

Young Spartacus

Number 47

25 cents

4413

OCTOBER 1976

The Workers Need Their Own Party

DOWN WITH BOTH BOSSSES' PARTIES!

As the November election draws near, the dominant political mood among working people is disaffection and apathy toward the government and the two bosses' parties.

It is now estimated that about 70 million eligible voters—nearly half the voting-age population!—will not bother to exercise that hallowed "democratic right" to elect one or another capitalist politician to the imperialist presidency, where for the next four years a Gerald Ford or a "Jimmy" Carter will carry out imperialist policy abroad and racist, anti-labor measures here at home. Moreover, two thirds of those who indicated their intention of boycotting the elections cited as their reason, "It doesn't make any difference who is elected."

To be sure, at least in this century, there has never been any difference between the Republicans and the Democrats on the basic question of maintaining this system, which serves only a small class of capitalist parasites. But in this election even the traditional differences of policy have all but become obliterated.

The first televised "Great Debate" was a farce, as both "thinkers" strained not to knock over their

water tumblers in a burlesque of double-talk. The lack of any fundamental differences between Ford and Carter was quite clearly conceded by none other than senior American diplomat W. Averell Harriman. Reassuring a perplexed Leonid Brezhnev that in the U.S. the campaign statements of the bourgeois candidates do not necessarily have anything to do with U.S. policy, Harriman stated, "I'm not sure I was able to persuade him that everything that was said [in the U.S. election campaign] was of no importance" (*New York Times*, 21 September).

The torrent of apathy over this Tweedledum/Tweedledee charade has been manifest also on the campuses. It is true that at a few campuses the Young Republicans and the Young Democrats have appeared, like a quadrennial blight. But nowhere have students thrown themselves into campaigning for either Ford or Carter as they did for liberal Democrats Eugene McCarthy in 1968 and George McGovern in 1972, as well as for conservative Republican Barry Goldwater in 1964. Ford and Carter are incapable of even demagogically appealing to the liberal or reactionary idealism prevalent among student youth.

Both Ford and Carter wallow in reactionary

pseudo-"evangelical" religious moralizing and "personally" oppose abortion.

Both Ford and Carter support the colossal imperialist defense budget and two months ago belligerently thundered against the North Korean deformed workers state as the huge imperialist armada converged on a poplar tree in an imperialist show of force.

Both Ford and Carter staunchly oppose busing for desegregation and bless "ethnic purity" and "ethnic traditions," which in racist America mean Jim Crow segregation and the brutal oppression of black and other minority people.

Both Ford and Carter support the pardon of imperialist mass murderer and crook Nixon and preach forgiveness for the trespasses of Watergate and the CIA/FBI crimes which have been disclosed.

Both Ford and Carter back anti-labor legislation and demand that the unemployed—which means 64 percent of black youth!—endure deprivation and misery for the sake of nursing to "health" the rotten capitalist economy.

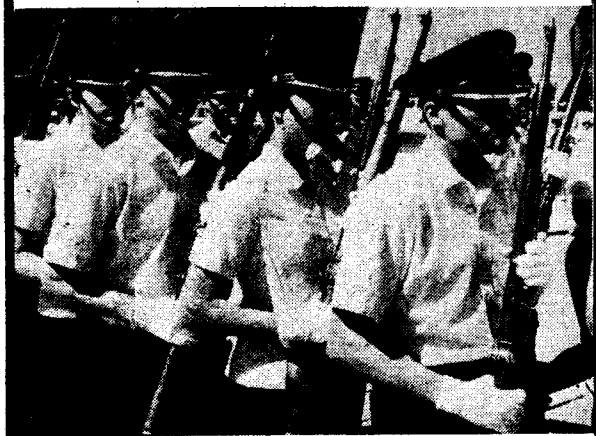
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The "New" Military Academy: Coed, Corrupt, Counterrevolutionary

As the current wave of cheating scandals at West Point and other military academies continues to swell, Army officials, Congressmen and the bourgeois media—seeking to pose as the champions of "morality" after Watergate, the CIA/FBI exposures and the Washington "sex scandals"—have been attempting to build up the crumbling facade of gentlemen's "integrity" and "honor" that is supposed to characterize these training grounds for imperialism's war elite.

This is no easy task. Since the spring of 1976, the list of West Point juniors involved in cheating on a take-home exam in electrical engineering has grown to 200, some of whom are sons of prominent government and military hotshots. Defense attorneys for the accused at West Point announced recently the existence of affidavits implicating 700 students (out of a class of 825). Likewise, the Air Force Academy (AFA) at Colorado Springs has been forced to begin a "full-scale investigation" into an alleged cadet theft and forgery ring still left over from the last "full-scale investigation" in 1975.

In addition, the publicity has shed light on several "hazing" and "training" atrocities in the academies and boot camps that would normally be covered up as merely "unfortunate accidents." One such case was the brutal clubbing of a mentally retarded Marine recruit, Pvt. Lynn E. McClure, who died after three months in a coma.

In the effort to "explain" this sudden exposure of the corrupt underbelly of West Point's "disciplined" and "honorable" officers-to-be, capitalist politicians and other establishment figures have pointed a finger at the "rigid" and "outdated" honor code, West Point's Roman Catholic chaplain as well as the House Armed Services Committee have appealed to the Defense Department to establish a "special blue-ribbon panel" to investigate honor systems, academic functions and admissions policies at all three of the major academies. Meanwhile, the West Point cadets' defense attorneys and the prosecuting U.S. Military Academy are vying with one another for the position of best exposer of the entire incident.

What everyone is anxious to keep hidden, however, is the real purpose of these "gentlemen" trained in these military academies: to savagely and genocidally maintain imperialist world domination. West Point instructors have always known that the cadets cheat, and use this for discriminatory expulsions and patronage.

One example, cited in the *New York Times* (12 July 1976), was the case of a cadet whose final exam in mechanical engineering was virtually identical to that of another student. Yet the case was thrown out by the review panel, which found "insufficient evidence" . . . much to the satisfaction of the cadet's father, a major general! The tortuous discipline, the purposely unattainable honor code, and the collective cheating which they produce, are used to develop a sense of caste loyalty and blind obedience which is part of creating officers prepared to defend capitalist exploitation even when its veneer of democracy and bourgeois morality has been shed.

In response to the increased public sensitivity to discrimination against women, the formerly male-exclusivist military academies have been opened up to women. Along with the "new," "improved" image of reformed military academies and the volunteer army, the bourgeois press is highlighting the recent acceptance of women as student cadets. The *New York Times Magazine* of September 5 carried a front-page article on the women at the AFA's Jack's Valley Basic Cadet Training, complete with pictures of smiling women crawling under barbed wire, folksy descriptions of how the male cadets were adjusting and assurances that the former ruthless "hazing" practices had been ended.

Despite the media's attempts to portray the academies transformed by the "women's touch," these schools will retain all the discrimination, victimization and discipline necessary for training the future leaders of the imperialist war machine. The *New York Times* article admits that the female cadets are taught and indeed shriek with at least as much gusto as the men the chant—"Kill, kill, Hate, hate, Murder, murder—Mutilate!" This is the real "moral code" of these academies.

The hypocritical pretensions at a revamped image are underscored by an incident at the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, NY. A female cadet, Nancy Donnelly, was found in bed in her dorm with a male cadet. Academy officials pressured Donnelly to resign, but did not discipline her bedmate. At least one New York daily plastered pictures of this allegedly "lewd" and "debased" woman on its front page, while turning a blind eye toward the male cadet. Meanwhile, Maryland Senator Glenn Beall began an investigation to "determine" whether or not Donnelly was a victim of sex discrimination!

As revolutionaries, we know that these academies can only embody the "values" of capitalist

society in which racial and sexual discrimination are the norm. We understand that no amount of reform within the academies or the armed forces will change the fundamental purpose of the military: to uphold the capitalist system. The SYL has actively protested the U.S. military apparatus in the past, building campaigns against ROTC, against military research and against cop training on campuses around the country.

But we make a distinction between opposition to these extensions of the repressive state apparatus on campus on the one hand, and the pacifist call simply to abolish the military academies or the bourgeois army on the other. The first is a statement of opposition to the use of universities as direct agents of U.S. imperialism; the latter fosters the dangerous illusion that the bourgeoisie could give up its last bastion of defense. We pose our opposition to militarism—"Not one man, not one penny for imperialist war!"—in the context of the struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, which alone can prevent new imperialist wars.

Unlike pacifists, the SYL does not shrink in horror from military training. During the Vietnam war, for example, we opposed the individual draft evasion strategy advocated by pacifists and left liberals. Instead, we called upon anti-war activists to organize within the armed forces, explaining the need to split the largely working-class ranks from the officers who have been trained in ROTC and the elite military academies and who will support the bourgeois order to the end. We supported the abolition of the draft as a measure which undercuts the ability of the ruling class to use the entire population as cannon fodder in its wars. At the same time, we warn that the bourgeoisie will not hesitate to reinstitute it should their thirst for profit propel them into yet another reactionary onslaught.

The hypocrisy of the hue and cry over cadet cheating and the need for more "humane" military training is boundless. The "honest" cadets of the past are today's generals who made it to the top of the imperialist hierarchy by lying, cheating and murdering working and oppressed people throughout the world. Theirs is the "honor" of the 82nd Airborne Division's invasion of Detroit to impose martial law in the black ghetto in 1967; theirs is the "humanity" of day after day, year after year, dropping napalm on peasant families in Vietnam. Those who drip concern for the "integrity" of the



Colorado Springs Air Force Academy: Coeducational militarism.

officer corps today want only a better cover for the heinous crimes it will perform tomorrow.

The fight of the Spartacist League and the SYL is to build the party that can lead the working class to revolutionary victory against capitalism. It is then that the bourgeois officer corps and the academies that train them will be smashed to the core and its counterrevolutionary crimes against the workers of the world avenged. ■

Berkeley SYL Protests Anti-communist Harassment

EDITOR'S NOTE: We reprint below a letter by the SYL to the Daily Cal, protesting the anti-communist membership list requirement proposed by a member of the ASUC, Berkeley's student government.

26 September 1976

To the Editor:

Last summer an outrageous "requirement" was introduced into the process of obtaining room space in Eshleman Hall. According to the form letter circulated by well-known right-winger Reed Panos, all ASUC student groups desiring room space are required to submit "a list of all active members." Such "list(s) of all active members" were one of the key tools for witchhunting and purging union militants and sterilizing the campuses for an entire generation in the 1950's. The "membership list" requirement recently put forward by ASUC's Reed Panos violates First Amendment rights and is specifically designed to victimize leftist and foreign student organizations. As Jessie Choper, well-known UCB Professor of Law and authority on Constitutional Law wrote: "In my view, requiring disclosure of the names of the members of an organization for the purpose of that organization's being assigned a room on campus raises serious constitutional questions under the 1st and 14th amendments." The Watergate scandal and the recently-exposed activities of the CIA/FBI should make it completely clear to all that such membership lists could easily be appropriated by the UC Administration, the cops or the CIA/FBI and used as a ready-made "enemies" list. For foreign students from countries with brutal, right-wing governments (e.g., Iran, Taiwan and India) to submit such a membership list could set these students up for imprisonment, torture and even death.

The Spartacus Youth League refused to submit a membership list and urged all other leftist and foreign student organizations to do likewise. Panos wisely declined to challenge the refusal. However, this "membership list" requirement is a dangerous

precedent and must not be allowed to stand unchallenged. The ASUC Senate should immediately take a resolute stand against all present and future use of this unconstitutional requirement. In the event that any existing campus organizations are victimized through this requirement or discriminated against for refusing to comply with it, the SYL intends to build a united-front defense action against such right-wing repressive measures.

—Spartacus Youth League

Young Spartacus

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

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

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

Cops Out of the Union!

SYL Supports Columbia Workers Strike

NEW YORK CITY, September 28—As we go to press, campus workers organized in Local 241 of the Transit Workers Union (TWU) are on strike at Columbia University here. Picket lines went up yesterday at all university entrances, as the 550 service and shop workers as well as security guards of Local 241 walked off their jobs demanding higher wages and defending their sick leave, disability and compensation payments from the budget-slashing administration.

As the strike moved into its second day today, the 450 library and food service workers organized by District 1199 refused to scab on the TWU picket lines, a demonstration of labor solidarity which represents the first step toward spreading the strike throughout Columbia and Barnard. This afternoon about 200 TWU strikers marched through police barricades and into the center of campus for a rally.

Boycott Classes—Support the Strike!

Spartacus Youth League (SYL) spokesman Don Mackenzie was given the opportunity to address the rally, solidarizing with the TWU strike and the support by the 1199 workers. Mackenzie stressed the need for students to actively support the strike, and he called on students to respect the picket lines and to boycott all Columbia

SYL activist speaks at union rally in solidarity with striking Columbia workers.



classes. Columbia University must be shut down tight!

Student support can be an important factor contributing to the success of the strike, especially since Columbia has begun to mobilize scab labor in an effort to undermine the walkout. Supervisors and students have been collecting garbage; in addition, some students

have been doing the jobs of janitors and maids.

Columbia's pleas of poverty are hogwash. The University has a huge endowment and earned \$33.5 million with its stocks and bonds last year. As the SYL emphasized in its leaflet,

"While the administration is opposing even minimal wage increases for cam-

pus workers, they are also raising tuition and cutting back on educational programs for both Columbia students and the Morningside Heights community. At the same time, Columbia is attempting to pit students against campus workers. The administration's threat that a wage increase for campus

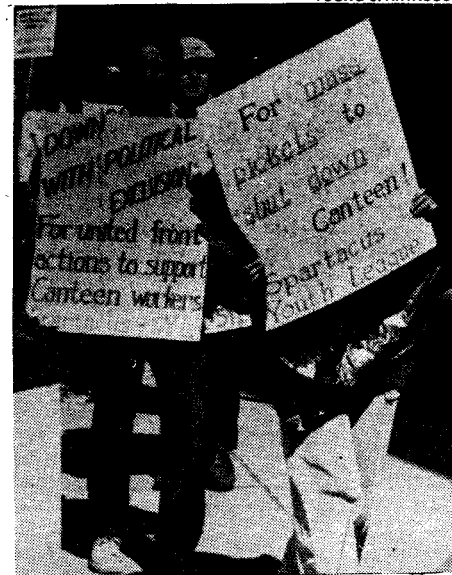
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Campus Strikes From Coast to Coast

At the University of Wisconsin in Madison the SYL recently has been active in support of striking food service workers. Organized by the Teamsters, these workers have been on strike for four months, although the company has been able to service its vending machines on campus through scab labor.

While the SYL has pointed out the need for the Teamsters to organize mass picketing to halt scabbing, the student support committee, which is dominated by the reformist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the social-democratic International Socialists (IS), has limited its "support" to attempting to organize a campaign of student boycott of the vending machines. In addition, the IS and YSA passed a motion which in effect handed the union bureaucrats veto power over all off-campus activities of what should have been an autonomous student strike-support committee. Subsequently, the YSA and IS informed the SYL that we would not be permitted a speaker at the September 24 "united-front" rally. Undeterred by this sectarianism, the SYL intervened at the rally, where the student support committee chose not to have speakers

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platform, and raised our slogans pointing the way forward for the victory of the strike.

At Brown University in Providence the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), Local 134, which represents about 400 food and service workers, struck the university last July 1. In August they were joined by the library workers, and both unions are still on strike, despite a determined union-busting campaign by the administration which has included scab-herding, terminating the strikers' medical coverage and a public campaign of vilification. The two unions are demanding modest wage increases along with an automatic cost-of-living escalator clause in the contract.

Local 134 has called upon students to honor the picket lines and has made successful appeals to the student body for support. A scheduled "debate" between the administration and the union turned into a spirited rally of 500 students in support of the strike when the administration backed out of the confrontation (*The Brown Daily Herald*, 23 September). In response to the union appeal, many work-study students have refused to cross the lines, and some reportedly have been victimized for demonstrating their solidarity with the strike.

While student support can often play a vital role in contributing to the victory of strikes by weak and isolated campus unions, the union leadership has not sought such solidarity from other unions on campus and in the city. Moreover, the union has demanded that the administration submit to binding arbitration, thus placing its confidence not in labor solidarity but in the so-called "neutral judgment" of arbitrators, who never give labor as much as it could win with its own strength and more often force it to accept defeats. The SYL supports the victory of the strike, calling for a shut-down of the entire campus.

At Simon Fraser University in Vancouver on September 8 the buildings and grounds workers represented by the Poly Party (PP) went out on strike.

Since then, all the university's unionized labor has respected the PP's picket lines, including the cafeteria workers and the 800-member Association of University and College Employees (AUCE). Since the strike started negotiations have not even begun.

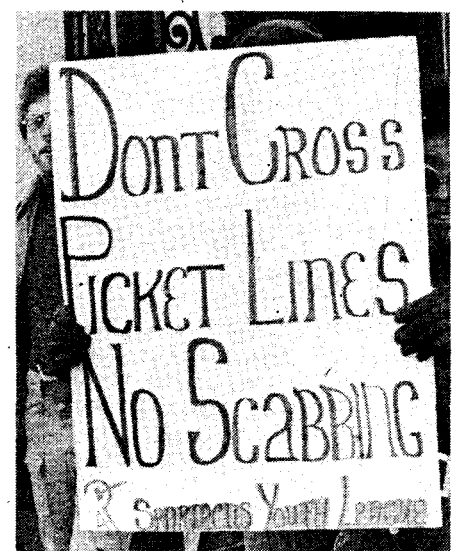
The Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, has walked the picket lines and called upon students and other campus employees to observe the lines. But the union bureaucrats have taken the criminal step of calling upon students and non-unionized workers to cross the picket lines in order to "overload" the university by using the resources on campus. When the university is using students and others as scabs, this "tactic" is an invitation to disaster.

Tailing the bureaucracy the fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) have shamelessly crossed the picket lines, "supporting" the strike by encouraging students to go about "business as usual," by petitioning the administration to bargain in "good faith" and by complaining to the Board of Health about the "unsanitary conditions" on campus. In response, a TLC leaflet declared that the elementary principles of trade unionism regard the picket line as a battle line in the class war, never to be crossed.

At Wayne State University in Detroit picket lines went up on September 24, as the University Staff Association (USA) and Local 1979 of the Professional and Administrative Association/United Auto Workers (P&A/UAW—mainly technical workers, but including a sprinkling of middle-level administrative personnel, some of whom do not belong in the organized labor movement) struck against administration attacks on job security and a wage "offer" representing only a two percent increase. While the administration organized a "Faculty Wives Association" (in fact, mainly administrators) to recruit scabs for registration, most buildings and grounds workers honored the spirited picket lines.

However, members of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), whose contract expires on September 30, continued to register students, scabbing on the attempt of the USA/P&A to shut down registration. In a letter to the AAUP membership, president of the local and New American Movement (NAM) supporter Ernst Benjamin cautioned that "we are barred by contract and statute from striking and from those support activities (including refusal to cross picket lines) which hinder the normal operation of the University."

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In a leaflet issued on the morning of the strike, the SYL encouraged all students, workers and faculty not to cross picket lines. Moreover, we call for the formation of a single campus-wide union of all university employees (excluding cops and administrators). But the SYL added,

"It is not enough for students simply to support campus workers' struggles. What is needed is a political program which goes beyond the demands raised by the campus unions and associations. Any gains wrested from the university will be dissipated if this essentially defensive struggle is not transformed and linked to the entire struggle of the working class against capitalism." ■

BOSTON—Lively exchanges between the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and Arab students turned two recent SYL forums here on "Revolutionary Internationalism and the Near East" into debates over the character of the 17-month civil war which has devastated Lebanon.

Held at Boston University on September 14 and at Brandeis University the following evening, the SYL forum given by Charles O'Brien attracted on both days a number of supporters of the Organization of Arab Students (OAS) and the Committee of Palestinians in New England (COPINE). At the invitation of the SYL, spokesmen for the OAS and COPINE gave lengthy presentations on Lebanon following the SYL speaker, and all the Palestinian Arabs and Lebanese Arabs in attendance participated in the often-heated ensuing discussion.

In the forum the SYL speaker argued that the civil war in Lebanon from the outset has been an *inter-communal war*, despite claims to the contrary by the right-wing Christian forces and the misnamed "Muslim-Left alliance," and despite the massive military intervention by Syria. The forum traced the roots of the sectarian holocaust to the communal basis of Lebanese society, explaining that the Christian-dominated "confessional" system apportioned political power among the 17 religious and ethnic communities organized like fiefdoms with their own political bosses and private armies.

As the Muslim population came to outnumber the Christians, the Lebanese ruling elite increasingly regarded the Palestinian commando units based among the 350,000 Palestinian Arab refugees in Lebanon as a threat to the rickety "confessional" order and continued Maronite Christian privilege. Not only had the Palestinian cause provided a rallying point for the masses of poor and dispossessed Lebanese, who are mainly Muslim, but also the well-armed commando units of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) were able to operate outside the authority of the Lebanese state and in the past have been able to repulse attempts by the Lebanese army to curb their power. The present civil war began when the right-wing Christian Phalange, determined to reassert the authority of the Maronite-dominated regime, attacked a bus of Palestinians passing through a Christian area.

The SYL speaker described in detail how the street battles between the Phalange and certain Palestinian commando units, joined by their Lebanese "left" allies, very quickly escalated and ignited a sectarian blood feud. Faced with such reactionary inter-communal war revolutionary Marxists must advocate revolutionary defeatism for all sides, while calling for the self-defense of all communities threatened with sectarian terror and opposing all foreign intervention. Recently Israel has increased its involvement in Lebanon, although not approaching the scale of Syrian intervention. While its hypocritical "good neighbor/open fence" policy has provided a trickle of Lebanese with desperately needed employment and emergency relief (but denying the "right of return" to the almost two-million Palestinian Arabs!), the Zionist regime aims to "defend our border from across the border"—sending Israeli patrols into Lebanon, arming Christian villagers in South Lebanon, funneling military aid to Christian rightists in the north, and blockading the Muslim-controlled ports of Sidon and Tyre.

In contrast, the supporters of OAS and COPINE vehemently denied the sectarian character of the Lebanese civil war, although one speaker conceded that some "communal incidents" had occurred. They pointed out that Christians could be found supporting the so-called "Muslim-Left alliance," just as some Muslims and other non-Christian Lebanese sects were on the side of the Christian militias.

Moreover, the intervention of Syrian forces into the conflict was cited as proof that the civil war was not merely an inter-communal affair. While granting that the conflict in Lebanon was exceedingly complex, the OAS and

Lively Debates at SYL Forums: Lebanon: "Plebeian Uprising" or Communal War?



COPINE supporters insisted that the so-called "progressive forces" of the "Muslim-Left alliance" were above all fighting on the side of the poor and oppressed and against the "confessional" system defended by the U.S./Israel-backed Christian forces.

The "Politics" of Communal War: An Ear for an Ear

In response to the Arab students the SYL speaker and other SYL supporters argued at length that the overwhelming character of the Lebanese civil war was savage and uncontrollable killing along communal (and not simply religious) lines. From the very first clashes both the Christian and the Palestinian-Muslim forces resorted to indiscriminate bombardment of densely populated residential areas where the rival militias roamed or were based. As the fighting intensified and civilian casualties skyrocketed, trigger-happy vigilante gangs proliferated, and both sides indulged in random kidnappings of unarmed civilians, torture of hostages and wanton slaughter simply for the sake of revenge and retaliation.

The SYL speaker quoted numerous press dispatches which vividly described the sectarian frenzy of the charnel-house blood feud. According to one report (*London Times*, 26 January 1976),

"Little boys at street corners in Beirut display jam jars of human ears, pickled like *fonds d'artichaux*. Bodies lie where they fell in their own blood or pile up in ditches, often with noses and testicles cut off."

As Lebanon hemorrhaged with this bloodletting entire communities became armed camps under the control of either Christian or Muslim-Palestinian militias. The reports that some Christians living in predominantly Muslim neighborhoods and some Muslims living in Christian neighborhoods cast their loyalties with their community does not disprove, but rather demonstrates the inter-

communal character of the conflict.

Furthermore, the SYL pointed out to the OAS and COPINE supporters that during the first months of the civil war Yasir Arafat of the PLO, as well as the Syrian Ba'athist regime, warned the "Muslim-Left alliance" not to drag the Palestinian movement into an inter-communal war. Yet it is even more revealing that the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which from the beginning of the shoot-outs was in the vanguard of the "Muslim-Left alliance," also concedes that the fighting early on assumed a sectarian character.

At the forum the SYL quoted a PFLP spokesman, Yusif al-Haytham, who stated in an interview last October in Beirut (*MERIP Reports*, No. 44),

"When the battles resumed in August [1975] they took on a different character: they were primarily of a confessional nature... The battles started as a fight between reactionary and progressive forces and ended up as a fight between Muslims and Christians, principally Maronites. Whether or not we like to admit it, it is a fact. The battles ended up on the street, among the ordinary people of Lebanon, between Christian and Muslim. This is, of course, a dangerous situation for the progressive forces and for the Palestinian resistance movement in particular... I think it was partly due to the nature of the warfare during August and September [1975] that the situation deteriorated into one between Muslim and Christian. The battle was dominated by rocket fire... A bomb cannot differentiate between a progressive and a reactionary Christian."

Even while admitting that the fighting has assumed a completely "confessional nature," Yusif al-Haytham nevertheless staunchly supports the so-called "progressive forces." To be sure, PFLP politics can certainly "justify" indiscriminate attacks against Lebanese civilians "guilty" of living in Christian areas, since for years these petty-bourgeois radicals have carried out indefensible indiscriminate terrorism against innocent people whose only

"crime" was living in Zionist Israel or just travelling by Israeli aircraft.

The "Democracy" of Death

The OAS and COPINE supporters responded by maintaining that, while the war might appear to be inter-communal, in fact the so-called "progressive forces" in Lebanon were fighting for an anti-"confessional" and anti-communal program of reforms. The Arab students argued that the SYL was ignoring the program of the "Muslim-Left alliance" in order to ascribe an inter-communal character to the conflict and thereby to smear the "progressive and democratic forces."

On the contrary, in the forum the SYL speaker noted that at the very beginning of the civil war the "Muslim-Left" melange claimed to be fighting for a "Program of Democratic Reform." So moderate was this program, however, that one propagandist of the "Muslim-Left alliance" wrote approvingly in the *London Times* (5 May 1976) that the U.S. ambassador to Lebanon had "told his Lebanese friends that such a programme would be considered 'ultra-conservative' in the context of a country such as the United States, and went on to reassure them that there was nothing 'socialist' about it."

But once the fighting burst into a communal conflagration the political program of the "progressive and democratic forces" simply became subsumed. On both sides the fighting was justified in terms of revenge and retaliation.

Again the SYL cited the account given by Yusif al-Haytham, who admitted that not only has the PLO and PFLP "not made any comment about these reforms," but even the "Muslim-Left alliance" has dropped all mention of its political program:

"A major problem during the last battles was that the progressive forces and the [Palestinian] resistance had no slogan, no clear political line. The masses were confused, and this lack of a real, clear slogan inhibited effective political mobilization."

The SYL also quoted the remarks of a leader of the Revolutionary Communist Group of Lebanon, a pseudo-Trotskyist tendency which has supported the "Muslim-Left alliance." In an interview with *Intercontinental Press* (26 July 1976) this Lebanese leftist pointed out that regarding the Lebanese "left,"

"At first they tried to mobilize around democratic issues, like giving equal representation to the Muslims [within the "confessional" system!]. . . . Recently they have abandoned even these demands. You don't hear about this anymore."

In this sordid conflict the "program" of all sides is for "equality" — equal bombardments, equal kidnapping, equal sectarian massacres. In early December, for example, Phalangist gunmen who were seeking revenge for the murder and mutilation of four Christians randomly rounded up and slaughtered 200 unarmed Muslims in Beirut. In response to this "Black Saturday" Muslim gangs ran amok and gunned down unarmed Christians in the neighborhoods under their control.

Likewise, only a few weeks later bloodthirsty Christian militiamen stormed the Palestinian areas of Dbaiye and Karantina, savagely slaughtering hundreds of men, women and children. At that very moment, however, the "progressive forces" of the "Muslim-Left alliance" were wiping out hundreds of innocent Christians in the town of Jiyeh and the hamlet Haret el Rouss. Then, two days after the fall of Karantina, these "progressive" Muslim gangs ended their weeks-long siege of Damour by overrunning the town, killing 500 Christians and burning all their homes.

"Anti-Communist, Anti-Imperialist" Alliance Beckons Communalists and Imperialists

Debunking the claim that the "Muslim-Left alliance" really is fighting against the "confessional" system and against imperialism, the SYL speaker emphasized that at one time or another both sides in the civil war have

supported "confessional" politicians, supported Syrian intervention and supported imperialist offers to send troops to Lebanon.

When the Damascus regime and its loyal Palestinian units in Lebanon were supporting the "Muslim-Left alliance" in the early period of the civil war, the so-called Lebanese "progressive forces" hailed the Syrian intervention. But when Syria shifted sides, the "Muslim-Left alliance" sought new "allies," while the Christian rightists welcomed their "Arab brothers" from Damascus. At that time the "Muslim-Left alliance," having already dropped its "program" for the elimination of the "confessional" system, threw its support behind presidential candidate Raymond Eddé, the Maronite Christian strongman who had been supporting the Phalange and in years past had campaigned to drive the Palestinians out of Lebanon.

Likewise, before Damascus launched its offensive against the allegedly "anti-imperialist" Palestinian-Muslim forces, they vociferously opposed the French "offer" to send troops to Lebanon. But when confronted by Syrian tanks, Kamal Jumblat, the "progressive" Druse patriarch who is the undisputed leader of the "Muslim-Left alliance," called for French intervention, declaring on June 1 that the French troop offer "had been made in good faith".

The Toilers Can Only Lose in Inter-Communal Wars

At bottom, the arguments advanced by the supporters of OAS and COPINE spring from the conviction that any struggle by an oppressed people who have been the victims of historic injustice must be "progressive." Thus, regarding the inter-communal war in Lebanon the Arab students voiced unconditional support for the oppressed Muslims against the privileged Christians, just as they all support the oppressed Palestinian Arabs against the Hebrew-speaking people of Israel in the series of Arab-Israeli conflicts.

But the SYL speaker stressed that in this epoch of imperialist decay all communal wars are reactionary, even though rooted in oppression and injustice. He pointed to the Hindu-Muslim communal massacres in India during 1946 and 1947 that claimed the lives of an estimated 1,000,000. The killings on both sides were equally reactionary, although the Hindus could invoke the cause of "national unity" while the Muslims rallied behind the partition scheme backed by the feudal Muslim League and British imperialism.

In any inter-communal war the victory of any side would represent a defeat for the class interests of the proletariat and the poor. In Lebanon, while the tide turned first in favor of the "Muslim-Left alliance" and then against them, the fighting on both sides has led only to sectarian massacres, continued communal divisions, forced population transfers and now a *de facto* partition of the country.

In Lebanon the PLO and Syria have claimed to be fighting for a "democratic, secular Lebanon," just as the Arab nationalist regimes all at least nominally support a "democratic, secular Palestine." But never has the strategy of the PLO been revealed more bankrupt than today. The PLO bases its entire strategy for Palestinian liberation through a "democratic, secular Palestine" on the nationalist perspective of military conquest of Israel, dismissing the possibility of revolutionary struggle by the Hebrew-speaking people against Zionism and denying the necessity of revolutionary struggle by the Arab masses against its Arab "allies."

But each of the Arab regimes hailed by the PLO at one time or another as a "vanguard of the Arab revolution" has subordinated the interests of the Palestinian Arabs to its own reactionary nationalist appetites. One after another the Arab ruling cliques promoted by the

PLO as the "champions of Palestinian liberation" have cynically and often brutally turned on the oppressed Palestinian masses: Jordan, Egypt and now Syria. Each of these bonapartist regimes is anti-democratic and oppresses its own religious, ethnic and national minorities. In the series of reactionary national wars in the Near East a victory by any of the Arab states against the Zionist regime could not have resulted in a "democratic, secular Palestine," nor in the national self-determination of the Palestinian Arabs.

The real allies of the Palestinian Arabs are the toilers of the Arab countries and the workers of Israel. For both the Arab masses and the Hebrew workers the main enemy is *at home*. Any strategy which pits Arab against Jew, or Muslim against Christian, can only lead to genocidal massacres, forced population transfers and further balkanization of the Near East which simply perpetuate imperialist domination.

Subjectively revolutionary militants must break with the petty-bourgeois political world view which attempts to resolve inter-communal conflicts into a "reactionary" side and an "anti-imperialist" side *within the framework of the status quo*. To be sure, Marxists support specific and concrete anti-imperialist struggles undertaken by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist forces, such as the nationalization of the Suez Canal which obliged Marxists to be defensist on the side of Egypt in the 1956 Arab-Israeli war.

But we deny that such struggles transform the Nazzers into "anti-imperialists." On the contrary, the so-called "Arab Revolution" championed by the Sadats and Assads is simply a myth demagogically used to dress up in "anti-imperialist" rhetoric the bonapartist Arab regimes with their clerical obscurantism.

Serious militants in OAS and COPINE must recognize that the "two-stage revolution" schema is fatal for the cause of Palestinian self-determination and the struggle of the Arab masses. By relying on the "anti-imperialist" generals and subordinating the anti-capitalist struggle of the oppressed, this Stalinist/nationalist schema ensures from the beginning that the "first stage" of Palestinian self-determination will never be achieved, not to mention the "second stage" of socialist revolution in the Near East.

There is a solution to the communal war in Lebanon other than siding with Muslim against Christian, or Iraqi Ba'athist against Syrian Ba'athist. That is the perspective of *class against class*. Only a proletarian-internationalist strategy can unlock the class struggle where working-class unity has been poisoned or retarded by communal antagonisms. There was a basis for united class struggle, for example, in Lebanon during the 1958 civil war, or in Cyprus at the time of the overthrow of Makarios in 1974. But only through the construction of revolutionary vanguard parties can the working class seize hold of these conjunctures and intervene with a program to drive forward the revolutionary struggle.

Only through the leadership of revolutionary communist parties and through the fire of the class struggle will the bonds of proletarian internationalist solidarity be forged in the Near East. Only through the overthrow of both the Zionist state of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, placing the Arab and Hebrew proletariat in power, can the right of national self-determination for both the Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking people be democratically and equitably realized. When the Zionist butchers, the profit-bloated sheiks and the reactionary Arab generals are swept from power, the workers and peasants of the Near East will set about promoting the harmonious reconciliation of any remaining national, ethnic and religious antagonisms as the vista of socialism opens before them. ■

Bible Belt Maoists Rant at "Deviant Sexual Behavior"

On the American left the self-styled "macho" Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and its youth group, the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), have become notorious for their reactionary position that homosexuality, or even heterosexuality which "deviates" from Stalinist puritanical norms, is "sick." Two years ago these Maoists adopted the swinish line that homosexuality, even among subjectively revolutionary youth, "is anti-working class and counter-revolutionary" (see "Malicious Maoist Bigotry," *Young Spartacus*, November 1974).

To students unfamiliar with the politics of the RSB, however, the article in the September issue of *Fight Back*, entitled "General is As Sick As System He Served," might have appeared at first glance to be an attack on the war crimes of some imperialist jackal. Quite the contrary!

reer was responsible for legislating funds for the murder of unknown thousands of workers and peasants around the world. Hays also "distinguished" himself for driving Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem out of Congress in a campaign laden with character assassination. Likewise, *Fight Back* prints not one word about the racist "justice" meted out by the "honorable" Carswell.

On the contrary, *Fight Back* condemns Walker for one and only one "crime":

"Deep-Throat Walker should get all the scorn he deserves. Nobody knows how many men under his command were propositioned by him. We do know that the cop actually is as sick as Walker—letting the general get his hands into his pants... Walker should be locked up in solitary for the rest of his life along with Carswell, Hays and the rest [the "weirdos, pimps and prostitutes"] so that nobody can hear his

-The Bolsheviks On Homosexuality-

"Concerning homosexuality, sodomy, and various other forms of sexual gratification, which are set down in European legislation as offenses against public morality—Soviet legislation treats these exactly the same as so-called 'natural' intercourse. All forms of sexual intercourse are private matters. Only when there's use of force or duress, as in general when there's an injury or encroachment upon the rights of another person, is there a question of criminal prosecution."

—Dr. Grigorii Batkis, Director of the Moscow Institute of Social Hygiene, *The Sexual Revolution in Russia*, 1923.

This article is a hyped-up and lurid account about the "long line of people who have been exposed recently for their deviant sexual behavior." Begins the article:

"Even in retirement Major General Edwin A. Walker can't keep his hands to himself. Walker was recently arrested in Dallas for 'fondling the genitals' of a cop in a city park men's room... G. Harold Carswell, a nominee for the Supreme Court, was caught with a man in a car—and they weren't taking driving lessons either. Congressman Hays and his cronies have turned the Capitol Building into a house of prostitution."

What is so disgusting about this puerile puritanism is that the RSB condemns these capitalist henchmen *not* for their monstrous crimes against the American and international working class, but in effect for their "crimes against nature"! *Fight Back* mentions not one word about the record of Wayne Hays, who as kingpin of several Congressional committees during his ca-

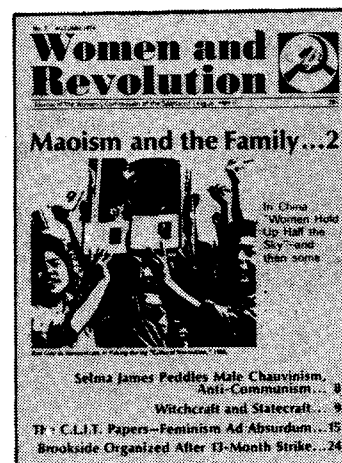
politics and so that nobody can get in the way of his wandering hands."

To be sure, revolutionaries welcome exposures of the moral hypocrisy and "business-as-usual" corruption of capitalist scoundrels like Hays; at the same time, we point out the vicious character of the homosexual entrapment laws, which are not intended for nor usually enforced against "prominent" and "respectable" individuals like Walker, Carswell and their ilk.

But the entire position of the RSB only serves to cover up the real crimes of Walker, Carswell and Hays. Despite all the tough-talking rhetoric the RSB position is no different than the finger-wagging moralism of liberals who maintain that the misdeeds and crimes of capitalist officials (when caught) involve above all "moral delinquency." The anti-homosexual bigotry of the RSB can only fuel the most conservative, socially backward attitudes, especially during this election year when both candidates are attempting to whip up a reactionary hysteria around con-

continued on page 11

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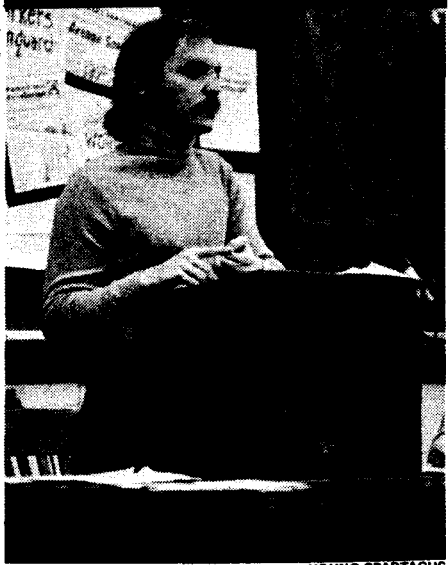
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SYL FORUMS



YOUNG SPARTACUS

As the campuses reopen this fall, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) is undertaking an energetic and ambitious program of regional activities across the country.

On the east coast the SYL is launching this work through a campus speaking tour, which coincides with the *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive currently in progress. The tour features a forum by SYL National Committee member Jeremy Lyle entitled "Racist Terror, Bourgeois Decadence, Mysticism—The Death Agony of Capitalism." The forum, as well as the subscription drive, is aimed at introducing the program of Trotskyism and the Marxist analysis of the world to students on campuses where the SYL seeks to establish a regular presence.

Drawing the Class Line

At the Cornell University forum on September 28 the SYL speaker thus set the tone of the talks:

"As a socialist youth group active on the campuses, in all our activities—from fighting the budget cuts, to supporting busing, to mobilizing students to walk picket lines, to demonstrating to throw the CIA and NSA [National Security Agency] off campus, to leading communist study groups—we are the unyielding partisans of the working class in its historic mission to overthrow capitalism. On campus we want to win youth to our program and our world view, to seeing the necessity of socialism and dedicating their lives to that struggle. We intervene to draw the class line."

The forum sketches an analysis of the state of campus politics and student struggles. During the past few years political life on the American campuses has been very uneven. For example, some campuses with long traditions of student militancy during the New Left era have become relatively quiescent, while other campuses with little past student activism have made headlines with their often militant and large student protests, especially centering on the cutbacks.

Racist Terror...

Bourgeois Decadence...

Mysticism...

"The Death Agony Of Capitalism"

The contradictory character of student protest reflects—at least at one important level—a larger social contradiction which is conjunctural. Broad layers of the population over the past several years have grown increasingly disaffected with the government and the all-sided deterioration of the quality of life in this allegedly "affluent" society. Likewise, most students today are not satisfied with the status quo, unlike during the fifties when an entire "lost generation" of student youth regarded American capitalism as unchangeable, if not ever-improving. While the New Left has collapsed, most students on campus still feel deeply alienated from a government which continues to reveal itself as racist and corrupt, and few are filled with confidence in this rotten capitalist system which cannot provide jobs and educational opportunities for millions.

At the same time, however, student youth have witnessed in the past period no major successful social struggles by the working class and black people in defense of their living conditions and rights. Despite the mass discontent, the bourgeoisie has been able to weather the political and economic crises of the last few years only because of the crisis in working-class leadership. In the absence of a vanguard party with mass authority, the trade-union bureaucracy—the "labor lieutenants of capital"—have been able to keep the lid on working-class militancy, as their sell out of the near general strike in San Francisco last spring unfortunately demonstrated once again.

Many students are receptive to political—but also apolitical and anti-political—movements which ostensibly offer a fundamental alternative to accepting the status quo. Not a few students today are open to political activism. Yet the failure of the pent-up militancy within the labor movement and among black people to find expression in sharp class struggle and political protest has led many of these students to view as remote and abstract the possibility not only for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist sys-

tem but even for effective struggle against cutbacks and layoffs.

Students, Politics and Cultism

Providing a Marxist perspective on the nature of student struggles and the student population, Lyle stressed the need for linking student protest to the struggle of the working class:

"As Marxists we reject the concept that students are a class, much less an inherently revolutionary class. Students come from every class in bourgeois society, and the purpose of education under capitalism is to prepare them to be cogs in the wheels of capitalism. Student activism, as history has demonstrated, is not in and of itself revolutionary. In one sense students are a barometer of the broader social and political climate. It's the job of communist youth on the campuses to fight to turn student struggles toward the working class by intervening with a socialist program and perspective.

"The heterogeneous and transitory character of student protest politics is clear from the demise of the New Left. Today you'll find on campuses all sorts of fads, cults and other individualist diversions, ranging from the semi-political to bizarre escapism, but all having in common petty-bourgeois impotence to change reality.

"Now, students often come to these fads in the context of a real alienation from bourgeois society. But we don't champion alienation from bourgeois society *per se*. Such alienation is often escapist, springing from cynicism and demoralization. We of the SYL are irreconcilable atheists. We stand in complete opposition to every kind of pseudo-scientific claptrap, any kind of mysticism. It's no mistake that we call ourselves scientific socialists."

Lyle pointed out that the cults and "self-realization" fads which seem to abound today are in reality a petty-bourgeois phenomenon. Moreover, he explained that many of these fads—and many indeed there are, as demonstrated by the recent *Newsweek* cover story titled "Getting Your Head Together"—share certain fundamental

qualities with the New Left.

During the radical student movement of the late sixties Jerry Rubin certainly personified the tendencies toward idealism, voluntarism and adventurism endemic to petty-bourgeois radicalism. With the inevitable dissipation of his "youth revolution" Rubin drifted into every will-'o-the-wisp fad which has appeared. Lyle cited an interview with Rubin which appeared in the *New York Times*:

"Name it and he has tried it, and usually liked it too: EST and Esalen, meditation and modern dance, More House and massage, Arica and acupuncture, hypnosis and health foods, tantric yoga and tai chi, rolfing and jogging, Reich and gestalt, bioenergetics and Silva Mind Control, Fischer-Hoffman and Swami Raj-ji. It's back to self and collect 200 gurus, not one of whom has a monopoly."

While Jerry Rubin as well as his cohort Rennie Davis follows the lifestyle radicalism of the Yippies to its logical (or rather, irrational) conclusions, Tom Hayden, another major New Left leader in the sixties, has followed the reformist tendencies of the New Left right into the Democratic Party, the party which launched the imperialist intervention in Vietnam against which Hayden protested for years, and which today rallies behind Jimmy Carter.

"Evangelist" Demagogues Preach Austerity

While Hayden campaigned in California with the slogan, "the radicalism of the sixties is the realism of the seventies," the Democrats simply have not been able to mobilize youth behind the Carter campaign to any extent approaching the youth support for McGovern four years ago. Both Ford and Carter this year offer nothing but racist reaction and capitalist austerity measures, which to be sure is what McGovern would have delivered. Indescribing the non-issue campaigns and demagoguery of both Ford and Carter, Lyle remarked:

"Socialists have nothing but con-



"As a socialist youth group active on the campuses... we are the unyielding partisans of the working class in its historic mission to overthrow capitalism..."

tempt for the Bible-thumping demagoguery being passed off as politics this election year. The revival of evangelism, insofar as it differs from the normal trend in bourgeois politics, reflects another cover-up—a cloak for the reactionary politics of the bourgeois candidates and the real crimes of the twin parties of capitalism."

In this regard Lyle also noted that the gaggle of self-proclaimed "progressives" which had run in the primaries were fundamentally no different than Ford or Carter. California Governor Edmund (Jerry) Brown, for example, projects the image of a "Zentellectual" and an "ascetic." But Brown has pushed anti-labor propositions and trimmed the "fat" off the education and welfare budgets. Quoting from an account in the *New York Times*, Lyle revealed some of the kindred spirits who turned up to prominently support Brown in the Maryland primary:

"There was Mr. Mandel [governor of the state], who faces trial in June for racketeering and mail fraud; Dominic (Mimi) DiPietro, a malapropone city councilman from East Baltimore, who was acquitted a few years ago of charges that he had bribed a pool hall owner; Jack Pollack, the legendarily crafty former boss of Baltimore, now in his 70's, and State Senator Harry J. (Softshoes) McGuirk, so called, according to a friend, 'because he kind of oozes up to you, puts his arm around your shoulder and starts to whisper'."

The SYL speaker argued that Ford and Carter are as similar as Tweedle Dum and Tweedle Dee in their domestic programs, which this year lack even the token social-welfare programs of past campaigns. Both Ford and Carter are dedicated above all to maintaining the profit of their class through administering austerity cutbacks in such "expedient" necessities as jobs, education, social welfare programs and health services.

In this context Lyle presented the program of the SYL for fighting the cutbacks on the campuses. Placed within the perspective of labor/student mobilizations against the cuts, our program includes such key demands as open admissions and an end to tuition; a state-provided stipend covering the living expenses of all students and their dependents; nationalization of the private universities, abolition of the capitalist administration and its replacement with student/campus-worker/faculty control of the universities; and funding of all education and social services at the federal level.

Where Are the "Doves"?

In addition, the SYL speaker contended that both candidates were equally committed to militarism, aimed above all at the bureaucratically deformed and degenerated workers states. On September 13 the U.S. government announced its intentions to veto the application of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for membership in the United Nations. Citing American allegations that Vietnam had failed to comply with the

missing-in-action provisions of the Paris "peace" accords, U.S. representative William Scranton declared that Vietnam "lacked the commitments to peace and humanitarianism necessary for membership in the General Assembly." And this is from an imperialist state which has murdered and maimed untold hundreds of thousands of Indochinese workers and peasants!

Lyle remarked that seldom does imperialist hypocrisy reveal itself more nakedly than on the questions of militarism and war. The massive carnage of World War I waged by the imperialist bandits for the redivision of the world market was presented as "the war to make the world safe for democracy" and "the war to end all wars." The victorious "democratic" governments proceeded to viciously attack the workers movement (for example, the Palmer Raids in this country) and to launch a counterrevolutionary assault against the Soviet workers state of Lenin and Trotsky.

Likewise, during World War II the imperialists perpetrated the firebombing of Dresden and Tokyo and the atomic devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the name of "the defense of democracy." Just as the American intervention in WWI was undertaken by patrician president Wilson after his election on a platform promising "peace," the Tonkin Gulf "incident" and the subsequent full-scale American intervention in Vietnam were the work of Lyndon Johnson, who in his campaign had promised "non-escalation" and "peace" in Indochina.

It is no less hypocritical for the imperialists to associate "peace and humanitarianism" with that den of thieves known as the United Nations. Lyle explained how the U.S. carried out its aggression against North Korea under the sanction of the United Nations.

Perhaps most hypocritical of all, Lyle noted, was that while Scranton was preaching "peace and humanitarianism," the U.S. Senate that same day was voting the House-approved military budget of \$104.4 billion—the largest ever and 15.3 percent over last year alone! Despite their fake "differences," both parties voted as one on this; the House approved the appropriations bill by 323 to 45, while the Senate approved by voice vote.

Far from threatening to spread the revolution, the Vietnamese Stalinists, especially since their victory over the U.S.-backed Saigon regime (but also for decades before), have been advocating "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. In the diplomatic correspondence released by Hanoi following the U.S. veto, for example, the Stalinist bureaucracy hails the Paris "peace" accords as a "very reasonable and sensible policy." Lyle stressed that the Vietnamese Stalinists had to dispense with these accords, imposed by the imperialists and readily accepted by the Stalinists, in order to take power in South Vietnam.

Even though the Vietnamese Stalinists pledge allegiance to anti-revolutionary "detente" and would cynically use the United Nations no differently than Moscow, Trotskyists support Vietnam's admission to the U.N.

Trotskyists stand for the *unconditional defense* of Vietnam and all the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution, while calling for workers political revolution to smash the Stalinist bureaucracies and establish workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism. Lyle discussed how the Stalinist bureaucracies which monopolize political power as a privileged caste in these states are forced to base their regimes upon the revolutionary gains represented by the proletarian property forms, but simultaneously are an obstacle to the development of the revolution and its extension internationally.

Lyle contrasted the position of Leninists—"Not one man and not one penny for the bourgeois government!"—with the position which the SWP/YSA and CP/YWLL electoral campaigns have adopted on militarism. The CP/YWLL calls for an 80 percent cut in the military budget—thereby granting the imperialists \$23.5 billion. The SWP/YSA also calls for cutting the military budget and for an end to "imperialist" foreign policy. But calling for a drastic reduction or even elimination of the military budget without calling for the end to capitalism fosters the reformist illusion that capitalism can be pressured to pursue a "democratic" foreign policy. In addition, the SWP/YSA has never recognized that a social transformation has occurred in South Vietnam and accordingly has refused to call for its unconditional defense.

"Ethnic Purity" and Racist Reaction

Both bourgeois candidates seek to fuel working-class discontent over burning issues such as cutbacks and layoffs into a racist backlash, pitting black against white worker for ever-dwindling employment and educational opportunities. What is needed is independent political action by the working class for jobs, social services and equal rights for minorities:

"The crying necessity is for labor to break with the two boss parties. The call we raise—'Oust the Bureaucrats, Build a Workers Party!'—sums up the task ahead for militants within the labor movement: the struggle for working-class independence and for a workers government that will expropriate those capitalist parasites."

The SYL speaker spoke at length on the issue of busing, which both capitalist candidates in fact oppose:

"We favor the full social equality of black people, and that can be achieved only through the socialist revolution. We support busing not only as a measure enforcing the democratic right of black people to equal access in public educational facilities, but also as a step toward the integration of black people into every aspect of social life, which is so crucial for forging the unity of the oppressed necessary to overthrow capitalism."

"In response to the racist backlash, we have raised the call for labor/black defense to defend busing and drive forward the struggle for racial equality. We do not call for the armed forces of capitalism—the imperialist army,

the racist cops—to defend black people, as does the Young Socialist Alliance and liberal integrationists like the NAACP. We can rely on those cops and troops only to suppress any struggle by black people and their allies against the status quo. Let's not forget what the repressive arms of the state did in Watts, in Detroit, in Harlem and do every day in the ghettos.

"We don't make any false claims about the present consciousness of the labor movement. It takes struggle to swing the power of the unions behind the fight against racism. But with leadership, it can be done."

Lyle went on to describe how last year in Chicago United Auto Workers Local 6 organized at the initiation of the Labor Struggle Caucus a successful union defense guard to protect the home of a black union brother who was the victim of murderous racist attacks after moving into a white neighborhood.

The racist vigilante groups mobilized in opposition to busing have provided a fertile ground for fascist thugs like the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis. As they become more emboldened, these degenerate scum creep on campus seeking a platform to spew their racist, anti-Semitic, and anti-communist filth.

During the past year or so, student protests against these fascist demagogues have raised the question: should

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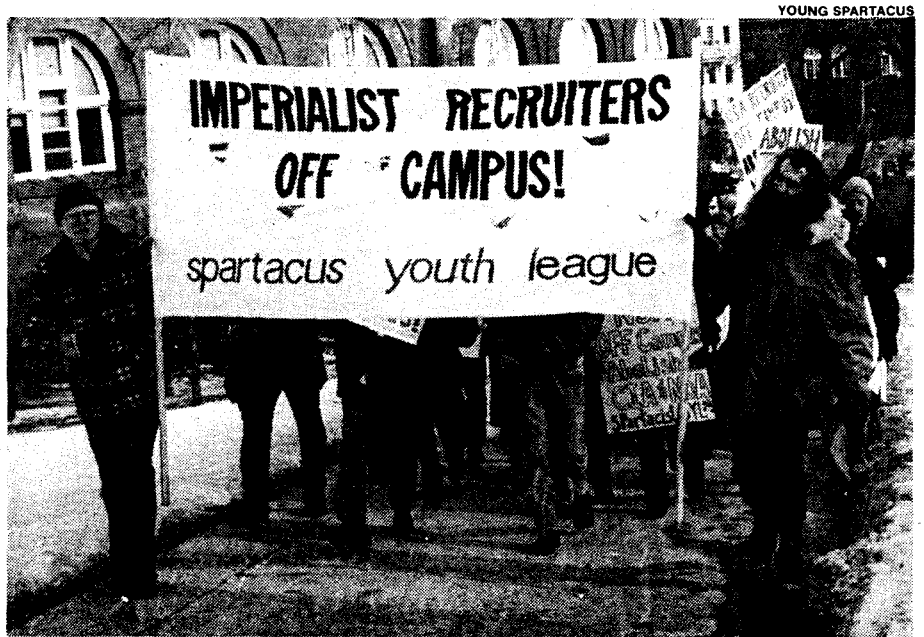
fascists be allowed their so-called "right" of free speech? The Young Socialist Alliance, for example, insists that workers and students should do nothing—not even mere verbal protest!—to deny the fascists their "freedom of speech." But the SYL contends that the working class and all opponents of fascism must recognize no "rights" for these would-be stormtroopers.

Lyle brought home the point by relating one particular incident:

"In Houston last year a member of the Klan came to the University of Houston to speak. Now, this guy was running for mayor, and his so-called platform was a 'nigga hunting license.' So he gets up at the university and talks about how, if he is elected and the Klan takes power, they're going to turn Jews into soap.

"What is there to debate with this guy? What kind of soap Jews should be? Or how to murder blacks? In any case, while you're debating this guy, and perhaps think you're winning the debate, some of the fascist creeps might well be outside in the parking lot wiring a bomb in your car. That's *their* 'program!'"

Lyle noted that at the University or *continued on page 10*



... We want to win youth ... to seeing the necessity of socialism and dedicating their lives to that struggle ... We intervene to draw the class line."

Tuition In, Open Admissions Out— How to Roll Back Cutbacks at CUNY

NEW YORK CITY—A feeling of resignation and disenchantment is prevalent among the student body of the City University of New York (CUNY) at the beginning of this school year. In contrast to the numerous large demonstrations against cutbacks last semester, students have returned quietly to CUNY accepting the final imposition of the drastic budget cuts, totalling \$69.2 million, and the end of the 129-year-old policy of free tuition.

The source of this resignation is not limited to just the inability of CUNY students to wage a successful struggle against last year's cutbacks. The only viable alternative strategy of victory for students—namely, the alliance with the city labor movement—lies frustrated as the bankers and the capitalist city administration have imposed upon the working people of this city their capitalist austerity program of massive

labor movement in New York City, with its large black and Puerto Rican component, has been hit severely by the city government through layoffs, wage freezes and cuts in social services.

The Labor Movement

The organized labor movement has the power to stop the cutbacks and to lead the struggle for the educational needs of the masses of poor and working people of New York. Labor not only has the power but also a direct interest, as it is their sons and daughters who are being denied the right to a college education.

Last year, city workers repeatedly demonstrated their combativity. Yet at each critical juncture one union after another was cravenly sold out by the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats. Last spring the powerful Transit Workers

secured. But this requires a fight within the labor movement for a class-struggle program. Through such a struggle the stage will be set for labor/student mobilizations against the cutbacks and layoffs.

1976 Registration

Last year's labor defeat set the stage for the opening day of City College of New York (CCNY) registration. The United Peoples (UP), a nationalist coalition of black students, staged a boycott of registration and attempted a disruption in the Mahoney Gym together with the Black Economic Survival (BES) led by union-buster Moses Harris.

In the planning stages the UP/BES, with its go-it-alone sectarianism, refused to discuss with other left groups on campus a strategy for uniting students against cuts, and instead attempted to carry out an adventurist action which resulted in five BES members getting arrested. With no real support from the student body, registration resumed after a three-hour delay despite the UP-called boycott.

Harris himself built his reputation as a member of the Manhattan North Coalition (MNC), which battled white construction workers at a building site at CCNY during the spring of 1975. The MNC fails to see that a working-class perspective is indispensable to fighting the very real oppression of blacks and minorities. Thus they view the struggle against the discrimination of the white job trusters not as a fight within the union to replace the racist bureaucracy with a leadership committed to fighting racial oppression and unemployment, but rather as a struggle between white employed workers and unemployed blacks, with the aim of setting up a black job trust.

The MNC demanded not only that 25 percent of the contracts be given to minority contractors and that 50 percent of the site's jobs be given to blacks and minority workers from the community, but that the MNC control the hiring of these blacks. This outright union busting attempt destroyed whatever solidarity existed between black and white workers and drove the white workers into the arms of the racist bureaucracy and its white goons. The result was an ugly pitched battle between two sections of capitalism's oppressed.

In contrast to UP/BES' criminal sectarianism, the SYL emphasized the immediate need to organize a united front of all CCNY organizations and students to plan an effective protest

against tuition around the demands of "No Cuts, No Layoffs, Restore Open Admissions and Free Tuition," and pointed out the necessity to link up with the labor movement.

Other so-called revolutionary groups on campus demonstrated their inability to provide political leadership. The Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) paraded its reformism with the call for everyone to register and to fight for higher Tuition Assistance Program allowances! They eventually lent their support to the boycott, however, just as they approvingly tailed the MNC in 1975. The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), known for its attempts to channel anti-cutbacks protest into liberal hat-in-hand lobbying, stooped to even lower levels. While urging students that there was no urgency in fighting the cutbacks, they announced, "the class struggle has been around for 100 years and it will be around 100 more!"

The SYL slogan for labor/student mobilization expresses the need for students to link their protests with the social power of the proletariat. But especially when the labor movement has remained chained by its pro-capitalist bureaucratic misleaders and led from one defeat to another, student protests must raise the perspective of a labor/student mobilization and raise demands which speak to the needs of the sons and daughters of working people in the city. Such actions can be a spark setting off a broader struggle of workers in solidarity against the cutbacks.

One of the most important lessons to be drawn from the last year of protests against the cuts is that program and perspective are paramount. Only the SYL has fought for the perspective of labor/student mobilizations aimed at a city-wide general strike against cutbacks and layoffs. In this struggle we have raised the following demands which point the way forward: open admissions and no tuition at CUNY and SUNY; education and social services to be federally funded at all levels and a state stipend to cover living expenses for all students and their dependents; rehire all faculty and staff; cops and cop-training out of CUNY; extend bilingual education and special remedial programs throughout CUNY; nationalization of all private universities; abolish the capitalist administration and replace it with worker-student-teacher control; cancel the city debt; nationalize the banks with no compensation and restore all jobs and services. The SYL intervenes to win students to this anti-capitalist perspective and to the struggle for socialism. ■



Student strike protesting budget cuts and layoffs at CCNY last May.

layoffs and wage cuts. And it is this prostration of the NYC labor movement in the face of the bosses' attacks which underlies and surrounds the current feeling of impotence on the part of the many students.

CUNY has been eliminated as an institution of free higher education with the abolition of open admissions and the new \$750-\$900 per year tuition policy. While this has already produced approximately a 25 percent cut in enrollment, it has also locked out thousands of poor and minority youth for whom higher education was one of the few alternatives from a life of grinding poverty and unemployment.

Yet the cutbacks are by no means limited to CUNY. Dozens of hospitals, clinics, daycare centers and libraries have been closed indefinitely. And all of this occurs at a time when inflation is cutting deeply into frozen wages, and unemployment continues to spiral upward, hitting the city's youth at 50 to 60 percent. During the last year, the

Union (TWU) faced a strike situation which posed point-blank the need for a city-wide general strike against layoffs and cutbacks. But at the 11th hour TWU head Matthew Guinan accepted a package conforming to the wage freeze, with a modest cost-of-living increase to be financed through "productivity savings," that is, job attrition, speed-up, safety and maintenance reductions, and the curtailment of service!

This past summer, hospital workers represented by 1199 and DC 37 struck when faced by threatening layoffs and wage cuts. But both Victor Gotbaum, head of DC 37 and 1199 top Leon Davis sold out their memberships with rotten contracts pawned off as "victories."

While labor went down to defeat this last year it was not from a lack of combativity on the part of the rank and file, but because of the treacherous betrayals of the union misleaders. The labor bureaucracy has to be swept away in order for victory to be as-

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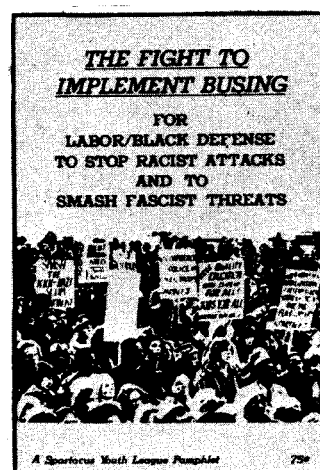
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SYL Protests Carter, Ford



YOUNG SPARTACUS

When the twin parties of capitalism "kicked-off" their campaigns this month, the SYL responded with militant demonstrations of protest against the racist, anti-working-class competitors for imperialist chief.

At a 7 September Brooklyn College rally (above), the SYL met "right-to-work" Jimmy Carter's first appearance with slogans of revolutionary working-class action against the capitalist offensive. While the 17 September *Militant*, newspaper of the reformist Socialist Workers Party, reported that Carter was met by protests "directed against the upcoming closed debates," it failed to even acknowledge the presence of the SYL. Certainly the SYL slogans "Not Ford, Not Carter, But a Workers Party," "Free Higher Education for All" and "Implement Busing with Labor/Black Defense" must have been an embarrassment to these ultra-

respectable proponents of "socialism by constitutional amendment."

In Ann Arbor over 100 demonstrators rallied against Gerald Ford on September 15 (picture on page 1). Seven demonstrations in all were called, but the SYL stood alone in calling for a break with both the bosses' parties and for building a workers party based on the trade unions with a class-struggle program. Despite the sectarianism of the Revolutionary Student Brigade, which held a separate demonstration of 13 people, and the Youth Against War and Fascism, which unsuccessfully tried to drown out SYL chants, the SYL was able to propagandize our revolutionary perspective. Among our chants were, "Smash Capitalism Through Workers Revolution!" and "Break with the Elephant, Break with the Ass, Build a Party of the Working Class!"

Columbia...

continued from page 3

workers will necessarily lead to a hike in tuition is a time-honored ploy for the recruitment of students to scab. What is required in order to defeat all of these attacks is unity between the students and campus workers."

To these threats by the administration, the SYL responds with the call for the nationalization of Columbia, the abolition of its capitalist board of trustees and its replacement with student/faculty/worker control! We demand an end to tuition and the imposition of open admission with full living stipend provided by the state.

Cops Out of the Union!

The SYL was on the picket lines from the first day of the strike, carrying signs with the slogans, "Victory to the strike!" and "No scabbing!" Moreover, the SYL has emphasized that cops should not be in the TWU or in any labor union. Approximately 12 percent of Local 241 are campus cops. Campus cops, though their duties are more circumscribed, none the less stand on the same side of the class line as their trigger-happy, strike-breaking brothers in the city and state

police forces. The Columbia campus cops have been beefed up several-fold since the student upsurge of 1968. Columbia cops daily harass black people from the surrounding community.

Crucial to the victory of the strike is its extension to include all campus unions. The refusal of 1199 workers to cross the TWU picket lines is an important step, while the possibility of a strike by the District 65 clerical workers at Barnard further underscores the urgency of this solidarity. Moreover, the contract of the clericals at Columbia Teachers College is due to expire shortly.

The extreme fragmentation of Columbia/Barnard workers—a separate TWU local represents Barnard workers, while the clerical workers at Barnard, Teachers College and Columbia have also been organized separately—can only aid the Columbia/Barnard administrations. We call for a single campus-wide union of all university employees (excluding campus cops and administrators).

The SYL at Columbia intends to organize students in support of the TWU strike, just as we supported the District 65 strike at Barnard College in January 1974. To begin, the SYL has called for a rally on campus which can begin to mobilize students to walk the picket lines and initiate other activities in support of the strike. Victory to the TWU strike! ■

Capitalist Elections...

continued from page 1

Nor have students flocked to the "left" liberal "alternatives" to Ford and Carter. The much-speculated-about candidacy of "populist" Fred Harris flopped, never drawing much organized student support anywhere.

Even more revealing is the fact that "independent" presidential candidate Eugene McCarthy is looking for hand-outs on the political Bowery. In 1968 this man carried in his hip pocket the future votes of hundreds of thousands of youth who mistakenly saw in his "Peace Now" rhetoric something other than what it actually was—opposition to the U.S. intervention in Vietnam only to defend the long-range interests of U.S. imperialism. Yet today these same youth are expected to stay away from the polls in hordes, while McCarthy is having trouble just getting enough signatures for ballot status; in early August McCarthy admitted that he could only be assured of 2,500 signatures...the number of volunteers which he has working for him.

Unlike in 1968 and 1972, young people on campus today are not supporting the Democrats and do not have much confidence in the crisis-ridden system which provides a bleak future of unemployment, racial oppression and imperialist war. But, given the almost complete absence of social struggle by the labor movement and black people, combined with the general rightward drift in American bourgeois politics, dissent and dissatisfaction among students have tended to become depoliticized and transformed into cynicism and apathy.

In response we point out to students disillusioned with the status quo that

the particular character of American society and political life at this time springs from the fact that this is the only major advanced capitalist country without a mass party based on the labor movement. The American proletariat is chained to the Democratic Party by the trade-union bureaucracy. Although the anger and felt hardships within the ranks of labor are enormous, they are unable to find any coherent political expression outside of the Democratic Party.

At the same time the American bourgeois establishment is deeply discredited, especially as a result of disclosures of flagrant corruption and widespread violation of bourgeois legality (e.g., FBI/CIA), and saddled with the task of imposing severe measures of economic austerity upon the working people, with the aid of the Meanys and Woodcocks.

Yet, the trade-union bureaucracy, an ossified and brittle product of the cold war, is capable of holding the lid on an explosive rank and file today only because there is no significant class-struggle alternative within the labor movement to challenge their betrayals.

To the Fords and Carters we counterpose a *workers party* based on the trade unions armed with a class-struggle program which calls for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and establishment of a workers government. We seek to explain to youth that the struggle for this party is not confined to narrow electoral lines. And it has nothing to do with the "alternative" perspective of the Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League and the Socialist Workers

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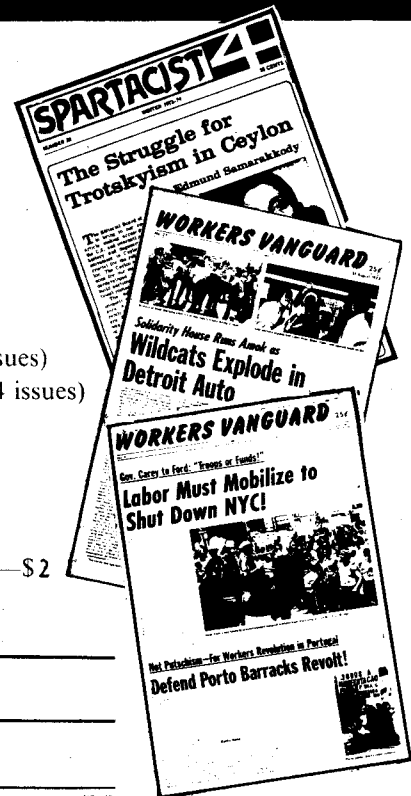
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11 ISSUES

Stalinists Cheer Student Government Confab

The national congress of the National Student Association (NSA), held August 19-26 in Burlingame near San Francisco, quite predictably proved to be a humdrum affair boring even for most of the 250 student-government careerists and liberal campus politicians who attended.

On the skids ever since it was exposed in 1967 as a conduit for CIA funds between 1952 and 1967, the NSA politically does little more than occasionally endorse some liberal cause. As attendance at the conference workshops dwindled within the first two days, some delegates grumbled about how the NSA has done nothing more than peddle insurance to students at its affiliated colleges. True to tradition, the NSA gathering confined its political positions to a few paper resolutions supporting, for example, the Coors beer boycott and the development of solar energy.

But this dreary conference was hailed as a step toward "mass actions" and the "united front needed to fight cutbacks" by the reformist Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League (CP/YWLL). The report of the NSA congress which appeared in *People's World* (4 September) declared, "The election of a new leadership for the U.S. Natl. Student Assn. (NSA) at the final plenary session of its 29th Congress dramatically changed an atmosphere of frustration into one of hope for many participants." *People's World* also reports that the new vice president of the NSA is a leading supporter of the CP-dominated Nation-

al Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR).

Despite its bombast about "mass actions," the CP/YWLL seeks to build the NSA as a "respectable" vehicle for pushing ever-so-gentle pressure politics aimed at nudging a few reforms from the capitalists. Thus, during the past year the NSA began a program for student lobbying, and the recent congress set as a priority the publication of a magazine entitled *Legislative Watch*, which would help create "a network of informed students, persons able to respond on call with cards, letters, phone calls and telegrams to Congresspersons and Senators." *People's World* quotes with approval the keynote address of Democrat Tom Hayden: "Those of us who went into the streets and into jail now have to go into the halls of government and keep the public trust."

Today the Stalinists all but openly call upon Democrat Hayden, whom the *People's World* now astonishingly describes as a "radical activist," to take the lead in transforming the NSA into a mass organization. But the Stalinists have not always held Hayden in such high regard, nor the mass radical student movement which he politically represented.

Hayden was a leader of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Indeed a "radical activist" during the late 1960's, Hayden "went into the streets and into jail." To be sure, Hayden never transcended petty-bourgeois radicalism; the roots of his drift into the Democratic Party can be found in

the liberal idealism of the New Left. But, unlike the NSA, SDS developed into a mass radical student organization during this period of student protest.

At that time SDS was too militant for the "respectable" Stalinists of the CP/YWLL. At no time did they intervene in SDS; rather, they seized upon the adventurist tactics and anti-working class prejudices which certainly existed within the movement to condemn with fake-Marxist orthodoxy the entire organization as "ultra-left." As an alternative to SDS the CP/YWLL organized liberal front groups, such as the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, that were based on ultra-reformist politics designed to attract Democrats, "progressive" union bureaucrats, preachers and liberal community leaders.

In contrast, the Spartacist League adopted the perspective of seeking to win radical youth in SDS to the revolutionary program of Trotskyism. In January 1970 the Spartacist League initiated the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus of SDS to provide a left pole of attraction in SDS for students dissatisfied with the reformist and campus-parochialist "worker/student alliance" strategy of the Progressive Labor Party.

At that time, when SDS was seen by the relatively large numbers of radicalizing youth as the main national political organization of the radical student movement, we raised the call for SDS to be transformed into an openly socialist, non-exclusionist youth organization in which all radical and ostensibly revolutionary tendencies could politically contend for leadership. This slogan was very conjunctural in character, expressing a tactic whereby the Spartacist League sought to intersect the radical political ferment on campus and to win over a layer of the most serious and militant youth. With the rapid degeneration of SDS into liberalism under the misleadership of Progressive Labor, the slogan for a non-exclusionist socialist youth organization thus ceased to be relevant. At every point, however, the Spartacist League opposed the perspective of building a separate student organization and formulating a separate "student program," contending that students are not a separate class but should link their struggles to the working-class movement.

While today a bureaucratic empty shell, the NSA nevertheless represents the kind of organization—and Hayden the kind of "progressive" Democrat—which the CP has long regarded as the components for a popular-front student organization. The entire misnamed "united-front" strategy of the CP/YWLL is a recipe for mobilizing youth in b-r-o-a-d, classless coalitions which ensure, through their reformist leadership and liberal program, that the militancy and rebelliousness of youth will be channeled into impotent pressure politics.

During their Popular Front period in the mid-1930's, the American Stalinists took a leading role in initiating and building just such a youth "united front," known as the American Student Union (ASU). Despite the Stalinist rhetoric about its political "independence" the ASU simply mobilized students behind Roosevelt and the New Deal. In 1938 the ASU dropped its opposition to compulsory ROTC and adopted Roosevelt's "collective security" as its line on foreign policy (see "The Spartacus Youth League and the Student Upsurge of the 1930's," *Young Spartacus*, March-April 1974).

Today the struggle against militarism, the cutbacks and racial oppression can only be diverted through hat-in-hand lobbying and reliance upon capitalist politicians. Unlike the CP/YWLL, the Spartacus Youth League fights to win youth to the understanding that the struggle of students must be linked to the class struggle of the proletariat through the program and vanguard party of the working class. ■

Racist Terror...

Bourgeois Decadence...

Mysticism...

THE DEATH AGONY OF CAPITALISM

Speaker: Jeremy Lyle,
SYL National Committee

U. Mass - Amherst
Campus Center, Room 903
Tuesday, October 5th
7:00 p.m.

SUNY Purchase
Room to be announced
Tuesday, October 19th
7:00 p.m.

Columbia University
702 Hamilton Hall
Thursday, October 7th
8:00 p.m.

SYL Forums

"Death Agony of Capitalism"...

continued from page 7

Houston the SYL joined with students vocally protesting this outrageous filth, while the Young Socialist Alliance supporters repeatedly intervened to try to hush the crowd so that the fascist could have his "freedom of speech"!

We Face the Future

One forum, of course, can only give a partial view of the political program and the revolutionary practice of the SYL. Yet the SYL forum succeeded in touching on many of the major questions which the SYL has raised in its work during the past year and, in particular, those which are posed by the current national presidential election campaigns.

Lyle concluded on the following note of revolutionary optimism:

"In closing, we are asking people to accept our world view, to join us and our co-thinkers internationally in the struggle for a better world. At this time we are not a mass organization. Far from it. But we can say that we have been able to see the effect of our program in shaping political struggles, albeit modestly, in this country as well as internationally.

"The building of a revolutionary leadership has always been an arduous, consuming task. It is not a linear process, but follows the ebb and flow of the class struggle, through periods of growth and inspiring victories, as well as through periods of defeat and isolation from the masses.

"The party of Lenin was for many years small. And I would note parenthetically that especially after the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, the Bolsheviks had to combat tendencies seeking to reconcile working-class politics with religion. But, steadfast to their program, and sustained by steeled cadres, the Bolshevik Party only ten years later led the Russian proletariat to the conquest of power in the single greatest event of human history.

"Communists cannot promise immediate success, much less the comforts attached to some bourgeois careers. What we do offer is a profession, so to speak, with an honorable, rich and vibrant past, and a tradition which can claim some of the greatest minds and leaders of our times—from Marx, to Lenin, to Trotsky.

"We rely only on the power of our program. But we communists know that our program—and nothing else!—can and will truly change the world when it finds its expression in the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed. It is to this struggle that we have dedicated ourselves, and to which we hope you will too by joining the SYL." ■

FREE SUSAN SAXE!

Susan Saxe went on trial in Boston on September 23. The self-described radical-lesbian Saxe is charged with having participated in the 1970 robbery of a Brighton bank, during which a cop was fatally shot.

After five years as a fugitive, Saxe was arrested in Philadelphia in the spring of 1975. Three months later she pleaded guilty to charges of robbing a Philadelphia bank, breaking into the Newburyport Arsenal and stealing classified government documents which contained plans for the military takeover of Boston in the event of "social upheaval" (*The Real Paper* [Boston], 18 September 1976). She was sentenced to ten years for the robbery and two years for the document theft, the sentences to be served concurrently.

The outstanding provision of her guilty plea was the agreement "that the United States government realizes that I am not and never will be a collaborator. I have made it clear to them that if I am called as a witness in any government proceeding, I will refuse to testify..." (emphasis in original). In the face of a ten year sentence in Philadelphia, and the prospect of three life sentences in Boston, Saxe's refusal to inform required considerable courage. In contrast, Robert Valeri confessed to a part in the Brighton bank robbery and turned state's evidence on his alleged accomplices, for which he received a 15-year sentence with the chance of parole. But if Saxe is convicted, she would spend the rest of her life in prison with no hope of parole.

Moreover, Saxe's resolute stand in defiance of the authorities means that as long as she remains in the clutches of the penal authorities her safety is in jeopardy. Stanley Bond, another alleged associate, was reportedly blown up in his cell by a "homemade" bomb while awaiting trial. Of course, prison officials claimed the reported death was



"accidental," but all the circumstances surrounding the reported death were highly suspicious.

It is clear that Saxe will only be railroaded into prison in this trial. Already bourgeois coverage of the case has implicitly presumed her guilt; and the September issue of *Boston* magazine contains a detailed account of the Brighton robbery and its aftermath, describing the alleged actions of Saxe and her companions. When defense attorneys commissioned a survey to test the population from which the jury was to be selected, 76 percent of those polled responded that Saxe was "probably guilty."

Saxe's commendable stance sharply contrasts to the ratting of Valeri or feminist-fink Jane Alpert, who cooperated fully with federal investigators after her capture. As a symbol of resistance to the investigative terror of the bourgeois state, she must be defended by the left and labor movement. Socialists and labor militants must demand that the government drop all charges against Susan Saxe. Free Susan Saxe now!

Bible Belt Maoists...

continued from page 5

controversial and explosive questions such as abortion and busing.

As revolutionists we have nothing but contempt for self-proclaimed "communists" who rival the Vatican in puritanical prejudice. Marxists recognize that capitalist society is based on the nuclear family and persecutes homosexuals precisely because their sexual orientation and life-style do not conform to the sacrosanct nuclear family and the entire edifice of morality which has risen to justify it.

In contrast to the Maoists, we oppose all discrimination against homosexuals and demand the abolition of all "crimes without victims." The Marxist program and world-view of scientific socialism, however, do not take a position in favor of any particular sexual orientation or practice. For example, we sharply differ with the petty-bourgeois utopian conception prevalent in the "gay rights" movement that by challenging the nuclear family homosexuality is "revolutionary" *per se*. However, we vigorously condemn the position promoted by the RSB that homosexuals are incapable of rising above the "muck and mire of bourgeois decadence" to become communist cadres.

The gross anti-homosexual bigotry of the RSB is completely alien to Bolshevism. The Soviet Union under Lenin and Trotsky in December 1917 annulled all laws which discriminated against homosexual acts, and a campaign was undertaken against anti-homosexual prejudice as part of the broader and more fundamental struggle for the liberation of women and children from the stultifying prison of the nuclear family.

Despite its economic devastation and cultural backwardness the Soviet state in this period declared war on the chains of material want and religious stupefaction which fetter, deform and debase human relationships. Pioneering first steps were taken to emancipate women from the drudgery of domestic galley slavery and to integrate them into productive work and cultural life; these measures included establishing communal nurseries and dining halls and legalizing abortion.

The reactionary position of the RSB on homosexuality and the family is rooted in the Stalinist political counter-revolution which destroyed the direct political rule of the Russian proletariat through its vanguard party and soviet institutions. In the Russian degenerated workers state, as well as in the bureaucratically deformed workers states, the Stalinist ruling caste glorifies the nuclear family, which instills respect for arbitrary authority and conservatizes the working class, especially women and the youth.

In sharp contrast to the liberating measures undertaken by the Bolsheviks, the Maoist regime in China regards homosexuality as an "illness," warns against masturbation in the mass-distributed hygiene manuals, makes pre-marital sex punishable by jail terms up to six months, restricts birth control to married couples, bureaucratically renders divorce proceedings difficult and stigmatizes abortions for unmarried women.

So aseptic and austere is the "moral code" for the "new socialist man" in China that the Chinese press never even mentions sex or even individual romance. Quite revealing was an article last year in the Shanghai *Study and Criticism* bitterly complaining that party cadres were avidly reading the 19th-century work "The Dream of the Red Chamber" not for its admitted literary value but for its sensuous

descriptions of romantic love (*Los Angeles Times*, 29 June 1975).

In addition to its political subordination to the Stalinist bureaucracy misruling China the RCP/RSB also apes the backward consciousness of the working class. Consistent with its trade-union economism, the RCP/RSB opposes the Equal Rights Amendment, arguing with reformist "logic" that any gains in formal bourgeois-democratic rights for women would only come at the expense of hard-won protective legislation. Thus, the RCP/RSB capitulates both to male chauvinist prejudices within the working class as well as to the labor bureaucracy, which refuses to fight the special oppression of women.

The most despicable capitulation by the RCP/RSB to the perceived backward consciousness of the working class has been on the busing question. When busing was instituted in Boston two years ago, the RCP/RSB came out against this measure enforcing the democratic right of black people to equal access in public educational facilities. Pandering to the white racist anti-busing sentiment, the RCP/RSB even has hailed as "progressive" certain "aspects" of the racist mob mobilizations in Boston and Louisville!

At least in part this article in *Fight Back* is the response of the RSB to the "Democrats' Watergate" — the recent rash of "sex scandals" involving Democrats Wayne Hays, John Young, Kenneth Gravel and Allan Howe. It is condemning in the extreme that especially in the midst of the presidential election campaign the RSB can offer no political alternative to the deeply discredited government and the bosses' parties except indignant sermonizing about the "deviant" sex lives of the few capitalist lackeys who have been called on the carpet.

Yet even at the time of the Watergate crisis, the RSB offered no political program other than calling on "the people" to "Throw the Bum Out." But in the absence of the demand for new elections and the call for the formation of a workers party based on the trade unions which could field a labor candidate, the RSB line when stripped of its "fight-back" rhetoric was indistinguishable from the "solution" of the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie. It was the bourgeois establishment which sought to focus popular disgust on the individual "low-life" morality and "dirty tricks" of Nixon, rather than the crimes of his class. Indeed, the bourgeoisie "threw the bum out"... and brought in Gerald Ford.

However, when the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy called "the bum" to Peking in February for a triumphal reception, the RSB suddenly dropped all mention of its empty slogan, "Keep The Bum on The Run." In its article attempting to "explain" the cynical Chinese maneuver promoting the mass murderer of Vietnam and the reactionary foreign policies he pursued, *Fight Back* (March 1976) shame-facedly referred to Watergate merely as a "mess" and to "Citizen" Nixon merely as the "scapegoat" of the scandal!

Behind the repulsive bigotry of the RSB toward homosexuals and other sexual non-conformists lies a deeply reformist political perspective and appetite for "respectability." The RSB accepts the backwardness and present consciousness of the working people, lacking the program and revolutionary fiber to struggle to change that consciousness.

As Lenin declared in *What Is To Be Done?*, communists must be "in, but not of" bourgeois society. Communists must seek to become the "tribune of the people," championing the cause of all the victims of bourgeois oppression and exploitation. Foolish superstitions and vicious bigotry are the odor of decaying bourgeois society. With its shameless capitulation to anti-homosexual prejudice the RSB acts as the tribune for the Vatican. ■

S. Africa...

continued from page 12

which white employment was more important than profits to be made by employing cheap black labor.

When South Africa was unified as part of the British Commonwealth, it was agreed by both English and Afrikaaner that all non-whites would be barred from voting in the two northern Afrikaaner states of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, and that Africans, though not coloureds, would have no vote in the English state of Natal. While coloureds, Asians and Africans in the Cape could vote, if they met property qualifications, it was agreed that they could only be represented by whites in the South African Parliament. All of this was agreed to by the so-called "Cape Liberals." The coloureds could serve as a useful source of votes only in the Cape, where their numbers were concentrated.

When it came to power in 1948, the Afrikaaner Nationalist Party (NP) began constructing a full-fledged apartheid system. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act was passed in 1949, and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, segregating transportation and public areas, in 1953. By the Population Registration Act of 1950, coloureds were forced to register for identity cards. Coloureds were the most severely hit by the Group Areas Acts of 1950 and 1952, which destroyed integrated areas by forcing "disqualified" persons to leave. According to the Minister of Community Development in 1972, over 70,000 coloured families had been "disqualified" as a result of the Act.

In 1956 further registration of coloured voters was barred in Natal, and in 1960 they were disenfranchised. Limitations on coloured voters were begun in 1951, with the Separate Representation of Voters Act, but Cape coloureds were not disenfranchised until 1968. In compensation they were offered a totally powerless "Coloured Representative Council" with purely advisory powers.

While black Africans had been significantly urbanized and industrialized only since the Second World War, there has been a coloured working class for more than a century. Among the coloureds today there are small but growing strata of professionals, salesmen and clerical workers. Sixty percent of all coloureds are skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled workers, while one fourth are peasants. According to the pro-NP press *Die Burger* in 1972, 96 percent of Cape clothing workers are coloured and 90 percent of the building trades likewise are colored, despite apartheid "job reservation."

For Trotskyist Parties in Southern Africa!

Thus, the coloureds occupy a strategic position within the South African capitalist economy. Although suffering an intense special oppression like the blacks, the coloureds are not atomized, regimented and militarized in their labor to the same crippling extent as the black workforce.

The coloureds have a tremendous potential for striking blows at the system of apartheid. Their ability and willingness to struggle demonstrates once again that in South Africa the fight for democratic rights is crucial to crack the caste-like oppression of the black proletariat and thereby unchain the class struggle against capitalism.

But what is lacking is a revolutionary leadership capable of forging the unity of all the oppressed non-whites for the struggle to smash apartheid. While unquestionably heroic and dedicated, the student leaders of the "black consciousness" movement have no clear perspective based on a political program capable of placing the struggle against apartheid in a revolutionary framework. At least in part under the influence of the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress the youth leaders

of Soweto have organized massive and sustained demonstrations against apartheid, but they have not been able to formulate any far-reaching demands to point the way forward; seemingly endless "stay-home" strikes and defiant rebellions will inevitably collapse, defusing the struggle against apartheid through demoralization and disorientation.

Likewise, the attitude that white allies are unimportant, while certainly understandable, represents a serious political error. To be sure, active solidarity with the anti-apartheid revolt by sections of the white population is limited. But the rejection of white solidarity, such as the white student demonstrations at the University of Cape Town in 1972, sacrifices a potentially powerful weapon against the white-supremacist regime. The Vorster regime was reluctant to open fire on the coloured students last month; even greater would be the political impact of even a small white component in the anti-apartheid protests.

A revolutionary party in South Africa would have a strategic orientation to the coloureds. It is not insignificant that the Trotskyist movement in South Africa developed from the radical intellectuals among the coloureds and whites of Capetown.

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution in South Africa!

Speaker: Ed Jarvis, SL/SYL

University of Chicago
Ida Noyes Library
Tuesday, October 5th
7:30 p.m.

Chicago Forum

A Trotskyist party in South Africa would seek to intervene in the anti-apartheid turmoil with a series of democratic and class demands aimed at destroying the apartheid system. Such demands would include an end to all police-state laws and immediate release of all anti-apartheid political prisoners, abolition of the pass laws and the industrial color bar as well as discriminatory wage rates, elimination of the contract labor system, an end to all public and residential segregation, free and equal public education and decent housing to replace the shanties, the right to form legal trade unions and political parties, and the convocation of a constituent assembly elected on universal direct suffrage.

Through a resolute struggle for democratic rights a Trotskyist party in South Africa would lay the basis for unlocking the class struggle against capitalism which is presently chained by the apartheid system. Only through a proletarian perspective can the broad oppressed masses of South Africa be united for the class battles ahead that will topple all the institutions of white supremacy and bring to power a black-centered workers and peasants government. ■

SYL Class Series

Basic Works of Revolutionary Marxism

Kent State University
Alternate Tuesdays

First Class: Communist Manifesto
Tuesday, October 5 - 7:30 pm

Second Class: State and Revolution
Tuesday, October 19 - 7:30 pm

Kent Student Center, Room 308

Kent State

Young Spartacus

Anti-Apartheid Rebellion Spreads In South Africa

During the past few weeks in South Africa the mass anti-apartheid protests which continue to buffet the white-supremacist regime have sparked dramatic demonstrations of support by the Cape "coloureds"—the South Africans of mixed race that the Vorster regime has sought to divide from the blacks, while imposing upon them similar apartheid measures of segregation.

In a powerful display of hatred for the oppressive apartheid system, the black plebeian revolt centered in Soweto township, despite its lack of clear-sighted leadership and the fierce state repression, has continued to seethe for four months, channeled into numerous mass demonstrations as well as two "stay-home" general strikes.

Militant Opposition Broadens

During the last month coloured students and workers in the Cape Town area have hit the streets in solidarity with these militant protests demanding the release of the more than 850 anti-apartheid demonstrators arrested since June.

Coloured students boycotted classes at the University of the Western Cape in conjunction with the August 4 and August 5 mass marches called in Soweto. On August 16 about 700 students, many of whom support the illegalized South African Students Organization, marched to a Cape Town court house located in a white district to protest the arrests of student leaders.

After hundreds of youths in a coloured section of Cape Town had been attacked by the police, 3,000 coloured students defied a police ban on September 2 and entered the white shopping area of central Cape Town with signs denouncing pass laws and the apartheid system. As police charges and tear gas drove them out, coloured construction workers at one site came to the students' defense with bricks and stones. That same day black, coloured and Indian bus drivers went out on a protest strike in Durban.

The next day, demonstrators again

entered central Cape Town, and again the police attacked with tear gas. In addition the cops dispersed marchers gathering at Athlone, a nearby township. The apartheid regime closed all coloured high schools in the Cape peninsula, as retaliation by youths against shops and cars in response to police terror attacks spread through the coloured towns surrounding Cape Town.

On September 7 the police simply opened fire with shotguns and revolvers on demonstrators who dared to enter Cape Town's white suburbs. Hundreds of miles to the east, more than 500 students were arrested three days later in a protest at Port Elizabeth. Scores of coloured youth have been killed by the vicious security forces.

The unexpected upsurge by the Cape coloureds clearly sent a shock wave of apprehension through the apartheid regime. Until then the Vorster government had felt confident that the turmoil could be isolated in the black townships, where police-state repression and hoped-for dwindling support would take its toll. Thus, on September 15 Minister of "Justice" James Kruger contemptuously dismissed the black protests as "mere child's play."

But when the coloureds rose up in protest they cast a long shadow over the apartheid scheme to use them as a buffer against the atomized and regimented black masses. Unlike the blacks, the coloureds occupy many of the skilled and semi-skilled jobs in the Cape region, they are not subjected to the same pass laws regulating mobility, and they have the legal right to form trade unions.

Reflecting the different attitude of the regime toward coloureds, "Justice" Minister Kruger on September 10 responded to the eruption of coloured protest not with arrogant disdain but rather with the announcement of several minimal reforms: that the segregation of public lavatories was abolished, that coloured and Asian businesses could be established in previously restricted areas, and that coloureds could now serve as trade-union officials. Yet the

concessions were clearly limited; three days later Vorster refused to even consider any demands to permit coloureds to be representatives in parliament.

These gestures toward the coloureds fell flat. The coloured masses of the Cape responded to the "generosity" of the white-supremacist Pretoria regime with a 100,000-strong general strike several days later. It is clear that the few democratic rights which have been granted the coloured masses have not blunted their will to struggle against the entire apartheid system.

The current upsurge by coloured youth was preceded by the student strikes of 1972 and 1973. In 1959 the apartheid system was extended to the universities. Fort Hare was set aside for the Xhosas, Turfloop for the Sothos and Ngoye for the Zulus. Coloureds were channeled to the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town, and Indians to the University of Durban-Westville.

When a student named Abraham Tiro was expelled from Turfloop in May 1972 for delivering a militant "black-power" speech, the entire student body of 1146 students was expelled for a protest sit-in. The South African Students Organization organized a solidarity meeting in Soweto. When students at the University of the Western Cape protested, the administration locked out all 1600 students and called in the security police. At Durban-Westville, 650 Indian students struck.

In May of 1973 harassment of the Students' Representative Council by both the administration and the Security Police led to another student strike in June. Again the administration shut down the school. The coloured student radicals identified themselves as blacks and solidarized with SASO, rejecting any cooperation with white liberals. Unfortunately this rejection of white liberalism led to a rejection of any common action with whites. When in May 1972 white students of the University of Cape Town (UCT) demonstrated for demands including improve-

ment of non-white education, the president of the UWC Student Representative Council is reported to have said, "I don't care if the white police hit the protesting white UCT students on the steps of St. George's Cathedral."

Who Are the Coloureds?

When the Dutch settlers who became the Afrikaaners landed at the Cape in 1652, the region was already inhabited by two black peoples, the Bushmen, and the Khoi Khoi, or Hottentots. As was the case in the United States, the settlers imported their slaves, so that both aboriginal peoples were brushed aside by the settlers' land grabbing and decimated by war and disease.

In 1806, however, Britain took control of the Cape and in 1834 abolished slavery. As a result the coloureds, who were a mixture of black and Malay slaves, British, Dutch and the Hottentots and Bushmen, became the basic labor force of artisans and laborers. Other coloureds accompanied the Afrikaaners on their treks into the interior to escape British control. One group of coloureds, the Griquas, established their own state in the interior, which was later destroyed when diamond mines were established on its territory.

It is impossible for the South African racists to apply their "separate development" rationales for apartheid to the coloureds. The coloureds have no "homeland" of their own and are clearly not a separate nation: they have no separate culture, in the majority speak Afrikaans, and are as South African as the Afrikaaners. At one point in the nineteenth century the British were even prepared to use coloured troops against both Bantu tribesmen and their Afrikaaner opponents.

While the goal of the British was a colonial state in which blacks would labor in South Africa's mines, the Afrikaaners stood for a self-contained, exclusivist economy in which whites would perform all skilled labor and in

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Coloureds demonstrate against apartheid in Cape Town (left). Hundreds have been beaten and arrested by brutal Security police (right).



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