

Young Spartacus

Number 29

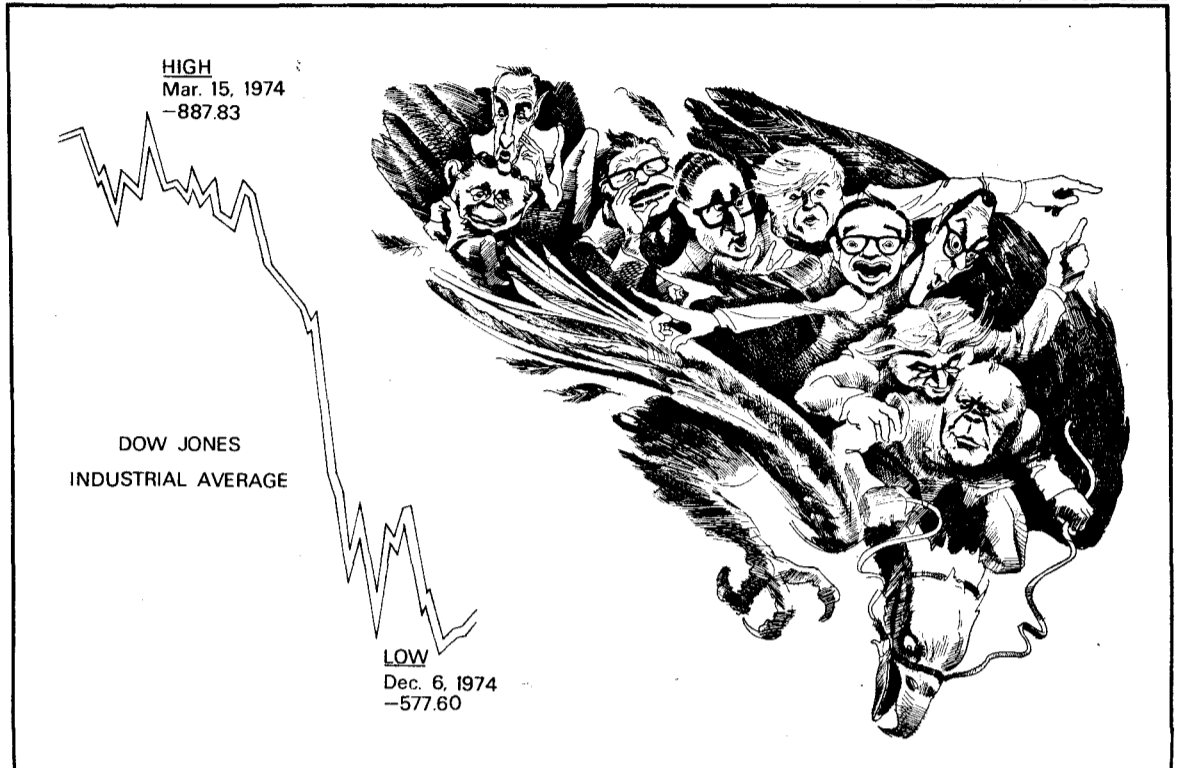
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Capitalist Economic Crisis Deepens

ROBERT PRYOR/NEW YORK TIMES



Graph from Dow Jones (left); Cartoon from New York Times (right).

The U.S. economy is now in the 16th month of what may be the worst slump since the Great Depression of the 1930's. A statistical indication of the acute crisis is the 2.2 percent decline in the Gross National Product from 1973 to 1974, which stands as the largest yearly drop since 1946.

The deepening economic crisis is sending shock waves throughout society. The unemployment rate in December reached 7.1 percent (6.5 million persons), not including the growing numbers of "discouraged workers" who have simply quit looking for non-existent jobs. Among the hardest hit have been the minorities and youth, who have absolutely no chance of entering the many sectors of the economy that are now throwing out older workers with many years' seniority. For teenagers the unemployment rate has reached 18.3 percent, and for black teenage youth 38 percent.

Despite the slump, prices continue to soar. In the last three months of 1974, the Gross National Product price index, the broadest measure of inflation, rose at an annual rate of nearly 14 percent, an all-time high. During 1974 prices increased more than 10 per-

cent, nearly double the rise in 1973. Ground between accelerating inflation and the labor discipline imposed by the class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy dedicated to maintaining "social peace," workers have suffered a cut in real wages of more than 5 percent in the last year alone.

Racial Polarization

Prolonged high unemployment raises the danger of the lumpenization of a substantial section of the working class. What this concretely means is foreshadowed by recent developments in Detroit, a city which has suffered from high and rising unemployment since the auto industry began its cutbacks in the fall of 1973 and which has a crime rate rising at 25 percent a month. Class solidarity now is in danger of being overwhelmed by racial outbursts, as the oppressed masses claw for individual survival.

To prevent the lumpenization of the proletariat, communists call for plant seizures in industries threatened by mass layoffs. When layoffs do occur, we seek to link the unemployed to the unions in a common struggle for a sliding scale

of wages and hours, dividing the available work among all those wishing employment at no loss in pay. Such a struggle combats inflation and unemployment, but at the capitalists' expense.

Women and blacks are hardest hit by layoffs. While we give no support to the union-busting scheme of court-enforced inverse seniority layoffs, the unions must struggle against the special oppression of these sections of the working class and must demand that all laid-off workers maintain an unlimited right to be recalled to their old jobs. Those workers who had been employed in an industry should be the first to be rehired regardless of how long the layoff lasts. Laid-off workers must have full union rights for the duration of the layoff—unemployed union members would be a constant pressure on the bureaucrats to undertake some action against unemployment.

Simply to ensure survival, the unemployed must receive unconditional unlimited Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB), unemployment, welfare and social security benefits. Furthermore, in a period of high unemployment, it is crucial that the remaining employed and organized workers recognize the common basis of their struggles with that of the temporarily or permanently unemployed.

In a typical economic downturn, when capitalists cut back their rate of investment, the first sector to be affected, aside from residential construction, is that which produces capital goods, that is, plant and equipment. But this slump is not typical.

Contracts and orders for plant and equipment did not begin their decline until August 1974, ten months after the onset of the slump. The decline in the capital goods industry was preceded by many months by declines in other sectors, particularly auto and textiles.

When the oil embargo by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) began in the fall of 1973, the sale of American-made autos

dropped nearly 20 percent in one month. Sales recovered partially in the summer of last year, but by year end they were 30 percent below their September 1973 peak. The textile industry, faced with sharply rising fiber prices, began to unravel in early 1974. From January to August the production of woven fabrics declined over 25 percent while the ratio of stocks to orders nearly doubled.

By late summer the contraction in construction, auto and textiles was creating a widespread slump. By December the decline was so widespread that 75 percent of all private industries were laying off workers. The peculiar course of this slump is an indicator of the diligence of the union bureaucrats in enforcing state wage controls and of the growth of inter-imperialist rivalries.

Roots of Crisis

The current slump can only be understood as the product of the preceding boom. Under capitalism a period of economic growth is usually marked by a rise in the organic composition of capital (roughly speaking, the ratio of material means of production to labor). Using the ratio of fixed nonresidential business capital to compensation of employees as a rough proxy for the organic composition of capital, it is possible to estimate that the rise in the organic composition between the peak years of 1969 and 1973 was about 4 percent.

When the organic composition of capital rises there is a tendency for a fall in the rate of profit (estimated as the ratio of the sum of proprietor's income, rental income of persons, corporate profits after taxes and net interest, to fixed non-residential business capital). The rate of profit fell about 9.5 percent between 1969 and 1973. Thus the estimated rise in the organic composition of capital accounts for a little less than half the estimated fall in the rate of profit. What accounts

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Economic crisis has sparked campus worker, anti-budget cut struggles. SYL marching in demonstration at Wayne State University, Detroit.

Rape and Bourgeois Justice ...6

EDITORIAL NOTES

YSA's "Ivy League Socialism" at Yale

The administration at Yale University has recently announced a scheduled increase in tuition. For the Caucus for Radical Politics (formerly the Yale Liberation Front)—a politically spongy grouplet dominated by academic-Marxist dilettantes and guilty left-liberals who confine their politics to trying to "locate the oppression at Yale" so that students will respond to it—the threatened tuition hike is just the kind of issue they have been seeking.

At the January 23 meeting of the Caucus for Radical Politics, a campus supporter of the reformist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) who has been working closely with the group introduced a proposal concerning the tuition hike. Paraphrasing the liberal education-reformer John Dewey, the YSA proposal declared, "Democratization of education is fundamental to democratization of society." By this does the YSA mean opening up elite Yale University? Absolutely not!

The central demand of the YSA proposal is merely that the *percentage* of students presently receiving financial assistance not be reduced. The YSA proposal is categorically in favor of preserving Yale as a bastion of elitism, so much so that it demands: "No admission of students except according to ability"! Now here is a proposal which the bourgeois Yale trustees and the Yale administration can heartily endorse! Here is real respect for Yale's class-biased, racially discriminatory "academic excellence"!

Three supporters of the Spartacus Youth League intervened at this meeting, denouncing the YSA for its disgusting elitist reformism and counterposing demands for the nationalization of Yale University

under student-teacher-campus worker control and for a policy of open admissions with a full stipend provided by the state. The political intervention of the SYL supporters, through which the YSA supporter sat in ignominious silence, provoked considerable discussion and confusion among the Caucus members, who voted to table the YSA proposal and the counterposed motion of the SYL.

Over the Gothic tracery of this ivy-covered ivory tower the YSA has unfurled its banner: "From each according to his need, to each according to his ability."

Nailing a Slander

At the public session of our Educational Conference in New York City on December 20, a supporter of the demoralized Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) intervened during the discussion period to bleat that the SL/SYL denies "the crisis" and relies on "bourgeois method." This wearisome rote, doggedly recited by the RSL at every SL/SYL public function, this time followed a presentation by comrade James Robertson of the SL Central Committee in which he analyzed in Marxist terms the "immediate economic crisis," the "economic crisis which now occurs," the "particularly acute immediate financial crisis," the "sharp trade depression," the "very considerable economic crisis" and the "present economic dislocations which are very serious in the capitalist world." The SL/SYL, you see, may say "crisis," but only the RSL really *means* "crisis." Only the RSL beholds... "THE CRISIS"!

In response, comrade Robertson attacked the RSL's pompous, empty posturing and their truly bourgeois "new class" theory of the Sino-Soviet states. Following the SL speaker's reply to the RSL, the chairman called for additional speakers from the floor (and not just once, but four times); comrade Robertson then interjected an invitation for the RSL to speak again, as the first RSL speaker had complained about the time limit allotted every speaker. Unable to answer our attack, the RSL

stalwarts covered in their seats, politically humiliated and defeated.

Having thus been knocked off its hobby horse in public, the RSL has thrown a tantrum in the January issue of its *Torch*. Presenting a garbled "quote" of comrade Robertson's passing reference to the significance of far-sighted "bourgeois opinion," the *Torch* taunts that the SL/SYL "must rely on the bourgeoisie to explain objective conditions." This slanderous misrepresentation is followed by the dishonest assertion that the RSL has "repeatedly pointed to the deep-seated crisis of capitalism."

Permit us to point out that a little over one year ago the *Torch* (No. 3) was declaring that "virtually all the bourgeois economists are talking about the coming economic downturn, while a significant minority is sounding the warning bell for a full-blown recession. These are fairly sure signs that a nose-dive for the capitalist roller coaster is just around the bend." The RSL had not yet heralded its "Crisis" panacea, but on the contrary dabbled in the Keynesian speculation of the bourgeois economists: with tinkering of "monetary policy" and "fiscal policy" the capitalists should be able "to take the economy in for a 'soft landing'" and thus "we may be in for a period of minimal growth—close to, but not actually at, zero—followed by a new superficial upswing." For these self-styled Wall Street ticker-tape wizards, there might be an "upswing," but again "a full scale recession is also possible," and then a "depression" also might be "lurking in the shadows." No matter what was to happen, the RSL thus "predicted" it!

Its refusal to defend the deformed workers states against imperialism, its support to popular fakers from Arnold Miller to Anwar el-Sadat, its disgusting opposition to integration for blackpeople, these are the betrayals of the RSL that constitute real differences with the Trotskyist politics of the SL/SYL. All this the RSL tries to avoid by furiously shaking its "Crisis" rattle at us. The *Torch* concluded its bombastic tirade, "We will rise to the challenge." Like you "rose" to our challenge at the New York Educational, comrades of the RSL?

Resignation from Wisconsin Alliance

Editor's Note: We publish below a letter of resignation from the Wisconsin Alliance, a swamp largely of inveterate social democrats, New Left left-overs and liberal-radical dilettantes centered in Madison. The undersigned is a high school student who had been an active member of the Wisconsin Alliance for the past year and a half. The Wisconsin Alliance, which excludes members of other left cadre organizations, has recently opened an internal discussion on the essentials of a political program and in December invited several left tendencies in Madison, including the Spartacus Youth League, to deliver programmatic presentations. When it became clear to the comrade that the Wisconsin Alliance is a petty-bourgeois reformist sect incapable of developing in a Leninist direction, he submitted the following letter of resignation and has since joined the SYL.

January 3, 1975

To Members of the Wisconsin Alliance:

In the time I have been a member of the Wisconsin Alliance, an important transition has occurred in my ideological perspectives. Whereas I once considered myself simply a radical, I am now a Marxist-Leninist, recognizing that the principles of Marxism-Leninism are today embodied in Trotskyism. This development has had a profound effect on my view of the Alliance. It is now very clear to me that the Alliance is rooted in reformism and social democracy. Therefore, I am resigning from the Alliance with the intention of joining the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, the nucleus of the future vanguard party for socialist revolution.

Nowhere has the reformism and social democracy of the Alliance been demonstrated better than in the recent Alliance campaign of Mary Kay Baum for the 78th State Assembly District in which workers, students and farmers were called upon to "use consumer pressure" to "force the state to take their side for a change."

The widespread support within the Alliance for the concept of the "mass intermediate socialist organization" as outlined by one of the early members of the Alliance also demonstrates the character of the organization. One of the characteristics of the mass intermediate socialist organization is its position on "deferred questions," questions which are seen as "secondary to the main task at a given period" and are simply deferred. Among the list of "deferred questions" (which includes, for example, the nature of revisionism and "the question of Leninist theory") is the need for a vanguard party; in the

words of the exponents of the mass intermediate socialist organization:

"The present debates on the left state that we must choose now between joining a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party or a mass democratic socialist party which is an alternative to the Leninist conception of a vanguard. The mass intermediate socialist organization is neither. It is a mass socialist organization in which the question of the party is deferred."

Developing this line further, the group proclaims:

"This is a time in U.S. history when the working class is only beginning to be self-conscious of itself as a class with an independent role to play in the life of society. It is only beginning to come to grips with the difficult questions of the relationships between class struggle, national struggle for self-determination, and women's struggle. Trying to build a vanguard party at this time can only lead to splits and sectarianism."

In dealing with this position, it is useful to look at the development of the Russian revolution, the only time in history when the *working class itself* seized state power. In the theoretical struggle over the question of what kind of organization would be needed to make a socialist revolution, a tendency similar to that outlined above opposed itself to the Leninist position on the need for a vanguard party. Attacking this position, Lenin wrote:

"Some begin to say: the mass of workers themselves have not yet advanced the broad and militant political tasks that the revolutionaries are attempting to 'impose' upon them; they must continue, for the time being, to fight for *immediate* political demands. ... Others, far removed from any kind of 'gradualness,' began to say: it is possible and necessary to 'bring about a political revolution,' but that does not require building a strong organization of revolutionaries to train the proletariat in the steadfast and stubborn struggle. ... Both these trends, the opportunists and the 'revolutionists,' bow to the prevailing amateurishness; neither believes that it can be eliminated, neither understands our primary and most imperative practical task, namely, to establish an *organization of revolutionaries* capable of maintaining the energy, stability and continuity of the political struggle."

—What Is to Be Done?

The Spartacist League is the inheritor and continuator of the revolutionary tradition of Lenin. Applying the lessons of the Russian revolution to the Marxist movement of today, the Spartacist League

"...decisively rejects that centrism which defers a vanguard orientation, claiming that a mass upsurge will create the vanguard spontaneously. Such opportunist 'postponement' overlooks the historical

example of the genesis of the Russian communist movement as much around *ideas* as great events and, further, ignores the vital recognition that the success of great mass upheavals is closely linked to the intervention of a conscious vanguard. The sudden onset of an upsurge (such as the French May-June crisis) will find the erstwhile revolutionary elements confused and disorganized unless the most advanced strata undertake serious long-term preparation—in all periods—for the ebb and flow of class struggle."

—from a resolution of the Second National Conference of the Spartacist League, 1969

It is only this understanding which is capable of laying the foundation for a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement. All others lead to what Lenin called "worship of the spontaneity of the working-class movement," which in turn leads to "strengthening the influence of bourgeois ideology over the workers."

Another symptomatic weakness of the Alliance is the prevalence of Maoist ideology. Maoism is the ideology of a nationalistic and parasitic bureaucracy which governs in place of the Chinese workers and acts to hold back the forces of world revolution. But rather than recognizing this, the Alliance uselessly enthuses after the Chinese revolution, attempting to apply "Marxist-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought" to bankrupt electoral campaigns and populist reformism.

The fact that Maoist currents coexist with social democracy in the Alliance is not a coincidence. Maoism and social democracy both reside in the same camp of reformism and thereby both oppose themselves to Marxism-Leninism. Recognizing the nature of Maoism, the Spartacist League "fundamentally opposes the Maoist doctrine, rooted in Menshevism and Stalinist reformism, which rejects the vanguard role of the working class. ..." (*Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League*).

The future of the world depends on the success or failure of Marxists in forging a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement. Reformism, in all its manifestations (including the social democracy of the Wisconsin Alliance), stands as an obstacle to this task. Trotskyism is the only ideology capable of directing this struggle. As Marxists, as Leninists and as Trotskyists, the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League today uphold the principles upon which a socialist revolution will be built. It is for this reason that I intend to join the SYL, and urge all serious revolutionaries to do the same.

In Struggle,

Walter P.

SYL Initiates Berkeley Demonstration

Students Say: "ROTC Must Go!"

BERKELEY, January 29—Some 250 students, chanting "U.S. Out of South-east Asia!" and "ROTC Must Go!," today demonstrated at the Berkeley campus of the University of California. The militant and spirited demonstration against imperialism's ROTC had been initiated and aggressively built by the Spartacus Youth League on campus.

ROTC, target of many militant student struggles during the days of the antiwar movement, is making something of a cautious comeback from the retreat into which it was driven by mass student actions during the late 1960's. University administrators at U.C. Berkeley as well as at Columbia University and the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor are advocating the reintegration of ROTC into the "campus community."

With Henry Kissinger's gun-boat diplomacy threatening a U.S. military intervention into the Near East and Ford banging on the doors of Congress for increased military and financial aid to prop up the Thieu regime under the pressure of recent NLF advances, the ruling class must keep its military options open. A volunteer army would clearly be inadequate for launching another full-scale ground operation, and ROTC-trained officers are a crucial component of a large draft-recruited army.

At the U.C. Berkeley the SYL, upon learning of the Academic Senate's deliberations on re-accrediting ROTC on the campus, immediately initiated the "Ad Hoc Committee to Stop ROTC" and called upon all students and campus organizations to build for a united-front demonstration around the slogans, "Stop the Accreditation! ROTC Off Campus!" In the days that followed the January 24 planning meeting, the SYL took the lead in securing endorsements for the "Ad Hoc Committee," and support for the planned demonstration quickly mushroomed on the campus.

Endorsements for the demonstration came from the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC) Senate, Berkeley Liberation Front, Berkeley Strike Support Committee, Committee for Working Class Studies, Barbara Dudley (faculty), Michael Lerner, Bob Mandel (Longshore union militant), Michael Rogin (faculty), Michael Reich (faculty), Third World Women's Council, Union of Radical Political Economists, Tony Platt (faculty), Science for the People, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, Socialists for Independent Politics, Black Board and the Radical Student Union.

The Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade was enticed to the first planning meeting by the broad support which the "Ad Hoc Committee" was receiving. However, this time the RSB decided that it would not "fight back" against ROTC, because the SYL was playing such a leading role in building the demonstration. Some supporters of the RSB apparently are uneasy over this sectarianism, especially since it was the SYL that initiated a defense campaign and collected money on campus for two arrested RSB supporters.

The social-democratic International Socialists (IS), who fondly and with no little conceit reminisce about the student movement of yesterday in the pages of *Workers Power*, found the real thing too much of a

bother. The IS ignored the distributed appeal for endorsements for the demonstration, and when phoned an IS spokesman insisted that she was too tired to discuss the matter and summarily hung up.

Although all the endorsing individuals and organizations were offered a place on the speakers list for the rally, only four in addition to the SYL responded: ASUC Senator Dori Reipe, Bob Mandel, Michael Lerner and the Committee for Working Class Studies. All of the speakers emphasized the necessity to fight ROTC, and Bob Mandel, Executive Board Member of ILWU Local 6, told the rally that international solidarity with the victims of imperialism was a part of the class-struggle program for which he has been fighting in his union.

At the conclusion of the rally, a spokesman for the SYL called upon the demonstrators to march to the Academic Senate offices. The march, 100 strong, set up a spirited picket line in front of the building and demonstrated for a short time.

The SYL is determined not to let go unchallenged this latest attempt by the university administration to allow the university to be further integrated into U.S. imperialism's war machine. Further meetings to build support and map out more protest actions are being planned. Students at Berkeley must kick ROTC off campus! ■

Canadian Spartacists Demonstrate Against Deportations



December 21 demonstration in Toronto sponsored by the Canadian Party of Labor, Canadian affiliate of the U.S. Progressive Labor Party.

SYL "Keeps the Bums on the Run" CIA Recruiter Cancels Yale Visit

NEW HAVEN, January 28—The SYL at Yale University recently learned that a CIA recruiter was scheduled to hold interviews on campus February 11 and 12. The SYL distributed a leaflet on January 23 calling for a meeting of all interested in greeting the imperialists' recruiter with a demonstration around the demand, "CIA Off Campus!" The demonstration call quickly gained support from Yale students and political groups.

The Career Advisory Service, the

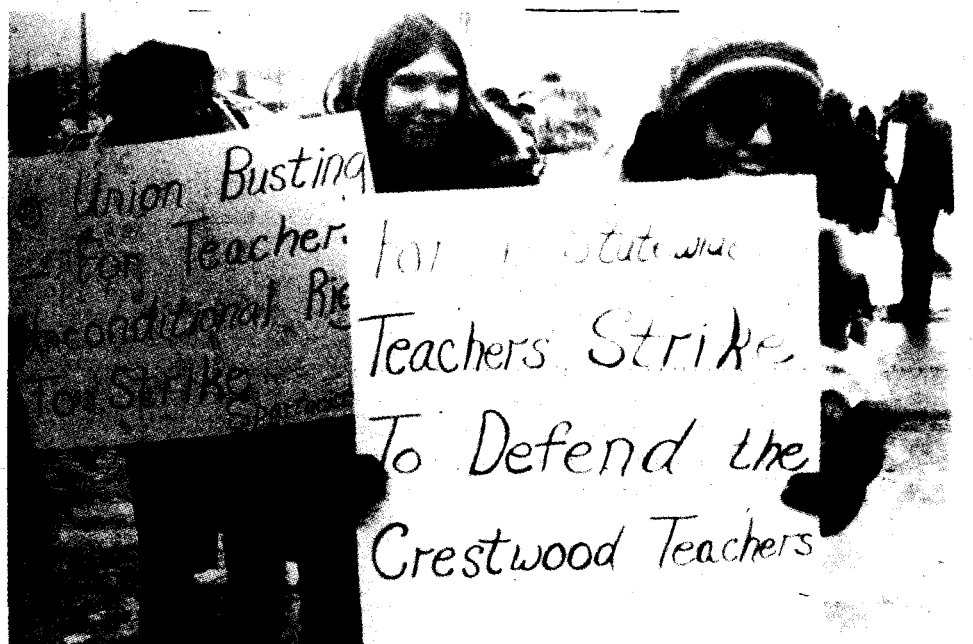
Yale office responsible for arranging such visits, apparently communicated to the CIA the information that the SYL is building for an anti-CIA demonstration on campus the day of the recruiter's arrival. This prospect seems to have disturbed an already nervous CIA. Today a campus spokesman for the SYL received a telephone call from the Career Advisory Service notifying him that the CIA has decided to cancel the recruiter's visit on account of "recent adverse publicity".

Michigan Teachers Face Union-Busting Drive

DETROIT, January 18—Early last month teachers in Crestwood, a town near Detroit, went out on strike for a contract and a salary increase. The school board delivered the teachers, who are organized in the Crestwood Educational Association (CEA), a union-busting ultimatum: return to work in one week or forget about ever returning at all. When the CEA continued its strike, the board fired 207 teachers on December 27.

Such a move should have been met by the Michigan Educational Association with a call for an immediate statewide teachers' strike demanding the unconditional right of teachers and other public employees to bargain collectively and to strike, especially given the growing, acute economic crisis. A CEA union militant on the picket line told a *Young Spartacus* reporter that union locals and militants all over the state had been telephoning the union's central office expressing fears that they were the next to fall victim to the union-busting drive and suggesting a statewide strike. The union bureaucrats instead preached reliance on a court appeal.

The Michigan State Court of Appeals finally ruled yesterday that the Crestwood teachers must be rehired. While the union bureaucracy bubbled with "gratification" over the ruling, teachers must realize that they have little to celebrate in a decision that orders the disputed contract issues to be subjected immediately to compulsory arbitration, which can only mean in inadequate settlement for the teachers. Furthermore, the court ruled that the teachers were also at



Picket line supporting Crestwood teachers.

fault, because any strike action by them is illegal. This court "victory" opens the door for future "legal" firings.

The showdown in Crestwood has prompted the state legislature to rush through legislation designed to end teachers' strikes in Michigan once and for all. As one legislator put it:

"There are 300 districts in the state which will face negotiations next year. ... the lawmakers do not want a Garden City or Crestwood problem in their area."

—*Detroit News*, 14 December 1974

The CEA strike also came under attack by angry parents and students,

led mainly by the Crestwood Civic Action Group. The anti-union fever rose to the point where many parents were demanding that the United Auto Workers union also get out of town. The CEA, however, has done nothing to turn this hostility around. The union must address the problems of both better education and job security by demanding that class hours be divided among all available teachers. To counter the arbitrary codes and demeaning regulations imposed on the students (and to a certain extent the teachers), the union must demand teacher-student-worker control of the high schools.

French Pseudo-Trotskyists Campaign to Reform Army

The long-standing unrest within the ranks of the French army has been expressed with a dramatic intensity during the past year. In 1973 the enactment of the Debré law ending student deferments sparked massive student demonstrations which raised the general question of military service (see "Lessons of the French Student Struggles—Down With the Bourgeois Army!", *RCY Newsletter* [now *Young Spartacus*], July-August 1973). The disgruntlement with the miserable pay and the extremely repressive regimentation has been particularly apparent among the young draftees, who number 215,000 in an army of 330,000.

This rising unrest has erupted in mass protests, most notably that of 200 uniformed soldiers who ran through the streets of the small town of Draguignan on September 10 of last year, demanding with raised fists their rights as citizens. The demonstrators received wide support from the left and suffered repression from the army. Three soldiers—Robert Pelletier, Alex Taurus, and Serge Ravet—were arrested and charged with "inciting soldiers to disobedience." (One was released and the other two were given light sentences in the recently concluded trial.)

The "Call of the 100"

During the last presidential election, a declaration signed by 100 soldiers and titled the "Call of the 100" appeared which demanded the two presidential candidates, François Mitterrand and Giscard d'Estaing, take positions on a series of democratic demands of the soldiers. Based on the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, these democratic demands included free choice of the date and place of induction, the right of enlistees to rescind their contract, an end to hazing and harassment, freedom of information and political expression, the minimum wage for soldiers pay and abolition of the military police and tribunals. The "Call of the 100" thus was a protest against conditions in the capitalist army, but not against military service itself.

From the outset the "Call of the 100" has been very closely associated with the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist League (formerly Revolutionary Communist Front), the French section of the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International." Although denying direct responsibility for the text, the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) was the first to publish the "Call of the 100" and fully supports its contents.

LCR's "Anti-Militarism"

The LCR for some time has been actively involved in "anti-militarist" campaigns. In December 1972 the Communist League, political precursor of the LCR, formed a "Defense Committee of Draftees," the aims of which were explicitly stated to be opposing repression and fighting for democratic rights in the army.

This "Defense Committee of Draftees" intervened in the protest movement of high school students that arose in opposition to the Debré law. The then Communist League was thrown into paroxysms of youth vanguardism, at one point even claiming that the highly class-conscious French proletariat have learned how to struggle from watching the students (*Rouge*, 30 March 1973). But when the flurry of activity of this "youth vanguard" ebbed—as was inevitable, given the

volatile character of the petty-bourgeois studentry—the Communist League was left looking for a new vehicle for its "anti-militarist" work.

The "Call of the 100" appears to be just what the LCR desires. Militants of the "Defense Committee of Draftees" and well-known supporters of the political views of the LCR have been active in collecting signatures for the original text of the "Call of the 100." This campaign based on exclusively democratic rights has become the focus of all the LCR's "anti-militarist" work.

The campaign, limited as it is solely to democratic rights, has been successful in attracting support from among the draftees. In four months the number of signatures gathered reached 4,000. In response to this agitation, the left—beginning with the LCR and the social-democratic United Socialist Party and later followed by the Socialist Party, Communist Party and "Trotskyist" Internationalist Communist Organization—spawned a plethora of "anti-militarist" organizations in order to cash in on the unrest. In particular, the mass-based Communist Party for the last two months has been conducting a reformist campaign for "the defense of the democratic rights of soldiers."

Backhanded Support to "National Defense"

The demands raised in the "Call of the 100" are basic democratic demands which all communists support. But the intervention of communists does not end with support for such democratic demands, but rather begins with it. The role of communists is to expose the role of the army as the armed body defending the rule and system of the capitalist class and to explain that the bourgeois army must be smashed. Thus, communists raise the slogans for the abolition of the draft, for workers self-defense guards based on the trade unions and for the replacement of the bourgeois army with independently organized workers militias.

The revisionist LCR, on the contrary, not only has refused to raise anything more than these democratic demands of the "Call of the 100," but also has glorified this campaign as "revolutionary" anti-militarism! Despite its insistence that this campaign is "revolutionary," the LCR has had an understandably difficult time trying to distinguish its "anti-militarist" work from that of the reformist Communist Party.

But unlike the brazen Communist Party, the LCR, well-studied in the art of opportunism, has chosen to drift over the following reference to the question of "national defense" in the "Call of the 100":

"The army, they say, has for its main purpose the national defense. We therefore do not understand why some of us are sent to West Germany, because there exist established peaceful relations with this country which do not seem to be in question."
—*Rouge*, 16 May 1974

The LCR has uncritically printed and fully supports a declaration that contains, although expressed in a bland naïveté, a statement of national chauvinism which would gag any genuine revolutionary communist.

The implicit support for the bourgeoisie's "national defense" flows quite consistently from the fact that the "Call of the 100" accepts the existence of the bourgeois army itself. Most of the soldiers do not in fact regard the campaign built around the "Call of the 100" to be "anti-militarist," much less "revolutionary." As one soldier char-



French soldiers rampaging through Draguignan demanding civil liberties.

acteristically declared:

"They were all amazed to learn that we were not opposed to military service... For many of the guys, whoever makes criticisms of the military service is a conscientious objector or a pacifist. They are very embarrassed when we explain that one can want to do his service but not in the present conditions."
—*Le Monde*, 9 July 1974

In their work among soldiers, communists give no quarter to such backward consciousness, but patiently seek to explain that the bourgeois army is the fist of the capitalist class and is frequently used in France to suppress strikes. It is the task of the communists to struggle to raise the level of class consciousness of the working-class youth conscripted into the army so that they come to recognize the necessity for the destruction of the bourgeois army by the proletarian revolution.

Happily Junking Leninism

For the revisionist LCR, however, such essentials of a Leninist policy are a chafing programmatic burden to be cast off for the sake of really "getting with the masses" in their day-to-day struggles. Following through its characteristic methodology, the LCR attributes to the democratic-reform movement an inherently revolutionary dynamic independent of the intervention of communists and then dismisses the fundamentals of Leninism as superfluous:

"The call of the 100 has in fact and fortunately made it possible to go beyond the state of petitions of principle along the lines of 'Down with the Bourgeois Army' or 'Down with the Army of Civil War' which only bear witness to the convictions of those who make them, and instead, in a significant although still very insufficient way, to anchor revolutionary anti-militarism in milieux and layers of youth who have not had the occasion in civilian life to become conscious of these problems."
—*Rouge*, 16 August 1974

On one of the most fundamental questions of Marxism, the nature of the capitalist armed forces which constitute the backbone of the bourgeois state, the LCR poses the problem not as against the capitalist army and for the workers militia, but rather as

against the volunteer army and for the conscript army!

Thus, as early as the movement against the Debré law, the then Communist League pronounced:

"Certainly the draft army is not the people in arms. It remains, however, despite regimentation, despite the discipline and the brainwashing, the closest link with the working class, the link which makes the bourgeoisie not always able to use its army as it intends."
—*Rouge*, 30 March 1973

Indeed, in times of social crisis and proletarian upsurge, the plebeian ranks of the capitalists' army often waver, buckle or even split wide open in revolt. The vanguard of the proletariat has as one of its most central tasks in an insurrectionary situation the rallying of the rebellious troops to the side of the revolutionary proletariat. But Leninists prepare for this task by always propagandizing in the military for the necessity of smashing the capitalist army, not supporting it as a workers organization.

Socialists must oppose the "right" of the bourgeoisie to draft working class youth into the military to be subjected to its indoctrination and quite possibly to be cannon fodder in the reactionary wars of the capitalist state. It is important for the working class to learn to handle weapons, and we point out that this training should be one of the important functions of the workers defense guards. As long as the conscript army remains, Marxists will take their places alongside their working-class brothers and bring Marxist politics to the bourgeoisie's drill ground.

LCR Calls for Troops into Boston

Since the LCR considers that the bourgeoisie is "not always able to use its army as it intends," the LCR has turned a sympathetic ear to the cries of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance, its fraternal organization, for the sending of federal troops into Boston. After demonstrating for years to force the army of U.S. imperialism out of Indochina, the SWP/YSA and the LCR now both call for the same army to move into Boston!

The centrist LCR lacks the SWP/
continued on page 9

Wisconsin Indians Demand Hospital, Resort to Building Occupation

MADISON—On New Year's Day some 40 armed Menominee Indians, mostly members of the Menominee Warrior Society (MWS), occupied a vacant Catholic novitiate of the Alexian Brothers near Gresham, Wisconsin, and demanded that the building be converted into a hospital for, and controlled by, Menominees. Citing a federal law which returns abandoned former reservation land to the reservation, the MWS claims that the building, which has stood unused since 1968, and its surrounding grounds should be returned to the Menominees, since the land was originally ceded to the federal government under an 1854 treaty.

Immediately after the seizure, local sheriffs and state troopers swarmed into the area and surrounded the building. The authorities cut the telephone and electrical lines servicing the novitiate, refused to allow food supplies to be delivered and apparently initiated the sporadic exchanges of gunfire with the besieged Indians. On January 7 the governor replaced the hot-headed local "lawmen" with an occupation force of 300 National Guardsmen armed with M-16 rifles, and food finally was permitted to be delivered.

Negotiations were opened on January 9 by a six-member team, which included American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Dennis Banks. As of January 12, the MWS appears willing to abandon their land claim, provided the building is converted into a hospital. But the Menominee demonstrators declare that the occupation will continue until funds are made available for purchasing the novitiate (\$750,000) and for equipping and staffing a hospital.

Trapped Between Termination and Assimilation

The Menominee Indians, who number over 5,000 in Wisconsin, have been regarded as one of the most self-sufficient of American tribes. The reservation's timber forests and a sawmill established in 1908 have provided some employment and revenue for the Menominees.

In 1954 the Eisenhower administration, in the name of "freeing" the "prosperous" Menominees from federal supervision, passed the Menominee Termination Act, which deprived the Menominees of tribal status under federal law. Thus, federal protection of their land, exemption from federal and state taxes, and funding for health, education and welfare services were terminated (*Brief History of the Menominee: Treaties to Termination*).

Federal assistance provided a large part of the narrow economic margin

on which many Menominees survived, and over 95 percent of the tribe opposed termination. The state of Wisconsin likewise opposed the Termination Act, because the responsibility for providing public services to the Menominees would then fall to the state government. It was not until 1961 that Menominee County was created out of the old reservation lands. In this economically depressed area, termination served to inflame the racial divisions between the Indians and the white residents who held the Indians responsible for their tax burdens.

Reaction among the Menominees to detribalization led to the formation of the Restoration Committee, which sought primarily through legal action and political pressure to secure the restoration of reservation status. Soon after the formation of Menominee County, the reservation became the property of Menominee Enterprises, which effectively constituted the tribal council. Each member of the tribe received 100 shares of stock in the company, and a portion of the land was sold to outside real estate interests.

In the last election for the board of Menominee Enterprises, the "progressives" of the Restoration Committee defeated the "traditionalists" of the MWS, and as a result of their efforts the Menominee Restoration Act reinstating tribal status was passed in January, 1973. However, no federal funds were allocated, and consequently no services were reinstated. In late December, Ford signed an appropriations bill authorizing \$2.7 million for Menominee restoration, but no funds have yet trickled into Menominee County.

The interim tribal governing body, the Menominee Reservation Committee, denounced the MWS-led occupation as "anarchistic" and "unethical" and defended the strategy of legal proceedings and political lobbying that had regained reservation status. The response of the MWS has been an explicitly male-chauvinist call for the ouster of the five women who constitute the majority of the Reservation Committee. As a result of this factional pressure, Reservation Committee leader Ada Deer has taken a softened stand on the occupation, characterizing it as an action of "frustrated people with the best motives."

White Backlash

Most of the local residents of surrounding Shawano County are small farmers with little economic security and enormous apprehensions over the current economic crisis. The high interest rates demanded by the banks have made it impossible for many of these farmers to meet their mortgage payments and other general expenses. Many have already been forced to sell out to land-grabbing big agribusiness, such as Borden and Tenneco.

Since the time of the 1954 Termination Act, racial tensions between the whites and the Indians have run high. When the only hospital in Menominee County finally closed for lack of funds, the Indians were forced to crowd into the meager hospital facilities of neighboring Shawano County, heating up the simmering racism of the whites. It was mainly because of the discrimination against the Menominees in Shawano's hospitals that the MWS decided to occupy the novitiate.

Another point of friction has been the shared educational facilities. Menominee County has no high school, and most of the Indian students are bused into the ill-equipped and over-crowded

Shawano High School. In an attempt to relieve the situation, the Menominee County Community School was opened in July 1972, under Menominee "community control." This school, however, is not funded by the federal government, and suffers from a lack of ground facilities and supplies.

The seizure of the off-reservation novitiate has been met with hostility on the part of many local whites. Groups of angry, armed whites have menacingly milled around the grounds of the occupied building (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 5 January 1975). Wallaceites have been stridently vocal in their opposition, and on January 7 a bomb blast leveled the AIM headquarters in nearby Keshena (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 8 January 1975). On January 11 about 100 whites, many armed with deer rifles, held a boisterous rally opposing the occupation.

Left Tails AIM

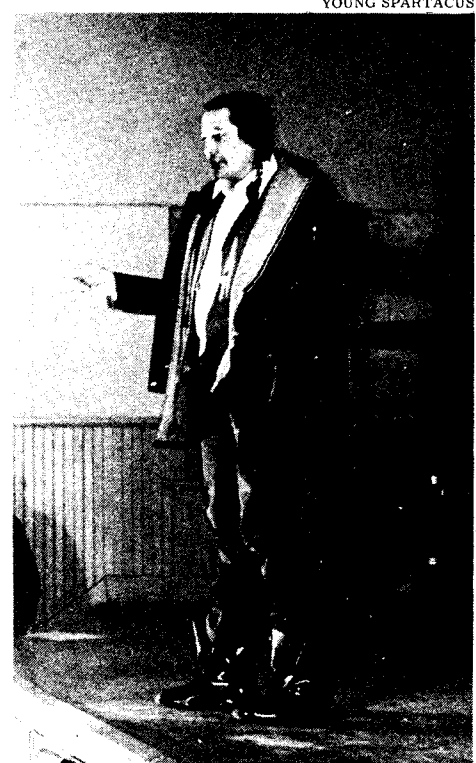
The Spartacus Youth League points out that the tactic of occupations such as those of Alcatraz, Wounded Knee and now Gresham has proved powerless to secure the jobs, housing, educational and health facilities so desperately needed by the Menominee and other Indian tribes and communities. The publicity which these occupations attract comes at the terrible expense of almost inevitable victimization, demoralization and casualties. Nonetheless, we recognize that these occupations are militant acts of desperation on the part of an oppressed minority, and once taken, we defend the demonstrating Indians from all state repression and reprisals.

We support the Menominees' right of self-defense against the large number of local racists who are up in arms as well as against the state's forces of "law and order." At the same time, we urge the demonstrators to avoid an armed confrontation; given the present relationship of forces, a shoot-out could easily result in a massacre of the Indians.

In the presently prevailing situation, we warn that absolutely no confidence must be placed in the National Guard to protect the lives of the Menominee demonstrators. For the moment the National Guard may keep its distance and perhaps discourage racist attacks as long as the Indians huddle "peacefully" and the government can hope for a clean, negotiated settlement. But if the occupation continues longer than the tolerance of the authorities, the National Guard will be used to smash the Indians, as it did at Wounded Knee in 1973.

While the restoration of tribal rights will result in some immediate relief for the Menominees, socialists fight the illusion that the future of Indians lies in a reservation, outside of the mainstream of the American economy and society and in a condition of economic stagnation and continual dependency on federal relief. "Community control" of non-existent or totally inadequate health and educational facilities is a bankrupt strategy which accepts the special oppression of capitalism. What is necessary is a struggle for jobs and for free, quality medical care and schools for all. Such demands can lay the basis for the unity of whites and Indians in a common struggle against capitalism and significantly undercut the poisonous white racism.

The response of the left generally has been mindless enthusing over the occupation and political tailing of liberal Indian misleaders like AIM's Russell Means, who at the January 11 support demonstration in Keshena asserted that those who wished to sup-



AIM leader Russell Means speaking at Keshena rally in support of Menominee occupation.

port the MWS could be most effective by building solidarity demonstrations and pressuring the Alexian Brothers. The social-democratic Wisconsin Alliance, while cheering the arrival of the National Guard, stated that it would unconditionally follow the leadership of the MWS. In a leaflet distributed at the Keshena rally, the Revolutionary Union/Revolutionary Student Brigade hailed the takeover as a "righteous struggle of the Menominee people taking consciousness and militant action" and raised the slogan, "Victory to the Menominee people." Let such desperate actions always end in defeat and victimization for the Indians; for these Maoists all that matters is "fighting back."

Parrotting the AIM leaders, the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) confines its call to "national support from other Native American peoples and all supporters of human rights" (*Militant*, 24 January 1975). The SWP/YSA, which has outdone even the liberal politicians in its campaign for federal troops into Boston to "protect" black people from racist attacks, literally glows with appreciation for the deployment of the National Guard. After first detailing the undisciplined and overtly prejudiced behavior of the local cops and state troopers, the same *Militant* article contrasts the role of the Guardsmen: "The National Guard took a different approach. They turned the power and heat on, allowed food to be brought in, and tried to aid negotiations." In defending their Kautskyian position that the capitalist army can be "pressured" to protect the interests of the oppressed, the SWP/YSA has felt it advisable to reel off some pseudo-orthodox references to the class character of the cops and National Guard. Hoping to wriggle a little closer to the AIM misleaders, the SWP/YSA now dispenses with this folderol and exudes the same confidence in the National Guard!

An SYL contingent from Madison participated in the January 11 demonstration in support of the protesting Menominee Indians. At the rally, an SYL speaker exposed the role of the cops and National Guard, explained the necessity and potential of demands for free quality health care and education for all, and declared that only a socialist society holds out the possibility for both the free cultural development and the voluntary assimilation of the Indian.

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Rape and Bourgeois Justice

By Matt Thompson
and Sarah Arnold

Considerable publicity has surrounded the recent court case of Inez Garcia, a woman from Soledad, California, who fatally shot Miguel Jimenez, the man she claims held her to the ground while a second man raped her. The shooting occurred about a half hour after the alleged rape; the rape itself was said to have followed a violent quarrel.

Inez Garcia was brought to trial and convicted of second degree murder,



Inez Garcia

SEDITION

while no charges were even brought against the accused rapist. The judge was the same Stanley Lawson who had two political black prisoners brought into his courtroom shackled and then pulled a gun on them when they pounded their chains on a table in protest.

Garcia has stated her conviction that the shooting was fully justified: "my conscience is clear for having fought and killed at least one of the two men who violated my honor" (*San Francisco Bay Guardian*, 15 August 1974). While socialists will certainly come to the defense of a woman who is charged and prosecuted for defending herself from a rapist, the Inez Garcia case remains clouded with unresolved unclarity: allegations that involvement in a narcotics ring and shady connections with Soledad's small-town underworld were motivations for the killing, conflicting testimony about the alleged rape itself and evidence of Garcia's emotional disturbance.

Disinterested in or blurring over these unresolved questions, many feminists, radicals and liberals are simply championing Inez Garcia as a symbol of all rape victims, a martyr for the cause of women's liberation and an embattled heroine. "Viva Inez... She is Fighting for Us All," cries the masthead of Inez Garcia Defense Committee leaflets. Despite profuse verbal militancy glorifying the shooting of Jimenez, the feminists' response to the Inez Garcia case has seldom gone beyond knee-jerk liberalism. One feminist journal presented Inez Garcia with a cloying sentimentality that evoked precisely the sexist Barbie-doll stereotype of women:

"Her [Garcia's] relationship with her Berkeley sisters [in the Inez Garcia Defense Committee] has been as an equal. It is, for example, her Cuban style recipe which was used for the enormously successful dinner-dance benefit [!]. A real person [!], Inez expressed pleasure at her publicity photographs [!], one of which catches her in a rare smile."

—Plexus, September 1974

When confronted with such an outrageous administration of capitalist "justice," this trend of liberal opinion

has no solution for dealing with problematic cases like that of Inez Garcia other than replacing the prevailing stereotypes of the rape victim with a new set of stereotypes as a means of sheltering the victims of rape.

Regarding the contradictions of capitalist "justice," this liberal response to the case of Inez Garcia today recalls, ironically, the liberal campaign waged fifteen years ago to prevent the execution of the accused rapist Caryl Chessman. Arrested in 1948, Chessman was accused of being the "Red-Light Bandit" who prowled Los Angeles area lovers' lanes, robbing couples and then forcing the women to perform fellatio on him at gun point. Under the then-existing California law, the state could secure the death penalty only by prosecuting Chessman for kidnapping under the "Little Lindberg" law. After years of court battles, Chessman became a *cause célèbre* in a left-liberal campaign for the end of capital punishment. Under capitalist "justice," the real crime allegedly committed by Chessman—rape—was not a factor in either the prosecution's drive for the death penalty or the liberals' campaign in support of Chessman against capital punishment.

The Inez Garcia case has received considerable attention largely as a result of the campaign of many feminists and some prominent liberals who are proposing various measures to guarantee a more equitable administration of justice in rape cases. But can such remedies be found that do not become ensnared in the contradictions of capitalist society and its justice? What is rape, and how will the proposed measures promising a more equitable administration of justice under capitalism intersect sex, race, class and violence in this society?

Feminist Logic: "All Sex is Rape"

Rape is manifestly a crime which embodies all of the sexual myths, fantasies and stereotypes of this violent, deeply racist class society. When refracted through the prism of the feminist world view, however, rape simply becomes an extreme expression of "normal" heterosexual relations in a patriarchal society:

"Rape is not a special isolated act. It is not an aberration, a deviation from the norms of sexual and social behavior in this country. Rape is simply at the end of the continuum of male-aggressive, female-passive patterns, and an arbitrary line has been drawn to mark it off from the rest of such relationships... most men in our country are potential rapists."

—A. Medea and K. Thompson, *Against Rape*

Another analysis elaborates an analogous chivalry-rape dualism:

"If a male society rewards aggressive, domineering sexual behavior, it contains within itself a sexual schizophrenia. For the masculine man is also expected to prove his mettle as a protector of women... In the system of chivalry, men protect women against men. This is not unlike the protection relationships which the mafia established with small businesses in the early part of this century. Indeed, chivalry is an age-old protection racket which depends for its existence on rape."

—Susan Griffin in *Ramparts*, September 1971

Griffin "confirms" this theory by noting that Sir Thomas Malory—the author of the classic tale of chivalry, *La Morte d'Arthur*—is known to have been a rapist. Like most feminists, Griffin concludes by asserting a collective guilt of all men for rape.

What is Rape?

It is certainly possible to regard human sexual behaviour as expressing

itself along a broad continuum, even though the psychology and sociology of sexual relations are murky and complex. Rape uniquely involves an act the circumstances of which determine whether it is a crime or voluntary sexual intercourse. Therefore, ambiguities about consensuality do and must occur.

Rape transforms what is normally a pleasurable intimacy and consensual activity for sexual gratification into an experience of fear, degrading submission, brutality and often injury for the victim and into an overt expression of hostility and aggression for the rapist. Between the actuality of rape and the sex act *per se* there are differences. These differences may be considered as discontinuities in the continuum of sexual relations. It is precisely the feminists who make the value judgment that there are no discontinuities, no differences in kind, between mutually pleasurable, consensual sexual intercourse and a victimization and violation filled with terror and degradation.

There does exist the phenomenon of completely consensual sexual intercourse, even though the consensuality might be shaped by sexist attitudes or neuroses. Sex becomes something less than fully consensual when economic coercion is involved. However, this economic coercion is expressed through a complex set of social relations, and it is often extremely difficult to determine points where a discontinuity occurs; for example, to analyze sexual transactions with respect to the consensual/coercive relationships in the nuclear family and prostitution.

Sex was clearly less than fully consensual for those bourgeois mothers who roamed the streets of inflation-ridden Germany in 1923 peddling the bodies of their daughters in return for food and a warm night's lodging for the two of them. Men took advantage of the dire distress of these women as an opportunity for their own sexual gratification. The particular circumstances made such sexual relations different from both "duty" sex in marriage and forcible rape.

Rape and Dispensation

An even greater discontinuity is evident in wartime mass rape. While brutalized soldiers rape helpless female civilians in large measure for sexual satisfaction, there is usually

also a dispensation for the crime. Soldiers are often given a license to rape and encouraged to view the women of the conquered nation (usually of a different racial or ethnic origin) as something less than human.

For example, during the second world war Japanese troops were continually being told by their officers that Chinese women were longing for "virile" Japanese males, because they had become tired of their "flabby" Chinese men. This undoubtedly was seen as a dispensation by the Japanese soldiers, who committed brutal mass rape in each city they entered.

Such wartime dispensation to rape is described in a passage from Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago*:

"...my cellmates...were three honest, openhearted soldiers.... Still damp from the battle of the day before, yesterday they had gotten drunk, and on the outskirts of the village broke into a bath where they had noticed two raunchy broads going to bathe. The girls, half-dressed, managed to get away all right from the soldiers' staggering, drunken legs. But one of them, it turned out, was the property of the army Chief of Counterintelligence, no less.

Yes! For three weeks the war had been going on inside Germany, and all of us knew very well that if the girls were German they could be raped and then shot. This was almost a combat distinction. Had they been Polish girls or our own displaced Russian girls, they could have been chased naked around the garden and slapped on the behind—an amusement, no more. But just because this one was the 'campaign wife' of the Chief of Counterintelligence... these warriors... were waiting for a court-martial...."

The anti-communist renegade Solzhenitsyn, darling of the "Free World" liberals, thus justifies the mass rape by the Red Army across Germany in WWII, expressing petulant outrage only at the fact that some women were so "lucky" as to have military protection from rape and death.

The Vittorio de Sica film *Two Women* is a masterful portrayal of the brutality and dispensation of such wartime rape. In the film an Italian mother (Sophia Loren) and her virginal daughter, fleeing the advancing battle front of World War II Italy, take refuge in a deserted church. They are discovered by a group of soldiers who quickly surround them, separate them from each other, brutally rape them and then leave them lying unconscious



Film "Two Women" portrays psychological impact of a wartime gang rape on a mother and daughter.

drenched in semen. The sexual competitiveness of males in a sexist society, expressed in sexual jealousy and possessiveness, is suppressed during such gang rapes precisely because the victim is so degraded that she can be regarded as something less than human by the rapists.

Rape as a Political Crime

In situations of war, racial or communal conflict there are numerous instances where revenge for casualties taken and atrocities inflicted or where a straightforward drive to subdue the conquered people is the primary motivation for mass rape. The act of rape then becomes a mode for a political crime. For example, during the holocaust of communal violence that erupted with the partition of India in 1947, rape became a means of inflicting a punishment considered worse than death. The Indian novelist Khushwant Singh has described the atrocities:

"They [Muslims] had heard of gentlewomen having their veils taken off, being stripped and marched down crowded streets to be raped in the market place. Many had eluded their would-be ravishers by killing themselves... Sikh refugees had told of women jumping into wells and burning themselves rather than fall into the hands of Muslims. Those who did not commit suicide were paraded naked in the streets, raped in public, and then murdered."

—Train to Pakistan

All criteria for sexuality break down when a man uses his penis as a weapon in a premeditated assault on a terrorized woman. Former Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver has described how in his pre-political days he celebrated rape-as-revenge:

"Rape was an insurrectionary act. It delighted me that I was defying and trampling upon the white man's laws, upon his system of values, and that I was defiling his women—and this point, I believe, was the most satisfying to me because I was very resentful over the historical fact of how the white man has used the black woman. I felt I was getting revenge. From the site of the act of rape, consternation spreads outwardly in concentric circles. I wanted to send waves of consternation throughout the white race."

—Soul On Ice

Cleaver's sadistic assaults were motivated by a desire to reverse the terms of centuries-long racial oppression through terrorizing and degrading white women (whose ancestors were far more likely to have been European peasants than Southern slaveowners), an act of defiance against white society.

Thus, rape at the final discontinuity ceases to be a sexual act. In the Nazi concentration camps, the fascists committed barbaric sexual atrocities that can be considered the essence of rape. In the autobiographical account *Out of the Night*, Jan Valtin recounts what the Nazis in one prison camp did to a Jew arrested for attempting to rape a young female Nazi.

During the night the guards of the camp mercilessly beat the Jew to death in his cell. The next morning the Jewish prisoners in the camp were brought out into the compound yard, ordered to dig a deep hole and then stand at attention before it. The other prisoners were then marched out into the yard and lined up against the compound wall. Nazi guards emerged carrying the corpse of the Jew on a stretcher. Valtin was then witness to the following:

"On the stretcher lay the mangled corpse of the Jew who had been murdered at night. His abdomen was a smear of dried blood and a clump of bloody rubbish was where his genitals had been. His face was convulsed and his eyes, wide open, were twisted upward in a glassy stare. The guard in the doctor's garb led the stretcher crew past the lined-up prisoners, and all of us stared silently at the dead man. The corpse was naked and the gulls cruised close and screamed. At a command, the stretcher-bearers dumped their burden on the ground close to the rim of the hole.

Several of the Jews who were standing around the hole clasped their hands in front of their faces. Two others collapsed. They were cuffed and beaten until they stood straight again.

'Pants down,' commanded Toussaint.

The row of Jews lowered their pants. They were not men any more. They were animals without a will. They were stiff with fear.

'Now masturbate,' commanded Toussaint.

A few of the Jews reached for their genitals. Guards ran along their file and struck the others in their faces.

'Masturbate,' I said,' Toussaint roared. 'Masturbate, you swine!'

The Jews obeyed. They feebly went through the motions that were demanded of them and many of the guards wore broad grins.

'Faster,' Toussaint shouted. 'You desert bandits! You lustful reptiles! Show us how you do it in your cells at night!'

The Jews pretended to masturbate faster. They knew they would be beaten if they did not. They knew they could not afford to collapse."

The corpse was then kicked into the hole.

"Each of the other Jews was ordered to step forward and shout three times: 'I am a race polluter.' After shouting this three times, each Jew in turn was pushed into the hole atop the dead Jew. After he had shouted again, 'I am a race polluter,' he was allowed to climb out of the hole."

This sickening brutality epitomizes the essence of rape, although the elements are manifested in a disparate form: the victim—sexually abused and dehumanized; the sex act—completely divorced from the goal of sexual gratification and a nightmare of fear; the motivation—heinous sexual and racial degradation.

Legal Reforms: A Deterrence?

Recent statistics indicate that the number of reported rapes in New York City alone has risen 103 percent over the last five years (*New York Times*, 2 December 1974). Rape victims, especially if they are poor as most of them are, can expect almost nothing in the way of aid or redress from the "peace-keeping" agencies of the capitalist state: the cops and the courts.

Should a woman try to report a rape to the police, the ensuing ordeal is often a painfully degrading follow-up to the sexual assault itself. Women are frequently denied immediate medical attention and are met with either indifference and disbelief or salacious interrogation by leering cops.

Until recently, the laws on rape were generally so completely inadequate that one published article about rape without exaggeration could be entitled: "What Can You Say About Laws that Tell a Man, If You Rob A Woman, You Might As Well Rape Her Too—the Rape is Free" (*Redbook*, September 1972). In a recent typical year, only 18 rape convictions were obtained in the courts of New York, compared with thousands of complaints ("Governor's Approval Memorandum No. 16," 22 May 1972).

In response to this situation, a campaign has been launched around the country for the reform of the sex offenses laws to provide for easier convictions of accused rapists. The focus of the reform agitation has been the corroboration laws, which although strictest in the state of New York are similar in many other Northern states. Previously, New York law required for conviction a witness besides the victim to identify the assailant, medically determined proof of actual penetration and proof of forcible compulsion. Rape is the only major felony in which the uncorroborated testimony of the victim has up to this point been held as inherently untrustworthy.

The first two requirements have now been dropped, and there is continued pressure for eliminating the remaining corroboration requirement—proof of forcible compulsion and the attempt to commit the rape (e.g., semen on the clothes of the victim). These corroboration requirements have in the past been the primary obstacle to more frequent convictions of accused rapists, since in many cases it is virtually impossible to meet the requirements. Thus, reform of the rape laws by elimination of these corroboration requirements would



His wife murdered and daughter raped, hero of "Death Wish" takes law into his own hands as a vigilante exterminating muggers and rapists.

seem to hold out the possibility for a more equitable and non-discriminatory administration of justice.

Reforms Will Have a Racist Impact

Such reforms do not insure equitability, but merely shift the areas of abuse under bourgeois "justice." Through malice or mistaken identity, innocent men (a concept which the feminists reject to one degree or another) are accused of rape. The reforms that have been proposed will mean that men can be convicted of rape on the basis of totally uncorroborated testimony.

Two recent well-publicized cases involving mistaken identity are those of Lawrence Berson and William Schringer, two New Yorkers accused of separate incidents of rape. In both cases the men were positively identified by the victims. They were released only when the actual rapists turned themselves in and confessed—an unexpected and almost unprecedented occurrence.

The proposed reforms likewise ignore the need to protect a defendant from accusations motivated by malice or revenge. Precisely because rape involves an act which under normal circumstances is voluntary, it is inevitable that ambiguities about consensuality will arise in many cases, particularly in those cases—the majority of those reported according to the estimates of several studies—where the man and woman are previously acquainted. Conviction merely on the basis of a woman's statement that an act of intercourse was not consensual is an open invitation to victimization, since rape is the most easily fabricated of felonies.

Furthermore, in this deeply racist society rape laws have been and will continue to be used to victimize black people. In the last 40 years, 455 men have been executed for rape; 405 of them were black and 398 were convicted in the southern states (*Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics*, 1973). It is not coincidental that the staunchest allies of the feminists in the fight for reform of the rape laws are police officials, District Attorney's offices and state legislatures. The trend toward making rape convictions easier by expanding the prosecutor's rights and

limiting the defendant's rights flows not from a new-found concern for the rights and safety of women but from the campaign for "law and order" being waged by the capitalist state.

While legal-reform advocates might like to dismiss vigilante lynch mobs as past history in the South, legalized lynching certainly is not; Emmet Till was not the last black man to face death at the frenzied behest of racist public opinion. Right now, three black men—Jess Walston, Vernon Brown and Bobby Hines—await death in the gas chamber, convicted in a North Carolina court of raping a white woman. According to their defense, which is supported by Democrat Julian Bond and the Southern Poverty Law Center, the woman was offered a ride one evening by the three defendants; she voluntarily entered their car and then voluntarily had sexual intercourse with each of the three men. They dropped her off at her home in the full view of several white bystanders. Days later, under pressure from her family, she charged the men with rape.

The case is egregiously typical, and not fundamentally different from the famous 1931 Scottsboro case. The Scottsboro boys were nine black youths who were charged with raping two white girls in a freight car of a train. Despite contradictory testimony at the trial, the local court found eight of them guilty and sentenced them to death. Although not executed, the Scottsboro defendants served long prison terms and the last was not released until 1950. Under the reforms demanded by the feminists, racist frame-ups cannot but increase.

Another legal reform that has been proposed is the elimination of all rape laws, so that women could then prosecute accused rapists for assault. California has recently made a move in this direction by declaring testimony about the past sex life of the woman inadmissible evidence. Advocates of this reform can present a compelling argument. In the past, defense attorneys have so abused such testimonial evidence in order to impeach the victim's character that the trial becomes a brutal circus with the burden of proof of innocence placed on the rape victim. The prospect of such emotional ordeals and stigmatization has in the past cer-

continued on next page

Skits, Effigies and NLF Flags: RSB Kent State Memorial Demonstration

CLEVELAND—On January 13 a "Re-member Kent State" demonstration called by the "May 4 Coalition," an assemblage pulled together by the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), protested the killings of four students by Ohio National Guardsmen at Kent State University on 4 May 1970. The occasion for the demonstration was the inauguration in Columbus of re-elected Governor James A. Rhodes, who had ordered the National Guard onto the Kent campus during the student anti-war demonstrations, justified the shootings and denounced the students as "worse than Nazi brownshirts."

The approximately 250 demonstrators gathered at the Columbus Federal Courthouse for an obviously RSB-inspired warm-up: an old SDS-style skit of a "peoples' trial" of Rhodes, "entertainment" by the Kent Revolutionary Brigade Singers and plenty of lusty chanting ("Rhodes, you're filthy, the people find you guilty"; "Unemployment isn't funny, we want jobs and we want money"; "Bounce Rhodes on his ass, for his crimes and for his class").

Led by RSB supporters carrying an effigy of Rhodes and an NLF flag (a new addition to RSB paraphernalia?), the demonstrators marched to the Statehouse, arriving just in time for Rhodes' speech, which they greeted with intermittent chanting and choice derisive epithets. At the conclusion of the ceremonies, the demonstrators

moved to another side of the Statehouse and massed on the stairs for more chanting. A solid wall of state troopers without warning moved down the steps roughly dispersing the crowd. There was some scuffling, but no arrests were made. The demonstrators then regrouped around a nearby flagpole for still more chanting and a few "fight back" speeches before dispersing.

The history of the handling of the Kent State killings exemplifies how the capitalist state may tilt its scales of "justice": first, the grand jury which ruled the killings justifiable homicide and indicted 25 of the surviving demonstrators; then, a cover-up and a white-wash in place of an investigation; then, four and a half years later a showpiece indictment to make eight of the National Guardsmen scapegoats; and finally, the quick dismissal of charges against the eight Guardsmen on 8 November 1974, on the basis of "insufficient evidence" that they intentionally deprived the slain students of their "constitutional rights".

The same day that the acquitted Guardsmen autographed photographs of the shooting of the students for well-wishing trial spectators, a U.S. court of appeals ordered the release of the mass murderer, former Lt. William Calley. The "justice" Calley received for murdering at least 22 Vietnamese civilians at My Lai was confinement

to a cozy bachelor's pad inside Ft. Leavenworth stockade.

The criminals directly responsible for the Kent State massacre—the trigger-happy National Guardsmen who fired, General Canterbury (the commander at Kent) and General Del Corso (head of the Ohio National Guard)—belong in prison for the murder of students protesting U.S. imperialism's invasion

of Cambodia. The RSB, however, in its demonstration call raises the slogan, "Indict the real criminals—Rhodes, Del Corso and Canterbury." One more round of "investigations," pleads the RSB, perhaps may bring "justice".

Governor Rhodes has recently solemnly declared, "justice has prevailed," while the judge who dismissed charges against the Guardsmen before the case even came to a jury trial now histrionically weeps belated crocodile tears for the "series of tragic blunders and mistakes in judgment" at Kent State. Not one more sham "investigation," but only a workers tribunal can insure real justice for the proud Kent killers. ■



NEW LEFT NOSTALGIA: Effigy being toted to anti-Rhodes demonstration (left), NLF flag raised on public monument for rally (right).

Rape...

Continued from page 7

tainty kept many victims from prosecuting a rape case.

But prosecuting rape as an assault becomes snarled in all the ambiguities of consensuality. Time and time again the bourgeois courts have demonstrated that they have no intention of spending the time and money required to work through the tangled web of testimony in a contested case. Rape is unique as a crime in that it is the circumstances of the act which determine whether it is a crime or voluntary sexual intercourse. Attempting to reduce rape simply to assault cannot insure an equitable administration of justice. And whatever might be gained for the victim by de-traumatizing and tidying up trial procedure will be at the expense of new abuses of assault prosecution.

Taking the Law into Your Own Hands?

The soaring increase in violent crimes, such as rape, murder and assault, has made fear a part of everyday life for increasing numbers of urban residents. Law and order are prerequisites for civilized living. Yet in the hands of the bourgeois state, "law and order" translates into a justification for wanton cop brutality against ghetto residents, for smashing labor militancy and for anti-communist crusades. The administration of class-loaded, race-loaded capitalist "justice" ranges from callous indifference to the grievances of the poor, unemployed and laboring population to cold-blooded armed defense of the status quo.

If one is a victim of grievous injury such as rape and knows that the chances for equitable redress through the agencies of the capitalist state are virtually nil, the compulsion to "take the law into your own hands" is strong and even reasonable. Recognizing that the cops and courts have done little to stop rape, militant feminists have for some time exhorted women to learn self-defense techniques as a measure of protection against physical victimization.

The case of Inez Garcia is only one of a spate of cases to receive national

publicity and press coverage in the last several months where a woman attacked by an alleged rapist managed to kill or seriously injure her assailant in retaliation. Another case is that of Joanne Little, a black woman prisoner in a North Carolina jail. A prison guard, threatening her with an ice pick, allegedly attempted to rape her in her cell; as he was committing the rape she seized the weapon, stabbed him several times and then fled the jail. She turned herself in eight days later and now faces murder charges.

The feminists who regard all rape as a political crime thus consider self-defense a political act of liberation. As one feminist newspaper put it:

"Within the patriarchal society, women who 'take the law into their own hands' are defying their assigned role of passivity, and to break away from an established role is a political act."
—off our backs, November 1974

Many militant feminists are now advocating vigilantism as deterrence and retaliation for rapes.

Vigilantism Will Be Racist Terror

However compelling is the argument of the feminist militants, the proposal to "take the law into your own hands" runs into the very same contradictions as the liberal feminists' cry for "law and order" to stop sharply rising incidents of rape.

Marxists recognize that this is a class-divided society and that the state will defend its monopoly on legally sanctioned violence. Concerning retributive violence, the feminists are left pondering, "How we do it without getting caught is the next question" (off our backs, November 1974).

Moreover, this is a racially divided society, and thus "grievous injury," on the scales of bourgeois morality, will have a definite racial bias: a southern white married woman discovered embracing her neighbor will draw one sort of response, but the black man suspected of even showing affection toward the same woman may expect a much different treatment. Therefore, any sanction to "take the law into your own hands" will turn into a license to terrorize and murder black people on behalf of the prevailing, racist social values. Vigilantism will turn into an

extra-legal prop for the authorities, which writ large is not simply a lynch mob, but a fascist movement.

The glib feminists perhaps consider it "symbolic" vigilante terror to shout and to spray-paint on alley walls the slogan, "Castrate Rapists!" But there are white racists in this society who are awaiting the social and political conjuncture when they will act on precisely such calls for torture. Castration for accused rapists was a punishment practiced by the southern slaveocracy, in all its decadence and with its insistence that blacks were not human beings but chattel. Eventually, as Eugene Genovese has noted, even the slaveholders abandoned castration as a torture for the crime of rape: "The punishment for rape remained death; punishment by castration receded, although in Missouri it survived into the late late-bellum period" (Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made). As their battle cry, the feminists have taken up a punishment that sickened even the most brutal slavedrivers and slaveowners!

The currently popular film *Death Wish* has as its theme just the kind of vigilantism desired by the militant feminists advocating "rape squads." In the film a man whose wife is fatally beaten and daughter viciously raped and whose great personal tragedy receives little concern from the police vows to bring the "wisdom" of the frontier West to New York City. The protagonist thus begins an individual campaign of blasting muggers and prowling rapists off the streets and subways.

In the film the protagonist's crusade leaps into the headlines and is received with sympathy and even enthusiasm by broad layers of public opinion yearning for law and order. Significantly, the movie audiences, whatever their social and racial composition, have been described as identifying closely with the vigilante and have cheered as he shoots down the muggers and rapists. *Death Wish* makes a direct and visceral appeal to what is undeniably a growing reaction among both whites and blacks in large urban centers to the crime and random lumpy violence which are making urban life a nightmare.

The movie producers have made a glaringly obvious attempt to present racial "balance," including a racially

integrated cast of muggers. Real vigilantism in a city like New York will turn into attacks on racial minorities and will trigger race riots, not "safe streets."

Contradictions of Bourgeois "Justice"

Within the confines of capitalist society and through the "justice" of the bourgeois state, the search for an equitable administration of justice for the crime of rape is caught in a maze with no exit. Each proposed solution, from legal reform to direct vigilante retribution, runs into flat contradictions arising out of the intersection of sex, race and class in this capitalist society.

The juridical basis of the development of the present system of rape laws is a moral code, based on the institution of the nuclear family, that regards a "violation" of a woman to be a decline in her "property value." Only in a workers state will men and women stand in full equality before the law, the administration of which will be a part of the creation and maintenance of a social fabric of well-being for the population as a whole. ■

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"National Student Conference Against Racism"— Dead-end Liberal Detour

The latest response of the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) to the continuing intense racial polarization in Boston is the announcement of a "National Student Conference Against Racism" (NSCAR) to be held at Boston University over the February 14-16 weekend. The appetites of these opportunists were whetted when black Democrat Bill Owens called for the December 14 "Freedom March for Human Dignity" in Boston. Ever willing to do the organizational donkey work for some image-grooming, vote-seeking bourgeois politician, the SWP/YSA politically crawled before Owens, handing him dictatorial control over the apparatus, demands and speakers list for the "Freedom March." With a little help from his fake-socialist friends, the demagogue Owens effortlessly turned the "March for Human Dignity" into a rally to build the reputation of Bill Owens.

The NSCAR is simply the latest acronym for the reformist placebo which the SWP/YSA prescribes for everything which ails this capitalist society: "broad coalitions" uniting "all men of good will." Be they formed around issues of "peace" in Indochina, repeal of anti-abortion laws, political repression in Latin America or busing in Boston, these "broad coalitions" invariably offer the same strategy of class collaborationism. The demands of these "broad coalitions" are purposely designed by the SWP/YSA to attract bourgeois politicians and other liberal misleaders.

The SWP/YSA's "coalitionism" is by no means novel, but in fact is a strategy of popular frontism traditionally practiced by the Stalinist Communist Party since the New Deal. From the genuinely revolutionary SWP of 1937 comes an analysis of such "coalitionism," damning in its applicability to the present popular-frontist policies of the SWP/YSA:

"Most significant of all is the application of the People's Front policy to 'anti-war work.' Through a multitude of pacifist organizations, and especially through the directly controlled American League Against War and Fascism, the Stalinists aim at the creation of a 'broad, classless People's Front of all those opposed to war.' The class-collaborationist character of the People's Front policy is strikingly revealed through the Stalinist attitude of these organizations. They rule out in advance the Marxist analysis of war as necessarily resulting from the inner conflicts of capitalism and therefore genuinely opposed only by revolutionary class struggle against the capitalist order, and in contrast maintain that all persons, from whatever social class or group, whether or not opposed to capitalism, can 'unite' to stop war."

—James Burnham, *The People's Front*

For "war" substitute "racial oppression," and here you have a hard-hitting polemic against the SWP/YSA's present "anti-racism" strategy.

The SWP/YSA has already demonstrated that it seeks an alliance with a section of the bourgeoisie on the

political terms of the bourgeoisie. Thus, the SWP/YSA to date has been the most vocal champion of the liberal Democrats' demand to send federal troops into Boston. In all its propaganda, the SWP/YSA has harped that it wants to build a "new civil rights movement" just like that of the late 1950's and early 1960's, i.e., dominated by liberal politicians and their hangers-on. Thus, the call for the NSCAR once more declared:

"Just as Montgomery and Little Rock initiated the civil rights movement that put an end to Jim Crow in the South [...], our stand in Boston can initiate a new surge of freedom struggle all over the country. And just as students helped lead the way in the civil rights movement, we can help lead the way today."

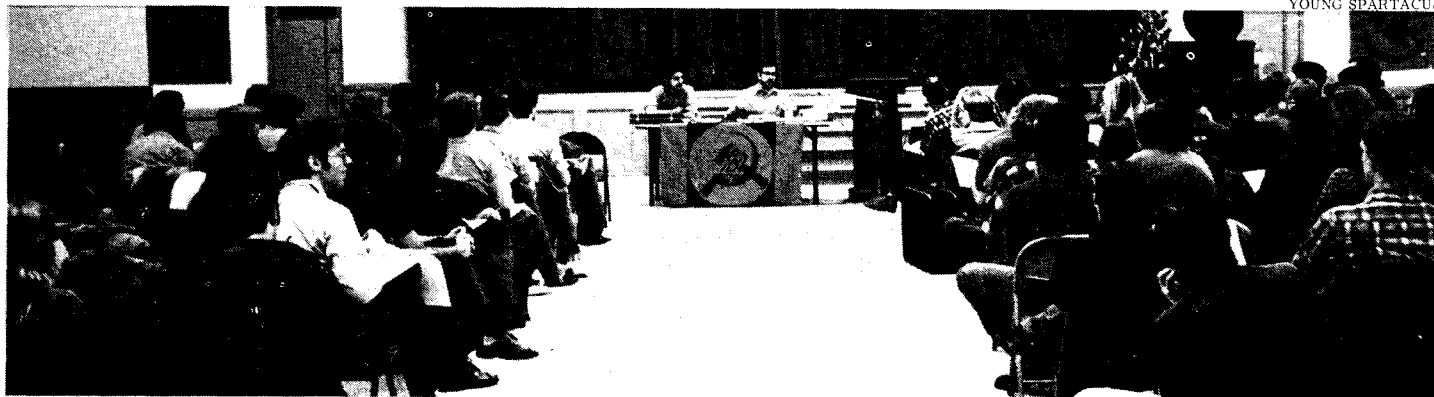
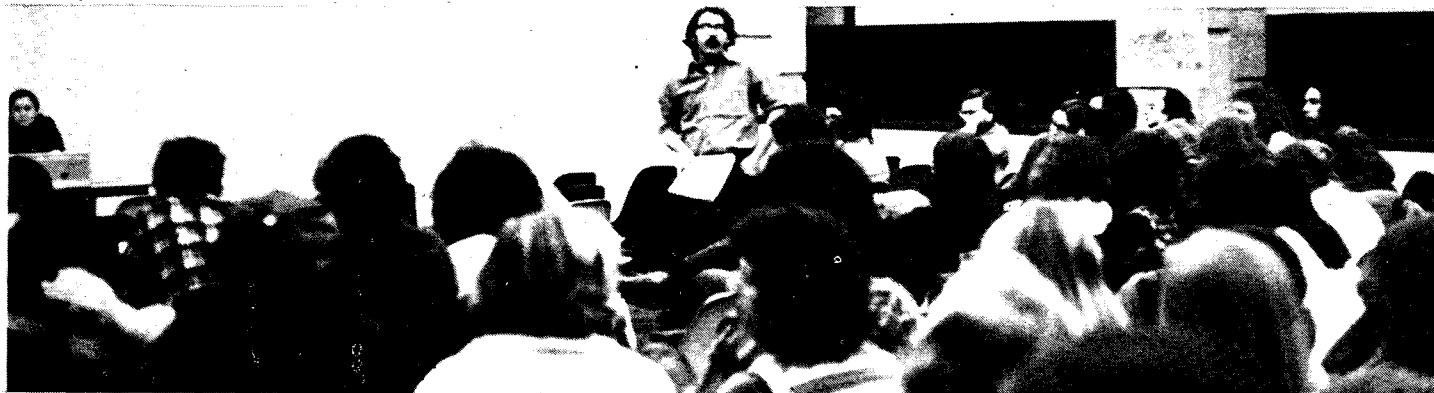
The NSCAR is simply an organization through which the SWP/YSA continues to offer itself to a section of the liberal bourgeoisie as a force for channeling the just outrage against racial oppression into impotent parades, frequent do-nothing conferences and electoralism. Panting for an alliance with the numerous "prominent" bourgeois figures who have autographed the conference call, the SWP/YSA has avoided mentioning any program in connection with the NSCAR. Whatever the liberals who turn up for the Boston revue put forth, the SWP/YSA will make it the political basis for the organization that issues out of the NSCAR.

Unlike the SWP/YSA, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League from the first days of the racist attacks on black schoolchildren in Boston launched

an energetic campaign to mobilize a massive response of actions in support of busing and in defense of black people under attack. We called on the trade union leaders as well as prominent black leaders, including the Black Caucus of the Massachusetts State Legislature, to mobilize their memberships and constituencies at once for massive actions demanding an end to the racist terror. We have continually stressed the absolute necessity of the formation of an organized labor/black defense to protect the lives of black people and insure the implementation of the busing plan. We have continually exposed the criminal inaction and dead-end strategies of the trade union bureaucrats, community misleaders and bourgeois politicians.

Far from exposing these misleaders, the SWP/YSA first built a demonstration for Owens and now has issued a call for NSCAR, neither of which contained a single programmatic demand on busing! Although NSCAR is at present little more than a paper organization that has attracted little support on campuses, it must be politically smashed. We call upon all those students who attend the NSCAR and who genuinely want to fight the racist attacks in Boston to condemn the strategy of classless, impotent pop-front coalitionism and to join with the SYL in our struggle for a labor/black defense to roll back the racist attacks and for implementing the busing plan and extending it to the suburbs. In the SL/SYL you will find a program for black liberation through proletarian revolution! ■

SYL Educational Conferences



Sessions of SYL Educational Conferences: December 20-21 East Coast Regional (bottom), January 24-25 Midwest Regional (top).

Army Reform...

Continued from page 4

YSA's reformist fervor, but still firmly declares:

"To support such a call does not go against revolutionary principles. It simply [...] signifies that everything must be tried in order to protect the lives of the blacks in Boston, put in real danger by the fury of the racist whites."
—Rouge, 5 January 1975

Thus the LCR's opportunism comes full circle. In France, the LCR campaigns for troops out of West Germany, but calls on the U.S. bourgeoisie to send troops into Boston. In France, the LCR seeks to convince working-class youth that a draft army must be supported, while cheering the call of its Bolivian co-thinkers in the "United Secretariat" for revolutionary-minded soldiers to desert the military. Is the LCR prepared now to call upon the French army to intervene to "protect" immigrant workers from what have become not infrequent fascist attacks?

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League has fought against the introduction of federal troops into Boston and for a labor-black defense. And this position of intransigent opposition to reliance on the capitalist army has been fought for inside the U.S. army as well. The G.I. newsletter, *G.I. Voice*, published during 1968-1969 and supported by the SL thus stated:

"We demand the end to the use of GIs as strikebreakers and political police, and as occupation troops in civil disorders."
—*G.I. Voice*, No. 2-3, May 1969

The unrest in the French army continues to spread. But without the intervention of an authentic Trotskyist formation, this unrest will be diverted into safe channels of reforming the army, not undermining and eventually shattering it. And part of the responsibility will rest in the hands of the revisionist LCR. ■

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Economic Crisis . . .

Continued from page 1

for the rest of the fall in the rate of profit?

In a typical boom, the rate of profit is depressed by a fall in the rate of exploitation. As unemployment falls, the bargaining power of the workers is enhanced, and workers increase the share of their product which they get back in wages. But the 1971-73 boom was not typical in this respect.

The boom had an unusually small impact on unemployment. Even at the peak of the boom, in October 1973, unemployment was 4.6 percent.

Furthermore the modest decline in the unemployment rate that did occur in the last boom did not lead to a fall in the rate of exploitation. On the contrary, in all three years of the boom, labor productivity grew substantially more rapidly than did compensation per hour.

The cause of the intensification of exploitation was the capitulation of the union bureaucracy to federal wage controls which were in effect from August 1971 through the spring of 1974. Union bureaucrats, citing the controls as an excuse, refused to conduct even the normal perfunctory strikes.

The collaboration of the union bureaucracy with the government in enforcing the controls is an illustration of the tendency of reformist-led unions in the imperialist epoch to be subordinated to the state. Even the simple defense of union independence and the living standards of the workers today requires a revolutionary leadership dedicated to the struggle for a workers government.

If the rise in the organic composition of capital accounts for less than half of the fall in the rate of profit and if the rate of exploitation did not fall, what accounts for the rest of the drop in the rate of profit? While our estimate of the rate of profit takes into account only the surplus value realized by the American bourgeoisie, the American economy is by no means autarkic.

During the boom the American bourgeoisie was forced to hand over to foreign raw materials producers an increasing amount of surplus value. Surplus value was transferred from the American industrial bourgeoisie to these interests by the rapid inflation of the prices of raw materials which accompanied the worldwide industrial boom of the early 1970's. The inflation in the price of raw materials was due partly to the increased demand for them during the worldwide industrial boom and partly to crop failure and disruptions in extractive industries.

But there was also an important new element in the inflation in the raw material prices: the inability of the industrial capitalist powers to confront the cartels of raw material producers with a united economic and military bloc. The possibility of raising the prices of raw materials without undue risk of retaliation from the increasingly divided industrial capitalist powers was first demonstrated in 1970, when Colonel Qaddafi's Libyan regime demanded a rise in the posted price of oil and the state royalty. His threat to cut the flow of oil to the American companies forced them to accede to his demands, because it was known that the Europeans would have been happy to buy directly from Libya, eliminating the American middlemen. Since Qaddafi's victory the OPEC has been increasingly bold in exercising its monopoly power to raise the price of oil.

Inter-imperialist Rivalry

Contributing to the atmosphere of national chauvinism in this country are the measures undertaken by the Ford administration to reduce American dependency on Arab oil. Ford has announced that he will impose a tariff on all imported crude oil and petroleum products starting February 1. The divergence of interest between the United States, on the one hand, and Europe and Japan on the other, arises not only from the fact that the oil companies are primarily owned by Anglo-American interests, but also from the U.S.'s greater degree of energy self-sufficiency. The French bourgeoisie is reported to fear that the "U.S. is trying to lock in high oil prices, which hurt Europeans more than Americans" (*Wall Street Journal*, 10 January 1975). It is these divergences of interest which have stymied Kissinger's to date unsuccessful efforts to draw the Japanese and European imperialists into a bloc with the U.S. against the OPEC and other raw material exporters.

Kissinger hopes to get the agreement of Japan and the European powers to limit the importation of OPEC oil and to recycle oil money. The Secretary of State may also seek an economic and political understanding with the European powers as a prelude to military action against OPEC. He complained recently that "had we taken military action in the Middle East, we would have faced violent opposition from" European governments (*Business Week*, 13 January 1975). He insisted that the U.S. might nonetheless take military action in the event of "strangu-

lation of the industrial world." Kissinger's saber-rattling was backed up by the Secretary of Defense, who said that military action in the Middle East "is indeed feasible." These protectionist actions and threats of gun-boat diplomacy must be opposed by the labor movement. Import restrictions, by reinforcing the monopoly power of U.S. corporations, raise the cost of living and, by interfering with world trade, threaten to deepen the slump. Ford's proposed oil excise tax and tariffs could more than counteract the proposed tax cut, further aggravating the decline.

It is impossible to chart out precisely the exact course of the economy in the next period. Inter-imperialist rivalry and the threat of a major war loom. Moreover, political events, e.g., the outbreak of a major war in the Near East, intersect and can radically alter the direction of economic development.

From economic considerations alone, the fall in the value of capital stocks on all the world's stock exchanges with the exception of Germany—what Marx called the slaughtering of the value of capital—is, however, preparing the way for a future rise in the rate of profit. Furthermore, the end of the worldwide industrial boom of the early 1960's has started putting a brake on the rise of the prices of raw materials. An index of the prices of 13 industrial raw materials has fallen nearly 17 percent since last year.

This is an economic trend that could allow the industrial bourgeoisie to pocket a larger share of the surplus value. Increased opportunities for profitable investment could generate a new expansion in the future. But Marxists do not gaze upon the inner dynamic of the capitalist economy as an objectively predetermined fact. The task of communists is precisely to mobilize the working class for an onslaught on the capitalist system, to smash the capitalist state and to reorganize the economy on a new, collectivist basis. ■

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In the four months since our press has made the transition from a bi-monthly to a monthly, *Young Spartacus* continues to make an impact as a serious, timely and lively Marxist youth newspaper. *Young Spartacus* is making an important contribution to building the influence of the Spartacus Youth League among radical youth.

The monthly *Young Spartacus* has offered substantial analysis on a broad range of politically controversial questions, from the means to stop racist attacks in the Boston busing crisis, to the polemics within the Maoist movement, to the debate over rape deterrence. In addition, *Young Spartacus* has provided regular Marxist coverage of important international issues as well as of our own increasingly influential activities on campuses across the country.

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YAWF Rejects United-Front Defense Actions for Houston 12

HOUSTON, January 27—During the past several months in Houston, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League has actively built support for the Houston 12, who are scheduled to go to trial in a week. At the same time, we have repeatedly urged the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), the main force behind the Houston 12 Defense Committee, to conduct the defense campaign on a principled united-front basis around the demand, "Drop the Charges Now!" (see "Defend the Houston 12!," *Young Spartacus*, December 1974).

Emulating the CP

For the last two months YAWF has avoided dealing with our united-front proposals. YAWF on several occasions has verbally declared that it is only interested in building a campaign like the defense which the Communist Party (CP) organized for Angela Davis several years ago. The CP's liberal-oriented front-group campaign secured the freedom of the articulate and popular Angela Davis, but dissociated itself

from the defense of her initial co-defendant, Ruchell Magee, who lacked—like the Houston 12—Davis' image and credentials. The CP did nothing for Magee, who last week was sentenced to life imprisonment and left the courtroom cursing Angela Davis.

YAWF is consistent in its rejection of working-class defense policy. In racially torn Boston, where the racist attacks against black schoolchildren pose the urgent need for the formation of a labor/black defense, YAWF recently threw all its resources into building an "Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism" to be entirely dominated by black Democrat Bill Owens (see "For a Labor/Black Defense in Boston!," *Young Spartacus*, January 1975). The CP pushed forward the NAACP, and YAWF built Owens. YAWF's opportunist liquidation into Bill Owens' "Emergency Committee" is merely the flip side of its sectarian domination of "its own" Houston 12 Defense Committee.

On January 12 the Houston SL addressed a letter to the Houston 12 Defense Committee protesting their re-

fusal to respond to our proposals for a united-front defense campaign and notifying the Committee of our plans to collect money, publicize the upcoming trial and hold a forum on political repression at the University of Houston. The letter concluded with an invitation for the Defense Committee to send a speaker to the forum.

Receiving no reply, the SL/SYL telephoned the Defense Committee, whose representatives informed us that the planned forum should be postponed, so as not to "compete" with preparations for a "Free the Houston 12 Day" on January 26. The Committee representatives declined to explain how our forum on political repression, to which they had already been invited and at which they would be free to announce their planned activities, would "compete" with the Committee's activities, moreover on a campus where to date the Committee has not worked.

Exclusionism

Supporters of the SL/SYL attended the "Free the Houston 12 Day," which turned out to be an outdoor picnic with food booths and rock bands and occasionally a speaker. When the SL/SYL supporters began to sell our press, they were approached by representatives of the Defense Committee and informed that sales of our literature would be "inappropriate." Pressed for a political justification, the Defense Committee representatives claimed that no organizations were being allowed to make sales. This flimsy excuse was actually given with a straight face by someone in the midst of wandering salesmen from several different organizations.

The SL/SYL supporters protested this thinly-veiled threat of exclusion and continued to circulate in the crowd with our literature. One of the comrades then encountered one of the Houston 12 defendants, who when informed of the attempted exclusion expressed his disapproval. Seeing this conversation, a YAWF goon squad soon approached the SYL comrade and ordered him to leave the area at once. When he protested, he was subjected to browbeating and petty harassment.

The goons snarled that the SL/SYL was not welcome, because it raises political differences with the Defense Committee, and only "cops" and the "bourgeoisie" raise differences! The SL and SYL supporters verbally protested this exclusion and then left the area.

Again and again YAWF has made it clear that those socialists wishing to work to defend the Houston 12 must be willing to subordinate themselves politically to YAWF and the Defense Committee it controls. Although not able to build a campaign on the scale of the Angela Davis defense, YAWF at least can satisfy itself with Stalinist exclusionism. YAWF's sectarianism and exclusionism only weakens the defense of the Houston 12. Despite the obstacles thrown up by YAWF, the SL/SYL will continue to conduct principled defense work. Free the Houston 12! ■

Forum

Crisis in Maoism

Speaker: JOSEPH DRUMMOND
SYL Nat'l Chairman

Saturday, February 15, 7:30 pm
Washington Sq. Meth. Church
135 West 4th Street

\$1 Donation

New York

Pabloism at Puberty . . .

Continued from page 12

of the norms prescribed by the needs of the monogamous nuclear family—are threatening to the social stability of capitalist society as a whole."

Generational Oppression and Sexual Freedom

Communists recognize that the generational oppression of youth has significant sexual aspects. But to claim that human beings shaped by this oppressive and deforming capitalist society can somehow sexually "free" themselves is petty-bourgeois utopianism. Analyzing sexual "radicalism" and life-style experimentation when she was still a Bolshevik, Alexandra Kollontai once observed:

"But with every new attempt to solve the problem, the confused knot of personal relationships gets more tangled. It's as if we couldn't see the one and only thread that could finally lead us to success in controlling the stubborn tangle. The sexual problem is like a vicious circle, and however frightened people are and however much they run this way and that, they are unable to break out. . . . And a basic transformation of the socio-economic relationships along communist lines is essential if the psyche is to be re-formed. This is an 'old truth' but there is no other way out. The sexual crisis will in no way be reduced whatever kind of marriage or personal relationships people care to try."

—"Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle" (1919)

While communists reject as non-Marxist the conception of a "program" or "strategy" for "sexual liberation" under capitalism (or to bring down capitalism), we do struggle for demands designed to undermine the oppressive nuclear family and educational system which serve to socialize youth into capitalist society.

We demand a reduction of the legal age of adulthood which, when made economically meaningful by a state-paid living stipend for students, would enable high-school age youth to free themselves from parental dependence and authority and begin to lead full social lives. There should be birth control facilities and legal abortion and medical services available free of charge and without restrictions of age or parental consent. In the high schools there must be an end to the tracking system in all its forms, which perpetuates the special oppression of women as well as minorities.

We oppose all state interference or intrusion into private sexual activities between consenting individuals and all laws against pornography and prostitution. Conjugal partners should have no legally-enforced economic responsibility for each other. We demand free, 24-hour quality child-care facilities for all who wish to use this service.

Marxists understand, however, that only the destruction of capitalist society by the proletarian revolution can begin to lift economic restraints and coercion from sexual and conjugal development and expression. Only a socialist society can create through collective effort the societal prerequisites for new, nonalienated and fully-gratifying personal relationships to develop throughout society. It is thus that Trotsky in his 1932 Copenhagen speech described the potentialities for human development in the socialist future:

"Once he has done with the anarchic forces of his own society, man will set to work on himself, in the pestle and the retort of the chemist. For the first time mankind will regard itself as raw material, or at best as a physical and psychic semi-finished product. Socialism will mean a leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom in this sense also, that the man of today, with all his contradictions and lack of harmony, will open the road for a new and happier race." ■

syl events

[To contact local chapters for more information, see Directory.]

Bay Area

Class Series
THE WORLD IN CRISIS AND THE
TROTSKYIST PROGRAM FOR
WORLD REVOLUTION
Tuesday, February 11 and 25
7:00 P.M. Tan Oak Room, Berkeley
Student Union, U. of California

Boston

Class Series
MARXISM AND WORLD
REVOLUTION
Date and room to be posted. Boston
U. and Harvard U.

Buffalo

Class Series
DRAWING THE CLASS LINE
Wednesday, February 12, 8:00 P.M.
Room 332, Norton Union, U.B.

Chicago

Class Series
MARXISM AND THE CLASS
STRUGGLE
Date and room to be announced.
Northwestern U.
REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM:
THEORY AND PRACTICE
Date and room to be announced.
Circle Center, U. of Illinois.
BASIC MARXISM
Tuesdays. Date and room to be announced. U. of Chicago.

Cleveland

Class Series
CRISIS IN CAPITALISM: THE
MARXIST SOLUTION
Wednesday, February 12, 7:30 P.M.
Room 109, University Center, CSU.

Detroit

Class Series
TOWARD THE AMERICAN
REVOLUTION
Tuesday, February 11, 7:00 P.M.
Room 580, Student Center Building,
Wayne State. Wednesday, February
12, 7:00 P.M. Room 2207, Michigan
Union, U. of Michigan at Ann Arbor.

Houston

Class Series
BASIC MARXISM
Wednesday, February 26, 7:00 P.M.
Room to be announced. U. of Houston.

Ithaca

Class Series
MARXISM AND THE CLASS
STRUGGLE
Wednesday, February 5, 8:00 P.M.
North Room, Willard Strait Hall,
Cornell U.

Los Angeles

Class Series
MARXISM AND INTERNATIONAL
REVOLUTION
Friday, February 7, noon. Room
2412, AU, UCLA.

Madison

Class Series
TOWARD THE WORLD SOCIALIST
REVOLUTION
Wednesday, February 12, 7:30 P.M.
Memorial Union, U. of Wisconsin.

New Haven

Class Series
MARXISM, TROTSKYISM AND
THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE
Wednesday, February 5, 7:30 P.M.
WLH 15, Yale U.

New York

Class Series
THE LENINIST PARTY AND
PROGRAM FOR REVOLUTION
Wednesday, February 5, 7:30 P.M.
Room 304, Hamilton Hall, Colum-
bia U.

Young Spartacus

Canadian RMG's "Sexual Liberation" Strategy: Pabloism at Puberty

"JOURNEY INTO THE SWAMP"

The exploration of sexuality, incest, marriage, the family, women, homosexuality, dreams and nightmares... in bourgeois society

Come hear the noted Marxist Sexpert Kim Cameron speak on all that and R*E*V*O*L*U*T*I*O*N

Don't be afraid to "come"

So the above head-turning message alluringly beckoned from a display banner advertising a forum at York University in Toronto last November 14. It was sponsored not by a campus surrealist club or Sexual Freedom League, but by the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), the Canadian "sympathizing" group of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), or more accurately, of its centrist European-based majority faction. And the speaker, Kim Cameron, was billed in a leaflet as a member of the RMG and "Instructor in Dream Analysis (Marx, Freud, Reich)." The title of the forum describes quite aptly the character of the RMG's recent youth work around a "strategy" for "sexual liberation."

From Drab Student "Economism"...

The RMG holds the position—a hangover from the New Left rendered more "profound" by the theoretical concoctions of its mentors in the USec—that because of the "objectively revolutionary" so-called "world-wide youth radicalization" youth can play a consistently revolutionary role independent of the vanguard party and revolutionary program. The youth vanguardism of the RMG "objectively" denies the necessity for the programmatic intervention and struggle for leadership by Trotskyists.

The RMG thus spurns the Leninist conception of a communist youth organization, politically subordinate to and organizationally independent of the vanguard party, as a vehicle for struggle against particular forms of generational oppression and for training communist cadres. The RMG has pursued its youth work by setting up autonomous "supporter" groups, politically amorphous but tinged with pseudo-"Trotskyism." The groups have been called "Red Circles," in one Prairie province "Red Barn" (for its political contents?) and in one Toronto high school "Red Apple" (for the teacher?). Should the RMG ever establish itself in the Maritime provinces, it would probably set up a "Red Herring."

The high school youth work of the RMG, directed by its student cell called the "Jazz Club," has consisted of attempts to develop high school student circles around a bulletin, *Jailbreak*. The first two issues of *Jailbreak*, dated February and May 1974, espoused simple-minded reformist "student power" politics, centering almost exclusively on demands for students' democratic rights and for student-teacher unity against educational cutbacks. *Jailbreak* provided nothing in the way of a program and a revolutionary perspective to link the campus-

based struggles of students to the class struggle of the proletariat. The single reference to Trotskyism is a mention of the "Fourth International, which has led massive high school rebellions in Belgium, France and elsewhere."

... To Libidinal "Leftism"

But the RMG soon decided that even sub-reformist "fight back" politics were not sufficiently "with it" to be really attractive to the mass of high school students. Thus, we find the next and latest issue of *Jailbreak* (October 1974) entirely and astonishingly transformed. The RMG has converted *Jailbreak* into a hippie-rap pulp sheet propounding "sexual liberation" and counter-"cultural" life-style radicalism.

The first page of the new *Jailbreak* begins, "It's time that we spoke frankly now." What is wrong with capitalist society and its educational institutions? *Jailbreak* "frankly" answers:

"This culture, which may have been suitable for dinosaurs (but they are now extinct), denies us our sexual happiness at every thump of its tail. It's no accident that there are no school facilities in which we can make love when ever we please."

Advocating swinging study halls and intramural sex is guaranteed at least to attract the attention of high school students! If students perhaps viewed the "Red Circle" as too "square," then *Jailbreak* might attract them to groups "to discuss sexuality."

Marcuse, Reich And All That

Up against the wall, stodgy old Marxism-Leninism! What the RMG is all about now is "total revolution, a new world without exploitation, a society based on pleasure and positive sexuality instead of repression and guilt." For *Jailbreak*, the youth must make the Sexual Revolution NOW:

"For despite the bars of this social prison, despite our fears and how fucked up we are, there is enough love and sexuality, enough intelligence, creativity, and greatness inside every one of us, to make and live in a different kind of world, and not in the sweet by-and-by, but in the here and now.... The cops, the principals, the majority of teachers right now don't have much use for people like us. They know that when people our age start to move with courage and walk with dignity, when we begin to fear nothing and tell only the truth about the social monster, when we organize to defend ourselves and to make sure that our demands come true, when we stop fighting among ourselves and turn to face the pig: they know that then their pitiful lives will dissolve into the

dustcan of history. *Things will change!*" [original emphasis]

This "Someday over the rainbow" rhetoric is a disgusting travesty of communism. In fact, it stands as even a grotesque caricature of reformism. Far from expressing the slightest Marxist understanding of the special oppression and problems of youth, *Jailbreak* simply makes a mockery of adolescent alienation and rebellious defiance.

The RMG, of course, does not indicate how to make "our demands come true" (by wishing?) or "to move with courage" and "to face the pig." But concerning "isolated acts of resistance, such as breaking stupid rules, vandalism and other such small blows against authority in the schools," *Jailbreak* declares that "these acts of resistance are doing something—even it minimal—against the forces that oppress us." While the USec liquidators of Trotskyism enthuse over individual terrorism and guerrilla war, the RMG is reduced to apologizing for individual vandalism, playing hookey and smoking in the bathroom. This indeed is juvenile Pabloism!

RMG's Hip Anti-communism

The RMG makes no attempt to transform the confused anti-authoritarian impulses and sentiments of many high

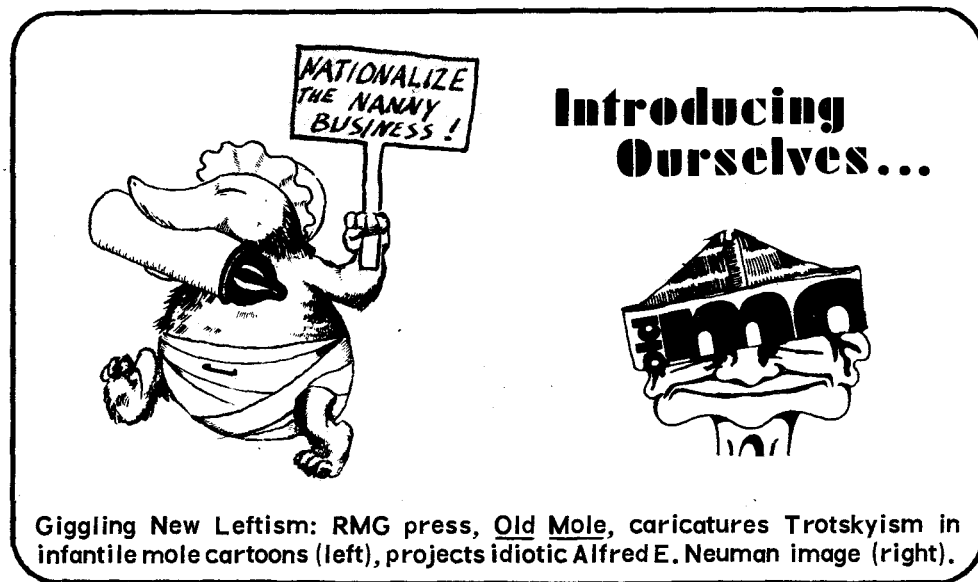
school youth into a receptivity for socialist ideas, but rather encourages hostility toward the working class. Thus, while earlier issues of *Jailbreak* had emphasized "unity of teachers, students and staff in the fight against cutbacks and increased discipline" and "student support for teachers and workers," *Jailbreak* now points to teachers as "a patsy and a pawn, a stinking child of the educational system who is afraid to fight for a change in his diapers," as "pathetic and screwed-up" and as "mass-produced stereotypes playing an out-of-date record." Several times teachers are referred to as "dinosaurs," and the back cover of this issue of *Jailbreak* carries a cartoon depicting two dinosaurs fornicating, with the caption, "They thought they knew what they were doing but they're now extinct."

Furthermore, *Jailbreak* emulates Yippie-style anti-communism:

"We know that a lot of bullshit is going to come down from the mind-police because of all this talk about revolution.... They use the example of Russia, which is so far from socialist democracy that it's ridiculous, in order to scare us away from our own futures. But we will not break from one prison only to open the doors to another! We know that we want to put an end to all authority that comes down from above." [original emphasis]

New Left Clowning

The frivolous manner in which *Jailbreak* indicates its connection with the



Giggling New Leftism: RMG press, *Old Mole*, caricatures Trotskyism in infantile mole cartoons (left), projects idiotic Alfred E. Neuman image (right).

RMG is itself an adaptation to anti-communism:

"*Jailbreak* is the high school rag of, believe it or not, the Revolutionary Marxist Group. The RMG fights this oppressive capitalist society wherever we can. This takes place on many fronts: in the factories, the post office, the universities, the high schools, the bedrooms and even in peoples' heads."

The RMG's New Left cuteness has a political content: you do not have to take the RMG seriously, because the RMG does not take itself seriously.

This "sexual liberation" campaign of the RMG is beneath contempt, because it is so obviously contrived to be a conscious degrading of communist consciousness and politics. It is simply an extreme expression of the RMG's adaptation to New Left-inspired subjective idealism and petty-bourgeois personalism. As the RMG declared in its position paper on gay liberation distributed in Toronto this summer:

"Gay relationships—in fact, sexual relationships in general which break out

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