

Young Spartacus

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Sit-Ins Demand No Investment in South Africa—

Would University Divestment Attack Apartheid?

Hundreds Arrested in California Protests

May 28—Student sit-ins and large protest rallies are again headline news in the national media, as demonstrations against university financial holdings in corporations with South African connections have hit several major campuses over the last few days and weeks.

Most dramatic has been the upsurge in anti-apartheid protests on California campuses. On May 9 more than 600 students and campus employees at Stanford University rallied to demand that the Trustees vote their 94,000 shares of Ford Motor Company stock in favor of a stockholders' resolution mandating the company to pull out of South Africa.

Following the rally several hundred of the demonstrators staged a sit-in at the Stanford administration building. After 16 hours, riot-helmeted cops arrived on the scene and dispersed the protestors, arresting 294. The next day some 1,200 Stanford students turned out for a rally to protest the arrests, and a five-hour sit-in by about 300 of the demonstrators followed.

Within days of the Stanford sit-ins a catch-all coalition called "Campuses United Against Apartheid" was launched by student government leaders and assorted political groups at campuses of the University of California (UC) that called for statewide "divest-now" actions on May 26. A flurry of anti-apartheid protest activity culminated two days ago in rallies and sit-ins at the Berkeley, Davis and Santa Cruz campuses of UC.

At Berkeley about 400 people rallied in Sproul Plaza, before setting off on a long march which ended in the brief occupation of Wheeler Hall. Meanwhile, a sit-in at Santa Cruz led to the arrest of some 200 students, while the cops busted 18 protestors who were among those occupying a university building at Davis. In addition to demanding that UC divest itself of stocks in companies with links to South Africa, both the Davis and Santa Cruz demonstrations protested the recent state supreme court ruling that struck down as unconstitutional minority quotas in UC admissions (the Bakke decision).

From various UC campuses come reports of more anti-apartheid pro-

tests in the offing. Already the Berkeley "Campuses United Against Apartheid" has called for a statewide campus strike in the UC system for June 3. In any case, students and workers must rally to the defense of the hundreds of anti-apartheid protestors arrested at Stanford, Santa Cruz, and Davis, demanding that all charges against them be dropped at once.

What's Going On?

On more than a few occasions during the past week or so the "divest-now" rallies and sit-ins have been heralded from various political quarters as the "rebirth of the student movement." It is certainly true that the anti-apartheid protests in California attracted many students who have never before marched in a protest demonstration or occupied a building. The relatively large turnout for the Stanford demonstrations and the May 26 actions is an expression of the widespread sympathy for the black upsurge in South Africa which exists on most campuses. Many students clearly regarded the "divest-now" protests as a way to solidarize with the black youth of South Africa who again and again have braved bullets to demand the freedom of their brothers and sisters victimized by the white-supremacist Vorster regime.

At the same time, student opposition to apartheid has reflected mainstream bourgeois public opinion on South Africa. Currently, criticism of the apartheid system frequently springs from the lips of bourgeois liberals. The Carter administration decries "human-rights" violations in South Africa, presenting U.S. imperialism as the moral guardian of South Africa. U.S. policy is based on the fundamental premise that unless apartheid is reformed, South Africa is headed for major social convulsions which would threaten not only U.S. economic and geopolitical interests, but the very foundations of South African capitalism. And Mondale said as much after his recent meeting with Vorster. According to the *New York Times* of 23 May,

"Vice President Mondale suggested today that the United States had cleansed itself of a moral blemish by its strong condemnation this week of South African racial policies, and said that if the white minority regimes in the area responded to appeals

for internal reform there was some hope that black Africa could be dissuaded from extreme and violent actions."

A great many of the students, who have attended the rallies and occupied the administration buildings in California recently share the liberal view of South Africa promoted by the An-

drew Youngs. Many of the protests were devoid of any manifestation of militancy. At Stanford, the students who occupied the administration building chatted amicably with the cops and voted among themselves to get arrested, trooping off to jail

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Students demonstrating in South Africa against apartheid.

Eco-Faddism and Nuclear Power

Clam Bust at Seabrook



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EDITORIAL NOTES

Second City First In Segregation

"The first official documentation of the extent of segregation in the city's schools," trumpeted a *New York Times* account of a recent report by Chicago school superintendent Joseph Hannon, admitting that only 83 out of 669 public schools in the "Second City" are racially balanced. Far from representing some startling revelation, the Hannon report is, in fact, merely the most recent compilation of statistics which are recorded every year and which only prove what everybody already knows—the Chicago school system is the most segregated in the country.

But such "first-ever" fanfare about the Hannon report is intended to obscure how these annual reports are used by the Chicago school board to evade desegregation guidelines. In 1971, after a similar "first-ever" segregation report was filed, desegregation guidelines were drawn up for the Chicago public schools. But the guidelines remained a dead letter, despite the report two years ago that the Chicago school system had become even *more* segregated in the period since the 1971 report. Each year a new report was issued, and the State Board of Education granted the Chicago school board yet another year to comply!

Now that his one-year probation has expired, Hannon has prepared this weighty "first official documentation" to show compliance with desegregation guidelines. But the only "progress" Hannon can cite is the busing of 430 students...out of a total of 524,221! Another Hannon "success" is the creation of a purposely unwieldy city-wide advisory council on school desegregation, in which an entire school district is without representation because it is racially divided into rival segregated school councils.

Yet this year Hannon is forced to at least make the pretense of compliance with the federal guidelines. The death of Democratic Party strongman Richard Daley has altered Chicago's pork-barrel political line-up. Without Boss Daley to pull strings in Washington and Springfield, the Chicago school board is more concerned about possible loss of federal and state funds. To demonstrate "intent" to comply with desegregation regulations, Hannon on May 23 announced a plan that at most would allow 12,000 students to be eligible for "voluntary" busing. Concretely, however, Hannon's report proposes only the "recommended" closing of 249 "mobile classroom units" which are mainly composed of black students from overcrowded ghetto schools; but the

plan makes no specific commitment that these students would be transferred to "under-used" schools in white neighborhoods.

School desegregation in Chicago will not come about through reliance on the "anti-segregation" federal and state government officials—Hannon has just been granted yet another three-week extension on his probation "deadline." Nor will such a campaign be waged by the gradualist/legalist black leaders; for example, the Urban League and the NAACP have offered nothing more than "voluntary" busing plans and a "Citizens Advisory Panel" (which would be neither "totally binding" nor "totally advisory"). It is the left and labor movement that must rally to demand that the Chicago school system be desegregated now, through measures including but not limited to busing.

"Sunshine Girl" On Anti-Homosexual Crusade



Anita Bryant.

Last January, when the Miami Metro Council passed a county ordinance prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals in housing, employment or public accommodations, nearly 400 protesting Fundamentalist fanatics, each clutching the "good book" with its passages condemning homosexuality underlined, vowed to smite down the law by forcing a referendum on the issue. Since then, the Miami dispute has sparked a national controversy over homosexual rights.

Center stage is occupied by the anti-homosexual holy warrior Anita Bryant, the has-been pop singer now more widely recognized as the "Sunshine Girl" of Florida Orange Juice. A rabid Fundamentalist, Bryant has launched "Save Our Children, Inc." to spearhead the local petition drive and raise money. Not content to con-

fine this campaign to her "little corner of the world," Bryant is now on the warpath to rally national support for her reactionary anti-homosexual crusade.

Spewing the most vulgar anti-homosexual prejudice, Bryant claims that equal-rights ordinances would be used by homosexual teachers to proselytize homosexuality and molest children with impunity. Furthermore, in a recent interview with *Miami* magazine Bryant claimed that god punishes civilizations which tolerate homosexuality. As "proof," Bryant noted that after the passage of a homosexual rights ordinance in a southern California city (presumably, Los Angeles), "now California is having its worst drought in history"! Her explanation of the alleged connection between homosexuality and drought (in fact, much of what Anita Bryant says) was remarkably similar to the ravings of some of the characters in *Dr. Strangelove*, in particular, the deranged Strategic Air Command officer who is obsessed with conserving his "precious bodily fluids." Says Bryant,

"Do you know why God hates homosexuality? Because the male homosexual eats another man's sperm. Sperm is the most concentrated form of blood. The homosexual is eating life. That's why God calls homosexuality an abomination."

When asked by the perplexed *Miami* interviewer about lesbians, Bryant replied that female homosexuals as well as heterosexual females who engage in oral sexual activities are no less "guilty" of the same "abomination".

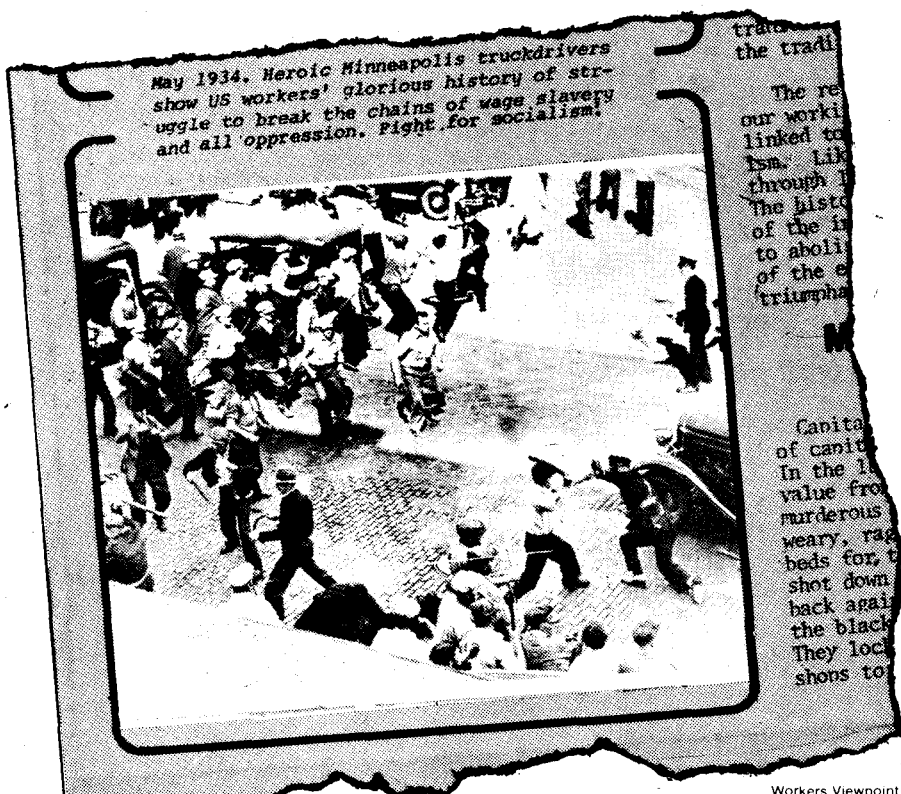
Already Bryant has obtained the semi-official endorsement of Florida governor Reubin Askew. At a recent news conference the upright Askew stated, "I've never viewed the homosexual lifestyle as something that approached a constitutional right. So, if I were in Miami, I'd find no difficulty in voting to repeal the ordinance. I do not want a known homosexual teaching my child."

Yet the reactionary backlash against homosexual rights is not confined to the Sunshine state or the deep South. A bill similar to the Miami ordinance was recently defeated in the Connecticut legislature, while in Massachusetts a legislative committee killed the Consenting Adults Bill, which simply would have decriminalized private consensual sexual activity. Similarly, New Hampshire has passed a bill making "lewd and licentious" behavior by homosexuals a crime, and the Pennsylvania senate has just handed down a decision proscribing the rights of homosexuals to hold certain state jobs.

Anti-homosexual legislation and crusades like "Save Our Children" are reactionary—and not only on their own terms. Support for such campaigns and laws often provides an important barometer of broader reactionary currents and at times even becomes a focus for conservative social reaction. Fundamentalist demagogues like Bryant are more than willing to put their bible-thumping in the service of reactionary causes, from segregationism to "right-to-life" opposition to abortion. During the Vietnam war, for example, Anita Bryant used Bob Hope's USO "entertain-

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Worth a Thousand Words



What's wrong with this picture?

Nothing—or so it would seem. It is a dramatic photographic record of the famous battle of Deputies. Run during the historic Minneapolis general strike of 1934, which was led from beginning to end by the Trotskyists of the Communist League of America.

Yet this well-known photo was prominently featured on the front page of a recent issue of *Workers Viewpoint*, the unreadable newspaper of an irrelevant Maoist sect known as the Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO). It is notable only because a rabidly anti-Trotskyist outfit like WVO, through a combination of irony and apparent ignorance, used one of the most well-known pages in the proud annals of American Trotskyist history to illustrate the "revolutionary traditions of May Day" and, again in the words of *Workers Viewpoint*, how the "Heroic Minneapolis Truckdrivers show U.S. workers' glorious history of struggle to break the chains of wage slavery and all oppression."

But at the time the mentors of WVO, the Stalinists of the Communist Party (CP), were haunted by the specter of masses of Trotskyist-led militant workers in the streets of Minneapolis giving

battle to the bosses and their hired guns and spared no slander in denouncing the strike. A "defeat" and "betrayal" led by "agents of the bosses"—that's how the CP smeared the Minneapolis general strike in gutter publications such as its *Permanent Counter-Revolution: The Role of the Trotskyites in the Minneapolis Strikes*.

Despite its alliance with the strike-breaking Citizens' Alliance, the venal AFL traitors, the clergy and wave after wave of federal mediation swindlers and National Guardsmen the Stalinists earned nothing but contempt from the strikers in Minneapolis. Enraged by Stalinist slander, many strikers wanted to give the CP a taste of their indignation. But the strike leadership pointed out that the Stalinist leaflets denouncing the strike only "discredit the mimeograph machine."

Today the photos of the heroic Minneapolis strike of 1934 have no place on the pages of Stalinist rags like *Workers Viewpoint*, which in its anti-Trotskyist ravings only discredits the printing press. Such photos are the product of the struggles of the class-conscious proletariat—not its Stalinist grave diggers.

ROTC Off Campus! Kent Sit-In Commemorates 1970 Massacre

CLEVELAND—Seven years ago at Kent State University the National Guard gunned down four unarmed students who were protesting the American imperialist invasion of Cambodia. The cold-blooded murder of Kent students and two black students at Jackson State in Mississippi sparked massive student protest. Ever since, the Kent State student body has commemorated May 4 as a day dedicated to the memory of their fallen fellow students and the movement against the war in Vietnam.

However, the Kent State Board of Trustees, who shared responsibility for bringing the trigger-happy troops on campus, are now determined to bury even the memory of the Kent State massacre and wipe out the tradition of student protest by build-

ing a gymnasium on the site of the 1970 massacre. This provocation did not go unchallenged. At the conclusion of the 2,000-strong May 4 memorial march, 250 militants occupied the administration building and held an eight-hour sit-in.

What originated as a potentially militant campus struggle was sabotaged and transformed into a caricature of pacifist, life-style nostalgia by the Kent student government bureaucrats, with more than a little help from their friends in the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB). Instead of student protests against the Trustees, building occupations, rallies and plans for a student strike, there is "Tentropolis"—about seventy tents pitched near the site of the

shootings where a handful of students (including—yes—the YSA) are living!

"Dialogue" and Negotiation

The just outrage of the Kent State students need not have ended up in this throwback to the worst of the New Left. The 250 people who occupied Rockwell Hall for eight hours on May 4 convened a plenary within the building and in the name of the May 4th Coalition formulated the following demands: the new gym must not be built on the site of the shootings; no future construction on or alteration of the site must be permitted; amnesty for everyone participating in the building takeover; the designation of May 4 as a day of remembrance and education about

the massacre (including the cancellation of regular university activities); naming four buildings after the slain students; university recognition of the criminality of the slaughter and the subsequent cover-ups; no cut-backs in the Center for Peaceful Change; and for the Trustees to reopen negotiations with the faculty union, the United Faculty Professional Association.

Although the demands are minimal and fail to transcend symbolic moral protest, they are clearly directed against the administration's criminal complicity in the shootings. The protesters saw themselves as a continuation of militant opposition to the imperialist holocaust which rained down upon Indochina, and were re-

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Stop Vigilante Terror in Boston—For Labor/Black Defense! Black Students Boycott "Southie"

BOSTON—On the morning of May 12 Dr. Michael Donovan arrived at South Boston High School on a routine visit. Once in the headlines as a battleground where white racists were viciously attacking the black students assigned to the school under the court-ordered busing plan, "Southie" was just about to end what the bourgeois media here has repeatedly described as a "quiet" year.

But when Dr. Donovan stepped into the school, he was confronted by a very different situation. As he later related to the press, "When the bell rang, all hell broke loose. Pandemonium did exist. Everyone was fighting. There was lots of foul language. People were throwing things. I never saw such a mess."

South Boston High became the scene of renewed racial violence this month when anti-busing whites went on the offensive after black students organized a boycott of school. The boycott was in protest of continued racial violence, racist suspensions of

black students and lynch-mob hostility in the surrounding white neighborhood so intense that even school officials were forced to cancel all fire drills "for fear of community harm to black students" (*Boston Herald American*, 4 May). Responding to the status quo "Phase Three" busing plan announced May 6, the boycott demanded the moving of South Boston High to a "neutral" location and called for more hiring of black teachers and ending discriminatory discipline.

Racial tensions at "Southie" were brought to the breaking point by the boycott. The explosive situation was detonated by the racist-terrorist South Boston Marshals, a fascist-infested gang which has spearheaded violent anti-busing mobilizations in the past. On May 12, after three days of an effective black boycott, school officials received a bomb threat from anti-busing racists, and a stick of TNT was found on the door steps of the school. Within a very short time brawls between whites and blacks had erupted in classrooms and corridors. Before state troopers managed to quell the fighting seven students and teachers were injured.

News of the fighting spread like wildfire through the surrounding white community. Soon a mob of about 100 frenzied whites had gathered outside the school; some surged through the police cordon, determined to "save our kids," while another mob later attacked a school bus carrying both white and black students.

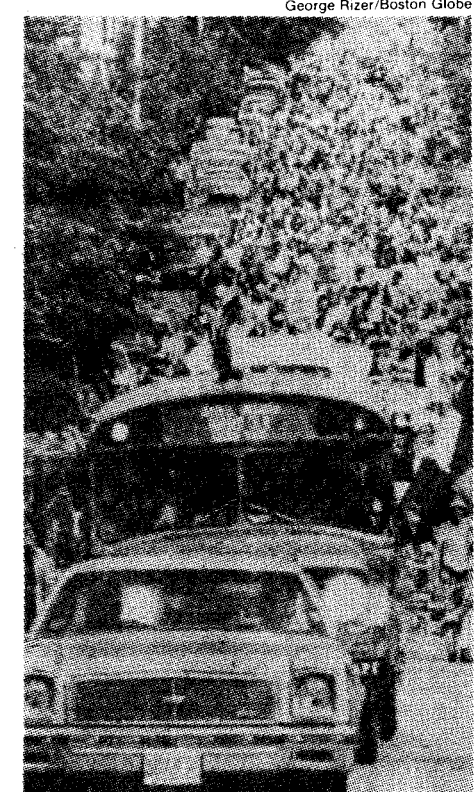
The following day racial fighting again spread throughout South Boston High. A menacing white mob gathered outside the school, restrained only by the cops. The following Monday the South Boston Marshals called an anti-busing demonstration, which was so unruly that even the racist cops were forced to make a few token arrests, including Marshal ringleader James Kelley. Undaunted, the Marshals called another march yester-

day, which drew about 1,000 racists and featured prominent local anti-busing Democrats.

The organized anti-busing movement no longer commands its former strength in Boston, as has been demonstrated by the opinion polls, the several stinging defeats of anti-busing candidates in last fall's municipal elections and the relative inactivity of ROAR this year. But the racist vigilantes have nevertheless made South Boston "off limits" for blacks. For example, stoning of city buses carrying black passengers through South Boston has become so menacing that several of these routes have been canceled in the past. Likewise, repeated attacks on black Coast Guardsmen stationed in South Boston have led many of them to request re-transfer. Although the racist anti-busing forces have failed in their main objective—to stop busing in South Boston—they have succeeded in intimidating blacks from even entering "Southie" and Dorchester.

On the offensive, the "South Boston Defense League"—which is merely the Marshals wearing a different shamrock—have taken to issuing blanket threats against all leftists who would in any way demonstrate for black rights. A few months ago the Marshals managed to intimidate a march led by the ultra-legalist and "respectable" Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance and its front group, the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Although unable to muster the same forces against the larger and more militant May Day march here, the Marshals have made it clear that they are determined to drive all "communists" out of Boston. For example, on May 18 the new bookstore opened by the Maoist October League was firebombed.

The renewed racist offensive in South Boston once again poses the question of how to defeat the anti-busing backlash and to ensure the



George Rizer/Boston Globe

Boston has become rallying point for racist forces: schoolbus from Louisville heads up May 22nd anti-busing demonstration.

implementation of desegregation. Moving South Boston High elsewhere is no answer; such a "solution" would only hand the racists the all-white enclave they so desire. In fact, the prospect of the removal of the black students now bused into South Boston has fueled the segregationist hysteria. The call to move South Boston High is a *retreat* from the struggle for integration. It is not unexpected that having abandoned active involvement in the pro-busing struggle, the bourgeois-legalist NAACP and the ultra-reformist Socialist Workers Party have championed this retreat.

In contrast, the task of the left and labor movements is to continue to fight for desegregation of the schools, through busing when proposed, and for labor/black defense against the racist backlash. As in the past, so in Boston today, the SYL calls for a mobilization of the labor and black movements to drive forward the struggle for racial equality and to defeat the segregationist offensive. ■

Young Spartacus

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

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LETTERS

Confiscate Military Profits?

6 March 1977

To the Editor:

I am writing to express some doubts I have about the slogan "for the confiscation of military profits" which Trotsky included in the *Transitional Program* and which you also advocate in *Young Spartacus*, No. 46:

1) My main objection to this slogan is that, when raised in a war-time situation, it plays into the hands of the reformists who seek to channel the workers' just resentment at dying for corporate profit into support for the war. The reformists will call for a tax on war profits, saying "not just the workers, but all of us good Americans must sacrifice for the war" (which is implicitly assumed to be a just one). Thus the war itself is unchallenged, and the workers get roped in under the phony slogan of equality of sacrifice. To call for a 100 percent tax instead of, say, a 50 percent tax on military profits might make our differences with the reformists seem to be over the amount of capitalist "sacrifice" rather than the war itself.

2) In the highly unlikely event that the state carried out this demand, more weapons could be purchased with the money which is not going towards profits. This would certainly not benefit the working class.

3) In the *Transitional Program* demands are raised which address the felt needs of the workers and at the same time point to the necessity of a workers' government. From the need for all workers to be able to earn a decent living, we get 30/40; from the need for the workers to be politically organized to fight the capitalist state we get the call for a labor party, etc. What corresponding need does the demand for confiscation of war profit serve? (I know that transitional demands aren't transitional unless they are linked, but shouldn't they also be supportable on their own?)

4) This demand seems inconsistent with SL practice on two counts: a) The SL didn't raise it in the anti-war movement b) The SL doesn't call for confiscating the profits of other industries.

Fraternally,
Jack B.

Young Spartacus replies: The slogan in question was raised in an article entitled "Stalinism—The Tortuous Line of Betrayal," which appeared in the September 1976 issue of *Young Spartacus*. Included as a companion piece to a polemic against the reformist electoral campaign which the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP) was then running, the article briefly traced the zig-zags of the Stalinists on the issue of opposition to American militarism. The relevant passage reads,

"This year the CP is supporting 'military spending cuts,' that is, trimming the imperialist military budget by 80 percent (thereby offering the Pentagon a 'mere' \$24 billion). In contrast, Trotskyists raise the Bolshevik slogan, 'Not one man, not one penny for the capitalist military,' and in addition call for the confiscation of all military profits and expropriation of the war industries without compensation."

The doubts which our reader Jack B. expresses about the slogan for confiscation of military profits seems to reflect a confusion over how and when demands in the Trotskyist *Transitional Program* should be used. His misgivings about this particular slogan evidently spring from a misconception; namely, that any given transitional demand should retain its revolutionary thrust even when raised in isolation and should be applicable at all times as an *agitational slogan*. Thus, Jack B. asks why the slogan for the confiscation of military profits and other Trotskyist slogans should not be "supportable on their own" and why we raised that demand in *Young Spartacus* last year but not in our propaganda during the Vietnam war.

The backbone of the *Transitional Program* consists of a series of interlocked demands which provide a bridge linking the immediate needs and struggles of the working people with the socialist solution of a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie. If ripped from their programmatic context, most of the demands included in the *Transitional Program* can be reduced to reformist small change. It is necessary only to recall how several years ago the maverick-Stalinist Progressive Labor Party seized upon the slogan

"30 for 40" (30 hours work for 40 hours pay) and infused the demand with an explicitly reformist content, at one point even spreading the illusion that "a shorter workweek with no loss in pay could be won through referenda.

Likewise, the slogan for confiscation of military profits isn't immune from reformist or even social-chauvinist misuse. But in incorporating this demand into the *Transitional Program* the Trotskyists took their stand with the internationalist Socialists who waged war on the jingoist Second International after its capitulation to "defense of the fatherland" in WW I. The slogan for the confiscation of military profits was used by the Zimmerwaldists as part of their propaganda opposing the war as a reactionary conflict for redistribution of the spoils of imperialist plunder and not a "war to make the world safe for democracy."

At that time the internationalists infused such slogans with an anti-militarist content. For example, the manifesto of the first Zimmerwald Conference (1915) declared,

"In every country the Capitalists who forge the gold of war profits from the blood of the people are declaring that the war is for national defense, democracy, and the liberation of oppressed nationalities. THEY LIE!"

No less powerful was the anti-capitalist fervor which inspired the *Junius Pamphlet* by Rosa Luxemburg that same year:

"The curtain has fallen on trains filled with reservists, as they pull out amid the joyous cries of enthusiastic maidens.... And the cannon fodder that was loaded upon the trains in August and September is rotting on the battlefields of Belgium and the Vosges, while profits are springing, like weeds from the fields of the dead. Business is flourishing upon the ruins."

However, even among the Zimmerwaldists the slogan for confiscation of military profits was given an opportunist twist by some of the centrists. For example, the demand, "confiscation of war profits," was included in the draft "Program of Action" which the Socialist Revolutionary League and the Social Democratic Party of Holland submitted to the International Socialist Com-

mittee in early 1916 (reprinted in O. Gankin and H. Fisher, *The Bolsheviks and the World War*). But while raising a series of "economic" demands of an anti-capitalist character the "Program of Action" postponed the struggle to "turn the imperialist war into a civil war"; the slogan for confiscation of military profits and all the other demands of the "Program of Action" were proposed only as "general guiding principles for immediate action at the end of the war" (emphasis added). While the *Transitional Program*

links confiscation of military profits to other anti-militarist demands, Trotskyists do not regard this slogan as an all-purpose demand, to be raised in any and all propaganda and agitation against capitalist militarism. As the *Transitional Program* states, "Light must be shed on the problem of war from all angles, hinging upon the side from which it will confront the masses at a given moment" (emphasis added).

It is instructive to examine how the American Trotskyists applied the

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Industrial Pioneer



"BIG BUSINESS (to Labor, generously): 'My good fellow, you'll be well paid for your patriotic action in tending this glorious plant; you shall have all the fruit above the ground—I'll take ONLY the roots!'" —Industrial Pioneer.

Republican Spain—The Stalin Connection

22 May 1977

To the Editor:

In the May issue of *Young Spartacus* there appeared an excellent article on the Spanish Civil War, entitled "Lessons of the Barcelona May Days." The article correctly indicts the POUM [Workers Party of Marxist Unification], Anarchists, Social Democrats and, most importantly, the Stalinists for sacrificing the Spanish revolution on the altar of popular frontism.

However, in recounting how the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) attempted to suppress independent mobilizations of the proletariat, a formulation appeared which, in other contexts, has served to let the other misleaders of the Popular Front off the hook:

"Without doubt the most despicable role during the May Days was played by the PCE. At the time of its entry into the Popular Front the PCE did not possess a solid base in the working class—before fusing with the PSOE [the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party of Spain] youth its membership was about 10,000. But Soviet military aid provided the PCE an important lever to gain posts within—and to dictate terms to—the Republican forces."

In his novel, *The Case of Comrade Tulayev*, Victor Serge illustrated

how the non-Stalinist ministers of the Popular Front sought to excuse their responsibility for the anti-working class crimes of the Republican government by invoking a "realistic" appraisal of the Republic's dependence on Soviet military aid:

"...a deputy from the Independent Labour Party would arrive from London, dressed in a very old grey suit, thin, bony, ugly as only the British can be ugly, clamping his pipe between pure Stone Age jaws, and obstinately, automatically demanding: 'What has come of the investigation into the disappearance of [POUM leader] Andrés Nin?' The ministers—a strange lot too!—would earnestly implore him, before a dozen people, to 'deny these calumnious rumours which outrage the Republic,' and when they were alone with him would clap him on the back and say: 'Those bastards got him, but what can we do about it? After all, we can't fight without the arms Russia is sending. Do you think we are safe ourselves?'"

Trotsky threw a harsh and brilliant light on these backroom excuses when he wrote in his pamphlet, "The Lessons of Spain—The Last Warning":

"This brings us right up to the solution of the enigma of how and why the Communist Party of Spain, so insignificant numerically and with a leadership so poor in caliber, proved capable of gathering into its hands

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Anti-Kissinger Campaign

Columbia Demonstrations...

Young Spartacus



The campaign to stop the proposed appointment of Henry Kissinger to a teaching post at Columbia University continued this past month, most notably with a vocal picket-line demonstration at the Columbia graduation ceremonies on May 18. Several graduating seniors in caps and gowns joined the demonstration which demanded that the secret negotiations between the Columbia administration and this butcher of Indochina be terminated and that there be, as the marchers chanted, "No Teaching Post for Imperialist War Criminal Kissinger!"

The media has continued to closely follow the protests and other activities of the SYL-initiated Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus (see display). In addition to news articles, NBC-TV and WINS radio covered the Columbia demonstration.

In a related development, Kissinger cancelled his plans to receive an honorary degree during the May 22 graduation ceremony at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadel-

phia. The "no-comment" cancellation followed on the heels of the announcement that campus groups were planning a protest demonstration at the commencement ceremony. (In New York City the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus also issued press releases announcing its intention to mobilize support for the Philadelphia protest and in this connection was again interviewed by the media.)

Students at Columbia must not allow the administration to use the summer recess to clinch the deal with Kissinger, presenting the campus with a *fait accompli* in the fall. As the SYL leaflet at the May 18 demonstration stated,

"That [Columbia president] McGill continues to refuse to comment on the status of the negotiations with Kissinger undoubtedly reflects his fear of militant student protest. Such protests have already gained nation-wide publicity this past semester. They will continue this summer and next year—until Kissinger is driven away." ■

Kissinger: Retired Killer

11 May 1977

To the Editor:

I am in complete agreement with the campaign being conducted by the Columbia University Spartacus Youth League and the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus to prevent the rehabilitation of war criminal Kissinger by Columbia University.

Young Spartacus properly dismisses the *New York Times* accusation of "witchhunting" as hypocritical and irrelevant. The issue is not Henry Kissinger's "right" to teach at Columbia. It is whether the American universities are to continue to serve as old-age homes for retired killers.

The *New York Times* and the Columbia administration would like us to "forgive and forget" the Vietnam War. They would like to insulate individuals like Kissinger from personal responsibility for acts committed while in public office. And they would like symbolically to bury the student radicalism of the 1960's, which exposed the corrupt, intimate relationship between the universities, the corporations, and the United States government. This is not surprising. The imperialist ruling class always tries to deprive the working class of its history. It consistently promotes a legalistic distinction between "the man" and "the office"—a distinction which shields criminal "statesmen" from public wrath, and makes government policy appear to be abstract, impersonal, and unrelated to class interests. And it always seeks to use the universities to accomplish these purposes.

Thanks to the SYL and the Ad Hoc Committee, the ruling class has already experienced a setback at Columbia University. There is not just a struggle against Henry Kissinger, but against historical amnesia, the bourgeois depersonalization of politics, and ruling class domination of the universities. All class struggle militants should rally to their support.

In solidarity,
Richard Libman-Rubenstein
Visiting Professor,
Université de Provence
France

...and Press Coverage Continue



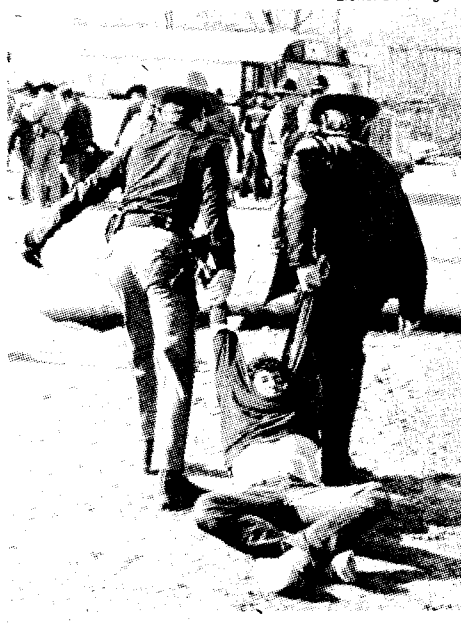
Clam Bust at Seabrook Eco-Faddism and Nuclear Power



Guardian/Lionel Delevingne

Drop the Charges Against the Clamshell Alliance Protesters!

Lionel Delevingne



On April 30 several thousand activists of the "Clamshell Alliance," marching to the strains of a bagpipe, entered the parking lot of the construction site of the Seabrook, New Hampshire, atomic power plant.

Organized into "affinity groups," schooled in "non-violence" by the American Friends Service Committee, armed with granola and frisbees, and flying banners which read, "no nukes," and "go fishin' not fission," the Alliance occupied the site as a protest against nuclear power, in general, and Seabrook, in particular.

No-Nuke of the North

For 24 hours "No-Nuke City" thrived in its parking lot, peopled by clapping, singing, kite-flying "clams." Streets were laid out; solar water collectors were built; all bottles and cans were recycled. The issues of the day were addressed—ecologically sound latrine placement; whether to "get into" weaving or massage; how to "relate" to the state cops. Clamshell affinity groups performed rituals which quite unintentionally managed to capture what Marx called "the idiocy of rural life":

"In one ceremony Roger from the Mayflower affinity group unfolds a yellow kerchief containing Indian corn and kneels before it, praying. 'Spokes' [spokesmen] gather handfuls of corn—a kernel for each member of their affinity groups—and demonstrators are encouraged to 'scrape away some of the dirt' and plant the 'Indian Clam' corn."

Boston Phoenix, 10 May 1977

If all this was inane, it was also innocuous—and deliberately so. (At the subsequent arraignment, a "clam" entered a plea of "ahimsa—which means harmlessness.") But for weeks leading up to the occupation, New

Hampshire governor Meldrim Thomson had been promising mass arrests—and more. Denouncing the occupation as "a cover for terrorist activity," Thomson said, "Once they legally occupy the site, they do not plan to leave alive."

Given the "crime"—criminal trespass, a misdemeanor—the repression of the Clamshell Alliance was outrageous. In all, 1,414 were arrested and then confined for hours in buses and vans. Bail was set as high as \$500; those prisoners who refused the exorbitant bail—and many did—awaited trial in five overcrowded National Guard armories.

The trial process was no less outrageous. When the first defendant to be tried received a suspended sentence, New Hampshire attorney general David Sauter, who had denounced the occupation as "one of the most well planned acts of criminal activity" in U.S. history, intervened. From then on, sentences involved both fines and 15 days at hard labor. The last were to be served immediately, thus effectively negating the right to appeal.

However, for the "clams," captivity became a "happening." Vegetarians were allowed to eat their own food. A clam-impresario rannightly talent shows. Classes were held in anti-"nuke" organizing, non-violence and T-shirt design. And at Somersworth Armory, a "Nuclear Dystrophy Telethon" satirized Thomson's appeal for funds to bankroll the detention.

Yet, despite such indulgence, the "bust" was a vindictive display of power by the governor and a flagrant trampling of democratic rights.

Several hundred "clams" were confined in the armories for two weeks. There they were subject to the rules of a capricious National Guard command, "fallout" from overhead pigeons, unsanitary conditions in the clammy armory and the threat of disease. A large part of the bill for these "accommodations" was footed by none other than the Public Service Company, principal investor in the Seabrook reactors.

Although a deal was eventually worked out whereby the remaining prisoners were found guilty and released on personal recognizance pending appeal, the fines and sentences remain to be served. We oppose the repression of the Clamshell Alliance and defend them against the reactionary Thomson. Return all fines, reverse all convictions, drop all charges!

Half a "Movement" Reborn

The Clamshell Alliance has been hailed as the student movement "reborn." But this is only a half-truth. The New Left of the 1960's was a contradictory amalgam in which political opposition to racial oppression and the blatantly imperialist ventures of U.S. foreign policy mingled with life-style pseudo-radicalism and a will-o'-the-wisp hedonism. After the withdrawal of the U.S. from Vietnam, the "movement" disintegrated, and a layer of the most serious student activists turned toward the working class and left organizations claiming to stand in the tradition of Leninism.

What is "reborn" in the Clamshell Alliance is the rotten half of the "movement"—Central Park "be-ins," levitations of the Pentagon and infantile self-indulgence. The Alliance was pulled together by those aging New Leftists who long ago abandoned political activism and retreated into the rustic swamps of New England.

A touching account of Clamshell's origins was given in *The Real Paper* of 14 May 1977:

"But Northeast Utilities made a big mistake when it announced plans for two giant plants in Montague, Massachusetts right in the center of a hippie farming area where burnt out radicals from Boston and New York had fled to lead simpler lives. In February, 1974 when Sam Lovejoy toppled the Northeast [utilities] weather tower on the proposed [reactor] site, he soon had people from the surrounding area ready to support his fight with Northeast. Lovejoy and his friends formed the core of the Clamshell Alliance...with Guy Chichester, a tough New Hampshire carpenter who was fighting a proposed Onassis oil refinery...."

According to its founding statement, the Clamshell Alliance has two goals:

- 1) stop construction of a nuclear power plant in Seabrook, N.H.
- 2) assist the effort to halt nuclear plant development in New England."

As the foundation of the twice-born "movement," this program be-

trays a surprising singlemindedness (and a real geographical narrowness). But according to Clamshell, nuclear power is the worst thing ever to come down the Mass Pike:

"Nuclear power is dangerous to all living creatures and their natural environment. It is designed to concentrate energy, resources and profits in the hands of a powerful few. It threatens to undermine the principles of human liberation on which this nation is founded."

In other words, the "nuke" is dirty, elitist and downright un-American.

Clams, Whales and all that...

The specter of radioactive materials and nuclear reactors in the hands of the profit-crazed bourgeoisie can legitimately serve to arouse the concern of American working people. Distrust of corporate giants, ranging from the "multinationals" to the

Lionel Delevingne

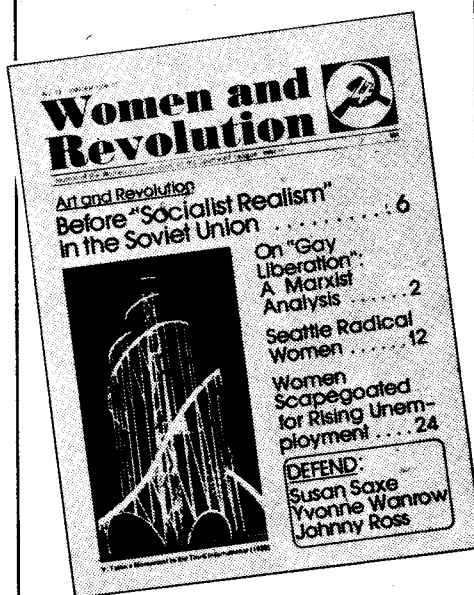


Clam Yogi.

utility companies, is increasingly pervasive in American society. Cars that are built for "planned obsolescence" are viewed with just skepticism, as mechanically-related auto deaths number in the thousands each year. For millions of New Yorkers the names, "Bell Telephone," and "Con Edison," bring to mind just one thing: "rip-off." Even popular movies such as "The Towering Inferno" graphically exploit the theme of masses of people being senselessly killed as a result of some capitalist "cutting corners."

But the Clamshell Alliance opposes nuclear reactors in principle, no matter how careful the construction. The Clamshell Alliance discovered in a nearby clambled an issue that no "eco-freak" could resist. To date, the Seabrook controversy has focused upon the fate of this clambled, which

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would be affected by the power plant's cooling system. In fact, the "Clamshell Alliance" drew its name from the clams, lobster and fish larvae that would presumably be killed on the screen mechanism of the cooling system's intake tunnel.

According to the current construction plan, ocean water would be circulated through seven miles of hard rock tunnel to cool the reactor core. During the course of one circuit, the temperature of the ocean water would be raised by 39 degrees Fahrenheit. Yet, according to one estimate (*Wall Street Journal*, 5 January 1977), the total amount of marine life imperiled by the Seabrook intake tunnel would be less than the daily consumption of four of the Alliance's next favorite creature: whales.

While prating on and on about unhatched fish eggs, the Alliance does not address itself to the real questions of "nuclear safety." "No Nukes is Good Nukes," whine the Seabrook demonstrators. But what about the real nuclear menace in the world today? By far the greatest threat from nuclear power does not come from the generation of electricity, but from the concentration of atomic weapons in the hands of the imperialists. The

Jerry Berndt



Clam waves flag of principal nuclear menace today.

only nuclear disasters to date have been the savage attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Since the development of American nuclear capacity, each head of state—the man who at a moment's notice could plunge the earth into a holocaust of nuclear war—has used atomic brinkmanship or blackmail in the interests of rapacious American "diplomacy." From "Give 'em Hell" Harry Truman (who ordered the atomic attack on Japan) to nuclear submarine aficionado Jimmy Carter, and including Cuban-missile-crisis Kennedy, saturation-bombers Johnson and Nixon, and veteran cold-warrior Eisenhower—the question of nuclear survival has never been that of Seabrook or a hundred Seabrooks. Instead, only the smashing of the nuclear-armed American military by the revolutionary proletariat can safeguard the world from the imperial hell of MIRV's, Trident submarines and B-52's.

Marxism and Technological Progress

Marxists are not insensitive to the environmental aspects of technological progress. But our concern is tempered by our dedication to the scientific eradication of scarcity and human misery. The victorious prole-

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Apartheid Protests...

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cheerfully singing "This Land is Your Land."

In the discussions of what should be done after the sit-in, fears of "alienating" the "campus community" were continually voiced; a proposal for a student strike was abandoned when a speaker argued that the struggle against apartheid shouldn't force a student to miss a physics class. Finally, it was decided to write a letter to Henry Ford and to organize a "mellow mass movement" on campus—which soon fizzled.

Liberal Moralism

Given this situation, liberal activists and fake lefts of various stripes have attempted to mobilize anti-apartheid student sentiment by advocating demands which appeal to liberal moralism. Most common have been calls for individual consumer boycotts of everything South African—which may soothe consciences, but has less than negligible effect on the struggle in South Africa.

The Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), for example, has focused its "anti-apartheid" campaign on an appeal for students to neither purchase, nor accept as graduation gifts, South African Krugerrands; to "dramatize" their "struggle," the RSB at Berkeley has taken to rolling a giant dummy Krugerrand (12 feet in diameter!) around Sproul Plaza. Likewise, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party, has attempted to get a piece of the boycott action. While keeping a low profile in the most recent California protests (they were not always "peaceful and legal"), the YSA has pushed the same "divest-now" gimmick in the Bay Area on other occasions. For example, the SWP has been campaigning to force the Oakland city council to divest itself of its financial holdings connected with South Africa.

Now these liberals and fake "radicals" like the RSB have seized upon the "divest-now" gimmick to rally anti-apartheid sentiment on a liberal basis. Like other consumer boycott schemes, the "divest-now" demand poses no threat to the corporations or the Vorster regime. South Africa exports mainly raw materials from its extractive industry; its consumer goods exports are proportionally much less, which is why such unlikely items as Krugerrands are targeted for boycott.

No matter how well-intentioned might be the sentiment behind the demand, forcing the universities to sell their stock in corporations with dealings in South Africa will have absolutely no effect on either the corporations or the South African economy. If the university ends its "complicity" with corporations with South African connections, its stock will merely be bought up by another capitalist concern. Forcing the university to "divest now" may be claimed as a "moral victory"; but its effect will be limited to a mere change of property titles and perhaps some brisk trading on Wall Street.

But the "divest-now" demand is not merely empty moralism, akin to exhorting atomized individual consumers not to buy a Krugerrand or eat South African sardines. At bottom, this demand is a call for the bourgeoisie and its hired servants—from university administrators to corporate executives—to conduct their affairs in a more "reasonable" and "moral" manner.

At Stanford the "divest-now" coalition expressed the political meaning of its slogan quite explicitly by assuming the name, "Stanford Committee for Responsible Investment Policy." This builds the worst illusions that in capitalist society the universities are (or can be) classless institutions. But the universities are an important pillar of the imperialist order; they provide the arena for weapons research, officer recruitment and training, and think-tank resources. In fact, the American universities are far more crucial to the maintenance of American imperialist hegemony than are U.S. ties to South Africa. To call for "responsible investment" is to support imperialism, whether it be plundering South Korea and South America or exploiting its "own" workers in Detroit and Atlanta.

Behind the "divest-now" demand is the underlying assumption that U.S. corporations "legitimize" the apartheid regime by their South African investments. But this is to say that U.S. imperialism is somehow less reactionary than the South African sub-imperialist bourgeoisie. Such is the basis for the "human rights" campaign of the U.S. bourgeoisie aimed at South Africa; the Jimmy Carters and the Andrew Youngs pose as the moral conscience of South Africa, using their economic and political clout to pressure the South African bourgeoisie to make certain reforms in the apartheid system which, in the long run, they hope would represent a strengthening of South African capitalism.

But the crimes of the U.S. imperialists are not less, but far greater than those of the South African bourgeoisie, even as monumental as they are. It was the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie which ordered Hiroshima and Nagasaki to be incinerated by atom bombs—a heinous crime which in its genocidal magnitude surely dwarfs the brutal atrocities of the South African imperialists in Namibia or Angola. It was the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie which unleashed carpet bombing raids in Indochina—each day slaughtering many times the number of South African blacks which have been gunned down in cold blood in the massacres of Soweto and Sharpeville. If one were to accept the moral standpoint implicit in the "divest-now" slogan, then it would be far more appropriate to demand that the South African bourgeoisie stop "legitimizing" the U.S. imperialists by permitting them to invest in South Africa.

Program is Key

In the recent anti-apartheid protests in California the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) intervened to fight for a perspective of organizing actions of political protest and labor solidarity aimed at winning concrete demands that would advance the struggle of the proletariat and oppressed masses both in South Africa and in this country as well. We call for demonstrations on campus and elsewhere to rally as broad support as possible behind demands such as for freedom for all victims of apartheid repression and for the end to the chains of apartheid. At the time of the Soweto upsurge the SYL initiated a united-front demonstration at the University of Chicago to protest the repression.

In addition, demonstrations in solidarity with the anti-apartheid protest must raise the demand for an end to all military aid to the white-supremacist regimes. We must actively seek to deprive Pretoria and Salisbury of the weapons they need to put down and keep in thrall the oppressed black masses. In this context, the SYL also fights against any mercenary recruitment on campus or university think-tanks which are involved in formulating policy to help prop up the Vorster regime and stabilize the region for U.S. investments.

But the key to fighting apartheid, is the working class, both in South Africa and in this country—the only class whose historic interests stand opposed to the oppressive bourgeois regimes from South Africa to South Korea to the U.S. Our task is to win students to recognize the necessity for international labor solidarity with the workers and oppressed rural masses of South Africa. Refusal by American longshoremen to handle military goods to South Africa would represent an important act of labor solidarity with the oppressed of South Africa as well as the important mobilization of the American proletariat against its own bourgeoisie. Likewise, strike action against U.S. corporations could force these "multinationals" to recognize trade-union rights for the black workers employed in their South African affiliates and subsidiaries.

Instead of impotent consumer boycotts, we advocate labor boycotts to concentrate the striking power of the proletariat for a given period of time on a specific aim. For example, in the wake of an atrocity such as the Soweto massacres an international labor boycott could have been used to bring economic pressure to bear on the Vorster regime to force the freeing of victims of apartheid repression.

The Main Enemy is at Home!

The "divest-now" strategy and the proletarian-internationalist perspective of the SYL at bottom are divided by the difference between tailing one's "own" bourgeoisie and maintaining irreconcilable opposition to international capital—from here to Johannesburg. It is consistent with the reformist perspective of fake lefts like the RSB and YSA that when it came to fighting the South African

Young Spartacus



Demonstration in solidarity with sit-in at Stanford.

bourgeoisie in Angola and in Soweto, they capitulated to U.S. imperialism—which indeed is the main enemy of the peoples of the world.

At the time of the Angolan civil war the RSB followed the line of Peking and sided with the Angolan forces spearheaded by the South African army and financed by the CIA, while the YSA shamelessly echoed the U.S. liberal bourgeoisie and declared "neutrality" in the conflict (but in reality listing toward the CIA-financed FNLA). And today both the RSB and the YSA argue that the "main blow" which can be directed at the U.S. corporations and their junior partners in South Africa is a small-change version of the boycotts

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Harvard Demo Protests Think-Tank Confab

BOSTON—A "Conference on African Foreign Policy for the United States" sponsored by Harvard University on April 29 and 30 was the target for a demonstration by about 100 anti-apartheid protesters.

Organized to discuss how to ensure American "access to the energy, mineral resources and commodities of Africa," this academic summit meeting was financed by the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Institute, institutions of imperialist "research" willing to pick up the tab when academics put their mouths where their money is. No mere scholarly symposium was this; the roster of invitees included such imperialist heavyweights as Jimmy Carter, Cyrus Vance and Andrew Young.

When the conference was announced, the Harvard Spartacus Youth League took the initiative and called for a united-front "Ad Hoc Committee Against Apartheid" based on the slogans, "No U.S. aid to South Africa!," "Smash apartheid!," and "Down with the imperialist brain-trusters!" But these demands were opposed by La Organización (a Puerto Rican nationalist group on campus), the Young Workers Liberation League (youth group of the pro-Moscow Communist Party which at Harvard masquerades as the "Progressive Film Society"), the Committee Against Racism (a liberal-academic front group of Progressive Labor which at Harvard is based in the Divinity School) and the Revolutionary

Student Brigade (which has no base whatsoever at Harvard).

Through a series of maneuvers, including secret meetings and bald-faced deception, these liberals and Stalinists formed a "coalition" based on the slogan, "Victory to the Peoples of Southern Africa." The SYL refused to endorse the demonstration called around this deliberately vague and classless slogan, which means different things to different political tendencies. (It is necessary only to recall how at the time of the Angolan civil war the RSB and YWLL each raised the slogan "Victory to the Angolan People!" while backing opposite sides in the war.)

Indeed, the "unity" of this misbegotten "coalition" was short lived. Miffed when the RSB directed its "main blow" at "Soviet social-imperialism" and when the Committee Against Racism raised the slogan, "Hang Brezhnev," the Brezhnevite YWLL boycotted the demonstration.

Yet the *coup de grace* was yet to come. It had been decided that after the protest march the demonstrators would enter the building where the conference on African foreign policy for the U.S. was meeting and either denounce or disrupt the gathering. But when the august body agreed to hear a spokesman for the demonstration, the supporter of La Organización merely criticized the conference for the absence of "student input," in effect saying that imperialist policy making would be acceptable if it



were only more democratic. Perhaps recalling that the facile liberal protestors of yesterday are the Andrew Youngs of today, capitalist politician Charles Diggs closed the session by inviting these "radicals" to attend future conferences!

While unable to endorse the protest on the basis that its slogan was deliberately meaningless rhetoric, the SYL at Harvard nevertheless participated in the demonstration, mobilizing the largest contingent in the march and rally. Our comrades marched with slogans such as "Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!" and "For a Black-Centered Workers and Peasants Government!"

It was very clear who was fighting for class politics. After the

La Organización spokesman rose to make a plea for more "student input" an SYL member took the floor and vigorously denounced the conference and the imperialist policies that its participants support. Flaying Carter's "human rights" campaign the SYL speaker denounced the hue and cry over "Soviet imperialism" in Africa—a slogan shared by the State Department and the Maoist RSB—and took a stand for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union. Unlike the YWLL and the RSB, the SYL unswervingly upholds the class line, seeking to win students to the Trotskyist program which represents a necessary weapon against capitalist exploitation and oppression, here and in South Africa. ■

Debate Highlights Campus Election at Chicago

Trotskyist Candidates Trounce YSA

CHICAGO, May 24—A candidates' debate last night highlighted this year's student government (SG) election campaign at the University of Chicago (UC), where the SYL is running David Kellogg and Ian Horst for SG president and vice-president respectively.

The debate demonstrated the clear counterposition of the SYL's full communist program to the campus parochialism and ivory-tower reformism of the other candidates. Represented on the platform, in addition to the SYL, were the cliquist-conservative "Better Leadership for Improved Student Services" (BLISS) slate, the virtually indistinguishable "Students for Constructive Action" (SCA) and the reformist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). Forced to participate in the debate with the SYL lest he appear completely irrelevant, YSA presidential candidate Roger Horowitz revealed why in the past his organization has evaded repeated SYL debate challenges at UC: the YSA cannot defend its miserable social-democratic politics against the SYL's communist criticism.

For the past several years the SYL has been the most active left organization at UC. Having initiated several sizable campus demonstrations protesting the recent apartheid repression in South Africa and the brain-trusting of UC professor Milton Friedman for the Chilean junta, the SYL has made a name for itself as the organization of revolutionary

activists on the campus. (A reflection of this reputation is the election of SYLers to the last two SG assemblies.) Significantly, each of the slates in the SG race has been compelled to distinguish itself explicitly from the SYL and its program; for example, at the debate the SCA's main spokesman began his presentation with a lengthy response to the SYL's platform, and other conservatives rose to oppose "the communists'" demands for the nationalization of elite UC and the replacement of the administration with student/teacher/campus-worker control of the university.

In sharp contrast to the SYL campaign, the YSA election platform makes no mention of replacing the administration with student-faculty-worker control, nor do these "respectable" opportunists call for the institution of an open admissions policy—a demand which, as the SYL speakers stressed, is the "cutting edge" at a school whose racial and class exclusiveness are notorious. So pathetic was the YSA speaker's fence-straddling performance at the debate and so thoroughly did the SYL candidates demolish the meek reformism of his program that the only other YSAer present, who is running for a seat in the SG assembly, scurried out of the room half-way through the debate! Perhaps deciding that discretion is the better part of valor, the third YSA candidate decided not to show up at all; when put on the spot by the SYL later, he blurted

out that demands for the nationalization of UC and for open admissions "don't mean anything."

In their presentations SYL candidates Horst and Kellogg slammed the YSA for its supporters' vile scabbing in the 1974 UC workers' strike. "Next fall, there may be another campus strike," said Kellogg. "Then the question that all the candidates have tried to ignore will be posed: the class line. You can't miss it; it's got pickets on it. Will the YSA see it next time?" Horowitz timidly responded that, had the YSA supporters respected the picket lines, they might have lost their jobs—the classic argument of every despicable scab!

In addition, the SYL candidates denounced the YSA for its civil-libertarian position defending the so-called "rights" of fascists to foment lynch-mob terror. In the past the YSA has gone so far as to attempt to silence black students who responded with vocal outrage to the racist taunts of a Ku Klux Klan demagogue at the University of Houston (see "YSA Lectures Protestors on 'Rights for Fascists,'" *Young Spartacus*, December 1975). Repeatedly questioned as to his organization's position on the protests of Jewish survivors of Hitler's concentration camps against Nazi marches in Skokie, a suburb of Chicago, a shame-faced Horowitz could only squeak, "We stand for the expansion of democratic rights." What that means has been made clear when elsewhere other YSA "spokes-

persons" came out *against* the recent ransacking of the "Rudolf Hess Bookstore" in San Francisco by outraged community residents, most of whom are survivors of Nazi concentration camps.

Summing up, Horst noted: "We are running on a program for the transformation of the entire educational system in the interests of society's working majority, as part of the revolutionary struggle for a workers government.... Our program is based on the fight for the world socialist revolution." ■

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Eco-Faddism, Nuclear Power...

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tarian revolution will utilize science and technology to provide the material basis for overcoming the "human condition" of war, poverty and privation—the hallmarks of class society.

In the abstract, technological questions, such as those pertaining to nuclear power, are rarely insurmountable. But the technological considerations do not exist apart from class society. Under capitalist rule, the fundamental irrationality of profit and market relations can render unsafe even the best-understood technology.

It is not the role of Marxists to "advise and consent" to the bourgeoisie's plans to meet their energy needs—anarchic relations of production are simply not amenable to reason. To argue that one mode of generating electricity is inherently safer (or more sensible) than another in a society governed by reckless cupidity is the basest reformism.

Capitalism is filled with shoddy production and hazardous working conditions and the atomic-energy industry is certainly no exception. While there have been no catastrophic accidents resulting from the operation of nuclear power plants, there have been lesser atrocities. These have included the use of dangerous radioactive materials in construction sites, the building of reactors over known earthquake sites, near "meltdowns" (the overheating of the reactor core), and so on.

We counter the ever-present danger of industrial disaster by de-

manding that control over safety conditions in all industrial situations be in the hands of the trade unions. It would be far better to have such authority in the hands of those whose well-being depends directly upon the safety of their industry than in the hands of a James Schlesinger or the local representatives of corporate stockholders.

Technological progress—including the development of nuclear fission power—is concretely in the interest of working masses and oppressed peoples around the world. Only the vision of the unlimited increase of labor productivity in making possible the socialist future could have given Marx the capacity to see human progress amid the filth and devastation of the 19th century Manchester cotton mills.

While we are concerned with safety, we would oppose a particular form of technology only if there were a generalized danger inherent in its application. Our concern with such dangers is not predicated upon the "organic" maintenance of some metaphysical "eco-system" in some mythic pristine form, but rather on creating the material basis for the socialist society. As the Trotskyist movement wrote in 1946, only one year after the atomic bombing of Japan,

"In a socialist society, the utilization of nuclear energy opens up the vastest perspectives to human civilization for the achievement of cultural and industrial tasks. A socialist society can and would systematically develop the use of nuclear energy with the aim of reducing the intensity and duration of work and for the production of an abundance of primary necessities. Atomic energy can thus become, in a socialist society, one of the most powerful levers for the advancement of human civilization.

"Marxism regards the development of the productivity of human labor power as the prime mover of social evolution. That is

why it is impossible for Marxism to underestimate the importance of a new force which appears within the sphere of natural forces of which man possesses knowledge and which he has technically mastered. After thirty years of research the first decisive step in the technical application of atomic energy has been taken. This first step may be of far greater importance on the road of progress than the conquests of hydraulic energy, steam and electricity attained during the capitalist era. If steam and electricity provided the technical bases for the capitalist era, then nuclear energy, which in the epoch of capitalist decay serves only as an instrument of unimaginable destruction, will provide the technical basis for the socialist epoch."

—Fourth International, April 1947

Apartheid Protests...

continued from page 7

advocated by the United Nations and Andrew Young.

Campaigns like the "divest-now" not only do not threaten the bour-

geoisie, but at times are even looked upon favorably. It is no accident that one of the most vocal supporters of the RSB's campaign to force the University of Wisconsin to "divest now" just happens to be... Wisconsin Attorney General Bronson La Follette; long accustomed to having to deal with radical student protests centering on domestic issues, he is happy to see students turn their attention to this innocuous protest of a foreign regime. (In the 19th century the British imperialists likewise used the issue of slavery—by the Boers of South Africa, for example—as a means to divert the attention of the reform-minded intelligentsia.)

Unlike the reformists and liberals, the SYL rejects any demand which places us in the position of telling the bourgeois trustees of a university, or the capitalist heads of a "multinational" corporation, where to invest and not to invest. Our task is to build proletarian-internationalist parties which will be guided by the Trotskyist program for socialist revolution to expropriate the corporate empires of the exploiters—here and in South Africa. ■

Young Spartacus



On May 14 over 100 New Yorkers heard Young Spartacus editor Charles O'Brien speak on "Africa: Secessionism, Neo-Colonialism and Permanent Revolution." After discussing the shadowy "war" in Zaire, O'Brien analysed the Eritrean independence struggle and moved on to consider the Marxist attitude toward secessionist movements in Africa, focusing on the South Sudan and Biafra.

Anti-Homosexual Crusade...

continued from page 2

ment" tours to Vietnam as a platform to bless her close friend, Lyndon Johnson, and the American imperialist rape of Indochina. And in West Virginia Fundamentalists who began a book-banning campaign against so-called "godless" and "communist" literature (such as e.e. cummings and Allen Ginsberg) in the public schools ended up a year later as the close allies of the fascist Ku Klux Klan in their anti-busing mobilizations.

As Marxists, we have nothing but contempt for the vulgar puritanical prejudices against homosexuals championed by "Save Our Children, Inc." Communists are irreconcilably opposed to every manifestation of racial or sexual discrimination.

When statements of elementary bourgeois-democratic legal equality (such as the Miami ordinance or the Equal Rights Amendment) are placed on the ballot or come before Congress, we support their enactment and recognize their usefulness in fighting particular cases of anti-homosexual victimization.

It is legislation which discriminates against homosexuals that should be abolished; in particular, the so-called "crimes without victims" (sodomy, prostitution and so on), which are used by the cops and courts to persecute homosexuals. Repeal of the Miami ordinance—the first to have been passed in the deep South—would strengthen the hand and stiffen the resolve of reactionary crusaders like Anita Bryant. ■

No Ban on Political Groups at Davis!

In the beginning of May the administration of the University of California at Davis (UCD) announced that in order to ensure the university's "political neutrality" campus organizations that campaign for political and electoral goals would have to be banned from using campus facilities.

Administration officials claimed the ban would be necessary to guarantee UCD compliance with the State constitution and maintenance of its tax-exempt status. Stating that the impetus for this ban was coming from the state-wide Board of Regents, the Davis administration claims that it will eventually be extended to the entire U.C. system. This threatened purge must be stopped!

In order to allow "sufficient time" to draw up new guidelines on permissible political activity, the ban was not immediately implemented. Instead, the administration announced a moratorium on the registration of new campus political groups until next September, presumably to prevent newly chartered organizations from planning activities for the next year that would be considered too "political."

Since fall, radical and minority groups have been increasingly active at Davis. The administration's machinations seem to be a response to this modest resurgence of campus activism. If the pressure for a political ban is in fact originating from the Board of Regents, Davis would be the most likely campus in the U.C. system to give it a trial run; the U.C. schools in Berkeley, Los Angeles and San Diego all have a larger and more established left wing to resist such

an attack on democratic rights.

Student activists at Davis quickly reacted to the "moratorium." A local radical coalition, "Wheels for Change," and the Davis student government organized considerable campus opposition to the administration's plan. Apparently taken aback by the vehement student reaction, the Davis administration has temporarily postponed consideration of both the ban and moratorium until next fall, promising "better student input."

The SYL condemns this blatant attack on students' democratic rights. The threatened political purge must be countered by a militant mobilization of students and workers to demand—NO MORATORIUM, NO BAN! ■

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LETTERS

Military Profits...

continued from page 4
anti-militarist demands of the *Transitional Program* in the period following its adoption in 1938 as the founding document of the Fourth International. In the late thirties, as new war clouds gathered over Europe and feverish militarism gripped Japan, a pervasive isolationist mood settled over the American working class and petty bourgeoisie. In 1937 an opinion poll revealed that 70 percent of the American population favored the Ludlow amendment, which would have made declaration of war subject to a

national referendum (except in the event of an attack on the U.S.).

At that time the American Trotskyists linked the felt need of the masses for productive employment to the objective necessity for the expropriation of the ultra-patriotic bourgeoisie which was casting greedy eyes on the booty of its imperialist rivals. Thus, the American Trotskyists raised the slogans, "Let the People Vote on War!" and "All War Funds to the Unemployed!" (*Socialist Appeal*, 7 July 1939). At the same time they linked these slogans to the demand, "Not a man, not a penny for this war of the bosses!" (*Socialist Appeal*, 5 September 1939).

In contrast, during this period the American Stalinists were calling for taxing the war industries. Taxing part

of the profits of part of the profiteers was a slogan which enabled the Stalinists to pursue an "anti-monopoly coalition" with the so-called "progressive" petty-bourgeois and bourgeois forces (an ersatz popular front). Such reformist gimmicks enabled the CP to simultaneously strike a classless "anti-militarist" posture as well as support the "collective security" policies of arch-imperialist Roosevelt. On campus, for example, the Stalinist youth dropped their opposition to ROTC!

The American Trotskyists shifted their agitational slogans against militarism with the outbreak of WWII, when the isolationist and pacifist sentiments in this country gave way to illusions that the Allied powers were fighting an "anti-fascist" war. The central focus of Trotskyist agitation at that point was *revolutionary defeatism* for all the imperialist belligerents and *unconditional defense* of the USSR, which despite its bureaucratic degeneration was (and remains) a workers state.

Events had rendered the slogans, "Let the People Vote on War" and "All War Funds to the Unemployed," no longer appropriate. In October 1940 the Trotskyists introduced as agitational demands the slogans, "Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection" and "Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers control." These slogans were used to undercut illusions that the U.S. imperialists and their bourgeois allies were fighting a war for "democracy" and to drive home the fact that the working class was toiling and sacrificing its sons for the present and future profits of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

During the Vietnam war anti-militarist propaganda and agitation required a different axis than in the first and second inter-imperialist wars. As during the Korean war, the tasks of Trotskyists were to draw the class line and champion the unconditional withdrawal of all imperialist forces while advocating the military victory of the Stalinist-led forces.

To have raised the slogan for confiscation of military profits would have been a *diversion*. At no time during the Vietnam war was war profiteering a significant issue. Rather, demands to tax (or confiscate) war profits were introduced by liberal pacifists and the Stalinists to channel anti-war sentiment into a movement opposed to the imperialist intervention in Indochina simply on the basis that it was "bad for America." Thus, the Spartacist League and the Revolutionary Communist Youth (predecessor of the SYL) did not raise the demands, "confiscate all military profits and expropriate the war industries without compensation," as agitational slogans at that time.

With the end to the imperialist intervention in Indochina our anti-militarist slogans obviously assumed a much more propagandistic character. Thus, in response to the Stalinist election propaganda preaching the hoary "tax the war-makers" pabulum, *Young Spartacus* counterposed clear anti-capitalist/anti-militarist slogans from the *Transitional Program*.

Our use of the slogan for confiscation of military profits and expropriation of the war industries does not imply, as Jack B. suggests, that we agitate for the confiscation of the profits of all capitalist enterprises. In the *Transitional Program* the demand for the expropriation of separate groups of capitalist enterprises is clearly given a conjunctural character. To raise this slogan at all times for all industries would amount to calling upon the bourgeois state to expropriate the capitalist class—a version of Fabianism.

A recent example of how we use the call for partial nationalizations

is our position on the so-called "energy crisis." Prior to 1973 we did not raise the demand for the nationalization of the energy conglomerates. But with the advent of the "energy crisis," this demand provided a programmatic answer for the massive sentiment on the part of American working people that they were being fleeced and frozen for the sake of record profits by the energy giants. ■

Spain...

continued from page 4

all reins of power.... The usual explanation that the Stalinists simply bartered Soviet weapons for power is far too superficial....

"Not only Zamora, Companys, and Negrín, but also Caballero, during his incumbency as premier, were all more or less ready to accede to the demands of Moscow. Why? Because these gentlemen themselves wished to keep the revolution within bourgeois limits. Neither the Socialists nor the Anarchists seriously opposed the Stalinist program. They feared a break with the bourgeoisie. They were deathly afraid of every revolutionary onslaught of the workers.

"Stalin with his munitions and with his counterrevolutionary ultimatum was a saviour for all these groups. He guaranteed them, so they hoped, military victory over Franco, and at the same time, he freed them from all responsibility for the course of the revolution. They hastened to put their Socialist and Anarchist masks into the closet in the hope of making use of them again after Moscow re-established bourgeois democracy for them. As the finishing touch to their comfort, these gentlemen could henceforth justify their betrayal to the workers by the necessity of a military agreement with Stalin. Stalin on his part justified his counter-revolutionary politics by the necessity of maintaining an alliance with the republican bourgeoisie."

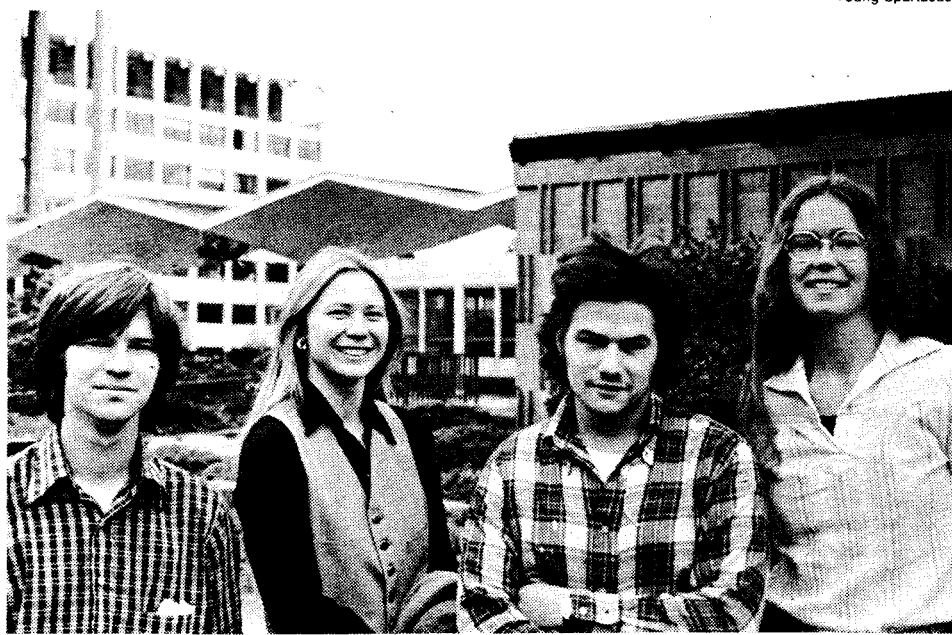
A factual inaccuracy appeared in the *Young Spartacus* article as well. The July 1936 proletarian insurrection did not force the withdrawal of the Stalinists and Social Democrats from the government; rather, it prevented their proposed entry into the Azaña cabinet. The Popular Front government from February to July 1936 was comprised solely of bourgeois forces—resulting from both the hostility of the Spanish working masses to the state and the refusal of Largo Caballero to accept a ministerial position. However, the popular-front coalition which buttressed the shaky Azaña government was based upon the participation of the Socialist and Communist parties as well as the social-democratic UGT trade-union federation and received the tacit support of the anarchist CNT-FAI. All these parties went on to play the treacherous roles in the government that the article describes.

Comradely,
V.G.

Bureaucrats Back Down on Political Censorship

Berkeley SYL Defies Campus Campaign Restrictions

Young Spartacus



Young Spartacus slate in Berkeley elections.

BERKELEY—In late April the SYL at Berkeley fielded a slate of four candidates in the campus elections to the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC). As reported in the last issue of *Young Spartacus* ("SYL Challenges Political Censorship," *Young Spartacus*, May 1977), the Young Spartacus (YS) slate was threatened with disqualification for violation of an ASUC election by-law which stipulates that all campaign literature be submitted to the ASUC Election Council prior to distribution. The purported intent of the by-law is to prevent circulation of allegedly "slandering material."

The YS slate refused to submit its literature, arguing that this by-law constitutes political censorship. As a "punishment" for this principled position, the junior Joe McCarthy's of the ASUC Judicial Committee voted to suspend YS candidates from campaigning on April 29, the last day of the campaign period, and to eliminate the YS slate from the ballot if the candidates defied the suspension. Refusing to bow to this attack on democratic rights, the YS candidates publicly declared their intention to continue campaigning and distributed "uncensored" campaign literature throughout the campus during the course of the suspension.

In the face of widespread campus support for the YS position, the Judicial Committee backed down, meekly claiming that they did not see any YS candidates campaigning. On May 12 the *Daily Californian* announced a vote tally of 105 for YS presidential

candidate Katie Welsh (with similar totals for the other three candidates), indicating a modest, but significant base of campus support for the Trotskyist politics of the SYL.

Subsequently, a motion was presented to the ASUC senate to rescind the by-law. The motion was bureaucratically referred to the Constitution Committee, which has been hesitant to overturn the regulation. At the committee meeting on May 25 the SYL argued that any refusal to rescind the ASUC by-law will set a dangerous precedent for victimization of left groups on campus. Who and what determines the nature of "slander" is inherently arbitrary; the revolutionary program of the SYL has always been considered "slandering" by the defenders of the capitalist order. If this by-law is upheld, the legal basis for a campus witchhunt will be firmly established; even bourgeois governmental elections have no such censorship provisions. After considerable haggling among themselves the ASUC committee members finally voted to amend the by-law, so that candidates must submit two copies of all election materials to the ASUC along with their financial reports after the elections.

The YS slate's successful defense against the harassment of the Judicial Committee, is an important if limited victory for democratic rights on the Berkeley campus. It is necessary to continue this fight, through the elimination of all repressive electoral regulations. ■

Young Spartacus

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YSP 55

Kent State...

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ceptive to the SYL's opposition to discussions with the administration and the presence of ROTC at Kent State.

It was the brazen liberalism of the student government bureaucrats, many of whom found their way into the leadership of the May 4th Coalition, which channeled student protest into worthless proposals for "dialogue" and negotiation with the administration. Student demands for minimal redressment were to have been bartered off, simply to be raised as agenda points at the Board of Trustees meetings. It was these same student "officials" who had recently slashed the budget of the Black United Students by 50 percent and then offered to "support" the vehement reaction of the black students—which culminated in a sit-in—by leading a Coalition delegation to present them with... a basket of apples!

The proposals of these petty-careerists were roundly defeated by the SYL and other militants. The clear mandate to the steering committee elected during the plenary was that these demands were not negotiable. There was to be no reliance upon the administration. There were to be no backroom deals.

Nonetheless, in flagrant and repeated violation of the sentiment of the students, these aspiring bureaucrats spent hours in closed-door negotiations. In addition they dispatched an unauthorized letter with the groveling request that "the floor [of the Trustees meeting] be opened for input from representatives officially designated by the May 4th Coalition."

At the next Coalition steering committee meeting, the SYL submitted a resolution calling for the condemnation of the behind-the-back negotiations and the defeatist strategy of spineless prostration before the administration. This was defeated in the steering committee—with the YSA and RSB voting unanimously against the resolution.

ROTC Off Campus!

The second part of the SYL resolution demanded that as a concrete blow against U.S. imperialism the May 4th Coalition should take up the demand, "ROTC Off Campus!"—a demand in the tradition of the original May 4 protest. The May 1970 massacre took place in the context of militant demonstrations at Kent against the despised ROTC, and the ROTC building was burned down. As the SYL pointed out in its leaflet,

"ROTC trains the future killers of students, blacks and workers; the future officer corps who protect imperialist interests in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Mid East. We have no interest in providing a training ground for those who massacre our fellow students and workers around the world! ROTC must go—it is the central question of any real struggle in the tradition of the 1970 campus uprisings against the invasion of Cambodia."

In fact, throughout the recent May 4th Coalition protests, the U.S. Marine

Corps flaunted a recruiting table in the student center!

But the student bureaucrats, the RSB and some members of the YSA voted against the second part of the resolution. With the defeat of its motion the SYL was forced to split from a steering committee and coalition which was prepared to negotiate away to the administration the already agreed upon demands and which *de facto* sanctioned the overt presence of ROTC and Marine recruiters on the Kent State campus.

Finally on May 12, the dream of the Coalition misleaders—a constructive "dialogue" with the administration—came within their reach. But when over 500 people packed into the scheduled Board of Trustees meeting, these "respectable representatives" found themselves unable to control the student anger by persuasion alone—so they assumed the role of *policing* the meeting for the Trustees. Repeatedly these self-proclaimed marshals would demand silence when students confronted the obvious subterfuge of the Trustees. Finally, after two "pro-gym" students were paraded before the body, the demonstrators walked out and marched to the gym site.

However, the defeatist strategy of the Coalition's leadership had already taken its toll. Upon reaching the gym site the Coalition was reduced to calling on everyone to hold hands and observe a moment of silence. Following that spectacle, the final death blows were dealt to the perspective of struggle against the Trustees: the first of the seventy tents were pitched and a "live-in" was begun.

While the Coalition has called for another demonstration this June 4, this in no way indicates a change in the leadership's strategy. A committee of 15 (including the RSB) has been formed to "negotiate" with the administration. From the outset, the Coalition leadership sought not to build, but to narrow, both the political and organizational base of the struggle against the administration. The student government bureaucrats have already done the administration's dirty work by cutting the budget of the Black United Students—thus dividing the student body. And the demand for solidarity with the faculty union was quickly shunted into the background by the Coalition's leadership!

The 1977 version of Kent State protest unfortunately falls far short of the militancy of students who seven years ago actively sought to stop the American imperialist assault on Indochina. The SYL demands that the original sit-in demands be met—but these are far from sufficient. The killers of the Jackson State and Kent State students must be jailed. Moreover, the recruiting force for the officer corps of imperialism's army—the General Westmorelands and Lieutenant Calley's of tomorrow—still exists at Kent State. It is not for nothing that ROTC was one of the central focuses of the 1970 demonstrations. And it is because we remember why the four Kent State students died that we demand: **ROTC Off Campus!**

Spain...

continued from page 12

Syndicalist-Maoists, such as the Spanish Labor Party (PTE) and Revolutionary Workers Organization (ORT) have themselves entered into one or another of the kaleidoscopic popular-front alliances, and together with the fake-Trotskyist Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Spanish affiliate of the fake-internationalist United Secretariat of the Fourth International) were party to the infamous "Barcelona Communiqué"—a joint declaration with bourgeois forces (including the popular-front Asamblea de Cataluña and the Carlists) which sows illusions by appealing to the Francoist state for



The SYL recently sponsored a series of forums entitled "Spain: Powderkeg of Revolution" which were held in Madison, Chicago, Toronto and Detroit. A focus of the presentations by SYL National Committee member Samuel Lewis was the Marxist position on the upcoming Spanish elections.

"the reestablishment of all democratic and national rights, notably that of unrestricted amnesty, [that] would allow advance toward democracy in a climate of democratic tolerance" (*Rouge*, 30 January 1977). Since then, the LCR has gone on to propose "a united slate of workers candidates," but on the basis of an explicitly reformist program which fails to go beyond the call for a bourgeois "republic" in Spain. Meanwhile, the other Spanish affiliate of the "United" Secretariat, the Liga Comunista, has found its way to "strategic unity" with the social-democratic UGT trade-union federation, seeking only "to be a sector of its left wing which fights for unity and the socialist society" (*Cambio* 16, 18 October 1976).

An authentic Trotskyist party in Spain would champion the democratic

demands which fuel the militant street protests against Francoism: freedom for the prisoners of Francoist terror; for the right to national self-determination for the Basques and Catalans; for the legalization of all working-class parties and for the convocation of a constituent assembly. But these democratic rights cannot be separated from the struggle to overthrow capitalism in Spain, which requires an uncompromising opposition to all forms of popular frontism at each step. The white-hot pre-revolutionary situation prevailing in Spain today poses the need to develop the episodic organs of working-class struggle (the factory and strike committees) into soviets—the basis for proletarian power. Forward to a Spanish Trotskyist party, section of a reformed Fourth International! For Workers Revolution in Spain! ■

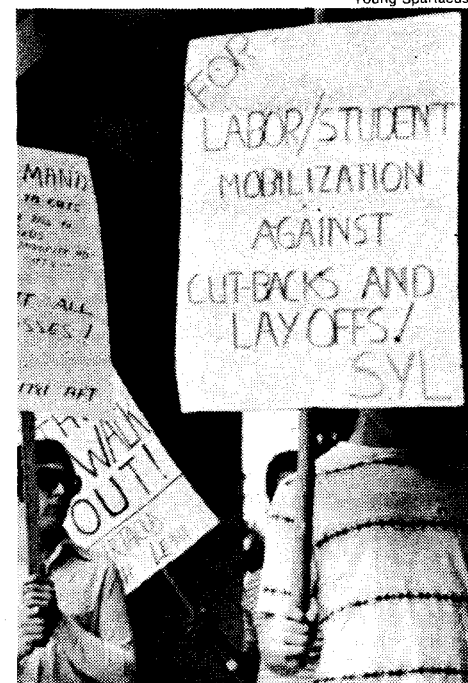
TA Walk-Out at UCLA

LOS ANGELES—Teaching assistants (TA's) at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) walked off their jobs last month, sparking a series of protest demonstrations against administration attempts to slash jobs and curricula. The two-day work stoppage by TA's organized in the Student Academic Employees Union (AFT Local 1781) was directed against the outrageous proposal to eliminate 60 to 90 teaching assistantships (about 10 percent of the total) and to completely do away with lower division foreign language classes.

The TA strike intersected a well-spring of grievances against the administration. Black and Chicano students not only face the consequences of the reactionary Bakke decision, which ruled that the existing UC admissions quota system was unconstitutional on the basis that it discriminated against whites; they also face administration attempts to rescind token gains won in the past—such as "student input" into the law school admissions decisions. In addition, the Black Student Alliance office has been attacked by late-night racist marauders.

Widespread student discontent was evident at a massive rally on April 29. Approximately 1,000 students, teachers and workers marched through the campus and classes were emptied in support of the TA strike and in protest of the Bakke decision.

The TA strike has again proved the crucial necessity of shutting down an entire campus and *respecting picket lines* in order to win university labor actions. But the leadership of AFSCME Local 2070, the main campus union, found only enough labor solidarity to have AFSCME members walk the picket lines during their lunch break, while refusing to shut down the university. Meanwhile, the so-called socialist groups on campus all reject this fundamental axis of militant unionism. The Communist Party wholeheartedly endorsed the policies of the AFSCME tops. The Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade openly crossed picket lines in



front of a struck building to fetch its Stalinist literature. And the reformist Progressive Labor Party could muster only enough militancy to demand an immediate strike—of foreign language TA's only.

The SYL recognizes that victory for campus labor actions like the TA strike at UCLA requires respecting picket lines, shutting down the entire campus and organizing all teachers and university workers into a single campus-wide union. An SYL leaflet distributed during the strike drew the class line against scabbing and called on students, teachers and campus workers to honor the picket lines and not work, teach or go to class during the walk-out. Moreover, unorganized TA's (the vast majority) must be organized to support the demands of the TA strike.

The solution to cutbacks and discrimination against minority students is to win open admissions to universities with state-provided living stipend for all. This requires the nationalization of private universities and the replacement of the administration of all institutions of higher education with student/teacher/campus-worker control.

CLASSES

Spartacus Youth League

NEW YORK: "Building the U.S. Bolshevik Party"; 1st class: "The Foundations of Bolshevism"; Tuesday June 14 at 7:30 p.m.; 260 West Broadway, Room 522; call: (212) 925-5665.

Trotskyist League of Canada

VANCOUVER: "Problems of World Revolution"; Thursday, June 9 and 30 at 7:30 p.m.; Britannia Community Center, (Senior Citizens Lounge), Commercial at Napier; call: (604) 291-8993.

Young Spartacus

Spanish Workers Have No Candidate

Bloodshed and Betrayal in Francoist Elections

For the first time since the defeat of the Second Republic in 1939, the Spanish working masses will participate in legislative elections this June 15. The dramatic concessions wrested from Franco's hated heirs by the militant Spanish proletariat have resulted in the legalization of the Communist Party (PCE) and the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party (PSOE). Today the heads of the PCE, Santiago Carrillo and Dolores Ibarruri ("La Pasionaria") openly campaign for the Cortes (parliament), while the pillars of Francoism, the National Movement and the corporatist CNS syndicate have all but disintegrated. Not since 1936 have slates of the predominant Spanish workers parties been represented on a nationwide ballot.

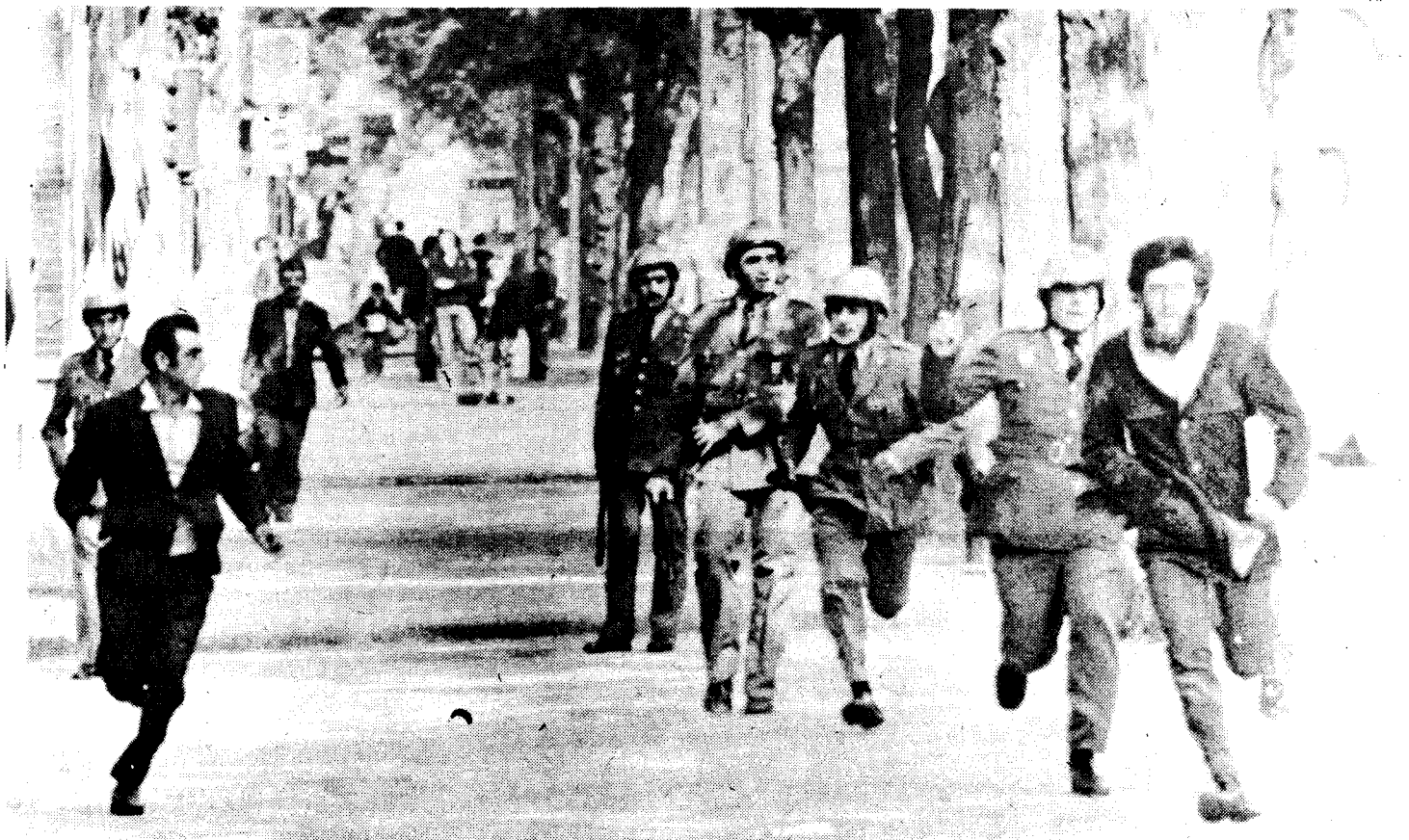
The Fraud of "Francoist Reforms"

The Spanish parliamentary elections do not, however, take place within the framework of bourgeois democracy. The much-heralded "Francoist reforms" are the desperate attempts of the despised bonapartist regime of King Juan Carlos to placate the mounting working-class militancy; while the regime has grudgingly legalized the reformist PCE and PSOE, all other workers parties remain illegal, denied any role in the election. Above all, the repressive state apparatus of forty years of Francoist totalitarianism remains intact. The Basque region in particular lives in a state of unleashed police terror, while elsewhere in Spain vicious police repression is almost an everyday occurrence, as was demonstrated by the savage cop assault upon May Day demonstrators. In addition, militant workers and leftist students are subjected to repeated attacks by the numerous fascist death squads, what these blood-thirsty paramilitary gangs term their "strategy of tension."

Under the "Francoist reforms" the bicameral Cortes is to have 41 members of the upper house directly appointed by King Juan Carlos; that is, the Cortes' functions are restricted by the role of the monarchy as the legal form of rule. The much-heralded "Francoist democracy" is a fraud! Nevertheless, communists do not on principle absent themselves from participation in the electoral process. The Spanish elections could be used as a forum for class-struggle opposition to the forty years of Francoist barbarism.

No Vote for Popular Fronts!

However, in the coming elections neither the PCE nor the PSOE represents, even in a qualitatively deformed



The face of Francoist "democracy": cops assault May Day demonstrators in Madrid.

expression, a working-class alternative. Despite their proletarian base, both of these reformist (bourgeois) workers parties are qualitatively compromised by their present popular-front alliances with bourgeois parties ranging from nationalists and Christian Democrats all the way to Bourbon and Carlist monarchists.

Both the PSOE and the PCE have long since dropped even the vestige of opposition to the government of Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez. While PSOE-head Felipe González leaves open the possibility of entering a Suárez "center-left" coalition, the PCE proves its "respectability" by endorsing NATO, repudiating the communist goal of a dictatorship of the proletariat and taking up the Francoist flag "as their own." Moreover, the PCE rejects its own former position, "No to the Francoist Monarchy," in favor of the recent central committee declaration, "if the monarchy continues to advance on the track of reestablishing liberty and democracy, the communists seated in the next Cortes will be able to consider the crown as the constitutional regime" (*Rouge*, 18 April 1977).

By committing their parties to a "multi-class" (but in fact *bourgeois*) common program with sections of the capitalist class, the PCE and PSOE tops thereby subvert the most fundamental principle of working-class politics: the *political independence*

of the proletariat from the exploiting classes. As long as the PCE or PSOE remain wedded to popular-front formations (i.e., to cling to Franco's heirs as appendages of the capitalist class) a vote for these parties would only reaffirm the politics of class collaboration which so treacherously paved the way for Franco's seizure of power two generations ago. Thus, Marxists must stand in *conditional opposition* to the PCE and PSOE. As a precondition for any sort of electoral support we demand that these parties break with their bourgeois bloc partners and present themselves in the elections in open opposition to the Francoist regime.

Basque Boycott of Elections

Furthermore, there are regions of Spain where Marxists must call for a total active boycott of the elections as a whole. In areas where state and extra-legal right-wing terror is so intense, or where parties representing substantial proportions of working people are still outlawed, the elections are simply a vote of confidence in the Francoist terrorist regime. This most certainly is the case in the Basque region, where hundreds of thousands of workers have repeatedly struck for the release of left-wing political prisoners and an end to the Guardia Civil state of siege. One typical account which recently appeared in the *New*

York Times (3 April) describes the level of repression:

"Several thousand youths were squeezed into the small plaza [listening to music] on one recent Sunday when, at 10:15 P.M., six Land Rovers of the paramilitary Civil Guard drew up and disgorged angry, uniformed men who began clubbing wildly with the butts of their submachine guns while others fired hard, round rubber bullets at short range..."
"For two hours, the green uniformed guardsmen rampaged through the narrow streets..."

As brave Basque militants continue to be shot down by the police and all political gatherings are subject to wanton terror, there can be no talk of "free" elections. To go along with the government's "democratic" pretensions under such conditions would be tantamount to crossing a picket line: an act of fundamental class betrayal.

For a Trotskyist Party in Spain!

The pre-revolutionary crisis in Spain cries out for the intervention of an authentic Trotskyist party. No less than the PCE and PSOE, the various Spanish centrist organizations have demonstrated their inability to steer the proletariat clear of popular-front betrayals to the road of the revolutionary seizure of state power.

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