

Young Spartacus

Number 38

25 cents

202-2 X-523

December 1975

Bankers Doom Open Admissions, Threaten Campus Closures

For a NYC General Strike Against Cutbacks, Layoffs!

Seize the Campuses!

NEW YORK CITY, November 25—The administration of the City University of New York (CUNY) has just thrown upon the chopping block its no-tuition/open admissions policy—which enables tens of thousands of black, Puerto Rican and other working-class youth every year to gain access to higher education. After weeks of a bureaucratic tug-of-war between proponents of various schemes for implementing the \$151 million in CUNY cutbacks, the Board of Higher Education (BHE) yesterday authorized CUNY Chancellor Robert Kibbee to draw up admission requirements for all 18 campuses in the CUNY system.

As part of the "Kibbee Plan," the

proposed admission requirements (reading proficiency and mathematical skills) will eliminate open admissions and will cut back by an anticipated 20 percent CUNY enrollment, which now stands at 275,000. These requirements are aimed directly at minority youth, who are the victims of the inferior ghetto schools.

At the same session the BHE reportedly came out in favor of four other austerity measures, including cancellation of the midterm admission of an expected 10,000 entrants; an involuntary four-week payless "furlough" for faculty; an across-the-board \$9 million cut of individual college budgets; and early collection of sum-

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Wall Street demonstration hits cutbacks, November 17.

California Demonstrations Demand:

Stop CIA/NSA Recruitment on Campus!

NOVEMBER 25—Over the past several weeks students on campuses of the University of California (UC) have turned out by the hundreds for picket lines, marches and rallies to demonstrate against on-campus recruiting by the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency (NSA). First at UCLA on November 10, then at UC Berkeley on November 13 and 17, and today at UC San Diego, hundreds and hundreds of students are protesting CIA/NSA recruiting on campus. The demonstrations occur at a time when the CIA no longer denies involvement in domestic witchhunting and grisly assassination plots. At UCLA and UC Berkeley the SYL has been in the thick of the struggle, militantly raising our demands: DRIVE THE CIA/NSA OFF CAMPUS! ABOLISH THE CIA/NSA!

The protests were sparked by recent disclosures detailing UC collaboration with the CIA/NSA in its renewed "affirmative action" recruitment drive to attract minorities and women. On October 22 the UCLA *Daily Bruin* first blew the whistle by reporting that UC and 22 other universities were sending representatives to a surreptitious conference to be held on October 23-24 at CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

Hesitant to raise their ugly heads on campus, the CIA/NSA spies and assassins hope to conduct their recruiting as much as possible through faculty and administration intermediaries. Only days after the CIA-sponsored parley, NSA ads suddenly began to appear in UC campus newspapers.

An intelligence arm of the U.S. Defense Department, the NSA officially is responsible for developing and deciphering codes. While operating the largest computer network in the world and employing thousands of translators, the NSA actually devotes the smallest fraction of its vast resources to cryptology operations.

In an SYL Fact Sheet distributed the day after the NSA ads appeared, we documented the scope of NSA resources and sinister activities:

- The NSA provides 80 percent of all "valid" U.S. intelligence.
- The NSA is larger than the CIA: it employs 120,000 persons, only 15,000 within the U.S.; the CIA employs perhaps 12,000 worldwide.
- The NSA budget is upwards of \$10 billion a year, nearly one-tenth of the entire defense budget and perhaps twenty times the size of the CIA budget.
- The NSA is even more secretive than the CIA; the presidential directive which created the NSA in 1952 is still secret; its charter is totally secret; its budget is totally secret, disguised as part of the Defense Department budget. The NSA is completely exempt from the Freedom of Information Act, which has been used to pry documents from the FBI and the CIA.
- It was NSA airborne operators who were responsible for the murder of Che Guevara in the Bolivian mountains in 1967.
- The first American killed in the Vietnam war was an NSA agent.
- The U.S.S. Turner Joy and the U.S.S. Maddox, the two U.S. destroyers that invaded North Vietnamese waters in the Gulf of Tonkin in 1964, were on NSA assignment. The U.S.S. Pueblo, which invaded the coastline of North Korea in 1968, was likewise working for the NSA.
- The NSA was working closely with the CIA and ITT in the spying on Cuba which prepared the counter-revolutionary Bay of Pigs invasion.
- In Indochina the NSA was in charge of IGLOO WHITE, a significant part of the massive Electronic Battlefield program.
- The NSA has monitored the overseas phone calls and cables of nearly 8,000 organizations.

The largest, most clandestine, best-financed spy agency in the world, the NSA wields awesome power in the service of the most rapacious imperialist power. The NSA clearly functions not only to maintain Cold War "vigilance" and to pursue anti-communist subversion but also to protect U.S. imperialism's "sphere of influence" from rival imperialist powers. Thus, the NSA ads emphasized the top priority assigned to Russian and Japanese language capacity.

At UCLA the November 10 demonstration was built by the Committee to End University Complicity with the CIA, which has raised the demands that all complicity with the CIA be terminated and all UC-CIA correspondence be published. The UCLA Committee includes the SYL, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the campus supporters of Tom Hayden's senatorial campaign and organizationally unaffiliated students.

As a follow-up to the demonstration, the UCLA Committee on November 21 held a teach-in on the CIA/NSA. The opening session, sponsored by the Tom Hayden for Senate campaign and the Committee for a Democratic Foreign Policy, drew over 400 people to hear Victor Marchetti, author of the best-seller, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, and journalist Fred Branfman, both of whom advocated the "abolition" of the CIA, while simultaneously calling for a reformed spy agency limited to "intelligence gathering."

Following the featured speakers, a panel discussion was held. The SYL spokesman took Marchetti and demagogic Democrat Hayden to task for spreading the liberal illusion that U.S. imperialism would relinquish from its arsenal such a powerful weapon as the CIA/NSA. He argued that the CIA/NSA/FBI, an indispensable pillar of the imperialist state, can-

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EDITORIAL NOTE

Schlesinger Sacking Upsets Maoists

Rocket-rattling Pentagon boss James Schlesinger, the most bellicose opponent of U.S.-USSR "detente," has long been the darling of the Chinese Maoist leadership, whose foreign policy in recent years increasingly has been directed against so-called "Soviet social-imperialism." But last month Gerald Ford, evidently preparing for a presidential re-election campaign spotlighting "detente," abruptly reshuffled his cabinet and unceremoniously dumped the recalcitrant Defense Secretary Schlesinger.

Only days later the Chinese regime released through its official Hsinhua news agency an unprecedented, lengthy statement criticizing the sacking of Schlesinger as a concession to the Soviet Union and as a dangerous weakening of U.S. imperialist forces! Favorably quoting jingoist Senator Henry Jackson, this Maoist mouthpiece mourned the ouster of Schlesinger as "a loss to the nation in the pursuit of a prudent defense and foreign policy" (quoted in *New York Times*, 9 November).

While Brezhnev and Co. treacherously woo allegedly "pro-detente" U.S. imperialist politicians, the Chinese Stalinists have solidarized with hard-line gunboat diplomats like Henry Jackson and cold warriors such as Schlesinger. Although incessantly denouncing the allegedly "fascist" USSR, the Chinese have consistently refrained from calling for a revolution in this country. For American Maoists a consistent application of this Chinese line can only lead to backhanded support for Henry Jackson and Barry Goldwater! The Maoist bureaucrats ruling over and against the Chinese workers, no less than the Stalinist jackals entrenched in Moscow, are willing to shamelessly betray revolutionary internationalism for their anti-revolutionary and ultimately utopian goal of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

Before Nixon inaugurated the 1971 U.S.-China "rapprochement," the Peking bureaucracy branded NATO an "aggressive bloc which is an enslaving tool in the hands of the United States of America"; in deeds, however, the Chinese willingly capitulated to imperialism, notably by refusing to supply the then-struggling Indochinese insurgent forces with adequate military aid. Once the aging Mao/Chou leadership negotiated its "united front" with U.S. imperialism against their "number one enemy" Russia, the Chinese Stalinists increasingly became the number-one foreign drummer boy for NATO and Schlesinger.

Last spring Schlesinger submitted a report to Congress advocating a "NATO first use of theatre nuclear forces" in the event of any Russian-backed "aggression" in Europe (*New York Times*, 30 May). Peking responded by stressing to Belgian Prime Minister Tindemans (then visiting China) that Schlesinger's "nuke-'em" tirade represented "a good view of the world" (quoted in *Christian Science Monitor*, 24 April).

Then last summer after the U.S.-USSR Helsinki summit meeting, *Peking Review* (8 August) bemoaned that "the Soviet Union generally is on the offensive while its rival, the United States, more often than

not, finds itself at the receiving end" and anxiously warned about "weak links in the U.S. and NATO defense line in Europe." Citing a report to Congress by Schlesinger, this article sympathetically reported that "the United States has in the past few years beefed up its nuclear strength and paid special attention to developing its conventional forces in Europe."

In just one recent issue of *Hsinhua Weekly* (3 November), for example, the Maoists lauded U.S. capitalist politicians opposed to defense cuts, backed a NATO resolution to "strengthen NATO's military forces" and called for a more aggressive West German militarism:

"In the face of this situation [Russian military build-up], many countries in West Europe have emphasized the need to strengthen their unity and the defense capabilities of their respective countries. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, too, has made its efforts to promote West Europe unity and has advocated strengthening 'one's own will in defense' to cope with superpower menace."

Such "strengthening 'one's own will in defense'" for the bourgeoisie signals nothing less than its

represented by the non-capitalist property foundations and social base of the Russian state. This treacherous bloc with imperialism against the USSR is no less fatal for a defense of the Chinese deformed workers state; a defeat of the USSR would certainly be followed by imperialist aggression against China.

Divided by conflicting nationalist interests rooted in their commitment to "building socialism in one [their own] country," the Stalinist bureaucracies misruling from Moscow and Peking are the real "splitters and wreckers" of international proletarian solidarity. Today, as Brezhnev waltzes Ford at Helsinki and Mao thumps war drums for NATO, only the Trotskyist program, upheld by the international Spartacist tendency, unceasingly calls for *international communist unity against imperialism*. The greatest obstacles to a real united front against imperialism are the Stalinist bureaucracies.

The counterrevolutionary Russian bureaucracy, no less than its Chinese counterpart, must be smashed. But the Stalinist usurpers misruling in the Sino-Soviet states must be removed not by imperialist conquest restoring capitalism but by a workers political revolution struggling for the estab-



Mao.



Schlesinger atop a NATO tank reviewing troops.

ominous preparation for renewed imperialist war. Thus, even the bourgeois London *Economist* (8 November) has been taken aback: "China is the world's most consistent advocate of German reunification and West European integration." The West German imperialists have long raised the "reunification of Germany" as their battle cry; behind such nationalist chauvinism seethes the rapacious appetite for imperialist conquest, in particular a counterrevolutionary attack against the Soviet bloc. As Lenin warned in 1915, bourgeois governments seek "European unity" and alliances "only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty against Japan and America" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21). The Chinese line calling for stronger European capitalist armament is despicable vicarious militarism and social chauvinism. Unlike the imperialists and Stalinist bureaucracies, revolutionaries call for the *revolutionary reunification* of divided Germany.

By encouraging belligerent military confrontation with the USSR, the Chinese bureaucracy criminally endangers the colossal revolutionary conquests

establishment of workers democracy through soviets based on the existing collectivized property relations. The foreign policy of "peaceful coexistence" can only endanger the defense and sabotage the extension of the revolutionary gains embodied in the degenerated workers states by betraying the anti-capitalist struggles of the oppressed. Only international proletarian solidarity can effectively combat imperialist threats. Only the socialist revolution can eliminate forever the holocaust of imperialist war.

- All U.S. troops and bases out of Europe--Smash NATO!
- Soviet nuclear shield must cover all the deformed workers states!
- For the unconditional defense of the USSR, China and all other deformed workers states from imperialist attack and capitalist restoration!
- For workers political revolutions to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and to forge international communist unity against imperialism!
- Extend the revolutionary gains--For international socialist revolution!

Kent Rally Supports Philip Allen Defense

On November 13 a forum was held at Kent State University in support of the defense of Philip Allen. A student at Los Angeles Community College (LACC), Allen has been convicted of voluntary manslaughter and two counts of assault with a deadly weapon on a cop and given the maximum sentence of five years-to-life on one of the assault counts. Allen is clearly the victim of a vicious racist frame-up: the 5'3" youth is alleged to have disarmed a six-foot cop and then shot three others, all while receiving a savage beating from at least four deputy sheriffs. On October 1 Allen spoke in his own defense at an LACC rally. The next day, when he was sentenced, Allen was granted bail; but later the judge, upon learning of Allen's speech, revoked bail. For reaffirming his innocence, Allen now is in jail!

The Kent State forum was proposed by the Spartacus Youth League and endorsed by the American Indian Rights Association, Black United Students, Professor Norm Fisher, the Kent Gay Liberation Front, the Kent Women's Action Collective, Willie Robinson, and the Partisan Defense Committee (an anti-sectarian defense organiza-



Philip Allen.

tion whose class-struggle policies are in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League). Speakers at the forum included representatives of the PDC and SYL.

A defense meeting was held earlier the same day at Cleveland State University. The PDC collected funds at both events for the Allen defense. **FREE PHILIP ALLEN NOW!**

Young Spartacus

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

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

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

UN Den of Thieves "Debates" Zionism, Political Prisoners

After a hotly debated resolution branding Zionism as a "form of racism and racial discrimination" was passed in the United Nations on November 10, the pro-Israel delegates puffed up in paroxysms of histrionic indignation. Always bellowing about a "tyranny of the majority" in the UN whenever the tables are turned on the U.S., top-dog diplomat Daniel Moynihan, whose policy toward racial discrimination in this country is a notorious "benign neglect," declared that the U.S. government "does not acknowledge, it will not abide by, it will never acquiesce in this infamous act" (*New York Times*, 11 November). Henry Kissinger even suggested that the UN had exhausted its allegedly lofty mission: a not-so-veiled reminder to the so-called "emerging Third World/Communist majority" that the UN will serve U.S. imperialism or it will serve nobody.

But the racist injustice and barbaric atrocities which the Palestinian Arabs have suffered at the bloody hands of the State of Israel thunder louder than the self-righteous wailing raised by the imperialists and Zionists in the UN. The Zionists have unleashed indiscriminate terror throughout the occupied territories and conduct murderous raids against Arab settlements across the border "suspected" of harboring Palestinian guerrillas. Like all virulent bourgeois nationalism, Zionism is reactionary and viciously exclusionary.

Arab hypocrisy

Rivalling the imperialists in deceit, the Arab countries and the Palestine Liberation Organization, having unsuccessfully attempted to boot Israel out of the UN, trumpeted the resolution as an alleged tremendous victory for the Palestinian Arabs. The UN has condemned the dispossessed Palestinians to a living death in the squalid refugee camps where they barely subsist on starvation-level UN rations. The resolution branding Zionism as a form of racism is a worthless scrap of paper which changes nothing for the Palestinian Arabs.

While wrapping themselves in the banner of Palestinian liberation, the Arab bourgeoisies have all betrayed the interests of the Palestinian Arabs. None of the Arab states has done anything to economically and socially absorb the mass of Palestinians dumped into the abominable camps. With the resurgence of Palestinian nationalism, the self-proclaimed "anti-imperialist" Hussein in 1970 murderously turned on the Palestinian guerrillas based in Jordan; his "Black September" massacres left thousands of Palestinians dead and routed the commando forces.

In the wake of "Black September," the so-called "progressive" regimes of Syria and Lebanon also cracked down on the Palestinian guerrillas, threatening reprisals for any forays against Israeli forces and imposing direct state control over the Palestinian

units. And the "revolutionary" colonels ruling Iraq, who pledge undying support for the national self-determination of the Palestinians, have recently crushed the just struggle of its oppressed Kurdish minority.

In their confrontations with Zionist Israel, the Hussein-Assad-Sadat-Qaddafi cabal are committed only to their own nationalist and revanchist goals. Through nationalist/religious demagoguery and cynical manipulation of the Palestinian struggle, the Arab regimes seek to deflect the smouldering fury of the downtrodden Arab masses away from class war against their own exploiters and toward reactionary mobilizations against Israel.

By condemning the masses for the crimes of their leaders, both the Zionists and Arab nationalists seek to pit Jew against Arab. While denouncing Zionism in UN resolutions, the



Arab chauvinist hysteria: "Death to Israel."

Arab regimes in fact willfully exploit the Zionist tenet that the Israeli state and the Hebrew people are indistinguishable.

Marxism vs. moralism

Israel in relation to the Palestinian Arabs unquestionably is an oppressor nation. The Zionists could carve out the State of Israel as a "Jewish homeland" only through expelling and subjugating the Palestinian Arabs. Not unlike the emergence of the Turkish nation, consolidated through the genocidal slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Armenians and Greeks, the compacting of the Hebrew-speaking nation involved the brutal dismemberment and dispersal of the Arab Palestinian nation.

Marxists certainly do not condone pogroms or genocide as the midwife in the birth of nations. But neither do we regard national oppression as simply a moral injustice demanding redress through a reversal of the existing terms of oppression. Such a "solution" can only be reactionary. This has once again



Murderous Israeli air raid reduced this Arab village to rubble (top). Palestinian refugee camp (bottom).

been tragically confirmed in Cyprus, where the domination of the Turkish Cypriots by the Greek Cypriots has now been inverted, while the axis of communal conflict remains.

The Leninist position on the national question rests upon the democratic principle of the *equality of nations*: consistent opposition to all manifestations of national privileges and national oppression. We thus recognize the right of national self-determination for the Palestinian Arabs. However, we also must defend the national rights of the Hebrew-speaking nation, which are called into question at each outbreak of war with the Arab states. To deny the national rights of the Hebrews, as do the Arab nationalists, is to drive the masses of oppressed Israeli workers behind their Zionist rulers.

Although abstractly equally legitimate, the national claims of the Palestinian Arabs and Hebrews are in reality *counterposed*, precisely because the national conflict originated in the geographical interpenetration of two peoples on the same territory (consisting of present-day Israel and Jordan). Under capitalism such conflicting national claims center on the question of property: the conquest of territory by the Zionists could only occur through the confiscation of the land of the Palestinian Arabs. Thus, within the framework of capitalism, the Palestinian Arabs or the Hebrew-speaking nation can fully exercise the right to self-determination only by denying that same democratic right to the other. The resolution of the counterposed national claims of the Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrews can be genuinely democratic and equitable only with the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew workers in power.

By recognizing that the counterposed national claims of the Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrews can be democratically resolved only through the socialist overturn, Trotskyists by no means cease to wage an uncompromising struggle against the brutal national oppression which the Palestinian Arabs suffer. The Israeli workers must demonstrate proletarian solidarity with their Palestinian Arab class brothers by fighting tooth-and-nail for the end to all discrimination against the Arabs in Israel and for full citizenship rights for the Palestinian Arabs: the "right of return" *only* for the Palestinian Arabs! The Hebrew workers likewise must struggle against the corporatist-Zionist Histadrut and for independent Hebrew-Arab trade-unions. The Hebrew working people must demand the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli forces from the occupied territories and Arab communities and an end to all "retaliatory" strikes against Palestinian camps.

Imperialist hypocrisy on political prisoners

In retaliation against the anti-Zionism resolution, the U.S. immediately introduced in the UN a resolution on political prisoners aimed at embarrassing the anti-Israel, authoritarian "Third World" countries as well as the deformed workers states. Waxing eloquently on "human rights," this propaganda ploy exhorts all governments to release "all political prisoners" (*New York Times*, 13 November).

The UN resolution, of course, defines "political prisoners" as only "persons who have sought through peaceful means to express views at variance with those held by their governments." The U.S. imperialists, the bestial butchers of Indochina, must "overlook" the millions of class-war prisoners languishing in dank prisons from San Quentin to Santiago and from Teheran to Tokyo. This is the government which made it a felony during the Cold War for a Communist even to apply for a U.S. passport and which witchhunted Martin Luther King for his "peaceful means to express views" at variance with the government. Let the surviving victims of the inhuman "tiger cages" employed in South Vietnam appear in the UN to testify about the U.S. imperialists' hand-wringing

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Campaign Puts Heat on Pinochet's "Chicago Boys"

CHICAGO—"The Friedman-Harberger controversy has become the *cause célèbre* of the autumn quarter" declared the University of Chicago (UC) campus press, the *Maroon* (14 November 1975). UC economics professors Friedman and Harberger are the authors of the Chilean junta's devastating economic "shock treatment," which has drastically depressed the living standards of the workers and poor peasants of Chile. This murderous program, backed by the dictatorship's executions, mass imprisonments and tortures, has led to widespread starvation in the working-class districts of Santiago. (See the October issue of *Young Spartacus* for a full account of the "shock treatment" and the junta's "Chicago Connection.")

The SYL initiated the Committee Against Friedman-Harberger Collaboration with the Chilean Junta and is building the campaign at UC as a concrete contribution to the struggle for international solidarity with the victims of the barbarous junta. The Committee—based on the two slogans "Protest Friedman and Harberger: Collaborators with the Bloody Chilean Junta!" and "Free All Victims of the Junta's Repression!"—has held two rallies and a teach-in on Chile. The campaign has succeeded in thoroughly exposing the Friedman/Harberger/junta axis and in mobilizing the most active and controversial protest the campus has seen in some years.

Broad-ranging support

As a result of the campaign, the Committee continues to receive support. Most recently, on November 21, the SYL received a statement of endorsement from Andre Gunder Frank, well-known radical economist and author. Other individuals and organizations which had already endorsed the Committee include: Studs Terkel, author and radio commentator; Sidney Lens, author and political activist of long standing; Otis McDonald, president of the UC Council of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 321; John Coffey, vice-president of SEIU Local 321; Chicago Union of Radical Political Economists; UC professors John Coatsworth and Adam Przeworski; Norman Gelfand; University of Illinois/Chicago Circle campus (UICC) professors David Jordon, Arturo Vazquez, Joseph Persky and Preston Browning; Roosevelt University professors Richard Rubenstein and John Freels; the SYL and Spartacist League; the Young Socialist Alliance; the UC New American Movement; the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Prisoners

(USLA); and Indians for Political Freedom.

The campaign has attracted publicity in the campus press of several Chicago-area colleges, notably the UC, Roosevelt University and the UICC; the Harvard *Crimson* has also reported the activities of the Committee. Recently the SYL learned that an anti-junta group based in Algeria also has publicized the UC campaign in its journal *Resistance* (20-26 October 1975). Even the *National Review*, rag of ultra-conservative James Buckley and pro-



Milton Friedman (left) is architect of economic "shock treatment" that has plunged masses into starvation: Santiago workers search for food in garbage dump.

is no widespread torture or starvation in Chile. When this junta lackey said he was "absolutely free to say anything" about Chile without fear of repression when he returns home, the response was derisive laughter, even from the rightist careerists who support Friedman.

A rapprochement between liberal opponents and such rightist defenders of Friedman-Harberger was engineered by the practiced small-time brokers of the reformist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). Disingenuously claiming that the "facts of the issue" have not been established, the YSA, which has actively sought to sabotage the anti-Friedman campaign, authored a resolution for a "Commission of Inquiry" into the Friedman/Harberger affair. Student Government approved this motion; the SYL abstained, as it is not the facts of the case that are at issue but rather what action must be taken. If the "Commission of Inquiry" ever gets off the ground (which seems unlikely at this point), the SYL will provide it with the extensive and damning documentation we have put together on the Chilean dictators' "Chicago Boys,"



essional anti-communist James Burnham, was sufficiently disturbed by the uproar over fellow reactionary Friedman to devote a page of its October 31 issue to the UC campaign "under the leadership of the Spartacus Youth League."

Struggle in Student Government

Reflecting the intense debate on the UC campus sparked by the campaign, on October 27 a meeting of UC Student Government, usually politically moribund, split down the middle on a motion introduced by the SYL representative calling upon the Student Government to condemn Friedman and Harberger and to endorse the Committee. The motion was narrowly defeated by a vote of 35-29. SYL speakers used the Student Government session to put forward a powerful indictment of Friedman and Harberger. At the meeting a Chilean graduate student from the Friedmanite business school of Catholic University in Santiago defended the junta, claiming that there

while criticizing its shilly-shallying.

YSA, collaborators agree on "right" to engineer repression

YSA campus leader Garrett Brown went out of his way to demonstrate that his organization is "respectable" and that the YSA is opposed to militant action against the junta's collaborators. In his speech before Student Government, Brown said he would favor inviting the Economics Department "and these Chilean students" being trained by Harberger to serve the junta to nominate members for the "Commission of Inquiry": This would be like inviting Goebbels to head up a commission to investigate "allegations" of anti-Semitism under the Hitler regime! After his appeal for the "broadest" and most "representative" Commission, Brown was elected to a three-member "Search Committee" for the "Commission of Inquiry."

When Friedman and Harberger and their defenders launched a barrage of statements denouncing the proposed innocuous "Commission of Inquiry" as a "violation" of academic freedom, the supple-spined YSA bent even further backwards to demonstrate its social-democratic "responsible" politics. Garrett Brown and the two other members of the "Search Committee" submitted a statement to the *Maroon* (11 November 1975) which whined,

"Certainly, the rights of Professors Harberger and Friedman to advise the Chilean government do not preclude the right of anyone to examine and evaluate the consequences of their activities. It is unfortunate in this regard that they have adopted the position that the facts should not be brought to the fore. We hope they will reconsider." [emphasis added]

According to the YSA, the "Chicago Boys" have the "right" to help starve the Chilean working class, as long as they let everyone know about it! The inexhaustible opportunism of these

social democrats should sicken anyone who feels any solidarity with the victims of Friedman's "shock treatment" and Pinochet's repression. Conscious of the logic of his line, the despicable reformist Brown met with Friedman on November 17 to try to convince him to cooperate with the "Commission of Inquiry".

The Committee Against Friedman-Harberger Collaboration with the Chilean Junta has linked its protest and exposure of the "Chicago Boys" to the issue of defense of victims of the junta's anti-communist repression. Recently the Chilean junta imprisoned a group of clerics for allegedly giving medical aid to fugitive militants of the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left); among the priests is UC PhD candidate Father Gerald Whelan. The junta first declared a news blackout on the case and now reportedly plans to try Whelan in the next weeks.

The SYL has raised the slogan "Free Father Whelan!—Free All Victims of the Junta's Repression!" Adopting a motion raised by the SYL delegate, the UC Student Government has gone on record demanding the freedom

of Father Whelan, Martín Vásquez (a leader of the MIR) and all victims of the Chilean junta's repression.

Friedman and Harberger have said nothing about this latest outrage by their friends in the Santiago dictatorship; UC Acting President Wilson has refused to protest it. While vigorously defending Whelan, the SYL will fight against any liberal-inspired or campus-parochialist attempt to limit defense efforts to the case of this one individual. The SYL above all struggles in defense of the class-war prisoners in Chile, from Bautista Van Schouwen, MIR leader brutally tortured by the *gorilas*, to Communist Party head Luis Corvalan, whose life is threatened in a reported secret trial.

Drive junta collaborators off campus through protest and exposure!

The Friedman-Harberger campaign at UC has been in progress for two months. It has raised the issue of UC

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WORKERS VANGUARD

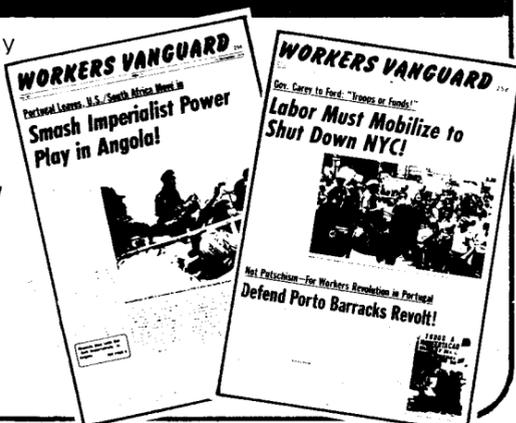
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KKK Swine Gets Hostile Reception at Univ. of Houston

YSA Lectures Protesters on "Rights for Fascists"

HOUSTON—One month ago at the University of Houston, Ku Klux Klan mayoral candidate Scott Nelson unfortunately was able to appear at a forum and to spew his racist, anti-Semitic filth and genocidal ravings, including bragging about KKK "hunting licenses" for an "open season" to "hunt and kill" black people. From among the largely black crowd of around 300 rose again and again clenched fists, angry shouts, boos and jeers and mocking heckling. Every time these outcries erupted,

supporters of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) and its National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) leapt to their feet, heatedly shouted and gesticulated to the crowd. The SWP/YSA and NSCAR were not encouraging the hostile reception but, on the contrary, were frantically attempting to quell the protests and to enforce speaking "rights" for this fascist beast! The yellow-"socialist" SWP/YSA, "anti-racist" NSCAR and the brown shirts them-

selves were the only ones to vocally defend the alleged "right of free speech" for fascist scum.

No platform for fascists!

At the confrontation with "Imperial Wizard" Scott Nelson, the Spartacus Youth League vigorously participated in the militant outpouring of verbal protest. Upon learning of the invitation extended the KKK leader by the Students' Association and the Political Science Organization, the SYL had issued a leaflet, "No Platform for Fascists!," and submitted a letter to the campus press (*Cougar*, 23 October); the SYL demanded that the two student organizations (and *not* the administration) withdraw the invitation, and we called for a militant protest against any appearance by the fascists. We explained that fascists like the KKK must not be allowed the "right" to organize for anti-communist slaughter, anti-black genocide and anti-labor terror. We do not recognize the "right" of scabs to break strikes and certainly not any "right" of fascists to smash the oppressed.

Fascists prove their effectiveness not through arguing their "ideas" but through their murderous actions; the "hunting licenses" distributed as KKK campaign literature are a "program" for *murder*! Even though fascist gangs like the KKK are still relatively small, these night-riding killers cannot be defeated through polite debate, decorous demonstrations or the "democratic process." These degenerate scum will be intimidated only by militant actions of labor and oppressed minorities. The destruction of the fascist menace requires mass mobilizations and the formation of labor/black defense guards.

Our letter and leaflet provoked a minor storm on campus. During the next week no less than six letters appeared in the campus press attacking the anti-fascist propaganda of the SYL. Chiming in with this chorus, the Houston YSA submitted a statement to the campus press (*Cougar*, 30 October) attacking the militant protests which greeted "Imperial Wizard" Nelson.

YSA: hypocrisy and slander

In its letter the YSA hypocritically declares that Nelson was "met by well-deserved boos and jeers from the UH students." Indeed he was! But far from considering the verbal protests "well-deserved," the YSA had actively sought to suppress the boos and jeers. Perhaps the YSA has reconsidered its rotten role?

Absolutely not! These cynics attempt to smear the militant protest as disruption by only "a very small group of self-appointed radical students," who "encouraged students to shout him down, threw eggs at him, and violated his right to speak." These ultra-"respectable" fake radicals are repeating the same "tyranny of the minority" garbage which university administrators have long hurled at student radicals: "a small group of radicals...as a minority, attempted to violate the right of the majority of the students to hear and protest [?!] Nelson."

Yet the YSA, emphasizing that it "took no part in the disruption attempt," makes it clear that it protested only the angry students:

"The YSA, on the other hand, was with the overwhelming majority [!] of students present telling these 'radicals' to be quiet so we could hear."

But the report of the meeting by the campus press (*Cougar*, 28 October), not to mention the fact that Nelson was forced to flee in a cop car, exposes as an outrageous lie this claim that the boos and shouts were confined to a "very small group" while an "overwhelming majority" supposedly attempted to hush them. Furthermore, if the "majority of students" supposedly joined the YSA in restoring quiet, then who was responsible for the "well-deserved boos and jeers"?

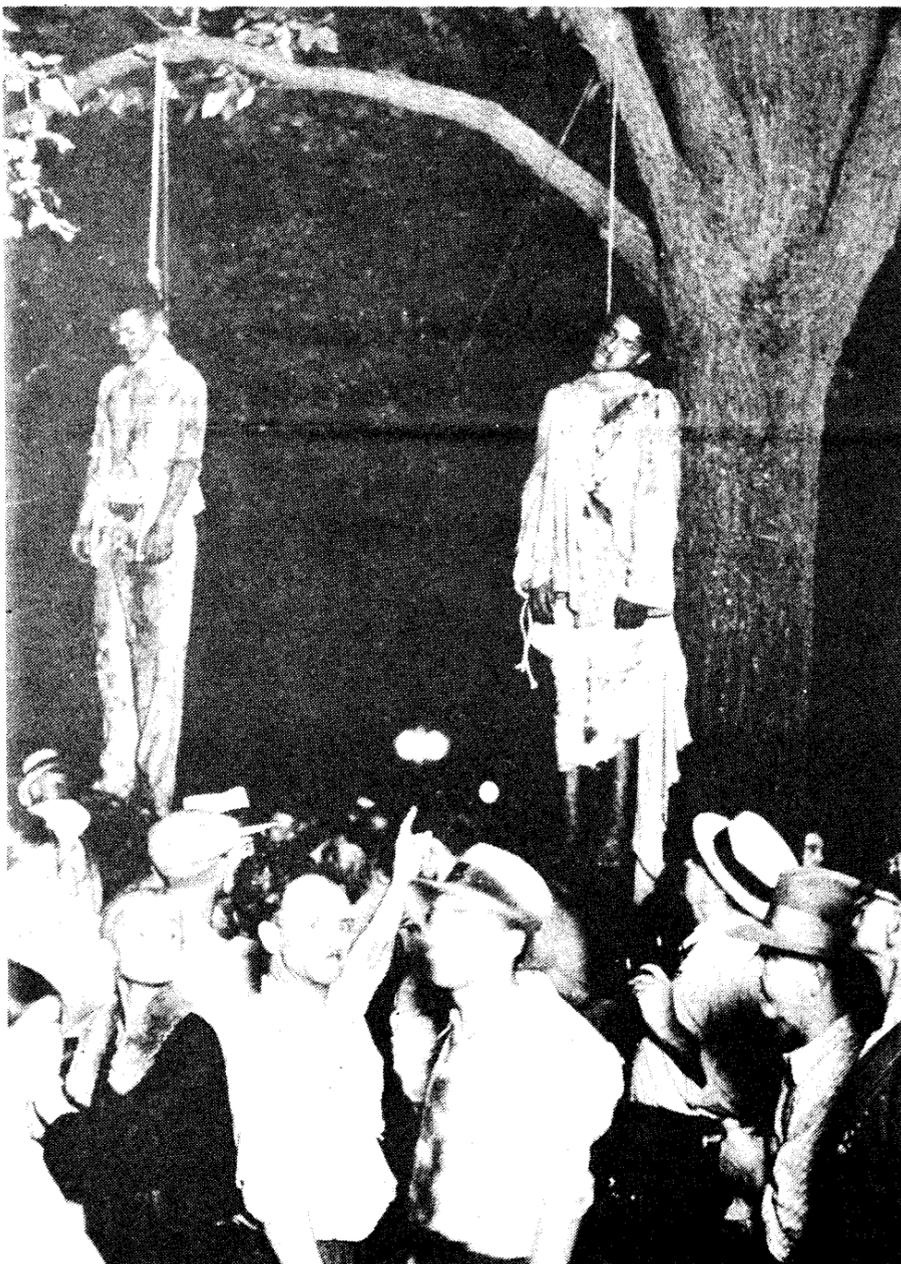
Finally the YSA, not content with lies and insults, completes its slander by cop-baiting the students who had protested the KKK:

"Watergate revealed the FBI used agents in radical groups to inspire these groups to commit illegal acts. Frequently, the loudest, most militant 'radical' was later found to be an FBI agent."

Because their opportunist politics cannot withstand the test of political struggle, political cowards like the YSA, who yell the loudest about "democracy," trample over the principles of workers democracy and resort to cop-baiting. This can only discredit the left and open it up to actual cop infiltration.

KKK must not speak

The KKK are dangerous, murderous thugs. The Klan in Houston openly advocates lynchings of black people and "white Communist trash" and has taken credit for vicious attacks on leftist bookstores and radio stations. Nelson should not have been allowed to appear on campus and "campaign" for KKK terror. What was demonstrated at the hostile reception given Nelson was the anger and militancy which could have prevented the fascist KKK scum from spewing his racist poison on campus. ■



KKK appeal is not its "ideas" but its actions: murders by lynching.

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Strike Against Cutbacks, Layoffs!

Continued from page 1
mer session fees.

Still on the BHE agenda, however, is the proposal pushed by Robert Marshak, president of the City College of New York (CCNY), which calls for the closing of six CUNY campuses. This "Marshak Plan" has provoked a storm of controversy and protest during the

The experience of the radical student movement of the 1960's demonstrates that capitalist politicians and the administrations of the bourgeois university never have been forced to meet student demands when faced simply with "respectable protest." Students could not have made their anger felt—against the Vietnam war, against

movements which fail to link up with the working class carry within themselves an ultimately fatal weakness: they will not be able to defend next year what was wrenched from the capitalists last year. Any call for militant tactics and bold demands therefore must be linked with the call for labor/student mobilizations and a city-

attempted to posture as the "most militant" tendency present by engaging in senselessly provocative militancy mongering.

Disregarding the formidable line-up of cops guarding the BHE entrance and surrounding the picket line, a small contingent of PL supporters attempted to infuse militancy by chanting, "Let's Go In!" At once the justly despised marshals of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) closed in on the PL supporters, a confrontation developed and scuffling ensued. In the melee at least one PL supporter was pushed in the direction of the cops by an SWP, YSA marshal.

Substituting bravado for tactical good sense, PL employs senseless "kick-ass" militancy and shrill rhetoric as a cover for its lack of a revolutionary line. In *Challenge* PL raises militant calls for a general strike. But, working primarily within the CUNY University Student Senate (U.S.S.), PL is willing to accommodate the liberals and limit its demands simply to an end to the cuts, which simply would freeze the present intolerably racist status quo. Furthermore, when the U.S.S. liberals backed off from the planned November 20 Wall Street demonstration as potentially too "confrontationist," PL shelved its hyper-militant rhetoric and boycotted this militant action!

Equally notorious for mindless adventurism and victimizing publicity stunts, the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) likewise spices up its bland sub-reformist program with peppy "fight-back" rhetoric. Like PL, the RSB accepts the fundamental framework of capitalism. While PL tries to ignore the question of the banks, the RSB argues that the bankers should be paid their due... in cold cash!

"Not to pay the banks... is not a solution we should turn to. If it did the city would go totally bankrupt (banks would give no more loans and that is the only way the city can pay off its debt.) [emphasis ours]

—*Fight Back*, NY-NJ Special Edition on Cutbacks

The revolutionary socialist response to the tyranny of Big MAC begins with the demand that the city debt be cancelled and the banks be expropriated!

Its juvenile play-acting aside, the RSB has been completely incapable of evolving any coherent line or strategy for the cutback protests. Only a handful of RSB supporters appeared at a few of the demonstrations last week, and their intervention was limited to



Cops protect Board of Higher Education from militant student rally, October 27, 1975.

last few weeks. The BHE certainly recognizes that cutting enrollment on an individual basis through race-biased requirements presents a far less visible target for student protest than elimination of six entire campuses through closures. And the BHE and CUNY bureaucrats have every reason to feel jittery. At the very moment they huddled over the plan to end open admissions, outside on the street some 1,500 chanting students demonstrated against the cutbacks.

Protests assail cutbacks

For the last two weeks protests against the cutbacks involving thousands of students have been organized on CUNY campuses, at the BHE, in front of City Hall, in the middle of Wall Street and also in Washington, D.C. The protest actions occurring almost daily have been widely divergent in political thrust and greatly disproportionate in size.

A November 15 "CUNY-In-Crisis Teach-In" at Hunter College, for example, featured a panel stacked with bourgeois big-wigs and "prominent individuals" as well as live media coverage, but attracted only about 200 people, most of whom drifted out before the liberal windbags yielded the stage to leftist speakers. In contrast, a November 20 Wall Street demonstration, pulled together on an *ad hoc* basis, drew 2,000-3,000 students who coalesced into a militant and spirited picket line.

Faced with the continuing cutbacks, the masses of students on CUNY campuses have little left to lose. Many are now open to engaging in some form of struggle against the capitalist assault on educational opportunities, jobs and living conditions for the working people of New York. The frequent and well-attended student demonstrations are a significant barometer of general social unrest. But a repetitious series of protest demonstrations lacking a politically powerful strategy and effective leadership is incapable of mobilizing the masses of students.

racial oppression and against the race- and class-biased educational system—without militant action.

During the 1969 struggle for open admissions at CUNY, the militancy and solidarity of the black students occupying CCNY—and the specter of the Harlem "riots" lingering in the not-so-distant past—finally "persuaded" Mayor Lindsay to cough up the funds required for instituting open admissions. And today, as Beame and the bankers compose the epitaph for open admissions and special programs for minority students, the gains of our past struggles must be defended through a massive mobilization of angry protest, including well-planned militant actions such as sit-ins.

In New York the SYL has been actively participating in and building anti-cutback protests. At CCNY we were centrally responsible for organizing actions building for the militant Wall Street picket line on November 20. The SYL together with the Emergency Committee for CUNY on November 13 jointly held a rally, after which the SYL led a spirited march across campus. At the initiative of the SYL, a brief rally was held on the CCNY campus prior to the Wall Street demonstration in order to attract students into a contingent for the downtown picket line.

At CCNY, as well as in meetings and demonstrations across the city, the SYL has raised the bold slogan, "Students Seize the Campuses!" Given the pervasive anger with the cutbacks and threatened campus closures, militant actions such as sit-ins and campus occupations by masses of students not only could count on sympathy from the working people of New York, but also might well be a catalyst for broader social struggles.

While emphasizing the urgent need for a militant response to the attacks on open admissions and threatened campus closings, we have pointed out that while student protests can exert often considerable social pressure, they lack the *social power* of the organized working class: the power to strike and shut this city down. Student

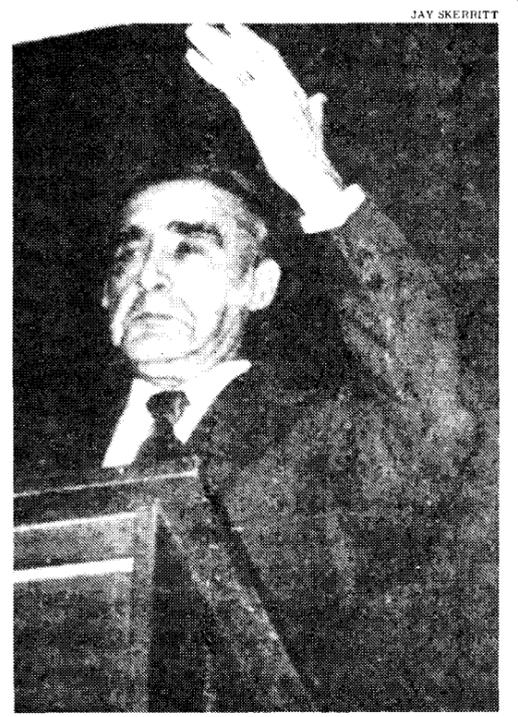
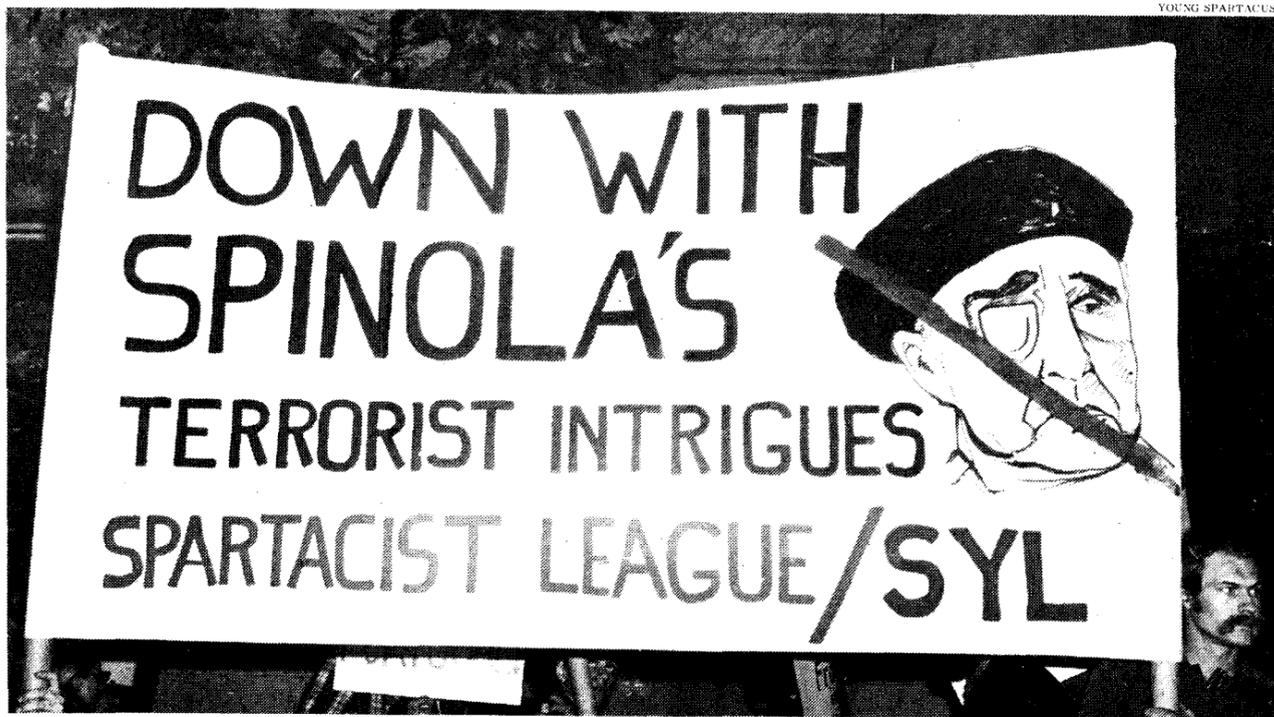
wide general strike against cutbacks and layoffs.

Against adventurism

While advancing the slogan "Students Seize the Campuses," we have cautioned against adventurist actions and reckless confrontations with the cops. Such irresponsible behavior has become the hallmark of the Progressive Labor Party (PL). At yesterday's demonstration outside the BHE, PL



Budget cuts demonstration outside Gov. Carey's office, September 18, 1975.



PROTEST SPINOLA TOUR!

General António de Spínola, aspiring henchman for imperialist reaction in Portugal, began a tour of the U.S. last month to crusade for his reactionary ambitions to rule in Lisbon tomorrow as Pinochet does in Chile today. Spínola is a life-long reactionary:

- Spínola volunteered to fight with Franco in the Spanish Civil War and then with the Nazi forces which invaded the USSR.
- Spínola, as colonial governor of Guinea-Bissau under Caetano, organized "pacification" campaigns for annihilation of civilians in guerrilla-held territories.
- Spínola, coming to power in a coup aimed at extricating the Portuguese colonialists from "unprofitable" colonial wars, led the abortive rightist putsch of September 1974 and then fled the country.
- Spínola is bankrolled by a \$250 million fund raised by international monopolies for promoting his plans to return to power.
- Spínola leads the Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal and is linked to the rightist Portuguese Liberation Army, which has spearheaded the imperialist invasion of Angola.

Everywhere this reactionary swine appears he should be confronted by an outpouring of militant protest!

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League has already taken a leading role in protesting this butcher. The SYL initiated the militant united-front demonstrations which blasted Spínola at the University of Connecticut/Storrs on November 18, at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City two days later, and at Boston's Union Club the next day. And in Toronto our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada were responsible for first raising a call for a November 23 united-front demonstration in Toronto. For full coverage of these anti-Spínola actions, see *Workers Vanguard* of 28 November.



SYL organized demonstrations against Spínola at Storrs (bottom) and NYC (top left). Spínola tirading against protesters at Storrs (top right).

distributing an unreadable "fight-back" leaflet.

YSA opposes militancy

Many students, of course, remain skeptical about the possibility of effective action against the cutbacks and proposed campus closings. Unfortunately this skepticism is reinforced by the SWP/YSA and its captive National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR). These ultra-"respectable" campus politicians at every meeting and rally harp that the student movement must engage in only "peaceful, legal, non-violent mass actions." Anyone who advocates otherwise is usually denounced as an "ultra-left." And anyone who attempts to act otherwise may well find himself surrounded by a squad of SWP/YSA goons.

Posing as the big-time operators on campus, the SWP/YSA builds its "mass actions" solely through campus "machine politics." In New York City the SWP/YSA-NSCAR plays in the U.S.S. sandbox, using its "connections" with honcho careerists like U.S.S. president Jay Hershenson to acquire U.S.S. endorsements for SWP/YSA-inspired actions.

Many CUNY radical students have come to justly despise the SWP/YSA for its bureaucratic maneuvers from on high in the U.S.S., for its determination to flood demonstrations with its "peace-keeping" marshals and for its undisguised liberalism. In its most recent affront to militant CUNY students, the SWP/YSA sought to sabotage

the planned Wall Street demonstration, because a militant demonstration on the bosses' well-protected turf might not obey every almighty NYC ordinance...or the SWP/YSA marshals. In an effort to drain away support for the November 20 demonstration, the SWP/YSA-NSCAR through the U.S.S. called for a march in Washington for November 19 and a preparatory rally in New York for November 17.

Washington mass non-action

The Washington demo was anything but "disruptive." The accent was on "legal," "respectable," "non-violent" and dull. Flocking to address the 2,000 students were no less than six congressmen, two of them presidential aspirants. The SWP was visibly elated with its successful "mass action."

Present was Henry Jackson, the senator from Boeing, who managed to mix feigned concern for CUNY's plight with Cold War anti-communism: "Gerald Ford cares more about Red Square than he does about Times Square." In addition to Jackson there were such liberal heroes as Elizabeth Holtzman, James Scheuer, Peter Peyer, Morris Udall and Bella Abzug. Rally chairman Jay Hershenson, hero of the SWP/YSA, waxed ebullient as he introduced "Hunter College's own Bella."

The explicit purpose of the rally was to beseech the Congress to enact one of the New York bailout schemes

then under consideration. To make their appeals, the SWP/YSA-NSCAR and U.S.S. honchos were willing to sink to any level. Hershenson declared, "There are 25,000 veterans in CUNY...They fought for their country...we will stand behind them." NSCAR's spokesman Sam Manuel also was caught up in the social-patriotic mood: "50,000 Americans and 10,000 blacks died in Vietnam and we didn't get anything for it." Presumably had "we" gotten something out of the slaughter, the SWP would not have opposed the war.

Manuel devoted only a few brief remarks to the general attack on the city's working class and the municipal unions. Any more would have been too much for the SWP's liberal allies, who are anxious to see contracts "renegotiated" and the power of the public employees' unions broken. Opposing the call for a cancellation of the NYC debt and expropriation of the banks, the SWP/YSA raises as its central slogan the hoary reformist call for a conversion of the military budget into education. To suggest that the imperialist state can be pressured into shedding its armor is to spread the worst social-patriotic illusions.

For a city-wide general strike!

Students fighting to stop the budget cuts affecting the campuses must seek to link their protests with the struggles of city workers. Militant action by students open up the possibility of broader

labor/student mobilizations. To fight budget cuts and layoffs there must be a general strike of city workers!

To our democratic demand for federally financed education and welfare we couple the call for the nationalization of the private universities and for open admissions to all institutions of higher education. We support open admissions, a democratic demand undercutting the class- and race-biased nature of education under capitalism. We demand the abolition of all tuition/fees and call for a state-provided stipend covering the living expenses of students (and their dependents) to make open admissions economically meaningful for all.

The working class must not permit the bosses to pit one section of the oppressed against another, in particular, the unemployed against the employed. Unemployment should be eliminated at the capitalists' expense. A struggle must be waged for a shorter workweek at a higher wage; this would divide the available jobs among all who wish to work at a wage automatically rising with the cost of living.

To upgrade social services and tackle urban decay the state should launch a massive public works program paying union wages. As the capitalist economy continues to stagnate, casting millions out of work and creating hardships up and down the line, the needs of the working people clearly can be met only through the socialist revolution that expropriates the entire capitalist class and places the productive capacity of society in the hands of the working class. ■

Stop CIA/NSA Recruitment on Campus!

Continued from page 1

not be reformed but must be destroyed through the proletarian revolution.

At UC Berkeley the November 17 all-day picket line and demonstration, which attracted over 250 students with the slogans "CIA/NSA Recruiters Off Campus!" and "Abolish the CIA/NSA!" was called by the Committee to Stop CIA/NSA Campus Recruitment. The Berkeley Committee was initiated by the SYL and endorsed by the following organizations and individuals: Bill Wallace, East Bay bureau chief of the *Bay Guardian* who has exposed the NSA after serving as an agent from 1967 to 1971; Larry Bensky, a station manager of KPFA radio; Committee for Working Class Studies; Berkeley Students for Peace; Berkeley Poet's Union; Militant Action Caucus, Communication Workers of America Locals 9410 and 9415; Associated Students of UC (ASUC); Robert Yano, Bob Martin, Richard Clark, Berkeley Liberation Front candidates for ASUC; the SYL; Michael Lerner, prominent NAM supporter; the YSA; Oscar Trevino, Chicano Studies Library; Tony Platt, School of Criminology; Winter Soldier Organization; Peace and Freedom Party; Berkeley People's Bicentennial Coalition; AFSCME Local 1695 Executive Board; Indian Students Association; and Berkeley faculty S. Small, Charles Schwarz and S. Sarason.

Reformists slink away from militant action

In both Los Angeles and Berkeley the fake-Trotskyist YSA attempted to channel the protests into passive, mild-mannered "educational campaigns." At UCLA the YSA, which was responsible for calling the meeting which formed the UCLA Committee, proposed only sponsoring a teach-in... in a month's time! While not opposing a teach-in, the SYL successfully argued that the CIA/NSA recruiters should be met with a militant action.

In words the YSA agreed to endorse the November 10 demonstration; but in deeds, these reformists resorted to their own "dirty tricks." The YSA tried to prevent the distribution of the Committee leaflet announcing the demonstration, going so far as to snatch the flyers from an SYL literature table. Then, at the picket line the YSA attempted to drown out our socialist slogans with its liberal chants. When the majority of the demonstrators took up our chants, the YSA walked off the picket line!

The YSA, of course, was more than eager to build the November 21 teach-in. So eager was it for a "respectable" panel discussion representing "all points of view" that these sewer socialists, in their own "covert operation" behind the backs of the other members of the united-front Committee, solicited speakers from the Los Angeles city administration, the LA police department, the U.S. State Department and—yes—even the CIA!!

The political performance of the YSA at Berkeley was no less "respectable" and just as slimy. Since the YSA in Berkeley has been uncritically tailing the October Coalition, a local group promoting "affirmative action" schemes and endorsed by an Oakland cop organization, the disclosure of planned CIA/NSA "affirmative action" recruitment put the YSA on the spot. The YSA and October Coalition provided a spectacle as they stampeded to disassociate themselves from the CIA/NSA "affirmative action." But support for this plan would be entirely consistent with their alliance with the cops. A black cop and a black CIA agent are no less the enemies of the black masses than are a white cop and his counterpart in the secret police. It is precisely the class nature of the state and all its organs which the liberals and reformists seek to obscure.

On November 13 the YSA and its

liberal cohorts staged a rally against UC complicity with the CIA but in support of university compliance with federal "affirmative action" guidelines. Predictably, the rally was nothing more than a Democratic Party extravaganza: the featured speaker was state assemblyman Ken Meade, who shared the platform with a representative from the Tom Hayden senatorial campaign.

At this rally Democrat Meade and the YSA spokesman found common ground to oppose the CIA's encroachments on the "ivory tower" of the bourgeois university. Meade, speaking in the name of "a lot of regular human beings," found it distasteful that a symbol of "openness and understanding" like the university would collaborate with the CIA. Likewise, the YSA opposed the CIA's campus recruitment on the basis that it has "nothing to do with education."

While revolutionaries certainly oppose university complicity with the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state (ROTC, cop training, CIA recruitment), this is not the same as building illusions in the "openness and understanding" of bourgeois society or its universities. Throughout the campaign against CIA/NSA recruitment at Berkeley, the YSA and its liberal friends strictly limited themselves to protest against campus "complicity with the war machine." In its social-patriotic campaign statement for ASUC elections ("A Socialist Student Govern-

"protect" black people from racist attacks. Envious of the Secret Service protection provided bourgeois candidates, SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo has been quoted by the *New York Times* (30 September 1975) as demanding Secret Service protection for all presidential candidates, himself included!

Social democrats and liberals preach the dangerous myth that the armed forces of the capitalist state can be forced through mass protest or legal reforms to defend the interests and organizations of the oppressed.

ribbon" commissions and the rest of Watergate "dirty trick" paraphernalia.

Moreover, "dirty tricks" have always been the functioning norm for attacks on the working class and the oppressed. It is only when such tactics are used against members of their own class, as in the case of Watergate, that the capitalist politicians set up a hue and cry about the super-spy agencies getting out of hand. A *New Republic* (26 July 1975) article by Morton Halperin, an associate of Marchetti, makes clear the liberal bourgeoisie's endorsement of "dirty tricks" directed



YOUNG SPARTACUS

YOUNG SPARTACUS



UCLA demonstration demands end to UC complicity with CIA (top). Students march toward Berkeley recruitment center (bottom).

ment Would"), the YSA opposes the capitalist secret police simply on the basis that "CIA and FBI tactics" are employed by the government "in blatant disregard for the Bill of Rights."

YSA: "FBI agents for blacks, Secret Service for Camejo"

Clinging to its liberal allies the YSA refused to raise the slogan "Abolish the CIA/NSA," one of the demands of the united-front actions. At the November 13 rally, and again at the November 17 demonstration, the YSA speakers conspicuously avoided mentioning the need to smash these imperialist agencies. Although railing at the CIA and FBI for "disregarding the Bill of Rights," the SWP/YSA's own *Bill of Rights for Working People* omits the call for abolishing the CIA.

Furthermore, calling for the abolition of the CIA/NSA presents a contradiction for these reformists who demand that the capitalist government send more cops, the imperialist army and even *FBI agents* to Boston to

Refusing to recognize the fact that all government agencies serve the capitalist class whose state depends on special bodies of armed men, the liberals oppose only those state functions which are particularly embarrassing. These functions are called "dirty tricks," "illegitimate operations" and "subversive acts."

But such sleazy operations as the Attica cover-up, the GARDEN PLOT plan, the tracking down of Che Guevara and the Electronic Battlefield program are very much "business as usual" and a vital part of maintaining capitalist rule. The bourgeoisie needs its "dirty tricks" and "covert operations" and will not give them up.

"Dirty tricks" and complicity do not "subvert" bourgeois society. Rather, Watergate tactics have always been one of the main props of bourgeois democracy. Engels pointed out in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* that because the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is exercised indirectly in a democracy, it is for this reason exercised all the more surely. Among the methods of capitalist rule are bribery, frame-up, graft, "blue-

at those who are not "one of us." After recounting the secretiveness of the NSA, including its objection to releasing the Pentagon Papers because they revealed NSA spying, this loyal opponent declared: "As long as NSA remained out of the domestic affairs of the nation, there was little reason to object."

The bourgeoisie's "national security" is above all the loyal opposition's starting point. At the November 13 affirmative action rally, an October Coalition spokesman opposed the FBI's harassment of such groups as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Black Muslims on the grounds that these groups posed no threat to "our nation's security." Nothing was said about the murderous cop-FBI crusade against the Black Panther Party. Nothing was said about the secret police's crimes against the working class and the oppressed. What worries the civil libertarians and the legality mongers is that these agencies may be too large and far-reaching to efficiently serve the bourgeoisie. Communists call for the abolition

of the secret police—not to "purify" the university or the government, but to disarm the capitalists in their campaigns of international counterrevolution!

RSB cheers Cold War subversion

In order to do its job for the U.S. bourgeoisie, the NSA directs most of its resources toward espionage against the Soviet Union. NSA planes routinely violate Russian airspace, and Holy-stone submarines, under NSA direction, repeatedly penetrate Soviet waters inside the three-mile limit and frequently surface (!) in Vladivostok harbor. NATO and CIA/NSA bases encircle the USSR. The largest concentration of NSA bases is in Turkey, where the imperialists' listening posts can easily monitor Russian nuclear missile testing in Central Asia as well as over the Caspian Sea missile test range. "Everything we did in Turkey," says an ex-NSA agent (*Ramparts*, August 1972), "was in direct support of some kind of military operation, usually something clandestine like overflights, infiltrations, penetrations."

Those seriously committed to fighting U.S. imperialism must take a firm stand in defense of the Soviet Union, China and all the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states. Opposition to U.S. imperialism is only so much verbiage without unconditional defense of all the degenerated and deformed workers states from imperialist attack.

The Maoists have failed this test with flying colors. At UCLA the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) refused to participate in the united-front Committee. At the November 17 rally at Berkeley the SYL speaker denounced an RSB leaflet which slandered the Soviet Union as an imperialist "superpower." The "anti-imperialist" RSB, whose participation in the anti-NSA actions was limited to one leaflet full of adventurist big-talk ("Come to the Rally...and let's see if we can turn it into a fighting action to really throw these pig recruiters off our campus!!") were content to heckle from the sidelines. One of them, responding to the SYL speaker, screamed, "The Soviet Union is imperialist and everybody knows it!" "Everybody," presumably, except the capitalists and their secret police.

Behind Maoists' ideological attack on the Soviet state is the Chinese bureaucracy's "detente" with imperialism and its "united front" with NATO against Russia. The Maoists' theories of "Soviet social-imperialism" are needed to justify their attempted alliance with the *real* imperialists!

The Chinese criminally applaud CIA/NSA activities against their "number one enemy," the USSR. The Chinese Stalinists are among the most bellicose supporters of NATO and U.S. "security operations" in Europe (see "Schlesinger Sacking Upsets Maoists" on page two of this issue).

In order to crush the pro-Moscow Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the Chinese bureaucracy joins the CIA in supporting with advisors and aid the murderously anti-Communist National Front for the Liberation of Angola. Likewise, the Portuguese Maoists have formed an anti-

Communist bloc with the Portuguese Socialist Party, which the CIA has funded with millions of dollars. Both Peking and Washington support the Ethiopian military dictatorship, which provides the NSA with bases for spying on the USSR. China refuses to support the independence struggle in the Ethiopian province of Eritrea, which has forced the dismantling of the Kagnev NSA base in Azmura, Ethiopia. Peking only growls when the CIA gets too close for its comfort.

"What's wrong with taping a conversation...?"

But as far as domestic operations by the CIA and FBI, the Chinese certainly do not intend to upset "detente" by denouncing these campaigns against communists, labor militants, black radicals and even liberals. On the contrary, Mao has *defended* the crook Nixon and Watergate. After his talks with Mao this summer, the Thai Premier Kukrit Pramoj reported Mao's remark that the Watergate scandal was the result of "too much freedom in the United States"! As for CIA/NSA/FBI wire-tapping and electronic surveillance, Mao contends: "What's wrong with taping a conversation when you happen to have a tape recorder with you? Most people in America love playing with tape recorders" (quoted in *New York Times*, 10 July).

Drive the CIA/NSA off campus!

The current round of Congressional investigations directed against the CIA and FBI, "revealing" facts which have long been known, has as its aim a shake-up which will result in more secretive and efficient "national security" agencies. Students must not be lulled by the liberal illusion that these spy agencies are susceptible to far-reaching reforms.

We understand that only victorious proletarian revolution can smash the CIA/NSA. But these repressive agencies must not be free to send their agents onto campus to recruit for their counterrevolutionary operations. Mass protest can have an impact. Last year at Yale University, an SYL propaganda campaign against announced CIA recruitment on campus resulted in the cancellation of the CIA interviews. Now more than ever is the time to mount mass mobilizations and organize militant protests that can drive these insidious spies and hit-men for imperialism off campus! ■

AS WE GO TO PRESS, the *Oakland Tribune* (November 26) reports that at the UC San Diego campus on November 25, militant students protesting CIA recruitment on campus managed to enter a meeting of the Academic Senate where UC President David Saxon was speaking. Confronted by the militant students, who fired questions about UC complicity with the CIA/NSA, Saxon was escorted by the cops to a squad car outside; but this collaborator of the CIA/NSA was forced to walk a gauntlet of chanting and shouting students. As he dived into the cop car, the demonstrators pounded on the car and continued chanting, until his friends in blue could extricate themselves and whisk Saxon away.

**The Unspeakable Remains Unspoken—
Maoists Trumpet
Formation of
Ethiopian Party**

NEW YORK CITY—The formation of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) was celebrated here on November 14 at a rally which drew 800 people. The event featured a constellation of Maoist luminaries—including Irwin Silber of the *Guardian* and Paul Sweezy of *Monthly Review* as well as representatives from the Khmer Rouge, Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), Palestinian Liberation Organization and the Workers Congress—who droned on past midnight in platitudinous praise of Mao Thought and its embodiment, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy.

Conspicuously absent from the roster was the Eritreans for Liberation in North America (ELNA), an organization which in the past has collaborated closely with Ethiopian Maoists in this country. The ELNA greeted the EPRP by distributing a statement attacking its soft-peddling of the Ethiopian junta's genocidal war against the just struggle of the Eritreans for independence.

Ever since opening diplomatic relations with the Ethiopian government, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has refrained from supporting the independence struggle in Eritrea and has refused to condemn the genocidal war waged first by "anti-imperialist" Haile Selassie and now by the Ethiopian junta (for details see, "Peking Promotes Ethiopian Junta," *Young Spartacus*, November 1975). At the rally, one speaker after another avoided discussing Chinese foreign policy; not one of these shamefaced Maoists would dare defend Mao's support for the reactionary Ethiopian junta.

Likewise, the World Federation of Ethiopian Students, many of whose members now appear to be supporters of the EPRP, refuses even to mention Eritrea (see especially its *Resolution on the Present International Situation*). And the program of the EPRP passes over the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict in one—yes, just one—sentence. The EPRP pledges "to condemn and to struggle against the military slaughter of the Eritrean people to solve the

question: to ensure that the Eritrean question is resolved peacefully and democratically." This is nothing but vile national chauvinism of the Kautskyite stripe, which Lenin denounced as "defending the right of self-determination hypocritically and by words alone."

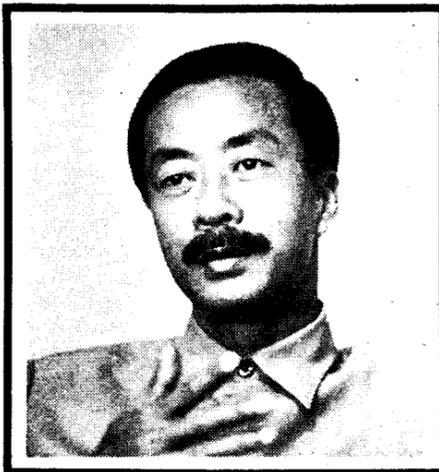
The statement distributed by the ELNA correctly points out that the EPRP, by refusing to unambiguously support the struggle of the Eritrean people against Ethiopian domination, "objectively collaborates with the rabid, chauvinist and aggressive war of genocide" being waged by the barbarous junta. However, while lambasting the EPRP which has simply applied the Chinese line, the ELNA cynically refuses to utter one word of criticism against the sellout "peaceful coexistence" deals of the Maoist bureaucracy. The Stalinist leaders of the ELNA cover up the fact that the Maoist bureaucracy hails the junta for its defense of "national integrity," which translates into backhanded support for Ethiopian subjugation of Eritrea.

Both the EPRP and the ELNA are united in their determination to front for the Chinese bureaucracy. In August the New York leadership of the ELNA refused to permit the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League to present greetings to its congress—despite an earlier formal invitation—precisely because we coupled our unequivocal call for the military victory of the Eritrean forces with a criticism of Mao's back-stabbing betrayal. Similarly, at the New York meeting the EPRP confiscated literature from a *Young Spartacus* salesman and enforced a written-questions-only procedure during the "discussion" period.

As long as the EPRP and the ELNA cling to their Stalinist mentors these would-be revolutionaries are doomed to at best apologizing for every betrayal and every twist and turn of the Chinese bureaucracy. For the military victory of the Eritrean independence forces! For socialist revolution against the reactionary Ethiopian junta! ■

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UNIVERSITY, PLUMBER UNION
OR CHICAGO STREET

RSB Going Nowhere...

Continued from page 12

year, the RU has clung to an indisputably reactionary position against the busing of black children, shamelessly trumpeted last fall in the slogan, "The People Must Unite to Smash Busing." The RCP organizes now on the fringes of the racist anti-busing movements in Boston and Louisville.

These positions are now also the property of the RSB. It is, however, the RCP's abject loyalty to the traitorous Chinese bureaucracy which represents the essence of its political bankruptcy. China, in its reactionary drive to array forces against the Soviet Union, has become the most vocal defender of U.S. imperialism's interests around the world and the greatest champion of U.S. arms build-up. Students who join the RSB may someday find themselves marching in a pro-NATO demonstration and campaigning for Henry Jackson for president. The RCP/RSB's servile toadying to the Chinese line is leading it inexorably in that direction.

In his address to the convention, RCP National Chairman Bob Avakian lectured RSB members that Russia, while a workers state for 40 years, was now "an imperialist-capitalist state." Avakian then called for a

"...broad anti-imperialist united front with millions in this country and elsewhere who take up the fight against imperialism. We don't know what form the struggle will take and nobody else does either. We have to learn from the masses."

Avakian's naiveté is exceedingly disingenuous. We do know what mass anti-Russia and anti-busing movements look like: the first was called cold-war McCarthyism and threatened nuclear war against the Soviet Union; the second is organized by Louise Day Hicks and ROAR in Boston and leads to the terrorizing of black people.

The other major decision of the RSB conference was to focus a national campaign around the slogan, "Fight for Mass Decent Education." All the RSB's projections for mass struggle around this issue notwithstanding, it must be clear why the RSB has chosen budget cuts as its main political priority: it is the only issue in its program for which it could get a hearing from students on the majority of the traditionally political college campuses. The bulk of its program—viciously anti-busing, implicitly pro-NATO, anti-homosexual and anti-Equal Rights Amendment—is not only reactionary

but presently quite unpopular!

Anti-Trotskyist tirade

The convention's workshop on Trotskyism drew a large crowd, which was harangued with the verbal abuse and historical falsification which typically pass for political polemic among the Maoists. The SL/SYL was singled out for slanderous attack on the basis of our slogan in the antiwar movement, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" This slogan must indeed give the RCP, RSB some cause for consternation, since there is no longer any doubt that the military victories of the NLF, the Cambodian FALN and the Pathet Lao did smash capitalist rule in those countries and created three non-capitalist states, which are, however, qualitatively deformed by the Stalinist regimes which parasitically rule over the working class. The "first," "democratic" stage of the revolution, for so long characterized as indispensable both by the Stalinist forces in Indochina and their Maoist cheerleaders in this country and used as a justification for the most brutal betrayals of the Indochinese masses, simply never materialized.

The workshop leader "summed-up" his polemic: "The right Trots (SWP) say nothing must go communist and the left Trots (SL) say everything must go communist. But these are both the same because they are both out of touch with the mass line." With this gem of insightful analysis, the Maoists try to deny the revolutionary struggle of the SL/SYL, which stands in contrast to both the loud-mouth reformism of the RCP/RSB and the respectable reformism of the SWP/YSA. The workshop ended with an admonition for RSB chapters to "protect" their forums from Trotskyists, with lead pipes if necessary.

The Marxist revolutionary party embodies the historical experience of the working class and is alone capable of leading the struggle for socialism. The youth organization of the vanguard party is therefore necessarily politically subordinate to the party. However, in order to train the next generation of communist leaders, the youth organization must maintain an organizational autonomy with its own active internal political life and leadership. The political education of the youth involves not only discussion but the experiences of decision and action. It is no accident that the RCP/RSB makes a mockery of this tradition of the Marxist youth movement, which extends back to Karl Liebknecht.

Democratic centralism is meaningful only as the organizational expression of a revolutionary program and a combat party. The cadres of a Bolshevik party and its youth organization are recruited and forged on the basis of a high level of ideological and programmatic selection. At the service of reformists like the RCP/RSB, organizational discipline is simply a club used to eliminate opposition and enforce implementation of political flip-flops and line changes.

Children of the damned

The RCP leadership may have hoped to have at its command teams of mindless militants ever ready to be whipped up at the demagogic call of Avakian. But continually bounced between empty exhortations to "fight back" and the obligation to argue for a line which is increasingly untenable and reactionary, the present rapid turnover of RSB membership will continue and the "right-on's" will get increasingly hollow.

Already the RSB evidences disorientation. Its national priority is organizing against budget cuts; New York City and the CUNY system face a financial assault of mammoth proportions. But the RSB has been demonstrably absent from most of the demonstrations of thousands which have been staged in New York every few days for the last two weeks. The revolutionary criticism leveled by the SYL against the RSB will speed its stagnation and help to propel it in the same direction as the succession of other Maoist student groups from RYM II to the Attica Brigades—into the dustbin of history. ■

NSCAR Local Actions Flop

CHICAGO—November 22 was the date set for local anti-racist activities across the country organized by the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), a fake coalition run by the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA). For the SWP/YSA the NSCAR was to replace its long defunct antiwar coalition and anti-abortion-laws coalition as a vehicle for pulling large numbers into "mass actions" behind liberal slogans and in front of platforms with liberal speakers.

Initially NSCAR was able to mobilize modest size marches and conferences in Boston around the issue of support for school desegregation through an alliance with the legalist National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). But when the NAACP lost interest in co-sponsoring endless "mass marches" in Boston, the last national conference of NSCAR was forced to set its sights considerably lower as far as booking "big name" speakers and to shift from Boston marches to local work.

Here in the Midwest the November 22 NSCAR activities were an abysmal failure. In Detroit the NSCAR events were to feature black high school youth from Boston giving eyewitness accounts of the present inflamed racial atmosphere in South Boston High and other schools and neighborhoods in Boston. The accounts of black youth who are daily subjected to cop harassment are a powerful empirical refutation of the NSCAR program calling for federal troops and cops to "enforce the law" and "protect" the black people of Boston from racist attacks. But the featured speakers never arrived, and the NSCAR anti-racist "event" proved to be less than uneventful.

In Cleveland, NSCAR had gone all out in organizing for an all-day program of speakers and panels at Cleveland State University. The first panel of the day was on political prisoners. Although a few interested students appeared, not one of the scheduled speakers turned up. NSCAR certainly could not have been very confident in its other "scheduled" speakers, as an NSCAR spokesman announced that the activities for the remainder of the day were also being cancelled! "Thank you for coming, and please keep in touch," he concluded.

In Chicago the NSCAR at least was capable of holding its scheduled event: a debate over busing featuring the pro-busing Urban League and NAACP on one side and the anti-busing Woodlawn Organization and University of Chicago sociologist James Coleman on the other. Sharing the platform with these featured speakers was the ubiquitous Maceo Dixon, national spokesman of the NSCAR.

While the debate was polite and proper, Maceo Dixon sung the finale with an impassioned tribute to the "peaceful, legal" civil rights movement of Dr. Martin Luther King. Today, Dixon concluded, the SWP/YSA and NSCAR have a role to play in "giving

the liberals some backbone." Dixon's backbone, however, is astonishingly supple. After bowing low before the NAACP speaker and defending school desegregation and busing, Maceo Dixon—an agile opportunist—spun around and bent over backwards for Woodlawn Organization president E. Duke McNeil: "We don't support the whole concept of integration."

Brother Dixon then proceeded to cuddle up to McNeil, whose "black capitalist" Woodlawn Organization advocates the redirecting of funds presently used in busing programs into "community controlled schools." To black capitalists and black bureaucrats like McNeil, "separate but equal" is desirable, because they, and only they, stand to benefit from state funds poured into the "community" through outfits like the Woodlawn Organization.

As the SWP/YSA's efforts to equate "black capitalism" and "community control" schemes with black liberation became more incomprehensible, Willy Curtis from the West Englewood Community Organization, a black community control group, polemicized vehemently against integration. When Nazi party scum wanted to march into the black community to continue their campaign of terrorism against integration in Marquette Park in South Chicago, Curtis vigorously attempted to keep the black families "in their homes" and away from an anti-Nazi demonstration. "The Nazis are just a camouflage," Curtis assured the conference, "and besides—to some degree we share the belief that the community should remain white!" When two angry black women from International Black Appeal heckled Curtis, denounced his passivity and shouted their determination to fight the Nazis through demonstrations and through active self-defense of their homes, Curtis told them to shut up, because they were only women! These are the allies the SWP has found for itself in its disgusting capitulation to liberal support for free speech for everyone, including Nazi scum.

Mark Friedman from the Labor Struggle Caucus of United Auto Workers Local 6, a militant opposition caucus, pointed out that none of the panelists had proposed anything to lead the fight for integration except some form of reliance on the same racist capitalist government that protected segregation schemes. The way forward lies in following the example of UAW Local 6, which set up a union defense guard to protect a black member's home fire-bombed by these same Nazi scum.

Spartacist League spokesman Len Meyers denounced SWP/YSA illusions in the capitalist government, declaring that communists support busing, "not because they believe the ruling class can be pressured into relieving the massive oppression of black people—but because integration of black and white workers paves the way for their united struggle to sweep the exploiters out of power." ■

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CHICAGO

Den of Thieves...

Continued from page 3

"concern" for human rights!

However, the U.S. resolution on amnesty for political prisoners was intended only to be a maneuver, just like the Arab-backed anti-Zionism resolution. Once amendments broadening the category "political prisoner" began to be heaped on the resolution, the U.S. promptly withdrew it on November 21.

"Free all political prisoners?"

Unlike Amnesty International, we do not counterpose to such hypocritical and selective resolutions the slogan, "Free All Political Prisoners." This demand is vague, class-neutral and at best civil libertarian.

We do not fight for the civil liberties of fascists and similar ultra-reactionary action groups. In Portugal today, for example, the demand for the release of "all political prisoners" can be translated into a call for the freedom of the Salazarist stormtroopers, the PIDE. Such elements would play a major role in organizing murderous reactionary terror and fomenting rightist mobilizations. In India, this slogan would encompass the communalist terror gangs, many of whose members have been jailed by Indira Gandhi. The release of these scum would lead to an intensification of violence against the Harijans ("untouchables") and Muslim minority.

As Leninists, we fight for the broadest democratic rights for the working people. Our irreconcilable opposition to recognizing civil liberties for fascists, however, does not mean we ignore the victimization of liberal or even conservative bourgeois political opponents of authoritarian regimes, such as Chile, Iran and India.

As part of our struggle to wrest from the bourgeois state the maximum possible democratic rights for the oppressed, we refuse to defend the civil liberties of the fascists and ultra-reactionary paramilitary action groups.

At the same time, we formulate our defense slogans to incorporate our working-class bias. Thus, in contrast to the Iranian Students Association, which demands "Free All Political Prisoners in Iran," the SYL raises the slogan, "Free All Victims of the Shah's White Terror!"

In Russia, China and the other bureaucratically deformed workers states, we likewise must draw a sharp distinction between the actively

counterrevolutionary opponents of the collectivist system and the unjustly persecuted dissidents whose only "crime" is to speak out against totalitarian suppression by the Stalinist bureaucracies. But in counterposition to Henry Jackson and the imperialists, whose hypocritical concern for "human rights" behind the "Iron Curtain" masks their counterrevolutionary intrigues and goals, Trotskyists link the demand for an end to the repression of the "democratic opposition" with the call for a workers political revolution to smash the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy and to establish genuine soviet democracy.

In this context we call for the release of the still-imprisoned Chinese Trotskyists and freedom for the Russian "democratic oppositionists." The Russian opposition is politically heterogeneous; but at least some of these self-styled "democratic oppositionists"—but by no means all—are apparently subjectively sincere socialists, many of whom may be won to the side of the proletariat in a political revolution, as occurred in Hungary in 1956.

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While we are opposed to granting fascists any democratic rights, we do not call upon the bourgeois state to imprison these scum. As history demonstrates, the capitalist state will enact laws proscribing "extremist movements" only to persecute the left and labor movement more consistently and viciously than the ultra-right. The reactionaries must be defeated; but only the independent mass mobilization of the working people and the formation of workers defense squads can smash the fascists and reliably defend the rights and organizations of the oppressed.

The UN, that pigsty of diplomatic deceit and power politics, will never free the class-war prisoners around the world. While liberals and Stalinists build illusions in the UN, we point to the urgent need for an international workers defense, modelled on the early International Labor Defense and International Red Aid inspired and organized by the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky. Only the workers of the world can free the millions of class-war prisoners! ■

Confronted with Militant Protest at Columbia

Iranian Royalty Runs Amok

NEW YORK CITY, November 11—The Iranian Student Association (ISA) today marched through the Columbia University campus to protest the arrival of Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, the sister of the Shah of Iran and long an influential figure in his police-state regime. Ashraf Pahlavi met with the president of the university at a formal business luncheon on campus to finalize a \$360,000 deal between the Iranian government and Columbia.

Columbia University, whose Board of Trustees includes several oil tycoons, has for years maintained carefully veiled relations with the dictatorship ruling from the throne in Teheran. The Shah, awarded an honorary degree by the university, finances the "Iran Center," which is headed by Professor Yarshater, reputed to be a member of the Shah's secret police (SAVAK).

The ISA marched to the faculty club, where Ashraf Pahlavi was dining, and set up a militant picket-line demonstration. In an almost unbelievable fit of aristocratic contempt, Princess Ashraf and her party rushed to the overlooking balcony window and began chucking eggs at the protesting students below! Only a line of burly New York City cops and the several lurking SAVAK agents held the infuriated students back from giving the Princess her just "desserts."

But only bourgeois propriety restricted Ashraf to merely hurl eggs at those protesting the murderous repression unleashed by the Shah. In Iran, the protests of the oppressed masses are met with a rain of bullets and hideous torture.

Among the ranks of the ISA are many who look to China for revolutionary guidance. These Iranian student militants would do well to recall another recent banquet honoring the degenerate Princess Ashraf: the official state dinner which the Chinese Maoist bureaucracy staged for Ashraf in Peking on May 19. The relations there between Ashraf and the Maoists couldn't have been more cordial. According to the report in *Peking Review* (23 May), Chinese Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, toasting the "warm and friendly atmosphere" with cynical effusiveness, declared that "the Sino-Iranian friendship tree which Her

Imperial Highness played a part in cultivating is growing sturdily and bearing fruit."

Permit us to interject that Ashraf has been involved in "cultivating," all right. In fact, "Her Imperial Highness" for many years has been known to be an international heroin and opium smuggler! In the early 1960's, for example, Ashraf Pahlavi was nabbed by Swiss border police as she was hauling several suitcases full of heroin.

While repugnant to all who oppose the Shah's white terror, the Chinese Stalinists' regaling of royal dope pushers and sadistic tyrants represents only the protocol befitting the betrayals committed under the guise of "peaceful coexistence." Ever since the Chinese bureaucracy secured diplomatic relations with Iran in 1971, Peking has refused to denounce the Shah much less to advocate the revolutionary destruction of his dictatorial regime.

While rhetorically hailing anti-imperialist struggles when convenient, the Chinese bureaucracy has ceased all material aid and open political support for the guerrillas struggling in the Dhofar province of the Persian Gulf state of Oman against feudal reaction and massive counter-insurgency operations conducted by the Shah. In fact, the Chinese no longer even mention the Dhofar struggle. In an article entitled "New Trends in the Gulf Countries," *Peking Review* (1 August 1975) shamelessly hails the Shah's role as policeman of the Gulf, noting with satisfaction his achievements in promoting "security and stability in the Gulf area!"

The Iranian students who so justly despise the Shah and desire to struggle for the revolution which will bring the working masses of Iran to power cannot ignore these betrayals by the Chinese Stalinists. ISA militants must reject the Stalinist strategy of class collaboration, for which the Chinese bureaucracy has betrayed the Dhofaris, just as the Russian bureaucrats have betrayed the Kurds.

All clandestine ties between Columbia University and the Shah's regime must be severed! For the construction of Trotskyist parties in the Near and Middle East! Down with the Shah—For socialist revolution in Iran! ■

Madison

Stop Administration Purge of Leftist Professor!

At the Madison campus of the University of Wisconsin, Finley Campbell, assistant professor in the Afro-American Studies Department and also national co-chairman of the Committee Against Racism (CAR), faces a threatened administration purge. Campbell was informed in October that the requirements for his tenure had been changed; the administration notified him that his review date had been moved up six months, that the decision would now be based primarily on his published materials and that any decision taken by the Afro-American Studies Department was subject to approval by administration higher-ups. An official in the Afro-American Studies Department told Campbell that his chances for tenure would be greatly enhanced if he "quit CAR."

In response to this administration chicanery, the CAR on campus initiated an informational campaign centering on a petition drive to pressure the administration to back off. At a CAR

meeting on November 4, the Spartacus Youth League in Madison solidarized with efforts to defend Campbell and proposed a united-front campaign raising the demand that Campbell not be fired. Unfortunately, CAR and its mentors in the Progressive Labor Party rejected a united-front campaign, arguing that "other groups and individuals" should simply support the CAR petition drive.

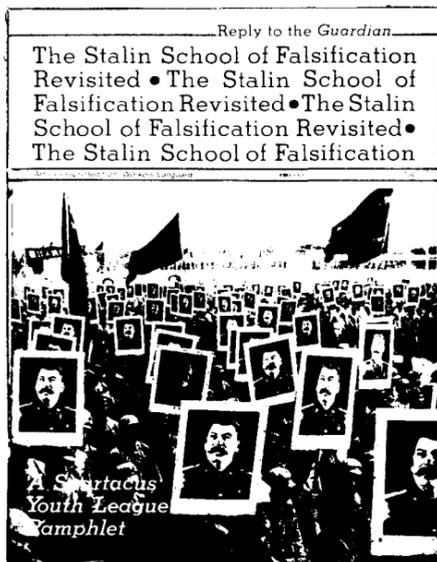
Although we have considerable political differences with Campbell and CAR, the SYL regards denial of tenure for this outspoken radical professor as an attack on the left which must be protested. A petition campaign is certainly one of the tactics which should be employed to publicize this case and build support. A broad-based united front reaching out to all who oppose the administration's discriminatory maneuvers for firing Campbell is the most effective means to block this clear-cut attempted purge. ■

"Chicago Boys"...

Continued from page 4

aid to the junta sharply and has broadened the audience for radical politics on campus. The Committee plans to organize discussions in the dormitories and to further detail the institutional connections between UC and the junta.

Within the Committee, the SYL is now proposing a dramatic public "tribunal" on Friedman/Harberger's services to the junta. This tribunal would hear the massive evidence proving the complicity of these professors with the junta. Friedman and Harberger should be challenged to come out from their gargoyled ivory tower. The tribunal would be a means to boldly show the crimes of the "Chicago Boys" and provide a focus for the organization of future militant actions. The SYL would fight for a loud and clear verdict: "GUILTY!" Drive Friedman and Harberger off campus through protest and exposure! ■



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RSB: Going Nowhere

Bureaucratic Charade at Second National Conference

"Heavy!"... "Right on!"... "Tell it like it is!"... "Get down!" An orchestrated cacophony of revival-meeting exclamations and pep-rally hooting provided the "enthusiasm" at the second national conference of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), held in Chicago over the November 8-10 weekend. When these juvenile Stalinists finally "got down" to business, it was to accomplish only one chore: a "self-transformation" into the open youth auxiliary of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), the "self-transformed" former Revolutionary Union (RU).

At the opening of the conference the RSB was simply "an independent, anti-imperialist student group." When RSB members left the conference, they claimed to have become "communists" and members of the "mass communist student organization" of the RCP. The vehicle for this transformation was a motion presented by the RCP to the RSB conference. The motion was passed with little serious conference debate and over considerable protest, much of which was raised by RSB members who thought that "Marxism-Leninism" would "alienate" too many students. The goons spaced every twelve feet around the auditorium and the repeated friskings of conference participants no doubt were intended to inject "seriousness" into the otherwise juvenile proceedings and emphasized the "macho" image so cultivated by these workerist Maoists.

Only slightly over a year ago, when the Attica Brigades were similarly "transformed" into the RSB, the Brigade defined itself as "independent" and purposely limited its political basis to a minimal "two principles of unity" in an attempt to build a national campus-based youth movement on the politics of bankrupt New Leftism:

"We have two principles of unity. We support all national liberation struggles around the world, as exemplified by the NLF-PRG of S.Vietnam. And we also support the fight of oppressed people here in the U.S."

—Fight Back, November 1973

At that time the RU apparently believed that such a low-level, apolitical program would assure a rapid growth of the RSB, which would serve as a front group and recruitment pool for the RU itself.

Identity Crisis

When the RU reversed its position and decided to impose its political program on the RSB, the RSB postponed its second national conference, originally scheduled for last June, with a lame explanation about the need for more "discussion" around this and other proposals. The RSB nearly disappeared over the summer, presumably occupied with internal discussions, as the RU attempted to "deepen the understanding" of reluctant and vacillating RSB members.

The new face of the RSB is pawned off as the outcome of its alleged "successes" in the last year of campus organizing. The RSB "explains"

thusly:

"With the base it has built on the campuses and the experiences won in struggle, it became clear that the RSB would be strengthened by closer ties to the rising struggle of the working class and that the advanced students who had come forward were eager to take the stand of the working class and become communists.

"The change in the Brigade from an independent, anti-imperialist organization to the student organization of the RCP means a better basis for forging stronger links between the student movement and the overall class struggle...."

—Revolution, 15 November 1975

However hard the RSB Maoists wish to believe this glorified picture of their activities, even the Thought of

harden their respective memberships against each other and against any uneasiness which might result from the Chinese bureaucracy's increasingly vociferous role as supporter of U.S. imperialism's interests around the world. Thus, the October League (OL) has just unveiled its youth group, the Communist Youth Organization.

"Getting down"... and down ...and down

The RSB may now consider itself a "communist" organization, but students will have trouble distinguishing the old line from the "new" one in its campus work. RSB organizing on the campuses will continue to consist of setting up bureaucratically dominated front

and mass organizations that would be open for students to join and get involved in."

This spectacle of the RSB building organizations into which it can then safely and thoroughly liquidate becomes clear in the following anecdote, also from the RCP's document:

"Some of the best examples of the problems of the Brigade's 'independent' character came out whenever the Brigade tried to organize a study group among the students it was bringing into motion and struggle. Something it could never straighten out no matter how many times the RSB or RU summed them up. 'Problems' developed because Brigade members wanted to study Marxism-Leninism—and not Felix Greene's, *The Enemy*. The futility of trying to lead the 'independent' revolutionary study group was probably best (or worst) shown by a Brigade study group of Red Papers 5 once held in NY. The members were not allowed to talk of the pages of Stalin's formulation on the national question."

Having understood the "mass line" by uniting with "average" people, the RSB's tactical plan calls for attempting to bring the struggle to a "higher" level. One example given at the conference of such "consciousness-raising" was turning a student protest march into a seizure of a campus building; once the consciousness of the masses is raised in this fashion to a sufficiently high level, promises the RSB, they will be able to "get down" and make a revolution!

Such infantile posturing is coupled in the RSB's campus work with an hysterical fear of exposing its members and contacts to the politics of other political organizations. Its sectarianism backfires, however, as in the recent anti-CIA/NSA demonstration at Berkeley where the RSB, who numbered five, was left jeering on the sidelines as the SYL-initiated united-front demonstration of over 250 people marched to the recruitment offices to picket the government's paid assassins.

Tangled in the "mass line"

The RCP/RSB's theory of the "mass line" is a barely disguised dictate for tailism. The cadre of the RU have sported many different organizational designations, but running through the "transformations" of the RSB, the Attica Brigades and the RU is the never varying insistence on organizing around the *current* consciousness of the "masses."

In the 1969 SDS split, their opportunism led the Maoists who were later to form the RU and OL to counterpose to Progressive Labor Party's (PL) crude pro-working-class line an uncritical enthusing over black nationalism and "Third World" struggles. The Maoists were afforded a certain popularity in the late 1960's and early 1970's, because of their identification with China and their strict adherence to the policy of the "mass line": they were adept at the art of "knowing their place" and refrained from criticizing the groups with which they wanted to "unite."

When the RU's appetites for a constituency shifted from the New Left milieu to the factories, its line shifted accordingly and the RU became the champion of backward attitudes among the working class, particularly against women and homosexuals. Over the last

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People uniting to smash busing: RU calls on workers to strike against busing (bottom); Kentucky high school students out on racist school boycott (top).

Chairman Avakian won't make it so. The voluntarist enthusiasms of the RU/RSB did not recreate the student activism of the 1960's. In fact, the RSB's adventurist stunts and know-nothing politics over the last school year earned it the contempt of many political students.

The RCP's clamor for a disciplined youth group is a cynical maneuver, motivated by organizational appetite and justified by the rather belated "discovery" that "a better version of the formula that worked 10 years ago would not necessarily work now" (quoted from an untitled and undated RU document which argues for changing the RSB into a communist youth group). The high-volume but vacuous polemics that have gone on in the Maoist movement for the last two years encouraged all the Maoist groups to attempt to

groups which attempt to "unite" students around the lowest possible political level. In fact, one of the RCP's chief complaints about the RSB's previous structure is that it hampered the RSB's ability to set up front groups! In its document to the RSB conference the RCP states:

"... in the drive to develop the Brigade as an 'independent' organization so that the masses of students would want to join, we would water down the revolutionary leadership that the students needed—thus toned down or watered down Marxism led the student movement."

But at the same time,

"... with the Brigade being the main mass organization the masses of students were to join—the advanced revolutionary minded students were not consistently going out among the masses of students, building struggles