

Young Spartacus

Number 36

25 cents

October 1975

Banker Barons Slam New York City

*For Labor/Student Mobilizations Against Cutbacks and Layoffs!
Cancel the City Debt! Expropriate the Banks!*

NEW YORK CITY—For the 275,000 students crowding into the classrooms of the City University of New York this fall the effects and repercussions of New York's fiscal crunch are harsh and inescapable. The "Big Apple" for months has been squeezed by the "Big MAC," the sinister appellation of a junta of bloodthirsty bankers and corporate executives (the Municipal "Assistance" Corporation) who have brusquely elbowed aside Mayor Beame. Even the "chic" *Village Voice* (September 29) in bemoaning the assault on civilized living here now speaks with a man-on-the-street vernacular: "The bankers have placed the blame for their own bottomless greed on New York. It is like the mugger blaming the victim for not having money."

The City-University system has been crippled by an \$87 million cut in its budget and limps along as the bankrupt, punch-drunk city administration mutters about lopping off another \$32 million at any time. Other capitalist lackeys, like State Education Commissioner Nyquist, babble about the "need" to institute tuition at the City University for the first time in 128 years.

Mandatory fees, which comprise disguised tuition, have already been raised; the special programs enabling

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SYL and thousands of CUNY students rallied at Bryant Park in Manhattan, September 18th, to protest cutbacks.

Portuguese Workers Must Take Power!

September 30—The stage has been set in Portugal for bloody collisions between the government headed by the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and the increasingly combative working class. Since the overthrow of the Salazar/Caetano dictatorship more than a year ago, Portugal has been plunged into a pre-revolutionary situation, lurching to the left rapidly under the impact of massive political upheavals.

The April elections to the fake con-

stituent assembly brought the two mass reformist workers parties, the Communist Party of Portugal (PCP) and the Socialist Party of Portugal (PSP), to a fork in the road. The PSP, garnering the largest vote total, collided with the MFA which held the power, while the PCP, trailing along far behind the PSP, spurned the elections and continued to piggy-back ride the so-called "progressive" MFA leftward. The wave of anti-Communist violence spurred on by the CIA-bankrolled PSP pushed the

PCP-MFA alliance over the brink, culminating in the ouster of pro-PCP Premier Vasco Gonçalves, the purge from the government of all but one PCP representative and the re-entry of the PSP into a reshuffled cabinet on September 18.

Consolidating the sixth coalition government, the present junta stands to the right of the former Gonçalves regime. The MFA, which politically represents the officer corps of the bourgeois armed forces, has now thrown down the gauntlet before the working class and poor peasants by announcing an imminent crackdown on all independent worker and soldier armed militias and by threatening a purge of the MFA leftists. The MFA may well be moving to a showdown by forming an elite "military intervention force" under MFA top dog General Francisco da Costa Gomes to be the ready shocktroops of counterrevolution.

Last week witnessed a spate of large anti-government demonstrations in Lisbon. On September 25 an estimated 100,000 staged a dramatic demonstration called by the clandestine "Soldiers United Will Win" demanding—and securing—the release of two militants arrested for distributing leaflets denouncing the MFA.

Just two days later demonstrations protesting the Franco dictatorship's

execution of five militants—two Basque nationalists and three Maoists—swept across Europe and erupted in Portugal, where huge crowds sacked Spanish government offices in Lisbon and Porto. The anti-Spanish demonstrations drew the lines of confrontation even more sharply, as the Portuguese government denounced the demonstrations with ominous threats of repression.

Then on September 28 the government's warnings were met by a demonstration of 10,000 militants, including members of the PCP, who raised such chants as, "Revolutionary government, yes!—Sixth government, no!" (*New York Times*, 29 September). As we go to press, the *New York Times* (30 September) reports that Premier Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo has just ordered troops to occupy leftist-controlled radio and television stations in Lisbon to halt the "provocative campaign of seditious attitudes" against the government and the MFA. The explosive impact of this measure to silence the left was reflected by the vacillations within the rank and file of the military, as some of the troops reportedly sided with the leftists.

According to the *New York Times*, the military has been placed on alert across the country, all leaves have

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Defend Iranian Students Busted In Houston!

On September 26 the Houston cops broke up a protest against repression in Iran by arresting 124 of the demonstrators, nearly all Iranian students, on baseless charges of "trespassing" and "disturbing the peace." This demonstration to protest the murder of 16 workers by the Shah's storm troopers had been called by the wing of the recently split Iranian Students Association (ISA) adhering to the Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union). The protest rally at the University of Houston was followed by a march into downtown Houston, where the arrests occurred.

While the charges may be routine, such a mass arrest represents a measure of political harassment and intimidation. Moreover, for foreign students from authoritarian countries like Iran an arrest record, not to mention accompanying publicity or a conviction in court, is a grave threat. Students recalled or deported to Iran as a result of anti-Shah political activities face often severe reprisals, including imprisonment and hideous tortures.

The left and labor movement and all who oppose this flagrant infringement of democratic rights must demand that the charges against the arrested demonstrators be dropped and that the arrest records be destroyed. Such harassment and frame-ups point to the need to demand full citizenship rights for foreign students.

The SYL, which solidarized with and participated in the protest at the University of Houston, issued a leaflet soon after the arrests and submitted a letter to the campus press calling

for the dropping of the charges and for the freedom of all the victims of the Shah's white terror. The Partisan Defense Committee, the legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, also has indicated its interest in contributing to the defense of the anti-Shah demonstrators.

In the past also the SYL has come to the defense of persecuted, politically active Iranian students in Houston. During the recent ISA hunger strike at the University of Houston protesting repression in Iran, the SYL was the only left organization to solidarize publicly with the just sentiment of the protest and to stand with the ISA when this dramatic strike provoked a conservative, chauvinist backlash on campus (see "Iranian Students Protest Shah's Repression," *Young Spartacus*, September 1975). For weeks after the strike, foam-flecked, poison pen letters attacking the ISA and the SYL, or often just the SYL, flooded the campus press, to which the SYL replied.

The ISA protest appeals, however, are usually limited politically to civil-libertarian and liberal politics and ISA actions are often restricted to Iranian students. The only effective strategy for defending the victims of the Shah's white terror and class-war prisoners around the world is one which relies on the strength and class solidarity of the international proletariat. Such a strategy guided the work of the early International Labor Defense in this country and the International Red Aid under Lenin's Communist International, the models which guide the defense work of the Partisan Defense Committee. **DROP THE CHARGES!**

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Portugal...

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been cancelled, guards have been posted around barracks and all civilians are being excluded from military installations.

Never has the need for the political and organizational independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois MFA been more critical and urgent. The workers must decisively break with the MFA and launch a resolute struggle for political power aiming at smashing the bourgeois state. The workers must be armed, and independent militias of the workers and soldiers must be formed. Democratically elected, representative committees of workers, soldiers and poor peasants must be created, unifying all the existing factory committees, popular and neighborhood assemblies, and armed militias. Such committees must be developed through the sharp intensification of the class struggle into soviets representing a dual power counterposed to the bourgeois MFA and be

the vehicle for launching a political struggle for state power. The masses of workers and soldiers must demand that the reformist PCP and PSP leaders break with the MFA and undertake the construction of soviets, or be exposed as accomplices in the suppression of the workers movement.

The key question in Portugal at this time is *splitting* the military. As long as the army is effectively intact and the authority of the MFA still in force, the soldiers will be mobilized to deliver a crushing blow to their class brothers. But the MFA at this time is concerned above all with the unreliability of its troops and seems reluctant to call for a state of emergency before discipline can be shored up in the armed forces.

The troops cannot be won to the side of the proletariat as long as the workers entertain illusions about the MFA. The formation of independent, armed workers militias is indispensable for splitting the military and rallying soldiers around the developing organs of dual power.

In Portugal significant numbers of militants repelled by the class col-

laborationism of the PCP are turning to the parties of the "far left," especially the Maoist organizations. But as the crisis of revolutionary leadership intensifies, the Maoist organizations are starkly exposed as politically bankrupt and fundamentally tied to the bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party of Portugal (Marxist-Leninist) (PCP[M-L]), judging by its frequent mention in the Chinese press, seems to have been given the Chinese "franchise," which is understandable, since the PCP(M-L) is to the right of the larger Maoist group, the Movement for the Reorganization of the Party of the Proletariat (MRPP).

Evidence of the shameless opportunism and abject reformism of the PCP(M-L) is provided by its statements in an interview given the U.S. *Guardian* (1 October). Following the Chinese line that the "number one" enemy in the world today is Russia and that the "number one" danger in Portugal today is the PCP, the PCP(M-L) supports the reactionary generals in the bourgeois MFA against the PCP: "...we support the AFM as the most important force in Portugal."

Likewise, the PCP(M-L) embraces the CIA-funded SP as the other implacably anti-Communist force: "...we think that the SP is one of the forces with which we must work. Although it is a bourgeois party it is the only party that will defend democratic liberties."

The PCP(M-L) can justify functioning as the tail of the counterrevolution, because the PCP(M-L) *opposes* proletarian revolution in Portugal today: "We cannot think of a revolution now!" The reactionary line of the Chinese bureaucracy that the influence of the USSR must be blocked and reversed even through supporting the right wing of the MFA as it attacks the workers, even through opposing proletarian revolution in a pre-revolutionary situation, must be exposed for the colossal betrayal that this represents!

While fundamentally committed to Stalinist class collaboration, the MRPP

nonetheless has been the only substantial organization in Portugal to maintain, ever since the April 1974 coup, that the MFA represents a bourgeois formation which must be smashed. Yet, while recognizing the pre-revolutionary situation in Portugal, the MRPP calls not for the dic-

CIA, MAOISTS ON PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY:

"A State Department official said today that the Central Intelligence Agency had been sending \$2 million to \$10 million a month to the Portuguese Socialists, but offered no over-all total for aid thus far."

—*New York Times*, 27 September 1975

"We know that one day we must break with the SP and attack it; but for the moment we think that it is a good alliance to make against the principal problem, which is imperialist forces of any kind, and first in this are the forces represented by the PCP."

—PCP(ML) as quoted in *Guardian*, 1 October 1975

tatorship of the proletariat but a "democratic and popular revolution" (*Guardian*, 1 October).

Like the PCP(M-L), the MRPP blocs with the allegedly "fascist" PSP against the so-called "social fascist" PCP. The MRPP even hailed *real* fascists during the orgies of anti-Communist terror in northern Portugal. When rightist mobs, including clerics and fascists, attacked the PCP in Leiria, the MRPP enthusiastically applauded the "people of Leiria" for driving away the "revisionist poison" and closing the "kennels inhabited by leash dogs of the social-fascist party" (*Luta Popular*, 28 August).

The present crisis in Portugal cries out for the intervention of Trotskyists. As proletarian internationalists our duty is to patiently combat the illusions of the masses, mercilessly expose the treachery of the Stalinist and Social Democratic misleaders, and assist in every way possible the crystallization of an authentic Bolshevik party in Portugal today. For the reforging of the Fourth International! ■

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As Cops Swarm Over Boston

NSCAR Preaches

"Law Is On Our Side"

BOSTON—The vicious racist attacks against black people and the turbulent upheavals that shook this racially polarized city for weeks this summer as the resumption of busing drew closer have subsided, giving way to anti-busing community "prayer marches." Squads of riot-equipped, jumpy cops swarm in playgrounds and at school crosswalks by day and cruise through tense communities by night. Here and there gangs of racist white lumpen youth ambush black people or skirmish with the cops.

As racial tensions mount with static intensity, Boston is gripped by an eerie and ominous lull. It is as if the present relative calm is only the eye of the storm, which threatens at any moment to break, unleashing again a hurricane of swirling racial confrontations, white racist violence and cop rioting.

An organized offensive in defense of the democratic right of equal access to public educational facilities for black people through the implementation of busing and its extension to the suburbs remains as urgent as ever. And the development of an organized, integrated labor/black defense force to ensure the implementation of busing and to protect black people from racist attacks remains the crying need of the hour.

But these critical tasks, for which the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League has campaigned indefatigably in Boston and across the country since the very beginning of the busing crisis, loom unfulfilled, largely because of the traitorous inaction of the trade-union bureaucrats, the misleaders of the black community and the opportunist leftists who tail them. In the vanguard of the sellout "socialists" is the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), which has lined up behind the most conservative "black leaders," like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the most demagogic black capitalist politicians, like Massachusetts Democrat Bill Owens.

NSCAR Spouts Liberalism

On September 13 the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), front group of the SWP/YSA, sponsored a picket-line demonstration near City Hall ostensibly in support of busing. Despite its pretenses to be a "mass organization," NSCAR could mobilize a scant 90 people for this demonstra-

tion, almost all of whom were SWP/YSA supporters from Boston and New York.

Like all its "mass actions" for the last year, the SWP/YSA and NSCAR smothered this demonstration with slogans advocating reliance upon the bourgeois state to desegregate the schools and to protect black people from the racist onslaught. The SWP/YSA and NSCAR supporters carried placards with slogans such as "Mayor White, Police—Arrest Racist Attackers" and "Mayor White—Jail the Racist Mobs in South Boston" and chanted, "Racist Goons Must Be Jailed." When supporters of the SL and SYL began to chant "Smash ROAR, Smash the Klan, Only Workers Defense Guards Can!" and "Not White Against Black, But Class Against Class!," the SWP/YSA and NSCAR honchos caught their second wind and bellowed their simpering slogans with a gusto motivated simply by the urge to drown us out and censor our slogans.

By deliberately focusing on the slogan "Arrest Racist Attackers," the SWP/YSA consciously exploits the illusion that the cops or federal troops can be relied upon to defend embattled black people and that such outspoken busing foes as President Ford can be forced to advance the struggle for black liberation. In Boston the armed forces of the capitalist state, in restoring a modicum of racist "law and order," suppress black resistance to racist terror with far greater excess than white racist mobilizations, victimizing black people with a wantonness seldom directed at whites.

During the racial confrontation at Carson Beach in August the black demonstrators, outnumbered two-to-one by the white racists, bore the brunt of the brutal and reckless cop charges and were finally driven off the beach by the cops. In stark contrast, these same cops, when called upon to disperse a 200-strong racist mob on September 8, were observed by the bourgeois press to be "on their best behavior," with "not a single raised nightstick" (*Boston Phoenix*, 9 September 1975). While over 100 people have been arrested by the cops since the resumption of busing, at least 74 are supporters of the pro-busing Committee Against Racism (CAR), which has been labeled the "anti-ROAR."

"Mass Pressure"

In the afternoon following the picket-line flop, the NSCAR staged an open steering committee meeting "featuring" SWP/YSA spokesman Maceo Dixon, who delivered a "political report." Braying that "the law is on our side," Dixon announced that the May 17 NAACP "march to defend the Constitution" had set back the racist offensive, crassly demonstrating that it is impossible to praise social-patriotic "respectable Negro leaders" like the NAACP without lying. Dixon then claimed that it was the cops and troopers who were directly responsible for allegedly defeating the racists and demanded that "all necessary force be used" by the government against the anti-busing bigots.

This line of Maceo Dixon was amplified in the SWP/YSA press (*Militant*, 3 October 1975) by Tony Thomas. In an article entitled "Should We Demand Federal Troops to Protect Black Rights?," Thomas shamelessly enthuses that "more than 100 U.S. marshals and FBI agents [!] were called in to

prevent violence against Black students" and that this so-called "police and federal protection for Black students" has "dealt a hard blow to Boston's racists." Thomas concludes once again that "mass pressure" can force the capitalist state to intervene to "protect" the lives and struggles of the oppressed.

In the past the SWP/YSA, defending its treacherous pro-troop policy from the stinging criticism of the SL/SYL (see in particular *Young Spartacus*, December 1974), has felt compelled to distinguish the allegedly "reliable" federal troops from the National Guard and especially the killer cops. But today these ultra-opportunists salute the cops and even FBI agents as the "defenders" of the oppressed black people!

In response to the "mass pressure" of militant student demonstrations, the cops and National Guardsmen slaughtered students at Kent State and Jackson State. And in response to the powerful "mass pressure" of ghetto upheavals, the racist, trigger-happy cops indiscriminately gunned down hundreds of black people in Watts, Chicago, Detroit and Newark. The social-democratic line that the oppressed can

counterposing integrated defense guards like those organized by the UAW in Chicago to defend the home of a black family terrorized by racists. SYL supporters also condemned Maceo Dixon's support for the attack on members of CAR and other political tendencies at Carson Beach by anti-communist black nationalists, who advocate the exclusion of all whites from protest actions "by the black community." The attack by the black nationalists, which itself opened up the demonstrators to a cop intervention, was not an act of discipline but a savage anti-white and anti-communist attack. Responding to the SYL, demagogue Dixon descended into the most transparent and repulsive slander, discrediting himself by charging that if the SL/SYL is opposed to "all force necessary," then it stands with the racists.

RU Backs Up Racists

While the SWP/YSA grovels before the NAACP and the liberal capitalist politicians, the Maoist Revolutionary Union/Revolutionary Student Brigade (RU/RSB) on the other extreme has capitulated to the anti-busing white racists in Boston. Like the SWP/YSA, the RU/RSB pursues its appetites through a front group, the so-called Committee for a Decent Education ("decent education" has become a watchword in Boston for segregated schools).

This Committee for a Decent Education held a tiny demonstration near Judge Garrity's courthouse on September 8, at which these Jim Crow "socialists" chanted, "From Hyde Park to Mattapan, We'll Stop Phase II Any Way We Can!" In Boston, "any way we can" is an invitation to racist mob attacks on black people!

On September 13 the Maoist October League, together with its newly unveiled youth group, the Communist Youth Organization (CYO), sponsored a march of about 70 people under the call



"Revolutionary" Union-backed Committee for a Decent Education calls for strike, not to stop racists but to stop busing in Boston, September 8th.

command the capitalist armed forces through pressure leads, especially in this profoundly racist society, to the victimization and massacre of black and working people.

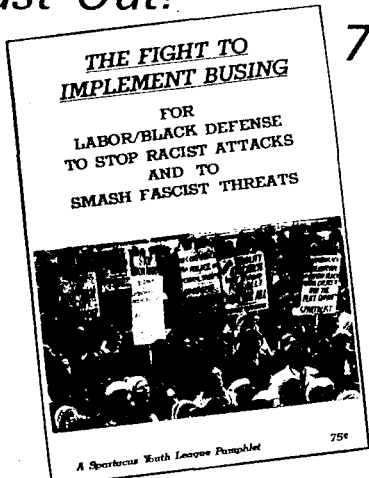
Not once in the last year has the SWP/YSA advocated, much less organized, any form of self-defense against racist attacks on Boston's black people. On the contrary, these demagogues have denounced the SL/SYL strategy for labor/black defense as "unrealistic," "irresponsible" and "sectarian" and have even refused to acknowledge the labor/black defense effort organized by Local 6 of the United Auto Workers in Chicago at the initiative of the Labor Struggle Caucus. For black people in Boston subjected to racist attacks, the line of the SWP/YSA and NSCAR translates into: You are helpless and must rely on the Uncle Toms and then wait, and wait and wait for the cops and federal troops to protect you.

During the "discussion period" at this steering committee meeting, the SYL intervened and denounced the SWP/YSA and NSCAR leaderships for preaching reliance on the troops and cops... of the capitalist state... again-

to stop the segregationist movement. While advocating multi-racial unity, the OL and its CYO refrain from taking a position on the question of busing, veering between black-nationalist abstention (denouncing the May 17 march not for its class-collaborationist leadership but for its "assimilationist" stance) and crass reformism (calling upon the capitalist state last fall to smash the fascist gangs in South Boston). The OL/CYO adaptation to black nationalist separatism is a stumbling block to a principled and effective opposition to the racists, who now are advocating precisely the "community control" schemes which the OL has been pushing for years!

While the SWP/YSA and NSCAR seek to refurbish Uncle Tom liberalism and the RU/RSB lines up with the racist anti-busing movement, the program of the SL/SYL for implementing busing and extending it to the suburbs and for organizing a labor/black defense against racist reaction corresponds to the real needs of the embattled black people of Boston. And with this determination we will intervene in another year of political struggle in Boston. ■

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How Maoist Strategy Sabotaged Indonesian Revolution

First of Two Parts

One of the most massive and savage reactionary massacres in modern history was unleashed in Indonesia ten years ago this month. A *half a million* leftists, workers and poor peasants were slaughtered as a white terror raged through city and village. The rivers of Indonesia turned red with blood and became choked with log-jams of human corpses. And the police-state repression continues to this day, forcing the Indonesian masses to shoulder grinding poverty and untrammelled exploitation.

The largest Communist Party outside of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China was decimated and pulverized by the so-called "progressive national bourgeoisie" whom the Indonesian Stalinists, as well as their mentors in Peking and Moscow, had supported for years as the "leading force" in the Indonesian revolution. The 1965 anti-Communist massacre in Indonesia drastically altered the direction of political developments in Southeast Asia. The U.S. imperialists' fears as well as the Chinese bureaucracy's hopes of a Jakarta/Hanoi/Pyongyang/Peking axis were reversed. The Indonesia domino fell not in a revolution but in a counterrevolution, prompting the U.S. imperialists to launch an all-out invasion of South Vietnam.

State power was within reach of the Indonesian workers. The Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI-Indonesian Communist Party) on the eve of the counterrevolutionary coup was a powerful force with a membership of three million. The PKI youth organization could claim another three million members and the PKI women's section encompassed yet another three million. The PKI-controlled All-Indonesia Central Organization of Trade Unions (SOBSI) had a base of three-and-a-half million, encompassing the vast majority of the Indonesian proletariat, while the PKI-led Indonesian Peasants Association represented nine million peasants. Furthermore, the PKI controlled other large student and cultural organizations.

But the Stalinist leadership of the PKI betrayed the masses at every step by chaining the workers and poor peasants to their exploiters through the fatal policy of *gotong royong*: "national unity" with the so-called "progressive national bourgeoisie" and their generals. When the generals finally struck, the PKI, politically disarmed and militarily unprepared, was simply helpless.

The treacherous class collaboration pursued for years by the PKI, backed to the hilt by the Maoist bureaucracy misruling People's China, prepared this crushing defeat for the international proletariat. Just as in Portugal

today, the Stalinists preached confidence in the "democratic" generals, alliance with the "progressive" capitalists, and illusions of a so-called "democratic revolution" carried out arm-in-arm with the oppressors, thereby politically disorienting and lulling the masses while the bourgeoisie strengthened its position and prepared its reaction. The fatal consequences of Stalinist class collaborationism in Indonesia stand as a warning to the Portuguese workers and poor peasants: the embrace of the "progressive" generals is the kiss of death!

The "People United" Means Toilers Will Be Defeated

In its search for a bloc with the bourgeoisie, the PKI subordinated the class interests and revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants so as not to threaten the weak bourgeoisie and its links with the feudal order and world imperialism. PKI Chairman D.N. Aidit thus reminded the multi-millioned membership of the PKI,

"The character of the Indonesian revolution at the present time is bourgeois democratic and not proletarian socialist... The Indonesian revolution is bourgeois in nature, because it does not abolish the private ownership of the means of production."

—*The Indonesian Revolution and the Immediate Tasks of the Communist Party of Indonesia* (1964)

With this rationale the PKI limited and contained the struggles of the masses, bartering the political independence and revolutionary mobilization of the exploited for collaboration and maneuvers with the exploiters.

In the name of the "bloc of the four classes," the PKI chained the laboring masses of Indonesia to Achmed Sukarno and the bourgeois Indonesian Nationalist Party, which had been brought to power in 1943 by the Japanese imperialists. In 1952 Chairman Aidit, on the instructions of Stalin, introduced the slogan "Long Live Sukarno! Long Live the PKI!" and pledged that the PKI "has subjected itself to the interests of the people and the national interest" (quoted in A. Dake, *In the Spirit of the Red Banteng*). The PKI called for "joint unity" with Sukarno's Nationalist Party to form a "united national front, including the national bourgeoisie" which would carry out "not socialist but democratic reforms."

Stalin-Mao-Sukarno et Allah

To maintain its uneasy alliance with the weak bourgeoisie, who feared above all a revolutionary mobilization of the millions who stood behind the PKI, the Indonesian Stalinists restrained the working class and contained the class struggle. All references to the class struggle, socialism and even "peoples democracy" were erased from the constitutions of the PKI youth organization and trade-union federation, while the PKI pledged to "support and uphold" the "Five Principles" of Sukarno's regime: belief in God, humanism, patriotism, democracy and social justice.

The PKI denounced its 1948 revolt at Madiun and elevated General Sudirman, who had suppressed the uprising, to the PKI roster of "Heroes of the Working Class" (Leslie Palmier, *Communists in Indonesia*)! Grovelling before Sukarno and the reactionary Muslim clerics, the PKI organized work brigades for the construction and repairing of mosques, and many PKI leaders publicly professed Islam.

When Sukarno launched his expansionist "Crush Malaysia" campaign, the PKI wallowed in national chauvinism

and made the campaign a focal point of support for the government, rather than unmasking Sukarno's expansionist appetites while simultaneously calling for the withdrawal of Britain from Malaysia. Likewise, the Chinese bureaucracy in 1963 hailed the Sukarno regime as "an important force opposing imperialism and colonialism and safeguarding the peace and security of Southeast Asia and Asia as a whole," enthusiastically backed the "Crush Malaysia" campaign and even offered thousands of Chinese troops for suppressing the Celebes secessionist revolt. The "anti-colonialist" Sukarno regime, in anticipation of ever greater expansionism, issued in 1963 an official revised map of the world on which the Indian Ocean appeared as the "Indonesian Ocean":

The Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, encourages the readers of *Young Spartacus* to make inquiries about and to support the work of Tapol, the British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners. Tapol is an acronym for "tahan politik," or political prisoner. Readers may wish to request a pamphlet published by Tapol, *Indonesia: The Prison State* (25¢), a one-year, six-issue subscription to its bulletin *Tapol* (\$5) or to make a donation to its work. All donations and inquiries should be sent to:

Tapol
103 Tilehurst Road
Wandsworth Common
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England

Bidding for greater influence in the Sukarno government, the PKI liquidated its political program and uncritically supported Sukarno and the "progressive national bourgeoisie." Aidit announced that "the state in the Republic of Indonesia as a whole is now led by the forces which represent the interests of the people" and concluded:

"...the Indonesian Communists have the Political Manifesto, namely, President Sukarno's speech delivered on August 17, 1959... We can draw the conclusion that resolute implementation of the Political Manifesto is tantamount to implementing the Programme of the CPI [Communist Party of Indonesia]. The Indonesian Communists, therefore, must resolutely carry out the Political Manifesto and set an example in doing so."

—Aidit, *The Indonesian Revolution* (1964)

The apotheosis of Sukarno reached its height in 1965 when Aidit, at the celebration of the PKI's 45th anniversary in May, rhapsodized:

"Among us... is Bung Karno [Brother Sukarno]. The clear sky above us is witness to it. Thousands of eyes see him. Millions of people are listening to him on the radio and watching him on their TV screens... Sukarno's portrait

hangs beside those of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin."

Although the masses were reeling under rocketing inflation, the PKI at this time refused to raise any demands for combatting the price rises, promised Sukarno that the PKI would not organize any demonstrations to protest economic conditions and attempted to sabotage anti-government demonstrations and struggles organized by other organizations (Tarzie Vittachi, *The Fall of Sukarno*).

In March 1965 the oil workers in Sungei and Pendopo who were organized in the PKI-led unions seized the U.S.-owned refineries. When the government smashed the occupation, the "anti-imperialist" PKI refused to protest. In fact, pro-PKI Foreign Minister Subandrio formally apologized to the imperialists and promised that there would be "no further embarrassment of Americans" (*New York Times*, 19 March 1965).

When the PKI-led land reform campaigners in East Java were attacked by rich peasants, landlords, Muslim reactionaries and rural officials in late 1964, the PKI declared that "terror must not be opposed with terror," but rather with "consultation and agreement" between the peasants and "the army and other patriotic forces" (Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism Under Sukarno*). The PKI restrained the desperate struggles of the land-starved, rent-gouged peasantry and adopted as its central slogan "6 to 4" rent reduction: "at least 60 percent of the produce should go to the peasants who till the land while the landowners at most should receive 40 percent" (Aidit, *The Indonesian Revolution*).

Like the Stalinists in Portugal today, the PKI not only sacrificed the organization of independent popular militias but even worked to strengthen the repressive apparatus of the fragile Sukarno regime. While today Portuguese Stalinists campaign for an "MFA-People Alliance," the PKI raised the slogan, "For the Maintenance of Public Order, Help the Police," and pledged itself to enforce "the co-operation between the people and the Armed Forces, in particular the Police Force" (Aidit, *Set Afire the Banteng Spirit!*). And in 1965 the PKI began to organize a "fifth armed force" trained and officered by the Indonesian air force!

Attempting to pacify and hypnotize the restive masses, the PKI week after week, month after month, hailed the allegedly great achievements of the Sukarno government and the supposedly great strides of the proletariat in the "democratic revolution." PKI leader Njoto in a characteristic accolade asserted:

"The powers of President Sukarno, in combination with the forces of the people, shall determine Indonesia's fate and future... The PKI only knows one Head of State, supreme commander, great leader of the revolution, namely, President Sukarno, and knows no other."

—quoted in *New Left Review*, March-April 1966

This statement was made in a prison cell. In a matter of days Njoto would be executed by that "great leader of the revolution." The bloodbath was underway.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Young Spartacus

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

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

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

Mao's Bloc with NATO— An Analysis of China's Foreign Policy

Speaker: Susan Adrian, SYL National Secretary
Spartacist League Central Committee

CHICAGO—
Friday, October 3, 7:30 p.m.
Northwestern U., Norris Center
Room 2-H

Monday, October 6, 7:30 p.m.
Univ. of Chicago
Ida Noyes Center, East Lounge

DETROIT—
Friday, October 17
Wayne State U., Ann Arbor
(Room and time to be announced)

CLEVELAND—
Monday, October 13
Kent State University
(Room and time to be announced)

Suppressed Trotskyist Greetings to Eritrean Gathering

EDITOR'S NOTE: On August 29 the Sixth Congress of the Eritreans for Liberation in North America (ELNA), a predominantly student organization in political solidarity with the left-nationalist Eritrean People's Liberation Forces, met at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League previously had been invited in writing to deliver a message of greetings to the conference. At the conference, however, Stalinists in the leadership of the ELNA not only refused to permit our representative to deliver our greetings or themselves to read our submitted written statement, but also failed to include the SL/SYL in the announced list of groups sending greetings. Despite this bureaucratic suppression, the SL/SYL did distribute in leaflet form our message to the over 500 conference participants and observers as well as a large amount of literature, which often sparked lively discussions. We reprint below the message of greetings distributed to the conference:

The Spartacist League brings warm fraternal greetings to this conference. We recognize that it is often from the ranks of the students from the oppressed nations, forced to study abroad by the oppression and lack of opportunity in their own lands, that the future leaders and fighters for the freedom of these nations are to be found.

Imperialist Chief Gerald Ford aspires to inherit from his predecessors in office the title of chief of hypocrites and liars as he pays tribute to the dethroned and recently departed "Conquering Lion of Judah," Haile Selassie. Ford said of this ex-"Conquering Lion," ex-Emperor of Ethiopia: "He was an inspiration to everyone around the world who believes in national independence and peace with freedom among nations." In homage to the imperialist powers and the United Nations for ceding Eritrea to Ethiopia after WWII, this "believer in national independence" sent Ethiopian soldiers to fight with UN troops in Korea and Katanga. Tens of thousands have died in Eritrea as Selassie viciously attempted to suppress the Eritrean aspiration for independence. And in the "Elect of God's" own kingdom, slavery was not abolished until the 60's.

The military coup which put Haile Selassie in the back seat of a Volkswagen and drove him from his palace to an army barracks has not resulted in any amelioration of the plight of the desperately oppressed, dispossessed masses of either Ethiopia or Eritrea. The rank-and-file soldier rebellions, the workers' strikes and student rebellions which toppled the Emperor were brutally suppressed by the junta of generals which moved into the royal palace. The rent-gouged peasantry and starving no-

madic and pastoral peoples are still as desperately oppressed. The land reforms promised in March have not been enforced. In Eritrea, as you know, the savage repression continues. Just last month the Ethiopian army sealed off the capital of Eritrea, Asmara. The Eritrean liberation movements report that since February the Ethiopian army has sacked two hundred villages and killed 6,000 Eritreans.

The Spartacist League wholeheartedly and unconditionally supports the struggle for the independence of Eritrea. But political independence in itself will neither place land in the hands of the toilers, nor will it give decent wages and working conditions to the proletariat, nor will it place food in the mouths of the starving. Ethiopia claims that except for the Italian fascist occupation it has been independent for 3,000 years. But what does 3,000 years of political independence mean in terms of well-being for the toiling masses of Ethiopia when over 100,000 starved to death in the famine of 1973?

The impact of imperialism on the colonial and neo-colonial world, especially East Africa, is to enslave these countries in economic backwardness. As a result, the consolidation of diverse tribal, ethnic, racial and religious groups into compacted nations, as occurred in Western Europe, was prevented. In this context formal political independence often means the coming to power of an ethnically or tribally based elite which proceeds, often with genocidal ferocity (e.g., Burundi), to suppress other ethnic or tribal groups.

The only class which can represent the interests of the whole of the toiling masses and oppressed peoples is the proletariat. Even if the proletariat is a numerical minority in countries whose economic development has been retarded by imperialism, nonetheless their social coherence in the productive process means that they alone can draw together and lead the ethnically diverse and geographically dispersed rural toilers. The workers' strikes in Addis Ababa which contributed to the downfall of Selassie were but a partial, episodic and spontaneous demonstration of the massive social power of the proletariat.

Would-be revolutionaries who believe that in the "two-stage revolution" of Stalin and Mao lies the key to emancipation for the colonial and neo-colonial world would do well to restudy the lessons of the Russian Revolution. For it was not the February Revolution and the Provisional Government, but the October Revolution and the revolutionary proletarian government which convened the Constituent Assembly, gave land to the toilers and self-determination to the oppressed nations of the former Tsarist Empire. The urgent democratic tasks can only be undertaken with the proletariat, the only consistently democratic class, in power. This dynamic of the Russian Revolution is codified in Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution*.

The proletariat is not only the only consistently democratic class, but also the only international class. It is in this spirit of proletarian internationalist solidarity that we support the independence struggle of your people and hope for its early victory, and it is in the same spirit that we look forward to your October.

"Student-Power" Coalitions No Answer to Cutbacks!

BOSTON—State colleges in Massachusetts are reeling under the effects of the capitalist economic downturn, as inflation drives up costs and state revenues plunge. The Massachusetts state legislature now plans to slash its education budget by \$37 million and to increase tuition at the state colleges by hikes of up to hundreds of dollars.

At the University of Massachusetts in Boston (Boston UMass) over 500 jobs will not be filled and another 1,000 student jobs will be terminated, depriving many students of the income needed to continue their education and rendering maliciously hypocritical the bourgeoisie's sermonizing about "working your way through college." The spectacle of the future may well be Boston State College, where all student jobs, medical services and financial aid have been eliminated, where hot water will be cut in all buildings this winter, and where thermostats will be kept at 65 degrees!

Such drastic austerity measures demand an immediate, militant counter-offensive by all who are affected by the cutbacks in social services and the layoffs. The Massachusetts Students to Save Higher Education Coalition (MSSHEC) called protest rallies around the state on September 17 with the demand, "No Budget Cutbacks, No Tuition Increase" and plans a march on the State House in Boston for October 22.

Set up under the aegis of the liberal National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), dominated by the fake-left Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), the MSSHEC explicitly rejects the strategy of building for labor/student mobilizations against cutbacks and layoffs and insists on limiting all protest actions to slogans and tactics acceptable to liberal student government politicians and "progressive" capitalist politicians.

At the third meeting of the MSSHEC, held on September 7 at Worcester State College, the Spartacus Youth League raised as the only effective alternative to impotent "student-power" festivals the strategy of broad united-front mobilizations against the cuts and layoffs, beginning with a demonstration at the State House to point the way toward a state-wide strike. The liberals and their SWP/YSA and NSCAR allies were thrown into a frenzy, and an attempt was made even to deny speaking rights to those from private universities, labor organizations and political groups. The necessary discussion of the politics of the coalition was squelched, as all present, with the exception of the SYL, voted to shunt this question to the end of the meeting.

"Radicals" Settle for Status Quo

Thus limited to watered-down, lukewarm liberal appeals, the MSSHEC rallies on September 17 were little more than politically spongy pep rallies. At Boston State College the rally, attended by 300-400 students, was bureaucratically dominated by the student government careerists, who prevented the sale of literature and restricted leafleting, but set up a table in the rally area to sign up students on postcard-pleas to be mailed to the state legislature.

Although a number of speakers represented left groups, including the Committee Against Racism, Revolutionary Student Brigade, Communist Youth Organization (fledgling youth group of the Maoist October League) and *Lookout* newspaper collective, none dared criticize this liberal "write-

your-representative" strategy, none called for ending tuition and free quality higher education for all, and none proposed approaching the organized labor movement for concrete joint actions.

The rally at Boston UMass likewise attracted several hundred, who listened to the RSB mindlessly spout "fight-back" rhetoric and the CYO expound the "novel" strategy of "uniting with our allies and defeating our enemies." The YSA took a jab at "racist cutbacks," but propagates the illusion that the capitalist state (under "pressure," of course) could transfer defense spending to education—just as the capitalists will allegedly transform the army into a defense force to "protect" black people. For the SWP/YSA and NSCAR, this "pressure" does not involve militant action, but focuses on peaceful, respectable lobbying! At the September 7 MSSHEC meeting, NSCAR argued that militant tactics, such as building occupations, should never be used, even if large numbers of students were prepared to engage in this kind of "pressure."

Although refusing to politically endorse the MSSHEC rallies, the SYL intervened at Boston UMass and was able to speak, calling for a labor/student mobilization against the cuts and layoffs, open admissions made economically meaningful by no tuition and a state stipend for living expenses, and replacement of the administration with student/teacher/campus-worker control of the universities.

The rally at Amherst UMass, despite the large strike there last spring, attracted only a few hundred. From the speakers flowed warmed-over New Leftism and liberalism, the main speaker calling for fairer taxes, student voter registration and writing letters to state legislators.

From Protest to Power

The next meeting of the MSSHEC, held on September 21, was dominated by the SWP/YSA, but also attracted the CAR and the RSB. The first order of business was to defeat the SYL's motion to place political discussion of strategy and tactics first on the agenda.

Despite the heckling and interruption, the SYL managed to place on the floor a motion proposing a labor/student mobilization around the slogan "No Layoffs—No Cutbacks." Again motions were made to restrict speaking rights only to state school students and to restrict voting and speaking to five representatives from each school. (This was defeated by the SWP/YSA, who did not want to lose bureaucratic control of the meeting.)

After rejecting the SYL motion for political discussion, the SWP/YSA and their allies proceeded to discuss the trivial question of the date of the next march for... four hours. By the end of the meeting most of the organizationally unaffiliated participants had already left in boredom and disgust and even many of the supporters of left groups had trickled away, leaving the SWP/YSA with another empty-shell front group.

Students who wish to fight the budget cuts and tuition hikes must learn the lessons of the New Left student movement, in particular the bankruptcy of "student power" illusions. A social group in transition, students are divorced from the levers of social power. Students must be mobilized to protest the budget cuts and the broader effects of the capitalist economic downturn. But, without the mass involvement of the working class, student demonstrations will not be assured victory.

LOS ANGELES

Forum—

THE STRUGGLE TO ORGANIZE THE FARMWORKERS
Speakers: Grady Daugherty, former local UFW Support Committee member

Don Cane, SYL, former Black Coordinator for International Socialists

UCLA: AU 3517, Wednesday, October 8, 11:00 a.m.
LA Community College: Thursday, October 9, room and time to be posted.

California State University: Wednesday, October 15, room and time to be posted.

SWP/YSA Pushes "New Civil Rights Movement"

Ex-Trotskyists Tail Uncle Toms

A decade ago the militant Black Power movement emerged as radicalizing civil rights activists in frustration and disillusionment recoiled from the impotent and bankrupt politics pushed for so long by the respectable, self-appointed "Negro leaders" running the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and other kindred reformist outfits. Although ultimately doomed by the failure to attain a working-class perspective, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Black Panther Party rejected the pro-capitalist, pro-Democratic Party leadership of the NAACP and SCLC as obstacles in the struggles for organized black self-defense, black civil rights, independent political action and any radical challenge to the racist status quo.

Because of the continuing crisis of the absence of revolutionary leadership rooted in the labor movement and commanding authority among the oppressed black masses, the once-discredited, petty-bourgeois black misleaders at the head of organizations like the NAACP are able to regain stature, now especially by posing as the defenders of black rights against the current onslaught of racist anti-busing hysteria sweeping the country. As always, these "respected black leaders" preach their politics of reliance upon their liberal allies, the bosses' courts and the troops of imperialism in order to dampen explosive black militancy and to contain opposition to racial oppression within the forms and limits acceptable to their ruling-class sponsors.

SWP/YSA Hails Uncle Tom "Vanguard"

Wishing to be known by the company it keeps, the ultra-reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) and its captive National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) have been attempting to build a "mass movement" for the conservative NAACP, offering its well-practiced services as bootlicking valets, fawning front men, envelope-stuffing publicity pimps, obedient hand-raisers and docile marching cattle. In article after article in the *Militant*, the SWP/YSA uncritically hails the NAACP as the legitimate "leaders of the Black community." These cynical fake-Trotskyists prostrate themselves before the alleged "authority of the NAACP" and swoon that Boston NAACP leader Tom Atkins has been lauded as "a fighter," indicating supposedly "the respect for his contributions" (*Militant*, 30 May 1975).

These NAACP lawyers and bureaucrats are the same sellouts whose "authority" and "contributions" have been exposed and denounced for years by black militants. For example, Robert Williams, whom "fighters" like Atkins expelled from the NAACP in 1959 for advocating and organizing successfully armed black self-defense against racist attacks, contemptuously dismissed in his *Crusader* the NAACP with such justly-deserved epithets as "Uncle Tom running dogs" and "Sambo liquidationists." Likewise, the Black Panthers sharply denounced the "bootlickers and Uncle Toms" of the NAACP for their "decades of public and private

dealings with some of the most low-life, trifling, of the racist, fascist, capitalist, people pimps, 'Responsible Negroes,' and vituperous pigs" (*Black Panther*, 5 July 1969).

Through its mouthpieces in NSCAR, the SWP/YSA even more shamelessly has croaked its hosannas and obsequious praise for the NAACP: "The leadership displayed by the NAACP in calling for and organizing the [May 17 Boston] march is an inspiration to NSCAR as well as the Black people across the country fighting for equality" (*Militant*, 18 July 1975). The small-time reformist SWP/YSA is "inspired" above all by the opportunist appetite to rub elbows with big-name, phony "leaders of the Black community," who are busy rubbing elbows with such busing foes as Imperialist Chief Gerald Ford, featured speaker at the July 4 NAACP annual convention.

"New" Civil Rights Movement Fraud

For the past year the SWP/YSA, assisted by its NSCAR front group, has been seeking to drum up support for the NAACP and broker an alliance with these Uncle Toms by organizing a "new civil rights movement." What the SWP/YSA hopes to resurrect, however, is not the militant struggles of radicalizing SNCC, not the self-defense

efforts of Robert Williams or the Deacons for Defense and Justice, but the do-nothing, pressure politics of the NAACP and the do-little pacifist protests of the SCLC. Thus, the SWP/YSA, reporting the May 17 Boston march endorsed by the NAACP, thrilled at the "gospel singing and hand clapping" and the "flavor of a 1960's civil rights rally," but denounced those demonstrators, who confronted and drove away a tiny band of fascist provocateurs (*Militant*, 30 May 1975).

The fight for black equality, such as equal access to public educational facilities through busing, must be waged, and communists intervene to broaden the movement for democratic rights by struggling for a class-struggle program. However, the SWP/YSA seeks to limit the struggle to democratic reforms which do not threaten the capitalist system and retrospectively criticizes SNCC and the Panthers for "ultra-left positions" and "ultra-left errors" (*Militant*, 4 October 1974 and 20 December 1974).

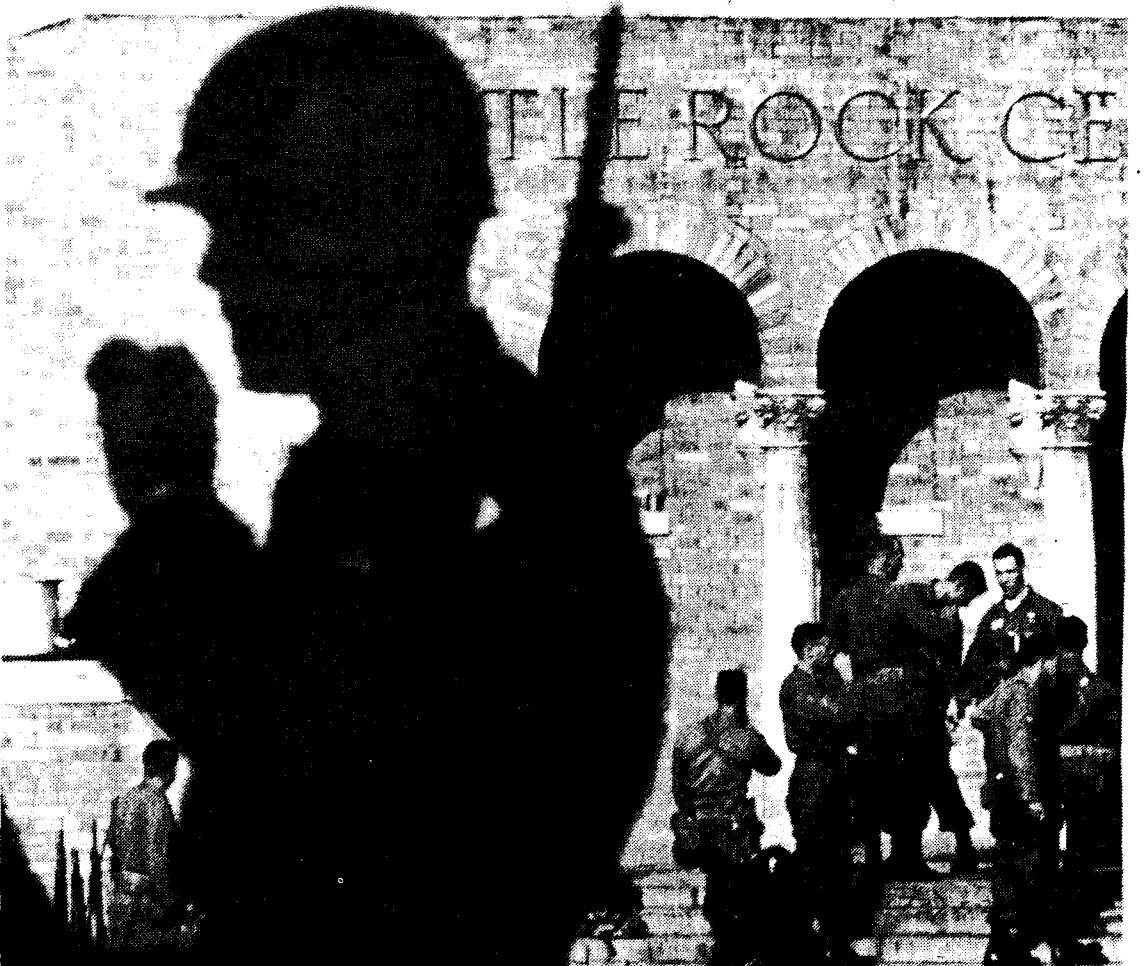
The SWP/YSA, in glorifying the liberal-dominated civil rights movement, has brazenly falsified and distorted this history in order to prettify and redeem the kept "Negro leaders" whom the SWP/YSA and NSCAR today tail. This task has been tackled by the SWP/YSA's respectable Peter Camejo

in his hack opus, "The Civil Rights Movement: How It Began, What It Won" (*Militant*, 20 December 1974).

NAACP vs. Mass Action

The civil rights movement began as an attempt by liberals to avert a clearly impending eruption of seething black discontent, fueled by the segregationist reaction to legal reforms and by liberal foot-dragging in their implementation, and to shore up the traditional alliance between the "Negro leadership" and the Democrats. The smouldering fury of the southern black masses could not be contained by the "leadership" of the NAACP, which preached that integration could be won only through the legal and lobbying work of the "respected Negro leaders."

"Toward the end of 1955, the spirit of rebellion and resistance was spreading among black people in every corner of the South. The movement, however, was unorganized, without focus and utterly devoid of effective, recognized leadership. There was the growing determination on the part of the younger blacks to meet violence with violence, to retaliate in kind against the white racists and pro-segregationists. All over the black community blacks were oiling their pistols, sharpening their switchblades, and building up an arsenal of pipes, baseball bats and spiked sticks. This was the direction in which the



NAACP
"mass action"
in Little Rock:
Masses of troops,
handful of black
students, no actions
built by NAACP.

blacks were heading until Martin Luther King was catapulted into the position of leadership in Montgomery."

—Robert H. Brisbane, *Black Activism*

Camejo presents the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott as the first "mass action" organized by the black leadership according to their alleged strategy of "independent, massive mobilization." The Montgomery bus boycott was a largely spontaneous response by Montgomery black people to the arrest of Rosa Parks, a black NAACP member, for refusal to relinquish her bus seat to a white woman. Camejo refrains from mentioning that Rosa Parks was an NAACP member and even hides the fact that the NAACP was involved in Montgomery, precisely because the NAACP did absolutely nothing to organize any "mass movement" and, turning its back on the black demonstrators, routinely filed a court suit.

King in the Back Seat

Leadership of the spontaneous protest movement thus could fall in the lap of the Baptist preacher, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Camejo and Co. would have us believe that King and his coterie of ministers, to whom Camejo so respectfully refers as the "traditionally accepted leadership of the Black community," set about organizing a boycott "until Blacks were treated equally on those buses." In fact, the ministers, the "leaders" traditionally accepted by the bosses, called only for the "right" of segregated seating on the buses: "All bus riders be seated on a first-come, first-served basis; that Negroes would sit from the back toward the front, the white passengers from the front toward the rear" (Louis Lomax, *The Negro Revolt*).

King organized no "mass actions" at all, despite the Montgomery black boycotters' readiness for struggle demonstrated by their valiant perseverance in maintaining the boycott for nearly a year. King, not to mention the NAACP, never called for one demonstration, one march, one sit-in, one picket line or one mobilization of outside support. Quite the contrary. On two occasions, following incidents of police provocation and racist terror bombings, King personally dispersed large crowds of black people shouting for protest actions.

In order to control the black boycotters, who were subjected continually to racist harassment and abuse, King formulated as a moral injunction his doctrine of non-violent resistance, preaching that

"non-violence... does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and understanding. The non-violent resistor must often express his protest through non-cooperation or boycotts, but he realizes that these are not ends themselves, they are merely means to awaken a sense of moral shame in the opponent. The end is redemption and reconciliation. The aftermath of non-violence

is the creation of the beloved community, while the aftermath of violence is tragic bitterness."

—Martin Luther King, *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*

Camejo not only "forgets" all this self-degrading, non-violence drive but has the gall to claim that the Bible-waving Reverend King was inspired by --get this!-- by "the revolutionary upsurge that spread throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America."

Little Rock: "Mass Action"... By Troops

The NAACP was responsible for challenging segregation at Little Rock Central High School in 1957, not through "mass actions," as it would be the first to admit, but through a court suit and a few NAACP members escorting a token nine students to the school. While the white racists organized "independent, massive mobilizations" to intimidate the black students, the NAACP never considered organizing or rallying Little Rock black people, but instead prayed for the "mass mobilization" of federal troops. To glorify the NAACP, the SWP/YSA resorts to outrageous fiction: "It was the pressure of the massive marches [?], rallies [??] and sit-ins [???] of the civil rights movement that forced the government to send federal troops to Little Rock..." (*Militant*, 3 Oct. 1975).

At that time the liberals preached, and today Camejo and Co. parrot, that the capitalist state and its armed forces could be relied upon to "protect" the rights and struggles of the oppressed. But the entire history of the labor and civil rights movements demonstrates that the capitalist army, like the cops or National Guard, is deployed to execute the interests of the exploiters, not to advance the struggles of the exploited. (For a full discussion of the role of the troops in "protecting" black people, see "Not Federal Troops, But Labor/Black Defense!," *Young Spartacus*, No. 27, December 1974.)

Camejo points to the introduction of the bosses' army as a "victory for Blacks," but neglects to mention that the black students were "protected" by Brigadier General Edwin Walker, the fanatical, blood-thirsty racist who was later relieved of his command for distributing ultra-reactionary literature to his troops and who personally led the charge of white segregationists against James Meredith at Old Miss. Once the imperialist army descended on Little Rock and clamped down martial rule, any mass mobilization of blacks would have been suppressed with racist brutality.

Camejo likewise asserts that the Little Rock "mass action" successfully "demoralized the racists." Because the NAACP relied entirely on the federal government and troops and refused to organize anyone for struggle, Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus, by no means "demoralized," could thwart

the integration order by simply closing every public high school in the entire state for the next year!

Far from "demoralized" by this alleged "victory for Blacks," segregationist forces throughout the South went on the offensive after Little Rock and reversed the gains for integration. While the number of southern school districts desegregated during the year 1955 was over 360, the number of districts desegregated in 1957, the year of the Little Rock events, plummeted down to less than 40, and the number was held below this every year for the next five years (Anthony Lewis, *Portrait of a Decade*).

NAACP Left Behind

While today the SWP/YSA mobilizes audiences of hand-clappers for the NAACP leaders, these Uncle Toms in fact were peripheral to the developing struggles of the civil rights movement. Because the conservative NAACP was so legalist, Martin Luther King rapidly rose to prominence as the only "Negro leader" advocating "mass action"—albeit flag-waving, prayer-muttering and humiliating—and he formed the SCLC in 1957 for aroused activists who desired something more than fund raising for some NAACP court suit or lobby. But because the SCLC was so servile and pledged to grovelling, turn-the-other-cheek martyr moralism, the young black students who spearheaded the "direct action" sit-in movement, sparked by the famous Greensboro (N.C.) sit-in at Woolworth's on February 1, 1960, flocked to SNCC. Although King addressed the conference of sit-in student activists who were to found SNCC and urged them to affiliate to the SCLC as a youth group, the young activists politicized in the course of the sit-in struggles were wary of King's authoritarianism and opted for an independent course of action.

Camejo is compelled to fabricate fabled "mass actions" in order to bury in myth the consequences of the NAACP-SCLC policies of enforcing non-violence and spewing illusions in the "protection" of the federal government. The 1961 Freedom Ride, another alleged "mass action" "independent" of the capitalist government, was a symbolic gesture to which the liberals resorted as a substitute for organized mass actions.

By no means "independent," the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), which called for the first Freedom Ride, informed the Kennedy administration of the itinerary, prayed for federal protection and then sent a small group of defenseless riders into ambush situations to suffer the "mass actions" of racist mobs. But federal protection never materialized, and the first Freedom Ride was halted by racist attacks and state repression.

"You Are a Phony"

The second Freedom Ride was smashed by racists in Montgomery, the

very city where, according to Camejo, the racists had been defeated by the NAACP! The Freedom Rides could have been a means for furthering the black liberation struggle had CORE, the NAACP and the SCLC organized support demonstrations and other actions, as well as defense squads, to greet the buses as they entered one town after another. But the NAACP did absolutely nothing to defend or even assist the Freedom Riders.

"The Jackson, Mississippi, branch, for example, wrote [James] Farmer that whereas they wished him God's blessings they could be of little aid on the day the freedom riders were scheduled to arrive in Jackson. Not that the Jackson NAACP leaders feared white reprisals; their inability to help the proposed freedom riders stemmed rather from the fact that the local NAACP would be having its annual Freedom Fund drive at the time and could not afford to divide its energies."

—Lomax, *The Negro Revolt*

Likewise, King refused to assist the Freedom Riders, many of whom were SNCC activists already critical of him. Robert Williams wired King the following sarcastic challenge:

"The cause of human decency and black liberation demands that you physically ride the buses with our gallant freedom riders. No sincere leader asks his followers to make sacrifices that he himself will not endure. You are a phony."

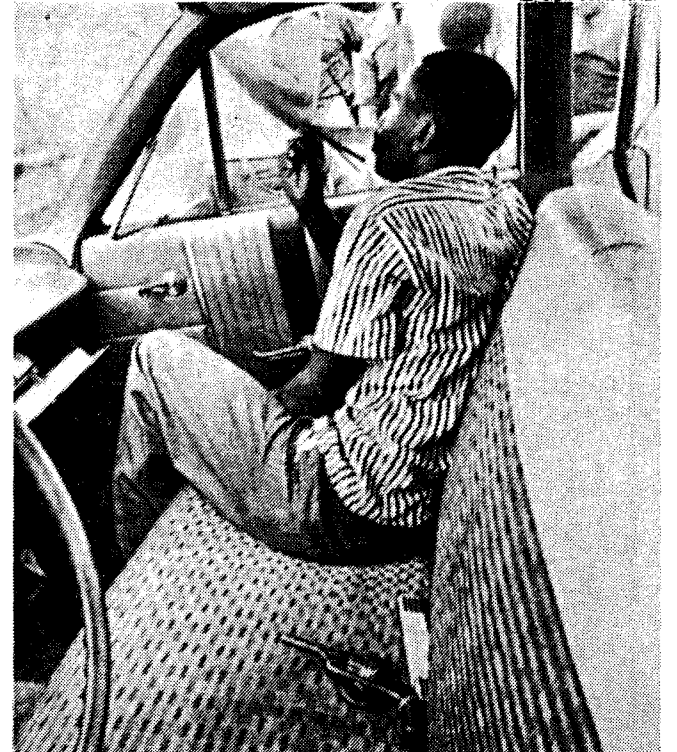
—quoted in Brisbane, *Black Activism*

Covering for the NAACP and King, Camejo describes the Freedom Rides as a sweeping success, because "brutal violence went unchallenged, morally weakening the racists before the American public and exposing the federal government"! If some civil rights activists had been killed during the racist attacks on the Freedom Rides, then presumably the sinful racists would have been even more compromised morally and the government even more exposed. The preacher King wailed about awakening "moral shame in the opponent," and now the "Trctskyst" Camejo blubbers about "morally weakening" the racists!

Voter Registration: For Whom?

Subjected to often ferocious racist attacks during the sit-ins and Freedom Rides and to benign neglect or malicious repression by the federal and state authorities, many civil rights activists began to grow disillusioned with the belly-crawling King and the rigidly legalist, ultra-gradualist NAACP. Alarmed by the growing combativeness and self-confidence of the civil rights militants, the federal government began to pressure the respectable leaders to abandon "direct action" and instead undertake voter registration. King pocketed a fat wad from the Kennedy dynasty and obediently set out to enroll black people to be Democratic Party voters.

continued on next page



Freedom Rides, relying on government "protection," stopped by racists (left). Deacons for Defense, resorting to self-defense, stopped KKK (right).

Uncle Toms...

Continued from page 7

Although divided over the proposal to turn away from direct action and toward voter registration, SNCC in this period still clung to its social-work perspective and illusions about forcing the capitalist system, in particular the Democratic Party, to be more "responsive" to the needs of the oppressed black people. SNCC built the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) in this period as a "grass-roots" organization for registering black voters for the Democrats. But the MFDP was railroaded out of the 1964 Democratic Party convention by the machinations of Lyndon Johnson who was backed up by the traitor King.

This voter registration campaign, carried through by the young SNCC volunteers with courage and self-sacrifice, could have laid the basis for a political party independent of the Democrats and based upon a program of transitional demands linking the urgently felt needs of the black workers and sharecroppers with the perspective of proletarian revolution. Black people were deeply disaffected and open to militant mass actions and class-struggle politics. As former SNCC Executive Committee member Jack Minnis related in an interview with *Young Spartacus*:

"They [SNCC] had prevailed upon the black people in Mississippi not to start a war. And they were very largely responsible for there not being a war in Mississippi in '64, late fall of '63 and then in '64. Because the black people there were ready to fight and they were armed. And they were prepared to protect themselves."

It is the tremendous potential for black radicalization and for a conscious break with the Uncle Tom leaders that Camejo must ignore.

Birmingham: Troops Extinguish Black Revolt

The death knell of black non-violence rang in 1963 in Birmingham, Alabama. When the mass civil rights demonstrations came under vicious racist attack and cop repression, the blacks fought back. And when the racists bombed the home of King's brother, the ghetto exploded.

"Policemen were beaten and knifed. To many of the blacks this was deferred payment for the brutality that they had suffered at the hands of the police during the past week."

—Brisbane, *Black Activism*

Camejo announces triumphantly that Kennedy was "forced" to send federal troops to Birmingham "to protect Blacks from white attacks." But Kennedy refused to send troops as long as

the black demonstrators week after week obeyed Camejo's idol, Martin Luther King, and remained non-violent.

Only when the black people suddenly fought back did imperialist kingpin Kennedy rush the army to Birmingham to restore racist "law and order." Furthermore, the commander of these troops was none other than General Abrams, soon to be sent to Vietnam as Supreme Commander to "protect" the rights of the Vietnamese.

The Birmingham battle sent shock waves across the South and triggered massive solidarity demonstrations in the North as well. Faced with a brewing national revolt, the farsighted capitalist politicians recognized King as the most useful, reliable, moderate "Negro leader," and King set off on a national speaking tour which included the major northern ghettos.

In the South, where Jim Crow segregation prevailed, King was able to mislead black people with his strategy of reliance upon the liberal northern establishment. But since northern ghetto dwellers daily experienced the de facto segregation condoned by the liberals, King's "solutions" appeared empty and futile. Furthermore, black activists in the North were more sophisticated politically, and many did not accept the kept-"leader" King. In Harlem, for instance, black people pelted his car with rotten eggs and shouted down his brother with the cry, "We want Malcolm!"

Kennedy Renders Mass Action "More Profound"

In his catalogue of so-called "independent" mass actions, Camejo can hardly avoid the 1963 March on Washington, which attracted some 250,000 demonstrators. While certainly a "mass action," the March on Washington was tightly controlled by the Uncle Toms, who were under pressure from their bourgeois sponsors to deliver an orderly, respectable, patriotic, Christian protest. The march sponsors announced that only slogans issued by the national office would be permitted and that

"We expressly reject the aid or participation of totalitarian or subversive groups of all persuasions. Organizational participation is invited from only the established civil rights organizations, from major religious and fraternal groups, and from labor unions."

Kennedy, however, was determined to ensure that the march would be completely innocuous, and on June 23 he called the march leaders to the White House and offered them Democratic support for a public accommodations bill in return for a stage-managed march. A deal was made, and a second march manual suddenly appeared contravening the first.

Originally the "leaders" called for a demonstration at the White House, a statement to the President demanding an immediate public works program, and delegations of marchers to search out and confront Congressmen. The revised manual, reflecting the deal with the Kennedy administration, shifted the site of the demonstration to the Lincoln Memorial, deleted any mention of a statement to the President and called for a "new—and more profound[!]"—concept of lobbying: waiting for "every single Congressman and Senator to come to us."

Although SNCC initially considered the proposed March on Washington too moderate to endorse, SNCC chairman

Selma. Many militants felt duped, and so King was forced later to lead the march to Montgomery, but only after Johnson gratefully supplied him with federal troops, Washington big-wigs, doctors and nurses, and latrines and food trucks, converting this "independent" march into a semi-official Democratic Party outing. The federal troops protected the swarms of Democratic "personalities" and the Uncle Tom "leaders," but abandoned the rank-and-file militants, one of whom was murdered after the rally in Montgomery.

Despite the fact that he personally participated, Camejo apparently has found it difficult to depict the Selma-to-Montgomery march as an "independ-

KING ON WATTS: "It was necessary that as powerful a police force as possible be brought in to check them..."

—New York Times, 16 August 1965



King knew troopers would not protect black ghetto revolts against racist status quo.

John Lewis was invited to speak, but he was forced to delete from his prepared statement the sentences, "We cannot depend on any political party, for both Democrats and Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence," and "I want to know—which side the federal government is on."

Amnesia and Selma

The 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery march organized by King represents the last gasp of the liberal-dominated civil rights leadership. Far from acting "independently" of the capitalist government, King was concerned only with appeasing his followers, who were fed up with meekly submitting to racist abuse and violence, and his bourgeois allies in the Johnson administration, who were prepared to trade a voting rights bill (aimed at only those states whose Democratic machines had bolted to Goldwater in 1964) in return for a docile civil rights movement.

The Selma-to-Montgomery march, King's posturing notwithstanding, was defused in behind-the-scenes negotiations between King and Johnson's lackey, Leroy Collins:

"From Colonel Lingo and Sheriff Clark, Collins got the agreement to allow King to cross Pettus Bridge to a point one mile beyond. If King stopped here and turned back upon being ordered to do so, there would be no violence. Collins then hurried over to the Albert Hotel to confer with King. Dr. King accepted the compromise and Collins supplied him with a map of the designated route."

—Brisbane, *Black Activism*

King dutifully led the unsuspecting marchers to the designated point, abruptly halted before the police, beckoned the marchers to kneel, led a prayer and then—without even the pretense of confronting the cops and without even their ordering the march back as planned—King led the march back to

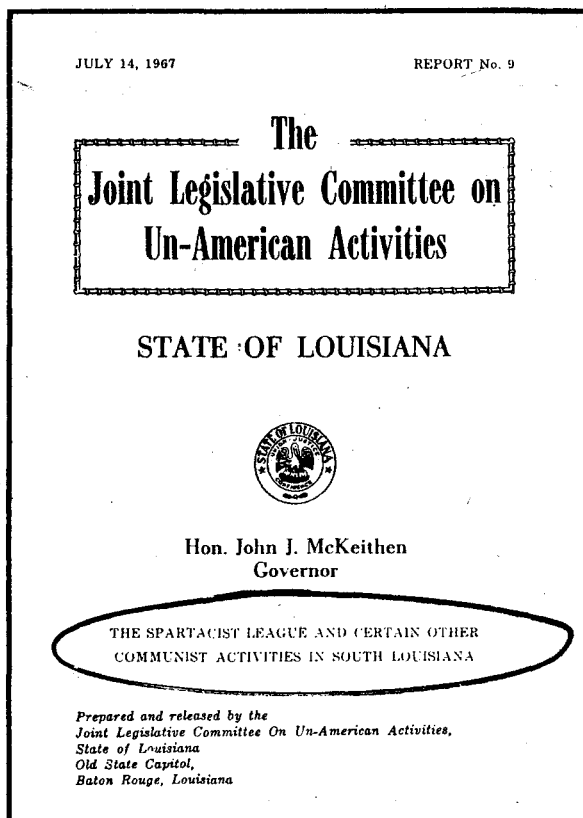
dent" mass action "protected" by the troops of imperialism. In his entire tedious account, Brother Camejo refrains from mentioning—not once!—this march or even the city of Selma, Alabama! The SWP/YSA's line on Selma, as Peter ("I was there") Camejo elsewhere has boasted, was to demand that the imperialists send the U.S. troops fighting in Vietnam—the elite Special Forces and the Marines—into Alabama to "protect" civil rights demonstrators!

After Selma, King was rapidly eclipsed by the rising fist of black militancy. The Black Power era began with the Memphis-to-Jackson march led by James Meredith to the great consternation of King and his ilk.

When the march was attacked and Meredith gunned down, King, in a cynical image-boosting gesture, belatedly joined the march and threw his weight around in an attempt to pacify the militant mood of the marchers. When King at one point suggested the singing of "We Shall Overcome," several marchers responded, "Not 'We Shall Overcome,' but 'We Shall Overrun!'" These young black militants, whom today Camejo scorns as "ultra-lefts," no longer would stomach the "flavor of a 1960's civil rights rally" with all its "gospel singing and hand clapping" which the SWP/YSA pushes today.

The demise of the civil rights movement and the rise of the white-exclusionist black nationalist movement represented defeats for the black people. Neither pro-capitalist liberal integrationism nor radical separatism offered any solution to the special oppression of black people in this racist, capitalist society.

But these defeats were not inevitable. The intervention of communists in the civil rights movement could have decisively transformed the entire subsequent course of the black liberation struggle. In particular, a significant intervention of revolutionary Marxists into SNCC, especially during the cru-



SL intervention in South, though modest, drew fire from state.

Pat Swinton Acquitted

Abolish All Conspiracy Laws!

NEW YORK CITY, September 26—A federal court jury here today acquitted Pat Swinton, indicted "co-conspirator" along with Sam Melville, Jane Alpert and David Hughey in the 1969 New York City bombings of a National Guard armory, the Whitehall Induction Center, a federal office building, bank and corporate facades and a United Fruit pier.

Melville was arrested at the armory, and Hughey and Alpert were picked up only hours later. Hughey served two years in federal prison, but Melville, who was sent to Attica state prison where he won the confidence and respect of the mainly black and Spanish-speaking prisoners, played a prominent role in the 1971 revolt and was gunned down by the assaulting troopers.

Jane Alpert, renouncing her radical past and now espousing feminism, turned herself in to the federal authorities last November. The *Village Voice* (22 September 1975) quotes government documents stating that she gave "detailed information about the bombing conspiracy and about her years of fugitivity including her contacts with the 'Weather Underground' and other federal fugitives."

Abolish All Conspiracy Laws!

As the Smith Act, various "criminal-syndicalist" laws and other reactionary anti-labor and anti-communist measures have been overturned as unconstitutional, the government has increasingly relied on so-called "conspiracy laws" to jail radicals and labor militants who have committed no illegal act—even as defined by the class-biased statutes of capitalist "justice"—but who in some ill-defined way can be vaguely associated with some illegal act.

A "conspiracy" is defined as a "combination or agreement of two or more persons to accomplish an unlawful

purpose." To convict on conspiracy charges the state does not need to prove that the "unlawful purpose" was accomplished or that the alleged "conspirator" participated in the entire conspiracy or knew all the participants in the conspiracy. Thus, the more meager the government's case against an alleged "conspirator," the broader the "conspiracy laws" must be defined to gain a conviction, the more dangerous such a conviction becomes from the standpoint of elementary democratic rights. The government prosecutor, U.S. Assistant Attorney Cutner, admitted at the outset of the trial that the government had no proof and would not attempt to prove that Swinton participated in the physical act of bombing.

In order to link Swinton in some fashion with an alleged bombing conspiracy, the U.S. attorney was forced to invent a new category of evidence. Prior to the Swinton trial, only "direct" and "circumstantial" evidence was accepted into court. But, as Cutner had neither, he attempted to "prove" guilt by *coincidence*.

This newly invented category of "coincidental evidence" consisted of the facts that Swinton participated during 1967 in the Revolutionary Contingent, an organization which did not exist in 1969 and in no way could be linked to the 1969 bombings; that Swinton possessed a *legally registered* rifle which had nothing to do with the bombings; and that she lived in the same apartment with David Hughey and in the same building with Jane Alpert and Sam Melville.

FBI Informer "Prince Crazy, Son of Yippie" and Other State "Witnesses"

In order to marshal this "coincidental evidence," Cutner submitted a series of "exhibits" which either had

nothing to do with the bombings or had nothing to do with Pat Swinton. In addition, Cutner called a total of twenty-five witnesses, who could be grouped in four categories: agent provocateurs and paid FBI informers, undercover cops, social misfits and "crazies," and "uncooperative" witnesses. In the latter category were David Hughey and Jane Alpert, both of whom refused to testify. Alpert's refusal, however, was based not on feminist solidarity with her former sister-in-struggle, whom she had ratted on, but on fear that testifying would "put my life in danger."

The state called two other witnesses who were also "uncooperative." One was thoroughly "spaced-out" as a result of daily "trips" on LSD, and both gave testimony which so discredited the state's shabby non-case that Cutner was forced in his closing speech to impeach his own witnesses!

But the state's "star witness" was one George Demmerle, former member of the fascist Minute Men and the right-wing John Birch Society who "joined" a series of left-wing organizations and causes, for which he received \$6,000 from the FBI. In 1967 this paid FBI informer penetrated the Revolutionary Contingent, and in conjunction with a member of the New York City Red Squad (another one of Cutner's "witnesses") an "arms committee" was initiated in which Demmerle advocated buying guns for black militants.

Although at the time Swinton was also a member of the Revolutionary Contingent but not of its "arms committee" (which never seems to have exceeded five, at least two of whom are now confessed agents or paid FBI informers), Demmerle could not recognize Swinton in court. From the Revolutionary Contingent Demmerle went on to penetrate the congressional campaign of the Progressive Labor Party in Brooklyn in an unsuccessful attempt to steal the mailing list of the PL press. As a consort of Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, he later became known as "Prince Crazy, Son of Yippie" for his role in a variety of capers in Manhattan's East Village.

Demmerle's sole contribution to the bombing conspiracy charges against Swinton was the claim that communiques issued in conjunction with the 1969 bombings and written in the stylized New Left rhetoric popular at the time resembled the style of some of the writing Swinton did for the Revolutionary Contingent in 1967! Cutner called Demmerle his best witness and



Pat "Shoshana" Swinton.

the "hero of New York City" for his contributions to "justice"!

Pat Swinton's Victory Is Also Our Victory!

Even though the federal judge was overtly biased against the defense, making a series of discriminatory rulings and conducting himself in a prejudicial manner, the jury, which was mainly composed of middle-aged, middle-class white males, still saw through the government's sham case and acquitted Pat Swinton. No doubt the post-Watergate climate hostile to secret police and paid informers was in Swinton's favor.

Unfortunately, the Swinton defense committee did little to build support for the case outside of the courtroom through protest and publicity. Nonetheless this victory for Pat Swinton and the defeat dealt to the government's attempt to broaden the reactionary, blanket conspiracy laws is an important victory for the left and labor movement.

This victory can be sustained, however, only if those who stand on the side of the oppressed are defended by class-struggle defense policies which utilize both the courtroom and mass protest. It is in that spirit that the Partisan Defense Committee, defense arm of the Spartacist League, has financially supported Pat Swinton's defense, applauds her victory and fights to abolish the reactionary laws under which she was persecuted. ■

Pro-Tom "Trotskyists"...

cial years of radicalization, could have deflected a significant number of black militants away from dead-end nationalism towards a pro-working-class orientation and the revolutionary communist vanguard, thereby fundamentally altering the future development of the left and labor movement.

SWP/YSA: From Abstention to Conscious Betrayal

Although today an aspiring social-democratic organization, the SWP/YSA was once a revolutionary party. By the 1950's, however, the SWP evidenced deepening political disorientation on a series of issues, often programmatically wobbling under the pressures of the

Cold War witchhunt and isolation from involvement in social struggle. During the late 1950's and early 1960's the SWP abstained from intervening in the unfolding civil rights movement and raising its then-Trotskyist program.

In the early 1950's the SWP tended to accept the NAACP as the legitimate leadership of the black movement for equality. When King rose to prominence during the Montgomery struggle, the SWP shifted its allegiance from the NAACP to King. While criticizing King within the party, the SWP never breathed a word of criticism of the good Reverend publicly and even suppressed articles submitted to the *Militant* which were critical of King.

Completely abdicating the responsibility to fight for its program and expose the petty-bourgeois black misleaders like King, the SWP simply adapted to the existing black leadership and reduced its role from that of leading to that of uncritical cheering. The SWP, for example, advised the

NAACP from afar concerning the best manner to conduct lobbying (*Militant*, 30 January 1956).

As it degenerated and moved to the right, demonstrated by its call for troops, the SWP/YSA became infatuated with the "leader cult," that is, the cult of someone else's leader. The SWP/YSA's pantheon of black heroes changed kaleidoscopically: first the NAACP, then Martin Luther King, then Elijah Muhammed and the Nation of Islam, then Malcolm X, then CORE, then the Black Panthers, and today... back to the NAACP!

These opportunist gyrations were opposed by the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP/YSA in the early 1960's. These comrades, who later were to form the Spartacist League, advocated an active intervention by the SWP into the civil rights movement. Black comrades solidarizing with the RT were discouraged and even prevented from intervening in the southern civil rights movement by the SWP majority leadership.

Spartacist Intervenes

Following the bureaucratic expulsion of the RT from the SWP, the newly formed Spartacist League, despite its meager resources and small numbers, began building bases in the South and intervening in an exemplary fashion in the civil rights movement, explaining the need for organized self-defense, disarming the cops, unionization of the unorganized and union organization of the unemployed, full

employment through a shorter work-week at no loss in pay and a Freedom-Labor Party to fight for the needs of black and working people in opposition to the capitalist political parties. While the SWP abstained from intervening around the 1964 Harlem "riots" and subsequent state repression, the SL initiated the united-front Harlem Solidarity Committee. While the SWP continued demanding troops to protect the black civil rights movement, the SL promoted the self-defense efforts of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, which opposed troops to the South, and championed armed black self-defense ("Every Dime Buys a Bullet").

From the outset as an independent tendency we have warned that the opportunist tailing of the SWP/YSA could only lead to betrayal:

"The SWP, in putting forward uncritically one nonrevolutionary Negro leadership or another, praising their good points while omitting anything unfavorable in either record or program, is in fact encouraging the Negro people to place their trust in leaders who will only sell them out at some future, possibly more critical date."

—*Spartacist*, No. 3, January-February 1965 [original emphasis]

Ten years later this prophetic criticism retains its full force. The SWP/YSA today pushes the Uncle Tom NAACP leaders, prettifying their record and distorting their program, in order to encourage black people to place their trust in those "leaders" who have sold them out in the past and will sell them out tomorrow. ■

"We believe," Thomas said, "that all NSCAR activists, militant unionists, women's liberation fighters, and people fighting for Black control of the Black community should be members of the NAACP. They should become participants in the life and struggles of the largest organization that is fighting in the interests of Blacks."

—Tony Thomas, report to recent SWP convention, as quoted in the *Militant*, 3 October 1975.

Banker Barons Slam NYC...

Continued from page 1

thousands of working-class and minority youth to attend the colleges have been eliminated or cut to the bone; hundreds of faculty and staff have been booted on to the street; and tens of thousands of youth have been turned away for lack of facilities. Open admissions at City University is becoming a cruel hoax. And the grim prospect of finally graduating onto the unemployment lines or into the welfare offices transforms education into a desperately competitive and often bitter experience for those clawing through City University.

Provoked and angered by the cutbacks, thousands of students have flocked to protest demonstrations since the resumption of classes. On September 15 more than 3,000 demonstrators amassed in front of Governor Carey's office to demand an end to the budget cuts and preservation of the policy of open admission/no tuition. That same week over 10,000 students rallied at the Queens College campus of the City University in opposition to cutbacks.

The Discreet Glee of the Bourgeoisie

New York City is clearly the victim of financial moguls demanding their profits "by any means necessary." Moreover the bourgeoisie as a whole is permitting, encouraging and even relishing the rape of New York City.

Although New York is the financial and commercial nerve center of the U.S. imperialist octopus, the American bourgeoisie does not cultivate its leading urban center as a showpiece city, like the French and British bourgeoisies, for example, maintain Paris and London. Even the Indian bourgeoisie looks upon New Delhi with pride. But the American ruling class seems willing to allow New York to become what it already is in their minds: "Calcutta West." Years ago the doltish Barry Goldwater blurted out the sentiment of much of the bourgeoisie by suggesting that Manhattan be cut loose and allowed to slip into the sea.

The American bourgeoisie bears an historical grudge against New York: it's "Un-American." For the bourgeoisie, New York City has too many blacks, too many Hispanics, too many Jews, too many "high-brow" liberals, too many reds, too many bohemians,

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too many unions, too "generous" welfare and too much culture.

Before bailing out bankrupt New York, the bourgeoisie prefers to let its "Big Apple" sink into a purgatory of chaos and widespread hardship, as uncollected garbage accumulates on unrepaired streets, as unmaintained subways stall in foul catacombs, as fires burn uncontrolled and as the poor are driven to crime. For the bourgeoisie, that the horrible stereotypes of New York are becoming everyday life for the working and poor people is retribution.

More pragmatically, the bourgeoisie recognizes in the New York City crisis the opportunity to tighten the vise on the municipal labor unions, some of which are the most combative and powerful in the country. The bourgeoisie has seized upon the conjuncture of mass unemployment and a fiscal crisis to launch a union-busting offensive. All summer the bourgeois media cranked out a blaring anti-union propaganda campaign; typical was the TV "special feature" in which the cameramen surreptitiously followed a garbage

truck, filming every rest break taken by the sanitationmen as documentation of "loafing." Wage restraint and higher productivity have become the battle cry of the frenzied city officials.

Labor Fakers Surrender to Big MAC

The sanitationmen's and teachers' strikes this summer represented important showdowns with the capitalist city government. Despite the militancy and deep dissatisfaction in the ranks, both were sold out by the union bureaucracy.

The teachers' strike could have breached the capitalist offensive and spearheaded a rising tide of labor/student mobilizations and strikes capable of sweeping away Big MAC. The American Federation of Teachers in New York is one of the largest unions in the country. The teachers were straining to fight the destruction of education in the city. (At the strike meeting held in Madison Square Garden 30,000 teachers raised the deafening chant, "Strike! Strike!") And the strike enjoyed widespread sympathy, unlike the 1968 UFT strike. (At that time the Ford-Foundation-created "community control" boards, clashing with the UFT over union due process in transfers, tragically succeeded in mobilizing the black community against the allegedly "racist" strike. The Spartacist League was alone on the left in joining an indictment of the racist Shanker bureaucracy to a call for support to the strike as a necessary measure in stopping the city's union-busting drive.)

The bureaucrats misleading the AFT, after the usual image-boosting effusion of militant rhetoric, sacrificed all the essential demands of the strike at the bargaining table and then rammed through the sellout contract over widespread opposition from the ranks. The "victory" claimed by the AFT tops is the rehiring of a small percentage of the laid-off teachers through "winning" back the fines that had been levied on every striking teacher's paycheck under the no-strike Taylor Law!

The working and poor people of this city must not permit these emboldened assaults on their living and working conditions and educational opportunities to continue. Public funds so desperately needed for vital social services must not be siphoned off into the financial empires of Big MAC.

We demand that the municipal debt be cancelled at once and that the banks be expropriated! We demand that the capitalist city administration open all its financial records so that investigative commissions of the municipal labor movement can expose in eye-opening cash terms the financial mismanagement and corruption for which the city officials are solely responsible. All these capitalist scoundrels should be thrown out of office in the next election and replaced by labor candidates independent of the capitalist parties pledged to fight for the needs of the working people.

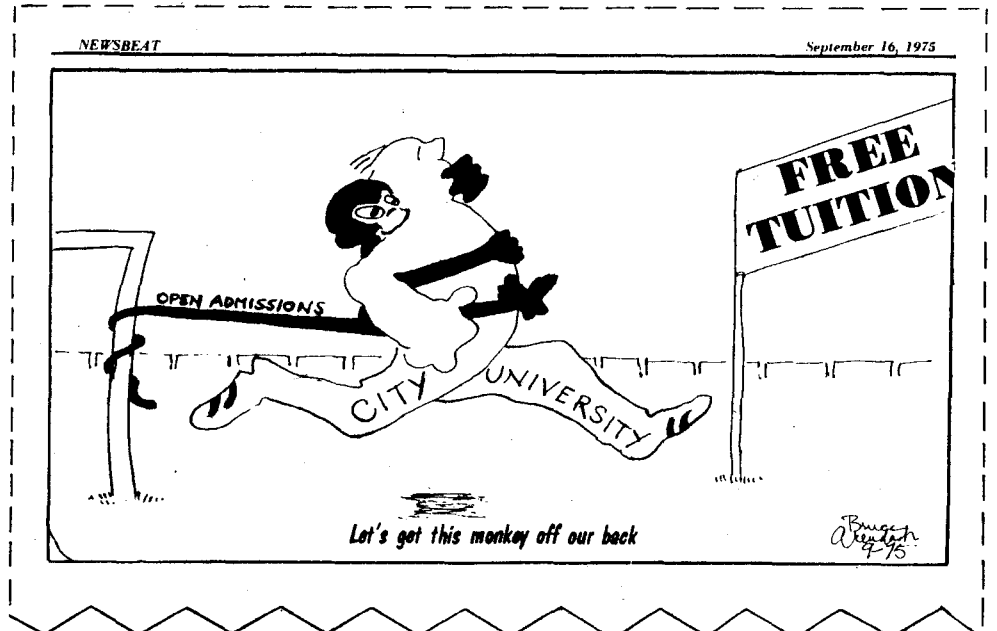
Capitalist politicians howl that education and other social services must suffer, because New York's tax base is being eroded by the migration of business and labor out of the city. All those who are affected by the cutbacks and layoffs must respond with the demand that all necessary social services be provided and financed by the federal government.

To the democratic demand for fed-

erally financed education and welfare we couple the call for the nationalization of the private universities and open admissions to all institutions of higher education. We support open admissions, a democratic demand undercutting the class and race biased nature of education under capitalism, while emphasizing the need for the abolition of tuition and for a state-provided stipend covering the living expenses of students and their dependents to make open

claimed socialist organizations offer nothing beyond timid reformist schemes.

Among the many groups claiming to represent the leadership needed to oppose the budget cuts is the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA). These fake-lefts simply accept the status quo, calling only for an end to the cutbacks and a moratorium on debt payments. Their "answer" to the present economic



RACIST FILTH: "Cartoon" from Queens College newspaper part of campaign against open admissions.

admissions economically meaningful for all.

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

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

Inspid Reformism

The drastic New York City crisis has provoked non-solutions from every quarter. While the SYL advances a concrete program which links the urgent needs of workers, the unemployed and students to broader social questions and to the perspective of proletarian revolution, other self-pro-

crisis is a "Bill of Rights for Working People," which pushes the hoary social-democratic perspective of reforming capitalism, not destroying it. Wrapping itself in respectable reformism imbued with all the social-patriotic fervor of the Bicentennial, the SWP/YSA hopes to find a niche in the bourgeois order as the "best organizers" of reformist protest movements able to contain discontent.

While the SWP/YSA consciously presents itself as smooth-talking "reasonable socialists," the Revolutionary Union/Revolutionary Student Brigade (RU/RSB) postures as straight-talking "militant" populists. In the struggle against the cutbacks, as in most other struggles, the RSB searches for the lowest-common-denominator which it thinks the masses can "unite around now," which almost invariably proves to be the exhortation to "fight back" and nothing more. In Boston, the RU/RSB has oriented to the racist anti-busing movement, which is "united" solidly around segregationist demands for "community schools," and urges the racists, who have viciously attacked black people for the last year, to "fight back" against busing!

In New York the RU/RSB has even found a "unity" with the Big MAC leeches. Just listen to this:

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

—Fight Back, NY-NJ Special Edition on Cutbacks [undated—emphasis ours]

The RSB has "united" not with the objective needs of the working people, especially the black and Hispanic populations, but with Big MAC, Mayor Beame and the labor bureaucracy who all agree that the city must somehow "pay off its debt"!

The junta of bankers who now are calling the shots in New York City have colossal resources at their command and are ruthless in the pursuit of their profits. Students acting alone will not be able to win from Big MAC even the minimal gains wrested from university administrations in the 1960's and must seek to ally with the organized labor movement. Students in New York and around the country need a program that can lead struggles against budget cuts and tuition hikes and politically link these struggles at every step with the class struggle against capitalism. The SYL seeks to mobilize students, workers and the unemployed in common, concrete struggles around bold slogans. Join us! ■

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Young Spartacus

Victory to the Berkeley Teachers' Strike!

BERKELEY, September 26—The teachers' strike which has kept public schools here empty is continuing into its third week. From coast to coast teachers' unions have been driven by budget-slashing, wage-gouging and union-busting city and state governments into following other municipal labor unions and resorting to often "illegal" strikes in defense of rapidly deteriorating living and working conditions.

As Berkeley teachers set up picket lines on September 3, local firemen had been on strike for a week. The teachers' and firemen's strikes have shaken the myths of the so-called "progressive" character of the Berkeley city government, the enforced distinction between public employees and other workers, and the phony radicalism of aspiring labor fakers.

In an anti-labor vendetta, the liberal Berkeley school board provoked the teachers' strike by attempting to shave salaries, cut back special educational programs, lift restrictions on class size, slash fringe benefits, and abolish the controls restricting arbitrary transfers. In pushing this austerity program, the school board and city council have demagogically postured as the liberal defenders of the poor and working people against allegedly unreasonable demands callously made by supposedly over-paid and greedy teachers and other municipal workers.

Under the shabby cover of populist rhetoric and fudged statistics the school board used the taxes of the poor and working people for anti-labor propaganda and strike-breaking: \$50 a day for each scab, \$65 an hour for a so-called "negotiator" and thousands more for mailings which beseeched parents to break the strike. Now the board is scheming to use a capitalist politician, Democratic Congressman Dellums, as a supposedly disinterested "mediator" for a settlement, a strike-breaking ploy every bit as fraudulent as proposing Nelson Rockefeller to "mediate" a strike at Standard Oil.

With consummate hypocrisy the board challenges the teachers to propose ways of reorganizing the school district so as to maintain the special programs and the present teachers' salaries in the face of the fiscal crisis. The teachers' union must respond with the demand that the city open all its financial records to a committee of inspection appointed by and responsible only to the union, which could expose the fiscal mismanagement responsible for the "loss" of at least \$3.9 million and the vast revenues drained away by debt payments to the banks and financial giants holding city bonds. The union should champion the demand for the cancellation of the city debt and the expropriation of the banks as the first step in relieving the fiscal crunch.

Likewise, teachers must answer a shrinking city budget with demands raising the broader social issues of

education. It is necessary to call for the nationalization without compensation of private schools, for educational funding at the national level and for complete desegregation through measures including busing programs. Private schools are bastions of privilege and should be opened up. As long as public education is funded through local taxation, schools in Beverly Hills and schools in Appalachia will provide

Teamsters in response to an appeal by the striking Berkeley firemen. Had the union bureaucrats misleading the firemen's strike not voluntarily called off the blockade, the business community in Berkeley would have been forced to its knees.

But the teachers' union did not seek or receive significant labor support. The Alameda Central Labor Council bureaucrats simply offered advice on

percent wage increase [!] agreed to last April 15th... We call on the board to return to the April 15 Agreement." Obviously seeking to curry favor with the bureaucrats, who just might endorse its next respectable protest parade, the NSCAR pushes the sellout agreement that sacrifices any pay increases and many fringe benefits, which means a setback given the rocketing inflation and deteriorating working con-



SL/SYL participated in Berkeley teachers' demonstration, September 9th.

enormously unequal "public" education. Similarly, as long as school districts are based on residential segregation, access to public education will remain discriminatory.

Under capitalism production, including the education and training of youth, is motivated by profit. Only the expropriation of the bourgeoisie by the workers in power can resolve the fiscal crises endemic to capitalism and ensure free, quality public education for all.

The bureaucrats of the teachers' union, who like the rest of the labor bureaucracy may haggle with the boss but will not challenge the capitalist system, cover their timid demands by pandering to the "professional" status of teachers. By only striking for preventing cuts in school programs and salaries and by disclaiming any desire for "economic gain," the teachers' union contributes to its isolation from the rest of the workers movement. In the Bay Area the potential for coordinated strikes by all public employees against the layoffs and budget cuts now is great, as manifested in recent strikes by San Francisco and Berkeley firemen, by strike sentiment among teachers in adjacent communities and by opposition throughout California to the legislation prohibiting strikes and collective bargaining by public employees. An example of the power of labor solidarity was the halting of all deliveries in Berkeley by the

seeking unemployment benefits and food stamps. The non-instructional staff of the Berkeley public schools, having seen teachers cross its picket lines in the past, is now in turn scabbing on the teachers' strike. The Berkeley Federation of Teachers and the Berkeley Teachers' Association are relying on a vague, community-limited "strategy" to win support for the strike. A large proportion of Berkeley residents fortunately is sympathetic with the teachers' strike, reflected by a high 90 percent student absenteeism. Community support is vitally important for a successful teachers' strike. But to rely only upon this support, to refuse to link up with the organized workers movement, is a gamble and in Berkeley a losing strategy, demonstrated by the pitifully small turnout at the community support rallies and the PTA campaign for "both sides" to end the strike.

The bureaucrats' attempt to sustain the strike by garnering support on the basis of a humanitarian and professional image is being given a badly needed left cover by fake-"militant" aspiring bureaucrats and their hangers-on among "left" organizations. The National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), dominated by the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), distributed a leaflet which stated, "TEACHERS ARE NOT STRIKING FOR MORE MONEY...they are on strike to stop these cuts and maintain a zero

conditions! If the bureaucrats should be successful in saddling the union ranks with the zero percent "increase," then militant union members should remember who supported the return to this sellout.

Likewise, Jeff Mackler, Executive Secretary of the Hayward AFT and sometimes contributor to the SWP/YSA press, addressed a rally on September 9 and, while free with the "stick together" rhetoric that is the stock-in-trade of every business unionist come strike time, avoided mentioning any strategy for winning the strike. ILWU Local 6 Executive Board member Bob Mandel had also been invited by the striking teachers' union to address this rally. This militant, unlike the faker Mackler, was prevented from reading his prepared statement, which called for labor action in defense of the teachers, the right to strike for public employees and a workers government to expropriate the capitalists, by the joint efforts of some union bureaucrats and leading SWP spokesman Clifton DeBerry.

In sharp contrast to the no-gain, no-struggle position of the SWP/YSA and NSCAR, the SYL in a leaflet distributed to thousands of high school students is calling for solidarity with the teachers' strike and for meetings to organize strike support and discuss the issues raised by the strike. Victory to the Teachers' Strike! ■

Chicago Teachers Tangle With Boss Daley, Courts

CHICAGO—For several weeks last month, Chicago public schools as well as the City Colleges were shut tight by the concurrent strikes of the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) and the Cook County College Teachers Union (CCCTU). When CCCTU president Norman Swenson was clamped in jail for refusal to comply with the back-to-work restraining order hurled at the teachers after just one day of the strike, a massive rally of 5,000 Chicago-area unionists, including many CTU strikers whose picket lines were threatened by a similar injunction, and their supporters demanded that Swenson be released.

A tentative contract agreement led to the release of Swenson, but at

the expense of several crucial CCCTU demands. Several days later the CTU bureaucracy, buckling under to pressure from Democratic Boss Mayor Daley, unloaded a sellout compromise agreement on the militant public school teachers.

The SYL in Chicago actively supported the public school and City Colleges teachers' strikes, walking the picket lines, participating in the rallies and, most important, building student solidarity and support for these labor actions. Our campaign for a united-front support rally at Roosevelt University, in particular, received broad support and endorsements.

SL/SYL supports striking Chicago teachers, jailed union leader, in September 10th demonstration.



YOUNG SPARTACUS

Young Spartacus

"Chicago Boys" Implicated in Planned Starvation

Protest Barbaric Chilean Junta's Collaborators!

A campaign has been launched at the University of Chicago (UC) by the Spartacus Youth League to expose and protest UC Professor Milton Friedman's complicity with the murderous Chilean junta. The SYL is campaigning at UC, on other campuses, and across Chicago with the call to drive this accomplice of the reactionary generals off the UC campus through protest and exposure. Friedman, the doyen of American "free enterprise" bourgeois economists, as well as his cohort Arnold Harberger, chairman of the UC Economics Department (home of the "Chicago Boys"), have served in recent months as high-level economic architects of the barbarous austerity measures with which the bloody junta continues to crush Chilean workers, peasants and students.

While the UC Economics Department has evaded responding to our charges, the sordid facts, however, cannot be denied. Friedman's activities in Chile have been reported in the *New York Times*, *Monthly Review*, and the Rome-based *Chile-America*. Most scandalously revealing is the documentation published in the Santiago newspaper, *El Mercurio*.

According to *El Mercurio* (24-30 March 1975), Professors Friedman and Harberger, along with their "Chicago Boy" Carlos Langoni, were the most influential figures in a recent Chilean state economic conference. Friedman reportedly cited inflation, over 1,000 percent since the coup two years ago, as being the primary problem and prescribed decreased public spending, monetary control and a "shock treatment," the term which has since been adopted by the junta to describe all attacks upon the already below-subsistence-level standard of living.

Harberger, not coincidentally, was formerly a professor at the University of Santiago as well as an advisor to the imperialist International Monetary Fund, the American Commerce Department and State Department. No wonder that Harberger's March visit (his third) "coincided" with a windfall \$98,750,000 in IMF "aid" to the junta and the statement by President Ford that "the seriousness and courage with which Chile is conducting its economic recuperation is economically dignified" (quoted in *El Mercurio*, 28 April-4 May 1975).

This free market/heavy repression economic program comes at a time when even the *New York Times* (2 March 1975) admits that the junta's already devastating economic policy "has reduced poorer Chileans to a daily battle against malnutrition." The program of the "Chicago Boys" for prices to rise, wages to fall and unemployment to spread means catastrophe for the workers and poor peasants, as unemployment has already risen over the 20 percent level, prices have jumped spectacularly since the coup for such basic necessities as powdered milk (5,488 percent) and bread (10,000 percent) and as many workers are falling below the \$23 a month minimum wage. With an economic policy for reducing the masses to starvation, Friedman is hailed as "the guiding light of the junta's economic policy" (*New York Times*, 21

September 1975) and Harberger as the "brilliant star" of the conferences (*Pueblo* [Costa Rica] 24 March 1975).

Although decrying in his touted *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962) the evils of the expanded modern state, Friedman today utters not a word about the repressive state apparatus in Chile. Compared to total population, the Chilean armed forces are the largest in Latin America.

Since the September 11, 1973 overthrow of Salvador Allende, the army has waged a relentless, bloody struggle to smash the Chilean workers movement and the left. The repression has left over 20,000 workers, peasants and student militants dead, at least 100,000 imprisoned at one point or another (many having been repeatedly and brutally tortured), and an estimated 80,000-100,000 in exile, and now continues through planned privation and starvation. Formulating economic "stabilization" programs for the junta butchers is complicity in murder! As academic prostitutes like Friedman and his "Boys" calculate "shock treatments," hundreds of impoverished Chileans must pick through garbage for scraps of rotting food to dole out to their

starving children.

During the period of massive, militant student demonstrations against the war and university involvement in war-related activities and imperialist ventures, Friedman gained notoriety for his tirades against student radicals for alleged "violations" of academic freedom and supposed "inviolability" of the universities. Friedman, however, remained silent as the junta booted out of the universities 22,000 of Chile's 160,000 university students. At the University of Concepción after the coup, 1,500 professors and administrators were immediately "cancelled," as were entire Social Sciences Departments at many universities. The "re-education" of children of parents formerly supporting Allende now takes place in a special concentration camp.

The following exchange between the Secretary of the University of Chile at Valparaíso and the junta, quoted in the *Manchester Guardian* (20 September 1975) illustrates the junta's policy regarding the "free dissemination of ideas":

"Dear Sir, Please instruct us as to the administrative measures our faculty must take concerning the books to be taken off the library list because of

their political contents.' Answer: 'You may kindly proceed to burn them.'"

These books ranged from works of Marx and Lenin to works of liberals like economist John Kenneth Galbraith.

For Marxists there is a key distinction between reactionary ideologues and charlatans and those who are neck-deep in planning the crimes of the bourgeoisie. By their collaboration in the decisions which will lead to the further repression of the Chilean working masses, Friedman and Harberger share the guilt of Pinochet and Co. These "Chicago Boys" were described to *Young Spartacus* on 26 September 1975 by the Chilean Permanent Mission to the U.N. as "our consultative doctors": These collaborators must not be accorded any more "rights to academic freedom" than would be granted Pinochet himself.

The SYL sees this campaign to expose and protest Friedman as part of our unceasing efforts to defend the victims of the junta's terror. In the past the SL/SYL has initiated campaigns to defend MIR leaders Van Schouwen and Romero, has built support for the enacting of the maritime protest boycotts on goods to Chile, and has participated in numerous protests against the junta's atrocities.

The defense efforts of the SL/SYL have been coupled with continued criticism of the criminal role of the Allende popular front coalition in permitting the conditions for the junta's seizure of power through chaining the workers to maintenance of the capitalist system. Allende's reliance upon the state and the "progressive" generals who were to lead the "Chilean road to socialism" left the workers and peasants unarmed and defenseless before the junta repression. As the popular front has re-established itself in the exile Coalition of Rome (including the MIR), and as a new SP/Radical/Christian-Democratic alliance emerges out of the recent trilateral discussions in Caracas, Venezuela, the political lessons must be sharply drawn. The proletariat leading the oppressed masses must overthrow the junta, and its vanguard must be steeled in the fight against popular front betrayals.


The SYL seeks to win other participants in the united-front campaign and students to the position that Milton Friedman, Arnold Harberger and others applying "Chicago Boy" economics junta-style must be driven off the University of Chicago campus through an active campaign of protest and exposure. The fight against Friedman must also raise the demand for the freeing of all prisoners of the junta's repression.

Knowing that the administration will always use purge precedents and sanctions more frequently and aggressively against the left, we never call upon the administration to take action against anyone, including Friedman. Friedman and his ilk must be driven off campus through protest demonstrations and other militant actions by all those at the UC and in the Chicago area who oppose collaboration and pernicious complicity with the junta killers. ■


MILTON FRIEDMAN!

*Your brain-trusting
for junta killers means...*

STARVATION IN CHILE!



Residents of Santiago search for food in a garbage dump outside the city last year (L'Express).



Junta censor books from Marx and Lenin to Gorki and even Galbraith, and burns them (Manchester Guardian, 20 September 1975).

*You protest
radicals' "violations"
of academic freedom
but not the junta's...*

BOOK- BURNINGS IN SANTIAGO!

DRIVE FRIEDMAN OFF CAMPUS THROUGH PROTEST AND EXPOSURE!

For more information: Contact SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680-1312-427-0003.

S.Y.L.

SYL POSTER: Part of campaign in solidarity with Chilean workers.