

# Young Spartacus

Number 42

25 cents

X-523

April 1976

## Sit-Ins and Demos Against Cutbacks Sweep New York State

# NO CUTS! NO CLOSURES! NO COPS!



Over 10,000 New York students protest cutbacks at Albany Capitol.

NEW YORK CITY, March 30—During the past days and weeks a storm of student protest against the cutbacks in education has swept New York State.

The City University of New York (CUNY) and now the State University of New York (SUNY) are being ravaged by the sharp cutbacks slapped on the educational bureaucracy by the crisis-ridden New York City and State governments. Already CUNY open admissions and special programs, wrenched as concessions only through militant student struggles seven years ago, have been strangled. Under the new CUNY admissions requirements, next fall's freshman class will be reduced by an estimated 40 percent, cutting by two thirds the enrollment of blacks and other minority youth, who are most victimized by their inferior ghetto school non-education.

Most recently, a staggering \$51-million has been lopped off the SUNY budget by the New York State Legislature, and CUNY Chancellor Kibbee has just announced a plan to completely eliminate five CUNY campuses through merger or closure. In an interview on March 16 a Board of Higher Education (BHE) spokesman stated that BHE action on the Kibbee plan would be postponed "until the last possible moment, when there are the least number of protestors outside" (quoted in *The Campus* [CCNY], 19 March).

### Largest protests yet

Indeed, March 16 was not an "opportune" moment for the BHE to rubber stamp the Kibbee plan. Far from a time with "the least number of protestors," that same day saw amassed at the State Capitol in Albany the largest crowd thus far in the New York anti-cutbacks protests. Over 10,000 students and

faculty from CUNY and SUNY campuses poured into Albany for a demonstration called by the CUNY University Student Senate (USS) and the State Association of the State University (SASU).

Despite a driving snow storm, the mood of the swelling crowd from the outset was militant. Even the USS and SASU, backed up by the crowd-control marshals of the "peaceful and legal" Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), could not contain the crowd for the intended "responsible" hat-in-hand outdoor lobbying.

As the throng milled around, many of the more militant students soon lost all patience with the Bob Dylan recordings blaring over the public address system and began to press towards the Capitol stairs. Several hundred students, including a small group of Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) supporters, then surged up the Capitol steps, pushing through the human chain of USS and SWP/YSA marshals defending that "sacrosanct" symbol of bourgeois authority. A brief encounter with the cops ensued but the crowd entered the Capitol chanting, "We want [Governor] Carey!" Soon, however, the entire demonstration dissolved in chaos, and most students dispersed.

Then, within days of the Albany demonstration, student protests over the \$51-million cut in the SUNY budget erupted on SUNY campuses in rapid chain-reaction succession, including building occupations at Old Westbury, Purchase, New Paltz, Binghamton, Fredonia and Buffalo. Meanwhile, here in New York City almost daily midtown rallies, sit-ins and traffic-stoppages have been staged, in particular, by students from the three campuses targeted for closure: Hostos, Richmond and John Jay. For the last four days students at Hostos have maintained a

sit-in demonstration protesting the planned closure, and just today, as we go to press, several hundred students at Queens College have occupied a building.

### Cops and cop-training off campus!

Protest over the Kibbee plan has also been voiced—much more "reasonably," of course—by leading bourgeois politicians and mouthpieces, from Governor Carey to the *New York Times*. Why?

These bourgeois spokesmen have demonstrated no such concern for the fate of the black students at Medgar Evers or the Puerto Rican students at Hostos (the only bi-lingual facility in the CUNY system). But they now raise a hue and cry in defense of John Jay, which allegedly performs a "useful social service"... as a cop training academy!

John Jay College of Criminal Justice was founded in 1965 as a police-training academy. But when the CUNY open admissions policy was implemented in 1969, John Jay was swamped with a substantial influx of black and other minority students, and the curriculum accordingly was expanded to increase liberal arts courses. Moreover, the sociology department at John Jay has come to include many radical academics; the campus serves as a base for the leftist journal *Science and Society*, the Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians Organization and various radical student groupings, such as the *Liberation* collective.

Nevertheless, John Jay remains primarily a cop-training academy; 37.5 percent of all its students are currently employed police, while 80 percent of the students major in criminal "justice" or police "science." No wonder John Jay has a national reputation as a "cops playground," offering such

*continued on page 9*

# EDITORIAL NOTE

Boston, April 24—

## March With Us For Labor/Black Defense!

The recent escalation of the anti-busing backlash and the racist violence against black people in Boston demands an immediate response! The segregationist forces are on the offensive in the streets and in the schools against the black students being bused. They are more determined than ever to drive the black students back into the ghetto schools and thereby inflict a stinging defeat for desegregation in this country.

Never has the need for an organized defense of busing and the embattled black students and families in Boston been more urgent. Never has the task of defeating the racist offensive been more vital.

Ever since the announcement of the court-ordered busing for Boston two years ago, the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League have taken a resolute stand in support of busing as a means to desegregate the schools and ensure black people the democratic right of equal access to public educational facilities. At the same time, we alone have demanded that busing be extended to incorporate the entire Boston school system and the relatively superior suburban schools.

Moreover, ever since the eruption of the racist backlash, we have raised the call for the formation of a labor/black defense to protect black people from racist assaults and to ensure the complete implementation of busing. In pro-busing activities as well as in our literature we have stressed that black people and all who stand for full black equality must not place the slightest confidence in the cops or federal authorities to defend black people and to advance their struggle. Only mobilizations which maintain their political independence from the racist ruling class and which rely on the independent power and authority of the organizations of the working class and black community are capable of driving forward the struggle for integration and black liberation.

Recently, however, a pro-busing demonstration has been called for April 24 in Boston. Billed as a march and rally "for school desegregation and against racism," the demonstration is being organized by the April 24 Coalition, a creation of the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) and its captive National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

Rather than organizing a united-front demonstration to rally all who support busing and provide a platform for all the differing political tendencies represented, the April 24 Coalition is building an impotent protest parade dominated by liberal politics and bourgeois politicians. In return for brokering a "mass action," the SWP/YSA and its NSCAR are more than willing to do the donkey work for capitalist politicians and sundry other "prominent individuals" who have done absolutely nothing to fight for desegregation in Boston. For example, the SWP/YSA built the much touted December 14, 1974, Freedom March in Boston as a one-man show for black Democrat Bill Owens.

In fact, the SWP/YSA and NSCAR called for the

April 24 march only after they were assured of bourgeois sponsorship; the NSCAR "Emergency Meeting" held in Boston on February 21 to plan a response to the new wave of racist terror lacked its quorum of NAACP officials and capitalist politicians waiting in the wings, so these "best builders" of the anti-racist movement decided at that time to build nothing. Only weeks later did the April 24 Coalition surface with a long list of endorsers, from Massachusetts black Democrats to the Nation of Islam ("Black Muslims").

In its call for the march and rally, the April 24 Coalition makes perfectly clear that the demonstration is intended to be a Democratic Party platform in all but name. The call opens with a hand-over-the-heart pledge of allegiance to the red-white-and-blue Bicentennial: "The United States is celebrating its 200th birthday this year."

After kneeling reverently before the Founding Fathers, the call next pays tribute to the Civil Rights movement and its liberal misleaders, including the Kennedy brothers: "Millions of Blacks viewed people like Mrs. Malcolm Peabody, Rev. James Reeb and even the Kennedy family as supporters of Black equality." But today a large number of black people view the Democrats as either foes of busing or do-nothing demagogues, just as they regard the Kennedys as the two-faced vipers who viciously harassed Martin Luther King. Yet the April 24 Coalition openly proclaims a need for "yet another social movement" inspired by Kennedy-style liberalism and Martin Luther King pacifism!

The appeal to the Democrats and their hangers-on is even more blunt: "Such a march can be an organizing vehicle to register voters." That ought to bring a harvest of endorsements from vote-hungry bourgeois politicians! In its scramble for a "broad" appeal pleasing to the liberal Democrats the April 24 Coalition avoids any mention of the working class: "We call upon the religious and academic communities, elected officials, labor leaders, officials of the public school system, brothers and sisters of suburbia to join us on April 24."

What is decisive, however, is that the April 24 Coalition is organizing this march with a single *anti-working-class demand*: for the government to send the U.S. army to Boston and/or unleash more cops to "protect" black people from racist attack. Demands the Coalition: "All steps must be taken to defend Black and Puerto Rican students being bused and the community as a whole from racist attacks. This includes the use of the city police, state police and federal troops to insure that this happens."

Cuddling ever closer to its liberal allies, the SWP/YSA shamelessly preaches the same reliance on the armed forces of the class enemy. And that reliance places in dire jeopardy the rights and the safety of black people in Boston. Just one recent incident in Boston should be all that is required to demonstrate the role of the cops and federal forces: in February racist hoodlums rolled up to a Citywide



April 24 Coalition, which includes Nation of Islam, glorifies pacifist Martin Luther King. But Nation of Islam in mid-1960's pointedly exposed King (above).

Coordinating Council meeting in school buses escorted by the cops and then stormed and broke up the pro-busing meeting, as city cops, FBI agents, Justice Department officials and U.S. marshals stood on the sidelines!

Not only do the SWP/YSA and NSCAR promote the most dangerous illusions in the armed fist of the racist ruling class, they also have consistently opposed calling for independent self-defense by the trade unions and black organizations. At meetings of NSCAR and in the propaganda of the SWP/YSA, they have argued against, denounced and even ridiculed our call for labor/black defense, despite the successful union defense efforts against racist terror which we have frequently cited.

We recognize the need for a broad-based mass mobilization in Boston organized on a united-front basis. Recently the SYL initiated and participated in a united-front rally at Boston University open to all who agreed with the slogans, "Support Busing!" and "Stop the Racist Terror!" (see story page 12).

But we cannot endorse or otherwise politically support the April 24 Coalition, which is building

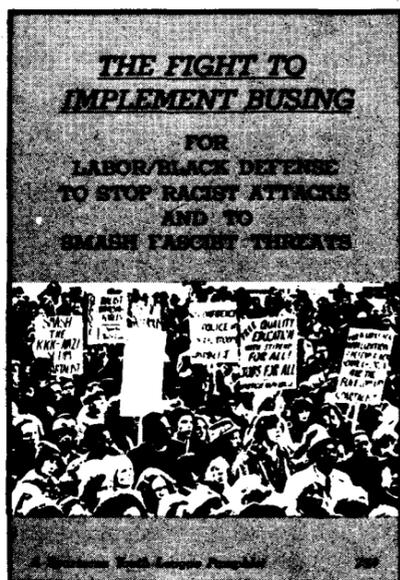
SWP/YSA PUSHES  
"NEW CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT"  
—Ex-Trotskyists Tail Uncle Toms

Young Spartacus No. 36  
Centerfold Article

Send a self-addressed envelope to: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825 Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013

this march and rally simply as a demonstration for more cops and an invasion by the U.S. army, totally subordinating the April 24 demonstration to liberal politics, bourgeois politicians and do-nothing rhetoric.

On April 24 the SL/SYL will march in the demonstration in Boston, since we solidarize with the just desire to protest the racist terror and to support busing which motivates the many who will attend. But in counterposition to the April 24 Coalition we will march and rally under banners which draw the class line between the struggles of the oppressed and the fist of the oppressor. We call upon all who support busing and oppose reliance upon the bosses' politicians, parties and police to JOIN US APRIL 24!  
● NOT TROOPS OR COPS BUT LABOR/BLACK DEFENSE AGAINST RACIST ATTACKS!  
● SUPPORT BUSING—EXTEND BUSING TO THE SUBURBS!



\*Why we support busing and call for its extension to the suburbs.

\*Why cops and federal troops cannot be relied upon to protect black people from racist attacks.

\*How labor/black defense has stopped racist attacks.

\*The lessons from Trotskyist anti-fascist campaigns of the past.

75 cents [70 page pamphlet]

Make checks payable/mail to:  
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.,  
Box 825, Canal Street Station,  
New York, N.Y. 10013

## WORKERS VANGUARD

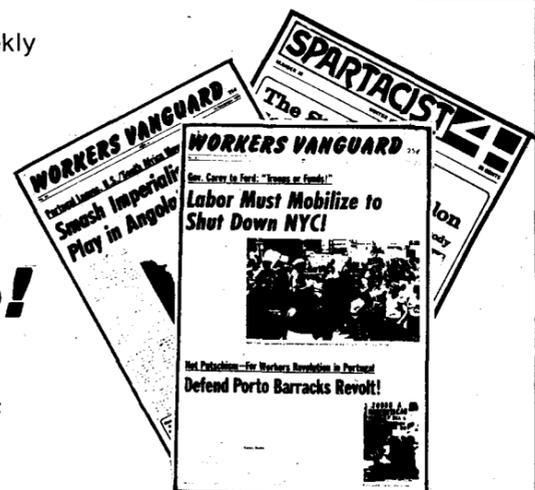
Marxist Working-Class Weekly  
of the Spartacist League

Includes Spartacist

**Subscribe!**

\$5 for 48 issues (one year)

Make checks payable/mail to:  
Spartacist Publishing Co.  
Box 1377, GPO  
New York, New York 10001



## At Chicago, Madison, Berkeley...

# Protests Continue To Lash Braintrusters For Chilean Junta

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Militant protests confronted Chilean junta economic advisors Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger in Chicago on February 29, in Madison on March 2, and in the Bay Area on March 7.

On February 29, Milton Friedman, patriarch of the conservative Chicago School of bourgeois economics and braintruster of the planned-starvation "shock treatment" imposed by the Chilean junta, broke his silence and ventured into the public eye on the University of Chicago (UC) campus. It was the first time that Professor Friedman had stepped from his UC ivory tower since a wave of protest swept the campus last fall in response to widely publicized accounts of Friedman's role in the "shock treatment" in Pinochet's Chile. The protests have been organized by the Committee Against Friedman-Harberger Collaboration with the Chilean Junta, a united front initiated by the Spartacus Youth League.

Appearing in an ever-so-scholarly panel discussion, "Symposium on the Economics of Financing Government," Friedman and his sidekick/fall guy, Arthur Laffer (a professor in the UC Business School) politely debated Keynesian economists Robert Eisner and Nathan Weinberg. Eisner, who is Chairman of the Economics Department at Northwestern University, and Weinberg, who is a longtime economist for the UAW, Democratic appointee to the National Commission of Shortages and Supplies, and member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, are proponents of the so-called "liberal" wing of bourgeois economic theory. The gentlemanly debate turned on the question of the rate of government spending as a function of national income.

Friedman's first recent public appearance in Chicago was countered with a militant picket-line demonstration outside the hall. A gathering of several dozen leftist students, under the leadership of the Committee Against Friedman-Harberger Collaboration, rallied with the slogans, "Protest Friedman and Harberger, Collaborators with Bloody Chilean Junta" and "Free All Victims of the Junta's Repression." The picketers attracted the chagrined attention of the Friedmanite loyalists flocking into the hall with

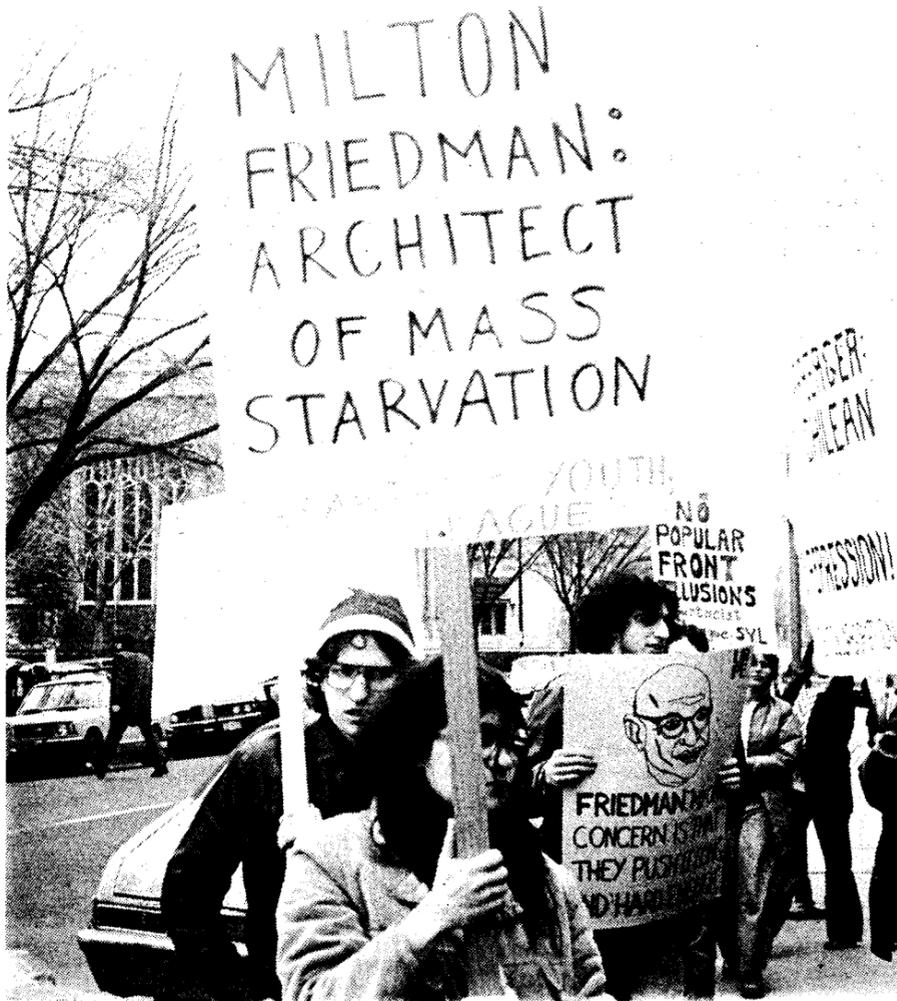
militant chants, such as "Friedman Starves Chilean Workers—Down with Friedman!" and "Smash the Junta Through Workers Revolution!" Several of the notorious "Chicago Boys," Friedman-trained executors and technicians of his economic policies, were spotted in the crowd.

### "Shock Treatment"

Plotted by Friedman and his co-thinker Arnold Harberger, Chairman of the UC Economics Department, the "shock treatment" constitutes a direct and vicious attack on the living standards of the Chilean poor and working masses. Taking the form of drastic cuts in government spending in all public sectors (except the military!) and calling for massive cutbacks in employment, Friedman's policies have only succeeded in further slashing the already dismal living standards of the Chilean masses.

Friedman's machinations have resulted in a plummeting rate of industrial production in Chile, down 22-25 percent from one year ago (*Wall Street Journal*, 22 January). A 340.7 percent increase in consumer prices during the course of 1975 has pushed Chile's rate of inflation to the highest in the world. Reports from the bourgeois press indicate that the abject failure of Friedman's "cold turkey" austerity measures has precipitated a rift among top generals in the junta, ten of whom signed an ultimatum demanding Pinochet's resignation as president. No democrats these, the dissenting generals find Pinochet's economic measures, barbaric as they are, not barbaric enough.

Meanwhile, Friedman, a comfy 5,000 miles away, spars gallantly with his loyal opposition on the question of government financing. In his initial presentation, however, Friedman felt compelled to comment on Chile briefly. According to Friedman, at the time of the fall of Allende's Unidad Popular regime in 1973, 40 percent of Chile's national income was allocated to spending in the public sector. Then Friedman pointed out that government spending in the United States has also reached an inflationary 40 percent of the national income. Friedman dodged the logical



Chilean junta collaborator Friedman picketed at Univ. of Chicago, February 29.

conclusion of this argument and proposed an oh-so-legalistic "remedy" in the form of a constitutional amendment which would limit government spending in the U.S. to 10 percent of the national income. More directly, what has been tried on the gander is good for the goose.

### "Chicago Boy" flayed

Inside the symposium, SYL and Committee supporters fired challenges to Friedman from the floor demanding that he answer a set of questions presented by the Committee (floor discussion had been prohibited). When Friedman brazenly lied that he had

"only visited Chile for a week to give lectures" and could not be held responsible for the "shock treatment," an enraged SYL supporter rose and cited the date and place of Friedman's meeting with junta chief Augusto Pinochet. Pleading ignorance of the devastation caused by his policies, Friedman replied, "I am not an expert on Chile. I do not get daily reports from anyone, except the Spartacus Youth League." But then Friedman had the gall to liken his role as a braintruster to a "physician called in to care for earthquake victims".

At several points SYL and Committee members raised chants from the

*continued on page 10*

YOUNG SPARTACUS

## FBI Agent Met By Militant Pickets At Harvard



"Cops and Spies Off Campus!" chanted the demonstrators at an SYL-sponsored picket line at Harvard University on March 5. The protest action had been called to oppose the appearance of an FBI agent at Harvard's Law School. Other slogans raised in the spirited chanting included, "Jail the Murderers of Hampton and Clark," "For Proletarian Revolution to Smash the Capitalist Secret Police" and "Abolish the FBI, CIA and NSA."



At UC forum SYL member denounces Friedman.

# If You Liked Norman Thomas You'll Love Peter Camejo!

"I was delighted when I came in the door to be handed the Socialist Workers Party program. I think that tomorrow I'll go down to [Democratic Party National Committee] Chairman Strauss and suggest that we adopt this. It all looks perfectly reasonable. You may have saved me ten months of work."

—Staff Director of the Democratic Party Platform Committee, quoted in the *Militant*, 14 November 1975

"The Young Socialist Alliance finds itself in competition with more traditional political elements... [The electoral program] sounds—at least to the untrained ear—much like that of any liberal Democrat."

—*Chicago Tribune*, 5 January 1976

"Nothing one could relate to the image of bomb-throwing revolutionaries who want to overthrow the government."

—*Chicago Tribune*, 28 February 1975

"It works! At last the American bourgeoisie is beginning to appreciate our respectability."

Such must be the pleased response of every Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) "campaign manager" to the seemingly endless reports of "successes" in its "campaign newspaper," the *Militant*. These ambitious small-time reformists must feel proud, for the SWP/YSA certainly has devoted itself to grooming a "respectable" reputation and a "responsible" image before the bourgeois establishment

More and more resembling the ultra-reformist Socialist Party of Norman Thomas and Co., the SWP/YSA seeks to become the mass electoral party of social-democratic reformism. But 1976 isn't just any election year—it's a presidential election year, with the Bicentennial to boot. So suit-and-tie "socialist" Peter Camejo and "fiery" Willie Mae Reid have been caravanning around the country with their campaign message: Socialism is reasonable.

## Mr. Camejo goes to Washington

One of the first stops on the election trail was Washington, where SWP presidential candidate Camejo pranced into the august House of Representatives to address the House Intelligence Committee. "The Socialist Workers Party

doesn't advocate or engage in violent or illegal activity," Camejo pledged (*Militant*, 28 November 1975). No "illegal" strikes. No "violent" class struggle. But, above all, *no revolution!*

Just in case some remained skeptical, Camejo trumpeted, "We are opposed to totalitarianism everywhere in the world, whether in the USSR or in Spain." Well, that must have awakened some congressmen from their reveries of the old Cold War days. "Now, that's my kind of socialist!", one can almost hear them mutter.

Grovelling before the imperialists, Camejo criminally implies an equation between the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, and the reactionary dictatorships in Chile and Spain in order to demonstrate his commitment to "Democracy"—bourgeois democracy. Meanwhile, in its election propaganda and statements, the SWP/YSA refuses to call for the defense of Russia, China and the other deformed workers states from imperialist attack.

## A 200-year-old gimmick

In the cesspool of bourgeois electoral politics, most candidates have a gimmick. Carter has his teeth, Reagan his \$90-billion budget cut, Harris his populist down-home hokey. Not to be outdone in their bid for legitimacy in the electoral big-time, Camejo-Reid are pushing a "Bill of Rights for Work-

ing People," which holds out the promise of "socialism"...through a Constitutional amendment.

According to Camejo and Reid, the problem today is not so much capitalism as the capitalist parties. In Portland Camejo assured his audience, "If Democrats were opposed to cutbacks, there wouldn't be any cutbacks" (*Militant*, 14 November 1975). In another campaign statement Camejo and Reid declared, "If the Democrats wanted to, they could put a halt to war spending, provide millions of public service jobs at union wages, and shorten the hours of work with no reduction in pay" (*Militant*, 2 May 1975). Likewise, a spokesman for the Camejo-Reid campaign announced before a Maryland audience, "If this party [the Democratic Party] is committed to providing jobs for all, it could do it tomorrow" (*Militant*, 14 November 1975).

According to the SWP/YSA, with "socialists" in office, capitalism could be cleaned up and made to "work" for everybody! At no point does the

bourgeoisie as a class. According to Camejo, "the owners of industry and the big stockholders would have their profits reduced because they would be paying out more in wages." Under this hoary "labor capitalism," the industrial barons might be reduced to counts, but they would still rule. In fact, the SWP/YSA proudly quoted U.S. District Court Judge Griesa when he observed that the program of the SWP/YSA contained "not the slightest indication of any mass action...to expropriate property" (*Militant*, 24 December 1974).

## Liberal one-upmanship

When he finally got his foot in the door of the bourgeois establishment last year and was interviewed by the *New York Times* (21 April 1975), Candidate Camejo summarized his platform,

"First, cutting the war budget and getting any emergency public works program to put people back to work.  
"Second, favoring a cost-of-living

## American Trotskyist Leader James P. Cannon on a 1935 "Bill of Rights for Working People"—

"He [Budenz] came to the National Committee of our party with a proposal that our whole program should be an amendment to the Constitution; that our revolutionary program be whittled down to one parliamentary project. It was a terribly capitulatory, a philistine program of the crudest kind."

—*History of American Trotskyism*, 1944

"Bill of Rights for Working People" declare that all of its promises cannot be fully met under capitalism. At no time have Camejo or Reid even suggested that their "socialist alternative" requires a proletarian revolution which smashes the bourgeois state and expropriates the capitalist class.

Rather, the "Bill of Rights" states that its program "will only be possible if the government itself passes into the hands of the majority—the masses of working people." Like most social democrats and liberal-populist reformers, the SWP/YSA makes clear that the "workers government" which it advocates will not expropriate the

clause in labor contracts to fight inflation.

"Third, ending illegal activity of CIA and FBI harassment.

"Fourth, enforcement of laws which protect minority groups and women. I'm for school busing in Boston.

"Fifth, opposition to the present foreign policy which we characterize as imperialist."

Not one plank in the Camejo-Reid platform in any way constitutes an anti-capitalist demand. On the contrary, each of these demands has been raised in the past by liberal and populist bourgeois politicians.

Even the conservative *Chicago Tribune* (5 January 1976) wryly observed that "Fred Harris—with his populist image and his outspoken assaults on 'privilege'—is providing stiff competition" to the SWP/YSA and its Camejo-Reid campaign. In fact, the Camejo-Reid campaign program is not qualitatively different from Harris' calls for "cutting" the war budget, full-employment planning, "industrial democracy" and taking "foreign policy" out of corporate control. Harris even outflanks Camejo-Reid by demanding the abolition of the CIA (while calling for its replacement by a "new" security agency). No wonder that during the recent YSA national convention a Fred Harris campaign organizer (who had been invited to the convention as a "guest") found it easy to accept—literally overnight!—the "Bill of Rights for Working People," announcing to the gleeful gathering that he was switching his vote to Camejo-Reid and was joining the YSA. No wonder that a regional coordinator for Democrat Tom Hayden could declare at a Hayden-for-Senate rally in Santa Barbara, "If Hayden

continued on page 8



SWP presidential candidate (left), testifying before House Committee (right) pledges: "SWP doesn't advocate violent activity."

## "Affirmative Action" Won't Attack Harvard Discrimination

# Fight For Open Admissions!

BOSTON—On March 1 over two hundred Harvard University students gathered at Mass. Hall to protest the university's racially and sexually discriminatory hiring practices and to demand the implementation of an HEW "affirmative action" hiring plan.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Task Force on Affirmative Action, a liberal-dominated pressure group which began its activity earlier this year by preparing a report for the HEW Regional Civil Rights Director and by urging Harvard to engage in "open discussions." Since its formation, however, the Task Force has attracted the endorsement of a number of radical organizations on campus, including the February First Movement, New American Movement, Organization for the Solidarity of Third World Students, and the Committee Against Racism.

But these radicals apparently have found such unabashed confidence in "open discussions" with the federal government to be too tame and even slightly embarrassing. For at the March 1 demonstration they attempted to liven up the campaign by distributing leaflets and making speeches which denigrated naive faith in the federal government. Yet these campus radicals, in attempting to pressure their pressure group, could offer nothing more than exhortations for more "mass action"—to "force" the government to "force" Harvard to end its discrimination.

But mass action or no, the demonstration was dominated by the liberal politics of the Task Force, most clearly expressed by one of the signs carried by Task Force members, "Whose Side Is the Government On?"

The Spartacus Youth League, while participating in the demonstration and solidarizing with its opposition to Harvard's racist practices, did not endorse this demonstration, because we do not support the Harvard Affirmative Action plan. Rather, the SYL intervened in the demonstration with political slogans which point the way toward a real fight against racial and sexual oppression: "For union control of hiring, No racial or sexual discrimination," "For open admissions, Free higher education with stipend," "No reliance on racist Ford's courts and HEW," "For special recruitment of minority students, Full stipend," "No government intervention in the unions," "Unionize all campus workers," "Nationalize Harvard under student/teacher/campus-worker control."

Why is the Harvard/HEW plan an obstacle to such a struggle?

### Affirmative Action hoax

First of all, government "affirmative action" programs do not merely demand that employers hire minorities and women. In most cases, the unions which are present in a particular work location are also made party to any government anti-discrimination court suit.

Such government intervention into the unions, even under the guise of fighting discrimination, allows the ruling class to abrogate hard-won union gains, like the seniority system or union-enforced job security. Yet these gains, above all the unions themselves, are the only means which the workers possess to protect themselves from racist victimizations. Prosecuting the unions in the bosses' courts represents an attack upon the working class, the only force capable of waging the necessary and *conclusive* struggles against racial and sexual oppression. To per-

mit the state to erode the strength of the labor movement sabotages the much-needed struggle *within* the unions against the present pro-capitalist, racially insensitive labor bureaucracy to make the trade unions a fighting force against discrimination.

### Sub-tokenism

But the question of state intervention in campus unions is not the only criterion for determining our negative attitude toward the "affirmative action" plan at Harvard. In fact, the question of union rights is not substantially at issue with regard to the Harvard faculty: the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) represents only a minuscule percentage of the total Harvard faculty; and according to its New England representative, the AAUP does not meet regularly

in the Harvard *Crimson* (24 March), Walter A. Patterson, HEW Office of Civil Rights team director, reminded the administration that "HEW will not bring any specific discrimination charges against the University," and then he concluded, "If Harvard President Bok feels the findings are unfair or not truly representative, we will modify our findings with any new information he might give us."

### Racism means few are "eligible" for Harvard

"But," a supporter of the Task Force might argue, "isn't any inroad into this bastion of privilege a good thing, no matter how minimal?" In words and deeds the SYL has demonstrated—in particular, over the issues of busing and the Equal Rights Amendment—that we resolutely champion every demo-

cratic right and fight for reforms in the interests of the oppressed and working masses. But far from implementing measures which would even minimally alter the racist and sexist status quo, the Harvard "affirmative action" plan is based on "eligibility pool" quotas (determined by the nationwide percentage of minorities in a particular field who obtain advanced degrees each year) which are nothing but a testimony to, and endorsement of, the continued special oppression of blacks and women. From the earliest grades through college, the present educational system serves a capitalist social policy rather than the educational needs and aspirations of the masses of people. In this racist, oppressive society, very, very few black people and women receive high-level academic and professional degrees. Even if Harvard could be "forced" to alter its discriminatory hiring practices, the "eligibility pools" remain overwhelmingly white and male.

### What strategy to fight discrimination?

The struggle against discrimination at Harvard must begin with opposition to every concrete manifestation of racial and sexual discrimination, such as the recent racist victimization of campus union militant Sherman Holcombe. The first meeting to organize student support for Holcombe attracted 50 people, including many of those campus radicals who are also in the Task Force. At this meeting the SYL proposed that a demonstration be organized as soon as possible, serving notice to Harvard that racist anti-labor harassment would not be tolerated. But

*continued on page 11*



March 1 demonstration against Harvard discrimination.

nor does it have collective bargaining agreements with the administration.

Nevertheless, even where defense of union rights is not at issue, the Harvard/HEW plan is so token and so shot through with loopholes that it is insupportable. Even supporters of the plan make no pretense that it is anything but token, with "goals" so modest that they are meaningless. For instance, women and minority full professors were to increase *only 1 percent each*—to 3 percent and 5 percent, respectively—over the course of three years (June 1973 to June 1976). Yet the proportion of tenured blacks actually *declined* from 1973 to 1975.

Moreover, no one gets hired when the University is cutting back. As the Harvard Affirmative Action Program puts it:

"In some cases it has been necessary to cut back in teaching and research personnel and many faculties have reduced the number of new positions becoming available. In a number of instances a position becoming available through turnover or retirement is phased out or left vacant for lack of financial support."

In addition to the escape hatch of fiscal retrenchment, the "affirmative action" programs formulated are abundantly equipped with escape clauses releasing universities from their "commitment" to combat racial and sexual discrimination. For example, the government imposes goals, not quotas, for hiring and promotion, thus indicating its willingness to accept less—in Harvard's case, less than virtually nothing: HEW accepted a Harvard plan which failed to meet even its own standards. All the government asks is that Harvard make a "good faith" effort.

This is a program without a tooth or a bone in its body! In a recent article

Sherman Holcombe, victimized Harvard campus worker, and Jane Margolis, member of the Militant Action Caucus of the Communication Workers of America, were guest speakers at an SYL Forum at Harvard University on March 1 (below). The SYL at Harvard participated in a united-front defense committee for Holcombe.

But on March 5, the SYL was forced to withdraw from the defense committee when the leaflet issued for an upcoming March 11 defense forum invited the Administration to participate in an "impartial investigation"



of the Holcombe case. Holcombe, however, reconsidered this position, and at the March 11 forum he stated that he "didn't want the same people who had fired him investigating him." (By that time the Administration had already conducted *two* investigations, both of which, not surprisingly, decided against Holcombe.) At this same defense committee forum Holcombe, in addition, singled out the SYL for its vigorous defense efforts on his behalf; in a few days the SYL had gathered 300 signatures in defense of Holcombe.

Yet, on March 15, at a Holcombe defense committee meeting (held without Holcombe present), supporters of the Young Workers Liberation League, Revolutionary Student Brigade, February First Movement, Organization For the Solidarity of Third World Students, Committee Against Racism and the Task Force rejected Holcombe's anti-administration stand and reaffirmed its call for an "impartial investigation" including the Administration!

# Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition

## Part 3 / Chartism

By Joseph Seymour

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** In this series Young Spartacus has made available for our readers a presentation on the origins of Marxism given by Joseph Seymour, a Central Committee member of the Spartacist League, at the Spartacus Youth League West Coast educational conference held in Berkeley during January. The talk, "Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition," attempts to debunk the academic/New Left emphasis on Marxism as a self-contained derivation from Hegelian philosophy. Comrade Seymour demonstrates the decisive influence of the experiences, programs and world-views of two preceding generations of revolutionary militants who struggled

to fuse the bourgeois-democratic revolution with an egalitarian collectivist social order.

We have serialized the presentation in three parts. The first part discussed the Great French Revolution and the legacy of its insurrectionary and most radical wing maintained by the revolutionaries Babeuf and Buonarroti. The second installment analyzed the Carbonari conspiracy, the French revolution of 1830 and the continuity of insurrectionary communism in Blanquism. Like the first two parts, this concluding section on British Chartism follows the verbal presentation with only minimum editorial alterations.



Chartist uprising in Newfort.

In the literature on the origins of Marxism the element which I believe is most unappreciated, most misunderstood and most neglected is the shaping impact of the British working-class movement. For it was not the French but the British working class which had forged the most class-conscious and mass revolutionary organizations.

Without his assimilation of the British experience, through his close collaboration with the leaders of Chartism and Engels, Marx could not have learned what is essential in Marxism: the centrality of the mass organizations of the proletariat, the importance of the industrial revolution, the significance of the industrial proletariat. Simply on the basis of the German and French experience Marx could not have transcended a more sober version of Blanquism.

In British Chartism, and only in Chartism, there was a mass, national organization of the proletariat with a revolutionary thrust. At that time the French proletariat remained insufficiently differentiated from the bourgeois-democratic revolutionary movement as a whole. While less self-consciously world historic than French communism, British Chartism nevertheless was far more class conscious, far more proletarian and far more massive in character. In this sense, Chartism was a more advanced political movement.

### The bourgeois-democratic revolution eclipsed

The British revolutionary movement partially parallels but also sharply contrasts with the French. I will emphasize the contrasts, for they provide the complement which represents the

synthesis of 1840's Marxism.

In the early nineteenth century France was not a feudal society, although a feudal order did control the state apparatus. The French plebeian masses and revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie tended to be organized from the top down by a bourgeoisie prepared to engage in insurrection against the feudal state apparatus, provided they could control the struggle.

But in Britain, since the bourgeois-democratic revolution had occurred early on, there was at this time no feudal order. Rather, the state apparatus was controlled by a landed capitalist class which came into conflict with the rising industrial and commercial class. Given the existence of a semblance of representative government, the tendencies toward bourgeois-democratic revolution after the seventeenth century were muted, except for the one brief crisis in the years 1831-32. From its inception the British bourgeois-democratic revolutionary movement was plebeian. Whereas in France one had a tendency for generals without armies, in Britain the tendency was for armies without generals.

In the early nineteenth century the British working-class movement was characterized by geographical dispersion and a lack of a centralized national organization. But there was a richness, solidity and depth in local organizations which manifested a complete interpenetration of economic and political tasks. In this period the "trade union" was as much an instrument for insurrectionary action as for elementary wage struggles. And in Luddism it was both. The British working class could go from straight trade unionism to cooperativism to democratic agitation to insurrection within the same organizational framework. There was

no conception that the organizations of the working class had two purposes—one aimed at the state, the other at the employer. That's a post-1848 phenomenon.

In Britain, unlike France, the revolutionary plebeian masses were dispersed. Since the French bourgeoisie had not yet shed its revolutionary role, Paris was a revolutionary city, as well as a manufacturing city, in a sense that London was not. The British pre-industrial proletariat to a great extent constituted the rural weavers all across northern England—the Lyons silk-weavers writ large. So London was conservative, while the centers of revolution were the small impoverished weaving villages, the mining towns in Wales and Scotland, and the early manufacturing centers like Manchester.

### Owenism and the 1832 crisis

During the 1820's the British trade unionists *en masse* embraced Owenism. A pacifist socialist doctrine, Owenism played in the British context the same role as Saint Simonism in France.

Yet in many respects Owenism was its polar opposite. Saint Simonism was technocratic state socialism which appealed to the democratic intelligentsia. Owenism represented cooperativism which appealed to artisans who were being ruined by the industrial revolution. But this combination of cooperativism and trade unionism was the ideological form and movement by which the British proletariat in its mass came to socialist consciousness.

In 1831-32, partly under the influence of the French revolution of 1830, the British liberal bourgeoisie, with its base in the industrial and commercial classes, was prepared to threaten insurrection to achieve parlia-

mentary reform and topple the parasitic state apparatus. In contrast to France, the workers movement was sufficiently developed that although it, of course, allied with the British liberal bourgeoisie, it did so through its own independent class organizations. All the Owenite socialist trade unionists formed the National Union of the Working Classes as primarily an organization for agitation in favor of universal suffrage. So, the alliance with the bourgeoisie maintained a clear class line.

The period 1831-32 was the only point in modern British history when a bourgeois-democratic revolution might have been possible. Had the Duke of Wellington prevailed, Britain probably would have been shaken by a revolution on an even more radical scale than the 1848 French revolution. But the British landed class lost its nerve and capitulated; they extended the franchise, eliminated the rotten boroughs and gave power to the Whigs, the party of the industrial and commercial classes.

So the bourgeoisie betrayed their proletarian allies, just as the French bourgeoisie led by Lafayette had done in 1830. The franchise which they accepted extended the electorate to little more than ten percent, totally excluding the mass of the proletariat.

This was a great betrayal and was generally recognized as such at the time. In fact, the most advanced elements in the British movement compared the Whigs to the Lafayetteists in France. This was a great blow to the working-class movement. It took about five years for the British working class to regroup, recover and again agitate for universal suffrage.

### The movement against the new poor law

The new regime, while liberal in its slight expansion of the franchise and freedoms of expression, pursued directly anti-proletarian *laissez faire* economic policies. The first measure of the government as a result of the Reform Act was to smash the trade unions and to revoke the "poor laws." Administered by the Anglican Church, "poor law" relief was a form of welfare for those who could not support themselves, an institution going back to Tudor times.

The origin of Chartism as a revolutionary movement lies in the mass agitation against the new "poor law" legislation, which required recipients

## SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA	CHICAGO	NEW YORK
Friday and Saturday } 3:00—6:00 p.m. 1634 Telegraph (near 17th St.) 3rd Fl. Oakland, California Phone 835-1535	Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m. Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m. 650 So. Clark St. 2nd Fl. Chicago, Illinois Phone 427-0003	Monday through Friday } 6:30-9:00 p.m. Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m. 260 West Broadway Room 522 New York, New York Phone 925-5665

to live sexually segregated in virtual prisons—an 1834 version of forced sterilization. The attitude of the British working masses was defiance: "If the government attempts this, we will fight to the death." The mass movement against the "poor law" swept the northern weaving villages, not when the "poor law" was passed, but a few years later, when Britain entered a severe depression and the masses were appealing for welfare relief.

The early leader of the movement against the new laws, interestingly, was not an Owenite but a traditionalist Methodist minister named J.R. Stevens. He opposed the elimination of the "poor laws" not in the name of progress but from the traditions of Tory radicalism: "How can you do this to the people of England? These laws have stood for 300 years!" Listen to a typical fire-breathing speech by J.R. Stevens in 1839:

"Men of Norwich, fight with your swords, fight with your pistols, fight with your daggers. Women, fight with your nails and teeth [a traditionalist, male chauvinist was he, indeed!]. Husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, we will war to the knife, so help me God."

—quoted in Mark Hovell, *The Chartist Movement*

J.R. Stevens was arrested, yet the anti-"poor law" agitation was successful. The regime retreated and never instituted the new "poor law," although the legislation was not formally repealed.

### Contradictions of Chartism

In 1839 the anti-"poor law" movement intersected another, very different political movement. The London labor aristocracy, which had formed the leadership of the National Union of the Working Classes, reconstituted itself as the London Workingmen's Association to propagandize for universal suffrage. While based on a six-point democratic Charter, the London Workingmen's Association restricted its membership to workers. When the violently insurrectionary but defensive "poor law" mass movement was deflected into this movement for universal suffrage and democratic electoral reforms, this intersection produced Chartism.

Chartism embodied a tension which paralleled Blanquism, although in an inverse fashion. Blanquism was based on a communist program, while remaining within the political compass of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Chartism based itself on a bourgeois-democratic program, while representing a purely proletarian, insurrectionary movement.

The stated program of Chartism was not different from English bourgeois radicalism. But its working-class forms of organization, its ulterior socialist program and the violent tone of its propaganda repelled the liberal bourgeoisie. Here is an example of typical Chartist propaganda:

"But though the employment of physical force is as remote as possible from our wishes, the time may come, may perhaps be near, in which the defense of all that is dear to us will compel us to have recourse to it. If our rights as citizens and as men are threatened to be eternally withdrawn from us, if the burden of the nations are always to be disproportionately thrown upon the working classes while property is suffered to remain untaxed, if we are evermore forbidden to purchase our bread in the cheapest market, if a knot of poor law commissioners is always to treat poverty as a crime and to cut asunder the marriage tie, if our addresses to the legislature continue to be visited with contempt and the hope of redress becomes extinguished in our bosoms, then, sir, we honestly tell you we do not mean to submit. On the heads of our oppressors be the guilt and the consequences."

—quoted in Dorothy Thompson, *The Early Chartists*

Although Chartism had a straightforward democratic program, which even sections of the liberal bourgeoisie could accept, they were not prepared to associate with this kind of propaganda and movement. This was

the fundamental contradiction in Chartism: it was a working-class movement with an insurrectionary thrust and an ulterior "levelling" program, but with a strictly bourgeois-democratic formal program.

### The revolutionary climax: 1839-42

Within Chartism there were four main tendencies. The extreme left were London-based Jacobin communists, led by Bronterre O'Brien, who had translated Buonarroti's work on Babeuf, George Julian Harney and Dr. John Taylor, who had fought with Byron in Greece. They were intensely internationalist and steeped in the French revolutionary tradition. They were reinforced by a group of emigres from the Polish national revolution of 1830, who throughout this period played the role of a revolutionizing and internationalizing factor.

The Chartist masses in the weaving villages of the north were originally organized by Tory radicals like J.R. Stevens. However, this constituency was captured by an Irish nationalist demagogue, named Feargus O'Connor, who eventually went insane and who displayed irrationality even in this period.

The right wing of the Chartist movement was based on the London labor aristocracy, which produced quality consumer goods for the wealthy bourgeois market. This wing of the movement was led by William Lovett, who was the original leader of Chartism.

Chartism also had a radical bourgeois appendage, standing outside the workers movement, led by a funny-money crank named Thomas Atwood. He was a banker who argued, "We'll eradicate poverty, unemployment, everything. All we have to do is print more money."

In 1839 the Chartists led a mass campaign to petition parliament. The Chartists convened a series of democratic mass meetings and elected the General Convention of the Industrious Classes, which was the first national, inclusive body with all tendencies, with the proletariat represented more or less in proportion to their strength at the base level.

As it became more and more certain that the petition was going to be rejected, as the hour approached, the Convention faced the question, "What to do next?" The Jacobin communists like Harney and O'Brien began making speeches in favor of insurrection. In response, the bourgeois component split from the Convention.

Significantly, Lovett and the labor aristocracy remained in the Convention to the end. In fact, when Dr. John Taylor, Lovett's main factional opponent, was arrested for agitation, Lovett took the lead in defending him, thereby provoking his own arrest. This strikingly demonstrates the intense class solidarity of Chartism.

A revolutionary crisis had opened. But this crisis was defused by the absence of leadership in the Convention as well as by the competent leadership of the liberal government.

The Convention vacillated. First they voted to call a general strike if the petition was rejected. The very next day, however, they voted to rescind the call for a general strike. Then they voted to undertake a series of economic measures, such as boycotting taxed goods and withholding certain tax payments. But since their constituency was largely unemployed and appealing for welfare under the poor laws, such measures could not be effective. These were weapons suitable to bourgeois radicals, but not to the workers movement.

After the rejection of the petition, the enormous mobilizations and expectations raised by the Convention dissipated in a series of isolated skirmishes and uncoordinated attempts at insurrection. The Jacobin Chartists with the Polish exiled revolutionaries evidently plotted an insurrection but were incapable of mustering the forces and support.

I believe that in 1839 there was the possibility of an uprising like the

Lyons silk weavers' insurrection, but raised to the tenth power. If the government had committed an atrocity, mass violence would certainly have erupted. Of course, there was no possibility of a proletarian revolution in 1839. But there could have been a mass proletarian upheaval.

Now, working-class history all too often is discussed in terms of "maturity" and "immaturity." Such terms have an organic, unconscious connotation—the workers movement simply develops automatically. This abstracts from the crucial mechanisms through which historical experiences are transmitted from one proletarian generation to the next.

But in dealing with Chartism in 1839 I believe that the failure of the movement genuinely reflects the "immaturity" of the British working-class movement. Chartism at this time represented the first mass, national working-class movement encompassing all the proletarian tendencies. In the absence of an evolved leadership, and the kinds of historical experiences to produce that leadership, the Chartist movement could not have generated simply through factional struggle a more competent and capable leader-

Harney realized that after the defeats of 1839 and 1842, the latter quite bloody, the British workers movement was in a depression. Yet Chartism retained its mass following and very considerable organizational resources.

Harney realized that revolutionary upheavals were imminent throughout Europe. Moreover, London was a major center for French, German, Italian and Polish revolutionary exiles. So, Harney devoted his main energies in the 1840's toward these circles and toward revolution in Metternichean Europe, turning his great Chartist newspaper, *The Northern Star*, into the most internationalist working-class press of its day.

I'll conclude this presentation with an anecdote. But the anecdote illustrates the theme of this entire series of talks: that Marxism originated not as a self-contained derivation from Hegelian philosophy, but required an assimilation of the experiences and programs of the previous generations of revolutionary militants who sought to fuse the bourgeois-democratic revolution with a collectivist social order.

Friedrich Engels at the age of 23 was sent from the University of Berlin to Manchester to learn business at one



The Chartist press under Harney was a beacon of proletarian internationalism.

ship. Chartism floundered through the several-sided "immaturity" of the working class, not a crisis of leadership in the sense that this is applicable to the present working-class movement.

### Revolutionary continuity

In 1842 Chartism passed through another revolutionary climax, which I cannot delve into during this talk. After 1842 the main leadership of Chartism around O'Connor, an unstable and irrational man, attempted to turn the movement into cooperativism. His so-called Chartist land plan involved purchasing land and swindling; finally, O'Connor went bankrupt.

But the left wing of Chartism led by Julian Harney reacted to the defeat in 1842 by turning in a very different direction, a response which contains useful lessons for us today.

of his father's factories. Being a utopian socialist Engels first associated himself with the Owenites and contributed to the Owenite press, the *New Moral World*.

Soon Engels visited Julian Harney in London. Engels explained German True Socialism and described the Hegelian Left, but Harney comprehended very little. Then Engels declared that history had already demonstrated that the bourgeoisie was no longer progressive, that the working class was progressive, and that once the bourgeoisie could be convinced of this they would relinquish power to the proletariat.

Harney, with ten years as a working-class agitator and numerous imprisonments, looked up at him. And he said, "Nonsense! We're going to have to throw them out!" The educators too must be educated. ■

**Red Papers 7:**
**Young Spartacus Special**

**Revolutionary Union's "United Front" with NATO**

**Eritrean Independence Struggle Intensifies**

**Young Spartacus**  
No Platform for Fascist Scum!  
**SVL Builds Anti-Nazi Demonstration**

**Rape and Bourgeois Justice**

**What Strategy for Black Liberation: Pan-Africanism or Communism?**

**Young Spartacus**

**Indochinese Insurgents Smash Capitalist Rule!**

Forward to a Communist Vietnam and Cambodia Through Workers' Political Revolution! Extend the Revolution! Not Stalinist Bureaucratic Rule, but Workers' Democracy!

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ PHONE \_\_\_\_\_

CITY STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

\$2/one year

Make checks payable to: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10013

## Camejo campaign...

continued from page 4

loses the primary, students might well want to consider supporting Omari Musa," the SWP candidate (*Militant*, 21 November 1975).

"Cutting" the military budget, opposing imperialist "policies" and ending the "illegal activity" of the imperialist spy agencies are simply liberal reforms which would leave the capitalist state unscathed. A communist electoral campaign would explain, patiently and pedagogically, the need to abolish the imperialist secret police, to smash the bourgeois state and all its armed forces and to defeat imperialism through proletarian revolution.

Yet it is no surprise that Camejo-Reid refuse to raise the call for a workers militia to replace the capitalist police and standing army. Again and again Camejo-Reid and the *Militant* have called upon the bourgeois army, the FBI and the cops to "protect" black people in Boston from the vicious attacks of the racist anti-busing forces. Just as they claim that imperialism can be restrained from pursuing any "imperialist policies" internationally, so these reformists lull the masses with the illusion that with sufficient pressure the troops, spies and cops can be relied upon to "protect" black people from racist attack.

It also is no surprise that Camejo-Reid never stress the need for class-struggle actions demanding a sliding scale of wages and hours to combat unemployment and inflation (i.e., demanding that the available work be divided among all who wish to work, with wages rising with the cost of living). Instead, the SWP/YSA has emphasized that the fight for jobs should be conducted through "labor mobilizations" such as the jobs rally in Washington, D.C., last April 26. But this "labor mobilization" was organized by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy simply to put pressure on the bourgeois politicians and to defuse rank-and-file discontent. When 1,000 angry workers drowned out Democrat Hubert Humphrey with militant chants, the SWP/YSA denounced these militant workers as "disruptors" and advised the bureaucracy to have more goon-marshals next time (*Militant*, 9 May 1975).

### No support for Camejo-Reid

Many radical-minded youth whose confidence in capitalism has been shaken and whose illusions in the bourgeois parties have turned into revulsion now are receptive to socialist politics. Some would seriously consider voting for ostensibly socialist candidates as a means to register at the polls their opposition to this racist, oppressive capitalist system. Quite rightly. But a vote for Camejo-Reid will not be a vote for class-struggle, independent proletarian politics.

A vote for Camejo-Reid will be support for a party which pledges allegiance to the Constitution, which repudiates any "violent" or "illegal" struggle against the ruling class at any time and which in its campaign re-

fuses to take a stand for the unconditional defense of the revolutionary gains of the Russian, Chinese, Cuban and other bureaucratically deformed workers states from imperialist attack.

A vote for Camejo-Reid will be support for a party which defends "free speech and assembly" for fascists, which calls for federal troops and more cops to be sent to Boston and which spurns any independent organized self-defense by the working class and black people.

A vote for Camejo-Reid will be support for a party which spreads the illusion that capitalism can be made to benefit the masses, which prescribes only band-aid reforms and which shamelessly—no, which proudly—points out that the bourgeoisie considers its electoral program to be "perfectly reasonable."

Communists can give absolutely no support to the 1976 Camejo-Reid campaign, which in its entire orientation and intent is consistently class collaborationist and openly anti-working-class. Until 1968 the Spartacist tendency could give critical support to the election campaigns of the SWP/YSA, which, despite uncritical tailing of black nationalism and capitulation to pacifism and class collaboration in the antiwar movement, nevertheless still preserved a rudimentary class alternative to the capitalist politicians. By 1968, however, the SWP/YSA campaign had become entirely subordinate to disgusting social patriotism ("Bring Our Boys Home") and anti-union "community control" politics (calling for smashing the New York teachers' strike).

In the upcoming presidential elections the working class once again has no candidate.

### For a workers party and labor candidates!

At the same time the United States is the only advanced industrial country without a mass workers party which at least nominally claims to represent a class alternative to the bourgeois parties. Part of the struggle by which the American working class will come to political class consciousness will necessarily be its break from the electoral strangle hold of the bourgeois Democratic Party.

We seek to channel the workers' disaffection with the corruption-ridden political servants of the bosses by calling for a workers party based on the trade unions fighting for a workers government. Such a workers party would field candidates providing the working people with a genuine class alternative. But unlike the SWP/YSA, which pushes the most tame social-democratic reformism couched in social-patriotism, we insist that this labor party can be forged only through intransigent struggle by militants within the unions fighting to oust the present racist, pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy. Unlike the SWP/YSA, we fight for a workers government that expropriates the bourgeoisie and places all power in the hands of the revolutionary proletariat. ■

# Bay Area "Socialist"-Feminists Purge Reds

BERKELEY—Like the hydra of ancient mythology, "socialist-feminism" has begun to raise its several heads.

For some women, "socialist-feminism" represents a way to politically distinguish themselves from openly class-collaborationist feminists such as turncoat Jane Alpert, who ratted on her former comrades for the FBI, or Gloria Steinem, the guiding light of *Ms.* magazine who sits on the Board of Directors of the First Women's Bank of America. Others consider themselves "socialist-feminists," because they mistakenly believe that only a feminist program and movement can ensure that the socialist revolution will not betray women. Still others, most notably the ultra-opportunist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), more cynically call themselves "socialists and feminists" in an effort to exploit the growing popularity of the "socialist-feminist" trend.

All three varieties of "socialist-feminist" politics were present when a "Women in Struggle" group was formed in February at the Berkeley campus of the University of California. But the evolution of this group has demonstrated once again that feminism and socialism are counterposed ideologies.

After several chaotic meetings of the ill-defined group, supporters of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) raised a motion for an organized political discussion of the issues facing the group. When the motion passed, the "socialist-feminist" leaders, confronted with the prospect of open political struggle, bureaucratically cancelled the discussion, organizing instead a series of "pot-luck" socials and "small group encounter sessions."

But the SL/SYL refused to be silenced by the bureaucratic maneuvers and scowls of the feminist leaders. Our comrades continued to discuss revolutionary politics with the members of the group, stressing the need for political clarification through open, democratic discussion of the differing political positions represented in the group.

Recognizing sympathy for our poli-

tics within the group, the feminist leaders panicked and, in an act of political cowardice and bankruptcy, rammed through a motion to exclude supporters of the SL/SYL on the basis of their "prior commitment" to a tendency which (openly!) rejects feminism. The following week, however, four members of the group fought for a motion to repudiate the anti-communist exclusion and encourage the SL/SYL supporters to participate in the group. The motion failed, and one woman resigned in protest over the anti-red purge.

During the political struggle the lone YSA supporter belonging to "Women in Struggle" has succeeded only in winning the contempt of feminists, socialists and the undecided alike. While SL/SYL supporters argued for a serious examination of the real political differences between feminism and socialism, the YSA member argued that feminism and socialism differ, but, like water and steam, only in a matter of "degree"! Her support for the liberal National Organization of Women was sharply criticized—and quite aptly—by one of the radical feminists, who denounced the pro-NOW line of the YSA as "liberal."

In addition, as the leadership red-baited the SL/SYL the YSA supporter fought for a motion supporting male exclusionism. When this was not accepted, she "suggested" that the SL/SYL exclude itself from the group. Finally, when the leaders put forward the motion to exclude our comrades, the "socialist and feminist" YSA supporter, not wishing to heat up the feminist water, voted for the exclusion as a "loyal feminist."

This anti-communist exclusion has left many "Women in Struggle" supporters confused and disturbed. Confident in the power and correctness of our politics we will continue to attempt to engage "Women in Struggle" in political discussion and struggle. By its exclusionism, "Women in Struggle" has set itself on a course of open anti-communism and a sect existence required to shelter its members from political struggle. For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

## FBI Raid On SWP Offices Exposed

According to documents just pried from the FBI by the SWP, the spy agency rifled the several New York City offices of the SWP at least 92 times between 1960 and 1966, photographing an enormous number of documents and correspondence which were utilized for the COINTELPRO campaign of disruption and harassment against the left (*New York Times*, 29 March). The left and labor movement must demand that all the guilty FBI agents, their superiors who authorized the raids, as well as the New York cop accomplices be tried and punished for their crimes. Even though the SWP election campaign fails to demand the abolition of the FBI, we welcome the exposing of these vicious spies.

## International Women's Day Forums



YOUNG SPARTACUS

Last month on campuses across the country—in Berkeley, Ann Arbor, Storrs, Detroit, Philadelphia and Boston—the SYL held forums commemorating this holiday for proletarian women. Speakers drew the lessons of early communist work among women, in particular, the Bolshevik struggle against feminism. Kay Blanchard (above) in her presentations at Columbia, Stony Brook and Storrs recalled her past experience at the Storrs campus, when in the spring of 1969, she led over a thousand demonstrators in a protest to replace a ROTC center with daycare facilities. International Women's Day not only marks the anniversary of the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917—begun by women textile workers in Petrograd—but also reaffirms the strategic role that must be played by working women. Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

# No Cuts!...

continued from page 1

courses as the "Pinkerton Lecture Series," seminars in "Security Problems" (student protests, ghetto rebellions, strikes!) and conferences on "Terrorism and Hostage Negotiations."

Governor Carey and the *New York Times* often bicker over the most effective and shrewd means of imposing austerity measures. But they stand united in their resolve not to weaken the racist, murderous cop force, which with handcuffs, harassment and terror imposes bourgeois "law and order" on the swelling ranks of the oppressed and the unemployed. The *New York Times* printed an article, "Saving John Jay," which openly defended John Jay as a training camp for ghetto repression:

"The 1960's found Watts and Newark all afire; luckily, New York escaped such unquenched [!] blazes. Why? Because John Jay students (police and firemen) were on the streets carrying out theories [!] of criminal justice and community relations. Efficient and effective civil servants are mandatory assets for this city's survival at a time when the quality of essential services is threatened by the quantity of layoffs. The future of John Jay may determine the future of New York!"

—*New York Times*, 8 March 1976

With John Jay now threatened these cops and cop students have mobilized and now stick their snouts into city-wide budget-cut demonstrations. For example, at a March 8 rally in front of the BHE well guarded by swarms of city cops, swaggering John Jay students took the platform to support "New York's fine men in blue" and to raise such slogans as, "Save John Jay, Cops are Okay."

Well, we don't think the racist, trigger-happy cops are "okay"! We say that all city cops, all "security" cops and all cop-training must be removed from John Jay and any other campus in

the CUNY or SUNY system.

But we do not support Kibbee in his proposal to eliminate John Jay. The Kibbee proposal would not eliminate cop-training from CUNY campuses; the cop-training courses presently offered at John Jay would be shifted to Baruch College, while everything else at John Jay would be eliminated.

In response to the Kibbee budget-cutting plan, we demand that John Jay be stripped of all cop-training and cops. This campus must be kept open so that these facilities can be used, not to train the strike-breaking killer cops, but to provide educational opportunities for the students of this city.

## "Left" ducks cop issue

Throughout the period of protest over the Kibbee proposal, the SYL has been the only group to consistently point out the role of cops as the hired guns of capitalist state power. At the March 8 rally at the BHE attended by 3,000 students, an SYL speaker was the only one to counteract the plea for "unity" with cops, stating that police are the ones who smash student struggles, break strikes and ruthlessly gun down blacks and Spanish-speaking people in the ghetto.

In contrast, the rest of the so-called "left" has shown its vulgar opportunism. At the very same BHE rally, speaking after pro-cop John Jay students, members of the SWP/YSA and the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC) failed to disassociate themselves from the police supporters and instead called for more "unity" against the cutbacks. Again, at a CUNY United For Action conference held on March 14 supporters of PFOC and Youth Against War and Fascism criticized the SYL for raising the issue of cops and cop-training in the anti-cutbacks movement, claiming that it is "divisive." We have no desire to "unite" with killer-cops or cop-students, the same ones who will be crushing social struggles both on and off campus.

# Repeal All Anti-Homosexual Laws!

"Thou shalt not lie with mankind, as with womankind: It is abomination."  
—Leviticus

Somberly intoning Biblical exhortations, as well as the more "convincing" argument that criminalizing homosexual activities encourages heterosexual marriages, the patriarchs of the Supreme Court on March 29 ruled to uphold a medieval Virginia law making sodomy between consenting adults in private a crime punishable by a sentence of up to five years in prison and a \$1,000 fine. According to this ruling, the right to privacy does not include the right of consenting adults to privately engage in sexual activity, except where it involves "marriage, the sanctity of the home and family life."

This outrageous decision, aimed directly at homosexuals, comes at a time when the Equal Rights Amendment and liberalized abortion laws are the targets of a conservative social backlash. This latest reactionary ruling must be sharply condemned.

As Bolsheviks we stand in opposition to all forms of persecution and discrimination against homosexuals. We demand the immediate repeal of all anti-homosexual laws and all legislation covering so-called "crimes against nature" (such as oral sex and sodomy) and "crimes without victims" (such as prostitution, gambling, drug addiction, and so on). We stand for the democratic right of privacy, and consequently we oppose all legislation or other state action which intrudes on private affairs between consenting adults.

The Supreme Court ruling left the liberal establishment with mouths agape. But we understand that the bourgeoisie is an historically decaying class whose official morality becomes ever more cynical and hypocritical. Yet behind the anti-homosexual bigotry of bourgeois morality looms the nuclear family as a central social pillar of capitalist society. Only the victorious proletarian revolution will lift from society the chains of economic compulsion which underly the nuclear family.

The SWP/YSA's refusal to mention the issue of cops at John Jay (while boasting of its NSCAR chapter there) goes hand-in-hand with their ultra-legalist "respectable socialist" image, attempting to contain any sort of student militancy. This policy, furthermore, is consistent with their call on the ruling class to send more of its racist cops and federal troops to Boston to "protect" black students.

and often massive, the recent round of student protests cannot be sustained without at least political focus and organizational coordination. Proving itself headless, the Albany rally simply disintegrated despite its spontaneous militancy. (The SWP/YSA in its *Militant* of April 2 denounced the militant students as "disrupters" and chided the liberal leaders for "not organizing parade marshals ahead of time"! In New York City the pattern of the demonstrations has been chaotic, as a myriad of small anti-cutback coalitions organize all-too-often along "turf" lines, and as many students continue to be mobilized on a campus-by-campus parochialist basis.

Yet, while seeking to mobilize student protest, we always argued that student actions alone cannot stop the cutbacks and force the ruling class to begin to provide for the felt educational needs of the masses of poor and working people in this city. Without the strength of the organized labor movement even our most militant and sustained protest actions cannot be assured success.

As we go to press, negotiations between the city and the Transit Workers Union are in their eleventh hour. Like the rest of the present class-collaborationist trade-union bureaucracy, the TWU bureaucrats may well negotiate a sellout and avert a strike. But the mere threat of a transit strike has thrown the bourgeoisie into a cold sweat. And for good reason! The working class alone has the social power to shut down New York City and bring the bosses to their knees. Yet one significant difference between the present student mobilizations in New York City and the radical student movement of the mid-1960's is that many—a very many—of the militant youth demonstrating and occupying buildings today are the sons and daughters of workers, especially New York City workers. For many students in the budget cuts demonstrations, the working class and its struggles are by no means remote, ideological concepts.

As communists on the campuses and in the struggles of the youth, we struggle to win militant students not simply to a pro-working-class perspective, but to the revolutionary program and worldview of Trotskyism. The causes of the fiscal crisis, like the roots of unemployment, lie off campus. Education will be the right of all, and will genuinely serve all, only when this decaying, profit-driven capitalist society is transformed by the victorious socialist revolution. ■

## CLASS SERIES

### Ann Arbor

#### THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Alternate Wednesdays, April 7 and 21, 7:30 pm, room 68 Greene, E. Quad Basement, Univ. of Michigan/Ann Arbor.

### Boston

#### REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM: AN ANALYSIS OF THE USSR AND CHINA

Alternate Tuesdays, April 6 and 20, Phillips Brooks House, Harvard; alternate Thursdays, April 1 and 15, G.S.U., Boston U.

### Chicago

#### COMMUNIST PERSPECTIVE

University of Chicago.  
BLACK LIBERATION AND THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION  
Circle Campus, Univ. of Illinois.  
For more information: 427-0003.

### Detroit

#### COMMUNIST PROGRAM AND REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE

Alternate Wednesdays, April 14 and 28, 7:30 pm, room 580, Student Center, Wayne State Univ.

### Madison

#### THE SEIZURE OF POWER: TEN REVOLUTIONARY CRISES

Mondays, 7:30 pm, Memorial Union, U. of Wisconsin/Madison.

### New York

#### MARXISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Alternate Thursdays, April 8 and 22, 7:30 pm, Hamilton Hall, room 318, Columbia Univ.

### Philadelphia

#### MARXISM AND INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION

Alternate Wednesdays, April 7 and 21, 7:30 pm, room 9, Houston Hall, Univ. of Pennsylvania.

## How to fight back

We must not permit the BHE and their bourgeois masters to slam shut the doors of CUNY to tens of thousands of working-class youth and minority youth. We must respond with the demand to restore and extend open admissions and special programs at CUNY (such as bi-lingual education).

But we should not stop there. We should demand the nationalization of all private universities and open admissions at all CUNY and SUNY campuses. To make such open admissions economically and academically meaningful students must demand that the state provide a stipend to cover the living expenses of students and their dependents.

In addition to the nationalization of all private schools we call for all public educational facilities, from day-care and elementary school system up to the universities, to be adequately funded at the national level. Until now, schemes have been afloat calling for New York State subsidies to the crisis-crippled CUNY system. But the \$51-million cut just gouged from the SUNY budget demonstrates the futility of begging Albany for alms.

We point to the need for all education in this country to be funded through a unitary national educational budget. Only in this way can the vast inequalities of locally funded public education be attacked. And we will struggle to make sure that the bosses, and not the working people, are squeezed for education taxes. To begin, we say: expropriate the banks!

Furthermore, we must not permit the BHE to padlock the doors of five CUNY campuses, which will mean the abrupt end of educational opportunity for thousands and layoffs for thousands more. These threatened closures should be met with mass student/campus-worker mobilizations, leading up to and including campus occupations and campus workers' strikes.

Since the first concerted attacks on CUNY we have raised the call for labor/student mobilizations against cutbacks and layoffs. While unusually militant

## FORUMS—

### THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

Speaker: Gerald Smith, Spartacist League; former member Black Panther Party

Given at two locations—

Queensboro Community College, Humanities 438, Wed., April 7, 12 noon

City College of New York, Time and room to be announced.

## NEW YORK CITY

### GUERRILLAS IN POWER: 16 YEARS OF STALINIST RULE IN CUBA

KENT STATE UNIVERSITY  
April 8 at 8:00 p.m.  
Student Center  
Room to be posted

## KENT STATE

# Junta Collaborators...

continued from page 3

floor, and one SYL supporter shouted, "Friedman, we hope you don't die before the workers bring you to revolutionary justice in a workers tribunal in Santiago!" The thin veneer of academic respectability exploded when an enraged Friedman/Reagan supporter, no longer able to contain himself, lashed out at a supporter of the anti-Friedman forces in the hall and a brief fistfight ensued.

The supporters of the Committee succeeded in introducing the question of Chile and in forcing Friedman to respond publicly to the charges brought against him. In response to a question on his anti-inflationary measures in Chile as a model for policy to be implemented in similar situations elsewhere, Friedman replied that the only difference between Chile, the United Kingdom and New York City was that New York City doesn't have its own printing presses! *Touché.* Friedman's anti-inflationary "miracle cure" knows no boundaries.

During the panel discussion Robert Eisner and Nathan Weinberg both took up the question of Chile, defending Allende's popular-front government. While mildly denouncing CIA intervention, both failed to take a stand against Friedman's collaboration. Eisner, economic advisor to George McGovern in 1972, made a plea to the Committee and its supporters to carry on the dialogue at another, "more acceptable" time. Parading his left apologist finery, Eisner slyly refused to take a position on the question of Friedman's participation in the junta's savagery. Arthur Laffer played dumb. He refused to comment on the question of Chile, deferring to Friedman, the "pro."

But there was no qualitative difference in the views expressed by the four panelists. By raising the questions of Chile, the Committee exposed the fake counterposition of the Chicago School versus Keynesian economic policies. Both strive to provide for the

maintenance and propagation of a rotten, decaying capitalist system at the expense of the international working class, be it struggling for its very existence in the torture chambers in Santiago or on the unemployment lines in New York City.

The reformist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), which withdrew from the Friedman Committee two months ago with the stated excuse that it allegedly "no longer served any purpose," boycotted the picket line, instead selling literature at a table in the hall leading to the symposium. Asked why the YSA refused to protest Friedman, YSA spokesman Garrett Brown replied, "Well, there's really no reason" to picket!

## Harberger blasted at Madison

Then, two days later, Friedman's cohort Harberger was hit by another militant demonstration at the Madison campus of the University of Wisconsin. Upon learning of the scheduled appearance of Harberger, the Number Two "Chicago Boy," the Madison chapter of the Union of Radical Political Economists (URPE) called for a protest demonstration on March 2.

Although organized on very short notice, the united-front actions, which brought together supporters of URPE, the SYL and Community Action on Latin America (a local Latin America support group), rallied over forty students and campus workers for a picket-line demonstration at the University Club, where Harberger was meeting with faculty members. After picketing and chanting, the demonstrators marched to the class where Harberger was scheduled to deliver a lecture on corporate taxation.

At the class an SYL supporter led the rapid-fire denunciations of Harberger, challenging him to admit his complicity as a chief architect of the "shock treatment" which is grinding the Chilean workers into abject poverty and hardship. In response Harberger admitted that he had held numerous "discussions" with top junta officials but attempted to minimize his responsibility for the implementation

of the "shock treatment" and the repression by the gorillas in Santiago. At several points in the heated exchange the professor of the class threatened to call the police and have the demonstrators arrested. Unmoved by these threats, the demonstrators only left after they had fully exposed and condemned Harberger.

Although informed about the plans for the picket-line demonstration, the YSA, Progressive Labor Party and the Revolutionary Student Brigade failed to participate in the picket line or the classroom confrontation with Harberger. Such is the small-time sectarianism of these self-proclaimed socialists.

## Round two in Berkeley

At "H's Lordship's" restaurant at the Berkeley Marina on the dock of the San Francisco Bay, Friedman's services for the Chilean junta were protested for a second time on March 7, when the braintruster gave a talk on bringing "free enterprise" to the school system. The last time Friedman turned up in the Bay Area several months ago, he was greeted by a militant protest demonstration called by the SYL.

This time, as approximately sixty persons entered the poshly casual seafood place to hear Friedman denounce public education for providing blacks with "political and social power" through local school boards, an equal number of demonstrators picketed outside, chanting the slogans raised by the SYL, "Down with Friedman, Pinochet's Henchman!" and "Braintruster, Unionbuster—Apologist for Pinochet!" The picket line was supported by the Berkeley chapter of URPE, Chile Democratica, the Non-Intervention in Chile, the SYL, a member of the Militant Caucus of ILWU Local 6 and several organizationally unaffiliated radicals.

Taking time out from his denunciations of public education policies, Friedman, who was visibly shaken by the picket line, referred to the demonstration as "representative of the associated kooks of Berkeley." According to the report in the University of California at Berkeley campus news-

paper (*Daily Californian*, 9 March 1976), this engineer of "sane" and "well-reasoned" blueprints for mass starvation quipped that he didn't know if he was more amused by the demonstrators' alleged "misrepresentation of my association with Chile or complimented by their attributing so much power to me." According to the report, "He said the six days he spent in Chile were not long enough to attribute such power and influence to him."

Wherever Friedman and Harberger crawl into the public spotlight these braintrusters for the junta killers should be met with sharp protest. Their crimes must not go unanswered. Drive Friedman and Harberger off campus through protest and exposure! ■

# Stop Racist Terror...

continued from page 12

erally Blacks and whites living in the same neighborhood or going to the same school got along okay."

—*Revolution*, September 1975

What the RSB "forgets" is that Boston's city schools were rigidly segregated "before," and the anti-busing mobilization is directed at keeping it that way!

While promoting themselves as the "best builders" of "mass actions" in support of school desegregation, the SWP/YSA and its National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) front group refused to endorse or to build the rally here at BU. But this is consistent with their long-standing policy of only backing mobilizations in support of busing which can be kept firmly under the thumb of liberal politicians or under the banner of liberal politics.

On 22 September 1974, the Spartacist League issued a call to all labor, black and socialist organizations to initiate a demonstration against the growing racist terror in Boston. At that time the SWP/YSA refused to take any action, allowing several months of racist mobilizations to go by before finally jumping on the bandwagon of black Democrat Bill Owens' march on December 14. When NSCAR had its recent "emergency meeting" on February 21 at BU, rather than seeking to take serious action against the resurgence of racist terror in Boston, it decided to wait until liberal politicians issued a call for another march and rally. If the liberals don't dominate it politically, NSCAR won't touch it.

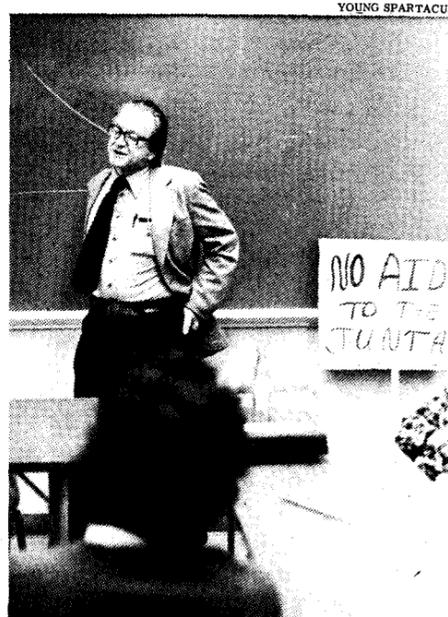
At BU the SWP/YSA and its captive NSCAR descended to new depths of bottom-of-the-barrel foul play. When a representative of a Roxbury community organization, M.O.T.H.E.R.S. Inc., agreed to address the rally, the SWP/YSA contacted her and strongly urged her not to speak, slandering the organizers of the demonstration!

The Ad Hoc Committee demonstration is only the beginning of the kind of movement which must be built to defend busing and stop the racist terror. Yet it provides a modest but important example of how organizations and individuals with broadly differing political viewpoints can unite in action around a common rallying cry. It provides an example of how such actions should provide a platform for the presentation of different strategies, rather than just endless liberal rhetoric and appeals for an invasion by the U.S. army, for an imposition of martial "law" in Boston, and for the unleashing of even more swarms of racist cops.

The lives, the struggles, the rights of black people in Boston and across the country must never be entrusted to our class enemy—the capitalist cops, troops and politicians. All who stand in support of desegregation, all who oppose the ugly racist terror gripping Boston must be mobilized in protest to defend busing and the black students. The need for organizing a defense based on labor and black organizations has never been more urgent! SUPPORT BUSING! FOR LABOR/BLACK DEFENSE AGAINST RACIST ATTACKS! ■



YOUNG SPARTACUS



YOUNG SPARTACUS



YOUNG SPARTACUS

Madison demonstration denounces the "Chicago Boys" in classroom (top left), while Harberger squirms (top right). Friedman gets it again in Berkeley (bottom).

# Affirmative Action...

continued from page 5

with arguments like "there's no base," "it's too soon," and "the facts must be publicized," the motion was defeated.

Task Force members, who at the same time were organizing for a demonstration in support of the gutless, toothless affirmative action plan, voted against a proposal to protest a concrete act of racist harassment. Many of the same people subsequently chimed in with the Revolutionary Student Brigade and the Young Workers Liberation League in a chorus for an "open, impartial investigation" into Holcombe's victimization that explicitly invited the administration's participation.

But opposition to concrete racist practices is just the first step. A genuine struggle against racial and sexual discrimination at Harvard should demand that the administration immediately allocate funds for a drive to recruit women and minority faculty members. And it must not stop there.

Far from being satisfied with a few more women and blacks ensconced at the heights of academia, a militant strategy would demand that Harvard energetically recruit more minority and women students. One of the most glaring gaps in the present multi-volumed Harvard plan is that it makes no provision for changing the presently predominantly white male composition of the student body. (The "equal access" admission procedures are so "equal" that women will be outnumbered by men at Harvard by "only" 3-to-2... in ten years!)

But we must not politically limit our fight by only calling for "inroads" into this "bastion of privilege." We must raise the call for *open admissions and no tuition* at Harvard, and for a *state stipend to cover living costs*. The superior academic and research facilities must not be the preserve of the wealthy and privileged! Harvard University, and all private educational institutions, must be *nationalized* and

## ...on the move?

If you want to keep receiving your monthly *Young Spartacus* please let us know at least two weeks before you move.

Send your new and old address to: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co. Box 825, Canal Street Station New York, NY 10013

run by those who work, study and teach there. In the course of fighting race, sex and class bias, militants would include demands for all the necessary *remedial and tutorial programs* which would make university training academically feasible.

Further, the SYL calls for the organization of a *campus-wide union* of faculty, employed graduate students and staff. The collective strength of such a union would not only be capable of defending and extending existing bargaining agreements, but could also launch an aggressive anti-discrimination recruitment drive under the control of the union.

Militants on the campus who want to combat racial and sexual oppression must set their sights beyond the boundaries of Harvard Yard. For Harvard represents the pinnacle of the bourgeois educational system, a "first-class" (meaning, *ruling-class*) training ground and think-tank for the summits of bourgeois society. In the course of the struggle against overt acts of racial and sexual oppression at Harvard, the SYL struggles to win students to the understanding that the fight against discrimination at Harvard means the fight to make all "eligible" for Harvard. It is the fight for the socialist revolution, which will bequeath to the working class all the cultural achievements and resources formerly monopolized and manipulated by the decadent bourgeoisie. ■

# Univ. of Chicago Students Protest— King Rockefeller Knights His Knave



SYL and UC students (right) protest inauguration of new UC president, seen grinning over shoulder of Attorney General and former UC president Levi (left).

CHICAGO—Despite inclement weather, students and SYL supporters at the University of Chicago (UC) on March 4 protested the formal inauguration of one John T. Wilson as the new university president. Replacing that "distinguished scholar" Edward Levi, now U.S. Attorney General, Wilson will continue to run UC as a marionette of the Board of Trustees, a big bourgeois rogues' gallery including the Butcher of Attica, Vice President Nelson Rockefeller, and union-busting *Washington Post* magnate, Katherine Graham (whose Chicago Economics Club *soirée* here last month was picketed by the SYL).

As mink-draped and jewel-bedecked Trustees, "distinguished" alumni and hand-picked students traipsed into Rockefeller Chapel for the ridiculous medieval pagentry, the militant picket-line demonstration raised chants such as "No to Wilson—Down with the Administration—Abolish the Board of Trustees!" and "Rockefeller, Graham: Hands Off Education!"

Attracting front-page coverage in the campus press, this protest demonstration had been initiated by the UC SYL and was endorsed by the Committee Against Friedman-Harberger Collaboration with the Chilean Junta, Chicago Red Circle, New American Movement, UC professor John Coatsworth and Kaaren McCann of the University Staff Organizing Committee.

As acting overlord of elite UC, Wilson has served his bourgeois masters well. Wilson has presided over a discriminatory university system maintaining a virtually lily-white "academy": less than 1.5 per-

cent of all tenured professors at UC are black, and minority student enrollment has actually *declined* over the last few years to less than five percent of the student body. In addition, Wilson has announced a substantial tuition hike, bringing the tuition tab for a year at cloistered UC to over \$4,000. Moreover, Wilson cut his political spurs by mounting a successful brow-beating, arm-twisting opposition to the innocuous Student Government "Commission of Inquiry" into the complicity of UC economics professors Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger with the barbaric "shock treatment" of the Chilean junta, which had first been exposed and protested at UC by the SYL.

The SYL organized the picket-line protest as a united-front demonstration. Unfortunately, the UC Student Government rejected the SYL call and moved to sponsor a competing "counter-inauguration" to protest the tuition hike. The president of the Student Government, a member of the pro-Democratic Party Democratic "Socialist" Organizing Committee, publicly attacked the SYL-called demonstration as "nutteness" and "nonsense," while begging for a "reasonable" counter-inauguration (*Maroon*, 5 March 1976). The SYL representative in the UC Student Government countered all the slimy attempts to smear and exclude the SYL, and on the day of the inauguration the SYL-initiated demonstration, after picketing Rockefeller Chapel for some time, joined the "counter-inaugural."

Once the Student Government liberals and their anti-communist hangers-on called for a separate

"counter-inaugural," the ultra-opportunist New American Movement, which had initially endorsed the united-front picket line and participated in planning meetings for this demonstration, lunged for this more "respectable" gesture. Not a single member of the New American Movement appeared at the militant picket-line demonstration outside Rockefeller Chapel. Earlier, on January 22, these same social democrats threatened and then excluded an SYL supporter from one of its "open," publicly advertised meetings at the UC.

From the outset the Young Socialist Alliance refused to endorse any action against the Wilson inauguration. Only when the Student Government decided to organize a competing "counter-inauguration" with liberal politics did the YSA finally jump on the bandwagon and endorse the Student Government action.

Wilson has become renowned at UC for his aphorism, "You could run a university without students, but you couldn't run it without an administration." What bureaucratic haughtiness! The SYL says that the UC and all private universities should be nationalized and opened up to working-class and poor students through open admissions. To make open admissions economically meaningful and academically feasible for poor and working-class youth, we call for a state living stipend and remedial/tutorial programs. The capitalist administration at elite UC and all universities should be abolished and replaced by student/campus-worker/faculty control of the universities!

## SYL DIRECTORY

- ANN ARBOR: SYL, Box 89, 4th floor Michigan Union, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 995-9645
- BAY AREA: SYL, Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, CA 94701, or call (415) 835-1535
- BOSTON: SYL, Box 137, Somerville, MA 02144, or call (617) 492-3928 or (617) 436-1497
- CHICAGO: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 427-0003
- CLEVELAND: SYL, Box 02182, Cleveland, OH 44102, or call (216) 371-3643
- DETROIT: SYL, c/o SL, Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 881-1632
- HOUSTON: SL, Box 26474, Houston, TX 77207

- LOS ANGELES: SYL, Box 29115, Vermont Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 485-1838
- MADISON: SYL, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704, or call (608) 257-4212
- NEW YORK: SYL, Box 825, Canal Street Sta., New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 925-5665
- PHILADELPHIA: SYL, c/o SL, Box 25601, Philadelphia, PA 19144, or call (215) 667-5695

## Trotskyist League of Canada

- TORONTO: Box 222, Station B, Toronto, Ontario, or call (416) 366-4107
- VANCOUVER: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 299-5306

## Young Spartacus

Editorial Board: Charles O'Brien (editor)  
Susan Adrian  
Peter Atkins  
Irene Gardner

Production manager: K. Johnson  
Circulation manager: M. Sanders

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

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

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

# Young Spartacus

Boston University Demonstration Raises Call:

## SUPPORT BUSING! STOP THE RACIST TERROR!

BOSTON, March 26—More than a hundred students today rallied at Boston University (BU) to demonstrate in support of school desegregation and against the recent rise in racist mobilizations and attacks on black people. The broadly endorsed united-front protest featured speakers from the Boston Teachers Union and the Spartacus Youth League, as well as a black resident of predominantly white Hyde Park who has been the victim of repeated racist terror attacks.

### Racists on the offensive

The rally had been called in response to the new wave of anti-busing attacks which has swept over Boston. The anti-busing forces are threatening not only the democratic rights of black people, but also their very lives. In the last two months ROAR and the KKK have:

- **TERRORIZED** the homes of black families, like the Debnams and Bradleys in Dorchester.
- **ATTACKED** and broken up three meetings of the Citywide Coordinating Council, the latest on February 12.
- **RUN AMOK** with the right-wing paramilitary South Boston Marshals (SBM) during a march of over 1,000 racist vigilantes, armed with bricks, tire irons and tear gas, on South Boston High School on February 15 and again on February 29.
- **ASSAULTED** black students at South Boston and Hyde Park High Schools, forcing a leader of the Black Student Caucus at South Boston to transfer because of threats on her life, and seriously injuring an eleven-year-old black student on March 5.
- **VANDALIZED** parked school buses on March 9, causing \$50,000 in damages.

The strong vote for George Wallace and the rise of the right-wing paramilitary SBM demonstrate a deepening rejection of legal tactics and bourgeois politicians by the anti-busing forces. While Louise Day Hicks and other official leaders of ROAR are from the old-time Boston Democratic machine and linked to "liberals" like Mayor Kevin White by patronage and under-the-counter political deals, Wallace, despite his partly successful pursuit of respectability, is still a symbol of violent resistance to desegregation. To the racists in Boston, he is still the man at the schoolhouse door. At Wallace's January 10 kick-off rally in Boston, the SBM beat up those in the audience who refused to applaud.

### Demonstration rallies militant response

The Boston University demonstration had been called by the Ad Hoc Committee to Protest the Racist Terror, a united front initiated by the SYL at BU with the slogans, "SUPPORT BUSING!" and "STOP THE RACIST TERROR!"

The Ad Hoc Committee was endorsed by the following BU organizations and individuals: Student Union; Under-

graduate Political Science Association; Tina Cranston, vice-president of UMOJA (the BU black student organization); Howard Zinn, professor of political science; Murray Levin, professor of political science; Marx Wortofsky, professor of philosophy; Roy A. Glasgow, professor of Afro-American studies; Elliot Pruzan, TA in political science department; and Steph Mattfeld, Paula France, Beverly Metro and Susan Purser, all members of the Women's Center. Other endorsements included: Nina Dudley, Allston-Brighton Tenants Union; A. Nwafor, African scholar; Bob Pearlman, member of the Boston Teachers Union; George Wald, professor of biology at Harvard; Ephraim Isaac, Afro-American studies department, Harvard; and the SYL.

At the rally the first speaker, Bob Pearlman, emphasized the urgent need for the Boston Teachers Union to throw its full support behind the defense of busing and the embattled black students. He denounced the attempt of Mayor Kevin White and the racist

only black students from Roxbury are now bused into "Southie."

### Labor/black defense needed

Next, Elaine Daley, whose home has been the target of repeated racist terror, addressed the rally. That black people cannot rely on the racist police for "protection" against racist vigilantism was vividly demonstrated in Mrs. Daley's speech.

Upon moving into the Hyde Park neighborhood, the Daleys were at once subjected to racial epithets ("Nigger, you've lost your way, go back to Roxbury!"). Then the racists began hurling beer cans, bottles and bats through the windows of the Daley home; Mrs. Daley was seriously injured in one of these attacks.

When they appealed to the cops for protection the Daleys were told to get rid of members of the Committee Against Racism (CAR), who had been guarding Mrs. Daley's home. The cops assured her that they would protect the home from further attack once the

black community. Only such defense squads can deter and demoralize the racists, reliably protect the black students from attack and ensure the implementation of busing.

Such a tactic is effective and possible. We have pointed to the successful defense effort undertaken in Chicago by Local 6 of the United Auto Workers for a black family whose home in a previously all white neighborhood had been firebombed. The Labor Struggle Caucus, a militant opposition in Local 6 fighting for a class-struggle program, was responsible for involving the union and actively participating in the integrated defense squad.

A statement of solidarity with the rally at BU by the Labor Struggle Caucus was read from the platform. It stated, "As trade-union militants we know that the racist police are strike-breakers by day, and nightriders by night, and could not be relied upon to defend our brother [C.B. Dennis, black member of the union, whose home in predominantly white Broadview was under racist attack]."

### Sectarian abstention

Conspicuous by their absence from the only pro-busing rally on campus all year were the reformists of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA). The desire of the RSB to crawl under a rock on the day of the rally is easily understood.

These Jim Crow Maoists oppose busing, thereby shamelessly placing themselves in the camp of Gerald Ford, ROAR and the KKK. "People Must Unite to Smash [!] Boston Busing Plan!" screamed the headline of their newspaper *Revolution* (October 1974). Since then, their desire to win a niche as the "left" wing of the racist anti-busing movement has become nauseatingly clear. They described the KKK-led anti-busing riots in Louisville enthusiastically—"the spontaneous fightback was tremendous" (*Revolution*, October 1975). In the same article they note the difficulty in competing with the Klan for the leadership of this racist "fightback"—"the Klan has modernized its act to appeal to some of the real concerns of the people."

Not content with cheering the racists from the sidelines, these Maoists actually claim credit for organizing a school boycott in a virtually all white Detroit neighborhood to protest the implementation of busing there two months ago! Small wonder that their front-group "Committee to Fight the Attacks on Our Schools" was organizing its boycott right alongside the ones organized by the right-wing Mothers Alert Detroit and the KKK!

Attempting to cover its gross capitulation to white racism in the working class and among lumpen youth, the RSB simply denies the existence of racism:

"People also place the blame for increased tensions and fighting between nationalities squarely on the busing plan. They point out that while there were certainly problems before, gen-



SYL spokesman addresses BU rally.

School Committee to use the busing plan as a scapegoat for the current Boston city fiscal crisis and the layoffs of teachers and city workers.

Attempting to pit the city labor movement against the struggle of black people for integration in the schools, White and his cronies in the School Committee have received ample assistance from the labor bureaucrats of the city workers' unions. Pearlman related how a rally of city workers against layoffs was delayed in order to allow prominent anti-busing Democrat "Dapper" O'Neil to arrive from a ROAR demonstration! Pearlman countered the myth that the anti-busing movement is based on "concern" for schoolchildren being bused out of the white neighborhoods: all busing out of South Boston has been stopped, and

CAR members left. But that night, July 5, after the CAR members left, the house was firebombed at 2:30 a.m. while the Daley family slept!

Throughout the year, and as recently as a week ago, racist thugs have continued to attack the Daley home, while the cops continue to sit on their hands. Mrs. Daley's announcement at the end of her speech that one of the youths responsible for the most recent attack on her home was a BU student drew gasps from the crowd.

Speaking for the SYL, Brian Mendis stressed that busing must be supported as a minimal step toward integrating the public school system. He emphasized that what is needed in Boston is the development of an integrated, organized defense force based on the organizations of the working class and

continued on page 10