

Young Spartacus

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After Franco, what?

FOR WORKERS' REVOLUTION IN SPAIN!

October 28—General Francisco Franco, the dictator who has brutally ruled over the Spanish working masses for three-and-a-half decades since the defeat of the Spanish Republic, slips ever closer to his death. Having survived the destruction of Hitler and Mussolini, his allies during the Civil War, General Franco and his era now draw to a close as *El Caudillo's* certain demise intersects a rising tide of class struggle by the militant and class-conscious Spanish proletariat. The designated heir—yacht-loving, frivolous and politically incompetent Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón—has already demonstrated his incapacity to maintain even bonapartist control over the Francoist apparatus during his brief tenure in office during 1974.

In recent months Spain has repeatedly been shaken by massive strikes. When Basque militants were arrested last December, 200,000 workers took to the streets in political protest. The capitalists shut down the large and industrially central SEAT auto works in Barcelona in a move to suppress the political strikes there.

The Asturian miners have repeatedly struck and represent a key combative proletarian concentration. The city of Pamplona has been the site of frequent industrial strife, which took the form early this year of street fighting and the erection of barricades.

The hundreds of workers commissions which cover virtually every industrial region have turned the factories of Spain into hot spots of class struggle.

But as the class struggle in Spain heats up, the brazen class-collaborationist appetites and maneuvers of the now illegal reformist workers parties increase accordingly. The historic defeat which the Spanish proletariat suffered in 1936-39 was the result of the treacherous class collaboration of the Popular Front. The Spanish workers bitterly recall the bloody results of political subordination to the bourgeoisie, yet the Communist Party of Spain (CP) and the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) are again attempting to lead the proletariat into the stranglehold of the capitalist class, allowing the capitalists to smash the workers movement.

Both the CP and the PSOE have forged class-collaborationist coalitions with small sections of the Spanish ruling class—the Democratic Junta and the Platform of Convergence, respectively. These popular fronts are the vehicles through which the Stalinists and the Social Democrats are attempting to channel the anti-Franco and anti-government struggles of the masses into an accommodation with the "progressive bourgeoisie." Thus, the

continued on page 10



Generalissimo Franco and entourage.

SYL campaigns against Chilean junta's collaborators



YOUNG SPARTACUS

Univ. of Chicago demonstration against campus braintrusters implicated in Chilean repression.

Univ. of Chicago economists engineer starvation

CHICAGO—At the University of Chicago (UC) the Spartacus Youth League is presently leading an active and lively campaign of protest and exposure against two top economic advisors to the murderous Chilean junta: Milton Friedman, renowned reactionary "free market" ideologue and grey eminence of the UC Economics Department, and Arnold Harberger, the Department chairman.

On October 3 a militant rally of some 150 students and campus employees kicked off the campaign, which has been conducted on the basis of the slogans, "Protest Friedman and Harberger: Collaborators with the Bloody Chilean Junta!" and "Free All Victims of the Junta's Repression!" The issue has dominated political life on campus throughout the month, sparking interest and controversy on other Chicago-area campuses as well.

For the SYL the campaign at

continued on page 4

EDITORIAL NOTE

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: A POLITICAL OBITUARY

From exile Eldridge Cleaver, renowned former leader of the Black Panther Party, recently has repudiated revolutionary politics in an ultra-patriotic bid for a pardon enabling him to return to the U.S. by the Fourth of July.

Seldom has the ruling class spurned a disillusioned radical leader who renounces his cause and courts the bourgeois "establishment." Especially now, when the government's dirty laundry is being laundered publicly, defenders of the status quo can certainly make use of ex-radicals willing to support a discredited social system by "testifying" that there are no alternatives. Thus, the media has assisted former New Left ideologue Tom Hayden—who in 1972 followed the "Ho Chi Minh Trail" onto the campaign trail of "dove" Democrat George McGovern—to achieve new celebrity now as a pseudo-populist Democratic Party senatorial hopeful in California (see "It's Mr. Hayden Now, If You Please," *Young Spartacus*, September 1975).

Fashionable, socially well-connected renegades like Hayden can easily traipse back to the bourgeois fold. But in this deeply racist society, charismatic black leaders who rose to political stature through flamboyant defiance of the racist order cannot expect to find the bourgeois state so accommodating. This recognition may well be the motivation for Cleaver's grotesque gestures of capitulation and desperate anti-communist tirades.

Eldridge Cleaver recently made his startling debut in Paris as "Eldridge de Paris," the revolutionary-turned-"radical chic" men's fashion designer. Probably only to attract publicity, Cleaver designed and modeled some "revolutionary hot pants" with a crotch shaped into an attenuated pouch, like a medieval codpiece. As his *Soul On Ice* several years ago revealed, Cleaver is far from naive; he is certainly well aware of the sexual stereotypes of the black male and their role in the pathological psychology of white racism. His obscene "hot pants" can only be regarded as a costume tailored according to the debased image of the black man projected by the Ku Klux Klan. The spectacle of Cleaver, the once self-sacrificing revolutionary leader, presenting blacks as an object for ridicule by sniggering racists is truly sickening. In the attempt to crawl back into the bourgeoisie's good graces, Cleaver is willing to fan the murderous flames of white racism.

Cleaver has groomed himself politically by an equally grotesque grovelling before the imperialist appetites of the ruling class of this country. In an interview with *Rolling Stone* (11 September), that soft-pulp rag which slickly trafficks "counter-culture," Cleaver performs a sickening "step-'n'-fetchit" routine for the Pentagon:

"I now think that the U.S. should be second to none militarily, that we have to strengthen, not demise, our military.... I, for one, intend to develop a new relationship with the U.S. military. I'm on a honeymoon with them myself. I love 'em. (much laughter)"
"However, experience has shown socialists/

communists strap onto people the most oppressive regimes in the history of the world.... I want to see the American military establishment's power supporting people who are being fucked over in the world.... If we are truly the force for democracy in the world, then we have an obligation to help in the disintegration of the totalitarian Soviet regime."

Cleaver's defection is political and must be placed in the context of the development and demise of the Black Panther Party and, more generally, the brutal oppression of black people in this racist society. Like Malcolm X, George Jackson and so many other black radical leaders, Eldridge Cleaver came to political consciousness through generalizing his individual victimization at the hands of racist "law and order" into an elemental resistance to brutal oppression of the black masses by this capitalist system. In this racist society the leap from prison-hardened, street-wise lumpen life to socialist consciousness and disciplined functioning for a black person is enormous. Cleaver partially overcame a lumpen, criminal, "hustler" existence by seeking to become part of a struggle on behalf of the oppressed black masses.

But the black militants who built the Black Panther Party embodied profound contradictions, encompassing both true heroism and lumpen hustlerism. The Black Panther Party combined militant self-defense of the ghetto against racist cop terrorization with politically reformist, pragmatic social work (such as "serving the people" through the breakfast for children program).

The massive, unrelenting and murderous state repression unleashed against the Panthers exacerbated the contradiction between the impulse toward lumpen-based urban guerrilla confrontations with the state and the pressure to accommodate the liberal establishment for protection. This contradiction in the Panthers' politics led to the devastating split in 1971 between the pro-capitalist and openly reformist wing led by Huey Newton and the proto-terrorist/"armed struggle" wing, with which Cleaver was associated (see "Rise and Fall of the Panthers: End of the Black Power Era," *Workers Vanguard*, January 1972).

Isolated in exile, Cleaver soon became disillusioned with "third-world" nationalism. While certainly no political *ingenué* and always exploiting his various "third-world" patrons for creature comforts and political elevation, Cleaver's reconciliation with imperialism was facilitated by the hollowness of the "revolutionary" rhetoric of radical-nationalist bourgeois regimes such as Algeria and by the willingness of the parasitic bureaucracies ruling in China, Cuba and the other deformed workers states to betray the oppressed for "detente" with world imperialism.

As Cleaver related to *Rolling Stone*,

"When I left the U.S. I went first to Cuba, then to Algeria, China, North Vietnam and North Korea. Face it, people are nationalists more than they are internationalists and they use internationalism in a very cynical way in order to further their own nationalist aspirations.... The final shock came the

day I saw Richard Nixon shaking hands with Chairman Mao. When you see Nixon and all that he stands for shaking hands with Mao and all that he supposedly stood for—well, it marks a turning point in history and a personal turning point for me."

Cleaver did not flee the U.S. in an act of cowardice. He was instructed to escape by the Panther leadership, but only after he had prepared himself for "revolutionary suicide": a final, heroic shoot-out with the cops who were hunting him down like an animal. Eldridge Cleaver is at bottom a victim of this racist capitalist state. His final political disintegration was assisted by bitter disillusionment with the cynical betrayals of Stalinism.

Cleaver rose from a socially marginal existence as a ghetto "hustler" to a leader of the organization which represented the most subjectively revolutionary expression of the non-Marxist ideology of black nationalism. That organization was destroyed by political contradictions and state repression. Now Cleaver has returned again to "hustling" as "Eldridge de Paris." In this sense, his repudiation of revolutionary politics is a hollow victory for the ruling class.

Cleaver's defection is tragic. Yet it should be regarded as only the final curtain to a far greater tragedy: the loss of so many subjectively revolutionary and self-sacrificing black militants through political demoralization and cop repression.

A large burden of the responsibility for the demise of the Panthers as a revolutionary organization must be placed squarely on the shoulders of all those self-proclaimed radical organizations which for years opportunistically refused to struggle politically with the Panthers. The white-guilt-ridden Maoist/New Left wing of SDS (whose leaders went on to form the October League, the Revolutionary Union/Revolutionary Communist Party and the Weather Underground) wallowed in vicarious nationalism and mindlessly enthused over the Panthers, denouncing any criticism of Panther politics as "counterrevolutionary." The International Socialists always kept its criticism hushed, while attempting to broker a Panther/left-liberal alliance through building the reformist Peace and Freedom Party. The Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance urged the Panthers to become more "nationalist," meaning a retreat into more respectable "community control" politics. And the Communist Party sought to seduce the Panthers into embracing the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

Although our forces were numerically small and our authority on the left weak during the crucial period prior to the devastating split, the Spartacist League struggled to the best of our abilities to engage the Panthers in political discussion and to win the most subjectively revolutionary cadres to a Leninist perspective. We did not capitulate to the popularity of multi-vanguardist/"third-worldist" illusions, seeking instead to pose a proletarian perspective for the subjectively revolutionary elements of the militant black movement. Instead of glamorizing the lumpen adventurism of the Panthers, we fought for a truly revolutionary program. Only such a perspective could have combatted the decimation of the Panther cadres by organized cop terror and could have preserved a revolutionary wing of the black movement when the besieged Panther organization veered sharply toward "respectability" in the form of a turn to the Democratic Party under the auspices of the Communist Party in the period of the United Front Against Facism.

Eldridge Cleaver has passed over to the class enemy. To acknowledge his political demise is bitter indeed. But the struggle for black liberation through socialist revolution can advance only if the costly lessons of the political destruction of the Panthers as a revolutionary organization are assimilated. ■

Ann Arbor demo hits repression in Spain

On October 22 a militant picket-line demonstration at the Ann Arbor campus of the University of Michigan protested the police-state reign of terror in Spain. Based on two slogans, "Free All Victims of Franco's Rightist Terror!" and "No U.S. Military Aid to Spain—U.S. Bases Out of Spain!", the united-front action had been initiated by the SYL and endorsed by the Revolutionary Student Brigade, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Spanish Department. (The RSB, however, only sent a token delegation, who refused to walk the picket line.)

At the demonstration a representative of the Partisan Defense Committee made a brief presentation on behalf of Philip Allen's defense and collected donations. (For story on Philip Allen defense campaign, see back page this issue.)



YOUNG SPARTACUS

Young Spartacus

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Only labor/black defense can protect black students!

NSCAR DEMANDS MORE COPS IN BOSTON

BOSTON—The October 10-12 second national conference of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) held at Northeastern University proved to be a miserable failure for its sponsors, the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA). While its founding conference last February attracted some 2,000 participants and prominent NAACP speakers, the second NSCAR conference could draw no more than 700-750 people to the sessions (overwhelmingly supporters of the SWP/YSA) and could not even draw its scheduled featured NAACP speaker, Tom Atkins. (The NAACP scheduled its New England Regional Conference in Portland, Maine, for the same weekend as the NSCAR conference!) To the manifest chagrin of the SWP/YSA, the political discussion at the conference largely centered around the debate over the resolutions which the Spartacus Youth League counterposed to the NSCAR proposals.

Recognizing its declining capacity to mobilize another "mass action" in Boston, the NSCAR has attempted to become an umbrella group for various "anti-racism" issues, from school desegregation to budget cuts and gay rights, and the main NSCAR resolution called for only local activities across the country on November 22. But NSCAR by no means has reconsidered its strategy of staging liberal protests which preach reliance on the capitalist state to advance the struggle for black equality.

Expressing the line of the SWP/YSA as repeated endlessly in the *Militant*, the NSCAR resolution demanded that the capitalist state "enforce its own laws that protect the democratic rights of Black people" and "use all necessary force to enforce its laws, including city police, state troopers, the national guard and the federal troops."

By calling for the cops to "enforce its laws" the SWP/YSA has gone from kneeling to abject belly-crawling before the bourgeoisie. Last fall, when the NAACP first called for federal troops to Boston, the SWP/YSA revived its slogan for federal troops but attempted to present it simply as support for the "demand of the Black community" for troops. Opportunistically cuddling closer to the NAACP, the SWP/YSA soon became the most vocal enthusiasts for the call for troops, arguing that the troops, unlike the cops, could be "pressured" to defend black people (see "YSA Discovers Cops at Berkeley," *Young Spartacus*, March 1975).

When the government refrained from sending troops, the SWP/YSA shifted to calling for "all necessary force," leaving ambiguous its attitude on the cops. And when the state finally mobilized an army of cops in Boston, the SWP/YSA now openly demands more cops!

Class struggle or impotent liberalism?

The SYL was the only left organization to intervene in the conference with programmatic proposals counterposed to the liberalism of the SWP/YSA-NSCAR. The Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism, which has been involved in the self-defense organizing of the East Boston People Against Racism and has seen its supporters subjected to cop victimization, opportunistically supported the NSCAR resolution which called for more cops!

Counterposed to the NSCAR-backed proposal, the SYL put forward a resolution, "For Busing and Labor/Black Defense!", which supported busing as a minimal step toward integration and

demanding the extension of busing to the relatively better suburban schools; warned against placing any confidence in the racist cops or the troops of imperialism; and called for labor/black defense to ensure the implementation of busing and to protect black people from racist attack.

The SYL also sponsored a workshop, "What Strategy to Fight Racial Oppression: Class Struggle or Liberal Protest?", which was well attended, drawing NSCAR and SWP/YSA supporters who attempted to defend their call for cops and troops. The SYL speaker demonstrated through Marxist analysis and historical examples that the troops and cops—the armed forces of the ruling class for upholding racist "law and order" and for defending capitalism by smashing the struggles of the oppressed—are used by the government only to maintain the racist status quo and to suppress black resistance. While the troops or even the cops when under orders from the government may sometimes fend off racist mobs or occasionally defend black people, the cops and troops are not neutral and cannot be relied on to defend the lives and struggles of the oppressed.

At best, the repressive agencies of the capitalist state will temporarily keep the lid on the explosive racial tinderbox. The social-democratic SWP/YSA fosters the liberal illusion that racial oppression can be fundamentally combatted without an assault on the capitalist system and that the bosses' state can be pressured into decisively advancing that struggle.

In this workshop the SWP/YSA, reluctantly putting on a left face, argued that the call for troops and cops and the organizing of a labor/black defense were "not counterposed." These fakers had the audacity to cite the example of Robert Williams, who organized armed self-defense in Monroe (North Carolina) during the late 1950's yet called as well for federal intervention against the local racists. Robert Williams, however, devoted himself to organizing black self-defense, for which he was expelled from the legalist NAACP; Williams never preached reliance upon or confidence in the government and only very skeptically challenged the federal administration to send federal troops. (When the federal government finally did intervene they framed up Williams on a murder charge, forcing

SYL pickets anti-busing candidates

BOSTON—On October 9 the Spartacus Youth League organized a picket-line demonstration to protest the scheduled appearance of anti-busing municipal candidates at Boston University's "Distinguished Lecture Series." The roster of racists included ROAR leaders such as City Council incumbents Louise Day Hicks, "Dapper" O'Neil, John Kerrigan and Raymond Flynn, as well as numerous other outspoken racist demagogues presently infesting the Boston School Committee.

The SYL leaflet calling for the protest stressed the importance of opposing these candidates' segregationist campaigns and raised the slogans, "No Reliance on Bourgeois Politicians!", "Defend Busing!" and "For a Labor/Black Defense Against Racist Attacks!" The militant demonstration was covered by the campus *Daily Free Press*, which included a photo of the large SYL banner.

him to flee the country into exile.)

In contrast, the SWP/YSA-NSCAR refuses to work for or even call for organized defense against racists by black and white working people. These reformists contemptuously dismiss this strategy, ignoring successful labor/black defense efforts such as have been organized by UAW Local 6 in Chicago. The SWP/YSA endlessly calls for troops and cops, preaches reliance on the capitalist state to "uphold the law," and enthuses over the NAACP. The cynicism of the SWP/YSA is boundless: Trotsky's *Transitional Program* has as a central focus the call for workers self-defense, explicitly counterposed to liberal-pacifist reliance on the capitalist state for "protection" from reactionary forces.

YSA swoons over "blue-eyed Irish cops"

In the plenary session following the workshops the SWP/YSA and NSCAR spokesmen dispensed with their "not counterposed" apologetics and politically attacked the SYL with their better rehearsed demagoguery. As only one example: YSA leader Jon Hillson bellowed that our opposition to federal troops and cops placed the SYL on the same side as the racists; he then politically placed the YSA squarely behind the racist, killer cops: "When I saw a cordon of blue-eyed Irish cops beat back the [racist] mob, I said to myself, 'I'm in favor of that, and if they don't have enough policemen, send in federal troops!'" And NSCAR honcho Rasheed Ali, repeating his performance in the Bay Area, twice called for "all necessary force" including... nuclear weapons!

During the conference SWP/YSA and NSCAR speakers repeatedly recounted instances where the cops allegedly protected black students from racist violence. The real role of the "blue-eyed Irish cops," however, was graphically described by several black South Boston High School students at the conference's kick-off rally. They recounted incidents of cop brutality against black students; Jerry Paul, Joan Little's attorney, correctly concluded, "The police are armed and dangerous."

The SWP/YSA-NSCAR "polemic" against our strategy for labor/black defense also included demagogic denunciations of the rampant racism of white workers. Without a political campaign within the trade unions by class-struggle militants, like the Labor Struggle Caucus which was responsible for initiating the labor/black defense in UAW Local 6, white workers will not be mobilized to defend and champion the interests of the specially oppressed black people.

White workers will not be won to support the struggle for black equality by the SWP/YSA's policy of refusing to struggle within the unions for a class-struggle program, lauding the strike-breaking "progressive" bureaucrats like Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers, and building anti-working-class coalitions which invite the class enemy into prominent leadership positions (the SWP/YSA invited Vance Hartke into its antiwar coalition, Bella Abzug into its coalition for the repeal of anti-abortion laws, and Bill Owens into the pro-busing coalition). Backward consciousness, including insensitivity to black oppression and outright racist prejudices, can be combatted only by struggling within the union movement on the basis of a class-struggle program which represents the real and fundamental interests of black and white workers. The SWP/



YOUNG SPARTACUS

NSCAR leader Maceo Dixon.

YSA has long since abandoned this perspective.

NSCAR straddles busing controversy

A motion against "forced busing" and for "community control" was introduced by the Atlanta University Center Student Council in opposition to both the NSCAR and SYL resolutions. This motion at least recognized the flat contradiction between "community control," which accepts segregation in return for token representation in the education bureaucracies, and "forced busing," which is a limited measure to enforce desegregation. The SWP/YSA, which in the past had refused to support busing, tailing the black nationalists' dreams of "community control" (see "SWP For and Against Integration," *Workers Vanguard*, 10 October 1975), attempted to paper over the fundamental contradiction with the irrelevant "argument" that "racist forces oppose both."

However, the present racial polarization over busing in Boston and other major cities has starkly exposed the segregationist logic of "community control" schemes. From Canarsie to South Boston, the white opposition against busing has raised as a rallying cry "neighborhood schools," and "community control of the schools." "Community control" accepts "separate but equal" education. Just recently, the

continued on page 10

Just Out!

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Maoists bow to U.S. imperialists in UN

China withholds support for Puerto Rican independence

The Maoist bureaucracy ruling over the working masses in the People's Republic of China, like its Stalinist rivals in Moscow, has utilized the United Nations, that august den of thieves, not as a tribune to advance the international socialist revolution but only as another arena to pursue the anti-revolutionary foreign policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

While the Chinese diplomats in the UN denounce the U.S. and especially "Soviet social imperialism" for fomenting "superpower contention" in the Near East for example, the Chinese government in fact collaborates with the anti-USSR machinations of the U.S. imperialists by refusing to exercise its

veto, as a member of the UN Security Council, against the UN Emergency Force policing the Near East and now enforcing the imperialist-dictated Sinai accords.

Likewise, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy every so often comes out like a cuckoo-clock for Puerto Rican independence, but Peking recently demonstrated in the UN that its verbal "support" for Puerto Rican independence is subordinate to maintaining "détente" with the U.S. imperialists and to competing with the bureaucratically degenerated Russian workers state.

In August the UN Decolonization Committee was presented with a Cuba-sponsored resolution on Puerto Rico which called upon the U.S. government

"to refrain from any measure which might obstruct or endanger" the "right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence" and to cease the "persecution" of the independence movement. Even though this mealy-mouthed resolution stopped short of demanding immediate and unconditional independence for Puerto Rico and freedom for the imprisoned *independistas*, and even though no UN action or resolution will force the U.S. imperialists to relinquish their colonial possessions, the U.S. attacked this vaguely pro-independence gesture and warned that any support for the Russian-backed move would be considered an "unfriendly act."

When the resolution finally was placed on the agenda on August 20, the U.S.-led bloc, including Chinese-promoted so-called "anti-imperialist" countries like Iran, squashed it through a motion to table, which passed by a narrow 11-to-9 majority. The Chinese delegation "fought" the U.S. imperialists' campaign by *abstaining in this vote!* The bourgeois establishment *New York Times* (21 August) devoted an editorial to hailing the defeat of the resolution as "a great victory" for the U.S. government and singling out as "noteworthy" the Chinese government's "course of inaction."

The Maoist groups in this country once again have been politically saddled with the onerous burden of a blatant capitulation to imperialism by the Maoist bureaucracy. Like shamefaced political cowards the bombastic Revolutionary Union (now strutting as the Revolutionary Communist Party), the slavish October League and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization dare not even mention the affair.

The *Guardian* crew devoted an editorial as well as an article to the UN action, describing the defeat of the

resolution as a "setback to the Puerto Rican independence movement" and a "disappointment" (*Guardian*, 3 September). But these servile scribes attempt to absolve China's role in ensuring this "setback" by implying in their one sentence comment that the Chinese were not present to intervene: "The delegate from the People's Republic of China did not participate in the vote."

The only Maoist organization in this country to date venturing a justification for the Chinese abstention in the face of imperialist arm-twisting is the *Resistencia Puertorriquena* (RP). In its *Resistencia* (Vol. VI, No. 13) the RP assails the weak-kneed resolution as nothing less than an insidious "revisionist trap" and a "scheme of the social imperialists." Why? The resolution calls upon the U.S. government to recognize "the national liberation movement of Puerto Rico," which the RP warns "in the Cuban-Soviet language means the PSP [Puerto Rican Socialist Party]!" The Chinese delegate, however, justified his abstention by noting "the sharp divisions on the issue"—meaning U.S. pressure—and not by concocting some fictitious "social imperialist scheme" much less by alleging crypto-sponsorship of the pro-Moscow, pro-Peking PSP.

The Stalinist bureaucracies ruling in the place of the Chinese and Russian working class have demonstrated again and again their willingness to sacrifice and betray national liberation struggles for the sake of appeasing imperialism. Until these bureaucratic usurpers are ousted by the working masses in a revolutionary struggle to establish soviet democracy on the basis of the existing revolutionary gains represented by the collectivized property foundations of the Sino-Soviet states, these betrayals of proletarian internationalism can only continue. ■

Collaborators...

Continued from page 1

UC is a political vehicle for demonstrating our proletarian internationalist solidarity with the victims of the counterrevolutionary junta in Chile.

The extent and results of the collaboration offered to the Chilean dictatorship by Friedman and Harberger came to light in a *New York Times* article (21 September 1975) which reported that Friedman is "the guiding light" behind the junta's vicious economic "shock treatment." For Chile's workers, the *Times* revealed, "the effects of the shock treatment have been devastating": starvation and mass unemployment.

The relationship between the *gorillas* and the UC Economics Department has been cemented by Harberger, whose long association with the junta's chief economists—two thirds of them UC graduates—and whose U.S. government connections made him an ally both natural and invaluable for the junta. Friedman accompanied Harberger on his third post-coup trip to Chile last March; the two met with generalissimo Pinochet (the junta's head) and with the cabinet, and Friedman gave a special address to 400 armed forces officers.

The advice given by the two top "Chicago Boys" resulted in a radical reorganization of the cabinet in line with Friedman's "shock treatment." Most importantly, Harberger's friend Jorge Cauas was elevated to the post of "Superminister" overseeing finance, economy, agriculture and housing. Serving Cauas and implementing the barbaric "shock treatment" are a battery of Friedman/Harberger-trained "Chicago Boys." (For a complete account, see "Protest Barbaric Chilean Junta's Collaborators," *Young Spartacus*, October 1975.)

SYL nails junta's lackeys

On September 26, three days before the beginning of classes, the SYL put out a leaflet ("Milton Friedman:

'7th Member' of Bloody Chilean Junta") which exposed the junta/Friedman/Harberger connection and called for a demonstration to protest Pinochet's lackeys at UC. Showing the connection between Friedman's reactionary defense of capitalism and his despicable services rendered the junta executioners, the SYL leaflet exposed the hypocrisy and cynicism of this dean among bourgeois ideologues:

"Friedman's best-known book, *Capitalism and Freedom*, claims that the extent of 'free-market relationships' determines the extent of 'freedom.' Friedman is a front-man for the giant monopolies, an 'expert' for their government and an apologist for capitalist slavery. Now it becomes even clearer just what kind of 'freedom' Friedman and other ideological mercenaries of capitalism stand for—the freedom to exploit, the freedom to defend the system of exploitation by means of violence.

"Students who cherish illusions in the capitalist order would do well to ask themselves: what kind of society is it that honors a murderous hypocrite like Friedman? The answer is clear: a society run in the interests of corporate profit, a society whose rulers back reaction in Chile and around the world..."

A second SYL leaflet provided more

detailed information implicating Friedman and Harberger and outlined the SYL's strategy for the campaign: united actions based on agreement solely with the two slogans of the campaign.

The SYL's Trotskyist analysis of the Chilean coup and perspective for aiding the struggle of the Chilean working class were outlined in another leaflet, distributed at the October 3 rally. This leaflet exposed the class character of bourgeois democracy and the bankrupt "popular-front" strategy of Allende and the Stalinists and pointed to the key role of international proletarian solidarity (such as the refusal of California longshore unionists to handle Chile-bound military goods in September 1974, an action actively supported by the SYL) for aiding the Chilean proletariat.

"Chicago Boys" on the hot seat

The SYL built for the October 3 demonstration with intensive leafletting on campus and in the dormitories. The exposé of the junta's "Chicago Connection" caused particular concern among freshmen and newly registered students.

Reflecting campus interest in the question, the *Maroon* (official UC student newspaper) has been filled with

articles and letters on Friedman and the Chilean junta (even the University Religious Counselor denounced Friedman and Harberger!). The paper has carried numerous letters on the SYL and published its own detailed article on the SYL (*Maroon*, 10 October 1975).

A bold SYL poster against Friedman and the junta with the slogan "Drive Friedman Off Campus Through Protest and Exposure!" (reproduced in the October issue of *Young Spartacus*) has also attracted attention and has been appearing in dormitory and classroom windows, facing out. The posters apparently so infuriated the Administration that it ordered the SYL to remove them from walls and buildings on campus, or risk loss of campus recognition. The SYL quickly mobilized student and faculty support for our democratic rights, and the Administration backed down.

The SYL called a planning meeting on September 30 to set up a Committee Against Friedman-Harberger Collaboration with the Chilean Junta which would build for the October 3 rally and other actions. While the reformist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and New Left/social-democratic New American Movement (NAM) were conspicuously absent, the campus chapter of the Union of Radical Political Economists (URPE) sent representatives, and a Committee was formed with prominent radical professor Richard Rubinstein as its chairman. Once launched the Committee gained endorsements from other organizations and individuals, including the Spartacist League, YSA, NAM, author and radio commentator Studs Terkel, labor historian Sidney Lens, the president and vice-president of the UC Council of the Service Employees International Union (Local 321) as well as faculty from the UC, Roosevelt University and the University of Illinois/Chicago Circle campus.

At the October 3 rally, students gathered in the center of UC's main quadrangle and heard speakers from the Committee lay bare the activities of the Friedman/junta "Chicago Boy" cabal. Statements by Friedman and Harberger published in the *Maroon*

Young Spartacus

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drew heavy fire as Richard Rubinstein as well as the SYL and URPE speakers tore apart the veil of lies and hypocrisy woven by Pinochet's advisors to cover up their crimes (the SYL later produced a third "Fact Sheet" answering the Friedman/Harberger statements point by point).

Sidney Lens spoke, and a message from Studs Terkel was read, stating in part:

"Were I to find my diploma from the University today, I would flush it down the drain. Is the real spirit of enlightenment, which I assume is the hallmark of a university, represented by a moral midget such as Milton Friedman? I say no! Greetings to all my brothers and sisters at the University of Chicago."

YSA: aversion to militant action

Predictably, the YSA spokesman called for a "broad educational campaign" and a movement limited to respectable protests which can appeal to liberals. Speaking last, the SYL spokesman began: "I'll tell you what we can do to fight the junta's collaborators: drive Friedman and Harberger off campus through protest and exposure." Mocking the YSA's legalistic opposition to this slogan, he put forward the SYL's strategy for a campaign of political education and militant action around the junta/Friedman issue. The rally ended with a spirited picket of the Social Sciences building which houses the Economics Department. (The rally and picket were reported in the *Chicago Sun-Times*—which quoted an SYL spokesman—and in the *Chicago Daily News*.)

After the rally, the SYL increased its work in the dormitories. In one dorm, a Chile/Friedman Committee was established, under the auspices of the Committee Against Friedman-Harberger Collaboration, to publicize the issues of the campaign and mobilize students for protest actions. SYL supporters are active along similar lines in two other dorms as well, although formal dorm committees have yet to be established throughout university housing.

The Committee's next action was focused on a meeting of the UC Student Government (SG) on October 13. Before the meeting, a brief rally was held to emphasize the Committee's demand that SG endorse the Committee and its two slogans. A statement was read

from UC history professor John Coatsworth, stating that in his travels in Latin America he had found that UC is widely associated with the Chilean junta, to such an extent that any UC professor is automatically under suspicion of being an extreme rightist.

Speaking for the SYL, Sandor John presented a summary and perspective of the campaign, noting the success of the October 3 rally and the widespread interest generated by the issue on campus. John stated that SG endorsement of the campaign was desirable but that the Committee would rely only on a broad and militant student mobilization. He contrasted the leading role of the SYL and the active participation of the campus URPE chapter with both the sidelines posturing of NAM (which, outside of Student Government, has refused to do anything in the campaign so far) and the cringing liberalism of the YSA, which at the last minute withdrew from sponsoring the pre-meeting rally, denouncing it as "provocative".

Inside the SG meeting, the Committee was confronted with a bloc of politically conservative students (including many Friedmanite business and economics graduate students) determined to prevent discussion and defeat the motion to condemn Friedman/Harberger's ties with the junta by maneuvers and ploys. After the Friedman/junta discussion was dropped to the end of the agenda and a six-speaker gag rule was rammed through, the meeting considered sundry business before coming to the point on the "Chicago Boys." As a result of the chairman's bungling, a longwinded and moralistic NAM-backed resolution on Friedman and the junta, entitled "Statement of Conscience," was put on the floor before the Committee's.

After shouting down Committee spokesmen who tried to present the evidence and information supposedly desired, the body voted down the resolution, 41-18. SYL member and SG representative Emily Turnbull rose to present the Committee's resolution but was cut off by a move to adjourn; the meeting ended in an uproar.

For the next two weeks the Committee's activities centered on organizing and publicizing a teach-in for October 26 dealing with Chilean politics before and after the coup and with Friedman/Harberger's collaboration with the junta. The teach-in would provide a forum not only for information on the brain-trusting of Friedman and the "Chicago Boys" but also for polit-

ical discussion and debate on the more fundamental political issues, such as the character of the Allende regime, the causes of the coup and the strategy for defending the Chilean workers and poor peasants now under the iron heel of the Pinochet dictatorship.

After having frowned on militant action in favor of a "broad educational campaign," the YSA did its best to sabotage the teach-in. First the YSA petulantly demanded that a "big-name" speaker be featured as a precondition for YSA participation in the teach-in. Then the YSA refused to commit any resources for publicizing and financing the teach-in yet turned around and



SYL poster indicting Friedman.

demanding that the scheduled workshop on Latin American political prisoners be transformed into an exclusive forum for the SWP/YSA's front group USLA (the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners). The Committee rejected this ultimatum by democratic vote.

On October 24 a demonstration to protest the appearance of the Chilean consul-general at the Chicago Chile Club's showing of the film "165 Years of Chilean Independence" was called on very short notice by the Committee. Although the other organizations represented in the Committee failed to attend, the SL and SYL set up a picket line demonstration despite the rainy weather and chanted slogans such as "Smash the Junta—For Workers Revolution!" and "Open the Borders to Refugees from Chile!"

The teach-in two days later drew more than 80 people. The YSA finally decided to boycott the events, never once coming out from behind its literature table in the empty hall outside the auditorium.

At the discussion on "The Allende Regime and the Causes of the Coup" an SYL spokesman debated two pro-Stalinist professors from the University of Illinois/Chicago Circle campus. The SYL speaker denounced the treacherous class collaboration of Allende and the Chilean Stalinists which politically disarmed the combative and class-conscious Chilean proletariat at precisely the time when a struggle for a workers dictatorship was on the agenda. Unable to answer our Trotskyist analysis and indictment of the Chilean reformists, the two professors gutlessly abandoned the stage during the discussion period, contemptuously dismissing the debate as "meaningless."

In another session, University of Wisconsin professor Maurice Zeitlin, well-known leftist authority on Latin America and armchair admirer of the New Left/Castroist Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), lectured on "The Dominant Class and Foreign Capital in Chile." In the lively discussion following the presentation, the SYL assailed his profoundly pessimistic analysis of the Chilean proletariat's capacity for struggle and his apologetics for the reformist and centrist misleaders of the Chilean working masses.

Joanne Fox Przeworski, who visited Chile after the coup as a member of the Chicago Commission of Inquiry into the Status of Human Rights in Chile, delivered a comprehensive and meticulously documented presentation on the effects of Friedman's economic "shock treatment" and the bestial repression with which the junta enforces its economic policy.

A workshop on "The Brazilian/Chilean Economic Model" followed; the workshop on Latin American political prisoners was cancelled when USLA refused to participate.

The teach-in was successful in broadening the political scope of the campaign on the UC campus. While the YSA abstained, the SYL intervened to bring home to many of those present the burning immediacy of the life-and-death issue facing the international proletariat: reform or revolution. ■

Peking promotes Ethiopian junta

As the reactionary Ethiopian junta throttles the workers movement and intensifies its genocidal war against the just independence struggle in the province of Eritrea, the Chinese bureaucracy continues its disgusting support for the barbarous Ethiopian military dictatorship. Enthusiastically hailing the first anniversary of the junta on September 12, *Peking Review* (19 September) in a two-page panegyric uncritically embraced the Ethiopian generals and marvelled at their alleged progress in leading Ethiopia (no mention is made of Eritrea) to the threshold of a socialist paradise.

The honeyed paeans extolling the junta cabal can only produce gagging in all but the most cynical. Just a few samples will suffice:

"Fresh achievements in opposing imperialism and colonialism, in national and democratic reforms and in developing the national economy have been made in the last year by the Ethiopian people under the leadership of the government.... Measures by the Provisional Military Government are conducive to safeguarding state sovereignty and the national interests and independently developing the national economy.... The Ethiopian Government pursues a policy of non-alignment, supports national-liberation movements, upholds African solidarity and has actively developed relations of

friendship and co-operation with other African countries and developing countries."

The junta "develops the national economy" by outlawing all strikes and even absenteeism, prohibiting the formation of any workers party and now arresting the leadership and jailing thousands of members of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions for its September 4 statement criticizing junta policies!

The junta achieves "democratic reforms" by prohibiting demonstrations and on September 30 imposing martial law and revoking indefinitely all civil liberties to smash a general strike protesting its repressive measures!

The junta "safeguards state sovereignty" by gunning down in cold blood seven Ethiopian Airlines workers, wounding 19 and imprisoning over 500 more simply for demonstrating on September 25 against the "leadership of the government" (*New York Times*, 12 October)!

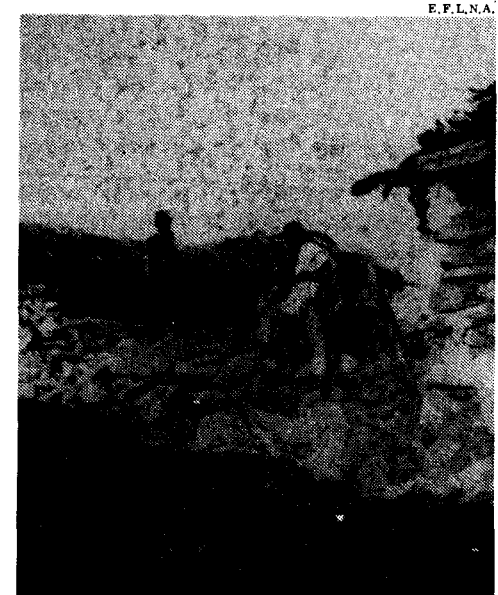
The junta "supports national-liberation movements" by indiscriminately bombing Eritrean villages and starving the Eritrean people with a total embargo on food into the province (*New York Times*, 24 September)!

And the junta "develops relations of

friendship" with other African and Arab ruling cliques by continental tours drumming up support for the genocidal war in Eritrea (*L'Express*, 3 February)!

With obscene cynicism, the parasitic bureaucrats ensconced in Peking echo today for the junta the same hollow tribute sounded yesterday for His Imperial Majesty, the Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Haile Selassie, Elect of God, Emperor of Ethiopia. Today *Peking Review* salutes the coup overthrowing the "feudal dynasty" (its emperor unnamed, of course), under which industry was "in the hands of foreign monopoly capital, the royal family, and the aristocracy" and under which virtually all land was "owned by the royal family, the aristocracy, the church, and other feudal landlords." But when Selassie ruled from the throne, *Peking Review* (28 December 1973) devoted a major article to lauding this "anti-imperialist" tyrant's alleged "historic friendship" with China (Selassie sent Ethiopian troops to fight the Chinese in the Korean War), as well as his "achievements in Ethiopianization" of industry and "tapping agricultural potential" (Selassie at this very time attempted to conceal mass famine in which 100,000-500,000 perished)!

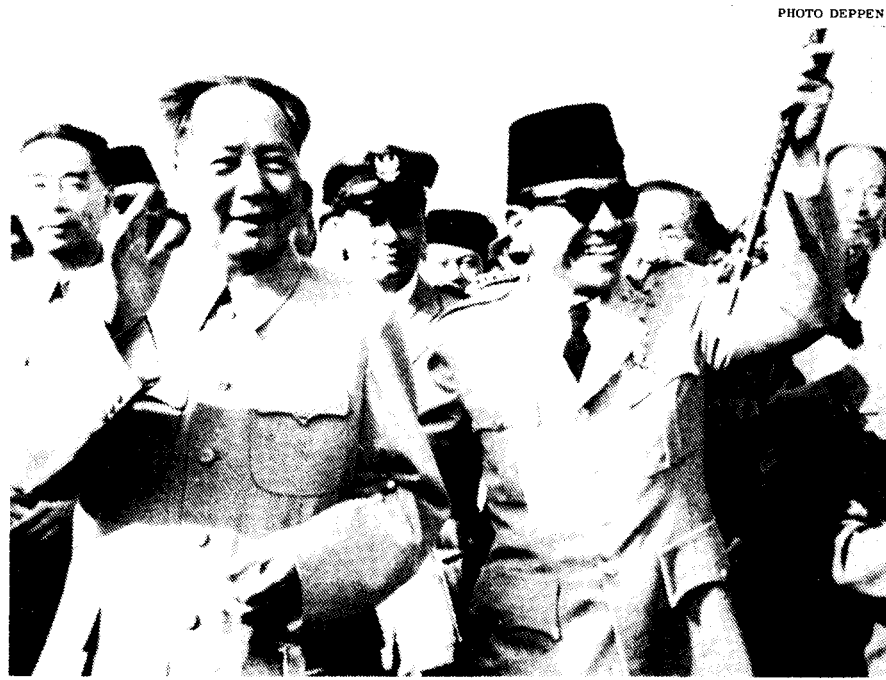
Many subjectively revolutionary but



Eritrean village leveled by Ethiopian Air Force.

Maoist-minded youth in this country solidarize with the secessionist struggle in Eritrea and loathe the bloody dictators in Addis Ababa. However, the Maoist bureaucracy explicitly supports the unstable junta and conspicuously refuses to support the Eritrean independence movement. To uphold the Chinese line in Ethiopia today means to deliver the masses to the "progressive" junta and to back the slaughter of the Eritrean people! ■

How Maoist strategy sabotaged Indonesian revolution



Mao and Sukarno.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: The first part of this article, which appeared in our last issue, detailed the criminal class collaboration practiced for years by the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI—Indonesian Communist Party) which paved the way for the bloody counter-revolution unleashed in October 1965.

Following the Stalinist "two-stage revolution" scheme (a reformist hoax justifying political support for the so-called "progressive national bourgeoisie"), the PKI subordinated the class interests and struggles of its 21 million

organized supporters to maintain the fragile bonapartist regime led by Sukarno. To appease the weak Indonesian bourgeoisie, which fears the mobilization of the masses far more than it opposes imperialism, the PKI liquidated its nominally socialist program and embraced Sukarno's "Manifesto," accommodated the reactionary-feudalist Muslim establishment, backed the expansionist and chauvinist "Crush Malaysia" campaign, preached confidence in the allegedly "progressive" military, and contained and suppressed the class

struggle.

The same treacherous policies of class collaboration which led to the massacre of half a million Indonesian workers and peasants and to the destruction of the massive PKI are being pushed in Portugal today by both pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Stalinists. Just as the policy of "cooperation between the people and the armed forces" imposed by the PKI led to catastrophe in Indonesia, so the "MFA-People Alliance" promoted by the Stalinists for Portugal can only lead to tragic defeat.

The Stalinist jackals leading the PKI, with the full support of Moscow and especially Peking, suicidally collaborated with the ruling class in digging the grave of the revolutionary movement in Indonesia. Attempting to pacify and hypnotize the combative masses, the PKI Stalinists ceaselessly preached confidence in the capitalist-landlord Sukarno regime as these representatives of the "progressive national bourgeoisie" banned strikes, suppressed the militant peasant movement and courted imperialist investment. Simultaneously, the PKI reformists pressured the bourgeoisie for its fair share of power as a prop of the capitalist state and demanded a cabinet of *gotong royong* ("all forces working together for a common objective").

September 30th movement

By the fall of 1965, Sukarno's deteriorating health called into question his ability to rule as the supreme arbitrator over the antagonistic forces maneuvering in the "national unity" government. Rumors abounded of some impending *banting stir*, a drastic change, including the possibility of an army coup on October 5, Armed Forces Day.

Indeed the military, closely tied to the powerful landlords and the Muslim right, was increasingly aggressive in its anti-PKI stance. As one top general ominously boasted, "We knocked them out before [at Madiun]. We check them and check them again" (quoted in *Bangkok World*, 28 March 1965).

Then on the night of September 30, a group of leftist officers led by one of the colonels in Sukarno's praetorian guard kidnapped and executed six top rightist army officers, but missed their primary target, General Nasution, chief of staff of the armed forces and minister of defense and security. The leftist officers then seized the Jakarta radio station and broadcast a message in the name of the "September 30th Movement" declaring their action a pre-emptive strike thwarting a rightist military coup by a "Council of Generals" backed by the CIA and announcing the formation of a "Revolutionary Council" composed of left-leaning officers, some left Nationalists and minor figures in the PKI. (Many "members" of this "Revolutionary Council" immediately disassociated themselves.)

The "September 30th Movement" very likely was backed by Sukarno. The PKI, while allegedly implicated in the purge, publicly threw its support

behind the "September 30th Movement."

On October 1, less than one day after the attack on the rightist officers, the PKI reportedly staged a demonstration in Jogjakarta (Central Java) raising such slogans as "Crush the Council of Generals" and "Kill Nasution, Hireling of the CIA" (*China Quarterly*, January-March 1966). The following day the PKI central organ, *Harian Rakjat*, declared that "the action taken by the September 30th Movement to save the revolution and the people is correct" and that "the action taken to preserve President Sukarno and the Indonesian Republic from the Generals' Council coup is patriotic and revolutionary."

Operating with the reformist perspective of strengthening the "popular

army denounced the PKI as the "mastermind" behind the "counterrevolutionary" September 30th Movement and moved to crush the vulnerable Communists.

Events moved swiftly. On October 1 General Suharto occupied Djakarta and the following day closed the PKI's two main newspapers. At once "progressive" Sukarno appointed Suharto "to be responsible for restoring security and order."

At this critical juncture the defense of the left and labor movement required the urgent mobilization of the formidable power of the PKI with its millions upon millions of followers. But the Stalinist leaders of the PKI, realizing the revolutionary dynamic inherent in such a mass mobilization

Result of "bloc of four classes": leftist workers, herded into mass grave, about to be executed (left); Soldier bayoneting prisoners (right).



TAPOL

aspect" of the capitalist state and gradually easing out the "anti-popular aspect" without class collisions, the PKI relied on behind-the-scenes maneuvers, high-level pressure politics and reckless provocations and purges rather than mass mobilizations against the rightist threat.

"Progressive" military strikes

The military was not about to let its chance slip. Poised for months, the

and confrontation with the military, declared their loyalty to the "democratic" military and urged complete reliance on the "progressive" Sukarno!

On October 5 the PKI expressed its support for Sukarno's "national unity" appeals and his "settlement" of the "question of the September 30th Movement." Demonstrations which erupted against the mounting counterrevolution were denounced by the Stalinists.

Emboldened by the abject grovelling of the Stalinists, the military launched mass arrests of Communists. Spon-

taneous efforts of self-defense by PKI militants especially in the Communist strongholds in Central Java were easily crushed:

"Army troops arriving to restore centralized authority met resistance in the form of scattered bands of Pemuda Rakjat [the PKI youth organization] youths armed only with bamboo spears, bows and arrows and slingshots. Except on the higher slopes of Mount Merapi, the PKI made no real effort to defend its villages."

—*China Quarterly*, January-March 1966

The Muslim Party demanded the banning of the PKI, while mobs comprised largely of Muslim students burned the PKI's Djakarta headquarters and demolished the homes of leading Communists. Leaflets were issued exhorting "all revolutionary people" to "Crush the PKI," "Eradicate the PKI and its Lackeys," "Root Out the PKI and Destroy it" and raised the rallying cry, "Long Live the Unity of the Armed Forces and the People" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 28 October 1965):

Sukarno exterminates "rats"

On October 14 Sukarno appointed Suharto head of the army. Four days later the PKI and its affiliated mass organizations were banned in Djakarta, then in all Java and South Sumatra.

The grisliest massacres occurred in the villages, where the Muslim Party and the Muslim religious leaders declared a Holy War (*mujahid*) against the Communists:

"The Ulama—the Religious Teachers—ruled that devout Muslims should regard Communists as *kafir habir*—infidels of war—who, according to tradition, had to be put mercilessly to death... The victims would be tied to a tree under the eerie yellow light, and the executioners would stand round them and drive knives into their jugular veins... The bodies were left to rot against the trees or were thrown into the nearest open ditch or stream."

—Vittachi, *The Fall of Sukarno*

As the anti-PKI massacre escalated, Sukarno dispensed with his "neutrality" and on December 1 attacked the PKI as "rats that have eaten a part of a big cake and tried to eat the pillar of our house," concluding, "now let us catch these rats... and I will punish them." PKI leader Aidit was captured and executed by a firing squad on December 18.

Even though the PKI leaders and cadres were being hunted and exterminated like "rats," the Stalinist betrayers continued to pledge their undying support for Sukarno and the "progressive national bourgeoisie." PKI leader Njoto, shortly before his execution, declared to an *Asahi Simbun* journalist from his prison cell,

"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

The "great leader of the revolution" Sukarno wrote the epitaph for half a million mutilated, rotting corpses. The "first stage" of the "national democratic" revolution was over.

The strategy of the "bloc of the four classes" against imperialism and for a strictly "national democratic revolution" thus led to the same betrayal by the Stalinists in Indonesia as in China four decades earlier. In 1927 Trotsky denounced the Menshevik/Stalinist accommodation of the national bourgeoisie as a blueprint for defeat:

"Foreseeing the inevitable departure of the bourgeoisie, Bolshevik policy in the bourgeois revolution is directed towards creating an independent organization of the proletariat as soon as possible, to impregnate it as deeply as possible with mistrust of the bourgeoisie, to embrace the masses as soon as possible in the broadest form and to arm them, to aid the revolutionary uprising of the peasant masses with all means. The Menshevik policy in foreseeing the so-called departure of the bourgeoisie is directed towards postponing this moment as long as possible, while the independence of policy and organization of the proletariat is sacrificed to this aim, the workers are instilled with confidence in the progressive role of the bourgeoisie and the necessity of political self-restraint is preached... But this postponement is utilized by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat: It seizes hold of the leadership thanks to its great social advantages, it arms its loyal troops, it prevents the arming of the proletariat, political as well as military, and after it has acquired the upper hand it organizes the counterrevolutionary massacre at the first serious collision."

—*Problems of the Chinese Revolution*

"Self-criticism"

With the Indonesian revolution drowned in blood and the PKI smashed, the surviving leadership remnants of the outlawed PKI issued a "self-criticism" from exile. In late 1966 two statements were published (reprinted one year later in *Peking Review*, 14 July and 21 July 1967) which criticized the PKI leadership for failing to adopt "an independent attitude toward Sukarno" and for placing the proletariat "in a position as a tail-end of the national bourgeoisie." But this cynical "self-criticism" for opportunism, which comes so cheap when the Stalinists no longer enjoy the opportunities to betray, upholds the fatal "two-stage revolution" strategy:

"By correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the united front with the national bourgeoisie it does not mean that now the Party need not unite with this class. On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, our Party must work to win the national bourgeoisie over to the side of the revolution."

Betrayal haunts Peking

Likewise, the Chinese bureaucracy simply unloaded all responsibility for the PKI's disastrous opportunism upon the pro-Moscow "revisionists" in the

PKI leadership and added that defeats are salutary!

"In the final analysis, the many kinds of persecution against the Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian people by the Suharto-Nasution Right-wing military clique will only [!] serve to speed [!!] the upsurge in the Indonesian revolution and hasten its own doom."

—*Peking Review*, 14 July 1967

Far from detecting "revisionism" in the PKI leadership before its "persecution," the Chinese bureaucracy for years uncritically hailed the PKI's course, Mao himself declaring on the eve of the counterrevolution that the PKI leadership had "creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism in the light of the revolutionary practice in its own country" (quoted in Simon, *The Broken Triangle*). And following the September 30th purge, *Peking Review* (5 November 1965) reprinted a statement from the Albanian press lauding the PKI "as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party in the struggle against the Krushchev and Tito revisionists," declaring its "unreserved support for its [the PKI] correct and principled position."

The Chinese bureaucracy, moreover, covered for Sukarno before, during and after the September 30th affair... until it was impossible to cover any more. The first mention of any disturbances in Indonesia appeared in the Chinese press only on 19 October 1965, almost *three weeks* after the Suharto coup! Then the Chinese press grossly understated Sukarno's role in the repression, failing to as much as mention his "rats" speech declaring war on the PKI.

A Chinese government letter to Sukarno dated October 3 declared, "We have learnt from the radio broadcasts from Djakarta that Your Excellency is in good health. We hereby extend to you our cordial regards and heartfelt wishes" (*Peking Review*, 8 October 1965). A China-Indonesia joint statement issued the next day praised "Indonesia's confrontation against 'Malaysia'" but ignored Sukarno and Co.'s "confrontation" with the PKI (*Peking Review*, 15 October 1965).

And after high-level discussions between Sukarno and Chinese ambassador Yao Chung-ming on October 26, when the bloodbath was raging, the Chinese embassy announced that "the relations between China and Indonesia remain firm although there are elements [!] trying to alienate [!] China and Indonesia" (quoted in Kosut, *Indonesia: The Sukarno Years*).

Most despicable was the performance of the Chinese Stalinists at the World Conference Against Foreign Bases convened in Djakarta on October 17, in the midst of the counter-revolutionary terror against the PKI. The Indonesian security forces demonstratively arrested PKI militants within the very conference hall. And the Chinese delegation remained silent!

Maoist strategy was put to the test in Indonesia. The largest Communist Party in the capitalist world confronted a fragile bourgeois regime in the strategically central country of Southeast Asia. Yet the revolution was strangled by Stalinist class collaboration. Like Stalin, Mao and Co. are the gravediggers of the proletarian revolution. ■

Liberals and reformists stage cutback follies

New York City

The cutbacks in the budget of the City University of New York (CUNY) may total as much as \$175 million by next year, and CUNY Chancellor Kibbee recently has proposed a scheme which would deny open admissions to 40,000 students, raise student fees, charge tuition to students failing to complete nine credits a semester and discharge slow-advancing students. In addition, the plan would result in the firing of 2,000 full-time faculty and the closing of departments and programs aiding minority students.

Despite the ever-growing need for common action against the cutbacks and layoffs by students, the beleaguered municipal labor unions and all affected by the cuts, this task remains unfilled, primarily because of the betrayals by the sellout labor bureaucracy and the political bankruptcy of student careerists and various reformist left organizations, most notably, the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA).

At a city-wide meeting on September 24 for planning a fight against cutbacks called by Jay Hershenson (the liberal president of the University Student Senate), the SWP/YSA-controlled National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) and others, the discussion droned on interminably about the gravity of the budget cuts (who could disagree?), while political discussion of a strategy to fight the cutbacks was studiously avoided. The SYL proposed the formation of a united-front committee to sponsor *actions* with the demands, "No Budget Cuts," "Free Tuition" and "Open Admissions." The YSA countered with a proposal for a week of anti-budget cut "activities" and opposed any committee to organize such "events," arguing that the meeting was not sufficiently "representative."

The SYL motion passed with the support even of a number of SWP/YSA members. But in a shabby maneuver to block the formation of a committee, the YSA moved to table the *just-adopted* SYL motion to the next meeting.

At the next meeting on October 15, the SYL arrived, expecting to find the YSA and various groups prepared to discuss concrete plans for the budget cuts activities, but instead found that the meeting had been cancelled. The reason given by a YSA member was that the honorable Jay Hershenson could not attend!

Chicago

At the University of Illinois/Chicago Circle campus (UICC), where a tuition hike is on the agenda and cutbacks have already eliminated the Bilingual Program (teacher-training), the SYL proposed united-front actions under the slogans, "No Budget Cuts, No Tuition Hike, No Layoffs—Restore the Bilingual Program," in a meeting of the Bilingual Program students. The Progressive Labor Party, however, intervened to oppose this strategy in favor of more and more discussions and memos-swapping with the administration.

The following week at a planning meeting convened by the SYL, our slogans were adopted as the basis for a united front of several groups, including the YSA. But when we proposed a rally to build support for these demands, the YSA opposed this action and backed the Student Government president (sound familiar?), whose stated position on the cutbacks was that the Board of Trustees really didn't favor the cuts, so students simply had to explain that no one could afford the cuts (in YSA lingo this opposition to militant action and bold slogans is euphemistically phrased, "a broad educational

campaign").

So talk they did. At the October 7 Board of Trustees "Speak Out" on the proposed tuition hike, YSA spokesman John Pottinger called for "more hearings like this one" and "a letter-writing campaign to the state legislature". In sharp contrast the SYL used the meeting to denounce the administration's sops and to explain the need for militant action and for broadening the struggle through seeking common actions with labor. The Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) jeered, "You might as well call for rockets to Mars," and confined its "fight back" to moralistic attacks on the trustees for dwelling in mansions and raking in \$40,000-a-year salaries. One trustee captured the flavor of the entire "left" farce at this "Speak Out" by politely concluding, "Thank you all very much for coming—we have been taking careful notes on everything you've said."

Kent

Kent State University in Kent, Ohio, likewise has been beset by a funding crisis: three cafeterias have been closed, half of the health-center staff has been fired, 77 faculty positions are threatened, layoffs of campus workers continue, and a tuition hike seems a certainty. In response the RSB formulated its lowest-common-denominator demand: "Reopen the Three Cafeterias".

In a well-attended meeting called by the RSB, the SYL intervened with the proposal for a united-front campaign around the demands, "No Budget Cuts, No Layoffs." Although anti-communist student politicians (lobbying for vegetarian and kosher food lines) had denounced the RSB, the RSB refused to respond and even sought to deflect the attacks by red-baiting the SYL: "We don't need people coming in from the outside to tell us what to do".

Finally, a "democratic" steering committee was formed ostensibly open to those prepared to actively organize against the cuts. But supporters of the SYL and others present who had expressed political differences with the RSB had check marks placed next to their names so that they would not be notified about the meetings of this "committee."

Boston

The October 8 rally protesting the \$37 million cuts in the Massachusetts state education budget sponsored by the Massachusetts Students to Save Higher Education (MSSHE) at the State House in Boston typifies the impotence of liberal strategies for hat-in-hand lobbying of state legislators. The MSSHE was set up as a liberal umbrella organization by NSCAR, itself a front group of the SWP/YSA. As student government hacks paraded across the speakers' platform demanding a "pecking order" for the cuts (welfare mothers before students, according to one) and urging the crowd to send letters to "our congressmen," rally organizers barked commands like drill sergeants, and an RSB troupe "performed" a puerile skit (with the theme, "These cuts suck").

Sensing the boredom of many students with the SWP/YSA/NSCAR-endorsed liberalism, the RSB attempted to inject some pep—but no politics—into the soggy affair by leading a small break-away demonstration into the State House. Chased out by the cops, the RSB emerged jubilantly chanting its meaningless slogan, "They say cutback, we say fight back," and set up a more spirited picket line across the street from the "official" rally. The SYL participated first in the MSSHE rally and then in the picket line with slogans for a strike against cutbacks and layoffs and for open admissions with a state-provided stipend. ■

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New Left antiques at Berkeley bazaar

BERKELEY, October 20—Last Saturday at the Berkeley campus of the University of California a "Disorientation" program for incoming freshmen attracted over 500 students to hear such alumni of the New Left as Herbert Marcuse, grand old man of the "student power" era, Richard Lichtman, once a prominent New Left "theoretician" and G. William Domhoff, author of such radical bestsellers as *Who Rules America?* "Disorientation" was a pathetic attempt of the self-resurrected Education Liberation Front to revive the so-called "alternate university" schemes of the vintage 1960's New Left.

This New Left extravaganza was a political zoo. The side shows included Maoist litterateur M. Frank Wright delivering a tirade against "Soviet social imperialism" and the "revisionist" Communist Party/U.S.A. only to sit down and begin chatting and joking with Bettina Aptheker, a leading spokesman for the pro-Moscow Communist Party. Meanwhile, a strange creature identified as the New Dawn Party roamed about distributing a leaflet charging the ruling class with drug-ging "Patty"/"Tania" Hearst with Thorazine and denouncing the Spartacist League and SYL as a "ruling class, phony 'revolutionary' organization."

New Left leftovers

One of the recurrent themes of "Disorientation" was the bankrupt tenet that students constitute the vanguard of the so-called "new working class." The pamphlet issued by the Education Liberation Front harps on the theme that the university is a factory, knowledge is its product and the students are its workers: "I was more enchained than a Russian factory worker," wails one contributor (a student "oppressed" by the highest grade point average in his class); "the class-like nature of the student-teacher relationship" is probed; and the "coercive functions" of grades are denounced in the same terms as cop brutality: "On the Avenue there are the police and in the university there are grades."

In the same vein Herbert Marcuse dismissed the class struggle and sermonized about ego struggle: "Before you try to unify the workers, unify yourselves!" Then rose Richard Lichtman, a founder of *Socialist Revolution*, who criticized the New Left for lacking "healthy self-regard" and who eulogized Marcuse as "a model for us all." Such was the bombast and blubbery of political relics whose every pretentious claim and political perspective has been refuted by the demise of the New Left.

The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was in its element in this swamp. For years the fake-Trotskyist YSA touted every petty-bourgeois political fad and will-o'-the-wisp embraced by radical youth, especially in the Berkeley mecca. Enthusing over youth vanguardism the YSA provided a "theoretical" rationale for its liquidation of working-class politics. The YSA's one-time mentor, Ernest Mandel, claimed that while the ruling class formerly had a "monopoly of knowledge" and while students once were a trained elite, "Neocapitalism has changed all that fundamentally" (*The Changing Role of the Bourgeois University*, 1970).

The YSA has never explained how its ever-growing, ever-deepening, ever-broadening and never-ending "youth radicalization" could evaporate so suddenly following the U.S. withdrawal from Indochina. The YSA statement contributed to the "Disorientation"

pamphlet did not even pay lip service to the need for working-class leadership of the socialist revolution and in fact mentioned revolution a total of once!

But like most crimes, opportunism seldom pays, even in the short run. The result of the YSA's political liquidation into this "student power" revival meeting was that only one person not affiliated with the YSA turned up for the YSA workshop—an SYL supporter who intended to expose these reformists. The National Student Coalition Against Racism, a front group of the YSA, chose to disband its workshop when politically routed by supporters of the SYL.

In contrast to all these anti-working-class windbags and their opportunist hangers-on, the SYL intervened in the "Disorientation" events as the outspoken champions of communist politics. The SYL submitted a statement to the "Disorientation" pamphlet carefully arguing why the proletariat must be the leading force in any socialist revolution and how students can advance the struggle for socialist revolution.

At the SYL workshop, "Students and the Socialist Revolution: Strategy and Orientation," the SYL explained that student youth do not constitute a social class but rather represent a declassed population, in the main drawn from petty-bourgeois families, and a social layer in transition. The universities are not factories extracting surplus value from the students but specialized training grounds for producing the next generation of scientists, intellectuals and professionals for the corporate and state bureaucracies. Student activism historically has not been always or predominantly left-of-center but a reaction to broader social struggles. The role of a socialist youth organization must be to politically link student struggles with the broader social issues, always raising a program and perspective for socialist revolution.

The SYL workshop, of all the workshops sponsored by political groups, drew the largest number of participants. Following the presentation, a long and lively discussion ensued, centering on the question of the fight against racial oppression.

October Coalition

The "Disorientation" program took place in conjunction with a rally called by the newly formed October Coalition, an organization supporting "affirmative action" as the "solution" to racial and sexual discrimination in hiring and promotions. Dick Gregory, Jesse Jackson, Angela Davis, Joan Little and Maya Angelou were billed as speakers, but not one showed.

The SYL attended the rally with a leaflet setting forth our opposition to "affirmative action" and advancing a class-struggle strategy for eliminating the present discriminatory hiring prac-

tices. Schemes such as "affirmative action" quota systems, preferential hiring and preferential layoffs strike blows against the hard-won union gains of union control of hiring and seniority, which is the reason the capitalists and their state back these measures while hypocritically feigning concern for past injustices against women and racial minorities. Socialists must counterpose the struggle for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to combat unemployment; union-controlled and company-financed recruitment drives and training programs for women and minorities; a union hiring hall operated

officers' associations!

One of the main components of this pro-cop and pro-Democratic Party group is the YSA. The YSA volunteered to provide marshals for the rally and has uncritically supported its union-busting "affirmative action" scheme.

The YSA went so far as to state that the October Coalition should not endorse a demonstration called by the SYL in support of the right of Hugo Blanco (a Peruvian co-thinker of the YSA) to enter the U.S. The YSA suggested that people instead write to Henry Kissinger. Harry Edwards, the demagogic leader of the Coalition,



SYL literature table displayed photos of our campaigns and activities in Bay Area.

on a first-come, first-served basis; equal pay for equal work; and organizing the unorganized.

While fighting against all acts and forms of racial discrimination, we defend seniority and union due process in hiring from all government and management attacks. What few gains accrue to black people and women from "affirmative action" are more than offset by the weakening of the unions. The unions must not be smashed for the sake of isolated and reversible gains administered and enforced by the bosses. Rather, the existing pro-capitalist and racist labor bureaucracy misleading the unions must be ousted, a struggle requiring the construction of trade-union caucuses contending for leadership on a class-struggle program.

It should come as no surprise that the October Coalition lists as one of its "labor representatives" the head of the United States Department of Labor! Also, the October Coalition supports, as test cases for "affirmative action," no less than five government law suits against unions. This group has even been endorsed by police

chimed in that "his" constituency was too "backward" to understand the importance of fighting for Blanco's democratic rights and, what is more, the police wouldn't approve of any endorsement for the demonstration!

SYL: the communist alternative

The SYL was the only organization at Berkeley to participate in the "Disorientation" with a serious and political intervention. In fact, today's *Daily Californian*, the UC Berkeley campus press, mentions only the SYL among all the political groups participating in the meeting, slandering our communist politics in no less than three separate articles.

For those who yearn for a return to Woodstock Nation "politics" of the 1960's, Marcuse and his political orphans will perform in such talking-shop get-togethers. The SYL is for those who seek communist politics and a leadership capable of leading struggles, such as the anti-ROTC campaign last year at UC Berkeley and the anti-Nazi struggle at San Francisco State University in the spring. Join us! ■

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PL protesting invitation of racists.

SWP/YSA consulting with cops.

Cops and SWP/YSA clash with PL.

SWP/YSA and cops assault leftists to protect platform for racists

DETROIT—At Wayne State University on October 2 the Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism (DSCAR), a local chapter of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, shoulder to shoulder with riot-gear-clad campus cops violently enforced the exclusion of Progressive Labor Party (PL) supporters from a public meeting, advertised as a debate between the pro-busing DSCAR and NAACP and the anti-busing National Action Group and Mothers Alert Detroit.

At a time when reactionary racist groups are on the offensive and following the recent defeat of a busing plan for Detroit, the DSCAR, a front group of the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), invited the racist scum to come to campus and took responsibility for publicizing the debate.

To provide a public platform for these racist organizations is an outrage and a provocation to all who stand for desegregation. The National Action Group, an organization similar to ROAR in Boston, is part of a reactionary movement to smash any attempts to desegregate the schools. The anti-busing movement in cities such as Detroit and Boston is a breeding ground and a staging area for fascist terror gangs; the ROAR organization has already spawned the South Boston Citizens for Self-Defense, an indigenous organized fascist gang. Unlike academic ideologues whose theories apologize for racial oppression under capitalism, groups like the National Action Group and ROAR are self-proclaimed *action organizations* seeking to mobilize frenzied racists to *smash* busing.

Preaching reliance on the capitalist state to enforce desegregation and to protect black people from racist attack, and refusing to call for decisive, organized action against the racists by labor and black organizations, the SWP/YSA limits the struggle for black equality to pacifist, impotent and social-patriotic "anti-racism" parades and conferences. And now the SWP/YSA even seeks to stage polite debates featuring notorious racist leaders as yet another means to demonstrate its respectability to all wings of the bourgeois establishment, both liberal and reactionary.

No "democratic atmosphere" for racist swine!

At Wayne State PL issued a call for a picket line outside the debate to protest the invitation of the racist leaders to campus. The SYL could not regard this planned debate as legitimate, given the character of the racist groups invited. This debate with racists deserved to be met with a militant show of protest.

PL set up a picket line outside the meeting hall, which was ominously guarded by burly campus cops and DSCAR goons. After demonstrating and

chanting for some time, the PL-led demonstrators, not openly wielding anything that could possibly be construed as a weapon, attempted to enter the "public" meeting. They were at once assaulted by the cops and the DSCAR goons, a melee ensued, and finally PL was forced to retreat. Outside the building later PL supporters allegedly attacked and severely beat one DSCAR supporter in retaliation.

According to the SWP/YSA's *Militant* (17 October) the protesters, described as "twenty pipe-swinging Progressive Labor Party members," had been excluded from the planned debate, described as a "prodesegregation teach-in," on the basis of earlier alleged threats by PL "to disrupt the debate." More revealing was the justification presented in the DSCAR prepared statement distributed at the meeting. DSCAR stated its intention to enforce an "open and democratic atmosphere" for "both sides" to "educate all present on this very controversial subject." The statement announced that PL would not be permitted to attend because "they do not respect people's democratic rights."

The SWP/YSA and DSCAR fakers forcibly exclude leftists, yet invite to campus anti-busing racist *action groups* who, by mobilizations to stop busing, certainly "do not respect people's democratic rights!"

Exclusionism and hooliganism

The SWP/YSA is able to pose as the "defenders of democracy" while enforcing exclusionism and building forums for racist swine partially because the Stalinist PL crew has to its discredit a long and sordid record of intimidation and physical assaults against its political opponents on the left. Especially at Wayne State, PL for some time has subjected the SWP/YSA and its followers to a vicious campaign of slander and gangsterism. Over the years PL has often proudly defended its strong-arm thuggery as a policy against "Trots" and other "revisionists."

The SYL has vigorously denounced PL's Stalinist attacks at Wayne State and elsewhere as intolerable transgressions of workers democracy. Our comrades on more than one occasion have come to the physical defense of the SWP/YSA and other radical left groups subjected to Stalinist threats of violence and such hooligan attacks.

No less consistently we have opposed the SWP/YSA's thuggery and exclusionism, including the YSA-led attempt to have the administration throw PL off the Wayne State campus (see "YSA-Attempted Purge of PL Strengthens Repression," *Young Spartacus*, July-August 1975). While howling about Stalinist violence when its supporters are on the receiving end, the SWP/YSA has carried out the same criminal attacks on its political opponents. Last year at Wayne State the

SWP/YSA roughed up *Young Spartacus* salesmen and begged the capitalist administration to remove us from campus. More recently, the SWP/YSA violently ejected Longshore union militants from an SWP/YSA-sponsored Bay Area "public forum" simply because they attempted to speak in protest of the exclusion of the Spartacist League and the SYL.

Communists are opposed on principle to the use of violence or exclusionism to suppress the views of any left tendency or individual in the working-class movement and to the use of the bourgeois state to intervene in disputes among the left. Violence and exclusionism subvert the struggle for political clarity vitally necessary for the development of class consciousness and a revolutionary leadership in the workers movement and open up the left and labor movement to repression by the agencies of the class enemy.

Reformists like the SWP/YSA and PL resort to slander and intimidation against left opponents precisely because their sellout politics and unprincipled conduct cannot withstand the test of political struggle according to the norms of workers democracy. In particular, the SWP/YSA excluded PL precisely because the SWP/YSA could not *politically* defend its policy of inviting vicious racist action groups to campus.

We are not squeamish pacifists or civil libertarians. We seek to uphold workers democracy—which includes the right of a left organization to enter a public meeting sponsored by another working-class tendency—by all appropriate and necessary means.

PL: militancy covers reformism

While a picket line demonstration to protest the appearance of anti-busing racist leaders on campus was a valid response, PL nonetheless has demonstrated again and again that its sometimes militant but often adventurist and criminally provocative tactics are a cynical attempt to compensate for its reformist program and liberal strategy to "fight racism."

When academic charlatans and ideologues like Shockley who apologize for racial oppression were relatively isolated in the academic establishment, PL often shouted them down, presenting such disruptions as great victories in the struggle for black equality. Yet PL also approached 1972 presidential candidate George McGovern to endorse an "anti-racism bill" and has even entered Democratic Party primary elections to wage the "fight" against racism in the bosses' parties (see "PL 'Crashes' Bosses' Party," *Young Spartacus*, November 1974).

PL organized a purposely provocative "death to the racists" march through the South Boston racist stronghold last May Day which only criminaly endangered the demonstrators and

uselessly provoked a massive racist and anti-communist mobilization, which boosted the appeal of the fascist South Boston Citizens for Self-Defense. Then PL, through its liberal front-group Committee Against Racism, settled into its "Freedom Summer" campaign, which was focused on a petition drive promoting liberal pablum and classless demands for "quality education" and on demonstrations to demand that the Boston City Council,

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whose members overwhelmingly back ROAR, indict its own Louise Day Hicks, the leader of ROAR!

PL resorts to tactical militancy and reckless adventurism because these Stalinists are incapable of formulating a program and strategy for linking the struggle against racial oppression with the broader struggle against capitalism. PL's call for the picket line and for the formation of a Student Conference Against Fascism in fact presented the "Freedom Summer" project and the PL South Boston May Day march as the solution to the busing crisis in Boston.

Furthermore, PL reduces militant

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DETROIT

tactics to a question of bravado and moralism. The hundreds of anti-racist marchers attracted to PL's South Boston May Day march were led into a potential massacre inadequately protected and unprepared for racist retaliation. And at the Wayne State debate, PL attempted to enter the meeting hall with little apparent regard for the relationship of forces in a confrontation over an announced exclusion.

SWP/YSA: "Free speech for Adolf Hitler"

After the assault on PL, the SWP/YSA and DSCAR at Wayne State launched

continued on page 10

NSCAR...

Continued from page 3

Atlanta city government traded jobs for blacks within the school administration for an end to black demands for massive cross-town busing.

Demagogy and slander

The SWP/YSA's cheap demagogic attacks against the SYL not only made up the substance of its "arguments" for troops and cops but also characterized its post-conference reportage. Both the *Militant* (24 October 1975) and the *Intercontinental Press* (20 October 1975) accuse the SL/SYL of opposing a resolution on "bilingual, bicultural education programs."

But the *Militant* (although not the *IP*) gives at least a hint of the truth, stating that the motion also included "other programs for oppressed minorities." Let's not be so cryptic: these "other programs" included "affirmative action" and "community control."

In addition to "community control" the SL/SYL opposes "affirmative action," and thus we could not support the resolution. So-called "affirmative action" brings the capitalist courts into the unions, thereby giving the state a foothold to discipline the labor movement. These schemes are an attack on the independence and strength of the trade unions, divide the working people by fostering competition for ever-fewer jobs, and in fact have nowhere resulted in significant or lasting gains for black people. The SYL counterposed to NSCAR's "affirmative action" a resolution calling for jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and for an end to discrimination through union control of hiring and recruitment programs for minorities.

As the SWP/YSA is aware, the SYL categorically stands for bilingual education. As formulated in our programmatic document, *Youth, Class and Party*:

"... we advocate that Spanish be made a standard language in the Southwest and other areas with large Spanish-speaking populations. . . . Where a large Puerto Rican population exists as in New York City we support making Spanish a standard language."

So much for the slander in the *Intercontinental Press* that the SL and SYL "oppose such a demand."

Although cloaked in cultural-nationalist phraseology, the NSCAR-

backed resolution on bilingual education accepts the segregation of Puerto Ricans by opposing "busing that interferes with Bilingual-Bicultural education." The SYL, however, calls for the extension of special bilingual programs and other remedial programs to all schools into which Spanish-speaking students are bused.

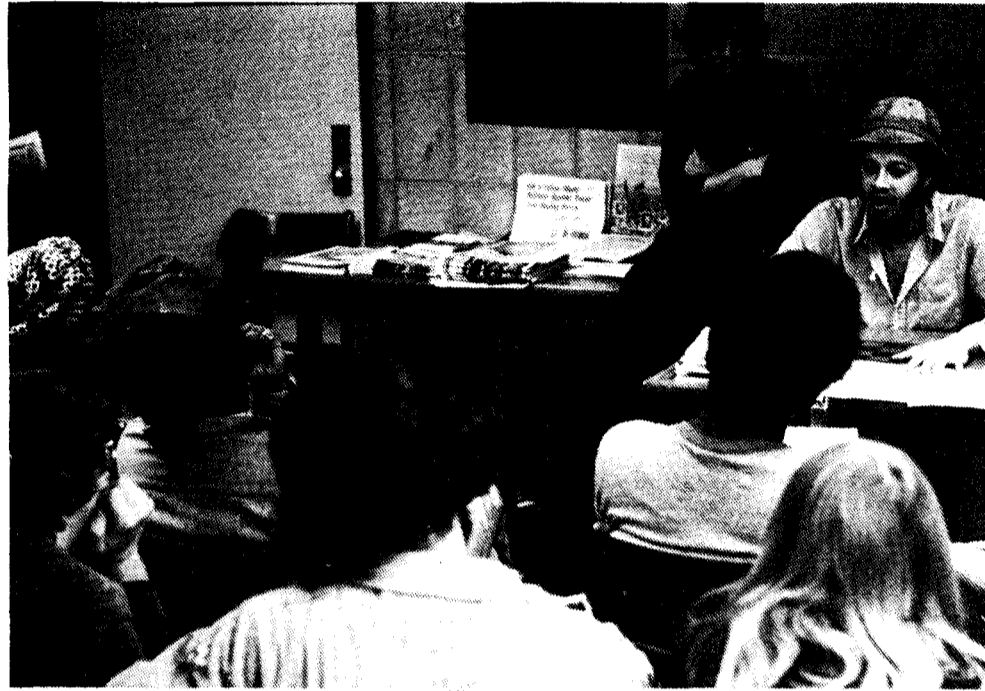
The SWP/YSA cannot claim any consistent record of support for bilingual education. Indeed, the SWP/YSA opposes bilingual education in Quebec! The League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Canadian co-thinkers of the SWP/YSA, has called for

"full legislative protection for French as the sole language of education, work and government. Only in this way can

Johnson and others. Unfortunately, the SYL was forced to abstain on the San Quentin 6 motion, which contained a call for NSCAR to "take the lead in working with the San Quentin Six Defense Committee." This phrase made support for the SQ 6 defense conditional on endorsement of NSCAR, so the SYL sought to amend this passage to read "NSCAR must work with..."

The SYL's clear support for a non-sectarian defense of the San Quentin 6 so outraged the "non-sectarians" of the SWP/YSA that an SWP/YSA supporter "sectarian"-baited the SYL. Nonetheless, after the vote on the amendment, the chairman declared the amendment passed; but he then quickly reversed himself. After an SYL supporter protested from the floor, the

YOUNG SPARTACUS



SYL workshop at NSCAR conference.

the rights of the majority, which are under attack, be defended."

—*Labor Challenge*, 10 June 1974

The LSA/LSO denied not only the English-speaking population of Quebec but also the many non-English/non-French speaking immigrants in Quebec the democratic right to an education in their own language. To be consistent, the SWP's "consistent nationalists" should be for Spanish "as the sole language" in New York City's District 1, denying the Asian, black and white residents education in their languages.

Philip Allen defense supported

The Sunday plenary session of the conference in large part was devoted to resolutions on behalf of victims of racist repression. The session opened with a speech by Ellery Allen, the mother of Philip Allen, the victim of a racist frame-up by the L.A. cops and courts (see article page 12).

Ellery Allen described how her son was railroaded through court, sentenced to five-years-to-life and finally had his bail revoked in an obvious attempt to stop Philip from working to raise support and funds for his own defense. Ellery Allen also commended the work of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), an anti-sectarian defense organization which stands for working-class defense policies in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. The PDC, she stated, was "instrumental in getting me here. These people have taken up the defense of Philip Allen as a major campaign. They are committed to see that justice is done." After her well-received presentation, representatives of the PDC collected \$79.91 for the Philip Allen Defense Committee.

A spokesman for the PDC later presented a motion to the conference condemning Allen's frame-up and demanding his freedom and a second motion in support of the Committee to Defend the SYL at Los Angeles City College (see story page 12). Both motions were passed unanimously by the conference.

The SYL voted for the defense motions presented to the conference supporting Carter and Artis, Lolita Lebron and four other Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners, the Attica inmates, J. B.

chair acquiesced to a re-vote. Not without some quick marshalling of their ranks were the SWP/YSA leaders able to succeed in getting the amendment defeated on the second vote.

Despite all the SWP/YSA's prattle that "consistent black nationalism is revolutionary" and its attempts to reconcile busing and community control, the SWP/YSA-NSCAR has had little success in maintaining stable relations with black nationalist groups. At the first NSCAR conference, 150 nationalists staged a walkout, and at this conference nationalists led a small walkout at the Friday night rally and allegedly attacked a white NSCAR activist on the second day of the conference. This prompted the SWP/YSA to present to the plenary a motion condemning any attempt at disruption of the conference and threatening disruptors with ejection from the conference.

A spokesman for the SL/SYL delivered a politically powerful speech stating our principled opposition to violence within the left and the movements of labor and the oppressed, citing our physical defense of the Student Mobilization Committee (a now defunct SWP/YSA antiwar front group) against Stalinist goons as just one example. He scathingly exposed the hypocrisy of the SWP/YSA on upholding workers democracy, pointing to the SWP/YSA's goon attack against and exclusion of the SL and Progressive Labor from the 1971 NPAC conference simply for verbally protesting the appearance of pro-imperialist Democrat Vance Hartke. The SL/SYL abstained on the SWP/YSA motion as an expression of "no confidence" in the SWP/YSA leadership of NSCAR to defend the conference without using anti-"disruption" as an excuse for political exclusions, in the light of their abysmal history on the question of workers democracy.

Through our aggressive and hard-hitting intervention into the conference, the SYL emerged as the clear communist alternative to the wretched liberalism spewed by the SWP/YSA. The defense of the democratic rights and physical safety of black people in Boston urgently requires an all-out struggle for the development of a labor/black defense to insure the implementation and extension of busing and to protect the besieged black masses. ■

Spain...

Continued from page 1

CP on October 24 proposed the establishment of "a provisional government based upon a broad coalition of all those who do not wish to see a new civil war, but who wish to see a pluralist system"! The equally vile PSOE for the moment has left open the question of supporting the heir apparent.

These reformist parties are the major obstacles to working-class independence from all sections of the exploiting class and its bonapartist military dictatorship. It was the reformists' treacherous policy of tying the workers to the bourgeoisie which paved the way for Franco's victory. Only by understanding the lessons of past defeats can the Spanish proletariat prepare itself for the struggles which lie ahead. Forward to the Spanish workers republic through the smashing of the capitalist state and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class! ■

assault...

Continued from page 9

a "Wayne State Free Speech Committee" ostensibly for "defending free speech on campus." At its first meeting on October 8 the SYL intervened to set the record straight concerning the communist position on the relevant questions of workers democracy and free speech.

The SYL denounced the exclusion of PL from the "debate" and exposed the SWP/YSA's "democracy for everyone" sermonizing as a hypocritical cover for hosting racist anti-busing leaders and excluding ostensibly socialist critics. In response SWP/YSA spokesman Lee Artz sneered, "We are for free speech for everyone—I don't care who it is, Irene McCabe [the National Action Group leader who failed to appear at the debate] or Adolph Hitler"! If Hitler were alive today mobilizing fascist hordes for the extermination of the Jews and black people, the SWP/YSA presumably would plead for a debate to "expose" his "reactionary ideas." Then another SWP/YSA supporter, irritated by the discussion of Trotskyist politics and history, flippantly retorted, "Who cares about Germany in '33 or Italy in the '20's—this is Wayne in 1975"!

During the meeting, when SYL supporters condemned the SWP/YSA and DSCAR for calling in the campus cops against another left-wing group, these "defenders of democracy" flatly denied doing so. But after the meeting adjourned, one DSCAR supporter, flustered by her inability to double-talk and lie like the SWP/YSA, finally blurted out, "We were unprepared to deal with PL, we had to call the police."

Just as the SWP/YSA calls for the army, National Guard, FBI and cops to "enforce the law" in Boston and "protect" black rights, so these hardened and cynical reformists stand arm in arm with the campus cops to enforce a "democratic atmosphere" for debates providing a platform for racist anti-busing action groups. ■

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BOSTON

Philip Allen...

Continued from page 12

outrageous verdict and on the eve of the equally grotesque sentence. The broad support for the SYL united-front call by many individuals and campus groups reflected the fact that the overwhelmingly working-class and non-white student body is only too familiar with the brutality of the L.A. police and sheriff's departments. The sponsors of the rally included, in addition to the SYL, MECHA (a Chicano student group), the Black Student Union, Justice for United Students, the director of the Hillel House (a Jewish student group), the director of the Newman Center (a Catholic student group), the Partisan Defense Committee (a defense organization committed to class-struggle, anti-sectarian policies, in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League), Larry Woodard (president of the Associated Men's Student Body), and LACC instructors Jay Kelley, Bob Kort and Bob Lotts.

The featured speaker at the rally was Philip Allen, who vividly described the nightmare into which he has been dragged for the "crime" of being black

The Partisan Defense Committee urges *Young Spartacus* readers to send financial contributions and messages of solidarity to:

Philip L. Allen Defense Committee
of the First Unitarian Church
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Los Angeles, CA 90005

and in the wrong place at the wrong time. Other speakers included Della Andrews, former vice-president of the of the Associated Student Body, and Michael Zinzun, who along with five other members of the Pasadena Community Information Center is currently fighting a police frame-up in Pasadena.

Grady Daugherty, representing the

Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), spoke about the PDC's approach to defense work: the mobilization of mass support and widespread publicity combined with the most competent legal defense. He spoke of the PDC's desire to extend the Allen defense nationwide, and his appeal to the crowd for contributions to the Allen defense raised \$152.47. (The collection of this money was to become the pretext for administration harassment of the SYL—see article page 12.)

Differences over how to fight racist injustice and cop terror were expressed by the final three speakers. Jim Burling of the citywide Philip L. Allen Defense Committee stated that better justice could be dispensed by "better" cops, such as he claimed were to be found in Jacksonville, Florida, where a police review board operates.

The tenor of his speech was quite in harmony with remarks made by Manuel Barrera, spokesman for the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR). In 1974 Barrera, then a candidate of the reformist Socialist Workers Party, ran for the office of L.A. County Sheriff! Barrera's "solution" to the deputies' reign of terror in the *barrio* was not smashing the cops through the proletarian revolution but *reforming* these racist hired gunmen of the ruling class into the dependable servants of the "community." At the rally Barrera advocated the strategy of building a front group tied to liberals and ministers with the perspective of pressuring the capitalist state to fight racial oppression.

Don Cane of the SYL cut through the liberal illusions spread by SCAR and declared that the frame-up conviction of Philip Allen only demonstrated once again that "there is no justice for working people in the capitalist courts." To fight such racist atrocities, he stressed, an aggressive and resourceful legal defense must be backed up by "involvement of mass support from socialists, labor and the black com-

munity," like the outpouring of protest which mobilized in defense of Joan Little.

Cane denounced the SCAR method of preaching reliance on the capitalist state to moderate wanton cop terror and "protect" with these same cops the black schoolchildren of Boston. He counterposed to this the Trotskyist perspective of reliance on "independent working-class action." As an example of such action, Cane pointed to the formation of a union defense guard in UAW Local 6 in Chicago to defend the home of a black member under attack by fascist hoodlums. Such actions, he said, show the way forward for black and labor defense against racist terror like that in Louisville and Boston.

Although immediately following his sentencing bail had been set for Allen, whose attorneys had initiated an appeal, at a subsequent bail hearing he was labeled an "agitator" and his bail was revoked. The judge, after viewing a videotape of the ABC news coverage of the LACC rally, ruled in an obvious attempt to gag Allen's efforts in his own defense, that he be remanded to the Chino State Prison to await the outcome of his appeal—a wait which

could last a year and a half! This further travesty of "justice" places Allen's safety in immediate danger, as black people accused of "cop killing" are often viciously harassed and brutally beaten in prison. The American Civil Liberties Union has entered the case in order to argue that Philip Allen's constitutional rights were violated in the bail revocation.

The PDC has been consistently and actively involved in building nationwide support for the defense of Philip Allen. The PDC sponsored a forum in Berkeley on October 4 and held a press conference in New York City on October 13, at both of which Ellery Allen, Philip's mother, spoke. The PDC was also responsible for enabling Ellery Allen to attend the October 10-12 conference of the National Student Coalition Against Racism and for raising Allen's cause during the conference (see article on conference this issue).

The frame-up charges and the outrageous mockery of "justice" demonstrate clearly the need, now more than ever, to mobilize the kind of mass publicity and public outrage that it will take to quash this racist atrocity. FREE PHILIP ALLEN NOW! ■



LACC demonstration protests attack on SYL, demands release of Philip Allen.

Victory to Penn. campus workers' strike!

PHILADELPHIA, October 27—At the University of Pennsylvania a campus workers' strike by the Operating Engineers (Local 835) is now in its twelfth day. For the first time at Penn, the five campus employees' unions observed the strike, with the result that 550 workers are off the job and another 600 are refusing to cross the picket lines.

Faced with this demonstration of labor solidarity the Penn administration has redoubled its efforts to break the strike. To date, the university has recruited scabs (including many students), obtained three court injunctions limiting mass picketing and enjoining strikers from halting scab-driven trucks, and reduced its original bargaining offer of 12 percent wage increases over the next six months.

From the first day of the strike the Spartacus Youth League has joined the picket lines and assisted in the halting of scab trucks. In an effort to mobilize students on campus in support of the strike the SYL issued a call for the formation of a strike-support committee.

At the first meeting, which drew 50 students and striking campus workers, the SYL outlined our proposal for the formation of a strike-support committee which would be open to all who agreed with the slogan, "Victory to the Strike!" and would work in close consultation with but autonomous from the union leadership.

The reformist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) intervened to oppose the slogan "Victory to the Strike!" as "ambiguous"! The YSA spokesman then counterposed a proposal for the committee to be established on the basis of the slogan, "Support the Strike."

Seeking to curry favor with the union bureaucracy, the YSA made it perfect-

ly unambiguous that the strike support which it intended to organize would guarantee in advance no criticism of the union bureaucrats and would allow no freedom of political discussion within the context of unity in action around the main slogan. Thus, the YSA followed with a second proposal for a rally including only union spokesmen and representatives speaking for the support committee. When the YSA, with the help of bureaucratic manipulation, succeeded in having its proposal passed, the SYL was unable to endorse the committee.

The YSA opposes calling for "Victory to the Strike!" to protect both the union bureaucrats and its own supporters. During a campus workers' strike at the University of Chicago last year, an SWP/YSA supporter who was a campus employee and a member of a strike-support committee (initiated and built through the efforts of the SYL) scabbed on the strike; he then voted against a motion by the SYL that would have limited participation in the strike-support committee to those who observed the strike (see "Workers Strike at U. of Chicago—SYL Builds Support, Fake Lefts Scab!", *Young Spartacus*, November 1974).

At the second meeting of the Penn strike-support committee, held on the seventh day of the strike when the court injunctions had been imposed, the YSA refused to consider mobilizing students to set up new picket lines and attempt to halt scab deliveries. Instead, the YSA proposed... a teach-in featuring prominent individuals like Jesse Jackson to "explain" the issues involved in the strike! The Revolutionary Student Brigade, working in an anti-communist grouping called Students Against the Hike, which opposes the strike, suggested organizing coffee and doughnut get-togethers

in the dorms to popularize the strike and called for a debate (!) between the administration and the striking unions.

When an SYL supporter argued that students should be mobilized to walk the picket lines, he was bureaucratically silenced. Recognizing that it was not in control, the YSA pushed through a motion for the dissolution of the meeting into do-your-own-thing workshops.

While the phony "support committee" haggles over an "educational campaign" and the RSB simpers for a "debate," the SYL is encouraging Penn students to support the strike by joining the picket lines. The perspective of winning student youth to a revolutionary proletarian program begins with active solidarity with the struggle of the campus workers. ■

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Young Spartacus

Framed-up L.A. student has bail revoked

FREE PHILIP ALLEN NOW!

LOS ANGELES—Philip Allen, a 20-year old black Los Angeles City College student, is the victim of a vicious cop frame-up. Allen has been convicted of voluntary manslaughter and two counts of assault with a deadly weapon on a cop, given the maximum sentence of five-years-to-life on one of the assault counts and on October 7 had his bail rescinded.

On October 1 some 450 students at Los Angeles City College (LACC) demonstrated to demand the freedom of Philip Allen. The militant, dramatic and broadly endorsed rally had been initiated by the Spartacus Youth League at LACC as part of our on-going campaign in defense of Philip Allen.

Following this rally, at which Philip Allen spoke, the prosecution labeled Allen an "agitator" and bail risk, because he had spoken in his own defense at LACC, was scheduled to do likewise at an upcoming San Quentin Six rally, and thus was refusing to admit his alleged "guilt" once convicted. Railroaded through court, Allen has been thrown into prison for the "crime" of speaking in his own defense and not pleading guilty! The SYL is determined to work for reversing this latest outrage and gag measure.

Philip Allen was arrested on trumped-up charges last New Year's Eve. Allen was on a main boulevard at 3:00 a.m. when some altercation not involving him produced a broken store window. Six deputy sheriffs converged on the scene, and the 5'3", 135 lb. Allen was forced to the pavement by four to six burly deputies.

So eager were these brutal racist cops to beat Allen that, according to their own later court testimony, cops were hitting cops while attempting to strike Allen. Then one deputy's gun was fired six times, emptying it. Three deputies lay on the ground wounded, one fatally.

The surviving deputies clearly had



WORKERS VANGUARD

Philip Allen, victim of racist frame-up.

to find a victim to blame the shootings on. So Allen was charged with the commission of a crime which, to be believed, would require that he disarm a 6 ft. cop while receiving a savage beating.

A routine paraffin test for gunpowder burns usually applied to the hand of the accused was not given Allen. And the death weapon arrived at the police crime lab with no fingerprints!

Allen's trial and legal defense unfortunately were not accompanied by the kind of militant mass protest and national publicity which helped to free



YOUNG SPARTACUS

Ellery Allen, mother of Philip Allen, addressing L.A. forum.

such victims of bourgeois "justice" as Joan Little, Gary Lawton, Angela Davis and the Panther 21. The local news media, reflecting the local ruling circle's fear that the case would become an embarrassing national *cause célèbre*, effectively blacked out any coverage of the case.

Though the prosecution's case was incredibly flimsy, the middle-class Santa Monica jury had not been exposed to the kind of popular outcry which might have helped them view the police testi-

mony with the proper skepticism. Although the courtroom was crowded daily with Philip's friends and supporters, the jury brought back a verdict in line with the incredible testimony of the cops, and Allen was convicted of voluntary manslaughter.

Rally hits outrageous conviction

The rally at Los Angeles City College followed shortly after this

continued on page 11

LACC administration attacks SYL

LOS ANGELES—Following the militant and well-attended rally in defense of Philip Allen at Los Angeles City College (LACC) on October 1, the campus administration arbitrarily imposed a two-week suspension on the SYL, the initiators of the united-front rally. The high-handed discipline meted out to the SYL was a flagrant attempt to stifle political activity on campus and to hamstring our on-going defense campaign for Philip Allen, himself an LACC student.

The pretext for the suspension was that the \$152.47 collected at the LACC rally for the defense was contributed directly to Ellery Allen, Philip's mother. The administration, callously demanded the "right" to confiscate the funds donated by the students, which would then be disbursed at the administration's convenience.

The SYL denies that the administra-

tion has any such "right" to grab student donations and administer them. We refuse to entrust urgently needed funds to a campus administration which sabotages with red tape student efforts to defend Philip Allen and which maintains its own special police force and even trains cops on campus. All the SYL would provide the administration were a receipt and witnesses proving our financial integrity.

The administration alleged "continuous violation of rules" by the SYL in order to cover its continuous harassment of the SYL and its violation of its own rules. The SYL was not the only organization to endorse the united-front rally, yet the administration singled us out for alleged "rule violations." The SYL application for renewed status as a campus organization also is being blocked, because our constitution of 3 years' standing has "mysteriously" vanished from the administration's files. Next the SYL was informed that our announced forum on the farmwork-

ers' struggle, for which a room had been duly reserved, was not "officially approved." And finally, the suspension of the SYL was carried out over the heads of the Interclub Council, the only body authorized to take such disciplinary measures.

SYL counters harassment

The administration, however, bit off more than it could chew in attempting to ban the SYL. The Committee to Defend the SYL, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee (an anti-sectarian, class-struggle legal defense organization), immediately launched a successful campaign to rescind the suspension, commencing with a petition drive which garnered 1400 signatures for a statement demanding freedom for Philip Allen and calling upon the administration to rescind the SYL suspension.

After two days of the petition campaign, the Interclub Council passed a resolution which stated, "The ICC

strongly condemns the administration's attempted unfair and illegal suspension of the Spartacus Youth League." Furthermore, a statement demanding the repeal of the suspension was endorsed by Ellery Allen, by the ICC president, by the Partisan Defense Committee and others.

On October 16 a spirited demonstration was held on campus to protest the attack on the SYL and to demand the release of Philip Allen. That evening at a meeting convened near campus Ellery Allen movingly spoke on behalf of her son's defense and in support of the campaign defending the SYL.

SYL spokesman Don Cane was able to inform the approximately 70 people present that the campaign at LACC had achieved its first victory, as the suspension had been lifted by the administration. Although the SYL still remained on probation, the repeal of the suspension enabled us to proceed with our work at the LACC campus in defense of Philip Allen from the outrageous police frame-up. ■