Sit-Ins Demand No Investment in South Africa—
Would University Divestment Attack Apartheid?

Hundreds Arrested in California Protests

May 28—Student sit-ins and large protest rallies are again headline news in the national media, as demonstrations against university financial holdings in corporations with South African connections have hit several major campuses over the last few days and weeks. A last dramatic has been the upsurge in anti-apartheid protests on California campuses. On May 9 more than 600 students and campus employees at Stanford University rallied to demand that the Trustees vote their 34,000 shares of Ford Motor Company stock in favor of a stockholders' resolution mandating the company to pull out of South Africa. Following the rally several hundred of the demonstrators staged a sit-in at the Stanford administration building. After 16 hours, riot-helmeted cops arrived on the scene and dispersed the protestors, arresting 294. The next day some 1,200 Stanford students turned out for a rally to protest the arrests, and a five-hour sit-in by about 300 of the demonstrators followed.

Within days of the Stanford sit-in a catch-all coalition called "Campuses United Against Apartheid" was launched by student government leaders and assorted political groups at campuses of the University of California (UC) that called for a statewide "divest-now" actions on May 26. A flurry of anti-apartheid protest activity culminated two days ago in rallies and sit-ins at the Berkeley, Davis and Santa Cruz campuses of UC.

Berkeley about 400 people rallied in Sproul Plaza, before setting off on a long march which ended in the brief occupation of Wheeler Hall. Meanwhile, a sit-in at Santa Cruz led to the arrest of some 200 students, while the cops busted 18 protestors who were among those occupying a university building at Davis. In addition to demanding that UC divest itself of stocks in companies with links to South Africa, both the Davis and Santa Cruz demonstrations protested the recent state supreme court ruling that struck down as unconstitutional minority quotas in UC admissions (the Bakke decision).

From various UC campuses come reports of more anti-apartheid protests in the offing. Already the Berkeley "Campuses United Against Apartheid" has called for a statewide campus strike in the UC system for June 3. In any case, students and workers must rally to the defense of the hundreds of anti-apartheid protestors arrested at Stanford, Santa Cruz, and Davis, demanding that all charges against them be dropped at once.

What's Going On?

On more than a few occasions during the past week or so the "divest-now" rallies and sit-ins have been heralded from various political quarters as the "rebirth of the student movement." It is certainly true that the anti-apartheid protests in California attracted many students who have never before marched in a protest demonstration or occupied a building. The relatively large turnout for the Stanford demonstrations and the May 26 actions is in expression of the widespread sympathy for the black upsurge in South Africa which exists on most campuses. Many students clearly regarded the "divest-now" protests as a way to solidarize with the black youth of South Africa who again and again have braved bullets to demand the freedom of their brothers and sisters victimized by the white-supremacist Vorster regime.

At the same time, student opposition to apartheid has reflected mainstream bourgeois public opinion on South Africa. Currently, criticism of the apartheid system frequently springs from the lips of bourgeois liberals. The Carter administration decrying "human-rights" violations in South Africa, presenting U.S. imperialism as the moral guardian of South Africa. U.S. policy is based on the fundamental premise that unless apartheid is reformed, South Africa is headed for major social convulsions that would threaten not only U.S. economic and geopolitical interests, but the very foundations of South African capitalism. And Mondale said as much after his recent meeting with Vorster. According to the New York Times of 23 May,

"Vice President Mondale suggested today that the United States had cleansed itself of a moral blemish by its strong condemnation this week of South African racial policies, and said that if the white minority regimes in the area responded to appeals

for internal reform there was some hope that black Africa could be dissuaded from extreme and violent actions."

A great many of the students who have attended the rallies and occupied the administration buildings in California recently share the liberal view of South Africa promoted by the An drew Youngs. Many of the protests were devoid of any manifestation of militancy. At Stanford, the students who occupied the administration building chatted amiably with the cops and voted among themselves to get arrested, trooping off to jail continued on page 7
The Miami dispute has sparked a possible loss of federal and state funds. To "recommend" guidelines.

It is the left and labor movement that must rally to demand that the Chicago school system be desegregated now, through measures including but not limited to busing.

When asked by the perplexed Miami interviewer about lesbians, Bryant replied that female homosexuals as well as heterosexual females who engage in oral sexual activities are no less "guilty" of the "same "abomination"!

Yet the reactionary backlash against homosexual rights is not confined to the Sunshine state or the deep South. A bill similar to the Miami ordinance was recently defeated in the Connecticut legislature, while an anti-homosexual legislative committee killed the. "Citizens Advisory Panel" which would have extended to the states, a proposal to hold certain state jobs. Bryant claims that equal-rights ordinances have offered nothing more than "voluntary" busing plans and a "Citizen's Advisory Panel" (which would be neither "totally binding" nor "constitutional".

Last January, when the Miami Metro Council passed a county ordinance prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals in housing, employment or public accommodations, nearly 400 protest Fundamentalist fans, each clutching the "good book" with its passages condemning homosexuality underlined, vowed to smite down the law by forcing a referendum on the issue. Since then, the Miami dispute has sparked a nationwide controversy over homosexual rights.

Center stage is occupied by the anti-homosexual holy warrior, Anita Bryant, who has been pop singer now more widely recognized as the "Sunshine Girl of Florida". A rabid Fundamentalist, Bryant has launched "Save Our Children, Inc." to spearhead the local petition drive and raise money. Not content to con-
ROTC Off Campus!
Kent Sit-In Commemorates 1970 Massacre

CLEVELAND—Seven years ago at Kent State University the National Guardsmen dived four former students who were protesting the American imperialist invasion of Indochina. Four black students at the sparked massive student protest. Ever since, the Kent State student body has commemorated May 4 as a day dedicated to the memory of their fallen fellow students and the move-

However, the Kent State Board of Trustees has continued its efforts for bringing the trigger-happy troops on campus, are now determined to buy from the scene of the Kent State massacre and wipe out the tradition of student protest by build-

ing a gymnasium on the site of the 1970 massacre. This provocation did not go unchallenged. At the conclu-

These Kent students and two black students at the

were forced to cancel all fire drills.

On May 4, the boycott demanded the moving of South Boston High to a "neutral" location and called for more hiring of black teachers and ending discriminatory disciplines.

Racial tensions at "Southie" were broken in the breaking point of the boycott. The explosive situation was organized by the racist-terrorist South Boston Marshals, a fascist-infested gang which has spearheaded violent anti-busing mobilizations in the past. On May 12, after three days of an effective black boycott, school officials received a bomb threat from anti-busing racists, and a stick of TNT was found on the door steps of the school. Within a very short time brawls between whites and blacks had erupted, life-style nostrigia by the Kent student government bureaucrats, with more than a little help from their friends in the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Rev-

... whatever the media here has repeatedly described as a "quiet" year.

South Boston High became the scene of renewed racial violence this month when anti-busing whites went on the offensive after black students organized a boycott of school. The boycott was in protest of continued racial violence, racist suspensions of

black students and lynching mob activity in the surrounding white neighborhood so intense that even school officials school officials received a bomb threat from anti-busing racists, and a stick of TNT was found on the door steps of the school. Within a very short time brawls between whites and blacks had erupted, life-style nostrigia by the Kent student government bureaucrats, with more than a little help from their friends in the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Rev-

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Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacus League, is a socialist youth organization which has a working-class program. Based on the policies of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. Editorial Board: Samuel O'Barr, Charles O'Barr, Sam Lewis, (Assistant Editor). Steve Green, Elizabeth Kendall Production manager: M. Johnson Circulation manager: M. Simons

Copyright: All copyrighted signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoints.

Published monthly, except to monthly in July and August, by the Spartacus Youth League, 25 West 22nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10010. Telephone: 212-4205 (Night) 212-525-5726 (Day). No subscriptions: $2.00 per year, Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Stop Vigilante Terror in Boston—For Labor/Black Defense!
Black Students Boycott "Southie"

BOSTON—On the morning of May 12, Dr. Michael Donovan arrived at South Boston High School on a routine visit. On this day, he was to meet his charges as a battle-

ground where white racists were viciously attacking the black students assigned to the school under the court-

ordered busing plan. "Southie" was just about four weeks into its busing. The media here has repeatedly described it as a "quiet" year.

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Black Students Boycott "Southie"
Confiscate Military Profits?

6 March 1977

To the Editor:

I am writing to express some doubts I have about the slogan "for the confiscation of military profits" which Trotsky included in the Transitional Program and which you also advocate in Young Spartacus, No. 46.

1) My main objection to this slogan is that, when raised in a war-time situation, it interlocks demands which the reformists who seek to change the war without hastening its conclusion by de­dying for corporate profit into the slogan, "for the confiscation of military profits." This slogan is not benefit the working class.

2) In the highly unlikely event that the state carried out this demand, more weapons could be purchased with the money which is not going into profits. This would certainly not benefit the working class.

The backbone of the Transitional Program is a series of "economic" demands of an anti-capitalist character. The "Program of Action" proposed the struggle to "turn the imperialist war into a civil war," the slogan for confiscation of military profits and all the other demands of the Program of Action were proposed only as "general guiding principles for immediate action at the end of the war" (emphasis added). While the Transitional Program links confiscation of military profits to other anti-militarist demands, Trotsky did not regard this slogan as an all-purpose demand, to be raised in any and all propaganda and agitation against capitalism and militarism. As the Transitional Program states, "Light must be shed on the problem of war from all angles, hanging upon the side from which it will come and will look like a given moment" (emphasis added).

It is instructive to examine how the American Trotskyists applied the slogan continued on page 10

Fraternally,
Jack B.

"BIG BUSINESS (to Labor, generously): 'My good fellow, you'll be well paid for your patriotic action in letting the blood of the people flow into the ground—I'll take ONLY the roots!"—Industrial Pioneer.

Republican Spain—The Stalin Connection

22 May 1977

To the Editor:

In the May issue of Young Spartacus there appeared an excellent article on the Spanish Civil War, entitled "Lessons of the Barcelona May Days." The article correctly indicted the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist-Leninist), Anarchists, Social Democrats and, most importantly, the Stalinists for sacrificing the Spanish revolution on the altar of anti-fascist frontism.

However, in recounting how the Spanish Communist Party (CPE) attempted to suppress independent mobilizations of the proletariat, a formulation appeared which, in other contexts, has served to let the other misleaders of the Popular Front off the hook:

"Without doubt the most despicable during the May Days was the intervention of the Popular Front. The PCI did not possess a solid base in the working classes—before the POUM the social democratic Stalinist Workers Party of Spain, youth its membership was only 10,000, but Soviet military aid provided the PCI an important lever to gain posts within—and to dictate policies to the Republican forces.

In his novel, The Case of Comrade Tulayev, Victor Serge illustrated how the non-Stalinist ministers of the Popular Front sought to excuse their responsibility for the anti-working class crimes of the Republican government by invoking a "realistic" appraisal of the Republic's dependence on Soviet military aid:

"... a deputy from the Independent Labour Party would arrive from London, dressed in a very dirty gray suit. 'This, my only one, the British can be ugly, clamping his pipe between pure stone Age jaws, and domination automatically demanding: 'What has come of the POUM leader Anrés Nis?" The anti-Stalinist strata did too would earnestly implore him, before a dozen people, to keep those calumnious rumors which outrage the Republic, and when they were alone with him would clamor on the back and say: "Those bastards got him, but what can we do about it? After all, we can't fight without the arms Russia is supplying to us? Think we are fools?"

Trotsky threw a harsh and brilliant light on these backroom excuses when he wrote in his pamphlet, "The Lesson of Spain—The Last Warning":

"This brings us right up to the solution of the enigma of how and why the Communist Party of Spain, so insignificant numerically and with a leadership of various factions, proved capable of gathering into its hands..." continued on page 10

YOUNG SPARTACUS
Anti-Kissinger Campaign

Columbia Demonstrations...

The campaign to stop the proposed appointment of Henry Kissinger to a teaching post at Columbia University continued this past month, most notably with a vocal picket-line demonstration at the Columbia graduation ceremonies on May 18. Several graduating seniors in caps and gowns joined the demonstration which demanded that the secret negotiations between the Columbia administration and this butcher of Indochina be terminated and that there be, as the marchers chanted, "No Teaching Post for Imperialist War Criminal Kissinger!"

The media has continued to closely follow the protests and other activities of the SYL-initiated Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus (see display). In addition to news articles, NBC-TV and WINS radio covered the Columbia demonstration.

In a related development, Kissinger cancelled his plans to receive an honorary degree during the May 22 graduation ceremony at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. The "no-comment" cancellation followed on the heels of the announcement that campus groups were planning a protest demonstration at the commencement ceremony. (In New York City the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus also issued press releases announcing its intention to mobilize support for the Philadelphia protest and in this connection was again interviewed by the media.)

Students at Columbia must not allow the administration to use the summer recess to clinch the deal with Kissinger, presenting the campus with a fait accompli in the fall. As the SYL leaflet at the May 18 demonstration stated,

"That [Columbia president] McGill continues to refuse to comment on the status of the negotiations with Kissinger undoubtedly reflects his fear of militant student protest. Such protests have already gained nationwide publicity this past semester. They will continue this summer and next year—until Kissinger is driven away."

Kissinger: Retired Killer

To the Editor:

I am in complete agreement with the campaign being conducted by the Columbia University Spartacus Youth League and the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus to prevent the rehabilitation of war criminal Kissinger by Columbia University.

Young Spartacus properly dismisses the New York Times accusation of "witch-hunting" as hypocritical and irrelevant. The issue is not Henry Kissinger's "right" to teach at Columbia. It is whether the American universities are to continue to serve as old-age homes for retired killers.

The New York Times and the Columbia administration would like us to "forgive and forget" the Vietnam War. They would like to insulate individuals like Kissinger from personal responsibility for acts committed while in public office. And they would like symbolically to bury the student radicalism of the 60's, which exposed the corrupt, intimate relations between the universities, the corporations, and the United States government. This is not surprising.

The imperialist ruling class always tries to deprive the working class of its history. It consistently promotes a legalistic distinction between "the man" and "the office"—a distinction which shields criminal "statesmen" from public wrath, and makes government policy appear to be abstract, impersonal, and unrelated to class purposes. And it always seems to use the universities to accomplish these purposes.

Thanks to the SYL and the Ad Hoc Committee, the ruling class has already experienced a setback at Columbia University. Theirs is not just a struggle against Henry Kissinger, but against historical amnesia, the bourgeois depersonalization of politics, and ruling class domination of the universities. All class struggle militants should rally to their support.

In solidarity,
Richard Libman-Rubenstein
Visiting Professor, Université de Provence France

...and Press Coverage Continue
No-Nuke of the North

For 24 hours "No-Nuke City" thrived in its parking lot, peopled by clapping, singing, kite-flying "clams." Streets were laid out; solar water collectors were built; all bottles and cans were recycled. The "clams" thrived in its parking lot, peopled by New Hampshire's atomic power plant. Organized into "affinity groups," schooled in "non-violence" by the American Friends Service Committee, armed with granola and frisbees, and flying banners which read, "no jocks," and "eco-fishig not fishing," the Alliance occupied the site as a protest against nuclear power, in general, and Seabrook, in particular.

Clam Bust at Seabrook

On April 30 several thousand activists of the "Clamshell Alliance," marching to the strains of a bagpipe, entered the parking lot of the construction site of the Seabrook, New Hampshire, atomic power plant.

Several hundred "clams" were confined in the armories for two weeks. There they were subject to the rules of a capricious National Guard command, "tallied" from overhead pigeons, unsanitary conditions in the Clamshell armory and the threat of disease. A large part of the bill for these "accommodations" was footed by none other than the Public Service Company, principal investor in the Seabrook reactors.

Although a deal was eventually worked out whereby the remaining prisoners were found guilty and released on personal recognition pending appeal, the fines and sentences remain to be served. We oppose the represenation of the Clamshell Alliance and defend them against the reactionary Thomason. Return all fines, reverse all convictions, drop all charges!

Half a "Movement" Reborn

The Clamshell Alliance has been hailed as the student movement "reborn." But this is only a half-truth.

The New Left of the 1960's was a contradictory amalgam in which a political opposition to racial oppression and the blatantly imperialist ventures of U.S. foreign policy mingled with life-style pseudo-radicalism and a pop-culture "new age" philosophy. The withdrawal of the U.S. from Vietnam, the "movement" disintegrated, and a layer of the most serious student activists turned toward the working class and left organizations claiming to stand in the tradition of Leninism.

What is "reborn" in the Clamshell Alliance is the rotten half of the "movement"-Central Park "be-ins," levitations of the Pentagons and infamous self-indulgence. The Alliance was pulled together by those aging New Leftists who long ago abandoned political activism and retreated into the rural swamps of New England. A touching account of Clamshell's origins was given in The Real Paper of 14 May 1977:

"The Northeast Utilities had a major blow when it announced plans for two power plants in Montague, Mass., near the famous Clamshell Pond. Power is the foundation of the twice-born "movement.""

According to its founding statement, the Clamshell Alliance has two goals:

1) Stop construction of a nuclear power plant in Seabrook, N.H.
2) Assist the effort to halt nuclear plant development in New England.

As the foundation of the twice-born "movement," this program brings a surprising singleness of purpose and a real geographical narrowness. But according to Clamshell, nuclear power is the yestertoday thing ever to come down the Manse Pike:

"Nuclear power is dangerous to all living creatures and their natural environment. It is designed to deplete energy, resources and profits in the hands of a powerful few. It threatens to undermine the principles of human liberation on which this nation was built."
would be affected by the power plant's cooling system. In fact, the "Clamshell Alliance" drew its name from the clams, lobsters, and fish larvae that would presumably be killed on the screen mechanism of the power plant. Yet, according to one estimate (Wall Street Journal, 5 January 1977), the total amount of marine life impacted by the intake would be less than the daily consumption of fish by the Alaskans' next favorite creature: whales.

While praying on and about unmarked graves in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, the SeaPeople does not address itself to the real questions about "Nukes is Good Nukes," while the SeaPeople demonstrators. But what about the real nuclear menace in the world today? By far the greatest threat from nuclear power does not come from the generation of electricity, but from the concentration of atomic weapons in the hands of the imperialists. The

**Apartheid Protests...**

continued on page 1

At Stanford the "divest-now" coalition expressed the political meaning of its slogan quite explicitly by announcing the "Stanford Committee for Responsible Investment Policy" to "build the worst illusions that in capitalist society the workers and oppressed rural masses of South Africa, Refusal by American corporations to handle military goods to South Africa would repre-..._table__end
Harvard Demo Protests
Think-Tank Confab

BOSTON-A "Conference on African Foreign Policy for the United States" sponsored by Harvard University on April 29 and 30 was the target for a demonstration by about 200 anti- imperialist protesters.

Organized to discuss how to ensure America's access to the energy, mineral resources and commodities of Africa, this academic summit meeting was sponsored by the Foundation and the Rockefeller Institute. The meeting of imperialist "researchers" wishing to pick up the tab when academics put their mouths where their money is. No more scholarly symposium was this; the roster of invitees included such imperialist heavyweights as Jimmy Carter, Cyrus Vance and Andrew Young.

When the conference was announced, the Harvard Spartacus Youth League took the initiative and called for a united-front "Add Hoc Committee Against Apartheid" based on the "abolish last night highlighted this year's presidential campaign debate with the "abolish last night highlighted this year's presidential campaign debate with the student government.

Two debates were held last night, one involving the first two candidates, the YSA and the SGL, and another involving the last two candidates, the SYL and the BIL.

Significantly, each of the slates in the primary selection debate with the student government.

Through a series of maneuvers, including secret meetings and bald-faced deception, these liberal and pacifists formed a "coalition" based on the slogan, "Victory to the Peoples of Southern Africa." The SYL refused to endorse the demonstration called around this deliberately vague and classless slogan, which means different things to different political tendencies. It is necessary only to recall how at the time of the Angola civil war the RSB and YWLL each raised the slogan "Victory to the Angolan People!" but backing opposite sides in the war.

Indeed, the "unity" of the "coalition" was short lived. Mistimed when the SYL directed its "main blow" at "Soviet imperialism" and when the Committee Against Racism raised the slogan, "Rai Brezhnev," the Brezhnevite YWLL boycotted the demonstration.

"Better Leadership for Improved Services" (BLISS), the Committee Against Racism (a liberal-academic front group of Progressive Labor which at Harvard is based in the Divinity School) and the Revolutionary Student Brigade (which has no base whatsoever at Harvard).

"We were unable to endorse the protest on the basis that its slogan was deliberately meaningless rhetoric, the SYL at Harvard nevertheless participated in the demonstration, mobilizing the largest contingent in the march and rallyed to hear a speaker for the demonstration, the supporter of the SYLers. The Organization and the Committee Against Racism clearly criticized the absence of "student input," in effect, giving the impression that imperialist appeasement would be acceptable if it were only more democratic. Perhaps recalling that the facile liberal protestations of yesterday's debate, the Andrew Young of today, capitalist politician Charles Diggs closed the session by inviting the "opportunists" to attend future conferences!

In sharp contrast to the SYL campaign, the YSA election platform makes no mention of replacing the administration with student-faculty-worker control, nor do these "respectable" opportunists call for the institution of an open admissions policy--a demand which, as the SYL slogan has it, "puts us on the edge" at a school whose racial and class exclusiveness are notorious. So the party was the YSA's "main blow" at "Soviet imperialism" and when the Committee Against Racism raised the slogan, "Rai Brezhnev," YWLL boycotted the demonstration.

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Eco-Faddism, Nuclear Power... continued from page 7

tarian revolution will utilize science and technology on the materi-

al basis for overcoming the "human condition" of war, poverty and pri-

vilege—the hallmarks of class society.

In the abstract, technological innovation and application to nu-

clear power, are rarely incontestable. The technological consider-

ations do not exist apart from class society. Under capitalist rule, the

fundamental irrationality of profit and market relations can render un-

safe even the best-understood technology. It is not the role of Marxists to

advise and consent to the bourgeois state's plans to meet their energy

needs—anarchic relations of produc-

tion are simply not amenable to rea-

son. To argue that one mode of generating electricity is inherently

safer (or more sensible) than another

is not the role of Marxists to

advise and consent to the bour­

geois state. The question we need to ask is maximally, could the

socialist future could have given Marx the capacity to see human

In the beginning of May the

administration of the University of Cal-

ifornia at Davis (UCD) announced that

in order to ensure the university's

"political neutrality" campus organi-

zations that campaign for political

and electoral goals would have to

be countered by a militant mobi-

lization. On May 14 over 100 New

Yorkers heard Young

Spartacus editor

Charles D'Orien speak on "Africa: Secessionism, Neo-

Colonialism, and Permanent Revolution." After discussing the

shadowy "war" in Zaire, the speaker moved on to consider the

Marxist attitude toward secessionist

movements in Africa, focusing on the South Sudan and Biafra.

No Ban on Political Groups at Davis!

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administration of the University of Cal-

ifornia at Davis (UCD) announced that

in order to ensure the university's

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zations that campaign for political

and electoral goals would have to

be countered by a militant mobi-

lization. After thirty

years of resistance, the extra-

ordinary ban is in fact originating from

the state-wide Board of Regents, the

administration has temporarily post-

poned “divest-now” to the upcoming in May the

The SYL condemns this blatant

attack on students' democratic rights. The threatened political purge must be countered by a militant mobi-

lization of students and workers to demand—NO MORATORIUM, NO BAN!.

Workers

Vanguard

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BERKELEY—In late April the SYL at Berkeley fielded a slate of four candidates in the campus elections to the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC). As reported in the last issue of Young Spartacus ("Challenges Political Censorship," Young Spartacus, May 77), the current SYL slate (YS) was threatened with disqualification for violation of an ASUC election by-law which stipulates that all campaign literature be submitted to the ASUC Election Council prior to distribution. The purported intent of the by-law is to prevent circulation of allegedly "slanderous material."

The YS slate refused to submit its literature, arguing that this by-law constituted political censorship. As a "punishment" for this principled position, the junior Joe McCarthy's of the ASUC Judicial Committee voted to suspend YS candidates from campaigning on April 28, the last day of the campaign period, and to eliminate the YS slate from the ballot if the candidates defied the suspension. Refusing to bow to this attack on democratic rights, the YS candidates publicly declared their intention to continue campaigning and distributed "unofficial," or unregulated, literature throughout the campus during the course of the suspension.

In the face of widespread campus support for the YS position, the Judicial Committee backed down, mainly from claiming that they did not see any YS candidates campaigning. On May 12 the Daily Californian announced a vote tally of 105 for YS presidential candidate Katie Welsh (with similar totals for the other three candidates), indicating a modest, but significant base of campus support for the Trotskyist politics of the SYL.

Subsequently, a motion was presented to the ASUC senate to rescind the by-law. The motion was bureaucratic referred to the Constitution Committee, which has been hesitant to overturn the regulation. At the committee meeting on May 25 the SYL argued that any refusal to rescind the ASUC by-law will set a dangerous precedent for victimization of left groups on campus. Who and what determines the nature of "slander" is inherently arbitrary; the revolutionary program of the SYL has always been considered "slanderous" by the ASUC. If this by-law is upheld, the legal basis for a campus withdrawal will be firmly established; even bourgeois governmental elections have no such legal precedents. A conceivable hanging themselves among the ASUC committee members finally voted to amend the by-law, so that candidates must submit two copies of all campaign materials to the ASUC along with their financial reports after the elections.

The YS slate's successful defense against the harassment of the Judicial Committee, is an important if limited victory for democratic rights on the Berkeley campus. It is necessary to continue this fight, through the elimination of all repressive electoral regulations.

BERKELEY—In the last issue of Associated Students of the Berkeley campus elections to the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC). As reported in the last issue of Young Spartacus ("Challenges Political Censorship," Young Spartacus, May 77), the current SYL slate (YS) was threatened with disqualification for violation of an ASUC election by-law which stipulates that all campaign literature be submitted to the ASUC Election Council prior to distribution. The purported intent of the by-law is to prevent circulation of allegedly "slanderous material."

The YS slate refused to submit its literature, arguing that this by-law constituted political censorship. As a "punishment" for this principled position, the junior Joe McCarthy's of the ASUC Judicial Committee voted to suspend YS candidates from campaigning on April 28, the last day of the campaign period, and to eliminate the YS slate from the ballot if the candidates defied the suspension. Refusing to bow to this attack on democratic rights, the YS candidates publicly declared their intention to continue campaigning and distributed "unofficial," or unregulated, literature throughout the campus during the course of the suspension.

In the face of widespread campus support for the YS position, the Judicial Committee backed down, mainly from claiming that they did not see any YS candidates campaigning. On May 12 the Daily Californian announced a vote tally of 105 for YS presidential candidate Katie Welsh (with similar totals for the other three candidates), indicating a modest, but significant base of campus support for the Trotskyist politics of the SYL.

Subsequently, a motion was presented to the ASUC senate to rescind the by-law. The motion was bureaucratic referred to the Constitution Committee, which has been hesitant to overturn the regulation. At the committee meeting on May 25 the SYL argued that any refusal to rescind the ASUC by-law will set a dangerous precedent for victimization of left groups on campus. Who and what determines the nature of "slander" is inherently arbitrary; the revolutionary program of the SYL has always been considered "slanderous" by the ASUC. If this by-law is upheld, the legal basis for a campus withdrawal will be firmly established; even bourgeois governmental elections have no such legal precedents. A conceivable hanging themselves among the ASUC committee members finally voted to amend the by-law, so that candidates must submit two copies of all campaign materials to the ASUC along with their financial reports after the elections.

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anti-militarist demands of the Transitional Program in the period following the warmongering of recent years. Over the American working class and petty bourgeoisie. In 1937 an opinion poll revealed that 70 percent of the American population favored the Loyalist amendment, which would have overturned the regulation. At the committee meeting on May 25 the SYL argued that any refusal to rescind the ASUC by-law will set a dangerous precedent for victimization of left groups on campus.

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the student government bureaucrats, offered to "support" the vehement rejection of the budget of the Black Student Union as agenda that these demands were not negotiable. We were to have minimal redressment which was found inadequate by the Trustees. This was defeated by the defeatist strategy of the Black Student Union. The student body was shocked and the leaders were unhappy by the failure of the student body to negotiate the student body. And the administration was shunted into the leadership's strategy. A coalition of leftists has formed that victory of a constituent assembly. The SYL national office has been attacked by late-night racist murderers.

The SYL recognizes that victory for labor, politics like the TA strike at UCLA requires respecting picket lines, and in support of the TA striking students and in protest of the Baker decision. The TA strike has again proved the crucial necessity of shutting down an entire campus and respecting picket lines in order to win university labor actions. But the leadership of AFSCME Local 760, the main campus union, found only enough labor solidarity to have AFSCME members walk the picket lines during their lunch breaks, while refusing to shut down the university. Meanwhile, the left and socialist groups on campus all reject this fundamental axis of militant unionism. The Community Party wholeheartedly endorsed the policies of the AFSCME tops. The Socialist Student Federation is a Marxian position on the upcoming Spanish elections.

The SYL recently sponsored a series of forums entitled "Spain: Power and Revolution," which were held in Madison, Wisconsin. A focus of the presentations by SYL National Committee member Brian Lewis was the 30 January 1977 strike in Spain that had some members of the SYL at the Department of Political Science Committee (DSCP) annual conference. The SYL recently sponsored a series of forums entitled "Spain: Power and Revolution," which were held in Madison, Wisconsin. A focus of the presentations by SYL National Committee member Brian Lewis was the 30 January 1977 strike in Spain that had some members of the SYL at the Department of Political Science Committee (DSCP) annual conference. The SYL recently sponsored a series of forums entitled "Spain: Power and Revolution," which were held in Madison, Wisconsin. A focus of the presentations by SYL National Committee member Brian Lewis was the 30 January 1977 strike in Spain that had some members of the SYL at the Department of Political Science Committee (DSCP) annual conference.
Young Spartacus
Spanish Workers Have No Candidate

Bloodshed and Betrayal in Francoist Elections

For the first time since the defeat of the Second Republic in 1939, the Spanish working masses will participate in legislative elections this June 15. The dramatic concessions wrested from Franco's hated heirs by the militant Spanish proletariat have resulted in the legalization of the Communist Party (PCE) and the Socialist Workers Party (POSE). Today the heads of the PCE, Santiago Carrillo and Dolores Barat ("La Pasionaria") openly campaign for the Cortes (parliament), while the leaders of the Communist, the National Movement and the corporatist CNS syndicate have all but disintegrated. Not since 1936 have states of the predominant Spanish workers parties been represented on a nationwide ballot.

The Fraud of "Francoist Reforms"

The Spanish parliamentary elections do not, however, take place within the framework of bourgeois democracy. The much-heralded "Francoist reforms" are the desperate attempts of the despised nonpartisan regime of King Juan Carlos to placate the mounting working-class militancy, while the regime has grudgingly legalized the reformist PCE and the POSE. The two parties remain illegal, denied any role in the election. Above all, the repression of forty years of Francoist totalitarianism remains intact. The Basque region in particular lives in a state of unleashed police terror, while elsewhere in Spain vicious police repression is almost an everyday occurrence, as was demonstrated by the savage cop assault upon May Day demonstrators. In addition, militant workers and leftist students are subjected to repeated attacks by the numerous fascist death squads, these blood-thirsty paramilitary gangs term their "strategy of tension."

Under the "Francoist reforms" the bicameral Cortes is to have 41 members of the upper house directly appointed by King Juan Carlos; that is, the Cortes' functions are restricted by the role of the monarchy as the legal form of rule. The much-heralded "Francoist democracy" is a fraud! Nevertheless, communists do not on principle absent themselves from participation in the electoral process. The Spanish elections could be used as a forum for class-struggle opposition to the forty years of Francoist barbarism.

No Vote for Popular Fronts!

However, in the coming elections neither the PCE nor the POSE represents, even in a qualitatively reformist expression, a working-class alternative. Despite their proletarian base, both of these reformist (bourgeois) workers parties are qualitatively compromised by their present popular-front alliances with bourgeois parties ranging from nationalists and Christian Democrats all the way to Bourbon and Carlist monarchists.

Both the POSE and the PCE have long since dropped even the vestige of opposition to the government of Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez. While POSE-head Felipe Gonzalez leaves open the possibility of entering a Suarez center-left coalition, the PCE proves its "respectability" by endorsing NATO, repudiating the communist goal of a dictatorship of the proletariat and taking up the Francoist flag "as their own." Moreover, the PCE rejects its own former position, "No to the Francoist Monarchy," in favor of the recent central committee declaration, "if the monarchy continues to advance on the track of reestablishing liberty and democracy, the communists seated in the next Cortes will be able to consider the crown as the constitutional regime." By committing their parties to a "multiclass" (but in fact bourgeois) common program with sections of the capitalist class, the PCE and POSE thereby subvert the most fundamental principle of working-class politics: the political independence of the proletariat from the exploiting classes. As long as the PCE or POSE remain wedded to popular-front formations (i.e., to cling to Franco's heirs as appendages of the capitalist class) a vote for these parties would only reaffirm the politics of class collaboration which so treacherously paved the way for Franco's seizure of power two generations ago. Thus, Marxists must stand in conditional opposition to the PCE and POSE. As a precondition for any sort of electoral support we demand that these parties break with their bourgeois bloc partners and present themselves in the elections in open opposition to the Francoist regime.

Basque Boycott of Elections

Furthermore, there are regions of Spain where Marxists must call for a total active boycott of the elections as a whole. In areas where state and extra-legal right-wing terror is so intense, or where parties representing substantial proportions of working people are still outlawed, the elections are simply a vote of confidence in the Francoist totalitarian regime. This most certainly is the case in the Basque region, where hundreds of thousands of workers have repeatedly struck for the release of left-wing political prisoners and an end to the Guardia Civil state of siege. One typical account which recently appeared in the New York Times (3 April) describes the level of repression:

"Several thousand youths were squeezed into the small plaza [listening to music] on one recent Sunday when, at 10:15 P.M., six Land Rovers of the paramilitary Civil Guard drew up and discharged angry, uniformed men who began clubbing wildly with the butts of their submachine guns while others fired hard, round rubber bullets at short range..."

"For two hours, the groans of uniformed paranjas rampaged through the narrow streets..."

As brave Basque militants continue to be shot down by the police and all political gatherings are subject to warrant terror, there can be no talk of "free" elections. To go along with the government's "democratic" pretensions under such conditions would be tantamount to condoning a piquet line: an act of fundamentai class betrayal.

For a Trotskyist Party in Spain!

The pre-revolutionary crisis in Spain cries out for the intervention of an authentic Trotskyist party. No less than the PCE and POSE, the various Spanish centrist organizations have demonstrated their inability to steer the proletariat clear of popular-front betrayals to the road of the revolutionary seizure of state power.

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