

Young Spartacus

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Maoists Cover For Peking/So. Africa/CIA Bloc In Angola—

FOR MILITARY VICTORY TO MPLA AGAINST IMPERIALIST-LED FORCES!

See page 3



South African and UNITA troops in the vanguard of Imperialist offensive.



Goose-stepping soldiers armed with North Korean weapons in Zaire.

NYC Bosses' Verdict: Exclude 1000's of Minority Youth from CUNY

Save Open Admissions!

NEW YORK CITY—On December 19, after months of haggling and temporizing, the cash-starved budget-slashing administration of the City University of New York (CUNY) with a single vote doomed open admissions, slamming shut the doors of the city colleges to tens of thousands of black and working-class youth. Mindful of the protests against the budget cuts by CUNY students over the last several months, the Board of Higher Education (BHE) bureaucrats announced the bombshell decision on the eve of the Christmas recess, when the campuses would be deserted for several weeks.

Under the new "open" admissions requirements, prospective students will be allowed to register at CUNY only after first demonstrating certain proficiency in reading and mathematics. But according to a just-released BHE study, next fall's freshman class will thereby be reduced by 40 percent. The enrollment of black and minority youth, who are already the most severely victimized by the inferior education in decrepit New York public schools, will plummet by more than two-thirds! As its critics have pointed out, the new plan will eventually leave CUNY with the same discriminatory racial compo-

sition prevailing before the open-admissions policy was begun five years ago.

These statistics are an astounding self-indictment of the public education system in New York City. Two-thirds of the minority students who apply to CUNY have been so poorly trained that they have not acquired an eighth-grade proficiency in reading or mathematics! (Yet the same BHE study indicates that 44 percent of the students who entered CUNY with aptitude scores below the eighth-grade level in the fall of 1971 had either earned degrees or were still enrolled three years later, demonstrating that the drop-out rate was not substantially higher than the national average for college students.)

The fact that tens of thousands of minority youth have seized upon the opportunities offered by the CUNY system is an important testimony to the services provided by open admissions. Ghetto youth, having been locked into the prison-like public school system where there is very little genuine education, acutely feel the alternatives confronting them in this racist, oppressive capitalist society: succumb to a life of unemployment, welfare or crime or seek out remedial programs and educational services.

Axing open admissions will also mean that the remedial programs especially benefitting the surviving minority and working-class students will be almost entirely eliminated. In addition, a proposal to close four CUNY campuses and to institute tuition

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**IRANIAN
STUDENTS
WALK AT
MAO-SERIAL
DETENTE**

see centerfold

EDITORIAL NOTE

Pinochet: "China Has Behaved Well"

As Chinese Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping last month assured Gerald Ford in a toast to U.S.-China detente, "the consistent policy of the Chinese government and people is 'dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never teach hegemony.'" With such anti-hegemony homilies of Mao "Thought," the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy merely signals that its foreign policy will continue to pursue anti-revolutionary "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Far from struggling to advance the revolutionary destruction of U.S. imperialist hegemony in Latin America, the Peking Stalinists, ready to "store grain" even in the coffers of barbaric military dictatorships, now are negotiating a huge loan of \$58 million to the Chilean junta of Pinochet, the butcher of thousands upon thousands of Chilean workers!

In a recent interview with *New York Times* journalist C.L. Sulzberger, Pinochet acknowledged that China has offered the murderous Chilean junta a \$58 million loan (*New York Times*, 29 November 1973). At a time when the already unstable junta has become almost totally isolated internationally, Pinochet expresses confidence in his Chinese ally:

"Russia and Cuba are trying to recover their position, to make Chile the South American base it was under Allende. This country was then the center for all their activities throughout the continent—for guerrillas, for distribution of funds, and for sending terrorist arms throughout South America. But China, that is different. China has not participated in this. China has behaved well."

Indeed, ever since the September 1973 coup which toppled the Allende regime, the Chinese Stalinists have "not participated" in any anti-junta protests and have "behaved well" for the gorillas. During the Pinochet coup, when leftists desperately fled to foreign embassies seeking asylum, the Chinese embassy closed its doors, turning away militants to be hounded down and slaughtered on the streets by the shock troops of reaction! According to leftist Chilean refugees, every embassy in Santiago was guarded by army units during the coup... except the Chinese embassy (*Rouge*, 2 November 1973). Corroborating these accounts, Fernanda Navarro, an official in the Allende government and personal secretary of Hortensia Bassi de Allende, upon arrival in the U.S. after the coup recounted that no refugees were in the Chinese embassy. Even the Maoist *Guardian*, in its editorial (12 December 1973) responding to criticisms of Chinese collaboration with the junta and refusal to shelter refugees, was unable to deny this atrocious betrayal of proletarian defense in a life-and-death situation.

After the coup, when an international campaign became urgently necessary to stay the hands of the junta executioners, the Chinese government stepped forward to demonstrate its "friendship" with the

bestial Pinochet police state. On October 11, the Maoists booted out the Chilean ambassador in Peking and welcomed the junta's representative (*New York Times*, 12 October 1973). Within a few weeks, the Chinese bureaucracy diplomatically recognized the Chilean junta, just as the Maoists had rushed to recognize the Algerian junta following the reactionary Boumedienne coup against the Ben Bella regime in 1965. In Santiago the Chinese diplomats met with Pinochet for high-level consultations and even feted the representatives of the junta.

When Chilean Foreign Minister Ismael Huerta Diaz rose to address the United Nations a month after the coup, many "third world" and Soviet-bloc

ers of pro-Moscow parties. In the Sudan the Communist Party in 1971 backed a coup attempt by "progressive" generals, which was crushed by General Nimeiry. The Peking bureaucracy congratulated Nimeiry and extended the Khartoum dictatorship \$80 million in aid.

Although Pinochet points out that the Chinese "behaved well" compared with the USSR, the Moscow Stalinists never pursued a revolutionary line in Chile. By subordinating the Chilean workers to the so-called "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie through the class-collaborationist Popular Unity government, the pro-Moscow Communist Party, as well as Allende's Socialist Party, suppressed the class struggle of the proletariat and politically lulled the workers with the reformist pabulum of a "peaceful road to socialism." By preaching fatal illusions in the alleged "neutrality" of the "democratic" military, by conciliating the bourgeois Christian Democrats and by holding down wages and returning occupied factories and estates, the Stalinists sabotaged the independent mobilization of the workers and peasants and thus prepared the preconditions for the victorious rightist coup.

But the Chinese bureaucracy no less treacherously gave unqualified support to Allende and his "peaceful road to socialism" for Chile. In a letter to Allende dated 3 February 1973 (made public in Chile on 23 July 1973), Chou En-lai cautioned Allende against implementing anti-capitalist measures: "only by acting... in a prepared and gradual form can one



In the aftermath of Pinochet's reactionary coup, the Chinese embassy refused asylum to militants who were being hunted down and murdered in the streets of Santiago.

delegations walked out, but the Chinese refused to join the protest. Likewise, at a UN meeting in Geneva that same month the only governments to abstain from voting for a resolution to aid Chilean refugees were the U.S. and China. In recognition of Peking's support, Pinochet the following month sent Mao a personal message of felicitation. (reprinted in *La Prensa*, 20 November 1973).

At no time since the coup has the Maoist bureaucracy waged any campaign in defense of the victims of junta terror. Since the end of September 1973, *Peking Review* has printed a total of only five articles on Chile; three of these "anti-imperialist" tidbits, moreover, extol the Andean Pact Organization, a Latin American common-market through which the Chilean junta has been able to expand its trade and thus compensate for its international isolation! As workers continue to die under the iron heel of the Chilean junta, the Chinese bureaucracy remains silent. But when Generalissimo Francisco Franco finally expired, Chou En-lai immediately sent a wreath (!) to the Spanish embassy in Peking to mourn the death of this dictator (*New York Times*, 23 November 1975).

In supporting the bloody Chilean junta, the Chinese regime once again demonstrates its readiness to betray the masses for diplomatic maneuvers aimed at appeasing U.S. imperialism and undercutting so-called "Soviet social-imperialism." By no means is Pinochet the first butcher to receive Maoist support as a reward for slaughtering the follow-

reach step by step the objective of changing the physiognomy of economic backwardness and improve the living conditions of the people" (quoted in *Chile Hoy*, 3-9 August 1973). Moreover, even in the immediate aftermath of the coup, the Chinese bureaucracy continued to favorably report Allende's policies against strikes and independent workers militias (*Peking Review*, 28 September 1973).

Unlike the U.S. Maoists, whose Chinese mentors have demonstrated that they value diplomatic relations with Pinochet far more than the lives of imprisoned Chilean militants, we have unflinchingly called for an international campaign of protest and class-struggle actions in defense of the victims of the junta's repression. Since the coup the international Spartacist tendency has initiated numerous demonstrations from coast to coast in this country, as well as in Australia and Austria, demanding the release of all Chilean class-war prisoners and focusing on the imperiled leaders of the "far-left" Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), ignored in the sectarian defense work of the pro-Moscow Stalinists. In September 1974, when the International Transport Workers Federation issued a call for a two-day international labor boycott of Chilean cargo, the Spartacus Youth League took the initiative in mobilizing student support for the successful picket-line demonstrations on the docks in Los Angeles and San Francisco.

- Free all victims of the Chilean gorillas' terror!
- Down with the junta—For workers revolution!

Young Spartacus

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Smash Imperialist-Led Forces in Angola!

"All my troops have been trained by the Chinese," now declares Holden Roberto, leader of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (*New York Times*, 14 December). With these Chinese-trained troops Roberto has vowed to massacre "every single communist" in Angola (*African Development*, November 1975).

Concerned only with blocking the influence of the so-called "Soviet social imperialists" in Angola, the counter-revolutionary Chinese bureaucracy for months has been aiding the virulently anti-communist Zaïre-based National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) in its struggle against the pro-Moscow Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). But now that the civil war in Angola has become internationalized as a "war by proxy" between the Russian-backed, Cuban-staffed MPLA and the CIA/South African-led FNLA and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the Peking bureaucracy is no longer confined to aiding the FNLA from Zaïre, but rather lines up with U.S. imperialism and the South African apartheid government to defeat "Soviet social imperialism" in Angola.

During Ford's Peking parleys early this month the Chinese leaders repeatedly warned imperialist chief Ford against conciliating the USSR. At the close of the discussions the Chinese impressed upon Ford that "their mutual interest lay in countering any expansion of Soviet influence in Western Europe, Angola and the Pacific" (*New York Times*, 5 December).

The Chinese bureaucracy is no less eager to form a "united front" with the apartheid regime in South Africa around their "mutual interest" in defeating the Russian-backed MPLA. Already the Chinese leaders have sent out diplomatic feelers to South Africa. Recently the South African *Rand Daily Mail* gave the following telling nod, "A Pretoria-Peking dialogue would be very beneficial to South Africa".

In its formal statements delivered at the United Nations or printed in *Peking Review*, the Chinese bureaucracy ceaselessly protests that China, unlike the Soviet Union, does not favor any one group. When China was simply pouring aid and advisors to the FNLA through Zaïre, such declamations served as a cover. But now Peking in fact is not concerned with any one group, since the civil war in Angola from the period of the Portuguese departure has become decisively subsumed by the CIA-backed/

Pretoria-led imperialist intervention in Angola.

At present the military forces arrayed against the Luanda government are under the direct leadership of more than 1,000 South African regulars and 500 well-trained Portuguese Liberation Army commandos, the followers of the butcher Spínola. As China recognizes, the FNLA and UNITA forces have become subordinate in a direct military sense to imperialist/South Africa command. The struggle against "Soviet social imperialism" in Angola is being waged now from Washington and Pretoria, and China's treacherous role has passed from primarily training the anti-communist, tribalist FNLA in Mobutu's backyard to lining up behind U.S. imperialism and the abominable Pretoria regime of white supremacists.

The MPLA has received a continuous supply of aid from the Soviet bloc countries ever since Luanda harbor opened up to Russian ships on November 11, and there are thousands of Cuban soldiers, some seasoned veterans of the anti-Portuguese struggle in Guinea-Bissau.

While the CIA/South Africa-led imperialist power play in Angola clearly aims at preventing a military victory by the MPLA, which would very likely bring Angola into the Russian orbit of influence, the U.S. imperialists certainly are not about to militarily intervene or recklessly endanger "detente" with the Soviet Union. But even forcing a stalemate poses the possibility of an imperialist-imposed balkanization of Angola; already at least one deal has been discussed that would give the south of Angola to South Africa as a protectorate territory and the Bakongo tribal areas of the north to Zaïre.

In this "war by proxy" the Chinese slogan, "Superpowers Out of Angola," translates directly into the policy of Henry Kissinger (who has become quite fluent in "superpower" rhetoric). Both Mao and Kissinger demand that the Soviet Union cease its aid to the MPLA and withdraw all its troops. Yet neither Mao nor Kissinger demand that the South Africans withdraw. In Angola the line that the USSR, a bureaucratically deformed workers state, really represents an "imperialism" more dangerous than U.S. imperialism leads directly to a bloc with the *real* imperialists!

In counterposition to the Maoist slogan "Superpowers Out of Angola," we stand for the *military* victory of the MPLA over the CIA-backed/Pretoria-commanded imperialist power play in

Angola. We call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. and South African aid and personnel. Warning that the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow would cut off aid the moment they perceive their own narrow, nationalist interests to be threatened by continued aid to the MPLA, we call upon the Soviet Union to provide the MPLA with all aid necessary to enable the MPLA to defeat the imperialist-led forces.

However, unlike the Stalinists who equate military support with political support, we have never given the least political confidence to the MPLA. As part of the ill-fated "Transitional Government" established by the Portuguese the MPLA broke a major dock strike, militarized labor, disarmed civilians and courted imperialism. Today the MPLA vows to treat the Bakongo people of the north as a Biafran-type secessionist movement, and tomorrow in power the MPLA would establish a "radical" or even "Marxist-Leninist" regime like the Congo (Brazzaville), where oppression is unrelieved and the economy still completely dominated by the French. The perspective of Trotskyists is for the creation of a revolutionary party in Angola that would struggle for the class independence of the proletariat and for the interests of the dispossessed masses.

Furthermore, our call for the military victory of the MPLA has a conjunctural character. Before the fratricidal conflict between the MPLA and FNLA/UNITA became decisively subordinated to direct imperialist and South African control and transformed into an imperialist intervention the struggle of the MPLA, despite its left-nationalist rhetoric, was not qualitatively more progressive than its petty-bourgeois nationalist rivals. Only when the limited civil war became internationalized with the decisive subordination of the MPLA's rivals to imperialism did we call for the military victory of the MPLA against the imperialist power play.

In this country, however, most unaffiliated "third world" Stalinists have uncritically cheered for the MPLA. Especially with the South African invasion the Chinese line that "Soviet social imperialism" represents the main danger in Angola and that the Soviet "superpower" should completely withdraw has grated on the New Left/"third world" cheerleaders to the point of hostility. For example, the first meeting of the Angola Solidarity Committee in New York City attracted about 300, yet the Maoists chose to almost completely boycott the event.

Within the U.S. Maoist movement the tendency which consistently has adapted to mainstream "third worldism" has been the *Guardian*. In this sense the fact that the *Guardian* has willfully departed from the line of the Chinese bureaucracy on Angola is symptomatic of the crisis Maoists must face to carry the Sino-Soviet split to the point of attacking the idols of the New Left.

The *Guardian* has come forth as the unconditional supporters of the MPLA. In its issue of 24 December, the *Guardian* viciously attacks the FNLA and UNITA, which Mao has supported, and lauds the aid given MPLA by the USSR and Cuba, which Mao has viciously attacked. The editorial criticizes the line—which remains anonymous!—that the main enemy is the USSR. In fact, the *Guardian* mentions China only once, mentioning that the MPLA regime in Luanda "seeks warm relations with People's China." Ha! The MPLA leaders have on numerous occasions sharply denounced China, and vice versa. The *Guardian* differs from China only as a Maoist Tito.

Precisely the opposite role is filled by the October League, which gets its line air mail from Peking. With *Peking Review*, scissors and paste the OL managed to put out an article on Angola in *The Call* for December. The real meaning of the "Superpowers Out of Angola" line is set forth in an article which, while paragraph after paragraph attacks the "Soviet social imperialists," refuses to mention—even once!—the presence of South African forces in Angola or the millions upon millions of dollars in aid poured into Angola by the U.S. imperialists! Comrades of the OL, how does it feel to be the mouthpiece of Pretoria?

The *Revolution* of the Revolutionary Communist Party handles the "two superpowers" line more cleverly and even-handedly... but just as treacherously! The *Revolution* dated 15 December perfunctorily denounces both "superpowers." But the RCP "forgets" to call for the withdrawal of South African troops, but not the "3000 Cuban troops," whose "phony 'revolutionary' image of Cuba" cloaks the "Soviet social imperialists."

In Angola today a Maoist sincerely committed to carrying out the line of the Peking bureaucracy could only seek out the nearest detachment of South African-led troops and join. ■

Letter

December 6, 1975

Dear Editor:

In an article entitled, "YSA: 'FBI agents for blacks, Secret Service for Camejo'" in its December, 1975 issue, *Young Spartacus* wrote: "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!" The article goes on to denounce the alleged request as a violation of socialist principles.

The quote cited is a UPI item which appeared in the *New York Times* and other papers across the country. However, this news item was completely inaccurate. Neither Peter Camejo nor Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, made the statement attributed to Camejo.

Camejo and Reid issued a news release September 29 in response to the assassination attempts against Gerald Ford but nowhere did they request that Secret Service agents be assigned to accompany them on their campaign tours. Attributing the attempts on Ford's life to "the bipartisan policy of the U.S. government to foment disregard for human rights," they asked, "Will the widely voiced concern for Ford's safety now prompt government authorities to provide adequate protection for all candidates and defend the right of all political parties to function?" This was no academic question since, as they pointed out, during the 1976 election campaign, the

SWP campaign headquarters in Los Angeles "has been bombed twice, with campaign workers narrowly escaping death. Nazis publicly boasted of the attack, yet the police and the FBI refused to act.

"It is our firm belief," they concluded, "that the only way for the government to curb the violence and safeguard political freedom is to start enforcing equal rights under the law for everyone, regardless of their race or political beliefs, and to call a halt to its own secret-police campaigns of harassment and violence."

It is regrettable that *Young Spartacus* simply reprinted the UPI item without bothering to check its accuracy.

Sincerely,

Andrea Morell
Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee

EDITOR'S REPLY: Last month *Young Spartacus*, making a polemical aside in an article entitled "Stop CIA/NSA Recruitment on Campus!," exposed SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo for "demanding Secret Service protection for all presidential candidates, himself included." We based our charge on a 30 September *New York Times* one-sentence news brief, which read: "Peter Camejo, the Socialist Worker party's Presidential candidate, asked today that Secret Service protection be provided for all Presidential candidates."

"Completely inaccurate," the SWP now protests;

"nowhere did they [SWP candidates Camejo and Reid] request that Secret Service agents be assigned to accompany them on their campaign tours." While not singling out the Secret Service, the Camejo/Reid statement, which in fact had been printed in the *Militant* (3 October), nonetheless challenged the "government authorities to provide adequate protection for all candidates." As the above letter emphasizes, the SWP did not pose this challenge as a rhetorical question. On several occasions the SWP, which has publicly eschewed recourse to working-class self-defense against right-wing threats, has demanded cop "protection." Reporting Camejo's public appearances in St. Louis, the *Militant* (17 October) has stated that after the local SWP campaign committee had "repeatedly requested" cop intervention, the "campaign committee scored a victory when police protection was provided for Camejo during his tour."

When the *New York Times* reported Camejo's ultra-"respectable" bleatings to millions, the SWP did not protest the coverage as "completely inaccurate" and issue a disclaimer. On the contrary, the SWP howls only when the SYL once again nailed these ex-Trotskyists for preaching that the repressive agencies of the capitalist state will reliably protect ostensible socialists or the victims of racist terror in Boston. This feeble letter is but one more affirmation that *Young Spartacus* is serving an important Marxist function—exposing yellow socialists like the SWP whose reformist politics can lead the working people only to defeat.

"Today's Radical Realism"

Renegade Hayden Fronts for Militarism, Racial Oppression

Under the impact of the belt-tightening depression, the Watergate scandals and the official revelations/cover-ups of CIA assassination plots and FBI "dirty tricks" against even respectable national leaders like Martin Luther King, the American working people more than at any period in decades have come to regard "their" government with cynicism and distrust. But in the absence of a mass-based revolutionary party capable of leading sharp class struggles against capitalist austerity and the special oppression of black people, the ruling class has been able to misdirect the anger and insecurity felt by broad sections of the population into support for fiscal conservatism, economic protectionism and—most ominous—racist reaction.

Yet the pervasive mood of disaffection presents communists with increased opportunities to win support for class-struggle politics and a revolutionary perspective. Pointing out the need for an alternative to the Republican and Democratic parties of the bosses, Trotskyists raise the call for the formation of an independent workers party based on the trade unions and fighting for an anti-capitalist program. A revolutionary workers party would utilize the elections as a means to shatter the illusions in the peaceful reform of capitalism, posing the necessity for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie.

Confronted by a restive working class, the Democratic Party recognizes the advantages of accommodating left-talking "progressives" such as former Panther leader Bobby Seale and now ex-radical emeritus Tom Hayden (see "It's Mr. Hayden Now, If You Please," *Young Spartacus*, September 1975). Campaigning hard throughout California for Democratic nomination as U.S. Senatorial candidate, Hayden seeks to demonstrate that he can refurbish the lackluster image of the Democratic Party and harvest the California youth vote.

"The immediate future belongs not to the empty center, but to either

progressive populists or reactionary ones," announces Hayden (*San Francisco Examiner*, 13 October). But unlike past "progressive populists" such as Henry Wallace who in 1948 at least ran independently of the Democrats, Hayden campaigns on a political platform of tame "little-man" liberalism designed to accommodate the supporters of fellow populist-Democrat George Wallace.

"Uniting the many..."

Hayden has declared that in his campaign "it is feasible to see defense-minded people with peace advocates... because we are facing the same down-trodden conditions" (*Sonoma County Index Tribune*, 22 November). As a reassuring gesture to the pro-Wallace Democrats, Hayden notes in a campaign brochure that he has been "moved" by "members of the Birch Society who shared our analysis of Rockefeller!"

Not even espousing the demagogic "radicalism" of maverick Democrats like Massachusetts Senator Bill Owens, Hayden has worked to make himself attractive to conservative California voters. When a student reporter at San Francisco State University asked his position on the decriminalization of marijuana, Hayden replied that he supported the old laws, brusquely adding, "I'm not interested in the marijuana-type issues" (*Zenger's*, 19 November). Pandering to white racism, Hayden has disregarded the issue of racial oppression; the great bulk of Hayden's campaign literature issued this fall *totally ignored* racial discrimination! In particular, Hayden, in the above-mentioned interview, refused to take a position in support of busing, a means of implementing the democratic right of equality in public education for black people.

Furthermore, Hayden is already neck-deep in the muck of the same "packaged" politics for which he has repeatedly denounced his opponent, Senator John Tunney. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (26 September),



Hayden in Chicago in 1969 when New Leftism was in flower. NLF flags in back.

California State Treasurer Jesse Unruh attended a \$125-a-plate fund-raising dinner for Hayden, and now Unruh is seriously considering throwing his weight behind the Hayden campaign. As the state chairman for cold-warrior Henry Jackson's presidential campaign, Unruh has a reputation in California for being the archetypical "machine politician." Finally, despite his criticism of Tunney, Hayden has stated that he will support his Democratic contender if Tunney wins the nomination.

Flim-flam man for capitalism

Most of what Hayden tries to palm off as economic "common sense" consists of utopian bombast. Hayden declaims in favor of "economic planning"; but he fails to explain how he will induce the capitalists to forsake profit in favor of an overall economic plan designed to serve the needs of working people. Hayden calls for "full employment"; yet his model is the New Deal, which barely dented the massive unemployment of the Depression. Hayden advocates "competitive public enterprises" and "citizen control of economic activity"; but capitalists have never been "entrepreneurs for the public interest" (*National Observer*, 22 November).

Behind the fog generated by Hayden's demagoguery is a flimsy defense of the racist status quo. Hayden refuses to renounce wage controls (*Pacific Sun*, 24 July) and supports economic protectionism, denouncing the Soviet grain deal for being "inflationary" and calling for American banks and multinational corporations to close down operations abroad and "invest in America" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 13 October). Frowning on welfare, Hayden preaches to the impoverished:

"The only unlimited resource we have is improving the quality of our own lives, which requires not living by our own individual desire for profit and power. This campaign rests on the need to believe. It is a spiritual power that goes beyond mechanical, material power."

—*Sonoma County Index Tribune*, 22 November

With such drivel Hayden attempts to defend capitalist austerity by the

"counterculture" mystique so "chic" in California.

"Left" face of imperialism

Hayden's fealty to the American ruling class is no less naked in the area of foreign policy. In arguing for cutbacks in the "defense" budget, Hayden warns in a campaign statement entitled "Peace":

"This country, with all its bristling defenses, could disintegrate just as suprisingly and rapidly as the South Vietnamese government and army if we continue to fatten our arsenals while starving our souls."

Concerned that U.S. imperialism not "disintegrate," Hayden counsels the bourgeoisie to strengthen its ideological chains on the masses, or risk overthrow.

When repeatedly pressed for his position on Portugal during one public talk, Hayden finally blurted out, "Who thinks Portugal is important?" (*Los Angeles Times*, 9 September). This isolationist posturing vanishes when he is confronted with a more lucrative (vote-wise) issue. For example, Hayden supports Kissinger's recent deal to send American "peace-keeping" agents to the Sinai, portraying such U.S. involvement, which has always manipulated national antagonisms in the Near East, as "help in reducing tensions" ("Primary Issues").

Like many liberals, Hayden calls for the abolition of the CIA, but only because he considers the imperialist spy agency "obsolete":

"By concentrating on propping up weak regimes against 'foreign conspiracies,' the United States has increased the oppression and increased the stigma of outside interference which spawn revolution" (emphasis added).

Consistent with this liberal anti-communism, Hayden bemoans the CIA falsifications which prevented a forecasting of the 1968 Tet offensive by insurgent forces in Vietnam!

To rectify such errors, Hayden advocates the creation of a new imperialist agency "strictly limited to intelligence gathering" ("Primary Issues"). Presumably, Hayden would approve of the National Security Agency, the monstrous "intelligence-gathering" arm of the Defense Department. After all, the NSA, whose agents tracked down Che Guevara by monitoring his radio,

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Our monthly YOUNG SPARTACUS has played an important role in expanding the influence of Trotskyism, the program of international proletarian-socialist revolution. YOUNG SPARTACUS provides insightful and controversial analyses of major social struggles and issues of political importance, including the current imperialist-led invasion against MPLA forces in Angola, the defense of busing in Boston and the shameless endorsement by the Maoists of China's bloc with NATO.

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**"The school of Leninism
is a school of revolutionary action."**

— LEON TROTSKY (1924)



YOUNG SPARTACUS

Participants at SYL educational sing revolutionary working-class anthem, the "Internationale."

NEW YORK CITY—Over the weekend of December 5-6 the Spartacus Youth League held its East Coast educational conference. Over a hundred members and supporters of the SYL and the Spartacist League from more than half a dozen cities attended the four sessions. The educational conference included presentations on the history and critical evaluations of the Fourth International during and immediately after World War II, the Soviet economy and workers democracy, and the tasks and perspectives for reforging an authentic Trotskyist world tendency. Similar educationals have been scheduled for the Midwest region and the West Coast.

Trotskyism during WWII

In the opening presentation, Comrade John Sharpe detailed and analyzed the staggering problems which the Fourth International, and especially its European sections, faced during the second world war. The holocaust of WWII threatened the European Trotskyist movement with physical annihilation. The small revolutionary vanguard was hounded by fascist storm troopers, the "Allies" and bourgeois resistance movements, and Stalinist assassins. A whole layer of experienced cadres, including many leading Trotskyists as well as Trotsky himself, were wiped out in this period. This decimation of revolutionary cadre shattered the continuity of the European leadership and allowed for the emergence of politically untested cadres, such as Michel Pablo, a skilled clandestine organizer. The speaker explained how these events were to facilitate the later triumph of revisionism.

Comrade Sharpe paid tribute to the revolutionary perseverance and courage of many of the European Trotskyists in this period. As an example of their resoluteness, he recounted how the less than 40 Trotskyists in Vichy France were able to put out over 80 issues of a clandestine journal on

printing presses that had to be built entirely of hand-made parts and stolen hardware.

In the face of the difficulties of the period, theoretical shortcomings were evinced in the world movement. The speaker detailed the problems confronting Trotskyists over the question of national oppression imposed by Nazi conquests.

The German Fourth Internationalists, having been in exile for a decade, reacted impressionistically to the fascist suppression of bourgeois democracy and the expansion of this virtual barbarism over the map of Europe. In their "Three Theses" the German Trotskyists posited that fascism had altered the entire character of the epoch. No longer was proletarian revolution on the agenda; instead, uprisings of whole nations against the Nazis were envisioned. The "Three Theses" stated that democratic revolutions made by the entire "people" would precede the struggle for proletarian dictatorship.

The "Three Theses" were refuted by the leading body of the Fourth International. The International Secretariat insisted that the struggle for national liberation directed against the Axis powers had to be posed in the context of a struggle for a socialist United States of Europe and that the proletariat had to maintain its political independence from bourgeois forces in the resistance movement.

But despite errors, the Fourth International maintained the continuity of revolutionary Marxism through a devastating period. It was not until 1953 that the earlier weaknesses, the pressures of new and unforeseen events, and liquidationist programmatic departures which had been codified by Pablo destroyed the Fourth International as a Trotskyist international.

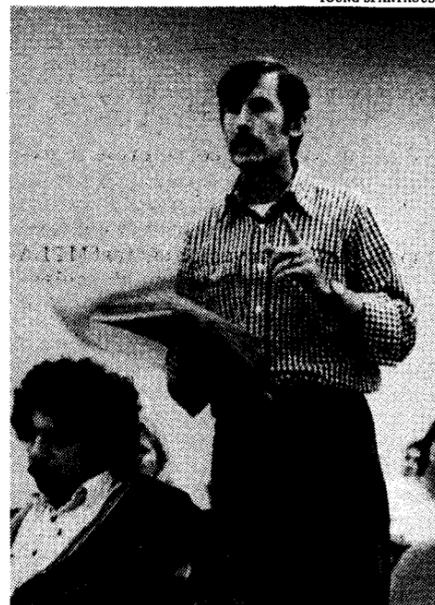
Soviet economy

The Saturday morning and afternoon sessions were devoted to probing the

intersection of Marxist economics with certain theoretical and programmatic questions concerning the degenerated and deformed workers states. Comrade Joseph Seymour analyzed the long-standing controversy over the applicability of the law of value to the political economy of the Soviet Union. Comrade Seymour showed how the law of value, which stipulates that commodities exchange at equivalent labor inputs, presupposes a society in which exchange, and concomitantly competition, penetrate every sphere of economic life.

In the USSR, however, capital goods

YOUNG SPARTACUS



A founding member of the SL adds his historical perspective to the discussion.

production and resource flows are nationally centralized and planned. They are not subject to the law of the market, and thereby subject to the law of value, but consciously determined by the plan, albeit a plan distorted by Stalinist bureaucratism. The effect of this planned economy is to qualitatively attenuate the law of value in relation

to those areas where markets are still in effect in Russia: the labor market, the consumer market, and the private agricultural plots.

In passing, the speaker debunked the muddled "state capitalism" theories of social democrats such as Tony Cliff of the International Socialists of Great Britain. In response to the claim that the Russian collectivized property represents a "single capital," Comrade Seymour quoted an unambiguous statement by Marx that capitalism can exist only through the interaction of many capitals.

Comrade Seymour showed how Cliff's economic doctrines were not merely the product of a petty-bourgeois reaction to Stalinist measures, but were also in opposition to the economic policies pursued by Lenin and Trotsky. At bottom, the "state capitalism" ideologues like anarcho-syndicalists counterpose the individual consumptive interests of Soviet wage earners to the state as an "accumulator." To call for the maximization of individual wages and consumer benefits at the expense of the economic and military strength of a workers state denies the role of that state as an important weapon in the international socialist revolution. Such conceptions, he argued, will have to be opposed by Trotskyists struggling for power in the deformed and degenerated workers states.

Economic policies of political revolution

In the afternoon session, Comrade Seymour outlined the economic program a Trotskyist party would advocate in the struggle for a workers political revolution to *smash* the Stalinist bureaucracies and establish soviet democracy. A Trotskyist economic policy is counterposed to Stalinist liberalization schemes, which amount to attempts to limit one particular form of bureaucratic parasitism. It was pointed out, however, that this economically destructive parasitism is incorrigible within the framework of a Stalinist regime.

The much-touted economic reform plans for Russia have consisted of attempts by upper echelon bureaucrats to subordinate industrial managers to some form of the discipline of the market. The working class has no interest in such schemes, he contended, since they merely trade bureaucratic excesses for the wasteful anarchism of the marketplace, which can give rise to anything from unemployment (as in the Dubcek reforms) to outright capitalist restorationist tendencies (as in

...on the move?

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Tito's Yugoslavia.) Comrade Seymour next explored the economic problems that would face the proletariat in power following a victorious political revolution in Russia, such as the problem of consumer supply and demand.

Internationalism

The culmination of the weekend came on Saturday evening, when our comrades heard and discussed a report assessing the prospects for recreating a genuine Trotskyist international. The report on the tasks and perspectives of the international Spartacist tendency, imbued with both sober realism and revolutionary optimism, served as the political highpoint for many of the participants. Appropriately, this final presentation of the weekend was concluded with the singing of the "Internationale." ■

Omani Rebels Betrayed— Iranian Students Balk

A significant portion of the recent spate of Maoist polemics on China's foreign policy has attempted to justify, obfuscate or simply deny the alliance between the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy and the reactionary butcher of Iran, "His Imperial Majesty" Shahanshah Reza Pahlavi. Seeking the Chinese franchise as the most shameless flunkey for Mao, the October League (OL) has parroted China's line by extolling the Shah, the gendarme of U.S. imperialism in the Persian Gulf. At the same time the shifty Revolutionary Communist Party (née Revolutionary Union) has put on a "left" mask, thundering against the Shah while covering for the Chinese bureaucracy.

The opportunist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), however, has simply echoed the Iranian Students Association (ISA). And recently a wing of the fractured ISA has produced a polemic against the OL which denounces these Maoist loyalists not for parroting but for deviating from the Chinese line.

On the Alliance of the October League (M-L) With the Shah of Iran (Supplement to *Iran Reports*, November 1975) in all its fifty pages nowhere hints at China's alliance with the Shah, nowhere proves its assertion that Peking is aiding the revolt in Oman against the Sultan Qaboos and the Shah's 8,000-man expeditionary force, nowhere mentions China's calls for a military alliance of the Persian-Arabian Gulf sheiks against the Soviet Union. But the pamphlet *does* demonstrate that the OL's position is reactionary. In so doing, however, the ISA only increases its political contradictions, since the OL line on Iran, like all its international positions, is a carbon copy of Mao's.

Carbon-copy Maoists rankle ISA

The OL first provoked the ISA by opposing its slogan, "No Arms to the Shah!" In *The Call* (October 1974) the OL complained that the RCP and ISA "try to organize demonstrations demanding that the Shah be disarmed and left weak and defenseless against the growing superpower war threat." Gloating over its Maoist orthodoxy, the OL tauntingly observed that the RCP "seems to be having trouble defending China's stand."

Having the same problems, the ISA now sharply denounces the OL as "a pitiful cheerleader for Shah's murder of Omani revolutionary masses":

"When the time is right, O.L. will support the revolutionary movement in Iran, but for now, since it has decided that the time is not right, O.L. will cozy up to the Shah, begging the reactionary puppet to arm himself to the teeth...."

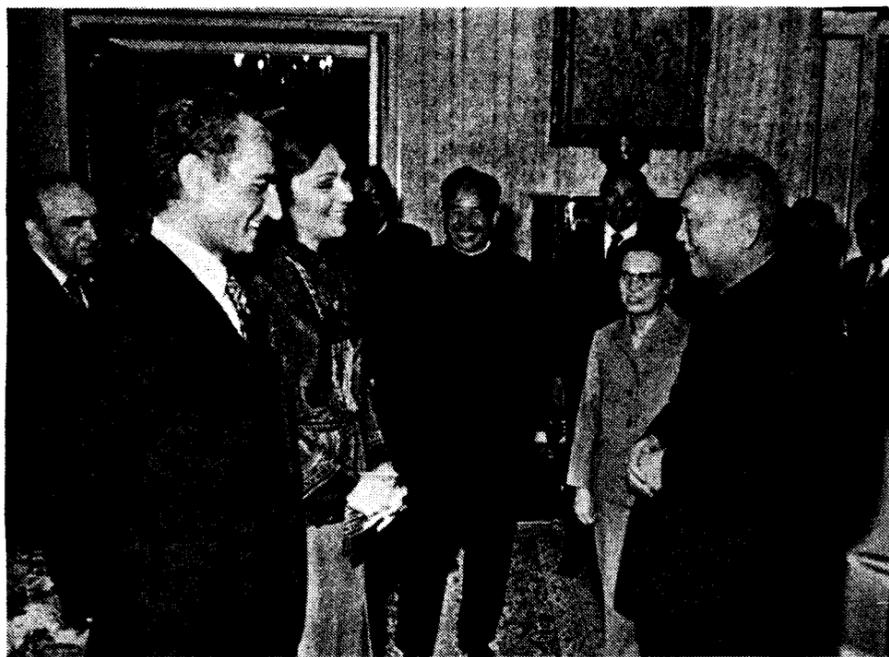
The ISA staunchly denies OL's claim to have faithfully xeroxed its line from *Peking Review*: "under no circumstances do we consider O.L.'s utterances to have any connection with the People's Republic of China." But, comrades of the ISA, Mao and Co. don't agree.

Mao's alliance with Shah...

In search of alliances with capitalist states against the Soviet Union, the Peking bureaucracy in 1971 began to "cozy up to the Shah" for a Sino-Iranian rapprochement. At this time the Chinese regime openly proclaimed its support for the Iranian monarchy:

"The Government of the People's Republic of China firmly supports the Imperial Government of Iran in its just struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and protect its natural resources."

—*Peking Review*, 20 August 1971



CHINA PICTORIAL



CHINA PICTORIAL

**Maoist bureaucracy
and Iranian monarchy
exchange pleasantries.**

**Above: Shah and
Empress welcome
Vice Premier Li
Hsien-nien on official
visit to Iran. Left:
Premier Chou En-lai
greets Shah's sister,
Princess Ashraf
Pahlavi.**

To usher in this China-Iran "detente," the Maoists staged an official banquet in Peking to honor the Shah (reported in *Hsinhua News Bulletin*, 26 October 1971).

Not only declaring "detente time" to be "not right" for struggle against the Shah's "state sovereignty," the Chinese government also has been "begging the reactionary puppet to arm himself to the teeth." Like the OL, Peking rejects the slogan, "No Arms to the Shah!" At a banquet held in his honor by the Shah in 1973, Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei declared:

"[Iran] has to strengthen its defenses in view of the prevailing situation in the region. It is necessary and understandable for Iran to take measures to strengthen her defenses for safeguarding her security, independence and sovereignty.... We hope and are convinced that your country, under the leadership of His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah, will build herself into a prosperous and powerful country."

—*Daily News Release* (Hsinhua News Agency), Tokyo edition, 17-18 June 1973

More recently *Peking Review* (11 April 1975) announced,

"In international affairs, Iran has actively strengthened its unity and cooperation with other Third World countries and firmly opposed the power politics and expansionism of the big powers, thus making a useful contribution to the struggle of all peoples against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism."

As "useful contributions" the Shah sent jet fighters to the Thieu regime in Saigon and to Ethiopia (*Saut al-Thawra*, 31 March 1974), where they are used against the Eritrean Liberation Front, another nationalist guerrilla force betrayed by Mao (see "Eritrean Independence Struggle Intensifies," *Young Spartacus*, April 1975).

For the ultimate in toadying to the

Iranian ruling class, *Hsinhua News Bulletin* (27 August 1975) even carried an article entitled "Soviet Pollution Threatens Iranian Caviar"! When it comes to cozying up to "His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah" and his caviar-stuffed entourage, the Mao bureaucracy has produced tributes which make work in the editorial offices of *The Call* so much easier. When Shahbanou Farah Pahlavi visited China for a parley with Premier Chou En-lai, the Chinese press gushed forth the following:

"Under the leadership of Shahanshah Pahlavi, the government and people of Iran have made continuous efforts and achieved successes in safeguarding state sovereignty, protecting national resources, developing national culture, and building their country."

—*China Pictorial*, December 1972

When the Shah's drug-smuggling sister, "Her Imperial Highness" Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, was feted in Peking this May, Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council of China, waxed effusively:

"It can be said that the China-Iran friendship tree your Imperial Highness has participated in cultivating is growing sturdily and bearing fruits."

—*Hsinhua News Bulletin*, 19 May 1975

...means betrayal of anti-imperialist struggles

One of these poisonous fruits ripened in late 1973, when Mao completely terminated Chinese aid to the left-nationalist People's Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO) fighting U.S.-backed, British-supplied Iranian forces in the province of Dhofar (see "Dhofar Revolt Pounded by Shah, Betrayed by Mao," *Young Spartacus*, May 1975). The OL, of course, defended the Chinese betrayal, claiming that the PFLO has become a puppet of the "Soviet social-imperialists."

But the OL in disavowing the Omani rebels simply followed signals from Peking, such as the following:

"In the Persian Gulf area, which is one principal contention target for the Soviet revisionists, the coastal countries have felt a more and more pressing need to unite to jointly safeguard the area's peace and security.... Whatever sabotage and troublemaking may be carried out by the two superpowers, Soviet social-imperialism in particular which is wasting no time in expanding its influence into the gulf area, it has become a general trend for the gulf countries to oppose the two hegemonic powers in unity."

—*Hsinhua News Bulletin*, 1 June 1975

Unable to produce a shred of evidence demonstrating continued Chinese support for the "troublemaking" PFLO, the ISA polemic only vaguely refers to so-called "selfless support" and the "firm fraternal relations which exist between the PRC [People's Republic of China] and the people of Oman and the revolutionary movement in the Gulf." While giving limited aid to the Omani insurgents in the past, the Chinese leaders, not about to threaten "detente" with the Shah, indicate that these "firm fraternal relations" and all this "selfless support" entail no arms. As the chief of Hsinhua News Agency has spelled out so clearly (are you listening, comrades?):

"Liberation movements would have to choose and carry out their own causes, he said. While 'moral and theoretical' support may be forthcoming, China has not and would not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, he stressed."

—quoted in *Foreign Broadcasts Information Service*, 3 July 1975

With "support" such as this, it comes as no surprise that the works of Mao given particular emphasis by the PFLO are those stressing "self-reliance"!

Pro-imperialist "united front"

Extending its criminal support for NATO against the "number-one-enemy" Russia, Peking vociferously advocates strengthening CENTO, the military alliance for "containing" the USSR and policing the Persian Gulf. The main forces behind CENTO are, of course, the Shah and the U.S. This Unholy Alliance of sheiks and sultans, "Third World unity" in action, is being assembled to "defend" the semi-feudal Persian Gulf tyrants from "subversion" (the Omani uprising) and from the "superpowers" (which for Mao means the Soviet Union).

Speaking at a Peking banquet in honor of Iraqi Vice-President Ma'ruf, acting Chinese Premier Teng Hsiao-ping declared that the Gulf countries, "... are strengthening their unity and fighting on a common front. They strongly demand the removal of big-



PFLO guerillas training in Dhofar.

at Mao-Shah Detente

power forces from this area and have called, one after another, for joint defense of the security of the area by the countries there. This just call is winning ever wider sympathy and support. The Chinese Government and people support this call resolutely."

—Hsinhua News Bulletin, 4 July 1975

But the recent proliferation of treaties among the sheikdoms is a direct product of U.S. imperialist policy, which is committed to keeping the Gulf an American Lake. Even the ISA unmasks the "common front" which China "resolutely" supports:

"In pursuit of the U.S.'s economic and military interest, the Shah has also been given the task of developing political alliances to strengthen U.S. hegemony in the area."

China: more arms for butchers of Kurds

The most important of these is the Shah's alliance with Iraq, based on an accord signed in March and a final treaty signed in June. This agreement, designed precisely "to strengthen U.S. hegemony in the area," has been hailed by the OL in words which have the ring of Hsinhua News Agency releases, the only difference being that the Chinese are more forthright: "The reconciliation of Iran and Iraq is a good omen, strongly testifying to the fact that the Third World countries share a common interest" (Peking People's Daily, 28 August 1975).

But the Iran-Iraq deal was no "good omen" for the Kurds. On the contrary, the "reconciliation of Iran and Iraq" resolved the border dispute by crushing the armed struggle of the nationally oppressed Kurdish minority. Using the latest Soviet equipment, Iraq had launched an all-out offensive to destroy General Barzani's Kurdish Democratic Party, representing the vast majority of Iraq's three million Kurds. Before "reconciliation" with Baghdad, the Shah was arming the rebels across the border; the June Iran-Iraq treaty, however, terminated this "border dispute," and with it the Kurds' Iranian sanctuaries and aid.

Precisely when Iran cuts off supplies and Iraq crushes the revolt, the Chinese regime hails "Iraq's support for the world's people's struggle for national liberation and against aggression" (Hsinhua News Bulletin, 5 July 1975). Precisely when Iraq wages a genocidal "mop-up" of the Kurds, Peking declares that "to build up their own arms industry is one of the main tasks facing Iraq and other Arab countries" (Hsinhua News Bulletin, 23 August 1975).

The OL especially is infatuated with the Maoist slogan, "Nations want independence, countries want liberation and people want revolution." But now



KEYSTONE

that Mao wants "detente" with the Shah, the Kurds aren't in the Maoist list of "just peoples' struggles." Fronting for the Shah no less despicably than the OL, the RCP refers to the struggle of the Kurds and the West Pakistani Baluchis—which threaten to spill over into Iran—as "reactionary separatist movements" (Revolution, September 1973).

The Chinese exhortation for "other" Arab countries "to build up their own arms industry" included the island state of Bahrain, off the coast of Saudi Arabia. Minister of Finance Li Chiang, speaking at a Peking banquet in honor of the Bahrain government,

"congratulated the government and people of Bahrain on the successes they had achieved under the leadership of His Royal Highness Amir Isa ibn Salman Ali Khalifan in safeguarding state sovereignty and national independence and building their country."

—Hsinhua News Bulletin, 15 October 1975

"Safeguarding state sovereignty" for Sheik Isa ibn Khalifan has been a notorious British officer named Henderson, who as head of the Public Security System banned all meetings of more than two people (Le Monde, 15 March 1972). Meanwhile, the "national independence" of Bahrain was entrusted to the U.S. for "safeguarding" in 1971, when the British withdrew; Bahrain is the headquarters for the U.S. Navy Middle East Force, which maintains two destroyers and one flagship on al-Jufair island (Department of State Bulletin, 28 March 1972).

Bahrain is the most developed of the Gulf mini-states and the only Middle East state where the proletariat makes up most of the population. But in "anti-imperialist" Bahrain the workers, exploited almost entirely by foreign capital, have had their strikes crushed and their unions banned—all "under the leadership of His Royal Highness Amir Isa ibn Salman Ali Khalifan" (see "Bahrain's Worker's Movement," Gulf Solidarity, May 1974).

Two, three, many fetes

The Maoist bureaucracy has sung its "detente" duet as well with North Yemen. Chinese Vice-Premier Chen Hsi-lien told North Yemen army officers feted in Peking this April that the Soviet Union, of the two "superpowers," is "all the more greedy and hypocritical; it is stretching its hands everywhere and its performance is particularly notorious" (Hsinhua News Bulletin, 26 April 1975).

Mao's representative was knocking at an open door: the Yemen Arab Republic has long been of the opinion that the Soviet Union is its "number-one enemy." The YAR generals, with Saudi and American gold in their hands and hatred for "Soviet social-imperialism" in their hearts, repeatedly stage attacks on South Yemen, the sole remaining ally of the PFLO, and have supported the imperialist crusade to annihilate the Dhofar rebels (PFLOAG Red Line, 2 October 1972). According to Vice-Premier Chen, the North Yemen regime "has all along pursued a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment" and "actively supported the people's national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America"!

Similarly, a representative of Kuwait was feted in the Great Hall of the People two years ago. According to Peking Review (22 March 1974), the Chinese spokesman thanked Kuwait for its "support to the Afro-Asian nations' causes of unity against imperialism." Yet since 1971 "anti-imperialist" Kuwait has received over \$500 million in arms from the U.S. imperialists, who have established a "defense" wall at

the northern end of the Gulf ("Arms Build Up in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf," Organization of Arab Students, March 1975).

Another instance of Gulf "unity" supported by Peking was the formation of the United Arab Emirates (UAE), a federation of seven sheikdoms pulled together by Britain and Saudi Arabia; a December 1970 joint Saudi-British communiqué declared that "the development of the Union of Arab Emir-

even "radical" Libya, "for example," has supplied arms to North Yemen for use against the People's Democratic Republic of (South) Yemen, the sole ally of the Omani guerrilla forces (see Joe Stork, "Socialist Revolution in Arabia," MERIP Reports, March 1973).

While the ISA denounces the OI line that the USSR is the "most aggressive and dangerous imperialism," the Chinese regime has made just this line the cornerstone of its reactionary bloc



ROULEAU/SYGMA

Mao applauds Shah's deal with Iraq to crush Kurdish fighters for national liberation.

ates would make a significant contribution to peace and stability in the area" (quoted in Gulf Solidarity, October 1972).

One year later, the UAE was formed—and instantly hailed by both Moscow and Peking. As the semi-feudal cabal were supplying troops and aid to Omani Sultan Qaboos (Saut al-Thawra, 28 February 1974), Chou En-lai sent UAE President Zaid ibn Sultan Al Nihayyan a message of congratulations (Hsinhua News Agency, 1 December 1972):

ISA's secret war with Mao

With its sharp criticisms of the carbon-copy Maoism of the OL, the ISA crosses swords with the Chinese regime as well. Yet, still clinging to Chairman Mao, the ISA is compelled to brazenly deny reality, mangle its politics and discredit its integrity as champions of the struggles of the down-trodden Iranian masses.

While denouncing the OL for glorifying the Shah as an alleged opponent of the "two superpowers," the ISA nevertheless maintains that "certain countries"—"Libya, for example"—represent "'independent' governments 'opposing' the two superpowers." Leninists support specific concrete actions by the "national bourgeoisie" in industrially underdeveloped countries that have a genuinely anti-imperialist character, such as the nationalizations of British oil holdings by Mexico's Cardenas in 1938 and Iran's Mossadegh in 1952. But OPEC is simply an oil cartel; oil price manipulation by OPEC certainly enriches the ruling cliques of sheiks, sultans and clans, but has no "anti-imperialist" character—in fact, impoverished "third world" countries like India suffer far more from the skyrocketing oil prices than the U.S. "superpower."

Sarcastically suggesting that "the glitter of the 'Royal' petro-dollars in Shah's hands have blinded the OL," the ISA vehemently denies that the Shah stands in "the progressive sector of OPEC." The Chinese government, however, elevates the profit-bloated Shah as a leading force in OPEC (Hsinhua Weekly, 15 September 1975). As for the "progressive sector" of OPEC,

with U.S. imperialism and its allies like the Shah against the Soviet Union. The Moscow bureaucracy certainly is counterrevolutionary; to enhance its diplomatic influence with the bourgeois Ba'athist colonels in Baghdad the Russian bureaucracy denounced the Kurdish national liberation struggle and even supplied advanced weapons to Iraq for use against the guerrillas. No less treacherous, the Chinese government hailed the Iran-Iraq accords which buried the Kurds and, at the time of the fierce offensive against the Kurdish insurgents, called for Iraq to increase its military power.

Both the Russian and the Chinese bureaucracies, which rule as parasitic castes over the politically dispossessed masses in these non-capitalist states, pursue equally reactionary foreign policies based on the same quest for "peaceful coexistence with imperialism." Both the Russian and the Chinese bureaucracies sabotage and betray the international socialist revolution for the sake of attaining a *modus vivendi* with world imperialism. While all the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states must be unconditionally defended against imperialist attack, the Stalinist bureaucracies must be removed through political revolutions which transfer political power to the proletariat through the establishment of soviet democracy. Only with

continued on page 9



For Workers Revolution in Portugal!



Demonstration by militant workers in Lisbon on October 10.



Government tanks move to crush rebellion by leftist soldiers.

December 22—Recent political developments in Portugal, especially following the November 25 paratrooper occupation of four major Lisbon-area airbases, have shifted markedly to the right. In the wake of the repression of the paratroopers revolt, the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement (MFA) has drastically clamped down upon the democratic rights won by the Portuguese workers movement, and right-wing mobilizations have erupted throughout the country.

After the quick defeat of the unorganized and ill-considered base seizures, the government arrested at least 112 left-wing soldiers and officers and issued warrants on at least 25 more (UPI dispatch, 4 December). According to the *New York Times* (4 December), the meeting of the Revolutionary Council on December 3 debated the extent to which purges of leftists in the army could be conducted.

In addition, the increasingly depressed economic conditions in Portugal have further fueled rightist mobilizations. Unemployment has now reached 13 percent, and per capita income has dropped 15-20 percent from last year (*Wall Street Journal*, 9 December). Protesting land seizures, farmers have repeatedly spearheaded right-wing mobilizations, in one case killing two and wounding 25 farmworkers (*República*, 7 December). As one Socialist Party (SP) militant expressed the rightward shift, "The backlash has reached a frightening level. The trouble is that with the recent left-wing purges in the military, the right feels it can do and say what it wants" (*New York Times*, 14 December).

With the large scale purges of leftist officers the "moderate" generals now calling the shots in the Revolutionary Council have moved to increasingly concentrate decisive political initiative in their hands. Declaring that the military (meaning the rebellious, politicized soldiers) should withdraw from

"politics," the MFA announced its dissolution as a "movement" and reconstituted itself as the Portuguese Armed Forces (FAP).

The proclamation (December 12) establishing the FAP calls for a "unity of doctrine" designed to develop an "esprit de corps" and for the "unity of command" to insure that "orders received cannot be contested, bypassed or ignored." To demonstrate the true objective of the reorganization—the smashing of the left-wing soldiers' movement—the MFA/FAP statement declared that the epoch of "SUV (Soldiers United Will Win), soldiers inter-commissions and the committees of revolutionary vigilance is over" (*Le Monde*, 14-15 December). More explicit goals were suggested by the influential extreme rightist ex-general Carlos Galvão de Melo: "the Communists must be driven to the sea... in our Christian Portugal there is no room for atheistic Communism" (*New York Times*, 14 December).

The events since November 25, and in particular the ability of the MFA to reorganize as the FAP without a split or even a significant struggle, offer graphic proof of the bourgeois class character of the MFA/FAP. Although the facade has changed, the FAP remains the political expression of the bourgeois officer corps; that is, the general staff of the armed forces for the protection of capitalist property relations. The April 1974 "Revolution" was the revolt of officers discontented by the demonstrated inability of the Salazar/Caetano dictatorship to extricate itself from the protracted, costly and demoralizing colonial wars.

Yet the revolt of the officers also opened up a massive social upheaval focusing on the hatred for the repression exercised by the extreme right-wing dictatorship. But the MFA/FAP for the last twenty months has attempted to contain the class struggle, while the mass reformist workers parties—the CP and SP—as well as virtually the entire so-called "far left"

of Maoists, syndicalists and fake-Trotskyists have assisted in subordinating the Portuguese workers movement to the capitalist MFA.

As the international Spartacist tendency has maintained ever since the April 1974 "Revolution of the Red Carnations," illusions in the alleged "revolutionary" capacity of the MFA/FAP can only lead to the defeat of the workers at the hands of the Portuguese Chiang Kai-sheks. Even the ability of the MFA to suppress the isolated rebellion by the paratroopers reflected the illusions of the rebels in the role to be played by "left" officers, notably, General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. After turning his back on the paratroopers Carvalho is still free, having done right by the bourgeoisie. But those who rose up and waited for friend-of-the-Cuban-Revolution Otelo to lead them are now disarmed, disbanded, and in many cases imprisoned.

The escalating attacks upon the workers movement and democratic rights cry out for a mass mobilization of the Portuguese proletariat to defend these "islands of proletarian democracy within bourgeois society" (Lenin). But in the still pre-revolutionary situation prevailing in Portugal today, with the MFA/FAP moving rapidly to consolidate the repressive capabilities of the state, the workers' struggle for the preservation and extension of democratic rights must be waged with the perspective of a revolutionary struggle for power. Now more than ever the Portuguese workers and leftist soldiers urgently require a class organ of proletarian power, the soviet.

The November 25 paratrooper rebellion was an isolated adventurist action, sparked by the dismissal of General Carvalho as Military Governor of the Lisbon area. The uprising involved a total of only 1,500 troops and lacked the active support of the proletariat, despite the fact that the subsequent imposition of a state of emergency at once triggered resistance

throughout the heavy industrial sites in the Lisbon area.

In response to the paratroopers, the government could mobilize only one reliable unit, the 850 commandos stationed in suburban Amadora. Yet the ability of the outnumbered commandos to quell the paratroopers testifies to the fatal consequences of illusions in the revolutionary role of the generals like Carvalho, who have not broken from the bourgeois MFA/FAP, to the confusion and disorganization of the "far left" and to the need for the development of soviets for organizing the struggle. Seizing the isolated paratrooper uprising as a pretext, the MFA/FAP used this same commando unit to disarm and disband the RPM (Military Police Regiment) and the RALIS (Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment), which are well known for their concentration of "far-left" soldiers (*Workers Vanguard*, No. 88, 5 December).

The defeat of the most left-wing troops, combined with the increased repression of the Sixth Government, is indeed a setback. It is not, however, a qualitative historic defeat for the Portuguese proletariat. Despite the increased repressive measures, the imposition of curfews after crushing the paratroopers, the suspension or increased government control of the media, the Portuguese workers movement remains openly active and strong.

Today the forces of bourgeois reaction hesitate on account of the strength of the workers movement and of the manifest political unreliability of the armed forces. While 850 commandos can turn back isolated adventurist actions, the MFA/FAP lacks at this moment the loyal troops required to crush the workers movement.

The continued militant agitation of the proletariat may fuse the pre- and post-April 1974 leadership of the military in a counterrevolutionary drive to smash the proletariat, just as the August 1917 maneuvers between Kerensky and Kornilov represented unified bourgeois reaction against the Petrograd working class. But, what was decisive in the Russian Revolution, even during the July Days, was the existence of soviets as organs of dual power and the leadership of the revolutionary party, the Bolsheviks.

The crisis facing the Portuguese revolution is above all the crisis of leadership. As has been the case throughout the post-Caetano period, the actions of the present misleaders of the working class during the November 25 events again cast into sharp relief capitulation before the bourgeoisie.

Once again the Socialist Party offered to play the role of orchestrating the anti-proletarian reaction. In the

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wake of the November 25 events, which the SP was quick to denounce as an attempted "CP coup," these aspiring Scheidemanns and Noskes supported the government, reminding the generals that it too played a "decisive part" in restoring "military authority and discipline" (quoted in *New York Times*, 1 December). Yet even the SP realizes the danger the rightward shift holds for the entire workers movement; compared with its actively anti-Communist role in previous rightist mobilizations, the SP has proceeded gingerly since November 25.

The attempt to portray the November 25 events as an attempted Communist Party insurrection flies in the face of all the facts. Far from attempting to foment a proletarian insurrection to seize power the CP has mobilized its supporters only to force the reconstitution of a new popular-front government which would include more CP ministers. As soon as the revolt mushroomed beyond their control and confronted the Costa Gomes government with seized bases, the CP repudiated the events and urged surrender. By the 30th of November, the CP had publicly disassociated itself from the paratroopers (*New York Times*, 1 December).

Unlike their Portuguese counterparts, the American Maoists can avoid formulating a line on the recent events in Portugal. Very little news and even less political analysis of Portugal are carried in *Peking Review*: the Chinese bureaucracy is concerned only that Portugal remain in NATO and outside the orbit of the so-called "Soviet social-imperialists."

Only once did the October League, that toothless mouthpiece of the Chinese bureaucracy, attempt to apply Mao-Thought to Portugal. Declaring that the MFA represented the "national and patriotic minded bourgeoisie" and that Carvalho represented the "patriotic" generals, the OL tacitly implied that the workers should unite with the "patriotic" bourgeoisie to carry out a "people's democratic revolution" to bring the "patriotic bourgeoisie" to power (see *Young Spartacus*, July-August 1975). But faced with the actions of the "progressive" MFA and Carvalho during and following the November 25 events, the OL, which has just announced its own self-transformation into the general staff to guide the American revolution, wrote not one word on Portugal in the December issue of *The Call*!

The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) likewise correctly deciphered the Chinese line that the "social fascist" Portuguese CP must be crushed. The RCP, citing the need to "purge some of the ultra-'left' officers, mainly Trotskyites and anarchists," placed themselves squarely behind the counterrevolutionary generals and the SP. Raves the RCP, "To the working class it was a very good thing that the Soviet social imperialists were blocked from consolidating their grip on power" (*Revolution*, December 1975). While bombastically declaring that the working class should "make revolution," the RCP line is an exhortation to the Pinochets of Portugal to make counterrevolution!

In Portugal today the burning task is for the revolutionary mobilization of the working class and the formation of a national soviet of workers and soldiers' councils as part of the creation of dual power in Portugal. In such soviets, Marxists would vigorously counsel against adventurist actions which seek to substitute themselves for the revolutionary power of the proletariat, such as occurred on November 25. To fight the illusions in the bourgeois MFA/FAP which have been fostered by the popular-frontist appetites of the current misleaders of the class, Marxists work for the construction and extension of centralized elected soldiers' committees linked to the workers movement through representation to a national soviet. The leftist officers in the MFA/FAP can advance the revolutionary struggle only by breaking with the bourgeois officer corps and placing themselves under the command of independent soldiers' com-

mittees. The army must be *split* along class lines!

To open up the road to class struggle Trotskyists would struggle to expose the class-collaborationist policies of the CP and SP, demanding that the reformist misleaders break with the bourgeoisie and their officer corps. The struggle for a workers government based on the organs of soviet power and led by a revolutionary Trotskyist party is the imperative task of today! ■

Renegade...

Continued from page 4

"merely" gathered information... which enabled the Bolivian army to murder Guevara and his collaborators.

Not lesser-evilism, but class struggle!

Posing as the "left" alternative to Hayden in the senatorial race is Omari Musa, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Wallowing in the "Spirit of '76," the social-patriotic SWP is running on a "Bill of Rights for Working People," which proposes to reform capitalism by constitutional amendment. An apt comment on the reformist nature of this platform was made by Hayden's cohort, the chairman of the Democratic Party's 1976 platform committee; in a debate with the SWP he recommended that the Democratic Party adopt the "Bill of Rights for Working People": "It all looks perfectly reasonable," he remarked, "You may have saved me ten months of work" (quoted in the *Militant*, 14 November).

A vote for Tom Hayden will not be a "wasted vote," but a vote for capitalist oppression, for racial discrimination and for imperialist reaction. Tom Hayden or John Tunney—the image may differ, but their class loyalty is the same. ■

Debate...

Continued from page 12

federal troops expropriate capitalists who refuse to meet the contract demands of the workers? Why not demand that the army take over the entire bourgeois state for its failure to uphold democratic rights for black people? The YSA spokesman quite aptly revealed the fundamental social-democratic thrust of YSA politics: pressuring the bourgeois state to continuously reform capitalism.

Fig leaf flutters

In an attempt to cover the SWP/YSA's transparent liberalism, Stiers continued his argument by claiming that the call for federal troops is correct until such time as a labor/black defense could be mobilized:

"Which tactic is superior—the demand for federal troops to enforce desegregation or a labor/black defense? Now, clearly the emergence of a labor/black defense coalition would be a tremendously significant step forward. We are not opposed to this. In fact, we would strongly support and give our active aid to such a group. We would also support a labor/labor defense or a black/black defense. We would also be in favor of the Red Army coming out to defend the blacks. There's no question about that... The problem simply is that neither a labor/labor defense, or a black/black defense, or a black/labor defense, or the Red Army exist, or is close to coming into existence, or is likely to exist in the immediate future."

But the YSA speaker himself exposed the total hypocrisy of this mock support to labor/black defense "in principle" when he then explicitly *counterposed* the call for federal troops to labor/black defense:

"One tactic [demand for troops] opens up a number of possibilities for agitation and advancement of the class struggle. The other [call for labor/black defense] is simply a perfect example of stolid sectarian druthering—druthering have something else."

In practice the SWP/YSA is opposed to a struggle to organize a labor/black defense. In the past, the SWP/YSA has openly opposed and voted down calls initiated by the SL and SYL for labor/black defense at large meetings in Boston. Its captive front group—the Student Coalition Against Racism—concentrates entirely on the single issue of desegregation enforced by federal troops and cops.

Where labor/black defense guards have formed, the SWP/YSA ignores them. Where was the YSA's "support" for labor/black defense when the Labor Struggle Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in Chicago's UAW Local 6, initiated and participated in a militant defense of a black union brother's home which had been under continual attack by white racists? The SWP/YSA refused to participate in, verbally support or even publicize the defense effort! Where was the YSA's "active aid" when an integrated defense effort was initiated by the East Boston People Against Racism in response to repeated racist assaults on the Sumner and Maverick housing projects? The SWP/YSA gave no aid, active or otherwise.

During the debate the SYL speaker linked the SWP's reliance on federal troops and cops to fight right-wing terror with its call for "free speech for fascists." Just as the SWP/YSA works against labor/black defense in Boston, these ultra-respectable sewer socialists seek to prevent militants from organizing against the fascist scum who have thrived on the anti-busing hysteria.

When militant students successfully prevented members of the Nazi party from speaking at San Francisco State University last spring, the YSA publicly denounced the demonstrators. At a meeting at the University of Houston, when students rose to protest KKK filth, a SCAR member repeatedly urged the students to quietly listen and observe the fascist's "right" to free speech.

The SWP/YSA has no intention of working for labor/black defense, no intention of supporting it where it exists and no intention of mobilizing the working class to beat back the fascist scum. Instead the SWP/YSA champions the "rights" of fascists and the "need" for federal troops. In so doing, the SWP/YSA indicates to bourgeois liberals that the SWP is a "safe" organization which can be relied upon to keep mass struggles within the bounds of reformism and legality.

Miseducated in reformist politics and groomed for ultra-"respectable" posturing, members of the YSA soon acquire an antipathy to political struggle. For example, the Detroit local of the SWP/YSA kept all its supporters away from the debate.

Because the YSA "educates" its young recruits above all in "machine politics," like envelope-stuffing and stamp-licking for the NAACP and trade-union bureaucrats, the YSA offers only a stultifying internal life, political torpor and a high turn-over in membership; those who remain to become cadres in the SWP/YSA soon graduate to hardened reformism, seldom even genuflecting in the direction of Trotskyism.

As the debate brought home, students seeking a revolutionary perspective will find it in the program of Trotskyism, carried forward today in this country only by the SYL and the Spartacist League. FOR BLACK LIBERATION THROUGH PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION! JOIN THE SYL! ■

ISA, Maoism...

Continued from page 7

the restoration of proletarian internationalism will Russia become a mighty "superpower" against imperialism.

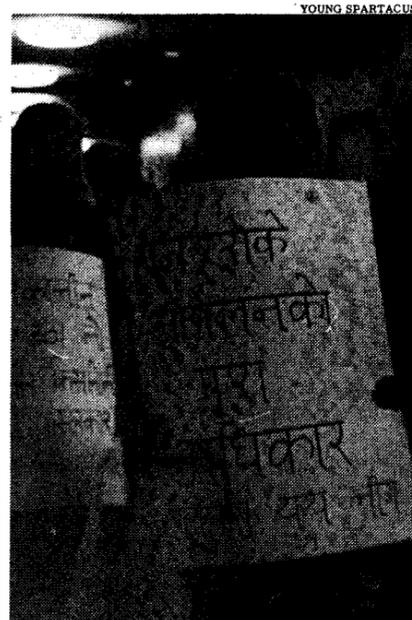
Take the road of Trotskyism!

The dictatorships of the Shah and his fellow ruling cliques throughout

the Persian Gulf must be replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry. Only a workers and peasants government linked with the international socialist revolution—and not an illusory "people's democracy" embracing the "progressive" exploiters—can "safeguard state sovereignty," "develop the national economy" and forge a "united front against imperialism." Only within the framework of proletarian rule in Iran and throughout the Gulf can the domination of imperialism be broken, the national oppression of the Kurds and numerous other oppressed peoples be lifted, and the social emancipation of all the exploited and oppressed masses begin.

The great literating socialist revolution which will sweep the Near and Middle East may well erupt first in Iran. Subjective revolutionaries supporting the ISA must break with Stalinism, the political chains binding even the most dedicated and courageous to the tyrants, slave-holders and generals ruling in palaces from Tehran to Salalah. Only Trotskyism—the continuity of Leninism—represents the program capable of leading the masses in struggle to the conquest of power. FORWARD TO SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND PROLETARIAN POWER IN IRAN AND THE GULF! ■

Pickets Rap Repression in India



Demonstration protests repression in India. Sign reads: "Full Rights For The Workers Movement!—SYL"

BERKELEY, December 11—A picket-line demonstration here today protested the appearance of a representative of the government of Indira Gandhi. The demonstration outside his forum on "India: Current Developments" brought together supporters of the Spartacus Youth League, the South Asian Student Association and individual Indian students.

Conspicuously absent from the protest was the reformist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). In a meeting prior to the demonstration, the representatives of the YSA suggested to the Indian students that the most effective means of protesting the draconian repression in India would be a petition campaign to pressure the U.S. government to pressure the Gandhi regime!

In contrast to the do-nothing, small-talking YSA, the SYL joined the spirited picket line and raised militant slogans calling for an end to the repression of the workers and poor peasants by the corrupt Gandhi regime and for proletarian revolution on the subcontinent.

Fake Militants Scab On U.Penn Strike

PHILADELPHIA—Campus workers at the University of Pennsylvania suffered a setback when the striking campus unions agreed to return to work. Up against a hard-line administration whose response to the walk-out included injunctions, arrests and scab-herding, Operating Engineers Local 835 and Maintenance and Service Employees Local 1202 called off the 44-day strike on November 28. One of the richly endowed Ivy League universities, U.Penn was able to force the acceptance of a rotten settlement which does not compensate for past losses through inflation much less offer any protection against ever-rising prices.

Prior to the final settlement the beleaguered work action had been undermined by the decision of AFSCME Locals 590 and 54 to renege on their earlier decision to honor the picket lines. Local 590 president Howard Deck led his local back to work on November 11, hypocritically declaring, "We admire the courage and conviction of those unions who will continue to fight... Returning to our jobs now means that we will be crossing picket lines—an action that is abhorrent to all of us" (*Daily Penn*, 11 November). The sabotage of the strike by these labor skates has caused deep resentment within the union ranks and aborted a planned merger between two of the campus unions, a step which would have strengthened the power of the campus workers.

Sold out by the AFSCME bureaucrats, the campus strike was also weakened by the lack of active student support. At the outset of the strike a meeting had been called to plan for building student support. At this meeting the SYL proposed the formation of a united-front committee based on the slogan "Victory to the Strike!" which would work to mobilize students to walk the picket lines and demonstrate in support of the strike. Given the weakness of most campus employees' unions, such student support, coupled with actions of solidarity by other sections of the labor movement, can often be decisive in ensuring the victory of campus work actions.

But our proposal for building actions in support of the strike was opposed by the supporters of the fake-radical Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), who counterposed the slogan "Support the Strike!" to "Victory to the Strike!" Managing to take control of the strike support committee, the YSA proceeded to debate the merits of holding a teach-in and serving donuts in informational dorm meetings. After resolving to hold a dinner for the strikers "some day," this committee effectively dissolved, while supporters of the SYL daily walked the picket lines.

Having paraded sellout Howard Deck through its "Militant" Forums on several occasions, the YSA linked its opposition to the slogan "Victory to the Strike!" with its insistence that any student strike support work be under the control of the union bureaucrats. When Deck ordered his members to scab on the strike, the YSA breathed not a word of criticism. At the time when student support for the still striking engineers and maintenance workers was most needed, the YSA and its empty-shell committee did absolutely nothing.

Moreover, the YSA's complicity with the scabbing went beyond promoting Deck. After the AFSCME locals returned to work, the SYL discovered that some library workers who support the politics of the YSA, including a *Militant* salesman and public spokesman for the SWP/YSA-controlled USLA (United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Prisoners), were enduring the taunts of picketing workers and scabbing on the strike! One of these scabs, slinking to work through a back-door entrance, even had the temerity to accuse picketing SYL supporters of wanting to break the unions.

Trampling on the most fundamental principles of labor solidarity is nothing new for the YSA. During a campus workers' strike at the University of Chicago last year, a long-time YSA supporter who had been elected chairman of a united-front strike support committee initiated by the SYL was likewise discovered by the SYL to be scabbing on the strike. Once exposed, this "socialist" scab felt compelled to resign from the chairmanship; the YSA nevertheless succeeded in imposing its pro-scab politics by defeating a motion introduced by the SYL stipulating that scabbing was incompatible with membership in the strike support committee (see "SYL Builds Support, Fake Lefts Scab!", *Young Spartacus*, November 1974). Although the SYL was forced to withdraw from the YSA-wrecked strike "support" committees at the University of Chicago and recently at U.Penn, the striking campus workers saw the SYL supporters on the lines every day; they only saw the YSA supporters crossing the lines.

At a rally held by Local 1202 at U.Penn, an SYL spokesman drew cheers from the amassed strikers when he sharply condemned scabbing and called for the broadest labor solidarity. Campus strikes are on the rise across the country, as budget-cutting administrations resort to layoffs of campus workers. Only labor/student mobilizations can effectively fight the budget cuts, tuition hikes and layoffs. ■

Save Open Admissions...

Continued from page 1

is still pending. Recently the BHE voted to spread \$13 million more in cuts among CUNY's twenty branches and campuses.

Only labor-student mobilizations can roll back cutbacks

In times of social and economic crisis, the class-biased and racially discriminatory character of education under capitalism becomes transparent, as schools become institutions simply to implement capitalist social policy. While the bankers and city government struggle to unload the cutbacks on the working people, the white students remaining in school serve time in disguised unemployment, while more and more blacks are forced back into the terribly destructive lumpen existence of the ghetto. The BHE decision is consciously designed to make black people and other minorities bear the burden of the cutbacks in education. Now more than ever a mobilization of the NYC labor movement and students is urgently needed to demand: No Budget Cuts! No Layoffs! Jobs for All!

Another drastic decision by the BHE to place all faculty and staff on an involuntary, unpaid month-long "furlough" this spring has already produced sharp protest and a threatened court action by the Professional Staff Congress, the faculty union. In addition, black and Spanish-speaking faculty members have been hit with large-scale dismissals throughout the uni-

studies and SEEK programs.

However, to make open admissions/no-tuition economically meaningful there must also be a militant struggle for a government stipend for all students. Further, the PSC should launch a union-sponsored recruiting drive to increase the number of black faculty. For months on its knees before the banks and the city government, the BHE like all university administrations must serve the bourgeoisie. The CUNY campuses should be controlled not by the administrative bureaucracies of the bourgeois state but by those who work, teach and learn at the universities.

Need for political struggle

As the semester draws to a close, protest on the campuses has subsided. Although the threatened cutbacks triggered large student protests in November, the pent-up anger and frustration of the masses of CUNY students still cry out for a leadership and a political strategy capable of sustaining a high level of student militancy and effectively mobilizing students against the cutbacks.

One group now aspiring to provide militant leadership for the cutbacks struggle is the city-wide "Anti-Imperialist Contingent" (AIC), a coalition of numerous Third World Maoist and nationalist student groups, including the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization and the February First Movement. In a unity statement (dated 1 December 1975) the AIC polemicalizes against various left organizations and their strategies for fighting the budget cuts. Except for the SYL, the AIC has been the only grouping in the New York anti-cutbacks fight to engage its opponents in political struggle.

With a well-aimed barb the AIC denounces the Young Socialist Alliance for its mealy-mouthed liberalism and

YOUNG SPARTACUS



SYL at CCNY calls for a labor/student mobilization against cutbacks and layoffs.

versity in the all too familiar discriminatory pattern of last hired/first fired.

Hundreds of black and Spanish-speaking faculty were hired after 1970, when open admissions increased minority enrollment; but four years later only seven percent of the CUNY faculty was black. "It's interesting that this is the year that the large group of people who came in 1970 are up for tenure," said Tilden LeMelle, chairman of the department of Black and Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College (*New York Times*, 17 December 1975). With a sampling from 20 units of the CUNY system showing that large numbers of black faculty are not being reappointed, another black professor from Manhattan Community College charges that the coincidence noted by LeMelle is not accidental: "They keep the numbers stable," she said, "but they keep changing the people so that no black ever gets close enough to make tenure."

But court suits by black faculty members will not stave off impending disaster for CUNY. Instead, the PSC must strike to prevent the so-called "furlough" and to defend the jobs of threatened black professors and to demand that all those dismissed be immediately rehired! Such action would spark, strengthen and broaden student mobilizations to maintain open admissions, remedial programs, ethnic

ultra-legalist pressure politics within the University Student Senate (USS). The Revolutionary Student Brigade is denounced—again, quite aptly—for its apolitical attitude toward the cutbacks, issue and student struggles. But then the leaflet states:

"...the Spartacist Youth League and the Progressive Labor Party have developed a 'craze' for militant action, they want us to storm the BHE at every demonstration, or charge police lines and get ourselves 'beat over.' They don't believe in organizing students and taking correct militant actions."

Yes, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) does engage in mindless adventurism and irresponsible confrontationism with the cops. Most recently, at a demonstration outside the BHE last month, PL's adventurism leapt from the stupid to the criminal; PL supporters called on the several hundred assembled students to charge into the BHE building, which at that time was guarded by 50 burly cops. PL showed cynical disregard for the safety of the demonstrators, and its tactics would have led only to self-defeating and demoralizing victimization of the students by the cops. On the streets PL recklessly raises ultra-militant and senselessly confrontationalist exhortations; but within the University Student Senate PL courts the liberals with opportunist passion rivalled only by the "Trotskyist" YSA.

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In contrast to the misdeeds of PL and the slanders of the AIC the SYL has maintained that well-planned militant actions *engaging masses of students—not* substitutionist rampages by still-isolated radicals—can gain the support of the poor and working people of New York City. In presenting our slogan "Students Seize the Campuses," we pointed to the 1969 occupation of CCNY's South Campus by hundreds of black students, which helped bring about the open admissions now being destroyed.

While emphasizing that student protests can spark broader social struggles, as occurred in France in 1968, we have stressed that only the organized working class wields the social *power* capable of defeating the austerity measures imposed upon the working people of New York City. A general strike of city workers against cutbacks and layoffs would win the active support of masses of New York working people, effectively channeling their discontent into a powerful struggle against the capitalists and their state. In our interventions and propaganda the SYL has sought to link student budget-cuts protests with the felt needs and class interests of city workers by calling for labor/student mobilizations against cutbacks and layoffs.

Militant reformism

The Anti-Imperialist Contingent also contends that only "militant and disciplined struggle" can bring about the defeat of the attack on open admissions and no tuition. But what strategy does the AIC propose? The AIC unity statement spotlights the struggle at the City College of New York (CCNY) waged by unemployed minority construction workers organized in the Manhattan North Coalition (MNC).

Last spring a dispute over quota hiring of minority workers at the CCNY campus construction project exploded in a violent clash after the MNC, claiming to "represent the Harlem community," closed the \$90 million project site for several days. When white workers, given the go-ahead by the construction union bureaucrats, attempted to reopen the site, a bloody and ugly pitched battle erupted, setting the employed construction workers against the MNC and its many student allies.

Previously the MNC had demanded that 50 percent of the jobs on the CCNY site be given to community workers, that 25 percent of the contracts go to non-white contractors, and that a non-white site coordinator be elected by "the community." But once the unions brought in more minority workers, so that over 40 percent of the workers were minority, the MNC then demanded that half of the minority workers be hired not through the union but through the MNC. In addition to an attack on the union hiring hall—a hard-won gain of the workers movement despite the job-trusting practices of the ultra-racist construction union pie-cards—the MNC demands would actually have meant the firing of black and Spanish-speaking workers who were not part of the MNC!

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The MNC struggle polarized the campus along racial lines precisely because the burden of unemployment and cutbacks in social services during a period of economic downturn falls heaviest on specially oppressed minorities, particularly blacks. But without a class-struggle leadership in the unions that uncompromisingly fights against racial oppression and programmatically links the employed and unemployed workers in a fight for full employment, the cut-throat competition for jobs can very quickly explode into a racially polarized confrontation, tragically pitting one section of the

oppressed against another.

To point the way toward full employment Trotskyists demand a sliding scale of wages and hours: dividing all available jobs among all who wish to work. In this way inflation and unemployment could be combatted at the direct expense of the capitalists.

The contractors who actively supported the MNC sought to channel the just anger and frustration of non-white unemployed construction workers into a struggle to destroy the construction unions and set up a "black capitalist" job trust.

By its refusal to wage an aggressive fight against all forms of racial discrimination the existing pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, with its narrow self-interests, exacerbates reactionary confrontations like the MNC dispute. The racist union bureaucracy thus drives the union ranks into apathy or into the arms of reactionary elements.

But the AIC, like the MNC, offers no strategy for an effective political struggle against the entrenched racist labor bureaucracy and limits its "fight-back" program to reformist demands which even Mayor Abe Beame could endorse. What is required is a fight within the trade unions to oust the bureaucrats, replacing the pro-capitalist labor fakers with a leadership committed to a class-struggle program which can combat racial discrimination. Only a Leninist vanguard party, acting as the "tribune of the people," can lead the class struggle forward to the revolutionary destruction of capitalism, the source of racial oppression and misery.

Moreover, the struggle against the layoffs and cutbacks must confront the very bourgeois politicians responsible for administering the devastating austerity measures. The issue of the New York crisis will be demagogically manipulated by all the capitalist candidates in the next state and city elections as well as in the 1976 presidential campaigns. As capitalist politicians and officials haggle over simply how to unload the cutbacks onto the workers and the poor, there grows among the working people an ever stronger felt need for the election of candidates who represent the genuine interests of labor and the oppressed minorities.

Therefore, Trotskyists link our call for the ousting of the pro-Democratic Party labor bureaucracy with the call for the formation of a workers party based on the trade unions to field labor candidates independent of the bosses' parties on a class-struggle program. Refusing to raise an *anti-capitalist* program, the AIC despite its radical impulses will build struggles ripe for harvesting by left-talking bourgeois politicians or "progressive" labor bureaucrats.

Class peace precarious

For the last two years the working class and the black and other minority populations have been subjected to a grinding attack against their living standards and working conditions. Simultaneously, many of their political illusions have been punctured by the torrent of post-Watergate exposés. Yet the organized labor movement remains essentially quiescent, and the few sharp struggles by labor have been simply absorbed.

This volatile contradiction, however, cannot last; the fragility of the much-touted "labor peace" even haunts bourgeois analysts. Especially in New York City, the *bête noire* of the bourgeoisie, rage and frustration among the plebeian mass are building toward an explosion, which the present ossified and venal labor bureaucracy will be hard-pressed to contain. Above all in New York City, a mass mobilization of students, faculty and the community poor around the defense of educational opportunities for the hundreds of thousands of black, Hispanic and working people could well ignite the broader struggle which could confront City Hall with the strength of organized labor demanding with a voice that *will* be heard: No Budget Cuts! No Layoffs! Jobs for All! ■

Defense of Frame-up Victim Scores Victory-

Philip Allen Granted Bail



Philip Allen and supporters at LACC victory rally.

Philip Allen has been released on bail! All those who stand behind this victim of racist "justice" should be encouraged by this first victory of the defense and redouble the efforts to see Philip Allen acquitted.

Philip, a 20-year-old black student at Los Angeles City College (LACC), had been charged with killing a Los Angeles cop... while being beaten on the pavement by six deputy sheriffs. The victim of a vicious racist frame-up, Philip Allen was charged with voluntary manslaughter and two counts of assault with a deadly weapon on a policeman. Allen was railroaded through court and slapped with the maximum sentence for one of the assault counts: five years to life in the penitentiary.

Philip Allen had been granted bail by Judge Lawrence Rittenband; but when Rittenband learned that Philip had spoken at an LACC rally the day before his sentencing and had reaffirmed his innocence, the bail was revoked. So because—and only because—he publicly spoke in his own defense, Philip Allen two months ago was thrown into Chino State Penitentiary, where he would be in the clutches of racist guards known to savagely brutalize "convicted cop killers."

But then on December 11, Judge Rittenband reversed his decision ordering bail revocation. While condescendingly referring to the "Christmas spirit," Rittenband was obviously moved far more by an *amicus* brief filed by the American Civil Liberties Union and the outcry of protest against the frame-up of Allen.

With Philip's release, the "Philip Allen Day" of fund-raising events at LACC scheduled for December 15 was transformed into a victory celebration. At a rally drawing over 100 supporters, Philip Allen again spoke on behalf of his defense. Although the SYL at LACC has won recognition for energetically working in the defense of Allen, the Philip Allen Defense Committee leadership in an act of sectarianism refused to allow the SYL to speak at the rally.

The SYL and the Partisan Defense Committee (an anti-sectarian defense organization whose class-struggle policies are in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League) have been active in the defense of Philip Allen. We join all of Philip's supporters in greeting his release on bail as a heartening advance for the defense. At the same time we stress the urgency of building a campaign that will compel the black-robed agents of the bourgeoisie to overturn this frame-up conviction and clear this black youth of all charges. STOP THE FRAME-UP! FREE PHILIP ALLEN! ■

Messages of solidarity and funds are urgently needed for the defense of Philip Allen. We urge all readers of *Young Spartacus* to contribute and support the defense. Please write:

Philip Allen Defense Committee
2936 West 8th Street
Los Angeles, California 90005

WORKERS VANGUARD

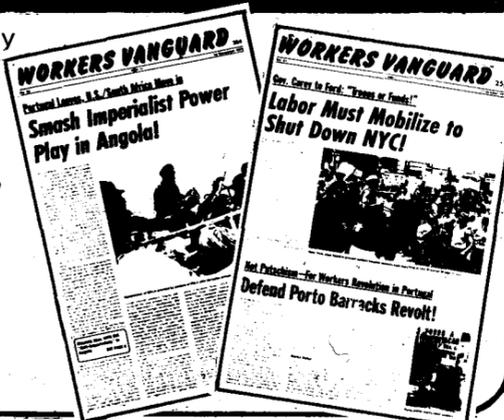
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SYL Debates YSA On Labor/Black Defense—

Revolutionary Trotskyism vs. Reformism

On December 9 at the Ann Arbor campus of the University of Michigan the Spartacus Youth League and the Young Socialist Alliance squared off in a debate on "The Struggle to Implement Busing and the Fight Against Right-wing Attacks." In the past consistently refusing our debate challenges, the Young Socialist Alliance, youth group of the Socialist Workers Party, reluctantly agreed to politically confront the SYL only after many students in a class voiced their interest in hearing the views of the two organizations thrashed out in a debate.

Focusing on one of the most important issues facing the left today, the debate, which attracted about 40 students, proved successful in clearly demonstrating the sharp differences between the political perspectives of the two organizations—the difference between the social-democratic reformism of the SWP/YSA and the revolutionary Marxism of the SYL and Spartacist League.

Opening the debate SYL spokesman Ray Bishop explained that the SYL supports busing as a means to enforce desegregation and ensure black people the democratic right of equal access to public educational facilities. Pointing out the limited and token character of the Boston busing plan, the speaker stressed the need to extend busing to

for the federal troops and more cops to Boston. Sneering at our criticism as a "very brittle and sectarian form of thinking," he insisted that the federal troops would "protect blacks."

But as the SYL speaker had pointed out, the armed forces of the capitalist state are the instruments of repression serving the interests of the bourgeoisie. The lives, struggles and rights of the victims of capitalist oppression and injustice must not be entrusted to the cops, the National Guard or troops—the perpetrators of Watts, Kent State and My Lai.

While they may occasionally fend off racist mobs and defend black people under direct attack, troops and cops cannot be relied upon; they can be counted on only to squash any independent self-defense effort and to suppress any struggle challenging the racist status quo. When the cops or troops move in and restore "law and order," the victims of harassment, intimidation, brutality and frame-up are overwhelmingly black.

In response the YSA spokesman challenged the SYL to deny that cops will defend black students,

"All you have to do is look at Boston and Louisville this fall, and they weren't even federal troops, they were police and national guard. They defended the blacks—I mean, what can you say!"

Indeed, look at Boston! While the cops paraded in the schools, black students as well as black teachers at South Boston High School have been almost daily subjected to cop provocation, administration harassment, faculty insults and gang attacks. Even Judge Garrity with his colossal understatement admitted that "more often than not, school and police authorities detain and suspend all the black students involved in the incident but only one or two whites" (quoted in the *Boston Globe*, 10 December).

What can you say, comrades of the SWP/YSA, when you support the NAACP court suit demanding the closing of South Boston High School on account of the attacks on the black students and lack of cop "protection"! Indeed, all we have to do is to look at Boston to see that the cops have not "protected" the black students, have not advanced the struggle for desegregation and have not demoralized and defeated the racist anti-busing forces.

When Judge Garrity ruled on December 9 to place South Boston High School under court receivership, the decision was met at once with racist mobilizations and vicious violence against black people. The same night the local NAACP office as well as the home of a prominent black minister were firebombed. The following day white gangs went after outnumbered black students in South Boston High School, and the cops as to be expected arrested the black victims of the white racist rampage. The eruption of racist violence centering on South Boston High School clearly demonstrates that when the cops freeze the racist status quo, the black people have won no victory.

Having preached for months that the cops in fact were "defending" the black students, having raised the call for



Boston cops "protecting" black youths in Roxbury, August 1975.

even more cops to even better "protect" civil rights in Boston, the SWP/YSA with consummate cynicism then demanded the closing of the school, a retreat in the face of cop harassment and racist attacks. In contrast the SYL demands the withdrawal of the cops from the school, linking our opposition to the closing of the school with our call for labor/black defense squads including teachers, parents and students to prevent violence in the schools.

Historical record falsified

In response to the SYL speaker's detailed recounting of the role of the federal troops in earlier civil rights struggles, the YSA speaker with broad gestures simply asserted that the federal government was "forced" to "protect" civil rights activists in the South. Recently, however, a former FBI undercover agent has exposed in lurid detail the real role of the federal government and the local cops in the civil rights movement.

Testifying before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence in early December, Gary Thomas Rowe divulged that at least during the early 1960's the FBI knew in advance about planned Ku Klux Klan terror attacks against civil rights activists but repeatedly refused to take preventative action. According to Rowe the federal authorities even encouraged their agents to participate in the murderous attacks!

Rowe, who was an accomplice in the KKK murder of a civil rights worker at the time of the Selma-to-Montgomery march in 1965, testified that in 1961, for example, he had informed the FBI that the KKK and the Birmingham cops were planning a jointly-coordinated attack on the Freedom Ride bus testing desegregation in public bus terminals. Although the FBI knew every detail of the plan, the authorities refused to act. When the Freedom Riders were beset by pipe-swinging thugs (including Rowe), savagely clubbed to the ground and then arrested by the cops who belatedly arrived on the scene according to the plan, the FBI agents were present . . . taking notes and making an "unofficial" movie.

According to Rowe the KKK worked hand-in-glove with the local cops, even "night-riding" in their squad cars. He concluded, "each and every time I would report to the FBI what we were

going to do," yet "nothing was ever done about it" (quoted in *New York Times*, 1 December).

The SWP/YSA, however, has called not only for federal troops but also for the cops and FBI to "defend" black people in Boston. When the FBI slithered into Boston, the SWP/YSA welcomed their arrival, complaining only that the government should have sent even more agents. As the *Militant* (3 October) stated, "This year more than 100 U.S. marshals and FBI agents were called in to prevent violence against Black students. . . While this protection [!] remains inadequate, it has dealt a hard blow to Boston's racists."

"Arrest the mayor, governor, city council..."

During the debate the only political argument advanced by the YSA spokesman in defense of his call for troops and cops was as follows: if it is proper to call upon the state to desegregate the schools, then it should be principled to call upon the armed forces of the state to uphold the law and defend the black people under attack. To make such a demand on the state, he concluded, is precisely analogous to demanding the release of Joan Little.

Revolutionaries certainly place *negative* demands on the capitalist cops and troops; for example, cops out of the schools! But we do not call upon those like Joan Little's jailer to defend black people! Socialists certainly demand that the bourgeois state recognize the right of the working-class movement to form trade unions and strike. But the labor movement has never called upon the army or cops to intervene and "defend" strikes from company goons and scab herding.

According to the logic of the SWP/YSA there is no limit to the demands which the oppressed should place on the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state. As the YSA spokesman so bluntly stated,

"If the federal government does respond by sending troops, our propaganda efforts could immediately shift to the demand that they arrest the mayor, the governor, the city council, and so on, for failing to uphold and enforce their own bourgeois laws."

But why stop at the mayor and the governor? Why not demand that the

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Forum

"For Workers Revolution in Portugal"

Speaker: Richard Cramer, Spartacist League

Tuesday, December 30, 5:00 p.m.

187 Bolton Hall (next to Student Union) University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

Milwaukee

the relatively superior suburban schools.

In contrast to the SWP/YSA, the SYL struggles to drive the fight against segregation beyond the bounds imposed by the "pro"-busing bourgeois politicians and the ultra-legalist NAACP; in addition to demanding the upgrading of the public schools we raise the call for free quality higher education through open admissions and state-provided living stipends and for low-rent integrated public housing to break down the barriers of residential segregation.

To enforce the implementation of busing and to defend black people from racist attack an integrated labor/black defense is critically needed. The SYL spokesman counterposed this call for self-defense to the demand raised by the SWP/YSA for federal troops and cops to "protect" black people in Boston from vicious racist attacks.

Responding for the YSA, Kevin Stiers devoted most of his presentation to an attempt to defend the SWP/YSA's call