counters with a list of five slogans as "the slogans put forward by the RMG contingent." Now this indeed is misrepresentation through omission!

Comrade Flexer omits the weak-kneed democratic and liberal demands of the "Women Unite!" Coalition which the RMG formally endorsed and which were criticized in the *Young Spartacus* article. He also "forgets" to include the New Left feminist slogan which the RMG enthusiastically chanted again and again:

"Up from the kitchen, Up from the bedroom,
Up from under, Women Unite!"

Also covered up is the juvenile jingle sung by the RMG:

"Pierre Elliot [Trudeau], Pierre Elliot,
Where are you, where are you?"

We don't like your phony, Women's Year baloney.
Piss on you! Piss on you!"

Comrade Flexer could not include these liberal demands, feminist slogans and apolitical rhymes and still simper that the RMG put forward a "revolutionary line."

Comrade Flexer is obviously enraged by our exposure of the RMG's ever greater capitulation to bourgeois feminism and reformism. At the May 10 rally Flexer, when asked by several supporters of the CCIST to defend the RMG's open support for the "Women Unite!" line, became defensive, refused to discuss the question and finally fled the area to escape our criticism. And by what he admits and what he conceals in this letter, Comrade Flexer has succeeded in unmasking only the opportunism of the RMG.

Portuguese Maoists...

Continued from page 1

the national-democratic revolution." (Before any such "first stage" can be "completed" irreconcilable and irrepressible class conflicts ultimately must shatter the multi-class bloc.)

Demonstrations to Defend MRPP

In response to the bourgeois AFM's attack on an organization of the Portuguese left, the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League organized protest demonstrations in both Los Angeles and San Francisco. On June 5 about 40 socialists and labor militants in Los Angeles participated in a demonstration at the Portuguese government's trade office which had been called by the Committee to Defend the MRPP around the demands: "Release the MRPP!" and "Hands Off the Portuguese Left!"

The united-front Committee had been initiated by the SL/SYL and was endorsed by the Revolutionary Tendency (formerly a tendency in the moribund Revolutionary Socialist League), Labor Party League and Militant Caucus of AFSCME/Local 2070; joining the demonstration were politically unaffiliated radicals and the Labor Party Organizing Committee. The militant, vocal demonstration received coverage from ABC-TV in Los Angeles.

Several weeks later, on June 21, the Ad Hoc Committee to Defend the MRPP 500 organized a similar demonstration in San Francisco under the slogans: "Free the MRPP Political Prisoners!" and "Full Democratic Rights for the Portuguese Workers Movement!" The Committee, which drew about 40 to the demonstration at the Portuguese Consulate, was endorsed by the SL/SYL, International Workers Party, Committee for Working Class Studies, Socialist League (Democratic-Centralist), International Socialists, United Prisoners Union, San Francisco *Newsreel*, Committee for a Militant UAW/Local 1364, Militant Action Caucus of CWA/Locals 9410 and 9415, Militant Caucus (Warehouse) of the ILWU and the ILWU *Longshore Militant* group.

In both demonstrations the SL/SYL speakers addressed our enormous political differences with the Stalinist MRPP, but stressed that the defense of the left from attack by the bourgeois state is an elementary and crucial responsibility for the international working-class movement. Although notified, none of the Maoist organizations or collectives in Los Angeles or San Francisco sent any supporters to either demonstration. In fact, none of the Maoist tendencies in this country to date have protested—even verbally!—the repression of the Portuguese Mao-

ists by the military brass of the AFM.

China Mum on MRPP

What does the Maoist bureaucracy of the People's Republic of China say about its supporters, the MRPP? Absolutely nothing. The Chinese only have acknowledged the existence of a different Maoist organization: the Portuguese Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) (PCP[M-L]).

Of the very few Chinese articles even mentioning the PCP(M-L), the most recent, most "substantive," and longest (three paragraphs!) is entitled "Portuguese Paper Exposes Superpowers' Intensifying Rivalry in Europe" (*Hsinhua Weekly*, 19 May 1975) and mainly consists of excerpted quotations from an article in the PCP(M-L)'s *Unidade Popular*. The Chinese conclusion approvingly notes that the PCP(M-L) "urges the European countries and peoples to get prepared against a war which the two superpowers may unleash."

In the split between the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies misruling in the deformed workers states of China and Russia, the Peking Stalinists criminally have denounced the USSR as "social imperialist" and "more dangerous" than U.S. imperialism. In a recent, typical attack against the Moscow Stalinists, the Maoist bureaucracy venomously tirades:

"The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type [a bloc of the four bourgeoisies?].... The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the U.S., are now fiercely locked in contention for world hegemony. The later upstart, the Soviet social-imperialists, who harbor ambitious dreams and stretch their hands everywhere, are, in particular, leaving no stone unturned in their efforts to replace the U.S. imperialists now becoming increasingly vulnerable and strategically passive. They are trying to embark on Hitler's track of world domination."

—Peking *People's Daily*, 9 May 1975

In order to increase the pressure on the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy to withdraw its enormous military force menacingly poised along the Russia-China border and deploy it instead far away on the European front, the Maoist bureaucracy has been crusading for the strengthening of imperialism's NATO and West European militarism. The Chinese unambiguously imply that the only force able "to keep vigilance against Soviet social-imperialism" (*Hsinhua News Bulletin*, 16 March 1975) and able to strengthen NATO is U.S. imperialism. Yao Wen-yuan, an important Chinese "ideologist," told a correspondent for the *Turin Stampa* (20 April 1975) that "the non-existent detente must not be translated into a weakening of the Atlantic Alliance." According to the *Peking People's Daily* (24 December 1974), the Soviet Union must not be permitted to succeed in its attempts to "squeeze out the United States" from Europe, because: "This would make their expansion into and infiltration of West Europe easier" (translation in *Hsinhua Weekly*, 30 December).

While all the Portuguese Maoist groups, in order to maintain some credibility with the masses, must strike an anti-NATO posture, the PCP(M-L) hews most closely to the Chinese line of *de facto* support to NATO:

"German imperialism is interested in guaranteeing that Portugal does not fall into the social-imperialist camp. And here the working class has interests which coincide with those of German imperialism."

—*Unidade Popular*, 16 January 1975 [our emphasis]

The MRPP, however, consistently has been opposing NATO and refuses to bloc with any NATO country even against "Soviet social imperialism." Thus, the PCP(M-L) has earned China's franchise, while over 500 MRPP militants languish in Portuguese jails without a peep from the Chinese or U.S. Maoists.

Quandary of U.S. Maoists

The Chinese bureaucracy has not

even bothered to resort to any two-, three-, many-stage schemas to justify its support for a strong bourgeois Portugal to shore up the shaky Mediterranean tier of NATO. *Peking Review*, in fact, has maintained a news blackout on Portugal: in over sixty issues published since the April 1974 overthrow of Tomás, there has been not one mention of Portugal's internal situation, not even a mention of the coup! *Hsinhua Weekly*, between the time of the coup and the end of the summer, published several brief, uninformative articles on the Portuguese situation; but since August 1974 only one article mentioning Portugal has appeared—the above-cited, three paragraphs of quotations from the PCP(M-L). To complete this empty picture, *Hsinhua News Bulletin* (a daily compilation of about fifty pages of dispatches and articles) in approximately 20,000 pages issued since the April coup has contained less than a dozen pages on Portugal, with not one political assertion.

While NATO officials probably know the Maoist attitude towards political developments in Portugal from their talks with Chinese diplomats, the U.S. Maoists can't be too sure about anything. The U.S. Maoists have been forced to search for the "Great Beacon of Internationalism" in such typically foggy Chinese statements as the following:

"In the south [of Europe], the Soviet Army has a standing force in the Mediterranean with some fifty to sixty vessels. Soviet hand is visible in the Mediterranean disturbances, from the east to the west. The Soviet Union is working hard to sow discord and create trouble among the parties involved in an east Mediterranean island country, trying to grab that vital strategic base in its contention with the superpower. In the two superpowers' rivalry, it is also fighting fiercely to seize bases, in the name of 'fishing' or 'refueling' ports, from another country on the Atlantic coast which gives easy

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Leftist Professors Axed, SYL Protests

YOUNG SPARTACUS



Early this year the administration of the University of Illinois/Chicago Circle Campus (UICC) announced the dismissal of faculty members Larry Tift, a radical Criminal Justice professor, and Mark Cramer, a supporter of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and its academic front group, the Committee Against Racism (CAR). The administration repeatedly refused to indicate cause for the firings.

The SYL at UICC protested the firings and initiated a campaign for a united-front defense based on the slogans: "Stop the Political Firings!", "Rehire Cramer and Tift!" and "No Dismissals!" When approached by the SYL, PL rejected our support, indulging in go-it-alone, grandstanding sectarianism.

By early May realizing that the SYL was the only group on campus committed to defending Cramer and Tift, PL reluctantly called for a "united front" committee to defend Cramer and fight the cutbacks on campus, indicating that it would accept slogans which had been raised by the SYL. But the SYL was unable to endorse this so-called "united front," since PL insisted that the "steering committee" would consist of the 30 individuals who signed a mailing list (guess who had the list!). Although PL defiantly boasted that its "united front" would set up informational literature tables and a picket line without the SYL, none of these actions ever materialized.

At the next defense meeting, the ever-manuevering PL proposed calling a rally around such demands as "For Student Input into

Tenure Decisions," "For a Committee to Investigate Racism in the University" and "For a Disclosure of All Budget Cutbacks." The SYL argued that all these slogans accepted the capitalist administration and legitimized its control over hiring and funding. When the majority of the politically unaffiliated students at the meeting voted to support the SYL proposals, PL and Cramer agreed to call the rally around slogans suggested by the SYL.

At the rally, which drew about 50 students, PL supporters first opposed our request for a speaker and then, with consummate opportunism, introduced the SYL as "a group that has been with us the whole way." At the conclusion of the rally about 40 demonstrators marched into the administration building to confront the officials on the question of political firings. However, the administrators apparently had evacuated the building and their offices were swarming with campus cops. When PL declared that the demonstrators should convene a planning meeting on the spot, the SYL countered with the proposal to move the demonstration outside where the students were and set up a militant picket line.

PL insisted on loitering in the administration building waiting for the administrators. When the SYL left after some time, the demonstration that had begun as a spirited rally of 50 had dwindled to a frustrated circle of only a dozen largely because of PL's idiotic misleadership.

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Budget Cuts, Tuition Hike Ignite Student Protests at Wayne State

DETROIT—With unemployment among inner-city youth approaching 40 percent and showing no prospects for improvement in the near future, and with the termination of unemployment compensation and UAW-SUB funds for many who have been out of work for over a year, capitalism has clearly shown that it holds no future for youth. Particularly ominous in Detroit has been increased racial polarization, evidenced most clearly by the increasing division over the questions of busing and preferential layoffs for city workers. In the absence of a class-struggle leadership in the trade unions, particularly the UAW which potentially could wield such enormous power in Detroit, the potential exists for race riots which will draw in blood the racial division in the working class. As it has in Boston, the SYL has consistently advocated the implementation of the busing plan and its extension to the Detroit suburbs and the organizing of a labor/black defense, particularly by the UAW, to demoralize the racist anti-busing forces they mobilize and to ensure the implementation of busing.

The current depression has squeezed the budgets of state and city governments and reduced the demand for large numbers of highly educated youth. As a result, cutbacks in educational funding and increases in tuition, fees and dormitory charges are being introduced on campuses across the country. Michigan, particularly hard hit by depression-level stagnation in the auto industry, has initiated a program slashing financial appropriations to all state-supported schools.

At Wayne State University (WSU), the Board of Governors, which maintains a mammoth expense account for administration bureaucrats and appropriates thousands of dollars for campus "beautification," has already voted a 10 percent tuition increase for the

fall, has sought to eliminate Monteith College, Chicano Boricuas, Black Studies and the free English Composition Clinic, and is now discussing an additional 2.5 percent tuition hike and laying off 450-500 campus workers.

United-Front Demonstration

In the largest demonstration at WSU in almost four years, 200 students demonstrated on June 13 at the meeting of the Board of Governors against the administration's proposed austerity measures. The protest had been called by the Ad Hoc Committee Against Tuition Hikes and Cutbacks. At an earlier meeting, called after a teach-in sponsored by liberal members of the Student-Faculty Council, the SYL presented a proposal, which was adopted unanimously, to establish this Ad Hoc Committee as a broad-based, united-front committee of all who opposed the cutbacks around the demands: No Tuition Hike, No Cutbacks, No Layoffs. The Ad Hoc Committee was open to all who agreed with the three demands, while ensuring the freedom of all political tendencies to raise their own politics.

The Committee worked to build the June 13 picket of the Board of Governors meeting, seeking the endorsement and participation of campus unions, representatives of minority programs and the labor movement in Detroit. As a result of the energetic efforts of the SYL, the June 13 picket was a large and spirited protest against the administration's efforts to make the students and workers at WSU bear the burden of the capitalists' economic crisis.

In contrast to the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), which at the demonstration mindlessly chanted, "they say cutback, we say fightback" without offering a program for "fight-

we reported that Imamu Baraka "pugnaciously confronted our comrades, threatening to call the cops." While Baraka did threaten our comrades, it was a student monitor who threatened to call the cops. After the confrontation, Baraka remarked that he didn't care if the cops threw us out and slandered our comrades as "cops."

Another editorial note, "Reformists Move to Curb SYL Activities," incorrectly states that "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." This recommendation was made to the Financial Committee of the ASUC, which is virtually autonomous of the administration. The account also indicates that the recommendation was supported by the Iranian Students Association, the RSB and the Left Alliance members in the Committee. To date, only the ISA has admitted voting for the recommendation; there is no available evidence as to whom else voted against the SYL. Finally, the same note states that the referendum (on the ASUC bookstore funds) was initiated by the SYL. In fact, the first planning meeting was called by the Left Alliance. However, the SYL can claim sole responsibility for the decision to take action, for the principled united-front character of the campaign and for the rally against the referendum on campus.

ing back" against the class- and race-biased nature of the university, the SYL carried slogans which pointed the way forward for a successful struggle against the budget cuts. Along with the slogan "For a Labor/Student Mobilization Against Cutbacks and Layoffs," which politically links the interests of students to the organized power of the working class, the SYL raised demands which addressed basic and urgent needs of working-class and minority youth: Free quality higher education for all through open admissions and a stipend to cover living expenses, For one campus union for all campus workers (excluding administrators and cops) and Student/faculty/campus worker control of the university.

YSA: For Larger Demonstrations to Win Less

The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) frantically sought to keep the demonstration as "non-confrontationist" and "respectable" as possible, in line with

tration. While the SYL demands student/faculty/campus worker control of the university, the YSA calls merely for student/faculty/staff participation in the decision-making process, i.e., the capitalist administration. Repeating the stale student-power rhetoric of the 1960's, the YSA rejects our call for linking student struggles with the class struggle of the proletariat, which has the social power to prevent the budget cuts.

PL Maneuvers

Throughout the campaign, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) demanded that the Committee adopt its abstract "Fight Racism!" slogan, which on campus, as PL has repeatedly demonstrated, means only a moralistic, programless liberal opposition to racist ideas in textbooks. To compensate for its tame reformist program PL blindly and rigidly advocates bold and often adventurist tactics. Last winter PL staged a militant sit-in, but demanded little more than lowering WSU Presi-



SYL calls for labor-student mobilization to fight budget cuts and tuition hike at Wayne State. SYL marched in support of campus workers last September (above).

their reformist policy of gently pressuring the capitalist administration for a few concessions. The YSA issued a leaflet prior to the demonstration which stated, "Our job now is to mobilize the students at WSU in larger and larger demonstrations until we have the strength to stop these attacks and gain some control over our lives here at Wayne." At the planning meeting prior to the demonstration, the Ad Hoc Committee voted to decide on the tactic of entering the Board of Governors meeting by a vote of the demonstrators there. At this planning meeting the YSA unsuccessfully opposed the entry tactic and then proposed that Committee marshals should guard the door of the building in which the Board of Governors would be meeting and prevent anyone from entering if the "demonstration decided" not to enter!

At the demonstration, the SYL argued that a sit-in, while not a substitute for a mobilization of students and the organized workers' movement, was an appropriately militant tactic given the large numbers of militant demonstrators and widespread support on campus for defeating the administration attacks. When the Committee spokesman began to address the demonstration on putting the question of entry to a vote, the YSA supporters began shouting and even turned off the microphone. For about fifteen minutes the YSA supporters, gathered around the microphone, boisterously argued against an entry. The YSA, which hypocritically cries about "democracy," thus preventing the entry tactic from being democratically voted as planned.

The YSA's opposition to confronting the administration has a political expression as well. During the campaign against the tuition hike/budget cuts at WSU, the YSA never raised the demand for the abolition of the adminis-

tration. While the SYL demands student/faculty/campus worker control of the university, the YSA calls merely for student/faculty/staff participation in the decision-making process, i.e., the capitalist administration. Repeating the stale student-power rhetoric of the 1960's, the YSA rejects our call for linking student struggles with the class struggle of the proletariat, which has the social power to prevent the budget cuts.

At a meeting following the demonstration, PL attempted to split the Committee by denouncing the united front as "racist" on the basis that other organizations endorsing the Committee would not agree to adopt PL's "Fight Racism" demand. The SYL argued for the continuation of the Committee on the basis of the original united-front demands, while pointing out that PL refuses to raise the one demand that cuts across the race bias of capitalist education—Open Admissions. The SYL noted that in its propaganda the Committee had consistently explained how the administration's attacks particularly affect minority students. When the SYL motion to maintain the united front was supported by representatives of La Union Estudiantes and the Association of Black Students, the opportunist PL swallowed its "racism" baiting and voted for the motion.

Militant actions on campus, such as demonstrations and sit-ins, can be an effective method of winning support for the struggle against the cutbacks. To continue the struggle against the cutbacks and tuition hike the SYL calls for building toward a campuswide strike of all students, teachers and campus workers and raises the perspective of broadening such mobilizations of students and campus workers to include militant labor action by industrial workers in Detroit. Above all, the SYL struggles on campus to win students to the revolutionary program of Trotskyism, the only program which can lead the working class to victory in the battle to smash the capitalist system, the basis of the discrimination, oppression and exploitation that we face. ■

-Corrections-

Several errors appeared in the last issue of *Young Spartacus* (June 1975). The article "SYL Campaigns as Communist Alternative" incorrectly stated that at the University of Illinois/Chicago Circle Campus the SYL demanded replacement of the tenure system "with hiring and firing controlled by one union of all campus employees." The SYL has never called for or supported union control of firing. As stated elsewhere in the same article, we demand full employment and oppose union-busting reformist schemes such as "preferential layoffs." The same article reports that at UICC the YSA ran its candidates for unopposed Student Assembly seats. The YSA did run candidates against the SYL for executive positions; its most experienced campus spokesmen, however, did run for sure-win positions.

The article "For Labor-Student Mobilizations Against Cutbacks and Layoffs!" states that the May 1 Madison demonstration against the cutbacks was endorsed by "AFSCME Locals 1 and 634 and the Executive Board of the American Federation of Teachers Local 3220." This should have read: AFSCME Local 1 and AFT Local 3220 and the Executive Board of AFSCME Local 634. The YSA also endorsed the demonstration.

In the editorial note on the May 9-11 Black Student Conference at Kent State

"Anti-Terrorist" Repression Sweeps West Germany

Stop Star-Chamber "Trial" of Baader-Meinhof!

The show trial of leading members of the so-called "Baader-Meinhof Gang" in Stuttgart is now entering its second month. Staged at great cost (\$5.2 million alone for the fortified courthouse specially constructed for the trial and with court expenses expected to run into the millions), the trial, which may run as long as a year and a half, is being used by the West German bourgeoisie to strengthen the already repressive penal code, to whip up hysteria about "terrorist organizations" and the left in general and thus to justify a massive crackdown on the entire German left. The fortress-courthouse, the barbed wire and elaborate security checks are designed to cast the defendants as dangerous criminals even before the star-chamber proceedings commence.

On trial are four members of the "Red Army Faction" (RAF)—Ulrike Meinhof, Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe; a fifth defendant, Holger Meins, died on November 9 in solitary confinement after a two-month hunger strike which the defendants, who have been under "investigative detention" and awaiting trial since 1972, had been carrying on to protest against the inhuman conditions of their imprisonment.

The four are charged with bank robbery and the bombings of the U.S. Army headquarters in Heidelberg and the extreme right-wing Springer publishing house in Berlin (four deaths plus 54 "attempted murders," i.e., all the people the police could place as being in the vicinity at the time). Furthermore, Meinhof, Baader and Ensslin are additionally charged with having "founded a criminal association" and acting as its "ringleaders" both before and after their apprehension. In the absence of a death penalty in West Germany the prosecution is demanding imprisonment for life. The actions for which the RAF has claimed responsibility do not involve random terrorism, but uniformly constitute violent actions directed against targets symbolic of bourgeois authority (see "'Anti-Terrorist' Repression in West Ger-

many," *Workers Vanguard*, No. 60, 17 January 1975).

These charges, which the bourgeoisie has taken years to deliver, are set forth in an indictment of 354 pages, out of which a grand total of three and one half pages even attempt to show the direct complicity of the accused! Baader, Meinhof, Ensslin and Raspe are being charged with having themselves participated in only three incidents. For the remainder of the melange of charges, the prosecution is forced to rely on "indirect evidence": the guilt of the accused consists of "planning" or "directing" criminal acts, "proof" of this is made to rest on their supposed role as ringleaders of the RAF. One example: the indictment charges them with having "either themselves or through others" (!) set off the bombs that devastated U.S. Army headquarters. The case, then, rests almost entirely on circumstantial evidence—that and testimony by the police and their spies and informers.

In accord with West German law, the case is being tried by a panel of five judges headed by right-winger

Ulrike Meinhof (left) and Andreas Baader (right).



ment, several hours before daybreak on April 5, several thousand Berlin police, assisted by 300 regular police and 260 security police, swooped down on more than 80 houses and apartments. Doors were broken down before the residents could even leap out of bed to open them; mattresses were slit open, floor boards ripped up, books and documents indiscriminately confiscated. But the police, who were armed with machine guns, did not in fact carry out a serious

stitute the strategy of individual terrorism against the bourgeois state.

Defend the Left! Free the RAF!

Communists by no means exclude terrorism as a tactic which under certain conditions may prove necessary in the class struggle. We oppose terrorism as a strategy, because terrorism cannot bring about the downfall



Trotskyist League of Germany in May Day demonstration:

"For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!"

Theodor Prinzing. Moreover, German trial law has no strict rules for the admissibility of evidence; all that is required is that the judges be convinced of where the truth lies.

Police Terror in West Berlin

The seizure on February 27 of Peter Lorenz, Christian Democratic Party candidate for mayor of West Berlin, by members of the June 2 Movement (a clandestine anarcho-terrorist group which solidarizes with the RAF) and the blowing up of the West German embassy in Stockholm in April have been so much grist to the mill of proponents of the "strong state" in the Federal Republic. The German authorities seized upon the abduction of Lorenz as a pretext for unleashing a massive campaign of repression and intimidation. Immediately after Lorenz' release by the June 2 Move-

search. Obviously, the police did not in the slightest expect to find evidence of any crimes!

Particular targets of the searches (carried out in the vast majority of instances without search warrants) were student and apprentice collectives, regular subjects of past police harassment. The police could not seriously have expected to find the abductors waiting for them there. Similar dragnet, storm-trooper-style raids had been conducted last November 26 in 15 cities, resulting in the arrest of 28 suspected "conspirators."

The RAF and June 2 Movement, unable to envision a successful struggle against reformism within the working class, reject the revolutionary potential of the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries. For the struggle to mobilize the working class under a revolutionary leadership leading to the overthrow of the capitalist class the RAF and the June 2 Movement sub-

of the bourgeois state. Substitution for the organized working masses furthermore isolates the terrorists, who often are dedicated, self-sacrificing and courageous fighters in the cause of the oppressed, thereby facilitating their victimization by the bourgeoisie.

But despite our political opposition to the substitutionist strategy of individual terrorism, we recognize that the RAF and the June 2 Movement militants stand on our side of the class line and we seek to win them to revolutionary politics. It is the elementary duty of the left and labor movement to defend these militants from bourgeois state repression.

The Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands (Trotskyist League of Germany --TLD), sympathizing group of the international Spartacist tendency, has declared its class solidarity with the RAF militants and called for a united-front defense campaign. In a statement

continued on page 11

ABONNIERT

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Fake-Trotskyists Scab On

The military victories of the National Liberation Front, Khmer Rouge and Pathet Lao forces represent important advances for the laboring masses of the entire world. With the destruction of capitalist class rule the civil wars in South Vietnam and Cambodia have culminated in anti-capitalist social revolutions, and Laos now is on the eve of such a social transformation.

As proletarian internationalists, Trotskyists call upon the working-class movement to draw the class line in Indochina and solidarize with the revolutionary gains of the workers and peasants. The labor and socialist move-

raise the call for the victory of the Indochinese revolution. Programmatically the SWP/YSA stood with neither side, demanding only "No U.S. Troops to Saigon!" These opportunists also refused to call for the extension of the revolution through political revolutions, claiming that the DRV is "under the control of the Vietnamese people themselves" (*Young Socialist*, May 1975).

Apparently in order to avoid the risk of compromising its assiduously groomed "respectable" image by calling for the unconditional defense of the deformed workers states

(*Young Socialist*, May 1975). This position implies that what is involved in Indochina is simply an infringement of the bourgeois-democratic national rights of South Vietnam and North Vietnam by imperialist aggression. Therefore, once the imperialist troops are out, "self-determination" would become an "internal affair" of the countries involved, and revolutionaries in the U.S. would have no further responsibilities.

For Marxists, however, the decades-long struggle in Indochina clearly involved a civil war between opposing class forces. The U.S. imperialists intervened to prop up the Vietnamese capitalists and big landlords, whose capacity to maintain their class rule had been stunted and weakened by the decades of colonial domination as well as civil war. The massive invasion by the U.S. imperialists certainly did bring to the fore the anti-imperialist character of the struggle led by the Stalinists. But "self-determination" represented by the military victories of the Indochinese insurgents was not limited to expelling the imperialists and their puppets but resulted in the creation of anti-capitalist states.

"Democratic" Imperialism

The SWP/YSA bases its opposition to U.S. intervention in Indochina solely on the demand for a "democratic" foreign policy by imperialism.

"The people of this country were not consulted on this latest military adventure. The vast majority of Americans are firmly opposed to squandering more of our resources, or spilling more blood, in Southeast Asia. . . . We call for taking the war-making powers out of the hands of the White House and Congress and for letting the American people decide these questions."

—*Militant*, 23 May 1975

The Trotskyist Transitional Program recognizes that in a situation of impending imperialist war when the masses begin to distrust the imperialist machinations of the government, Trotskyists might very likely give critical support to some proposal for establishing a referendum on the question of declaring war. This tactic can serve to strengthen and politicize "the progressive distrust of the exploited toward the exploiters," but only if the Trotskyists ceaselessly dispel all illusions that democratic reforms by themselves can prevent the imperialists from declaring war. The SWP/YSA, however, is advocating not a single referendum on imperialist intervention but a social-democratic strategy for reforming the capitalist state through democratization. For communists opposition to imperialism is a fundamental principle and not a democratic question of the "will of the people." Unless explicitly linked to slogans for the revolutionary defeat of imperialism and for the unconditional defense of the deformed workers states, the call to give "war-making powers" to the "people" feeds social chauvinism.

The SWP/YSA attempts to justify this capitulation to its "own" bourgeoisie by exaggerating and glorifying the "antiwar sentiment" of bourgeois public opinion:

"But the American people's opposition to imperialist military adventures is not 'isolationism.' Just the opposite. It is part of the internationalism of the oppressed and exploited all over the globe who have a common interest in struggling against a common enemy."

—*Militant*, 9 May 1975

During the period of massive U.S. intervention, when the war was producing political turmoil and economic hardships in this country and seemed to be at a stalemate in Vietnam, antiwar sentiments did spread throughout the population. Politically, however, the opposition was largely in-

choate and manifestly diverse. The dramatic growth of the "antiwar majority" reflected not the "internationalism" of those few who sincerely desired the defeat of U.S. imperialism by the Vietnamese insurgents, but the defeatism of the oppressor: the recognition by the bourgeoisie, expressed by its politicians and opinion-makers, that continued intervention in Vietnam was no longer in the best overall and long-term interests of U.S. imperialism.

The ignominious collapse of the "Vietnamized" puppet armies, the cowardly flight of the puppet regimes and the frantic American evacuation evoked considerable anti-Communist and racist reactions in this country which even the SWP/YSA cannot ignore. When Ford carried out the unauthorized mini-intervention in Cambodia under the pretext of "rescuing" the *Mayaguez*, there was no outburst of mass protest. After having blustered that "Washington knows that the American people would turn against them and drive them out of office" if the U.S. imperialists sent back the bombers (*Young Socialist*, May 1975), the SWP/YSA then "explained" the *Mayaguez* intervention, *sotto voce*:

"The act of sending in the marines and bombers was aimed at dispelling the belief [!] that Washington would hesitate to get involved in any more wars because of the massive opposition to the intervention in Indochina."

—*Militant*, 30 May 1975

Antiwar Movement

Perhaps even more basely self-serving than the SWP/YSA's refusal to recognize and defend the social overthrows in Indochina is its shameless boasting that "its" antiwar movement was "in alliance" with the workers and peasants of Indochina and made possible the victories in Indochina: "Ultimately, it was this important alliance of the Indochinese people with the American and international antiwar movement that led to the victories over U.S. imperialism this spring" (*Young Socialist*, May 1975). Far from being the "best defenders" of the Indochinese revolution, the SWP/YSA built its now-extinct "antiwar movement" solely on the basis of liberal social-patriotism, pacifism and bourgeois defeatism.

From the outset the SWP/YSA adopted the perspective of building "broad" coalitions of all peace-loving people under the auspices of liberals on the basis of classless slogans. In 1965 the SWP/YSA politically endorsed the New York Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, a bloc including the SWP/YSA, the Stalinist Communist Party, the Cold Warrior



PICTORIAL PARADE

NLF/DRV troops entering Da Nang in April.

ments must resolve to unconditionally defend the social overthrows in Indochina against imperialist attack and/or domestic counterrevolution. The American working class especially must be prepared to counter any counterrevolutionary aggression against these new anti-capitalist states with militant labor actions, such as political strikes and "hot carguing" (refusal to handle) military goods.

While we resolutely defend these revolutions, Trotskyists stand in political opposition to the anti-revolutionary bureaucratic regimes which the Stalinist misleaders are establishing on the foundations of the revolutionary conquests of the Indochinese workers and peasants. A political revolution led by the proletariat is required to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and consolidate a new state apparatus on the basis of organs of workers democracy.

While occasionally professing allegiance to fragments of the Trotskyist program, the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) has never hesitated to scrap its pretense of "Trotskyist internationalism" when more promising opportunities beckon these opportunists. At this time the reformist SWP/YSA is fiercely building its hyper-"respectable," social-patriotic electoral campaign for a "new Bill of Rights for Working People" in a bid to graduate from Little League electoralism into the big time. If the "American Revolutionaries" Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are to keep in step with the Bicentennial march, the SWP/YSA needs to make clear before bourgeois public opinion the limits of its "solidarity" with the "Communist takeovers" in Indochina.

Traitorous Abstention

During the critical weeks of the final offensives against Phnom Penh and Saigon the SWP/YSA in its press and election propaganda refused to

in Indochina and for the extension of the revolutions through proletarian political revolutions, the SWP/YSA has decided to deny that these "inconvenient" social revolutions have taken place! In its May Day statement the SWP Political Committee unambiguously declared:

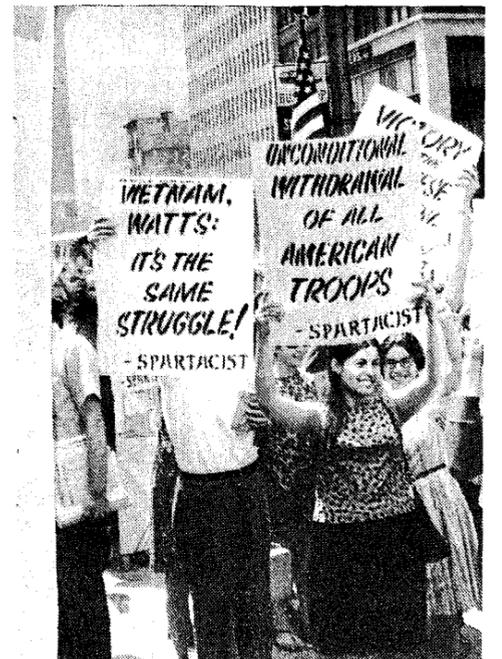
"With the defeat of the Saigon army, and with Washington's options severely limited by antiwar sentiment at home, the objective possibility now exists for achieving the long-strived-for goal of national unification and self-determination of Vietnam. The objective conditions also exist for a social revolution to abolish the entire system of exploitation for private profit."

—*Militant*, 9 May 1975 (our emphasis)

If "self-determination" and "social revolution" are only "possibilities," then South Vietnam and Cambodia, despite the military victories of the insurgent forces over the puppet regimes, can only be capitalist states. To date this remains the position of the SWP/YSA.

While a mockery of Trotskyism and an egregious betrayal of the principle of proletarian solidarity and working-class defense, this is nothing new for the reformist SWP/YSA. Throughout the last decade the SWP/YSA consistently has refused to draw the class line in Indochina and in the antiwar movement in this country.

In order to justify its opportunist liquidation of the call for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution in the antiwar movement, the SWP/YSA has long denied the class character of the struggle in Indochina. Just as its May Day statement conspicuously distinguishes between "self-determination" and "social revolution" (in the manner of the Menshevik-Stalinist "two-stage" revolution schema), the SWP/YSA in its mass work has always depicted the struggle in Indochina as fundamentally a democratic question of "self-determination," which, unlike Lenin, the SWP/YSA maintains is synonymous with "control over their own destiny"



SL advances revolutionary defeatist line

Indochinese Revolutions

Socialist Party, SANE (Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy), smaller fake-left groups and a sprinkling of "independent" liberals and left-liberals like Dave Dellinger.

A measure of just how low this lowest-common-denominator amalgam sank into social patriotism is provided by the policy statement (signed by the SWP/YSA):

"The war in Vietnam is not necessary for national security. The U.S. is the richest, most powerful, most heavily armed nation in the world. A continuation of the present conflict cannot enhance the honor of the American people. Rather, a large part of the world view it as damaging to our reputation as a people."

If the war were "necessary for national security," then presumably the SWP/YSA would not oppose it. The statement also echoed then-President Lyndon Johnson in calling for the removal of "all foreign troops," implying those of North Vietnam as well as the U.S. forces.

Referring to this classless swamp SWP/YSA heavy Fred Halstead at the time wrote:

"Is it possible for the anti-war movement as such to develop the power necessary to stop the war? In my opinion the answer is yes."
—*Militant*, 22 November 1965 (original emphasis!)

From the position that peace parades could somehow force an end to imperialist aggression it was only a short political journey to such subsequent SWP/YSA slogans as "When Women Say This War Should End, This War Will End" (as if the counterrevolutionary intervention in Vietnam could be terminated simply by a vote at a Hadassah meeting).

Revolutionary Defeatism vs. Social Patriotism

This perspective was sharply counterposed to the revolutionary defeatist perspective and class-struggle strategy which guided the SWP when it was still a revolutionary party:

"Imperialist capitalism is the cause of war, and the struggle for peace is inseparable from the struggle against capitalism.... The class struggle of the workers, merging with the colonial revolutions in a common struggle against imperialism, is the only genuine fight against war. The Stalinists who preach otherwise are liars and deceivers. The workers and colonial peoples will have peace when they have the power and use their power to take it and make it for themselves. That is the road of Lenin. There is no other road to peace."

—James P. Cannon, *The Road to Peace*

Speaking on the U.S. aggression in Korea, SWP leader Farrell Dobbs in

1953 wrote:

"...the most vital place to carry on the anti-war agitation is participation in anti-war actions in the unions where the masses are. We have always envisaged the struggle against war as an extension of the class struggle onto a higher plane. The fight against the war can really be effective only to the extent

Youth (predecessor of the SYL) built campus "work-stoppage committees" to mobilize striking and demonstrating students to extend antiwar militancy to the unions. These committees addressed several local unions and were the catalysts in some of those unions for motions calling for labor actions

Congress, and opinion-makers that the Sign Now groups [the Stalinists] hope will broaden the antiwar movement."
—*International Socialist Review*, February 1975

The *Young Socialist Organizer* (4 February 1972) was explicit in its instructions for YSA members to "draw to



Fred Halstead (left), SWP's social-patriotic candidate for President in 1968, led goon attack on SL and PL/SDS at July 1971 NPAC conference. Picket (right) protesting this expulsion.

that the workers adopt class-struggle policies in defending their interests."
—*SWP Internal Bulletin*, Vol. 15, No. 6, March 1953

And this was the revolutionary policy which the Spartacist League unwaveringly pursued since the beginning of our antiwar work in 1965. The SL intervened and struggled for a program of demands, including: immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and aid from Indochina, victory to the Indochinese socialist revolution, labor political strikes against the war and the exclusion of capitalist politicians from the platforms of antiwar rallies. Our perspective was a struggle to win antiwar militants to a pro-working-class orientation and socialist politics. Such a program of clear class demands was the only basis for "independence" from the capitalist parties and for mass actions pounding the capitalists with the muscle of the organized labor movement.

Only the SL fought to turn the antiwar movement into a consciously anti-capitalist movement. In a leaflet distributed at the October 1967 march on the Pentagon we said:

"The notion that the sheer strength of will of its opponents can end the war has its logical culmination in the hippies' project to 'raise the Pentagon.' Except for satisfying masochistic demonstrators and sadistic cops, nothing is gained from such 'confrontations.' ... This does not mean reverting to the simple pacifist humanitarianism of the official peace movement in order to get middle-class liberals on the picket lines. What it does mean is tapping the fundamental discontent and conflicts in American society; the black ghetto uprisings and rash of militant strikes indicate the depth and explosiveness of this discontent.... To this end, the Spartacist League advocates concretely building for a one-day general strike in factories, offices, ghetto neighborhoods and schools as the next national mobilization.... Such a strike would be infinitely more effective than this endless series of marches whether or not decorated by the bloodied heads of martyrs."
—"From Protest to Power"

During the 1972 student upsurges protesting Nixon's mining of Haiphong harbor, the Revolutionary Communist

against the war. Trade-union caucuses supported by the SL included in their programs slogans for militant labor strikes against the U.S. intervention in solidarity with the working people of Indochina.

The SWP/YSA-brokered "peace" coalitions passed through numerous mutations—the Spring Mobe, New Mobe, National Mobe, etc.—but the aim of each was always the same: a "broad" coalition to "unite as many people as possible regardless of political affiliation or views" (*Militant*, 21 May 1970). Limiting the coalitions to one issue (the war), one slogan ("Out Now!") and one tactic (Sunday parades) ensured that the movement would not take an anti-capitalist direction and would appeal to the "masses" of "moderates" and, through them, to vote-seeking capitalist politicians. As the SWP/YSA put it:

"The Out Now demand corresponds to the genuine interests and the measurable sentiment of the great majority of the American people. If great numbers can be mobilized in action around this demand, they will inevitably draw to them, for a variety of reasons, many of the labor leaders, members of

them" some big-name bourgeois politicians:

"...almost every major contender for the Democratic presidential nomination, from George McGovern to Hubert Humphrey is running as a 'peace' candidate. These politicians and their supporters should be approached to endorse April 22 [one of the SWP's peace crawls]."

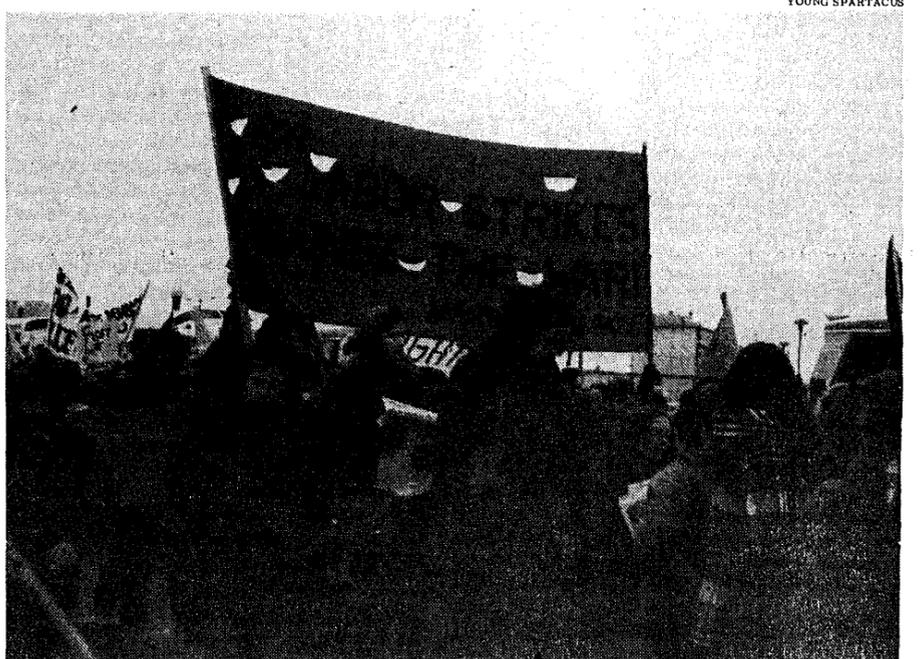
The SWP through NPAC was able to serve itself up to a number of prominent bourgeois politicians, who made use of the captive audiences provided at "peace" marches to campaign for their own personal versions of "democratic" imperialism, in between breaking strikes, supporting wage controls, pushing economic protectionism and beating war drums for Israel. Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes, fresh from helping smash a militant Teamsters' strike, gave his blessings to NPAC, endorsing its June 1970 "Emergency Conference Against the Cambodia-Laos-Vietnam War" and declaring the conference period "Peace Action Days." New York City Mayor John Lindsay likewise jumped on the NPAC bandwagon.

The biggest name to grace the ros-

continued on next page



1966 antiwar demonstration.



SL/SYL (formerly RCY) contingent in antiwar demonstration in Washington, 1973.

Lessons of Indochinese Victories . . .

Continued from page 1

be completed by a "bloc of four classes" (the "patriotic" bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, peasantry and proletariat). The "two-stage" formula calls for class collaborationism—the subordination of the interests of the proletariat to the exploiters—and postpones to the future the class struggle against the exploiters and the revolutionary mobilization of the masses.

Stalinism is the ideology of parasitic bureaucracies ruling in anti-capitalist states. In order to preserve their privileged positions on the back of the proletariat, the Stalinist bureaucracies of the Sino-Soviet deformed workers states seek to preserve the status quo through "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, yet must fight imperialism to the extent that the capitalists threaten to deprive the bureaucracy of the collectivized property system upon which it is based and draws its privileges. Ideologically chained to one or another Stalinist bureaucracy in power, Stalinist parties in the economically underdeveloped countries pursue class-collaborationist treachery under the "two-stage" revolution rationale.

In their search for alliances with the bourgeoisie, the Vietnamese Stalinists in the past have subordinated to the interests of imperialism and its Vietnamese junior partners not only the struggle for socialism but even the bourgeois-democratic "first-stage" tasks. Before and after WWII the Russian bureaucracy's desire to appease French imperialism led the Vietnamese Stalinists during 1937-39 and again during 1943-47 to liquidate the demand for the independence of Vietnam. As Ho Chi Minh warned: "the Party cannot put forth too high a demand (national independence, parliament, etc.)" (*The Party's Line in the Period of the Democratic Front*, July 1939). Ho Chi Minh in the same breath instructed his party to "assume a wise, flexible attitude with the bourgeoisie," including the "patriotic" compradors, the "progressive French residing in Indochina."

The Indochinese Communist Party thus sold out even their own reformist "democratic" program for the "first stage." On the eve of WWII the Stalinist members of the Saigon municipal government actually voted for special taxes for "French national defense," taxes used to ship French tanks into

Indochina. Politically prostrating itself before the Indochinese capitalists and French colonialists, the ICP allied itself with monarchist parties and courted the bourgeois-constitutionalist Indochina Congress.

With the collapse of the Japanese-French colonial government apparatus in 1945, the Viet Minh was able swiftly to establish its control over the country. The Stalinists were in a position to mobilize the masses and to declare Vietnam independent, but instead they held fast to their pledge to the French imperialists to demand independence not immediately but in "not less than 5 and not more than 10 years." Once again, Ho Chi Minh readily postponed even the illusory "first stage" of the revolution.

Faced with a rising wave of struggle and a rapid swing of mass support toward the Indochinese Trotskyists, the Viet Minh stabbed the revolutionary upsurge in the back by prohibiting the seizure of land and suppressing working-class uprisings. The Viet Minh Minister for the Interior of Vietnam declared:

"Whoever encourages the peasants to take over the landed properties will be severely and pitilessly punished... We have not yet carried out a communist revolution, which would bring a solution to the agrarian problem. This government is only a democratic government, and therefore it cannot undertake this task. I repeat, our government is a democratic and bourgeois government, even though the Communists are in power."

—quoted in *Workers Vanguard*, No. 20, 11 May 1973

And the Stalinist Tran Van Gian pronounced: "Our democratic liberties will be granted and guaranteed by the democratic allies."

A pre-revolutionary situation was rapidly developing, and the Indochinese Trotskyists quickly gained mass support with their calls for opposition to imperialism, agrarian revolution, expropriation of the capitalists, and a workers and peasants government. But the Stalinists welcomed into Vietnam the returning Allied troops and then unleashed a murderous repression against the militant mass leaders, particularly the Trotskyists. The "democratic allies," far from granting or guaranteeing democratic liberties, clamped down martial law and began a reign of terror against the revolutionists.

To complete his criminal betrayal of the Indochinese socialist revolution, Ho Chi Minh in 1946 signed the infamous March 6 accords, in which the Viet Minh agreed "to receive the French army amicably" in return for purely fictional "independence" within the French Union. For this scrap of paper, the Viet Minh beheaded the Indochinese revolution, threw away independence and laid the basis for the colonial wars that would claim more than two million Vietnamese lives and unimaginable suffering. After the decisive defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the Stalinists, under the pressure of both Russia and China, agreed to give back at the bargaining table what had been won on the battlefield: one half of Vietnam!

When the civil war erupted once again in the early 1960's, the NLF began calling for a coalition government "composed of representatives of all social classes" (NLF Program, 1960). The NLF did not call for any radical agrarian reform and explicitly ensured the right of private property for businessmen and industrialists. The coalition advocated by the NLF for the next 15 years was explicitly to be the government of a capitalist state.

The NLF used its offensives in 1968

and 1972 primarily as a means to back the capitalists up against the bargaining table, in both cases deliberately halting successful advances as soon as the diplomatic objective had been achieved. The NLF/PRG accepted the *in situ* ceasefire of the Paris Treaty and as a gesture of its willingness to accommodate the capitalist class carried through no radical land reforms in the territories which it occupied. The Stalinists defended the Paris Accords as the framework for a coalition government of "national concord" bringing together the PRG, the "patriotic" Thieu forces and the "neutralist" Third Force.

Where Is "First Stage"?

The reality of the victories in Indochina cannot be stuffed into the pigeon holes of the "two-stage" schema. With the rout of the South Vietnamese army in the Central Highlands, the NLF/DRV forces rolled forward over the Paris Treaty to fill the vacuum. As the NLF/DRV closed in on Saigon, the bourgeoisie and its coterie fled the country in panic. Given the crumbling of its army, the South Vietnamese bourgeoisie knew that to attempt any "national reconciliation" with the Communists would mean almost certain political suicide. The class-conscious bourgeoisie understands what the "two-stage" schema attempts to obfuscate: the irreconcilability of counterposed class forces!

The disintegration of the bourgeoisie as a class left no "national" or "patriotic" bourgeoisie in South Vietnam. As they approached Saigon the Stalinists kept broadcasting daily appeals for a coalition until April 26, when they apparently recognized that there was no longer intact any substantial bourgeois force. When power passed to Third Force leader General Duong Van Minh the Third Force—which the NLF/PRG had been trumpeting as indispensable for a "first-stage" coalition—proved to have no forces. General Minh fell after little more than one day in power.

The NLF/PRG entered Saigon over the rubble of the old bourgeois state and the splinters of the old ruling class. The capitalist class—"comprador" and "patriotic" alike—had drained away as a social force capable of wielding state power. The remnants of the ruling class, deprived of their state apparatus and the core of their class, exist as politically atomized property owners. In South Vietnam today the NLF/DRV holds state power and shares it with no other class force. All political parties that existed under the old regime have been dissolved.

The PRG ministers whom the Stalinists for so long have claimed represented "independent" and "patriotic" bourgeois forces are now revealed as representing nothing. Even the popular-frontist "first stage" now floats politically disembodied from its only real power:

"The new information is that the Provisional Revolutionary Government now has virtually nothing to say in the South. Saigon is being run by a North Vietnamese military committee.... The ministers who figure on the Provisional Revolutionary Government's cabinet list have not taken over the Saigon Government departments, which function with unknown or invisible North Vietnamese Communist heads."

—*New York Times*, 12 June 1975

The Third Force organizations have also disappeared from the political scene. Father Tran Huu Thanh of the Third Force and Giac Nchien of the An Quang Buddhists have publicly asserted that their organizations have no role to play in the new state. As the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (6 June 1975) observed from Saigon:

"Before final victory, Third Force organizations received assurances from the communists that they had an important role to play in South Vietnam. Soon after Saigon fell, however, they realized that they had no role to play and dissolved their organizations."

In South Vietnam today there is no capitalist state or "four class bloc" coalition government. The military victory of the NLF/DRV smashed the

capitalist state, and what has emerged from this social overturn is a state no different from the Sino-Soviet states in its class character. Having taken state power alone, without an alliance with any substantial bourgeois forces, the Stalinists can only establish proletarian property forms.

Whatever its final administrative form, the bureaucratic regime which the Stalinists are consolidating in South Vietnam will be based on denying the working class political power. The revolutionary gains upon which the new anti-capitalist state rests must be defended unconditionally from any imperialist attack. But the parasitic, nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy which is now consolidating its rule on top of these gains must be ousted through a proletarian political revolution. The revolution must be extended through political revolutions in all the deformed workers states and socialist revolutions in the capitalist countries. ■

Fake-Trotskyists Scab...

Continued from page 7

ters, however, was that of Indiana Senator Vance Hartke. It was at the July 1971 NPAC convention that frenzied SWP marshals, led by Fred Halstead, savagely beat and excluded SL and PL supporters who vocally protested Hartke's speech and his presence as a spokesman for the antiwar movement. Thus the SWP sealed in blood its alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie.

SWP vs. SWP

An effective and hard-hitting denunciation of the SWP/YSA's class-collaborationist, impotent strategy for NPAC can be found in the past polemics of the SWP:

"The most common mistake made in the attempted struggle against war comes from the belief that this struggle is somehow 'independent' of the class struggle in general, that a broad union of all sorts of persons from every social class and group can be formed around the issue of fighting war since—so the reasoning goes—those people may be equally opposed to war whatever their differences on other points. In this way, war is lifted from its social base, considered apart from its cause and conditions, as if it were a mystic abstraction instead of a concrete historic institution. Acting on this belief, attempts are made to build up all kinds of permanent Peace Societies, Anti-War Organizations, Leagues Against War, etc.

"To suppose... that revolutionists can work out a common 'program against the war' with non-revolutionists is a fatal illusion. Any organization based upon such a program is not merely powerless to prevent war; in practice it acts to promote war, both because it serves in its own way to uphold the system that breeds war, and because it diverts the attention of its members from the real fight against war. There is only one program against the war: the program for revolution—the program of the revolutionary party of the workers."

—*War and the Workers* (1936)

Because the SWP/YSA built NPAC "independent" of working-class politics and broad enough to embrace imperialist politicians as leading spokesmen, the SWP/YSA succeeded only in sowing illusions about the "Dove" Democrats and in demoralizing activists with its endless, impotent parades and jamborees. With the U.S. disengagement the allegedly ever-growing, ever-broadening, ever-radicalizing, never-ending antiwar movement melted away into apolitical apathy or streamed into the arms of "peace candidates." While the SWP/YSA-engineered antiwar movement collapsed, enormous quantities of aid still continued to flow to Thieu and Lon Nol and the war continued.

If the antiwar movement had been organized on a firm class footing with a militant program, then many antiwar activists might have gained the political clarity and conviction necessary to persevere in the fight against U.S. imperialism and for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution. ■

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Portugal...

Continued from page 3

access to the Mediterranean Sea."

—Hsinhua News Bulletin, 19 March 1975 [emphasis ours]

The Revolutionary Union (RU) and the October League (OL) obviously have had difficulty in deciphering the "Marxist-Leninist" line for this "country on the Atlantic coast." The RU has had not one article on Portugal in *Revolution* for the entire year following the April 1974 coup! Likewise, the OL's *Call* during the same period of time abstained from "applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought" to the political turmoil and rapidly developing class struggle in Portugal. The *Guardian*, an "independent" dispenser of Mao Thought, carried numerous news reports on Portugal by its doyen, Wilfred Burchett, but like Hsinhua News dispatches they were mostly apolitical and none drew programmatic conclusions on any of the key issues facing the Portuguese proletariat.

Guardian: Flunky for AFM

Following the March 11 attempted coup, Spínola's flight from the country, and the re-organization of the AFM government, it became increasingly untenable for the U.S. Maoist movement to remain silent. Wilfred Burchett broke the ice by repeating the AFM's allegations that the MRPP was involved in the right-wing coup attempt (*Guardian*, 30 April 1975). In the course of a polemic against the *Guardian's* allegedly conciliatory attitude toward "Soviet social imperialism," the *Call* (May 1975) even took a passing swipe at Burchett's disgusting slander of the "Portuguese Marxist-Leninists," but refrained from denouncing the AFM repression.

After Burchett's article and the *Call's* response had appeared, the situation in Portugal continued to become more tense (and included the May 29 banning of the MRPP). The May events have had their effect even on the RU and the OL: both have published lengthy articles on Portugal in the June issues of their respective newspapers.

Wilfred Burchett's most politically explicit article, "Is Socialism on Portugal's Agenda?" (*Guardian*, 11 June 1975), tries to give China's presently

favorable attitude to the military government a revolutionary thrust. Burchett supports the AFM—which bans strikes, outlaws political demonstrations, jails Maoists and preserves private property—as the political force allegedly "leading the country in the direction of revolutionary social change"! Bootlicker Burchett even hails the AFM generals as "dedicated revolutionaries"! The *Guardian's* Maoist reformism could not be more naked. Marx and Lenin maintained that the military and police (the "armed bodies of men") constituted the *sine qua non* of the capitalist state and had to be *smashed* by the proletarian revolution. Burchett maintains that socialism can be inaugurated by the military of a capitalist state, smashing the workers movement along the way.

Because the pro-Moscow PCP has been staunchly supporting the AFM, Burchett absolves the PCP of all past revisionist sins:

"The PCP—regardless of what some of its critics say—has not shown itself to be a run-of-the-mill revisionist party. It is completely behind the AFM and has not blanched even when the Revolutionary Council states it does not intend to lead Portugal into the Soviet camp... At issue... is the leadership of the AFM, not the PCP, which is not in the driver's seat of the governmental vehicle steering Portugal out of the dark ages into a democratic future."

In fact, the PCP is one of the most servile pro-Moscow Stalinist parties in West Europe. For example, PCP leader Alvaro Cunhal in 1969 lauded the USSR as "the greatest bulwark of the revolutionary forces" and denounced the "nationalist, chauvinist, expansionist, anti-Soviet and disruptive conceptions and activities of the Chinese leaders" (quoted in *Call*, June 1975). Burchett supports the PCP precisely because it is not now "in the driver's seat."

Despicably repeating every AFM charge against the MRPP, Burchett gives backhanded support to its repression:

"During the last year the MRPP has continued to regard the armed forces as fascist and colonialist and has agitated against the AFM among the people and within the military. The group has also struggled against the PCP, calling it social-fascist and has declared that a Portuguese government led by the PCP would be 'worse than' the 50 years of fascism preceding the 1974 coup."

—*Guardian*, 11 June 1975

OL Discovers "Patriotic" AFM

While not lauding the AFM as "revolutionary," the OL conspicuously refuses to call for its revolutionary overthrow. Since the AFM is still keeping Portugal independent of pernicious "Soviet social-imperialism," the OL exhausts its opportunist resources in prettifying the military government. For instance, the *Call* spotlights remarks by top AFM leaders General Carvalho mentioning "superpowers" and Admiral Coutinho mentioning the "two great imperialist powers." But Carvalho and Coutinho, the future Chiang Kai-sheks of Portugal, are the driving force behind the repression of both the MRPP and the PCP(M-L)!

The OL maintains that the AFM represents the "national and patriotic-minded bourgeoisie." According to the Stalinist recipe for "two-stage revolution," the proletariat *must* unite with its "patriotic" class enemy—in Portugal, the generals breaking strikes and smashing Maoist organizations!—in order to carry through the "national-democratic" revolution. But the most "patriotic" generals, the Carvalho-Coutinho cabal according to the OL, will stand in the vanguard not of any "national-democratic" revolution, but of bloody counterrevolution!

All the anti-democratic, anti-working-class policies of the AFM the *Call* blames on the PCP, which allegedly represents the "compradors" of "Soviet social-imperialism." As for the banning of the "Marxist-Leninists," that too was allegedly "on the instigation of the revisionist party," which

"has been the most active force in slandering the Portuguese Marxist-Leninists and calling on the state to repress them." Although the PCP undoubtedly has heaped Stalinist slander on the Portuguese Maoists, the OL abandons the "Marxist-Leninists," not once calling for the release of the victimized Maoists! In its conclusion, the *Call* observes that the "Marxist-Leninists of Portugal" are "not yet ready and able to lead" a socialist revolution. And for the OL, a socialist revolution is "not yet ready" to be led by any working-class forces, since the Carvalho-Coutinho "patriots" have not yet completed the "first stage" and are even building support for *eliminating* all political parties.

RU: More "Two-Stage" Reformism

Despite its heavy emphasis on the Portuguese workers' struggles, the RU analysis of Portuguese developments likewise hinges on the "two-stage revolution" schema. The RU depicts the overthrow of Caetano by the AFM and General Spínola as some kind of anti-feudal and anti-comprador revolution. At no point in its objectivist analysis does the RU even hint that the working class should have intervened in struggle against either the bourgeois AFM

or the "monopoly bourgeois" Spínola forces. In fact, the RU supports as a "stage" the AFM-Spínola alliance ("The AFM by itself could not overthrow Caetano"). And concerning the AFM following the ouster of Spínola, the RU clearly implies that the AFM should have been supported against the "monopoly" bourgeoisie, who allegedly "tried to subjugate the AFM." The RU lauds the AFM's colonial and domestic policies no less uncritically than the OL.

Absent from the RU's analysis is precisely any indication of when the "second stage," i.e., proletarian revolution, is to begin! Absent is any call for the revolutionary overturn of the bonapartist AFM by the working class. And, most significantly, absent is any mention—not one word!—of any "Marxist-Leninist" organizations in Portugal.

In sharp contrast to the slander and evasion of the U.S. Maoists the SL/SYL, despite our manifest disagreements with the MRPP, mobilized support in defense of the victimized MRPP militants. To subjectively revolutionary Maoists we say: the abandonment of the victimized MRPP militants is fully consistent with the pro-NATO line spread by the Chinese bureaucracy. Defend the MRPP! Defeat Stalinism in the workers movement! ■

Defend Ethnic Studies at UCLA!

In the fall of 1974 the UCLA Council of Educational Development eliminated four proposed Asian-American Studies classes and one Chicano women's class, complaining about the "sole preoccupation of the students centering around the problems of capitalist society" (*Daily Bruin*, 3 February 1975). More recently, a five-year review was released in May which proposed amalgamating the ethnic studies centers into one Institute of American Culture. Under the guise of "efficiency," the administration is attempting a concealed form of cutback, as one "institute" would no doubt receive less funding than four centers.

The SYL supports the democratic right of students to undertake whatever course of study they desire. We defend ethnic studies against administrative attack and oppose the forced amalgamation not because we think that there can be an "enclave of progressive education" in the bourgeois university, but because we defend the rights of students to continue to pursue ethnic studies. The administration's attack on ethnic studies, in callous disregard for the wishes of the student body, poses the need to eliminate the capitalist administration and place the university under the democratic control of students, teachers and campus workers.

In response to the recent administration attacks, rallies and meetings involving up to 750 students were organized by the Student Support Committee for Ethnic Studies (SSCES), a committee composed mainly of nationalists, the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). What was needed was a broad-based, militant united front around slogans demanding an end to the administration attack: "Defend Ethnic Studies!", "No Forced Amalgamation!" and "No Cutbacks!"

Instead of these clear demands, which could mobilize broad opposition to the administration's attack, the SSCES put forward a bureaucratic-technical program for reforming the university—which at best was vague and at worst could lead to union busting—and sought to contain the struggle within its limits. In order to maintain tight organizational control, the SSCES, supported by the RSB and YSA, refused to allow any decision making at public meetings, instead presenting students with predetermined politics and tactics. In the name of "unity," the SSCES wanted every organization and individual to place themselves under its discipline and agree not to carry signs, not to pass out leaflets in defense of ethnic studies and not to have

an independent political presence. Not only was this discipline to be imposed on all SSCES members, but was bureaucratically extended to public rallies.

The fight against the administration peaked at the first rally on May 22. A crowd of 300-400 gathered at Royce Quad for a rally and then marched across campus. At the beginning of the rally, SYL supporters, who were carrying signed placards in defense of ethnic centers and against cutbacks, were approached by members of the SSCES and RSB and told not to display these slogans. The SYL supporters argued against such crass censorship, and had it not been for TV cameras and media personnel, the SSCES members would have undoubtedly escalated the threat.

The rally grew to a very militant demonstration of around 750, attracting students along the march route. The demonstrators marched through the administration building and, despite the sentiment for a sit-in on the part of most demonstrators, the conservative nationalists of the SSCES led the students out of the building for a short anti-climactic rally.

A mass meeting the following day, which attracted around 50 people, was dominated by a discussion of whether or not there should have been a building take-over. The YSA, as usual not wishing to step outside the boundaries of peaceful pressure tactics, argued that the decision was correct; this was the only independent political face for the YSA in the whole course of the struggle. The SYL argued that a sit-in would have been advantageous and that future actions should have a flexible tactical approach depending on the size and militancy of the crowd. The RSB came out against the decision not to sit-in, but couched its criticisms carefully so as not to step on the toes of the nationalist leadership it was tailing.

In a second rally on May 28, the support had dwindled significantly, with only about 200 people demonstrating. The SYL intervened with signs and a leaflet in defense of ethnic studies and again was harassed by the SSCES "monitors." But the SYL successfully maintained its right to leaflet and carry its signs and joined in the march which proceeded through the campus, less militant than before and attracting fewer and fewer people as it progressed.

The march ended in a 20-minute sit-in at the Chancellor's office, after which everyone dispersed. Not special-studies parochialism, "student power" illusions and bureaucratic domination, but a broad-based, militant united-front campaign is what is required to defend ethnic studies and stop the cutbacks! ■

SYL Directory

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At Wayne State

YSA-Attempted Purge of PL Strengthens Repression

DETROIT--At Wayne State University (WSU), supporters of the Stalinist Progressive Labor Party (PL) on May 17 attacked a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), Don Bechler, as he was boarding a chartered bus to go to the NAACP "March Against Racism" in Boston. This brutal, unprovoked attack followed a tense confrontation at the bus door with the SWP/YSA marshals, who had refused entrance to the PL supporters, given that they were provocatively brandishing clubs (for use against racists in Boston, they claimed) and that PL on several occasions during the previous months had allegedly threatened and attacked SWP/YSA supporters.

In response to this vicious attack (which sent Bechler to the hospital), the YSA and its student front group, the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR), brought charges of assault in the WSU Student-Faculty Council (S-FC) against PL. The YSA/SCAR complaint stated that PLP's "actions are in conflict with their status as a recognized student organization and so we request that their status as a recognized student organization be rescinded by the S-FC."

PLP's use of violence, intimidation and exclusionism against its opponents on the left is a response of political cowards unable to defend their reformist politics and opportunist behavior in political struggle conducted under the norms of workers democracy. Such anti-proletarian hooliganism denies the right of all left groups to put forth freely their politics and inevitably results in the repression of the entire left by the capitalist state.

The vicious assault on Bechler is only the most recent incident of PL's

use of thuggery and intimidation against its political opponents on the left. In April, PL supporters in Detroit barged into the River Rouge auto plant and pushed around a UAW oppositionist whose militant politics were embarrassing PL in their efforts to tail a local union bureaucrat. And in May a PL member physically harassed a Spartacist League supporter who had discovered PL tearing down SYL and YSA posters at WSU and who then protested verbally.

The SYL immediately responded to the attack on the SWP/YSA at the NSCAR buses by issuing a statement condemning PL's gangsterism. But the YSA rejected any form of united left defense in favor of calling on the S-FC to do the dirty work of the university administration.

This is not a new policy for the YSA. Last year, the YSA tried to have the SYL removed from the Student Center Building on campus by appealing to the very administration which had just arrested one of the YSA supporters for insisting on the democratic right of the YSA to have a literature table.

The SYL is opposed on principle to appealing to the administration to arbitrate disputes within the left for the same reason that we oppose PLP's gangster attacks--both actions deny workers democracy and open up left groups and student radicals to attack by the administration, the servants of the class enemy. In a leaflet urging students to come to the defense of PLP against this purge attempt, we pointed out that the rescinding of organizational status of PLP would set a precedent for future attacks on the left. The purge of PLP would have given the administration the opportunity it has been looking for to get rid of the left groups

which are seeking to build struggles against the tuition hike and budget cutbacks at WSU (see article this issue). If the left grants the administration the right to purge another left group, then the left is politically disarmed when the administration declares that the struggles of these groups "are in conflict with their status" as recognized student organizations. We called upon the YSA to drop its charges and repudiate this purge attempt.

On June 3, PLP was tried by the S-FC Policies and Procedures Committee. During the trial, the YSA's entire posture was that of showing themselves to be respectable, pacifist defenders of "democracy." Lee Artz, acting as YSA/SCAR prosecutor, began the trial by justifying the YSA's exclusion of PLP from the buses to Boston on the basis of the YSA's commitment to have a "peaceful, legal demonstration." Mentioning that "only last week, PL got into a physical confrontation with racists," Artz went on to add that NSCAR specifically rejected that policy and hence had a responsibility to protect the people on the buses from the tactics of PL.

In its defense, PL was able to make use of the YSA's reformism and class collaborationism, citing the SWP/YSA's call for federal troops to Boston, in order to appear as the defenders of the working class against racist and capitalist attacks. Since the YSA never once responded in a political manner to PL's incessant race-baiting and "Trot"-baiting, or to PL's comment that "when fascism comes to Detroit, it will be in the form of the SWP and the YSA," the political points that PL has no program to overcome the concrete, material oppression of black people in this country and refuses to draw a class line between opponents on the left and the fascists were never brought out at the trial.

The SYL came to the trial prepared to make a statement in defense of PL. The S-FC judges refused to let us speak, saying that we had to be called as defense witnesses by PL. In its tradition of sectarianism, PL refused either to let us read a written statement (which we were willing to let them read in advance) or to read it themselves.

As a result of the charges brought against PL by the YSA, the S-FC, while declining to throw PL off campus this time, voted to rescind the student organization status of any group which initiates violence against any student organization at WSU. This ruling sanctions administration repression against the left. We insist on the right of all working-class tendencies to defend themselves by whatever means necessary against attack. Working-class self-defense also involves confronting the fascist Nazi Party and Ku Klux Klan, who have recently become increasingly bold and visible around the country. Thus, at San Francisco State University, the SYL initiated a united-front demonstration around the slogan "No Platform for Fascists" to confront the Nazis who had been invited to campus. The demonstrators routed the Nazis. As a result, the SYL, PL and the Revolutionary Student Brigade were brought up on charges and threatened with loss of student organization status, precisely what the S-FC decision would facilitate at WSU. (Through a vigorous defense effort, the charges against the demonstrators at SFSU were dropped.)

The SYL, unlike both the YSA and PL, upholds democracy within the workers movement as a principle. In the past, we have actively defended supporters of both the YSA and PL at WSU when they came under attack by the administration. Likewise, we have never initiated violence against our opponents within the left and workers movement, nor have we ever appealed to the class enemy to mediate our differences with left groups. The reformist politics, and the non-proletarian methods used to defend them, of both PL and the YSA must be defeated through political struggle within the workers movement. The SYL stands ready at all times to fight for the defense of the left against all forms of repression by the capitalist state. ■

syl events

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

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U. of Mich., Ann Arbor, time and place to be announced. For more information call (313) 665-6070.

Cleveland

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

Houston

Class Series--
FUNDAMENTALS OF MARXISM
Alternate Mondays, next class July 7, 7:00 p.m., Room 213, Agnes Arnold Hall, University Center, U. of Houston.

Los Angeles

Class Series--
ABC'S OF COMMUNISM:
PART II
Biweekly, beginning June 27. Time and place to be announced. For more information call (213) 485-1838.

Madison

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

New York

Class Series--
MARXISM AND THE
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Philadelphia

Class Series--
BASIC MARXISM
Alternate Sundays, July 6 and 20, 6:30 p.m. Room 10, Houston Hall, U. of Pennsylvania.

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Baader-Meinhof...

Continued from page 5

for a teach-in on March 12, the TLD declared:

"Comrades!

"We all know that the police terror of the last few days in Berlin was not caused by the actions of the June 2 Movement. The cause was rather the bourgeois state, its necessary reliance on naked brutality; without 'the special formations of armed men' as Engels put it, it cannot exist. The comrades of the June 2 Movement must be defended against the threatened attacks of the bourgeois state apparatus and in the same unconditional manner as the comrades of the RAF! And here it is necessary to emphasize clearly what must be done: Comrades, the bourgeois state apparatus intends shortly to commence the staging of its show trial against the major defendants of the RAF in Stuttgart. We

organizations.

Underlying the new laws is thus the principle, "Guilty until proven innocent." Presumption of guilt (determined of course by the authorities) is all that is required to eliminate basic civil rights. Similarly, not overt criminal acts but the mere *intention* of committing them (as evidenced by membership in a "terrorist association" presumably certified as such by the Federal Criminal Office or police) will suffice to establish guilt under the new laws.

Right to Counsel Denied

Nowhere is the resort to "legality" as a cover for systematic violence by the bourgeois state more evident, however, than in the controversy which has erupted over the defendants' right to counsel of their own choosing. A special law passed last January (with the upcoming trial in mind) allowed the court to exclude defense lawyers, but left various points ambiguous; the revised provisions eliminate these so-

Canadian Deportations...

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against racial oppression, including: "Down with the Racist Green Paper!," "No Deportations, But Jobs For All!," "For Workers' Unity Against Racist Attack!," "Smash Racism, Fight for Socialism!," as well as slogans calling for full citizenship rights for all foreign workers and the defense of Rosie Douglas and the Haitian workers and students facing deportation in Montreal.

The CPL repeated its gangsterist exclusionism again in Toronto, with the possible consequences even more disastrous given the red-baiting campaign in the media and the presence of large numbers of cops. The comrades of the CCIST and the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (the recently expelled Trotskyist opposition in the RMG) joined a picket line of about 150 which included supporters of the RMG, the Law Union, the Black Workers Alliance, the LSA, the Independent Socialists (the Canadian-nationalist version of the social-democratic U.S. International Socialists) and others. The joint CCIST/BLT contingent, in addition to the chants raised in the Vancouver demonstration, raised the slogan "30 for 40--Jobs for All--End Unemployment at the Bosses' Expense!"

The RMG, attempting to make up for what it lacks in revolutionary program with vaudeville, raised as its main chant:

"Layoffs, recession, inflation,
Are not caused by immigration.
Bull Shit!--Come off it!
The enemy is profit."

This contentless slogan was accompanied by an elaborately choreographed rhythmic clapping and chanting routine, which was largely ignored by the bulk of the RMG's own membership--to their credit! Perhaps the RMG leadership feels that if it can't provide the working class with Trotskyist leadership, at least it can give it entertainment and a good laugh.

At the demonstration a third picket line was formed by the Maoist, Canadian-nationalist Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) [CPC-ML]. CPC-ML's stock-in-trade, like the Stalinist CPL, is combining gangsterist organizational tactics with liberal-reformist politics. CPC-ML contends that there must be a "two-stage revolution" in Canada. Since the "first stage" must be the struggle for "national liberation" against the U.S. and its Canadian compradors, the CPC-ML raises the slogan: "Long Live the Unity of All the Canadian People."

Stalinists "Explain" Exclusionism

Obviously hurting from its decline over the last few years, and at least in part because of the growth of the CCIST over the last year, CPL felt compelled to attempt to justify its exclusion of the CCIST, RMG and Anarchist Collective from its Van-

geois "justice" itself, as did Trotsky when he was tried for his leading role in the 1905 revolution or as the Trotskyist James P. Cannon did in this country in the notorious Smith Act trials. But the RAF militants unfortunately have not done this. Baader's remarks, if one can trust the bourgeois press, have been on the level of saying that SPD tops Brandt and Schumacher were bought by U.S. capital in 1945 or cursing one of the court-appointed attorneys as an "asshole."

It is the duty of the left and labor movement, in this country and internationally, to demand the immediate release of Baader, Meinhof, Ensslin, Raspe and all other victims of this draconian "anti-terrorist" repression. Free the imprisoned supporters of the RAF! ■

couver demonstration. In a letter to the editor of the CPL's *The Worker* (21 June 1975), "A Vancouver Comrade" first tips his hat to Stalinist tradition by lumping Trotskyists with fascists. He then attacks Trotskyists as racists:

"The Trotskyites had busted an attempted coalition of ethnic, church and community organizations against the Green Paper by obstructing plans for organizing with their endless babble about 'freedom to debate.' INCAR says that when racism has to be fought you can't sit around and talk about it."

Coming from CPL this is not unexpected, as its reformist program cannot withstand communist criticism. But for Leninists, political debate has always been a crucial element in determining the correct program and actions for the working class. Rather, it was CPL's sectarian refusal to enter into joint action with other left groups that "busted" the attempted coalition. None of the groups present would support INCAR's motion to limit membership on the steering committee and for the coalition to sponsor INCAR-run events.

After another six paragraphs of epithets, the CPLer gets to the essence of his complaint: "INCAR is not a communist organization but it accomplishes the job of fighting racism." For communists racial oppression and racism are rooted in the material conditions of capitalist society. Only socialist revolution can uproot racial oppression and lay the basis for an end to all forms of oppression. CPL ends up uniting with the "Trotskyists" of the LSA and the RMG in the belief that liberal front groups, like INCAR or the CADH, can "accomplish the job of fighting racism." Finally the "Vancouver Comrade" lapses back into more comfortable terrain: "And we can all learn a lesson from Stalin that to get the work done means smashing the Trots and anyone else who stands in the way." Overthrowing Soviet democracy and destroying the Bolshevik party in the USSR, strangling the Spanish revolution and misleading the working class into support for its own bourgeoisie are some of the "lessons" taught by Stalin. And like Stalin, the CPL desires to smash revolutionists and labor militants "who stand in the way" of such betrayals. ■



Trotskyist League of Germany demonstrates to free the RAF.

must utilize, now, the widespread disgust at the police actions of the past week to strengthen the solidarity campaign for the not-yet-liberated comrades in a unified action....

"Revolutionary criticism of the politics of the RAF is for us no reason for assuming a 'neutral' stance toward attacks of the bourgeois state apparatus on this organization. An attack against one organization belonging to the left and the workers movement is directed against all of them. The TLD thus has been fighting to bring about a common demonstration of all left groups and organizations claiming to defend the comrades of the RAF.... We repeat: the construction of a united action against the terror of the state organs of repression is the need of the hour!"

—*Kommunistische Korrespondenz*, No. 8, April 1975 (our translation)

The German bourgeoisie is using Baader-Meinhof and the June 2 Movement as pretexts for pushing through anti-terrorist legislation that will go far toward rendering even verbal opposition to the capitalist order illegal in West Germany. The main provisions of the laws proposed by the Social Democratic Party/Free Democratic Party coalition, currently being discussed in the Bundestag, include the following: the formation of "terrorist associations" is made a criminal act, punishable with jail terms of six months to five years for members, one to ten years for "ringleaders"; "Crown witnesses," members who turn state's evidence, are to be granted reduced terms or total immunity from prosecution; correspondence of prisoners merely *accused* of belonging to terrorist groups will automatically be scrutinized; lawyer-client conferences will not be privileged if "justifiable suspicion" exists that the prisoner is misusing such private conversations to plan new criminal acts from his jail cell; an attorney excluded from a trial for "conspiring with a prisoner" may not represent another defendant in the same legal process; and in a measure directed against sympathizers, the public is legally required to inform the authorities of any and all illegal acts committed by terrorist

called "loopholes." On April 23 Baader-Meinhof defense attorney Klaus Croissant was temporarily "excluded" and on June 3 he along with defense lawyers Kurt Groenewold and Hans-Christian Stroebel were permanently barred from participation in the proceedings. Finally, at the end of June, lawyers Croissant and Stroebel were arrested on charges of "supporting a criminal association," and the homes of Groenewold and Ensslin's attorney, Marie-Luise Becker, were searched for munitions.

The case of Croissant is typical: according to the decision of the "First Penal Senate" of the Stuttgart Upper Court, "strong suspicion" of Croissant's "support of a criminal association" was indicated by the alleged fact that he withheld information from Bernhard Braun, an RAF member imprisoned in Berlin, as a means of "disciplining" him for having refused to continue a hunger strike. Since in the view of the court the hunger strike was designed to promote the "solidarity of the criminal association within the prisons," Croissant's action constituted "support of a criminal association" (DPA dispatch, 23 April). Moreover, at a presentation in Stuttgart last November, the attorney had called for a three-day hunger strike in sympathy with the imprisoned RAF members. Finally, Croissant allegedly acted as intermediary in arranging an interview of the four Stuttgart prisoners with the news magazine *Der Spiegel*.

Attorney Groenewold was subsequently disbarred "for misusing his rights as defense attorney to fight the *Rechtsstaat*!" (DPA dispatch, 12 June). Groenewold is supposed to have acted as a channel of communication among the various members of the group (who are being held in isolation from one another), thereby allegedly having "contributed to the support of a criminal association."

Stop the Railroad!

Under the conditions of this railroading, star-chamber "trial," Marxists would attempt to transfer the process into an indictment of bour-

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In Toronto and Vancouver

Canadian Spartacists Protest Deportations

While the Canadian economic slump is not as sharp as in many other capitalist countries, Canada has a marked increase of unemployment, a rate of inflation officially estimated at 13 percent and an absolute decline in production beginning in late 1974. Part of the response of the bourgeois Trudeau government to alleviate this crisis has been the attempt to cut unemployment and expenditures on social services by exporting some of its unemployment, that is, by deporting "illegal" immigrants. By launching a vicious attack on racial and national minorities in Canada, the bourgeoisie hopes to polarize the working class along racial and national lines.

For example, Toronto police chief Harold Adamson recently attributed the increase in violent crime over the last ten years to the increase in the non-white population of the city. These unfounded statements are designed to help create a climate in which the rash of brutal police attacks on immigrants will be acceptable.

Encouraged by the government's official and semi-official campaign against immigrants and racial minor-

ities and establishing annual "ceilings" on the number of immigrants accepted into Canada from each country.

In addition to restricting future immigration, the Department of Manpower and Immigration has also launched a round-up of undocumented aliens. Immigration officers in Toronto earlier this year arrested a welder at the Massey Ferguson tractor plant, which is a major UAW local in the city. The government is also making a special attempt to deport Roosevelt Douglas, a well known black radical. Douglas, who immigrated to Canada from Dominica in 1960, is being deported ostensibly because of a conviction for participating in an illegal sit-in at Sir George Williams University in Montreal in 1969. If the government is successful in its attempt to deport Douglas, he will almost certainly face a harsh prison term at the hands of the reactionary Dominican regime.

The government has also hunted down and issued deportation orders against 1,500 Haitian refugees. Most of these Haitians have already been deported. The Haitian government has

participation of trade union and labor organizations, whose organized strength can make the crucial difference in this campaign. Participating organizations and individuals must, of course, have the right to raise their own slogans and distribute their own propaganda during the course of any actions taken by the defense committee."

The League for Socialist Action (LSA), the official section of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec) and co-thinker of the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance in the U.S., opposed the proposal, claiming that it would be "inefficient" to take the time to reach mutual agreement on all actions. Of course, the reason the LSA considers it "inefficient" to uphold workers democracy is that it knows that extending equal rights to communists in CADH would make it more difficult for the LSA to use the CADH as a vehicle for cementing a political alliance with various petty-bourgeois nationalists and trade-union bureaucrats.

The Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), the sympathizing section of the USec in Canada and co-thinker with its centrist majority, no doubt felt that since fundamental political differences did not prevent it from cohabiting with the LSA in the same "International," then the mere question of workers democracy should not prevent it from joining an LSA front group. The added inducement of black nationalists to tail after closed the deal (the RMG split its vote: 2 opposed to the Spartacist proposal, 1 abstention). For all their opportunism, the LSA and RMG harvested little in the way of opportunities from CADH. Within a month the CADH split along racial lines, with the "white group" pledging to support the decisions of the "black group" in advance as stipulated by an LSA-introduced motion.

A more "militant" (read: gangsterist) version of the CADH is the Committee Against Racism (or International Committee Against Racism—CAR/INCAR), a front group of the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labor (CPL), Ca-

nadian affiliate of the U.S. Progressive Labor Party. Combining liberal "anti-racism" with sectarianism, the CAR refused to allow signs calling for defense of Roosevelt Douglas from being carried on a CAR-sponsored picket line against Immigration Minister Robert Andras and also refused Douglas the right to speak at the picket line. At the same time, the CPL/CAR calls on the capitalist government to deport racists. The left and labor movement must take a firm stand *against* the right of the bourgeois state to deport anyone; the bourgeoisie will always use its repressive powers to strike at left and labor militants.

CCIST Intervenes

In May in Vancouver and in June in Toronto the government held "public" hearings on the Green Paper in an attempt to cover its racist plans with a facade of participatory democracy. The Toronto hearings were surrounded by an air of intimidation; the *Globe and Mail* (June 5) headlines warned: "Police to turn hotel into fortress for public hearings on federal immigration." Inside, the hearings were a bureaucratic circus, with the chairman of the Toronto meeting refusing to hear Roosevelt Douglas, even though two speakers had yielded their speaking time to him.

At the Vancouver demonstration, a picket line brought together over 40 people, about 20 in a CCIST contingent and the remainder in RMG and Anarchist Collective contingents. When these contingents arrived at the demonstration site, they initially attempted to join an INCAR picket line of about 30 people so as to form a united demonstration against the racist Green Paper and the government's phony hearings. A gang of CPL thugs threatened to physically prevent the CCIST and others from entering "its" demonstration. Rather than allow CPL to provoke a physical confrontation, which would open up the demonstrators to police attack, a separate picket line was formed.

The CCIST contingent raised militant slogans for a class-struggle fight

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Canadian Spartacists participating in anti-deportations demonstration in Vancouver, British Columbia, January 1975.

made it clear that it regards these refugees, most of whom lived in Quebec, as "subversives and communists." When these people are deported to Haiti, they are subject to long prison terms or death at the hands of the brutal Duvalier dictatorship.

ities, various fascist groups have also stepped up their attacks. The most prominent of these is the Western Guard Party, which this year has initiated a number of brutal attacks aimed at immigrants and left groups. These scum are covertly encouraged by the bourgeoisie and on those rare occasions when they are brought to trial they regularly have their cases dismissed for "lack of evidence." In Vancouver, the East Indian population has been subjected to increasing incidents of beatings, window smashings and defacing of Sikh temples by local racists.

The Green Paper

The government has launched its most recent attack on immigrants in the form of a Green Paper on immigration. Under a thin veneer of liberal verbiage about "concern" for the capacity of Canadian society to absorb non-European immigration, the racist content of this report is clear. The Green Paper proposes a number of measures designed to reduce the number of immigrants, particularly non-white immigrants, into Canada. These include eliminating the right of immigrants already in Canada to obtain preferential status for their close rel-

Stop the Deportations!

In the face of these attacks by the bourgeois state, the left and labor movement must close ranks and mount a mass campaign demanding an immediate end to the harassment and deportation of aliens and demanding full citizenship rights for all foreign workers. In addition to militant labor action against the anti-alien drive, working-class and immigrant organizations must join together in joint protest actions.

In February and again in April the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency (CCIST) proposed such united-front actions against deportations to the Ad Hoc Committee Against the Deportation of Haitians (CADH) in Toronto. The CCIST proposal, "Stop the Deportations Now!" called for the formation of a committee to

"seek the participation of all those who agree with the urgent need to stop the deportations of 1500 Haitians. In particular, it should seek the par-



CCIST comrades picket government Green Paper hearings, Toronto.