

Young Spartacus

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Labor Must Fight Black Oppression

Defeat Bakke!

The protracted controversy over the Bakke decision, the California Supreme Court ruling upholding aspiring medical student Alan Bakke's contention that the quota for minority student admission at the University of California (UC) at Davis Medical School constitutes illegal "reverse discrimination," will again be in the national spotlight this month as the U.S. Supreme Court prepares to hand down its decision in the case.

The Supreme Court's ruling will have ramifications extending far beyond the admissions policy at UC Davis. At stake in this, the most significant civil rights case since the 1954 Brown decision outlawing "separate but equal" schooling, is not only "special admissions" to professional schools but the entire spectrum of minority recruitment and "affirmative action" programs in education and employment established over the last fifteen years. Thus the Bakke decision has become an important national focus in the conflict between a rising tide of racist reaction and diverse anti-racist forces.

As the long-awaited Supreme Court decision approaches, nationwide protests are again being organized. The liberal-reformist National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD), the Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League (CP/YWLL) and the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition (ABDC)—which is backed by the slavishly Peking-loyal Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)/Communist Youth Organization (CP[ML]/CYO)—have scheduled national demonstrations on April 15 in

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SL/SYL contingent at October 8 anti-Bakke demonstration in Washington.

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

Zionist Terror Overruns Southern Lebanon

March 29—Within days of the March 12 Palestinian guerrilla attack on the Israeli coast, the massive Zionist military machine engaged its gears for a large-scale campaign of destruction and devastation in southern Lebanon. In the wake of the largest Israeli military operation since the 1973 war, southern Lebanon began to take on the characteristics of Beirut during the Lebanese inter-communal war of 1976. By the time Israeli troops rolled to their objective near the Litani River on March 21, entire villages had been leveled, thousands of civilians had been killed and an estimated 200,000 refugees (many of whom had earlier taken refuge in southern Lebanon) were fleeing to the north, desperately trying to escape the fighting.

The Israelis seized upon a criminal

Palestinian raid as a pretext for this major offensive. On March 12 an eleven-man guerrilla force landed on the Israeli coast and launched an indiscriminate assault which left 37 Israelis dead and 76 wounded. The Palestinian force, armed with automatic rifles, grenades, bazookas and anti-tank missiles, captured two busloads of sightseers, herded their captives onto one of the buses and went on a shooting spree along the main Haifa-Tel Aviv highway. A police barricade stopped them a few miles north of Tel Aviv and the majority of the victims died when the bus burst into flames in the ensuing gun battle.

An Israeli reprisal was expected as a matter of course. The "human rights"-conscious American State Department gave every indication that it would tolerate such an action—expecting a

"typical" Zionist incursion such as that of November 1977, in which 300 Lebanese villagers were killed by Israeli jet raids in retaliation for three Israelis killed by rockets launched from southern Lebanon. "Peace-crusading" Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, still smarting from the disastrous failure of Egyptian commandos to free the hostages of Palestinian guerrillas at Nicosia, Cyprus, also gave his tacit approval by condemning the Palestinian raid as a "sad and tragic event."

However, the Zionist offensive surpassed all expectations. Sadat was forced to retreat a step and denounced the attack "with even more vehemence" than the PLO raid. But the Israelis were undaunted; with relations with the U.S. at a low point over the question of the West Bank settlements, American re-

quests for an Israeli withdrawal were ignored. Only after the UN Security Council adopted a resolution calling for Israeli withdrawal on March 19 (at the request of the U.S.), did Israel give the order for a cease-fire.

The Palestinian raid was only a convenient excuse for what was obviously a long-prepared Israeli offensive designed to wipe out Palestinian forces in the area and eradicate their bases (including communications posts, arsenals and bunkers). To date the Israelis have, to a large extent, been unsuccessful. Palestinian guerrillas killed in the attack number only in the hundreds and the majority were able to retreat further north—apparently with much of their equipment intact.

In their search for suspected
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SYL Mobilizes Campus Support for UMWA Strike

CHICAGO—On March 9, the day a federal judge granted President Carter's "request" for a strikebreaking injunction against the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) under the infamous Taft-Hartley Act, the main quadrangle of the University of Chicago (UC) was the scene of a militant united-front demonstration in support of the striking miners. Initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) in response to Carter's March 6 invocation of Taft-Hartley, the demonstration raised the slogans "Victory to the Miners Strike!" and "Down with Carter's Strikebreaking Injunction!" The Chicago rally was only one of several events held by the SYL around the country which put forward a program to win the miners strike—the most significant labor battle in 30 years which could have shattered the working-class quiescence of recent years.

Despite its being organized on only three days' notice, before a week of exams, and despite the despicable attempted sabotage by the reformist fake-left, the Chicago rally made a big impact on campus and was quite successful. Noteworthy among the more than 75 participants were striking miners from the "battle zone" of southern Indiana; Joe Mendiola and Otis McDonald, respectively vice president and former president of the UC Council of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 321; and sizable contingents from the Spartacist League/SYL and Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA). Endorsers included SEIU Local 321 steward Jim Brady and prominent SEIU member Gus Cacheris; UC professors Daniel Agin, John Coatsworth and Melvin Rothenberg; leftist author and Roosevelt University professor Richard Libman-Rubinstein and the Southside New American Movement (NAM).

The rally began with the reading of a

statement by former SEIU Local 321 UC Council president Otis McDonald, scoring Carter as "no friend of the working people" and the Taft-Hartley Act as "trying to restore slave labor." As McDonald put it, "Every working man and woman in America should stand up against this injunction. Because if it succeeds, it will have an effect on every individual working person in this country—if not today, then tomorrow."

Spartacist League Central Committee member Tweet Carter emphasized that "solidarity with the miners means labor action" and that Carter's injunction was "a declaration of war on the entire labor movement." Noting that the railroad workers had been on the job for months without a contract and that steel workers are shackled by the no-strike "Experimental Negotiating Agreement," she pointed to the close links between the steel, railroad and coal industries and the relevance to rail and steel workers of the miners' fight for the right to strike. A joint steel/rail/coal strike was needed, she said, as well as hot-cargoing—the refusal by all workers to move or handle coal during the strike. As in an earlier interview on WBBM radio, comrade Carter concluded with a call for two-day protest strikes of all unions to smash Carter's strikebreaking injunction.

While the SL speaker put forward a concrete class-struggle program to win the strike, the YSA spokesman, by contrast, nearly put the audience to sleep by literally reading the entire SWP Political Committee statement on the strike printed in the March 3 issue of the SWP's *Militant*. This hash of warmed-over liberalism and social-democratic nostrums calls for the "broadest possible solidarity with the miners—from resolutions and financial aid to mass rallies and demonstrations." The SWP/YSA, like the Maoists and other reformists, sees financial donations and expressions of opinion as the "broadest



SYL speaker at Chicago united-front demonstration.

possible" (our emphasis) aid for the miners because these reformists have actively opposed, in meeting after meeting across the country, the militant solidarity actions necessary to bring the power of the entire labor movement to bear for the miners (see "For Strike Action to Defend the Miners!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 198, 24 March 1978).

The UC Young Socialist Alliance had originally joined with the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) in strongly opposing the demonstration at a March 7 planning meeting called by the SYL. Both of these reformist groups counterposed an "educational campaign" of joint propaganda to the SYL's action proposal. What united the pacifists of the YSA (who went so far as to call the administration to make sure the rally was "legal") and the RSB (normally inclined to adventurist stunts) was a fear of confronting the revolutionary politics of the SYL, even if this meant a sectarian refusal to join in any common action.

Picket Lines: What the Miners Have to Say

The high point of the rally was a moving and powerful speech by one of the miners. Thanking those assembled for their support to the strike, he described southern Indiana as an "armed camp." "We've got gun-toting scab thugs down there," he said, "we're fighting local and state cops too.... And we're fighting our own leadership as well!" He explained that a black armband on his jacket was in memory of John Hull, a union brother murdered by scabs during the strike. Denouncing the

Carter contract voted down by the union ranks on March 5, he said, to the applause of the entire rally: "And we're not going to work under no Taft-Hartley!"

Many demonstrators joined the SL/SYL in loud cheers and applause in response to a call for labor solidarity: "U.S. Steel over here is using scab coal.... I want you to know there's blood on that scab coal. Don't use it. Hot-cargo it!" At the end of the miner's speech the SL/SYL contingent broke into the chant "Hot-cargo scab coal—victory to the miners!" While the miners and most of the crowd joined in, the embarrassed SWP/YSA actually hummed along with the chant rather than utter the dreaded "ultraleft" slogan.

After the rally, YSAers defended the SWP's support to Miller on the grounds that since his election the UMWA membership "at least" has the right to ratify contracts. "You mean to say that if we hadn't elected Miller we'd be in worse shape?" one of the miners asked incredulously. "How could we be in worse shape? Some of us voted for that scab Miller. Now his name is mud in the mines." SYLers added that miners also gained the "right" to have the bosses' state intervene in the union under the precedent set in Miller's government-run election, and reminded the YSA that Miller freely employed gangsterism in his attempts to ram his sellout contracts down the throats of the miners.

The YSA then found itself in the embarrassing position of being indicted by its own activities. Not only had the

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EDITORIAL NOTE

Jesus Christ!

Meldrim Thomson Jr., the eccentric ultra-conservative governor of New Hampshire, has struck again. It's bad enough that for two years in a row now the governor has gotten away with lowering all government flags to half-mast in memory of Jesus Christ's crucifixion on "Good Friday"—but this year he actually got four Supreme Court justices to go along with it. As the *New York Times* (25 March) blandly explained: "...the Justices divided sharply over whether flying flags at half-staff in memory of the crucifixion of Jesus violated the constitutional ban on government participation in religion."

This is not a "Saturday Night Live" script, although Meldrim Thomson's five-year performance as New Hampshire governor would certainly qualify. (Perhaps Thomson could better the governor of South Dakota who already—unsuccessfully—tried to host this popular satirical show).

Thomson achieved national prominence when he mass-arrested the "Clamshell 1,414" nuclear power protesters. Upon discovering that the state couldn't

afford keeping the innocuous protesters locked up, he went on TV to give an unctuous and demagogic pitch for money to keep them in jail. Thomson's also the guy who, in another bit of creativity, ordered the state's flags lowered to half-staff (apparently a personal favorite) to protest Carter's "pardon" of Vietnam draft dodgers.

By now Thomson has become something of an institution in New Hampshire. Three-times elected on the basis of his opposition to taxation, Thomson continues in his peculiar right-wing style. This public supporter of the South African apartheid state has had motorists arrested for passing him on the road and one driver alleged to have made an obscene gesture at the governor's car was banned from the highways for 90 days. At his most bizarre, however, Thomson has publicly invited Nantucket to secede from Massachusetts and join New Hampshire and has actually proposed arming the *New Hampshire National Guard with atomic weapons!*

According to the *New York Times* (30 March), "Mad Meldrim's" eccentricities are not a new phenomenon:

"He started off his three-term administration in January 1973 by changing all the locks in the state Capitol.

ferreting the tax records of opponents out of state files and having a serviceman who was courting the daughter of a campaign aide transferred to Indiana."

But is it possible that the "Not Ready for Prime Time Players" have invaded the Supreme Court chambers? Can it really be that the Supreme Court actually split on the decision (five-four) not to let Thomson have his little religious commemoration? Can it be that four justices saw no violation of the First Amendment in Thomson's declaration that "all of us are more conscious of the everlasting debt we owe to our creator" and that "we appreciated the moral grandeur and strength of Christianity as the bulwark against the forces of destructive ideologies"?

So it seems. It is a sign of the times in the U.S. that the Supreme Court—once the darling of the liberals—can only barely muster enough nerve to throw back this repulsive obscurantist garbage. And yet Thomson continues to run around as governor of the "live free or die" state and was out the next day trying to lower the flag for "Holy Saturday."

Perhaps the only solution is to fight fire with fire. Under a more rational social order, the Meldrim Thomsons of this world would be kept out of harm's way (and needless to say out of power) and left to raise and lower flags to their heart's content. ■

Heroic Defiance in Coal Fields

Miners Strike Starved Out

MARCH 30—After 110 days of the most dramatic and heroic labor battle in decades, the coal miners strike is over. Most miners have now returned to the pits as a result of the 57 to 43 percent ratification vote last week on a new contract, the third negotiated by United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) president Arnold Miller. A grim mood swept the coal fields as miners started up production with only the bittersweet satisfaction of having held out for months in the dead of winter against the concerted attacks of the coal bosses, the cops and hired gun thugs, and the unbridled treachery of the union tops. In the end there was above all the anger

buckle under Taft-Hartley and the threats of government seizure of the mines and deployment of federal troops. Nor did the solidarity of the mine workers falter amid the repeated violence of cops, national guardsmen and armed thugs which left two union brothers dead and hundreds injured and arrested.

The miners' ranks are young and combative. In an expanding industry which figures prominently in Carter's energy plans, the median age of the miners is 31 and many had military service in Vietnam before going to work in the coal pits. Contract ratification came out of a sense of resignation rather

Michael D. Sullivan



Strike rally meeting at Cedar Grove, W. Va.

and disgust for the UMWA leaders who, backed up by mounting hunger and privation, had forced such a rotten deal on the militant miners.

On every key issue the new contract is worse than the one miners have wildcat- ted against for the last three years. This sellout contract gives away the company-paid, full-benefit union health coverage which has been a mainstay of the UMWA for over 30 years. Pensions, which the miners had demanded be equalized at the highest levels, are increased to a piddling \$275 a month for all miners who retired before 1976, 93 percent of the union's pensioners. Although the extent of the operators' attacks on these issues was mitigated by the miners' overwhelming rejection of the earlier contracts (e.g., the maximum amount deductible from their paychecks for commercial carrier health coverage is now \$200), the reduced health benefits and the miserable pensions are in fact serious setbacks which bode ill for the future of the union.

But the militancy of the miners' ranks forestalled what the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) was really looking for in these contract negotiations: a crack down on the explosive miners' militancy which has resulted in three major wildcats in the last three years. The contract does not explicitly take away the right to strike or provide for automatic fines or firings for wildcatting as did the previous two. The mine operators were simply unable to force the union militants to give them a free rein over work conditions in what is the most dangerous of American industries.

While the contract is an odious and menacing defeat for the valiant and tenacious strike, the miners going back to work have not been broken. The attempts of the bosses, government and the Miller bureaucracy to break their defiance failed. The strikers did not

than defeat—as one West Virginia miner told *Workers Vanguard*, "We've gone as far as we can with Miller and them. They just aren't going to give us anything else." Despite the treachery of the Miller gang, what exists in the coal fields today has more the character of a cease-fire than a surrender: the miners have suffered a major setback but the exact terms await further struggles among the contending forces.

From Carter to the coal bosses, the bourgeoisie has been far from exultant

over the new contract. Unable to cripple the union through the course of the strike, the operators and their allies still see before them the question of harnessing the miners' militancy. As the results of the contract vote were reported, the bourgeois press was already speculating on how long the "labor peace" would last. Meanwhile Carter, whose strike-breaking attempts had proved to be ineffectual, announced plans to establish a coal inquiry commission to examine problems of "labor peace" and productivity in mining.

For Arnold Miller, the self-styled labor "reformer," the strike marks the death knell of his presidency. Put into office by the Labor Department under the guise of "cleaning up" the UMWA, Miller gave the rank and file a preview of his strike "leadership" by opposing last summer's wildcat against the elimination of the company-financed health plan. Miller's open collusion with the bosses throughout the strike quickly discredited him to the point that he played a secondary role at the negotiations—his approval alone was the kiss of death for the initial pacts. Following the nearly two-to-one rejection of the second proposed contract, even Miller's public relations firm walked off the job in disgust!

By now the ashen, ghost-like figure is surely among the most hated in the coal fields. Carrying a snub-nose .38 in his belt, Miller dares not even venture into coal country without a retinue of gun-toting thugs. A recall petition is sweeping the Appalachian region and another drive is seeking to cut the president's salary from \$45,000 to \$1 a year. As a current jukebox hit says, "When Miller signed their contract, he might as well 'been on their side'."

Rarely does a strike run so far beyond the control of the trade-union bureaucracy as was the case with the miners strike. Day-to-day activities such as the organizing of pickets, the shutting down of scab mines and even the distribution of relief were in the hands of either the local lower-level officials of the union or regional meetings of the miners them-

selves. So complete was the strikebreaking of the Miller bureaucracy that the UMWA International Miners Relief Fund even refused to distribute the \$4.5 million that was received in solidarity with the strikers.

In an insightful *New York Times* (26 March) article, Ben A. Franklin describes the openness of the UMWA today:

"But looming through the gritty Appalachian mist was one stirring fact. Although its leadership and its reputation and its treasury have been ruined, the rank and file of the United Mine Workers have emerged as unexpectedly, stubbornly, even heroically strong men and women. They overcame their own inept hierarchy and, to an extent that Mr. Miller obviously never believed possible, humbled the operators."

With Miller hospitalized with a stroke the running of the union passes into the hands of his right-hand man, Sam Church—a former Boyle loyalist. While Church is obviously just more of the same, no members of the Bargaining Council—not even those who voted against the pact—had the nerve or the inclination to fight Miller's giveaway contract.

What is needed in the UMWA is a class-struggle leadership which is based on a program which draws the lessons of the bitter strike defeat. Foremost among these is the need to break with the capitalists and their political parties, the Democrats and Republicans. It was the Nixon administration which put Miller into office and the Democratic Carter administration which attempted to use the might of the bourgeois state to smash the miners strike. The UMWA needs a leadership based on irreconcilable opposition to the bosses, their government and their parties.

By ousting the encrusted trade-union bureaucracy not only of the mine workers but of all American labor (the bureaucrats who didn't lift a finger to mobilize labor in solidarity with the miners) the basis can be laid for building a workers party, based on the trade unions, which will fight for a workers government. ■

SYL Supports Harvard Workers Strike

"Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!"

On Tuesday, March 21, maintenance workers in Local 40 of the Carpenters and Joiners AFL-CIO went out on strike against Harvard's union-busting attack on seniority and job security. Four other locals in the Maintenance Trades Council, covering all Harvard Buildings and Grounds (B&G) employees, honored the picket lines and refused to go into work. In the four-day long strike, Cambridge and University cops escorted scabs through picket lines, one strikebreaker threatened to unleash an attack dog on the strikers, and a scab truck hit a picketer. Despite the strikebreaking violence, the majority of deliveries to the University were shut down.

Harvard has a long history of union-busting since the 1968 strike when workers went out for recognition of AFL-CIO unions on campus, rejecting the do-nothing company union. Striking work-

ers recounted their memories of this struggle to SYL supporters, sarcastically recalling the University's statement, "You are no longer part of the Harvard family." Now, the University is claiming that there is not enough work for the B&G carpenters and is threatening to permanently reclassify them in lower paying job categories doing work for which they were not hired and are not trained. Meanwhile, outside contractors continue to perform maintenance and construction work at Harvard.

The Harvard Spartacus Youth League immediately joined the picket lines in support of the workers, carrying signs "Victory to the Strike," "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross" and "No Scabbing." In a leaflet announcing a Wednesday night strike-support meeting (held off campus), the SYL-initiated Ad Hoc Strike Support Committee called on

students to honor the picket lines by boycotting classes and cafeterias.

SYL supporters were on the picket lines every day helping to publicize the issues of the strike to students and faculty, and stopping scabs. When a campus meeting on the miners strike, sponsoring a UMWA official, was announced, an SYL contingent approached him and informed him of the strike in progress at Harvard. The union official, for whose union the picket line was a life and death matter during the long and bitter strike, readily agreed to have the meeting moved to an off-campus location in solidarity with the strike.

As we go to press, details of the union's settlement with the University are not available. But workers and union officials made plain their appreciation of the student support initiated by the SYL by inviting SYL supporters to address a union meeting, as well as their enthusiastic participation in the strike-support meeting and their welcome to SYL picketers on the lines. Jim Costello, secretary-treasurer of the Carpenters District Council commented that the SYL's "two principles of support the strike and no scabbing are the two basic principles of trade unionism." It is the elementary duty of all socialists to solidarize with these principles in the struggles of the proletariat. ■

Lebanon...

(continued from page 1)

"guerrillas," the Zionists resorted to shellings and air and naval strikes designed to stampede the civilian population out of the area. Planes strafed the Palestinian refugee camps of Burs al-Burdigh and Shatila, the Uzai section of Beirut and other Lebanese cities. Despite the sanctimonious Zionist promise that civilians would be spared "to the extent possible," thousands have been killed. In the racist Zionist arithmetic book, "an eye for an eye" means the lives of a hundred Lebanese or Palestinians for each Israeli casualty.

The Israeli rulers have once again shown that they are as willing to engage in indiscriminate slaughter as the Palestinian guerrillas they denounce. With Washington's rebuke of the Israeli attack, the U.S. press has been filled with reports of Zionist atrocities. To cite just one example:

"The jets did their job perfectly, leveling restaurants, bakeries, service stations and houses for five hundred yards. The cement-block walls crumbled, and families eating lunch were buried in the ruins...."

"Later in the week, the Israelis claimed that the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] had its radio station in Uzai, as well as a base where they trained the guerrillas who took part in the bus attack outside Tel Aviv. We were in Uzai half an hour after the raid and went through every building that still stood. We found nothing that looked like a radio station, or the remains of one. And it would be an unlikely place for a training base...."

—Newsweek, 27 March

The devastation of southern Lebanon demonstrates once again that from the former Irgun terrorist Begin on down, Israeli state power is based on the terrorization and atomization of the Palestinian masses. The essential difference with the PLO—one of whose component organizations, Fatah, took credit for the massacre—is that the Israelis have state power and therefore not only more guns but jets and the most modern military hardware. Nor can the

Palestinian nationalists who resort to terrorism yet afford the cynicism of employing special squads to bury the bodies of their victims and cover up their crimes as the Israelis have reportedly done in the villages of southern Lebanon (*Economist*, 25 March). The methods employed by the Zionists to carve out their state in 1947-8 were in form identical to those used in southern Lebanon today—mass intimidation and terror.

The U.S. Doth Protest

The Lebanese incursion comes in the context of already strained U.S.-Israeli relations. Begin's visit to Washington earlier this month proved to be a disaster as Jimmy Carter was unable to wring any concessions from the Israelis on the question of the occupied territories—Begin went so far as to claim that UN Resolution 242, which calls for Israeli withdrawal, does not apply to the West Bank since it is an "ancient Jewish land." Moreover, Begin continues to be staunchly opposed to the sale of F-15 fighter jets to Saudi Arabia.

Carter tried to make clear to Begin that (contrary to the argument of some pseudo-Marxists that Israel is merely a garrison state of U.S. imperialism) Zionist land-grabbing was damaging the imperialist goal of orchestrating a regional balance of power. Reminding his ally that Israel remains militarily dependent on the U.S., Carter remarked to Begin that, "The Israel of 1978 is strong and more secure militarily than at any time in its history. We in America take satisfaction in the knowledge that we have contributed in some small measure to the realization of that dream of strength."

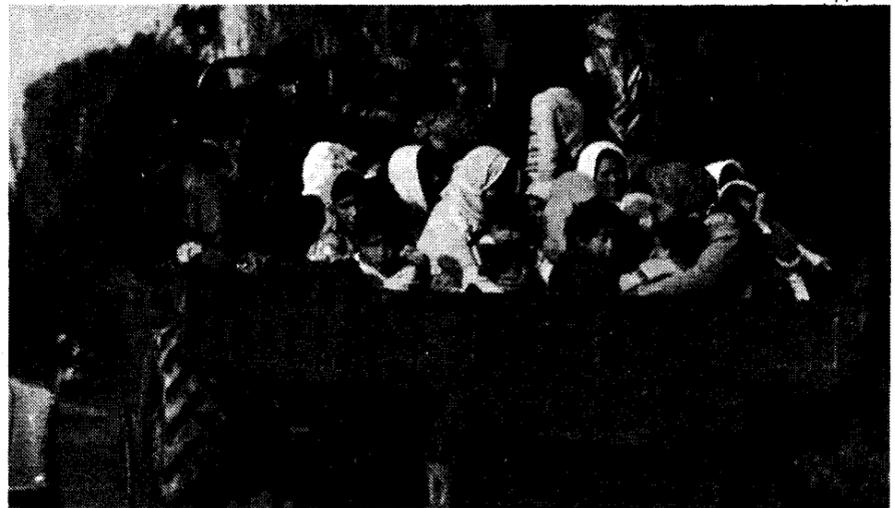
Even CIA mouthpiece William Buckley got in on the act, criticizing Begin for being "intransigent." The U.S. believes that Israel is strong enough militarily to give up most of the occupied territories and appease Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Referring to Begin's refusal to consider Jordanian control of the West Bank, Carter reportedly remarked, "Nobody is asking

you to agree to a Palestinian state. Nobody wants that" (*Time*, 3 April). All for naught, Begin responded by implying that U.S. support to Israel had disappeared "as though dropped into the Atlantic Ocean" and tried to launch an appeal to the "American people" over the head of Carter.

It is small wonder then that numerous

ans. In fact, many of the Palestinians now fleeing north originally established themselves south of the Litani to avoid Syrian persecution (in 1976 Israel let it be known that any Syrian troop movements in this region would result in Israeli intervention in the war). The Syrians are simply no more interested in national rights for the Palestinians than

Lippman



The refugee trail again—fleeing from the Israeli invasion.

Jean-Claude Francolon/Gamma-Liaison



Ruins of apartment complex near Beirut after bombing by Israeli jets.

reports of American hopes for the ouster of Begin have surfaced. Even in Israel, Defense Minister Ezer Weizman noted that "We are at the height of confrontation with the U.S.," and proposed an all-party "national peace movement" which was widely seen as a maneuver to replace Begin with himself. Weizman, however, has stressed his agreement with Begin on the West Bank issue, and U.S. policies coincide more closely with the ever pliable "Labor" Party opposition.

"Steadfastness Front": Enemy of Palestinians

The U.S. (and some Israeli generals) would prefer that the Palestinians be policed by a combination of UN troops south of the Litani and Syrians to the north of the river. (As we go to press, the first of these "peacekeeping" forces is arriving in Lebanon.) Even Begin has indicated his willingness to accept a Syrian presence along the Litani, but the Syrians have so far refused any formal accords with the Israelis—accords which would no doubt brand Assad a "traitor" à la Sadat a few months earlier.

While Syria is undoubtedly unhappy about the Israeli presence in "their" Lebanon—in a renewed war for the Golan Heights, an Israeli drive through Lebanon would threaten their flank—UN forces and Syrian-dominated Arab League forces have already undertaken the role of controlling PLO operations in Lebanon. The March 12 raid was launched from one of the few areas outside Syrian control. While Syria has not succeeded in restoring the pre-civil war confessional status quo in Lebanon, it has achieved greater control over the Palestinian forces—in large part through the deployment of overwhelming military force against the outnumbered Palestinians.

It was thus not accidental that Syrian troops played volleyball or drank tea while the Israelis battled the Palestini-

are the Israelis. Revolutionary Marxists oppose the reactionary Syrian occupation and demand: Syrian troops out!

While the Syrians' stood idly by, the PLO's other "allies" in the "Steadfastness Front" indicated again that their militant rhetoric stems chiefly from their distance from Israel. Libya and Iraq made no attempt to send troops in the crucial first days of the Israeli intervention and their later military aid was too little, too late. In any event, while Syria originally promised free passage across its territory to anyone wishing to aid the Palestinians, after a week it barred access to "unauthorized" forces—particularly to the tanks of its rival Ba'athist colonels in Baghdad.

Despite the presence of UN troops, it is quite likely that the Zionists will remain in southern Lebanon for some time as Begin attempts to implement his "final solution" to the Palestinian problem. The Palestinians are today surrounded on all sides by hostile forces: the Israeli troops, the Christian Maronite militias, the UN forces and the Syrians. Although the PLO initially welcomed the UN intervention, it must be remembered that the UN "peacekeeping" forces, rather than being neutral, are a tool of U.S. imperialism as was aptly demonstrated in the Congo. For if the PLO and the Palestinians will not submit to King Hussein of Jordan (who in 1970 massacred thousands of Palestinians) as stipulated in U.S. imperialism's pet solution to the West Bank question, the U.S.' answer has already been given: "Bye, bye PLO."

Israel Out of Lebanon!

Revolutionary Marxists condemn the Palestinian raid of March 12 as an utterly indefensible atrocity. Such acts of indiscriminate terror label the entire Hebrew population and anyone else around (as with the Lod airport massa-

Defend Sandor John!

Chicago "Outside Agitator" Trial Set to Open

CHICAGO, March 25—On April 10 the trial of Spartacus Youth League (SYL) campus activist Sandor John is scheduled to open in Chicago's Misdemeanor Jury Court. "Permanently barred" from campus by the University of Illinois Chicago Circle (UICC) administration for distributing socialist literature, John was arrested and charged with criminal trespass on November 22. He now faces trial because of the UICC administration's attempt to crack down on campus through a witchhunt of "outside agitators" (see "Chicago Campaign Counters UICC Witchhunt," *Young Spartacus* No. 61, February 1978).

In response to this McCarthy-style repression, which is directly aimed at leftists but threatens the rights of all who oppose the administration or its policies, the SYL initiated the Ad Hoc Committee to Stop Administration Harassment. This committee, which includes representatives from Circle Women's Liberation Union, the UICC Student Government, SYL and Young Socialist Alliance, has received widespread support from throughout the Chicago area and nationally. Since John's arrest, the Committee has successfully organized protest meetings,

forums and a petition drive.

On February 28, the day that the initial trial motions were presented, the Committee called a demonstration at the Chicago courthouse. Some 25 demonstrators turned out to protest the trial, chanting "Cops Off Campus, Not the Left!" and "Stop the Ban, Drop the Charges Now!" These protests will continue until the administration's anti-communist charges against John are dropped. All those who protest the banning, arrest and prosecution of Sandor John should join in a demonstration to protest at his next appearance in court on April 10. It is through these militant protests combined with legal defense that the administration's attack can be beaten back.

Funds for the defense of Sandor John are urgently needed. *Young Spartacus* urges its readers to contribute to the Sandor John Defense Fund, which is being administered by the Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. Send contributions/make checks payable to: Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked Sandor John Defense Fund), P.O. Box 6729, Main Post Office, Chicago, IL 60680. ■

cre) from worker to capitalist, from affluent Ashkenazi to the discriminated-against, impoverished Sephardim as the enemy of the Palestinian masses. Rather than organize for the proletarian revolution against the Hebrew and Arab bourgeoisies which alone can bring peace to the Near East, these petty-bourgeois acts of despair mark an entire civilian population as fair game and can serve to cement the ties between Hebrew worker and ruler.

However, while giving neither political nor military support to the terrorist raid, we stand for the defense of the Palestinians against the latest onslaught of the Zionists, for it is the Zionist state which has the means to implement a program of genocide.

The events in southern Lebanon confirm, yet again, that, despite their lip service to the cause of Palestinian self-determination, the Arab regimes will not lift a finger—not even to return the arms taken from Palestinian forces in 1976—to defend the oppressed Palestinian masses from Israeli retaliation. The initial military intervention was supposed to have been limited to the establishment of a four-to-six mile *cordon sanitaire* along the border. When Israeli military intelligence revealed that *no Arab state* was planning any military mobilizations in response to the Israeli attack, the Zionist High Command decided to push through to the Litani. The Syrians in particular were unwilling to engage the Israelis since this would almost inevitably have detonated a full-scale Near East war for which they are unprepared. Once again Damascus demonstrated that the sole reason for its going to war is over the question of who shall control Palestinian land, not who shall defend the legitimate national demands of the Palestinians.

The sordid, reactionary character of yet another major war in the Levant would not be altered were Syria and/or other Arab states to use the Palestinians as auxiliary cannon fodder. In such a war, Palestinian national rights would not be advanced one iota. Thus in the 1967 and 1973 wars, Marxists took a position of revolutionary defeatism on both sides; i.e., we opposed all sides in the reactionary territorial wars.

The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders of the Palestinian masses have offered many illusory strategies: reliance on the UN, on Jordan, on Egypt, on "radical" Arab states such as Syria and on futile terrorism. But the only road to Palestinian liberation lies in the perspective of class struggle and internationalism. The answer is the class unity of Arab and Hebrew workers, broken respectively from the Arab and Zionist rulers and under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party. Israel out of Lebanon and the occupied territories! For the right of national self-determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew nations in a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

Young Spartacus

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

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Number 63

April 1978

British Fusion Highlights SYL Educational

Thought-provoking presentations set the tone for a large and very successful West Coast Educational Conference held last month by the Spartacus Youth League. Over 125 comrades, coming from as far as Denver, Vancouver and San Diego, gathered in the Bay Area for the three day educational weekend.

The conference opened with public presentations by *Young Spartacus* editor Samuel Lewis and Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour. Comrade Lewis, speaking to an audience of 175 on "France: May 1968, Ten Years After," described the evolution of an acute pre-revolutionary situation in a major advanced capitalist country and the importance of its lessons as applied to the rampant popular frontism of the French left today. Comrade Seymour presented the next-to-last segment of his series on Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition (which has been a special feature of *Young Spartacus*). In his talk on "The Dissolution of the Communist League," comrade Seymour commented on the historical events and organizational concepts that guided Karl Marx through the creation of the First and laid the basis for the Second Internationals, and contrasted these international associations to the Leninist concept of the vanguard party.

A highlight of the conference came at a session on international perspectives which included fraternal reports from representatives of the Trotskyist League of Canada, the Spartacist League of Australia/New Zealand and the recently founded Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B).

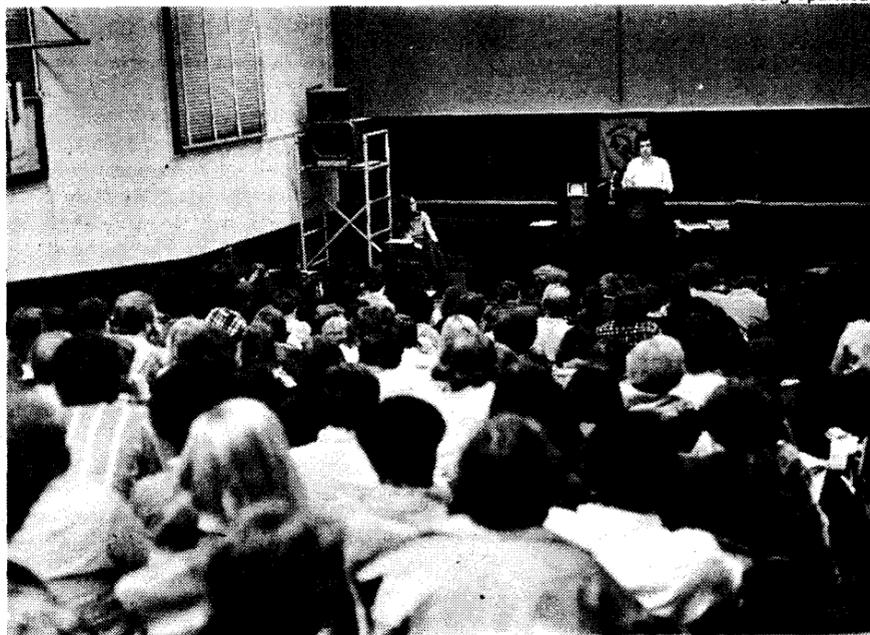
Two comrades addressed the conference on behalf of the SL/B. The comrades represented the leaderships of the London Spartacist Group and the Trotskyist Faction of the Workers Socialist League (WSL) which fused earlier last month to become the SL/B. The entire audience erupted in warm applause when Joe Jamison, who had been a member of the WSL's Central Committee and Irish Commission, addressed the conference as a member of the SL/B. As an indication of the processes and struggles involved in the formation of the SL/B, we print below portions of comrade Jamison's remarks to the conference.

Comrades, I'm extremely pleased to be able to address you as a member of the Spartacist League/Britain. What I shall try to do is go through a number of incidents in the struggle that led to the fusion. These won't be in chronological order, but they will be an attempt to give you some understanding of the formation of the British section and also some understanding of the problems we face in consolidating a Trotskyist nucleus in Britain.

Toward the end of the Trotskyist Faction's existence in the WSL—at the Workers Socialist League annual conference—Alan Thornett, a leading member of that group, with some degree of exasperation said, "All we ever hear from these people is program, program, program." Now, the importance of that is obvious in one sense. In another sense it was the WSL, when it was first formed as an opposition in Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), that wished to talk about program, and insisted that it stood for the Transitional

Program against the other supposedly Trotskyist organizations. And there was in fact an exasperated strain in Thornett, a recognition of defeat.

The WSL, for a long time, avoided any *real* attempt to approach a whole range of questions programmatically. It talked instead about something which it called method which had a certain similarity to Healy's preoccupation with philosophy. And method was no more than basic toilet training in trying to do one's work well, following through interventions, etc.—a substitute in fact for discussing questions of program.



Presentation on "France: May 1968, Ten Years After."

From the beginning the comrades of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) made quite an impression by their violation of the norms of the very chummy and parochial British left. The first time I encountered the London comrades was at a demonstration in Birmingham. I didn't know very much about the iSt but I had a vague notion that they were anti-Pabloite which I generally thought was a good thing.

So, I tried to arrange housing in Birmingham for the two comrades to stay over a night, and they too thought this was basically a civil thing to do. That night there was a party at which the International Marxist Group (IMG) and a host of other British left groups were present. One of the iSt comrades responded by saying that what people have got to understand is that there'll never be a revolution in this country until these parties can no longer take place and the lines against the fake-lefts are drawn. That elicited the first favorable remark from the WSL—one comrade turned and said "Thank god someone else feels that way."

The first expression of pro-Spartacist sentiments was at the 1976 conference of the WSL. At this meeting, an amendment was moved to the WSL's international resolution on the question of Cuba. It was a recognition contrary to the resolution which said there were two sides in the Cuban question, both wrong in different ways: the pro-Castro enthusiasm of Hansen and the myopic counterposition of Healy. The amendment offered that the principled position had been put forward by the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). It wasn't a very good amendment; it was good in that it recognized in the positions held by the iSt the Trotskyist approach to the Cuban revolution, but it said some other

things about the "sectarianism" of the Revolutionary Tendency.

What was interesting about this resolution was the way it was dealt with. No member of the WSL leadership was prepared to actually oppose it. What they said was that if we start putting amendments in like this where will it end. Most comrades took this to mean that it would become a very long resolution, but what the WSL leadership meant by it was precisely that it will be quite an impediment to future relationships with the SWP if one were going to acknowledge any kind of

Young Spartacus

principled point by the Robertson grouping in the Revolutionary Tendency on the question of Cuba.

As it turned out, the conference voted in favor of that amendment and it was therefore incorporated into an international resolution. It didn't become the start of the fight in the WSL, instead it was simply dropped into a void to be taken up later with other issues when they came to the surface.

The biggest thing that developed the struggle was the intervention of the iSt against the WSL's trade-union work. The WSL was not growing very much and decided that obviously its program was the problem. There was a general view that there was a wages explosion coming up in England and there was some thought that something ought to be done about it. The result was a "campaign" on the question of union democracy—but the clear liquidationist orientation of the WSL is indicated by what happened in the campaign. The wage question was effectively subordinated and what emerged was a Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement. And of course anyone can talk about democracy.

One problem with the development of the tendency from the WSL was the leading members of it had the illusion that the WSL leadership because of its political lack of definition could just as well go toward Trotskyism as anywhere else. It should have been clear to us earlier on that the leadership of the WSL was a workerist lot concerned primarily with its trade-union core in Cowley [the British Leyland car plant in the Midlands near Oxford]. When the WSL was expelled from the WRP in 1974 the clash was solely over Thornett's view that the WRP's sectarianism was endangering this core at Cowley.

continued on page 11

"The future is ours if we dare to take it!" It was with this optimistic theme that the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) not too long ago staged the razzle-dazzle national conference where its front group, the notoriously juvenile Revolutionary Student Brigade, was "transformed" into its formal youth affiliate with the new "up-front" name Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB).

But now, only four months later, the future in fact looks pretty bleak for these maverick Maoists. No sooner had RCYBers resumed their old publicity-stunt "fight backs" in their new r-revolutionary COMMUNIST T-shirts than the RCP exploded over their heads in a dramatic split which ripped what once had been America's largest Maoist tendency right down the middle.

Thrown into a severe political crisis by the power struggle which erupted within the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy after the death of Mao, for well over a year now the RCP has been a time bomb of explosive contradictions. Refusing to hail the purge of the so-called "Gang of Four" by China's Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and the subsequent "rehabilitation" of twice-purged arch-"capitalist roader" Teng Hsiao-ping, RCP "Chairman" Bob Avakian commanded the organization to take an "ostrich position" on the events in China. But, while its head was buried in the sand, another part of the RCP's anatomy was quite prominent. In almost no time the RCP became the laughingstock of the left—and quite justly so.

With the entire membership of the RCP forbidden by fiat from "The Chair" to discuss the China issue internally or even privately, the RCP leadership more and more came to resemble a byzantine cellar of subterranean maneuvers, invidious gossiping and palace intrigues rivaling in their own puny way "business as usual" in the Forbidden City. The crisis brewing within the RCP leadership was sharply intensified when Peking unexpectedly granted the Maoist franchise long coveted by the RCP to its arch rival: the ever-slavish Communist Party (Marxist Leninist) [CP(ML)] led by the decidedly dim-witted Michael Klonsky.

But in January the long-simmering factionalism finally boiled over when RCP leader Mickey Jarvis mobilized a sizable minority of disgruntled pro-Hua elements in cliquish warfare against the pro-"Gang" Avakian and his "Headquarters." At once the RCP fractured along long-established clique lines inherited from its predecessor organization, the Revolutionary Union (RU), which originated through the amalgamation of Avakian's Bay Area workerist collectives with Jarvis' East Coast chunk of the campus-derived RYM II (the wing of Students for a Democratic Society which coalesced explicitly in opposition to the serious though crude pro-working class orientation of Pro-

RCP Split Leaves Maoist Youth in the Dark

Behind the Fake "Communist" Youth Debate

gressive Labor). It was not at all surprising, therefore, that in the recent RCP fight and split Avakian held the West Coast and the majority of the RCP trade unionists, while Jarvis had his base in the East Coast and the youth organization.

After having kept the ranks of both the party and the youth completely in the dark about the sharp political polarization within the top leadership, Avakian and Jarvis each grabbed what they could get from the RCYB. In January Avakian, perhaps figuring that the youth could be his if he only dared to take it, pulled together a national meeting of the RCYB, excluding the membership of most chapters and regions which had already lined up behind Jarvis. When the Jarvisites attempted to enter the meeting, Avakian thugs viciously set upon them with chains, baseball bats and black jacks, sending one woman to the hospital in critical condition.

But Avakian turned out to be the big loser in the raiding of the youth organization. Jarvis managed to pull out a majority of the RCYB: the entire national office, two-thirds of the National Political Committee, 85 percent of the membership in the Midwest and virtually the entire East Coast.

Resurrecting the old name "Revolutionary Student Brigade" (RSB) the Jarvisite youth have published a first issue of *The Young Communist* which announces their rebellion against the RCP and its "egomaniacal chair" (complete with a savage caricature of the "Pipsqueak Avakian" captioned: "This short per-

son's got no reason to live"). For their part the Avakianite youth have retained the name RCYB but have retitled their press *Revolutionary Communist Youth*.

The Truth Comes Out

No doubt many of these Maoist youth who suddenly found themselves selling a new newspaper are still stunned, wandering about without the foggiest idea of exactly why the RCP and RCYB have violently split but nevertheless expected to snarl and "walk bad" whenever they encounter former comrades who ended up on the opposite side of the blood line. How was an RCYB member to know about the political storm which was raging within the RCP leadership? Bureaucratically stage managed by the RCP, the founding convention of the RCYB was held in a carnival-like atmosphere where disco dance contests and much-encouraged macho posturing substituted for serious political discussion, even on the controversial question of the name and nature of the "new" organization.

News of the split thus understandably hit the RCP/RCYB ranks like a bombshell. But the membership didn't learn about the factional polarization and the split through their own internal bulletins or even from the pages of the RCP's *Revolution*. Both the Avakian and Jarvis wings conspired to keep their ranks completely in the dark about the depth of the political crisis that was wrecking the RCP.

Many RCYB members had what for them probably was the absolutely humiliating experience of first hearing

about the RCP/RCYB split from Spartacus Youth League activists on campus. Some just gaped at our comrades in silent disbelief or confusion; others heatedly dismissed the news as "Spart slander." But in fact the only place they could find the story of the split, documented with quotes from the internal documents which they didn't even know existed, was *Workers Vanguard*. More than a few RCYBers—some gladly, others grudgingly—bought copies of the *Workers Vanguard* with the front-page exclusive, "RCP Splits!" (*WV* No. 190, 27 January 1978).

And what a shock it must have been for RCYBers to find out for the first time exactly why the RCP leadership told them absolutely nothing about the real political differences which were tearing the organization apart! Here RCYBers could read the report to the RCP Central Committee by Avakian where "The Chair" ruled that the youth organization—supposedly the *communist* youth section of the RCP!—could be told no more about the party's "line" on China than other "people not close to us, including opportunists":

"In talking to people outside the Party we must draw distinctions. We can speak about our whole line on this [developments in China] only to people very close to the Party and who can be trusted to grasp not only the line, but the reasons we are not expounding it publicly..."

"The RCYB, because of its nature [!], should not have a line on this question (though, obviously [!] Party members within it have a line). Only those closest to the Party within the RCYB should be told our full position as outlined above. *Within the RSB generally, our line on*

Jarvisite organ *Young Communist* (left) puffs itself up against Avakian with its claim to the "glorious heritage" of the Revolutionary Student Brigade's "take the hill" antics at Kent State (right).

Ravenna Record Courier

OPEN LETTER TO PIPSQUEAK AVAKIAN 1/24/78

What You Couldn't Organize, You Can't Steal!



This short person's got no reason to live

We condemn your attempts to split our organization. We condemn your attempts to hijack our organization for your own purposes. We condemn your cowardly attacks on our members and our national office.

Our membership has recently become aware that a severe crisis has shaken the Revolutionary Communist Party. We are aware that nearly half of the Party, including half the leadership, have rebelled against your decision to support the Gang of Four and to conclude that China is on the revisionist, capitalist road. We are also aware that there are substantial differences between the two tendencies within the Party.



China should be the same as our broad public position. (added emphasis)
—“Central Committee Report,”
Vol. 3, No. 1

Although at each other's throats over what line to take on China (or whether even to take a position), both Avakian and Jarvis maintained a “united front” against their ranks, especially the younger members whose lack of “realism” and “experience” (read: cynicism and political corruption) might lead them to speak about the unspeakable or object to the objectionable. Both before and after the split the Avakianites and Jarvisites have sought to keep the hot issues out of the youth and to line up their ranks on the basis of appeals to parochialism, favoritism, old cronyism and the like.

What Hit the Fan

Not since the 1969 split in SDS has New Left Maoism in this country been shaken by such a profound crisis as what has detonated the RCP/RCYB. Posed point blank for the RCP/RCYB was what for any serious self-proclaimed Maoist tendency should be a fundamental political question: whether the heirs of Mao are “capitalist roaders” or “beacons of Marxism-Leninism”—or neither. For a Stalinist organization such as the RCP to place a question mark over its “socialist fatherland,” even if only doing so tacitly, calls into question its entire political *raison d'être*: identification with a Stalinist bureaucracy which is allegedly “building socialism.” It raises the thorny problem of coming to grips with *how* the revolution was betrayed—since for Stalinists the very question is almost synonymous with Trotskyism.

Even though the RCP/RCYB has split, both the Avakianites and the Jarvisites are still trying at all costs to avoid this central question. While on the eve of the split mounting pressure from the Jarvisites forced Avakian to show his anti-Hua hand among the top leadership of the RCP, since then the Avakianites have continued to maintain their stonewalling public silence on China. Nowhere in the first issue of the unreadable *Revolutionary Communist Youth* can there be found even a single reference to the People's Republic of China, much less any open solidarity with the purged “Gang.” The only response this “consciousness lowering” rag can make to the Jarvisite *Young Communist*—which openly expresses its general pro-Hua line—is an attack on its favorable review of the popular film *Saturday Night Fever!*

It should be obvious to anyone not blinded by the syphilis of Stalinism that “The Chair” doesn't have a leg to stand on, at least as far as China is concerned. But evidently Bob Avakian is so megalomaniacal that he actually believes that he can build a Maoist party along the lines of a Masonic society—cautiously revealing the “secrets” to the chosen few. Perhaps the best reply to such delusions of grandeur comes not from Marx or Lenin but from Abraham Lincoln: “It is true that you may fool all the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all the time; but you can't fool all of the people all the time.”

If Avakian is philistine to the point of absurdity, then Jarvis is equally cynical. While Bob Avakian undoubtedly takes quite seriously the idealist claptrap which Mao concocted to rationalize intra-bureaucratic power struggles and revolving-door purges (“class struggle” in the cranium), Jarvis is a more savvy Stalinist who realizes the advantages of being “flexible”—meaning willingness to “go with the flow” in Peking even if it requires leaving behind starry-eyed New Left illusions in the radical-egalitarian rhetoric and heroes of the Cultural Revolution. Thus, the Jarvisites have reaffirmed in carefully guarded language their basic allegiance to the ruling Stalinist oligarchy in China, accepting with “reservations” the restoration of

the durable Teng to the summits of power.

No doubt the Jarvisites will keep their China line abstract and general, at least until they determine whether their relations with the Chinese can be patched up one way or another. If their bid to crawl back into favor with the ruling clique in Peking succeeds, the Jarvisites no doubt will quietly drop their “reservations” about Teng—presumably along with their cracks about “short people” who “got no reason to live.” But should their overtures to the Chinese prove to be abortive, then Jarvis has a whipping boy already waiting in the wings.

“Historic Struggle” over T-Shirts

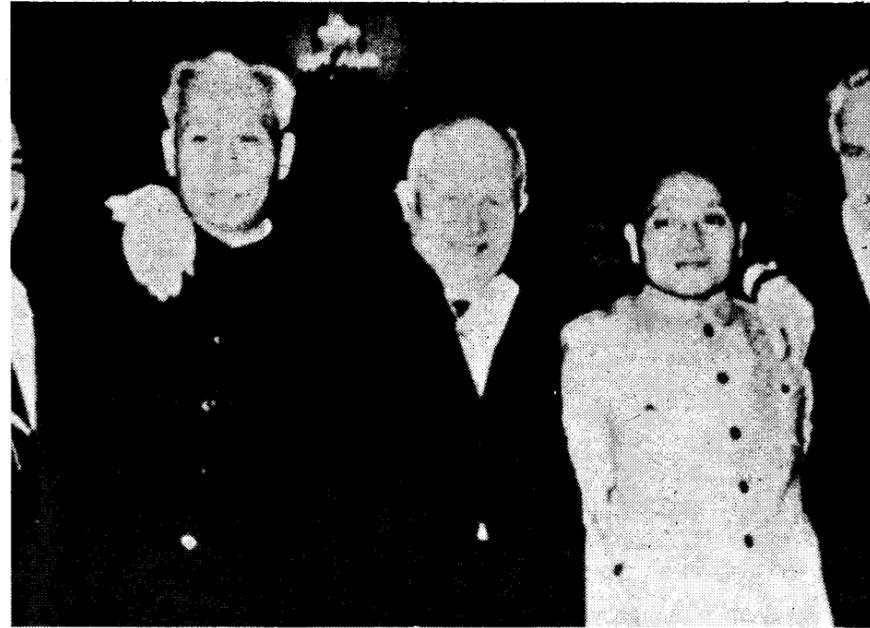
In their respective statements on the split both the Avakianite and Jarvisite

by cracking the whip over the party members in the youth who were balking at the “Party's line” (i.e., Avakian's line).

At the same time, however, the short-lived dispute over the name of the youth organization did reveal something about the appetites of the two wings of the split. For Avakian, putting “Communist” in the name of the group had nothing to do with a change in *program* but was simply another gimmick to attract publicity. Its “up front” profile was simply for shock value. Just listen to Avakian making his case for “Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade,” for the T-shirts as opposed to “Youth In Action” or “Revolutionary Youth Brigades”:

“...10 people wearing Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade T-shirts means more than 50 people wearing

Der Spiegel



Call



Hua designates Klonsky official flunkey (below), Avakian's rogue's gallery: Liu Shao-chi, Khrushchev and Teng Hsiao-ping (above).

press have each gone through contortions to either avoid or downplay the China question. Instead, both sides scribble endless pages about how central to the split was the controversy over changing the name of the youth group at the time of the last conference.

But in reality the “battle” over what to call the new youth group was only a skirmish—significant, but still subordinate to the larger polarization over the China question. It was significant not so much for the positions advanced by each side: Avakian, the inveterate New Leftist, was pushing for the youth to be more flamboyantly “up front” about their “communism,” while Jarvis, more attuned to the mood of the RSB in the aftermath of the Kent State “victory” last spring, wanted a more “mass” image. What was more important was that Jarvis used the youth dispute to try to mobilize the youth in opposition to Avakian.

When the dispute over the name question broke out, Jarvis evidently ran around lining up non-party youth in the RSB to back his position. Despite considerable sentiment in the youth for the Jarvisite-backed “mass” orientation, Avakian rammed through his position

YIA T-shirts or even 25 wearing RYB T-shirts (1/3 of them not being reds, and many of the other 2/3 not wanting to say they are!)...

—“On the Question of Building a Young Communist League”

Avakian got his way on the name question by squashing his opposition before the convention, and the RCYBers got their little red T-shirts. But “because of its nature” the RCYB didn't get a word about the real dispute in the party and couldn't have a line on China.

On the other side, Jarvis wasn't at all counterposing seriousness to silliness with his proposal for a “broad,” “mass” youth organization. Not satisfied simply with infantile political exhibitionism “masterminded” by Avakian, Jarvis wants a more staid Stalinist youth group which can attract a much broader layer of campus “progressives” (translate: liberals).

Neither side of the split has been able to show how its differences with the other over the youth question were anything more than secondary. On the one hand, the RSB of Jarvis claims that the conference which founded the RCYB was right-on; its only shortcoming was adopting the Avakianite name

proposal. On the other hand, Avakian feebly tries to pin on the Jarvisite youth leadership responsibility for positions and practices which have *always* characterized Avakianite youth work. It really takes the hyper-pneumatic ego of an Avakian to accuse the Jarvisite RCYB leadership with substituting flashiness for politics (for example, choosing campaigns by asking, “How will it spin?”)!

High Road—Low Road

Avakian's RCP/RCYB will likely degenerate into a leader-cult sect which is organizationally sectarian, politically opportunist and programmatically very unstable. A clear break with the Hua regime and an attempt to generalize the implications of such a split would have brought the RCP right up against the spectre of Trotskyism. What lies before Avakian's RCP/RCYB is the choice between a slow political death PL-style or the unappetizing prospect of championing “socialist” Albania as the only beacon of hope for the socialist future. The cynical option of a policy of public silence no longer exists as the open split has been splashed across the pages of the left press and there are now two very similar but rival youth groups competing on the campuses.

The Jarvisites face an uncomfortable choice. With the smell of fresh blood in the air, Klonsky's CP(ML) issued its call for “Marxist-Leninist” unity. Though they no doubt pride themselves on the more “critical” posture which they have maintained over the years in the RCP they have to face the hard facts. Klonsky has the franchise.

Many of the Jarvisites may maintain illusions that they can barter directly with the Chinese to get them to change horses. But Peking didn't pick its American comrades on the basis of proven capacity to lead the working class or any other such thing. What the Chinese want is a reliable press agent that will justify their every twist and turn. And the slavish CP(ML) has stuck it out through thick and thin defending each and every betrayal of the clique in power in Peking. There is no longer any room for two Peking-loyal organizations in the U.S. Either the Jarvisites resign themselves to irrelevancy, or they get the Chinese to broker an entry into Klonsky's CP(ML) on the most favorable terms possible.

In the immediate period ahead, however, the differences between the RCYB and RSB will most likely appear incomprehensible to American college students confronting the rival organizations. The sharp invective which has characterized the polemics between the RCYB and the resurrected RSB is completely incommensurate with the apparent points of political dispute (a rumble over the film “Saturday Night Fever”?). It is a telling indictment of the bankruptcy of New Left Maoism that both the Avakianites and Jarvisites are happy to see the real differences over China buried beneath a rubbish heap of apolitical charges and secondary issues.

What reveals the fundamentally cliquist Stalinist character of the way the rival wings of the RCP lined up and split the youth is the fact that not only China has been ignored but also *all* other fundamental issues which have confronted the RCYB, in particular, the questions of special oppression. Many raw youth recruited to the RCYB on the basis of its trendy New Left activism manifestly found it difficult to accept and to defend the Avakianite tendency's philistine-workerist *opposition* to bus-ing for school desegregation, to the ERA and to democratic rights for homosexuals. It was revealing that at the founding conference of the RCYB a significant minority of the participants expressed general support for the ERA and more than a few were visibly upset when keynote speaker Avakian likened the capitalist class to a “bunch of faggots” (because the bourgeoisie

continued on page 10

Defeat Bakke...

(continued from page 1)

Washington, D.C., and other cities.

No doubt these demonstrations will continue the already established treacherous pattern of supporting the American bourgeois state as the vehicle for social advancement for blacks and other minorities. Across the U.S., the demonstrations organized by the umbrella NCOBD and the myriad liberal and fake-left organizations clustered around it have sought to make "anti-Bakke" a rallying point for support to union-busting government intervention into the trade unions. NCOBD's demands to "implement, maintain and expand" affirmative action in education and employment epitomize the answer offered by these forces to the threat to minority gains represented by the Bakke decision.

For revolutionaries, there is a world of difference between the attacks of the bourgeois state on the trade unions and university quotas which, while not our program, can be defended from the racist backlash fueled by the Bakke case. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) stand in total opposition to the Bakke decision. As Marxists we approach this struggle as the most consistent partisans of full equality for oppressed minorities and women. But revolutionary working-class hostility to the capitalist state sharply separates the SL/SYL from the entire spectrum of left-liberal anti-Bakke forces, from the NAACP to the Maoists. It is not the courts and Congress of the ruling class—to whom the NCOBD and others appeal—but the organized workers and their trade unions that can and must lead the fight to overturn not only the Bakke decision but the entire system of racial and sexual discrimination in education and employment!

The Liberals Are to Blame

The Bakke decision must be seen against the larger background of a profound national trend toward reversal of the limited and partial gains won through mass struggles in the 1960's and early 1970's. Over the past several years, black and minority advances in every walk of life have come under attack not only in the courts, but, more decisively, in the streets. Howling racist mobs in Boston and Chicago have succeeded in gutting even token school integration programs—a victory made easy by the cowardly capitulation of the formerly pro-busing liberals and an unbroken string of reactionary court decisions forbidding busing across school district lines or where "intent" to discriminate cannot be proven.

For the liberals of the 1960's, educational reforms, particularly special admissions, and preferential programs, were key to overcoming the legacy of historic discrimination. The cutbacks and headlong abandonment of the liberal-inspired reforms of the 1960's are the product of a full-scale racist backlash in this country—exacerbated by the economic downturn since 1973.

Yet the real blame for the frustration of the aspirations of the black masses must be laid at the door of the self-defined "constituency groups" of the Democratic Party: the liberal black establishment and the trade-union bureaucracy. The liberals of today are only reaping the results of their dead-end strategy of preaching reliance on the possibilities of wringing significant gains out of Democratic politicians in office and the capitalist state in general. The "successes" the liberals triumphantly paraded before the downtrodden black masses a decade ago, the Warren Court's decisions and LBJ-backed civil rights legislation, have all proved illusory. Staggering levels of black unemployment, unchallenged de facto segregation in schooling and housing and a widening gap between black and

white incomes testify to the utter failure of the liberal reforms.

Today the liberal alliance of the 1960's is in total disarray. Busing, one of the touchstones of the liberal faith in educational opportunity, has been abandoned by every significant bourgeois politician. Following mass racist violence in northern urban centers, the Bakke decision now finds the former civil rights constituency divided, with sections opposing the programs they themselves once heralded. The AFL-CIO chieftains are split on the question and major Jewish organizations, threatened by the spectre of "reverse discrimination," have joined George Meany, the American Federation of Teachers' Albert Shanker and the reactionary right in support of Bakke.

The beleaguered anti-Bakke liberals can only try desperately to beat an

integration, including through the use of busing. Only on this basis can the class and race-biased capitalist educational system be genuinely combatted.

The current battle over the endangered minority quotas often impels revolutionaries to join the battle in defense of existing partial quotas (and indeed proposed future ones as well) as the only immediate alternative to an almost entirely lily-white and middle-class student population. While fighting to win students to our program of open admissions, Marxists must critically support special admissions quotas in order to defeat the racist backlash.

A Class-Struggle Program Against Job Discrimination

The furor over Bakke is perhaps most intense not over the immediate issue of

Workers Vanguard



Nazis cashing in on the racist "reverse discrimination" wave.

Newsweek

orderly retreat, miserably pleading with the Georgia peanut farmer (who owes his presidency to the ability of the AFL-CIO and liberal blacks to push their backers to the polls) to defend what is left of the tokenistic reforms passed under previous Democratic administrations.

For Open Admissions!

The immediate question in the Bakke ruling is the question of preferential access to educational facilities for minority students. If Bakke is upheld even the woefully inadequate gains that minority students have won through quota admissions would be swept away. To give just the example of professional schools, ten years ago only 2.8 percent of medical school students and less than one percent of law students were black or other minority. Today the figures are 9.0 and 8.1 percent respectively. Moreover, a recent survey by the Educational Testing Service showed that the elimination of special admissions would reduce the number of minority students in law schools by two-thirds.

Revolutionary opposition to the threat to minority gains in education posed by the Bakke decision is based on a total rejection of all class and race privilege in access to education. Viewed in this light, the existing quotas are qualitatively insufficient. At best quotas can accomplish a partial redressing of the injustices suffered by oppressed minorities—at the expense of heightening the racial tensions inherent in the competition for the limited educational opportunities offered by capitalist society.

The SYL fights not for token quotas, but for a fully democratic and egalitarian program for educational opportunity. We demand open admissions and no tuition at universities and professional schools, backed up by state stipends for all students and remedial programs for those who need them. These demands are necessarily linked to the need to upgrade the inferior ghetto schooling which prevents minority and working-class youth from acquiring the basic skills necessary for college. This requires an end to the racist "tracking" system and a resolute struggle for school



Allan Bakke.

special admission quotas in education, but over the implications of the Bakke decision for a whole range of preferential hiring and affirmative action programs in employment. The NCOBD, the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) and other reformist anti-Bakke groups explicitly link their demands for defense of special admissions to support for affirmative action in the job market.

Bourgeois liberals and their loyal leftist followers instinctively look to the capitalist state as the agency to enforce anti-discriminatory reforms in employment. Revolutionary Marxists, on the contrary, place no faith whatsoever in the willingness or ability of the ruling class to seriously combat racial oppression. The concentration of black workers in the worst-paid and most degrading jobs serves two functions for the bourgeoisie: 1) to exacerbate the racial and national antagonisms in the workforce and thus serve as a fundamental barrier to proletarian class consciousness; and 2) as a large reserve army of chronically unemployed and marginally-employed workers, ghetto blacks exert a downward pressure on wages and can be shuttled in and out of the labor force according to the ebb and flow of production.

The struggle against the impoverishment of black masses and the

total isolation of millions of ghetto blacks from the labor market is therefore inextricably linked to the fight for jobs for all through a program of transitional demands pointing the way forward to a socialist planned economy: for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to share available work, massive public works at union wages and the nationalization of key industries.

But unlike the Debsian socialists who essentially disregarded the question of black oppression under the guise that all such matters would be resolved under socialism, we recognize the centrality of fighting all manifestations of the special oppression of blacks in American society. As the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus in SDS, the predecessor of the SYL, wrote in a 1969 position paper *Racial Oppression and Working-Class Politics*:

"Under normal conditions, demands aimed at improving the condition of the working class as a whole are less within the power of the presently-constituted labor movement than demands for the upgrading of one section of the class. Socialists have traditionally contended—and rightly—that permanent full employment and a continuously rising standard of living are not possible under capitalism. We can and must raise demands which take the level of consciousness outside the framework of capitalism—transitional demands which workers will accept as necessary but which cannot be achieved under this social system. But it would be a cruel joke on the legitimate aspirations of Black workers involved in struggle for socialists to make struggling for their rights conditional on the acceptance of other demands. If the attack on economic oppression of Black people is to be postponed until the eradication of economic insecurity on the part of whites, racial oppression would continue to exist until several decades after the victory of the socialist revolution."

The inability of capitalism to provide jobs for all serves as the fundamental point of separation in addressing democratic demands to educational and job opportunity. While we can demand open admissions to the universities (as in fact existed in New York City), such a demand for employment under capitalism would be at best utopian. We therefore fight to realize the basic principle that minority and women workers have equal access to any given job as white males.

Historically this has been expressed (in principle, at least) through the union hiring hall. Where this demand has been won, as in the longshore, maritime and building trades, the power to enforce the egalitarian principle of "first come, first served" is already in the hands of workers. "First come, first served" is the most democratic means of insuring equal access to jobs and of guaranteeing work to union militants who the companies might otherwise try to victimize.

However, in the hands of the encrusted and racist American trade-union bureaucracy, even the union hiring hall can be used to keep out blacks. Particularly in the craft unions where job trusting is the norm, the union tops together with management can make sure of who will hear about job openings and therefore be the "first come." The racial composition of the workforce therefore tends to reproduce itself and the union misleaders preserve their sinecure by playing on white workers' fears of losing their jobs to outside labor.

A class-struggle leadership in the unions would not only institute training programs for minority workers paid for at the expense of the corporations and the government, but would undertake massive recruitment drives to insure that blacks can compete with white job seekers on an equal basis. This would include advertising job opportunities in black newspapers and having union representatives publicize job openings in high schools, unemployment centers

and welfare offices in predominantly black neighborhoods.

Affirmative Action and Union-Busting

The affirmative action programs which the majority of anti-Bakke forces are so enamored of aggravate racial divisions by systematically giving preference in hiring on the basis of race. What are completely unsupportable are the affirmative action provisions which require white male workers to give up their jobs in "preferential layoffs" to preserve minority quotas. No employed worker should be expected to lose his or her job to an unemployed worker regardless of color or sex.

However, our opposition to affirmative action schemes is based primarily on the fact that virtually all of these government-sponsored plans involve *state intervention into the trade unions*. In most cases, the affirmative action guidelines or government-set promotion quotas stipulate that minorities be hired or upgraded regardless of union prerogatives or contractual provisions. In the name of redressing historic discrimination, such government schemes target the historic gains which stand at the heart of industrial unionism: seniority and the union hiring hall. Thus, in return for enforcing at best token gains for minority and women workers, the government is able to gain an important lever with which to subordinate the economic organizations of the working class (the trade unions) to the bosses' state.

A clear example of the ominous consequences of this sort of "affirmative action" is the much touted "model" plan adopted by American Telephone and Telegraph in 1973. This plan set annual "targets" for the hiring and advancement of women and minorities and required AT&T to comply regardless of seniority rights guaranteed in union contracts. Of course AT&T, which is notorious for its arbitrary victimizations of "uppity" workers, was all too willing to use this "seniority override" provision against its employees. In the first year of the plan, Bell Telephone violated union seniority 28,000 times in complying with the affirmative action guidelines.

What the government wants out of its affirmative action plans has been graphically revealed by its response to the Bakke ruling and other "reverse discrimination" suits. Insofar as the government has backpeddled from its commitment to affirmative action, it has been to whittle down the provisions which enable minorities and women to take legal recourse against the corporations for discrimination (for example, by replacing quotas with vague "goals" or "guidelines"). It has *not* attacked "seniority override" and other aspects of affirmative action which empower the government to tear up union contracts, smash seniority protection against arbitrary company victimization and bypass union hiring halls.

In fact, the government is concerned that too many suits charging "reverse discrimination" against white employees may sour the corporate bosses on the benefits of affirmative action in union-busting. Thus government intervention in "reverse discrimination" cases has been more selective, but always in order to *uphold* affirmative action programs, particularly those established in violation of union seniority rights. For example, considerable publicity was recently given to the case of Brian Weber, a white worker at the Gramercy, Louisiana Kaiser Aluminum Company plant, who charged that a special training program was discriminatory because it reserved half its places for minorities regardless of their seniority. When the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in favor of Weber in late November, both the Justice Department and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission sought per-

mission within a matter of days to intervene *against* Weber.

"Leftist" Apologies for Union-Busting

The most sophisticated "revolutionary" apologists for government union-busting as the answer to the Bakke decision are the ex-Trotskyists of the SWP/YSA. In the 2 December 1977 issue of the *Militant*, SWP leader Fred Feldman attempted to discredit the SL/SYL's revolutionary working-class program to defeat Bakke and win employment equality for women and minorities by equating it with the racially insensitive anti-quota position of right-wing social democrats. Feldman noted that both the SL/SYL and the weekly *In*

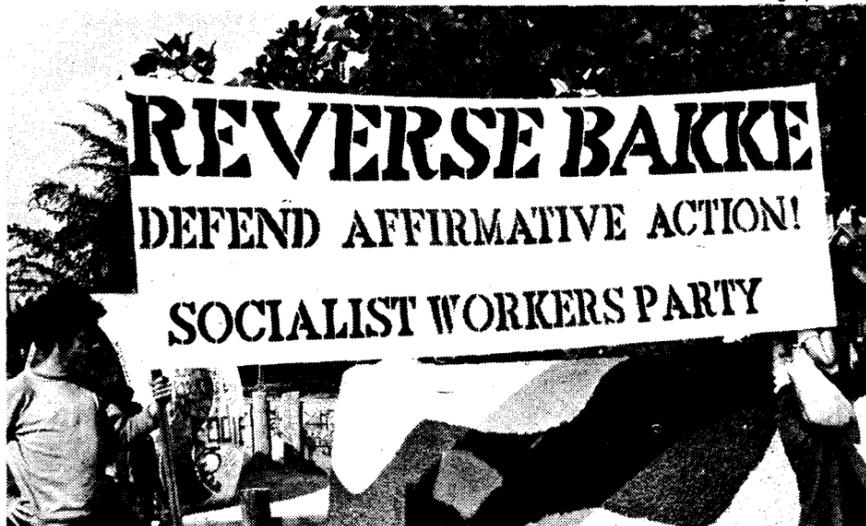
In These Times, DSOC and other social democrats oppose affirmative action quotas for the simple reason that they take their political cue from the sellout labor fakers in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy who resist any attempts to undermine the privileged position of the white labor aristocracy which is their social base. For these social democrats, the race question does not exist independently of their deep-seated commitment to the labor skates and liberal Democrats. The only thing Feldman proved with his clumsy identification of the SL/SYL and *In These Times* was that the SWP/YSA, like the social democrats, identifies the labor movement with the racist bureaucracy and has therefore written it off as a force to fight racial oppression.

Workers Vanguard



Longshore militants oppose Bakke, demand "open admissions."

Young Spartacus



SWP banner at L.A. demonstration pushes support to union-busting government hiring programs.

These Times, which is politically sympathetic to the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), do not call for minority quotas as the solution to racial discrimination. According to Feldman, critics of government affirmative action from both the right and left "echo—with whatever radical verbiage—ruling class attacks on affirmative action..."

In the SWP/YSA's view, the natural ally of oppressed minorities is not a revitalized class-struggle trade-union movement but the capitalist state. "What are women and oppressed nationalities to do until the unions adopt real anti-discrimination programs...?" Feldman asks rhetorically. His answer, of course, is that they should live in the "real world" and turn

their backs on the labor movement. In this "real world" the solution is to mobilize "mass action" to pressure the bosses' government to preserve and extend affirmative action.

The SWP/YSA's approach to the Bakke issue is typical of the reformists' methodology of despair. Lacking any faith in the proletariat's capacity to struggle, these fake socialists inevitably turn to the imperialist state as the expedient agency of "progress." When blacks in Boston faced the onslaught of racist mobs, the SWP/YSA was in the forefront of those counseling that the devastators of Vietnam (the American armed forces) could be brought to Boston to "defend" blacks. When out-bureaucrats such as Ed Sadlowski make their move for union office, it is again the SWP/YSA which tells steel workers that with the assistance of court suits and the Labor Department the unions can be "democratized."

Were this methodology to be applied to the Soviet degenerated workers state (which Trotsky likened to a trade union in power), the counterrevolutionary consequences would be obvious. If one assumes the Soviet proletariat to be unable to sweep away the unspeakable horrors of Stalinism in a workers political revolution (one which will preserve and extend the property forms of this workers state), why not abandon hope and join in with the white terror intrigues of the procession of anti-communist dissidents and Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign?

By advising women and blacks not to "wait" for the union to come to their aid and by embracing the bourgeois state as the agency of their social advancement, the SWP/YSA helps insure that the labor movement will *never* be able to wage a successful struggle against job discrimination. The seniority systems and union hiring halls which are jeopardized by affirmative action are precisely the weapons with which the unions could potentially dictate an egalitarian hiring policy to the bosses. And for all the SWP/YSA's insistence that the government is trying to destroy affirmative action, it is precisely the union-busting aspects of these programs which are in no danger at all.

By the logic of reformist "realism," the SWP/YSA only declares its willingness to settle for small change tokenism as the answer to racial discrimination. For all its "radical verbiage," it is the SWP/YSA which "echoes" the capitalist state in its attempt to destroy the independence and power of the union movement—which under revolutionary leadership could *smash* racial oppression.

Anti-Bakke Demonstrations

With the exception of right-wing social democrats like Michael Harrington's DSOC, virtually every tendency on the American left has jumped on the affirmative action bandwagon. After months of internecine squabbling, the ABDC (the organizational vehicle for

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Defeat Bakke... Maoist Youth...

(continued from page 9)

the CP(ML)/CYO and the Maoist August Twenty-ninth Movement) has decided to throw its forces into the April 15 demonstrations called by its competitor NCOBD and which have also been supported by the CP/YWLL and the Revolutionary Student Brigade.

Unfortunately for the SWP/YSA, their groveling attempts to integrate themselves into the Maoist-initiated NCOBD and ingratiate themselves with the ABDC have come to naught. While in December the National Student Coalition Against Racism, the SWP's pet front group, endorsed the NCOBD call for an April 15 Washington protest and committed itself to building campus support for NCOBD, they have since been forced to go it alone and are now calling for local anti-Bakke, pro-affirmative action demonstrations on April 8.

Contingents from the SL/SYL will participate in these demonstrations as an act of solidarity with the anti-Bakke sentiment of the protesters. At the same time neither the NCOBD/ABDC nor the SWP/YSA demonstrations can be endorsed by revolutionists. These demonstrations are not a united show of force against the ominous consequences of the Bakke decision, but political mobilizations in favor of the government's union-busting affirmative action schemes.

The Bakke decision represents not only a racist assault on the gains made by women and oppressed minorities over the past decade, but a challenge as well to the liberal-reformist strategy of slow-but-steady advances against discrimination through government-authored reform. The demise of the liberal civil rights forces is a fitting testimony to the bankruptcy of this perspective. In order to fight Bakke and win, it is necessary to recognize the dead end to which the strategies of the liberals and reformists have led and turn to a revolutionary working-class program to fight racial discrimination, the program of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. ■

Boston University...

(continued from page 12)

ism and reformism of the committee at the March 28 meeting. Despite their heckling and "militant" rhetoric, even the anti-hike participants were willing to "discuss" the tuition hike with Silber—who had turned the hall into an armed camp with 60 campus and Boston cops.

The first SYL spokesman turned her back on Silber, making it clear that dialogue with this tinpot despot was out of the question. Silber, who had opened the floor to "questions and comments," attempted to cut her off. When the SYLer refused to back down, a "responsible" student in the audience grabbed the microphone away. When a second SYL speaker responded to Silber—who earlier commented that he, as president, had a social position to uphold—exposing this "social position as having nothing in common with the interests of minorities and workers," BU's self-proclaimed "philosopher king" went berserk. Screaming incoherently, he grabbed his notes and headed for the door, returning only after the pleas of several students.

The SYL will continue to participate in activities, mobilize for demonstrations and attend meetings against the tuition hike and in defense of the victimized protesters. We will also continue our struggle for a strategy opposing the present racist, anti-working-class status quo of Silber's "elite democracy." For it is the capitalist system that perpetuates the class bias in education that is our real enemy. ■

(continued from page 7)

doesn't fight its own wars).

Even before the conference pressure from ranks unhappy with the RCP's categorical opposition to busing as a "bosses' plot" forced the leadership to adopt a more weasly position (admitting that hypothetically and in the abstract some busing plan of the future *might* be supportable). By the time of the conference the busing issue was sufficiently hot that the leadership canceled the scheduled workshop on school desegregation.

Youth in Question, but Youth Can't Question

Of course, the Jarvisites now wax indignant over how the political differences in the party were not revealed to "the Brigade" and fought out in the youth as well as the party. But just who, pray tell, among the Jarvisite clique ever fought for the dispute to be brought before the *party* ranks, not to mention the youth. On the contrary, Jarvis has *defended* how the dispute was confined to the top leadership! After the fact lip service to party democracy aside, the Jarvisites have the same attitude to the youth as the Avakianites. For both, it's just a question of who's getting jobbed at the moment.

Despite his howling about how Avakian has stomped on the youth, Jarvis has set up the RSB so that he is in the position to do exactly the same when he feels like "kickin' ass." Why have the Jarvisite bulletins from the RCP fight not been published for the RSB? Where has Jarvis repudiated the traditional Stalinist practice of imposing discipline on party members who are also in the youth preventing them from raising their differences in the youth organization?

—The SYL, as a disciplined Trotskyist youth organization, is organizationally independent and politically subordinate to the Spartacist League. The political subordination of a genuinely Leninist youth affiliate organization reflects the recognition of the necessity of *one* democratic-centralist vanguard party, which embodies revolutionary continuity and the revolutionary program, to lead the struggle of the working class for state power.

Taken together, the SL and SYL constitute a common movement, each of which discusses all disputed questions which confront the common movement and, being bound by the discipline of the common movement, each of which is obliged to carry out all decisions which are arrived at. Given these conditions within the SYL, SL members who are also members of the youth organization do not function in the SYL as a disciplined fraction in relation to non-party youth members.

Political subordination—in the Leninist model—implies the possibility for the youth to politically influence the decisions of the party through an exchange of representatives on all party bodies, from top to bottom. The youth organization is a training ground for professional revolutionaries. Organizational independence and full rights of political discussion within the ranks of the youth organization are critical to the development of future party cadres. A special section of the party for youth is a recognition that youth are a specially oppressed group in capitalist society. Each successive generation comes to communism in a different way and by other paths than the previous generation. It is the task of the youth section of the party to teach the new generation how to apply Marxism to the unique conjuncture of problems that they face. The anti-Marxist politics of the RCP and the RSB are not suited to this task.

Plague On Both Your Houses

The main point of divergence between the RCP/RCYB and the Jarvisites is



Mao and Lin Piao applaud Red Guard parade in 1966.

which wing of the Chinese bureaucracy to back or to oppose. Both accept the basic framework of Stalinism in which policy and privilege are determined by endless power struggles of the bureaucratic caste that rules over the working class. Both adhere to the counterrevolutionary doctrine of "socialism in one country" and the idealist notion that the class character of the state is determined by the ideas in the heads of the bureaucrats in power.

Both Avakian and Jarvis have nothing but contempt for the membership of their organizations and the youth organizations. Both share equally the responsibility for the bureaucratic morass that was the RCP. As "leaders" in this Stalinist organization their main function was to goad the membership into endless sub-reformist activism while sealing them off from politics.

Avakian and Jarvis alike understand that the only real left challenge to their brand of Stalinism is the principled politics and revolutionary practice of Trotskyism. So both the Avakianite and Jarvisite leaderships try to innoculate

their young members against the politics of the SL/SYL by drilling crude knee-jerk anti-Trotskyism into their ranks.

The Stalinist politics of both wings in the RCP split totally identify the interests of the international proletariat with the anti-revolutionary politics of the ruling bureaucracy, although each has its preferred clique. Criticism of the ruling clique immediately conjures up the spectre of Trotskyism, which most of the cynical cadres of the RCP will avoid like the plague.

But the wrenching experience of the recent split and the blatant abuse and manipulation of the youth comrades should propel any who joined the RSB/RCYB with the mistaken idea that it would fight U.S. imperialism and make a revolution to reject this school of politics. Now is the time for those who want to devote their lives to building a genuinely revolutionary movement to crawl out of the muck and mire of the degenerate clique politics of the RCP and examine the program and politics of the SL/SYL—the continuity of Marxism-Leninism in our time. ■

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Campus Support...

(continued from page 2)

YSA scabbed on the 1974 UC campus workers strike, but the leaflets of the YSA/NAM-concocted "UC Mineworkers Support Committee" were photocopied without a union bug or "labor-donated" designation. This violation of the most elementary union consciousness is particularly despicable given the vicious national assault on the printing trades unions exemplified by UC trustee Katherine Graham's smashing of the *Washington Post* printers union.

In its "defense," the YSA claimed that the 1974 picket line crossed, in reality an official union picket line, was set up by the SYL. The miner interrupted, "I don't care who set up the picket line. It could be one old lady on crutches picketing. You never cross a picket line. I've never crossed one in my life and I never will. I wish I'd been on that picket line and that it had been a UMWA picket line!" Even in the case of a racist-motivated picket line, the miner quite correctly added that "you don't cross the line; you take it down."

Similarly, in response to the taunts of the social democrats that the call for hot-cargoing (refusing to handle) scab coal is "utopian," a miner replied that for the UMWA ranks "hot-cargoing isn't just a demand; it's what we're trying to do every day.... You have to bring it to the steel workers. If you'd done that from the beginning, it wouldn't be so 'unrealistic' today."

Reformists at the Service of the Bureaucracy

The coverage of the miners strike in the pages of the SWP's *Militant* has been a de facto apologia for the treachery of the trade-union bureaucracy. By limiting itself to abstract articles urging "support to the miners" and denouncing government intervention, the SWP says nothing about the bureaucracy's efforts to divert rank-and-file sympathy with the miners into harmless gestures. In its 3 March edition, the *Militant* goes after the SL/SYL under the headline "How Not to Support a Strike." Under attack is our "ultraleft" contention that fighting for labor solidarity can include "introducing union resolutions calling on workers to 'hot cargo' (boycott) scab coal and demand that the Steelworkers immediately go on strike too."

According to the SWP/YSA's definition of "ultraleft," the term would apply to most of the membership of the UMWA—as was well demonstrated at a Wayne State University forum on March 15. The forum was highlighted by a guest speaker—Frank Hicks, a member of the United Auto Workers Local 600—who had just returned from a visit to the southern Indiana and Illinois coal fields.

In Winslow, Indiana, Hicks and a member of the Steelworkers' union attended one of the daily gatherings of seven locals which functioned as strike committee meetings (taking charge of such strike tasks as organizing the roving pickets which tried to stop trucks carrying scab coal). When the two visitors were admitted to the meeting they received a standing ovation. "Miner after miner stood up and called for sympathy strikes by steel and auto unions," Hicks remarked. "One miner said outright, 'We need more than paper resolutions, we need the steel workers'."

Hicks stated that Arnold Miller was discredited long before the strike began by his vicious campaign against wildcat strikes last summer. One miner told him that Miller would probably take the cans of tuna fish donated by the Steelworkers and put them at the bottom of the pits to get the miners to go back to work! This aptly sums up the aims of the trade-union bureaucracy's strike-"support" efforts: hot air and canned goods, but uncompromising opposition to the labor action which could have won the strike by bringing the operators and the government to their knees.

The potentially decisive role of labor solidarity was also the central point of West Coast rallies held at the Berkeley campus of the University of California and at San Francisco State University. Initiated by the SYL, these rallies were endorsed by several local professors and by oppositional caucuses in the area. Speaking to over 50 people at Berkeley's Sproul Plaza, Scott Craig of the Militant Caucus of the ILWU reported on the fight for a one-day work stoppage protest in solidarity with the miners—which resulted in the ILWU International Executive Board voting to endorse a Bay Area-wide protest action (see "ILWU Votes One-Day Work Stoppage to Support Miners," *Workers Vanguard* No. 197, 17 March).

Keith Carter, representing the Committee for a Militant UAW of Local 1364 at Fremont, described his caucus' struggle to get union endorsement for a one-day protest strike and mass labor rally in conjunction with the ILWU call for a strike against Taft-Hartley. Carter noted the complete collapse of any official union leadership of the strike and pointed out that even a small caucus the size of the CMUAW within the United Mine Workers could have had a significant impact in providing an alternative leadership for the embattled miners.

Role of Socialist Youth

SYL spokesmen at the various events argued that a victory for the miners could have meant a new, militant labor upsurge and the beginning of a counter-offensive against the attacks on women's rights, integration and the American proletariat's standard of living. The responsibility for the isolation of the miners from the rest of American labor

Young Spartacus Subscription Drive a Success!

This year's *Young Spartacus* subscription drive netted a total of 1,162 new subscriptions to the press of the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL). Each local surpassed its individual quota, enabling us to achieve 119 percent of the expected subscriptions. In addition, the comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada contributed a total of 78 subscriptions. Along with subscriptions to *Young Spartacus* and *Workers Vanguard*, we sold 55 subscriptions to *Women and Revolution* and 16 introductory subscriptions to *WV*.

The success of the subscription campaign, which occurred during the

worst weather conditions in the lives of most SYL members (including torrential rains on the West Coast and repeated blizzard conditions in the Midwest and on the East Coast) and which intersected our determination to commit our organizational resources in support of the miners strike, is a tribute to the dedication and energy of our comrades and supporters. Special recognition should be given to comrade Seth (Los Angeles) who sold 27 subscriptions and to comrades Marilyn (Cleveland), Jim (Boston), Terry (Boston) and Leona (New York) who each sold 24 subscriptions.

Local	YSp Quota	YSp Sold	WV Quota	WV Sold
Bay Area	80	99	45	51
Boston	70	101	30	36
Chicago	100	104	50	58
Cleveland	55	61	25	30
Detroit	80	85	50	54
Los Angeles	50	74	20	34
New York	115	129	80	87
At Large	—	2	—	8
Total	550	655	300	358

and the consequent defeat of the strike must be placed squarely at the door, not only of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, but also of the Miller bureaucracy of the UMWA—the very same Miller whose election was cheered by the entire U.S. left with the exception of the Spartacist League.

Throughout our intervention around the miners strike, we not only tried to marshal campus support for this valiant class battle, but to draw the central political lessons as well. As *Youth, Class and Party*, the founding document of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY), predecessor of the SYL, explained,

"The goal of the RCY's intervention in working-class struggles is to aid in transforming the labor movement into a revolutionary socialist instrument. The RCY seeks to become the student-youth auxiliary of the communist opposition within the labor movement. As an outside youth organization, the RCY cannot directly challenge the bureaucracy for the leadership of particular labor actions. However, by combining support for workers' struggles with a transitional socialist program we can influence the radicalization of the working class and strengthen the revolutionary forces within the labor movement."

SYL Educational...

(continued from page 5)

When a dispute arose in the WSL over the acceptance of the Healyite "crisis" economic theory—which in fact underlay the WSL's perspectives—people like Thorne were prepared to say "We'll go back to Oxford and start again and without the people who are raising such questions." The other side of this was, of course, that they had never really left Oxford. An early issue of *Workers Vanguard* [see "After Healy, What? WSL Adrift," *WV* No. 69, 23 May 1975] pointed out that for all the subjective good intentions of the WSL leadership at that time, the preoccupation with trade unionism alone and the general declarations in favor of some sort of union democracy combined with the rejection of the decisive importance of the vanguard party would eventually lead in a rightward, liquidationist direction.

One concluding point, the importance of the fusion. Comrades in London Station have made interventions into meetings of other so-called revolutionary groups in England for some time. It is unfortunate their non-British accents and training have worked against the importance of what they were saying. This is of course a reflection of the parochialism of the British left rather than a reflection of the particular comrades. Recently, however, this has changed. There have been a number of interventions since the fusion on the question of Ireland, for example. We had a situation where a member of the Trotskyist Faction who is from the staunchly Republican county of South Armaugh was polemicalizing about the importance of working-class unity with a guilt-ridden Protestant from the IMG and forcing that our positions be taken seriously. I think that the polarization that took place in this meeting on Ireland, as compared with the dismissal which had been possible in the past, is a very optimistic harbinger of the future. ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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Bay Area: SYL, Box 273, Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (415) 863-6963

Boston: SYL, Box 227, Boston U. Station, Boston, MA 02215, or call (617) 492-3928

Chicago: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 427-0003

Cleveland: SYL, Box 6642, Cleveland, OH 44101, or call (216) 566-7806

Detroit: SYL, Box 20035, Ferndale, MI 48220, or call (313) 868-9095

Houston: SYL, c/o SL, Box 26474, Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 662-1564

New York: SYL, Box 825, Canal Street Sta., New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 925-5665

San Diego: SYL, P.O. Box 2034, Chula Vista, CA 92012

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, or call (416) 366-4107

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 254-9166

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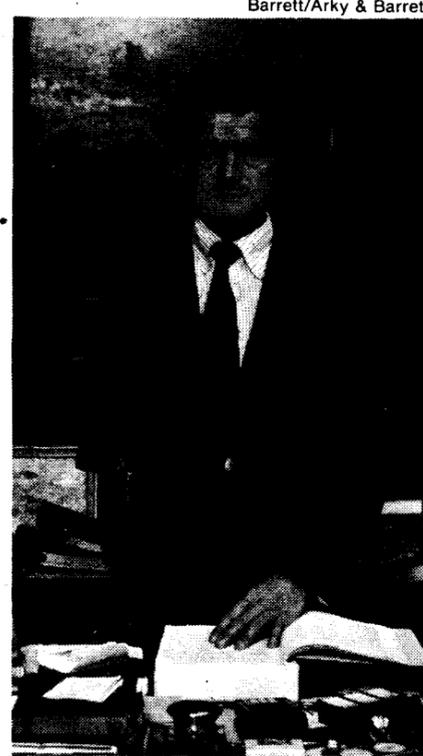
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Young Spartacus



March 16 anti-tuition hike demonstration.



John Silber.

1,500 Students Blast Boston U. Tuition Hike

Madman Silber Strikes Again

BOSTON, March 30—John Silber finally got a taste of what he deserves. For seven years this maniacal Boston University (BU) president has run roughshod over the entire university community—driving union organizers off campus, smashing unionization drives, harassing and firing outspoken faculty and staff, and consistently hounding and restricting the activities of leftist student organizations.

On March 16, 1,500 students assembled in what was the largest demonstration at BU in over six years to protest a recently announced \$400 tuition hike. Angered by tuition increases of almost \$2,500 since Silber came to BU in 1971, a contingent of 500 protesters stormed into the George Sherman Union. Shouting "We Want Silber," the demonstrators pushed aside a line of student bureaucrats and campus cops and broke through handcuffed doors into a Board of Trustees meeting.

By the time the students burst into the meeting hall, the Trustees had turned tail and fled through a rear exit. The occupation of the hall was cut short by the arrival of riot gear-clad cops, but the protesters refused to leave the building and rallied in the student cafeteria to discuss further actions against the hike.

While the size and militancy of the demonstration was unexpected, the wellspring of discontent is not surprising. BU is one of the most expensive schools in the country which, combined with lagging financial aid grants, guarantees its inaccessibility to youth from minority and working-class families. But to add insult to injury, Silber has now been caught with his hand in the till.

The rad-lib *bu exposure*—which Silber attempted to silence, along with the campus radio station and virtually

every other student publication—recently revealed that Silber was soliciting and accepting money in exchange for admissions to the BU Law and Medical schools. Currently some benefactor is postering BU with a picture of Silber and the caption "I'm not a crook." Meanwhile Silber has tried to dismiss as a "joke" his 1973 statement, "I am not ashamed to sell those indulgences!"

But BU students have not found it very amusing to have their pockets picked by a man who is notorious for his financial chicanery and his well-publicized rakeoff from the university (\$80,000 yearly salary, a car, four insurance policies, a 20-room mansion complete with servants). And they have justly demonstrated their lack of "humor" by continuing to build opposition to the tuition hike. In the weeks following the initial demonstration, a meeting of 300 was held on March 28 at Hayden Hall, establishing a "Fight the Hike" committee, and a picket line was set up the following day in front of a meeting of students called by Silber at which those demonstrating opposition to the hike comprised almost half the 1,000 in attendance.

While the issue which has roused attention is the tuition hike, the atmosphere of the campus has been dominated by the university administration's vicious reprisals. Citing \$2,000 worth of property damage and the alleged injury to two cops, the Dean of Student Life Johan Madson and one student, Silber announced in a letter sent to every student that the university will press criminal charges against anyone who participated in "disruptive acts" following the building occupation and that it "will not hesitate to call on civil authority wherever necessary." One protester, Joshua Grossman, was arrested

during the rally on trumped-up charges of personal misconduct and trespass. Two weeks later Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) supporter Garret Virchick was arrested while standing in front of Silber's meeting. As we go to press, the charges have not been revealed, but the administration had previously indicated that it will charge anyone that can be identified at the scene of the "violence" and that "a couple" of demonstrators had already been named.

Silber's swift retaliation makes it clear that opposition to the tuition hike cannot be separated from defense of those framed up for protest activities nor from opposition to administration harassment. But at least one Student Union member, Mark Krone, has offered up his services to Silber. In a *Free Press* article (17 March), Krone accused the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) of setting off the violence.

As the SYL at BU wrote in a letter submitted to the *Free Press*, the administration's violence-baiting is a false issue "which the administration has brought in to divert attention from its own criminal policies and to facilitate the victimization of demonstrators." We completely solidarize with the hundreds of students who demonstrated their opposition to the hike and sought to confront the Board of Trustees. It is Silber—who brought the cops on campus last week, as during the Vietnam war protests—who is the real perpetrator of violence on the campus.

Dump Silber!

The struggle against the administration attacks has been hampered by the thorough-going liberalism and defeatism of the various components of "Fight the Hike," notably the RSB, RCYB and *bu exposure*. At first unwilling to raise any demand other than no tuition hike, the protesters changed this position when Silber's repression made it obvious that the SYL's insistence on broadening the demands to include opposition to administration attacks on faculty, campus workers and leftist student organizations was correct.

Unlike many committee members who argued that if Silber could "justify" the hike the protests would be unneces-

sary, the SYL argued for demands that would address the race and class bias of education as well as the harassment of BU faculty and workers. We proposed militant united-front actions around the slogans: Rescind the Hike—No Tuition, Open Admissions, for a State-Paid Stipend; Stop Administration Attacks on Students, Campus Workers and Faculty; Drop the Charges against Joshua Grossman, No Reprisals; and Dump Silber!

Our proposals were voted down in favor of demands which explicitly legitimize the Board of Trustees and confine the struggle within the limits set by the administration. This was concretized in two of the demands: student representation on the Board of Trustees and other administrative bodies, and a cut in the size of the administration. The refusal to challenge even the most blatant prerogatives of the administration was demonstrated by the fact that two special assistants to Silber were allowed to attend the entire meeting—despite the administration's stated intent to hunt down and prosecute protest participants.

Because the demands of the committee presume the continued rule of the bourgeois administration, posing only a strategy of reform through token representation, the SYL could not officially endorse the "BU Students to Fight the Hike." As we explained in a leaflet passed out at Silber's meeting on March 28:

"Perhaps the RSB, RCYB, the *exposure* and others within the coalition feel that the exclusion of poor and blacks from BU, the budget cuts, the repression of students, faculty and campus workers would be all right if only there were some student "input" into the "processes" of a scaled-down administration. But we in the SYL, champions of the workers and oppressed, recognize that the administration is an instrument of capitalist class rule and will not change its character by a change in composition. Perhaps students are unaware that Silber was selected by a student/faculty search committee—this bit of student "input" certainly did not increase student control over university affairs. The SYL calls for the abolition of the administration, the nationalization of the university and the institution of campus worker/student/faculty control."

The SYL's strategy was sharply counterposed to the student parochial-

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