

Young Spartacus

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S.F. strikers, March 1974.

Strike Wave!

How Communist Youth Support Workers Struggles

The 1972-1973 lull in the U.S. class struggle has come to an end. At the beginning of this year, the bourgeois establishment could hardly restrain its pleasure and amazement that the American labor bureaucracy had been able to effectively suppress rank-and-file discontent and militancy in the face of price gouging and runaway inflation combined with record corporate profits.

The American bourgeoisie was especially pleased with its lieutenants in the labor movement because, while workers in other advanced industrial countries were fighting for and winning record wage increases, the American working class was suffering a significant fall in real income.

West Germany and Japan, where myth has it that workers are "disciplined" and "not prone to strikes," were shaken in 1973 by massive strike waves, leading to increases in industrial wages of 13 and 25 percent, respectively. In the U.S., on the other hand, industrial wages increased only 8 percent. According to the *Economist* (14 June 1974), in the past year real wages in the U.S. have fallen by more than 7 percent.

In the beginning of this year, A.H. Raskin could write in the *New York Times* (17 February) about "Labor, the Sleeping Giant" whose "wage settlements remained moderate while work time lost through strikes has dropped close to an all-time

low of one day in 700." But now the Giant has awoken and the leading capitalist paper in the U.S. runs headlines like "Wages Spurt, Strikes Rise; Major Settlements Ahead" (*New York Times*, 29 June 1974), where we read that the "number of strikes jumped to more than 500 in May and June from 250 to 300 earlier."

Coalminers' and SF City Workers' Strikes

The character of these strikes was anticipated by the West Virginia coalminers' strike against discriminatory gasoline rationing and the San Francisco city employees' strike (see "Class Peace Breaks Down," *Workers Vanguard* No. 41, 29 March 1974). The coalminers' strike was a wildcat which bypassed the so-called "progressive" and "democratic" Miller leadership of the United Mine Workers (UMW), while the San Francisco strike was contained by the official trade union bureaucracy.

Nevertheless, both strikes shared the following characteristics: (1) They were local actions not part of nationwide or industrywide struggles; (2) although beginning with modest goals, these strikes released enormous pent-up

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Berkeley "Crim School" Struggle—

Cops and Cop Training Off Campus!

Fight Administration
Repression!

No Faculty Firings!

The marches, demonstrations and building seizures that took place at the University of California Berkeley campus at the end of May mark the first major student protests there since the spring 1972 strike against the mining of Haiphong Harbor. The struggle, focussing on the preservation of the University's Criminology School, brought many other issues to the fore as well—academic "freedom," budget cutbacks, administration repression, racism and sexism. The events were marked by a political struggle between the petty-bourgeois, reformist, community-control-of-the-police politics of the Revolutionary Union-dominated Radical Student Union, the Young Workers Liberation League and the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance all united against the class-struggle, anti-cop stand of the Revolutionary Communist Youth.

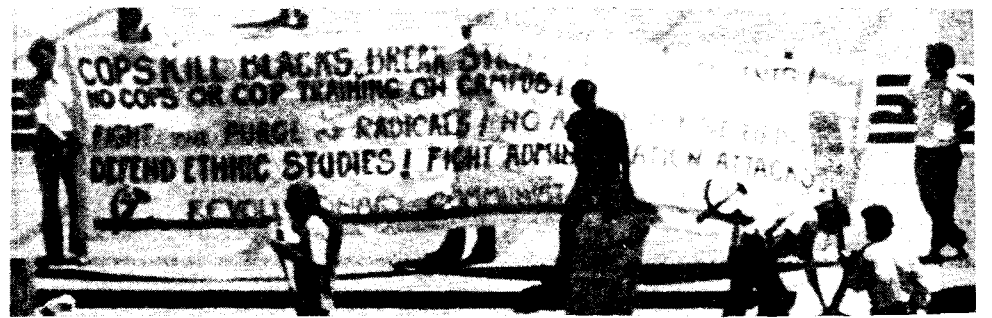
Behind the Administration's attempt to shut down the Criminology School was its desire to purge the School of various radical elements which had over a period of time become part of its faculty. The specific cop-training aspects of the Crim School were to be transferred to other University departments.

The Crim School, founded in 1948 "as a center for professionalizing the police and for making public security a science," under the impact of the

campus upheavals of the 1960's began to experience an influx of radical sociologists who attempted to "free the discipline [criminology] from the artificial restriction of the legal definition of crime and to formulate a human rights rather than property rights definition and to examine the criminal justice system from the perspective of the victims rather than the victimizers" (*Save the Crim School*, published by the Committee to Save Crim). With this influx of radical sociologists and the attempt to focus the curriculum on "who the real criminals are" (Nixon and his ilk) and the real crimes (racism, sexism, imperialism, exploitation), the Crim School began to become rather inefficient as a school for training cops and, when the faculty began to become involved in campus "disturbances," e.g., the "retaking of People's Park" in 1971, the Administration began to weave designs for removing this radical sore spot and shift criminology training to other areas of the University where it could train its "sophisticated" cops efficiently and in peace. So began a campaign of academic repression and attempted purges of radical professors.

Radical-"Good Cop" Alliance

But the leadership of the opposition to closing the Crim School had a "positive" as well as a "negative" iron in the fire in the campaign. They were not only fighting *against* academic repression and an Administration purge of radicals, they were also fighting *for* something—better and more sophisticated, more humanitarian, less racist, less sexist cops. They were



RCY banner at Berkeley.

fighting for a program of community control of the police.

The *Save the Crim School* pamphlet attempted to project a fair-minded, respectable attitude:

"It should be emphasized that this type of course work [radical sociology courses] exists along with courses and field work in the traditional field of criminology; it is a misconception to see the School as having been 'taken over' by 'radicals.'"

This "reasonable" and "balanced" approach appeared repeatedly in the campaign. At a rally called by the Committee to Save Crim, an invited, indeed the central, speaker was Sheriff Hongisto of San Francisco, a Crim School alumnus. In a letter to Chancellor Bowker, Hongisto had written:

"I fear that you have the mistaken belief that the school has no impact on the criminal justice systems and that its graduates do not participate in them in any ongoing way. Nothing could be further from the truth."

When Tony Platt, a radical sociologist under the Administration's axe and one of the prominent figures in the "Save the Crim School" struggle was confronted by the RCY's stand

that all cops and cop-training should be removed from the campus because the social role of *all* cops is as the repressive arm of the bourgeois state, Platt replied, "That's where we differ." Not only the old New Lefters, but also the Revolutionary Union (RU)/Radical Student Union (RSU) Maoists, Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) ex-Trotskyists, the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) Stalinists and "liberal" Sheriff Hongisto were all presumably struggling together for a Crim School with an enlightened "impact on the criminal justice systems." The struggle took on a character not only *against* Administration repression and "bad" cops, but also *for* "good" cops and the reform of the Crim School so as to produce these "friends of the oppressed."

This led to such bizarre scenes as the one on 6 June at a "vigil" at the Chancellor's house when a speaker pointed to a cordon of armed police in riot helmets surrounding the house, noted that they were just people doing a job like anyone else and called on the students to applaud their "fine"

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EDITORIAL NOTES

New Left Memorial Service at Kent State

KENT—On 4 May, a rally numbering 6-10,000 people was held at the Kent State University Commons as a joint commemoration for the students killed in the 1970 demonstration and as a protest against the continuing war in Indochina, the Kent-Jackson cover-ups and the Watergate Administration.

The brutal killings on the two campuses were followed by a massive and militant nationwide student strike. A lot of rhetoric has since been spewed forth about ensuring that the deaths of the Kent 4 and Jackson 2 "will not be in vain." However, the continued dominance of the liberal politics put forth at the rally can only ensure that they will be in vain.

Sponsored by the Indochina Peace Campaign (IPC) and the Kent Student Union, the rally featured Jane Fonda, Daniel Ellsberg, Judy Collins and Julian Bond, as well as lesser-known activists of the same reformist stripe, and was the "radical answer" to a series of events sponsored by the University Administration (including the dedication of a "May 4 Room," an all-night candlelight vigil at the scene of the deaths and a speech by Peter Davies, author of *The Truth About Kent State* and a former Nixon supporter).

The rally and workshops following it differed from the Administration-sponsored events only in that a veneer of left rhetoric was used in an



PEOPLE

Kent State
1970

attempt to disguise open calls for reform of the system and open reliance on bourgeois legalism and respectability as the medium of change.

Each speaker hailed the crowd as a rebirth of the "mass movement," but the picnic-like atmosphere, absence of any militancy whatsoever and dominance of liberalism proclaimed it to be instead a memorial service not just for the Kent 4 but for the entire New Left. The crowd enthusiastically cheered such statements as "We must tell Congress to protect the Constitution in war and peace as well as in burglary and bugging" (Ellsberg)—a clear acceptance of the capitalist system.

The RCY intervened in the workshops and distributed a leaflet at the rally which raised a full revolutionary program for a class-struggle anti-war movement and for victory to the Vietnamese revolution, as part of the world-wide proletarian struggle for socialism. We called for opposition to the Stalinist-reformist line held by the IPC, Communist Party, Revolutionary Union and Attica Brigade of support to the peace treaty whose statutes legitimize the Thieu regime.

In Tom Hayden's workshop on Vietnam an Attica Brigader told an RCYer that "you might learn something" from Hayden and did not appear embarrassed when Hayden pushed the IPC line of intensive lobbying in Congress to reduce U.S. aid to Thieu and of building "a determined public opinion and an active Congress" to halt "illegal acts and cover-up policies by the White House" (*Peace or New War in Indochina*, IPC pamphlet).

The Attica Brigade said nothing to protest Hayden's reliance on the bourgeoisie and hissed when the RCY raised its opposition to these politics. As against Hayden, the RCY pointed out that a successful fight to stop U.S. aid to the brutally oppressive Thieu regime can only be accomplished by class-struggle means, not by pressuring the bourgeoisie or allying with "good" or "liberal" capitalists against "bad."

The Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists (COUSML), a small Maoist sect, balked at Hayden's blatant capitulation to the ruling class and blocked with the RCY on the impotence of lobbying and the necessity of orienting to the working class, but failed to see that this was in contradiction to its position of support to the peace treaty—a deal between imperialists and Stalinist bureaucrats made *against* the working masses. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) made its usual statement calling for mass demonstrations in the streets.

The 1970 killings and the nationwide student strike following them did not end the Indochina War. To celebrate militant student protest (of which there was precious little at the rally) as leading somehow spontaneously to a revolutionary

movement, as do the *Guardian*, the IPC, the Attica Brigade and the SWP, is to consciously obscure the fact that all of the anti-war protests and marches combined have culminated only in an imperialist "peace" in Vietnam and the dissipation of student radicalism on the campuses.

The deaths of the Kent and Jackson State students will be avenged only when Nixon and the class he represents are brought to trial for their crimes by a proletarian dictatorship; peace can only come in Vietnam when socialist revolution is triumphant in all of Indochina.

Liberalism Dominates Anti-Ford/Nixon Rally at U. of Mich.

ANN ARBOR—Nixon's mismanagement of the capitalist economy and his flagrant disregard for the proprieties of American constitutional politics has led to the growing opposition within the ruling class to Nixon's use of methods usually reserved for the left and union militants against his political opponents in the bourgeoisie.

This opposition wants to get rid of Nixon, avoiding impeachment if possible, while their lackeys in the labor movement, the union bureaucrats, have embraced the impeachment campaign in order to revitalize their own damaged image in the eyes of their working-class base and to effectively channel workers' discontent into the acceptable confines of bourgeois democratic politics. Meanwhile, the real crimes of the ruling class—its attacks on the living standards of the working class and its systematic slaughter of workers and peasants in Vietnam—remain unchallenged.

The ostensibly revolutionary left has not been the last to jump on the bandwagon of the Democratic Party's impeachment campaign. In Ann Arbor on 4 May (the fourth anniversary of the Kent State massacre) the scheduling of Gerald Ford to speak at commencement ceremonies provided an occasion for these "socialists" to give a militant facade to their uncritical support to the impeachment drive and to eulogize the "good old days" of the New Left's impotent, moral-pacifist "mass anti-war movement."

After two planning meetings where the programs of the different organizations were bargained away in an attempt to reach a lowest common denominator for a political bloc, the Revolutionary Union, the Attica Brigade, the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists and the Radical Student Union (RSU—an Ann Arbor-based grouping of New American Movement-type New Leftists) called a demonstration around the slogans, "Ford Has the Same Idea," "Impeachment Is Not Enough" and "Remember Kent State and Jackson State." In addition, the planning coalition for the demonstration put out pro-impeachment propaganda, in the name of the coalition, limited to these politics.

While supporting the proposed slogans as a minimum basis for a united-front demonstration ("Impeachment Is Not Enough" was originally raised by the Spartacist League, at a time when most of the left was simply cheering on the Democrats' impeachment drive), the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY) refused to participate in this watered-down political bloc for propaganda. Our proposal for an RCY speaker at the rally was turned down, as the coalition wanted to avoid giving a hearing to working-class politics and thereby alienating the liberals.

About 150 people came to the rally and picket line. They were addressed by spokesmen for the demonstration committee, the RSU, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and a Human Rights Party city councilman from Ypsilanti, a nearby town. The rally was characterized by the inability of any of the speakers or sponsoring organizations to offer a political alternative to the capitalist parties. The failure to raise a programmatic alternative, the focussing of their attacks on Ford and Nixon as individuals and their uncritical support to the impeachment campaign represented a tailing of liberals and labor bureaucrats and backhanded support to the Democratic Party.

The ex-Trotskyist SWP/YSA, in an attempt to distinguish their brand of capitulation to popular anti-Nixon sentiment from that of the other fake lefts, raised the ridiculous demand, "Dump Nixon by Extra-Parliamentary Means" but failed to specify what "means" they had in mind. Nationally, the SWP has posed its court suit against the government as the "socialist answer to Watergate"; thus we can only assume that, for the SWP, the bourgeois courts represent the alternative arena to Congress for the most effective fight against Nixon. We are too familiar with the SWP's love for respectability to think they mean "picking up the gun."

The SWP, which mocked the "Impeachment Is Not Enough" slogan when the Spartacist League first raised it, now finds itself compelled to support it (only because it is becoming popular, of course). Floundering in the cocktail parties of its Watersuit, the SWP feels the need of a slogan which suggests it engages in some activity outside the courts and Congress. Unlike the Spartacist League and RCY which put forward a concrete class-struggle program along with the "Impeachment Is Not Enough" slogan, the SWP prefers the vagueness and flexibility that will let it shift with the mood of petty-bourgeois pro-impeachment forces.

The RCY, while refusing to liquidate its program by participating in the sponsoring committee, took part in the demonstration to affirm support for removing Nixon from office, while raising a concrete program to insure that the choice of his successor will not be left to the same ruling class whose interests Nixon represents.

In order to maximize their mobility in the struggle against the capitalist system, workers must support Nixon's impeachment because of his infringement on civil liberties. But workers must go beyond that and call for labor action, building toward a general strike, to force immediate presidential elections and to run a union-based candidate on an anti-capitalist, class-struggle program.

Far more important to the working class, however, than Nixon's disrespect for the more democratic elements of bourgeois constitutionalism are the capitalists' direct attacks on the working class throughout the world. These attacks can only be combated by a conscious struggle to replace the rule of capital with a workers government that would expropriate the capitalist class.

As a first step, revolutionaries must build caucuses in the trade unions, based on a militant class-struggle program, in order to win the class away from its present leadership, the "labor lieutenants" of capital. The RCY's class-struggle slogans made it a clear revolutionary pole at the otherwise essentially liberal demonstration.

LETTER

Boston,

Dear Comrades,

The article "Vietnamese Stalinists Cancel Offensive" (*YSp* No. 23, May-June) states (referring to the 1954 Geneva accords) that the "Stalinists willingly accepted this deal, saying they would construct socialism in the North" and also that they sought a "peaceful transition to socialism through democratic elections in the South."

This gives the Stalinists far too much credit. Then as now, their objective was a coalition government with the Vietnamese capitalists, to be formed, at that time, through "free, democratic" elections in all of Vietnam, and not just the South. To make this possible, no nationalizations were carried out in the 1954-1956 period, to avoid alienating the "patriotic-minded" bourgeoisie.

Ho's Tenth Anniversary of National Day speech in September 1955 calls for expanding small industry, which he distinguishes from the state sector, composed solely of "national bank, trading concerns." Ho's letter to cadres on the land reform of 18 August 1956 criticizes subordinates for "not establishing a sincere alliance with the rich peasants" and failing to "pay attention to those landlords who have taken part in the Resistance and supported the revolution or those whose children are enrolled in the army or working as cadres."

The party slogan was construction, not of socialism, but of "an independent, unified, democratic, free, prosperous and strong Vietnam, a new democratic Vietnam" (speech at Second Congress of Vietnam Workers Party, February 1951). Not until after the complete impracticability of creating a coalition government became evident and the U.S.-backed and -armed puppet Diem regime had clearly become a real threat, organizing subversion in the North and starting to make threats to "march North," did the Vietnamese Communist Party officially adopt a line to "construct socialism in the North."

Comradely,
John Holbrouck

Note to our readers:

Young Spartacus will return to its regular 12-page format in the fall.

Printers Strike at Harvard- Administration Blocks Organizing Drive



ing power in the light of a 14.5 percent inflation.

Rejecting Harvard's offer, the printers have declared that pay raises linked to the cost of living are the main issue. What is needed is a demand for a full cost-of-living escalator, for a sliding scale of wages to keep pace with inflation, linked to a fight against unemployment through the call for sliding scale of hours. Such a demand would speak to the immediate needs of all members of the printing trades and the working class in general and can win the Harvard workers widespread labor support.

To solidify its gains and enable the union to fight genuinely for working-class interests, it is also necessary to call for union control of hiring and an end to all racial and sexual discrimination in hiring, upgrading and wages.

For a Campus-Wide Industrial Union!

Harvard, like other universities, is a bastion of anti-unionism with the work force largely unorganized or in isolated, archaic craft unions. Faced with affiliation of the typesetters to the GAIU and a DC 65 (Distributive Process and Allied Workers) organizing drive of clerical workers, Harvard attaches great importance to defeating this strike, as a victory would be an impetus to further unionization.

Harvard has in fact granted an across-the-board \$300-a-year raise to all non-union employees as an obvious attempt to undercut the organizing drive and isolate the GAIU. This raise does not even begin to keep pace with inflation and without a union Harvard workers will lack the organizational

basis to protect their standard of living.

The DC 65 and GAIU organizing drives should be extended to all unorganized campus workers including part-time workers and faculty members (no administrators or campus cops!). This would be a step toward building a campus-wide industrial union to overcome the craft divisions which allow Harvard to play off one section of the workers against the other and maintain the operation of the University while waiting out an isolated strike.

RCY Strike Support

The RCY has participated heavily in supporting the strike: walking the picket lines, leafletting and petitioning to urge wide student support. We have pointed out that the rampant inflation which Harvard printers are fighting and the cutbacks in social services also result in the driving up of tuition and reduction in financial aid and special education programs. This in turn maintains and reinforces Harvard's class and racial exclusiveness.

The RCY has raised demands for open admissions with stipend to make higher education available to all regardless of ability to pay, abolish the Board of Trustees and nationalize Harvard under faculty-student-worker control. These demands cannot be seen as some sort of special "student" demands while the workers fight for higher wages; questions of education and social services in general are of vital interest to the working class.

The RCY initially participated in the steering committee of the "Student Strike Support Committee" (SSSC) along with the Party for Workers Power/SDS, the New American Movement, the Harringtonite Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the Union of Radical

Political Economists and the Attica Brigade.

RCY Opposes Sectarianism of Strike Support Committee

Early in the strike differences arose within the SSSC reflecting the RCY's principled united-front approach vs. the sectarian reformism of the other participating groups. The RCY argued that all groups actively supporting the strike should have the right to speak at a projected rally thereby allowing the widest possible support for the strike by not requiring agreement with a full set of demands. The other organizations argued for a single coalition speaker (although at the rally they slipped in an additional Harvard economics professor).

When this proposal passed, an RCY spokesman stated that the RCY could not support such a rally but that we wished to continue to work with all those groups that supported the strike. The meeting then passed a motion (with the RCY, one SDSer and one independent voting against) that only groups supporting all decisions of the SSSC could participate in the steering committee. This amounted to a bureaucratic exclusion of the RCY and we walked out of the meeting, along with the SDSer and independent.

The SSSC has continually pushed reliance on public opinion as a winning strike strategy. Its latest effort was the distribution of buttons and armbands reading "GAIU" at commencement. The RCY in contrast has pointed out that while "public opinion" is a factor in a strike Harvard will not give in just to "save face." It is only when faced with a combative, organized and conscious work force, with broad and militant support from other layers, that Harvard will be forced to yield. ■

Since 9 April printers of locals 300 and 160 of the Graphic Arts International Union (GAIU) of the AFL-CIO have been striking against Harvard University. Averaging less than \$8500 yearly, \$2400 below the area union scale, the union is seeking wage increases of 10 to 14 percent, which would still leave the GAIU \$1000 below union levels. The typesetters, all of whom are women, earn only slightly more than \$4000 annually.

It was only after the strike had gone on for ten weeks that Harvard even began negotiations. These consisted in the Administration's agreement to consider the demands and to enter into another bargaining session on 24 June. The Administration's only concrete offer thus far has been a 5.5 percent wage increase which, as the union points out, would amount to a decrease of from 5 to 9 percent in the workers' purchas-

Strike Wave!

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militancy and rapidly escalated into major industrial/political confrontations with the capitalist class; (3) the enormous combativity generated by these strikes was dissipated in settlements for token and marginal gains. These two strikes represented the clarion call of the present strike wave and these three characteristics have, in general, defined recent strikes.

The coalminers' strike was of particular importance because it demonstrated the treacherous role of the UMW Miller leadership and the inability of sheer rank-and-file militancy to provide an alternative. Thus, at first Miller denied there was a strike; then he tried to sabotage it by calling on miners who could get gasoline to go to work and thereby cross the picket lines and break the strike.

Need for a Class-Struggle Leadership

The miners ignored Miller and the strike was 100 percent solid. But because the strike did not have a leadership committed to a class-struggle program, the workers made no real gains. The West Virginia coalminers can once again get gasoline—at inflated, exorbitant prices. They can go to work once again—in notoriously unsafe mines for very long hours (while other miners go without work) and for a paycheck whose purchasing power is eaten up by inflation.

A class-struggle leadership would have demonstrated in the course of this struggle that the only answer to inflation and unemployment is a sliding scale of wages and hours (full cost-of-living escalator and a shorter work week with no loss in pay) and that the

only answer to the "energy crisis," "environment crisis" and dangerous, unhealthy working conditions is the replacement of private ownership by social ownership of the means of production through the expropriation of industry under workers control.

Such a leadership must oppose and seek to replace Miller, whose election "victory" was supervised by 1000 officials from the Nixon Administration. It must stand for the organizational independence of the unions from the capitalist state and for the political independence of the working class from the parties of capitalism through the formation of a workers party that will fight for a workers government.

Such a leadership will not be spontaneously generated by the class struggle, even when the class struggle passes over the heads of the official union bureaucracy, as occurred in the miners' wildcat and in the more recent wildcat at Dodge Truck. Nor will such a leadership be built by giving "critical" and not-so-critical support to known class traitors like Arnold Miller whose almost total reliance on the courts and Nixon Administration to remove the Boyle regime established very dangerous precedents compromising the independence of the unions from the capitalist state.

A class-struggle leadership can be built only through the intersection of the practical experience of the working class with the program of proletarian revolution embodied in the revolutionary vanguard party and its conscious links to the mass movement. The Spartacist League (SL) represents the nucleus of this party in the U.S. today. The current strike wave presents an important opportunity both for the SL and its youth section, the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY),

to strengthen the communist opposition within the labor movement.

RCY and the Strike Wave

As the RCY stated in its founding programmatic statement, *Youth, Class and Party*, we seek to become the "student/youth auxiliary of the communist opposition within the labor movement." The rest of the left has almost entirely abrogated its responsibility for presenting a proletarian perspective to students.

On the one hand groups like the International Socialists, Revolutionary Socialist League, Class Struggle League, Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League and the Workers League/Young Socialists have in the main abandoned the campuses. For the IS, RSL and CSL, it reflects their petty-bourgeois workerism. The CP is so rightist that it was simply bypassed by the student upsurges in the late sixties and has never been able to get a foothold on the campuses. The WL/YS has left the campuses out of their very justified fear that their rotten politics cannot stand up in open competition and polemical struggle.

On the other hand, groups like the Revolutionary Union and Progressive Labor have a thoroughly reformist-economist approach to working-class struggles; on the campuses this translates into the petty-bourgeois radicalism of the Attica Brigade's adolescent antics and academic liberalism of SDS's anti-racist-ideas campaign.

Insofar as any of these groups attempt to mobilize student support for workers' struggle, they do so in classic social-democratic fashion as the student-youth auxiliary of the trade union bureaucracy. The CP/YWLL, the assorted Maoist groups and the Socialist Workers Party/Young Social-

ist Alliance (SWP/YSA) consciously cast themselves in the role of public relations men for "progressive" bureaucrats like Chavez, Miller and the women bureaucrats around the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Nothing demonstrated this more clearly than the bloc between the various Maoists and the virulently anti-communist right-wing social-democratic youth group, the Young People's Socialist League, a bloc which uncritically endorsed the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' misleadership of the Farah strike, or the bloc among the Maoists and their sometime-enemies, the "social-imperialist" Stalinists of the CP and the "Trotskyite fascists" of the SWP/YSA as champions of Chavez's pacifist, publicity-stunt boycott strategy which has brought the United Farm Workers union close to total destruction.

In contrast to these fake lefts the RCY has insisted that full support for workers struggles be combined with a revolutionary socialist strategy, that the mobilization of student and youth support for particular working-class struggles serve the overall aim of transforming the labor movement into a revolutionary socialist instrument.

The RCY has been active in building strike support in the past year: mobilizing our supporters to walk picket lines, providing a forum on campus for militant union caucus spokesmen and, along with the Spartacist League, raising the class-struggle demands that can win strike victories. This work will be increasingly important with the expectation of a growing strike wave and will serve two purposes: to win more students to revolutionary proletarian politics and to support and strengthen the work of the communist opposition in the labor movement. ■

"Crim School" ...

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behavior over the last few days of scuffles—whereupon several hundred students stood in unison, applauded the police and took up the chant "Join Us"!!!

Defense of Ethnic Studies

Another aspect of the struggle, one which had developed parallel to the Crim School issue and which finally was fused with it, was the struggle to defend ethnic studies against Administration attacks. All year, under the banners of "academic standards" and "fiscal problems" the Administration had been trying to cut back on the ethnic studies programs in the University—programs which had been won through previous student struggles. After a meeting between ethnic studies and Crim School supporters, demands for the defense of ethnic studies were included in the "Save the Crim School" demands.

The movement at its zenith involved as many as 5,000 students at once in demonstrations. Throughout the two weeks in which the campaign really blossomed the importance of leadership was underscored for students perhaps more starkly than in any campus campaign in the past.

Throughout the campaign, the RCY put forward two central concepts—that all Administration repression must be fought, including the attempted purge of a radical professor like Tony Platt and Administration encroachments against existing departments and courses like ethnic studies and radical sociology, but at the same time, a struggle must be waged to throw all

training cops, the Crim School develops techniques (e.g., "truth" serum) used by police around the world.

The RCY consistently underlined the repressive role played by the police and pointed to the racist terror and strike-breaking campaign going on at that time throughout the Bay Area. In the months during the campaign to save the Crim School (including the Department of Criminalistics!), no less than four murders of black youth took place in the Oakland/Emeryville area by police, San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto was waging his vicious "law and order" campaign called Operation Zebra, Chicanos in nearby Union City were being wantonly shot down in the street, strikers in the recent San Francisco strike wave were attacked by State Police and the strikers at the Dasco plant in Oakland were viciously attacked and beaten by Oakland police.

The RCY pointed to the need to extend the struggle against Administration repression specifically against the armed agents of that repression on and off campus and to the need to link the campus struggle to the fight of the working class against bourgeois repression.

While many students agreed with this RCY proposal and others thoughtfully considered it, the reformists of the RU/RSU and SWP/YSA continued to ride their community control hobby horse and consciously kept the issue of the cops obscured under the general slogan "Save the Crim School."

The RSU was largely responsible for the political line of the campaign from the beginning and never budged from Maoist obscurantism and anti-working-class politics. The Maoists, who have been actively fighting for the lowest possible political level in workers struggles in the Bay Area, changed their stock slogan—"The Workers

students seized Haviland Hall, the Crim School building, for the second time in one week, the cops joined them with hickory sticks and mace, slamming the doors in their startled faces and closing out several hundred more students who were on their way into the building. Having only two days before voted down the RCY proposal to add the demands "Cops and Cop Training Off Campus," the demonstrators "spontaneously" took up the chant, "Cops Off Campus." A significant section of the demonstrators, under RCY leadership, began shouting, "Cops Off Campus—No Cop Training."

After roughly two hours of the building occupation the Administration staged a show of force. Nearly 100 police in full riot gear surrounded the building, read "illegal assembly" warnings to the nearly 800 students who had suddenly gathered to protest this police action and gave "get out or get arrested" warnings to the students inside the building. The students opted to come out. When all the students had evacuated the building, the "Save the Crim School" leadership led the crowd off Sproul Plaza, enthused over the "victory" (!) of the day's struggle and simply announced to the crowd that they could go home because there was nothing else planned for them!

The next day, after a series of mock trials by a "people's court" of various "enemies of the people" like Ernest and Julio Gallo, the Crim School supporters led several hundred students to the lower campus where they burned Chancellor Bowker in effigy. Then once again, they simply announced that the day's events were over and walked off! Most of the students remained—the struggle was not over and there were many questions to be answered.

An RCY spokesman in the middle of the crowd began to speak, drawing out



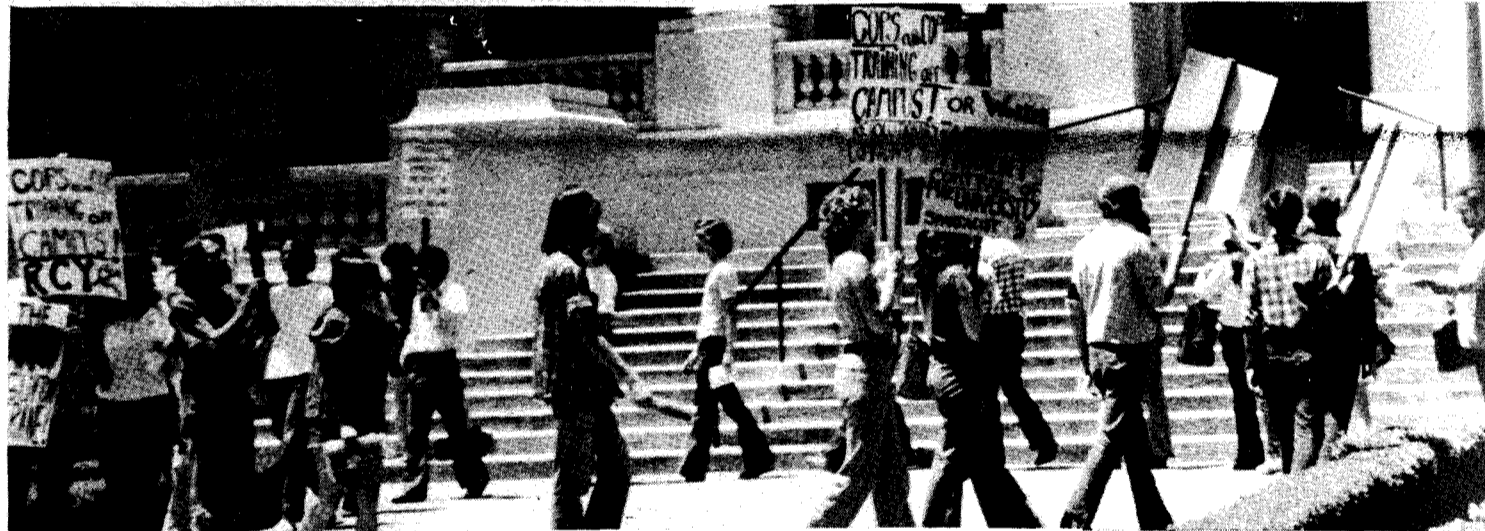
Cop on Berkeley campus during Crim School sit-in. One of the functions of Crim is to train such "riot" police.

of the rally's public address equipment. Thus, as soon as the struggle became politically transformed into one directed against the capitalist class and its state apparatus, the cops were ready to move in swiftly, with the help of whatever anti-communist support they could muster, e.g., the ever-present Jesus freaks who shouted to the assembled students about the Red terror and the concentration camps. A small but militant march then proceeded to the Berkeley police station where a rally was held.

The RCY was joined by a collective called the Committee for Working-Class Studies and a number of independents. The RU/RSU was of course nowhere to be seen and, according to the Berkeley SWP organizer, the SWP/YSA failed to participate in the demonstration not because of disagreement with its demands but because of "tactical considerations regarding our [SWP's] orientation toward the Spartacist League".

As in the large student protests during the 1960's and early 1970's, the leadership of the Crim School campaign consciously kept the struggle within the bounds of student powerism, campus parochialism and impotent reformism. The issue was different but the stumbling blocks the same—the capitalist state and the social power of the working class. It is from illusions about the possibility of reforming the capitalist state and a failure to understand the social role of the working class that the petty-bourgeois studentist politics of the RSU/RU, SWP/YSA and YWLL flow.

The capitalist state cannot be reformed. Its police, its courts, its prisons, its officer corps stand firmly and consciously on the principles of private property and production for profit. Each thread and fiber of the state apparatus is carefully selected to weave the whole repressive fabric. It cannot be reformed—it must be destroyed totally and replaced by a workers state. Only the working class has both the unifying class interest and the social power to carry out this task. If the political orientation of an organization is toward reforming, instead of destroying, the state, as is fundamentally the case with the RU/RSU, SWP/YSA and YWLL, then there is no need to turn to the working class. The task of revolutionaries is to build a resolute leadership which will lead the struggle to destroy the capitalist state through workers revolution.■



RCY-led anti-cop demonstration.

cops and cop training off campus.

Social Role of Crim School

As against assertions by Committee to Save Crim supporters that the Crim School had become "transformed" by the influx of radical sociologists and the attempted program of "People's Criminology," the RCY published the facts. Twelve percent of Crim students are in the Department of Criminalistics which trains specialists in obtaining evidence for use in the bourgeois courts. One hundred Crim students are slated for employment this summer as interns in such agencies as the Contra Costa Crime Lab, the San Francisco County Sheriff's Department, the California Youth Authority, Foster City Police, San Jose Police and the San Mateo Crime Lab. Crim students are encouraged to enter police careers by programs such as the Law Enforcement Education Act which provides tuition grants for Crim grad students if they are employed by law enforcement agencies.

Of Crim School graduates from 1968 to 1970, fully 20 percent are now part of the "criminal justice system," with 50 out of 188 being policemen, probation/parole officers, narcotics agents or investigators. Of the graduates from 1970 to 1972, 30 percent are in the "criminal justice system" with about one-third of these presently employed as cops. In addition to

United Will Never Be Defeated"—for the occasion of the Crim School campaign and marched around chanting, "The Students United Will Never Be Defeated" and other slogans geared to reinforce the lowest existing level of political consciousness on the campus. The SWP/YSA was a willing party to this promotion of student-power illusions.

At a "mass" meeting held on 3 June, the RCY fought for a proposal to add demands against cop-presence and cop-training on campus. The YWLL and RU/RSU Stalinists voted against the proposal, while the SWP/YSA, true to form, abstained, stating—with the tactical wisdom of an organization which over the years has capitulated to everything from Castroism and feminism to Jacqueline Kennedy and Democratic Senator Vance Hartke—that "now is not the time." For all these reformists—be they Maoists, Brezhnevites or usurpers of the banner of Trotsky—any time is the right time to vote for reformism and the bourgeois police. The RCY proposal failed to pass.

Cops Off Campus! No Cop Training!

On 5 June, the day after the Crim School supporters had in unison applauded the cops and called on them to join the struggle, the cops obliged—in their own way. As over 300

the lessons of the struggle and the confrontation with the police the day before. The crowd of 200 stood and listened to the RCYer's explanation of the social role of the police and the bankruptcy of student powerism. He ended his remarks with a call for the students to march the following day from the campus to the Berkeley Police Station in a demonstration protesting the wave of police repression current throughout the Bay Area. The crowd then broke up and gathered around RCY supporters to debate the issues and the first real political discussion of the campaign occurred.

RCY Leads Anti-Cop Demonstration

The next day a large section of this crowd gathered at noon as the RCY began a picket line in Sproul Plaza to begin the announced rally and march. The slogans of this demonstration against police repression were: Defend Ethnic Studies, Defend Radical Crim Professors, Cops and Cop Training Off Campus, Cops Out of the Ghetto, Jail the Murderers of Tyrone Guyton and Jail Crane (two black youth shot down by Bay Area police), Disarm the Police, Down with the Cops.

The police, who had tolerated such peaceful demonstrations and public address equipment on campus all week, moved in and made an illegal seizure

CCNY: Eight Percent Vote Communist

For the first time in its history, the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY) this past spring entered student election campaigns on several college campuses across the country (see *YSp* No. 23, May-June): the University of California at Berkeley, Northwestern University outside of Chicago, the State University of New York at Buffalo and the City College of New York. The campaigns provided a valuable opportunity to put forward the program of socialist revolution and strengthen the influence of the RCY within the student left.

The campaign at the City College of New York (CCNY), where we received eight percent of the vote, was waged against two other political slates and in the context of campus struggles around ethnic studies and demands for day care and a women's center. It was successful in that many students were exposed to the ideas of revolutionary Marxism and the vote of eight percent (188 votes) represents the growth of RCY influence on the CCNY campus after two years' work.

The RCY made it clear that it entertained no illusions in the power of the Student Senate or in the social power of students separated from the struggles of the working class, but that it sought to make use of the elections, as it would make use of any posts to which it was elected, to demonstrate to students that the problems of American society (racial and sexual oppression, inflation, war, poverty) are not isolated phenomena subject to reform but integral features of capitalism that will only be eliminated through a socialist overturn and the replacement of the existing bourgeois state by a proletarian dictatorship.

RCY Slate Statement

The *Revolutionary Communist Youth Slate Statement* pointed to the Chilean coup as the most recent, tragic example of the fact that there is no peaceful, parliamentary, class-collaborationist road to socialism. The *Slate Statement*, while pointing out that Watergate had exposed the treacherous and corrupt nature of the Nixon political regime, maintained that impeachment is not enough, i.e., that the racist and imperialist policies of Nixon will not be eliminated simply through kicking Nixon out of office.

The capitalist class, represented by the Democratic and Republican parties, wants a *more effective* administrator than Nixon for its policies of exploitation and imperialism. The alternative to Nixon lies with a conscious working-class fight against the capitalist system as such.

In response to the present governmental crisis, the organized workers movement must call for new elections to oust Nixon in order to put forward a labor candidate. Labor must be prepared to undertake a political general strike to force such elections.

RCY History at CCNY

The *Slate Statement* explained that the ills plaguing the campuses—budget cutbacks, elimination of special programs, tuition hikes—are part of the current tendency of American capitalism to reduce wages and social services. The RCY pointed to its own history on the CCNY campus of actively supporting the fight against tuition hikes and budget cuts and in defense of open admissions, while seeking to broaden these movements to include demands which pose the need to link up with working-class struggles as the only way to defeat these capitalist attacks.

The RCY defended ethnic studies departments from Administration attacks while opposing exclusionism. The issue of ethnic studies was a major one in the campaign and served to bring

into relief the differences between the RCY and the spectrum of Third World nationalists at CCNY. As against the nationalists, the RCY argued that there is nothing inherently revolutionary or "progressive" about any subject matter. Learning all the facts about, e.g., U.S. black history does not automatically lead one to a revolutionary, or even anti-racist, point of view. Racist ideology and racial oppression—integral aspects of bourgeois ideology and the capitalist system of exploitation—cannot be eliminated outside of a working-class fight against capitalist rule.

Furthermore, a university could accede to demands for an ethnic studies department and then proceed to award the chairmanship to a Shockleyite racist. Additionally, the RCY opposed the petty-bourgeois, anti-working-class content of the view that sees unity based on race alone as a means of achieving any sort of social emancipation and, in particular, strongly opposed racial exclusionism as reactionary.

While differing with the nationalists over the political value of ethnic studies, the RCY defended the democratic right of students and teachers



Jeff Hunt



Robert Noia



Ed Kartsen

THE CAMPUS

Affairs. It was opposed in the elections by two other slates: the Progressive Student Coalition and the Student Action Coalition.

The Progressive Student Coalition (PSC), which won the election, was headed by Donald Murphy and Boreysa Tep and ran on a liberal program of student power and Third World nationalism. It put forward the general goal of strengthening the ties between the student body and the Student Senate and building a more activist Student Senate particularly in terms of de-

unemployment.

Who is supposed to represent the Harlem "community"—bourgeois Congressman Rangel, the Black Muslims, a welfare mother or a factory worker? While the people of Harlem as such—workers, petty bourgeois, lumpens—can never play the socially strategic role of the working class, they can have real social weight, but only when united under a revolutionary socialist leadership and in alliance with the working class in its fight against the capitalists.

The Student Action Coalition (SAC) ran on a thoroughly liberal, student-power program virtually indistinguishable from the PSC's, minus the PSC's Third World nationalism and general left rhetoric. The SAC assumed it would win and failed to gauge the cohesiveness of the Third World nationalist constituency that secured victory for the PSC.

During the course of the campaign, the RCY put out several statements, spoke in a number of classes on issues in the campaign, operated a regular campaign literature table and received wide press coverage in three of the four campus newspapers. The RCY attempted to organize debates among the three slates running, but the other two slates refused, revealing their political cowardice.

RCY and PSC Counter Slanders

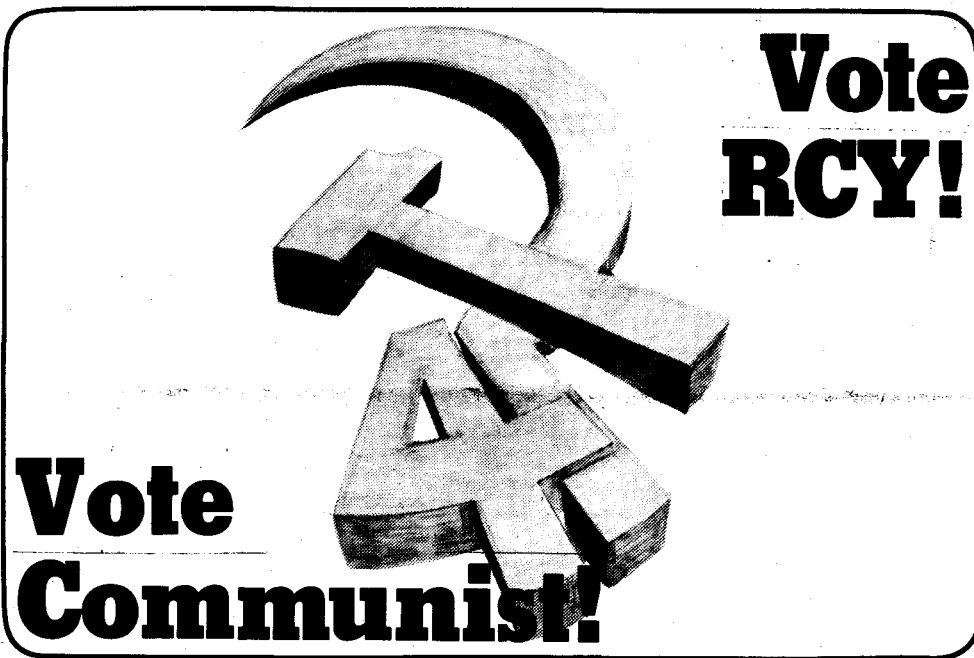
Throughout the campaign the RCY had to counter slanders and red-baiting from *The Campus*, an Administration-flunky newspaper widely circulated on the CCNY campus. The 26 April issue of *The Campus* carried an article skilfully designed to stir up racial antagonisms and anti-communism by misquoting RCY Presidential candidate Jeff Hunt through outright fabrication.

Gary Weiss of *The Campus* staff distorted Hunt's stand on ethnic studies courses, which the RCY defends but does not consider a solution to racial oppression, by quoting Hunt to the effect that Murphy's (of the PSC) position favoring the strengthening of the ethnic studies program would render him a "polarizing agent on the campus."

Both the RCY and PSC were incensed at this slanderous attempt to create false antagonisms and distributed the following joint statement:

"In the April 26 edition of *The Campus*, the article entitled 'Grad, Hunt and Murphy seeking Student Senate Presidential Post' falsified and slandered the positions of the RCY, through misquotations, deletions and lies. *The Campus* further distorted the program of the PSC through the deletion of sections of its program. The statement attributed to Jeff Hunt, that 'the election of Murphy would polarize the student body' was never made, and was probably designed to instigate petty conflict with racial overtones between the two slates. Although there are clear political differences between the RCY and the PSC, the issue of who will polarize the campus is not one of them. The RCY and PSC condemn this type of malicious falsification on the part of *The Campus* and reject any attempt

continued on page 7



to set up such departments. Additionally, in this period such departments often become centers for petty-bourgeois radicalism and Administration attacks upon them are generally from the right and in defense of the racist status quo, so that we wish to defend their right to exist as part of our principled policy of united defense of the left at all times against bourgeois attack.

The *Slate Statement* gave a history of the CCNY RCY's involvement beyond the campus gates in struggles on behalf of the working class and oppressed. The RCY was the only campus organization to consistently participate in and defend striking 1199 workers at Knickerbocker Hospital, adjacent to the college. Elsewhere in the city, the RCY was active in 1199 and District 65 strikes at Columbia/Barnard, calling for a single campus union and raising the need to organize the unorganized.

Other important work of the RCY in the past year included building support at CCNY and elsewhere for citywide demonstrations in support of striking British miners, in defense of the victims of the Chilean junta's repression and in defense of Israeli left-wing anti-Zionists who were framed up and victimized by the reactionary Israeli government.

RCY Opposes Nationalism, Liberalism of Other Slates

The RCY ran a three-candidate slate of Jeff Hunt for President of the Student Senate, Ed Kartsen for Executive Vice President and Robert Noia for Vice President of Campus

veloping programs to serve the surrounding Harlem and other "Third World" communities.

This "strengthened" Student Senate would act as a watchdog against Administration attacks on open admissions and financial aid programs; it would fight for a stronger SEEK program for Third World students and for student evaluation of program counselors. It would attempt to reform budget allocations in favor of programs for Third World students and would seek more "community" input in the work of ethnic study departments.

The RCY attacked the PSC's student powerism as reactionary utopianism that demonstrated the PSC's failure to understand the social nature of the university as the training ground for the future technical, cultural and administrative apparatus of the bourgeois state. As opposed to the notion of a "strengthened" Student Senate—an organization which has no power within the administrative structure of CCNY—the RCY called for genuine teacher-student-worker control of the university.

As part of our fight for open admissions, we are in favor of making university facilities and courses accessible to the Harlem population. But the RCY argued against the PSC notions that this would necessarily mean a more "progressive" content to the courses or organization of the departments. Community control is a classless, utopian concept. The Harlem "community" which surrounds CCNY is not a cohesive social entity with unified goals, but is a socially heterogeneous neighborhood marked by poverty and

...RCY Defends SDS

Continued from page 8

been quite similar. On the morning of 29 May two SDSers were arrested on campus by the Detroit police, charged with disorderly conduct at the Chicago Banfield lecture and held for possible extradition to Illinois to stand trial. Later in the day a group of PLers and SDSers went to the office of the President of WSU, George Gullen, to protest the arrests. The office was closed off to students. Police, who had been waiting for the PL/SDSers, brutally attacked them with nightsticks. Six students were arrested.

Immediately following the first arrests an SDS member approached the RCY for support which the RCY immediately assured. With the arrival of PL members on the scene, however, the RCY support was rejected. Instead PL/SDS isolated themselves and walked into the vicious police trap of that afternoon, in front of Gullen's office.

Seeing these attacks as in fact aimed at the entire left, the RCY immediately organized a real united-front defense meeting and emergency picket line for the next day around the demands, "Stop the Extradition," "Drop the Charges" and "Defend SDS." SDS boycotted this demonstration and was joined in this criminally stupid behavior by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The RCY later initiated the Committee to Defend the Rights of SDS which was united around defending SDS against Administration-cop attacks but which allowed all participating groups and individuals to raise freely their own politics as long as they adhered to the defense demand.

The RCY put forward a motion at an early defense committee meeting to hold a demonstration on 5 June—the day Gullen was to address the faculty—around the demands, "End All Administration and Cop Political Harassment," "Drop the Charges" and "Defend SDS." This motion passed, with the YSA refusing to vote (PL/SDS did not even attend).

The committee was able to build considerable support for this demonstration among a good number of prominent campus organizations. As the list of endorsers grew, the YSA, true to form, finally felt compelled to capitulate, even if this meant once again capitulating to the genuine and principled united-front defense efforts of the "sectarian" RCY. The YSA knows no principles of defense, only the "principle" of following the crowd.

YSA Sectarism

The behavior of the Wayne State YSA makes mockery of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)/YSA's endlessly repeated accusation that the RCY and Spartacist League are "sectarian." It is with this bugaboo hex of "sectarianism" that they attempt to construct a wall between us and their membership and periphery.

Yet, as has been made clear at WSU, it is the RCY which initiated, organized and led a principled and genuinely broad-based united-front defense of the democratic rights of the left, while the overall response of the YSA was sectarianism and passivity. Likewise, in Spartacist League/RCY-initiated

campaigns in defense of Israeli Maoists and the Chilean far left (among whom the SWP/YSA claim to have supporters) and our solidarity demonstrations for the British miners, the SWP/YSA response was sectarian abstentionism.

Sectarianism is not solely the property of ultra-leftists (another label the SWP/YSA would like to pin on us, despite the fact that our consistent and all-sided struggle for the democratic rights of the international working-class movement makes this label also patently false). Rather, sectarianism can reflect an organizational conservatism that is equally the property of reformists like the SWP/YSA and SDS who fear to expose their politics to the competitive test of common action with revolutionary organizations.

PL/SDS's "Ad Hoc Coalition" Isolated by Sectarism

PL/SDS originally formed their "Ad Hoc Coalition to Defend SDS" to the exclusion of the RCY, the YSA and anyone else who did not support their current campaign to get rid of the local "racist professor" (in this case one Eli Saltz, a run-of-the-mill liberal psychology professor) as part of the defense effort. On this basis PL/SDS got virtually no support. An RCY member secured the endorsement of Phillip Berrigan and other speakers from a panel sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (an organization led by the SWP/YSA) for the Committee to Defend the Rights of SDS right after they had refused to support PL/SDS's sectarian coalition.

In order to defend their sectarian policy, SDS resorted to slandering the RCY in a leaflet distributed on the campus:

"A small racist Trotskyite group called the sparticist [sic] league (SL-RCY) has been issuing leaflets claiming to 'defend' SDS.... Students should not be confused by opportunists who try to obscure the real issue—the fight against racism. SDS welcomes support and criticism from honest anti-racist people, but will not unite with racist phonies."

Not many students, however, were "confused"—the RCY-initiated defense committee continued to win adherents to its principled defense policies while PL/SDS's slanders and sectarianism served only to further their isolation. The pressure of their failure to gain support and the RCY's successes finally led them to drop the demand to fire Saltz as a prerequisite for membership in their defense committee.

The 5 June demonstration drew over 35 people and was the largest held at WSU this year. The PL/SDS woodenheads boycotted it while the YSA pulled out after ten minutes without any explanation. The Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), which does practically no work on the WSU campus, initially rejected all RCY united-front proposals on the grounds that there was no issue of workers democracy involved vis-à-vis SDS!

After persistent discussion and that most powerful of all arguments as far as centrists are concerned—a growing list of supporters—the RSL participated in the united-front demonstration. The final group of supporters for the demonstration included the following organizations (as well as several professors and prominent individuals like Phillip Berrigan): Spark, SL/RCY, Students for Impeachment, Association of Black Students, Wayne Women's Liberation, RSL, YSA and *South End* (the campus newspaper).

YSA's Exclusion of RCY at Panel Backfires

The events at WSU followed close on the heels of a panel discussion on racism organized by the YSA. Anxious to move in on the liberal periphery of SDS and demonstrate its credentials as liberal anti-racists, the YSA called a panel discussion on "How to Fight Racism: Strategy for the Black Movement" and invited SDS, CAR and the Association of Black Students to participate. The RCY was excluded from the panel on the patently fraudulent

grounds that it had not been active enough in the fight against racism.

On the morning of the panel discussion the *South End* carried a front-page headline on the RCY's exclusion from the panel. Learning of the exclusion, the independent chairman who had been selected by the participating groups refused to preside over the meeting. In the course of the discussion the RCY became a *de facto* member of the panel as a number of independents in the audience specifically requested the views of the RCY.

The YSA got just what it feared—exposure from the left of their reactionary utopian nationalism which forced them to resort to so much nationalist rhetoric (e.g., "we can't rely on whites—they benefit from racism") that black nationalists in the audience felt compelled to ask YSAer Trudy Hawkins what she was doing under the discipline of a predominantly white organization! The YSA completely lost its shirt in the crossfire and it was the RCY that emerged clearly as the revolutionary pole in the discussion.

So roundly defeated was the YSA at the hands of the RCY that a member of PL was overheard afterwards giving some advice to the YSA about how PL/SDS does not allow the RCY into their meetings! Thus the phony "revolutionary communists" of PL had no trouble cooperating with the phony "Trotskyites" of the YSA when threatened with revolutionary politics, in order to strike a genuinely sectarian blow against workers democracy by excluding the RCY.

Three SDSers Stage "Sit-In" at UCLA

While SDS has faced the most serious attempts at repression by the Ad-

ministrations of UC and WSU, its "bold" tactics in defense of liberal anti-racism has brought repression against SDS at other campuses as well. At UCLA in April SDS staged a "sit-in" of three (!) people to protest the establishment of the Center for the Study and Reduction of Violence, whose goals are based on racist, anti-working-class theories on the need to prevent all violence through such means as psychosurgery.

The UCLA RCY is against the establishment of the Violence Center, while pointing out that the elimination of such research institutions will not eliminate racial oppression. We opposed the infantile adventurism of the sit-in, at the same time actively defending SDS against the Administration.

RMG Tail's SDS at U. of Toronto

At the University of Toronto, two SDSers are being threatened with expulsion for their disruption of a Banfield lecture in March. SDS's politics and mishandling of its defense have been identical to their work at UC and WSU.

The most interesting feature of the Banfield incident has been the response to it by the two (!) Canadian affiliates of the pseudo-Trotskyist "international," the "United Secretariat" (U.Sec.). The U.Sec. is currently involved in a faction fight between the centrist, guerrillaist tendency best represented by the politics of Ernest Mandel and Pierre Frank of the French Revolutionary Communist Front and the parliamentarist reformism of the U.Sec.'s supporters in the U.S., the SWP.

The two Canadian U.Sec. sections, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), which supports the Mandel tendency, and the League for Socialist Action (LSA), which supports the SWP, have, in their responses to the SDS campaign, shown that the two tendencies

continued on next page

RCY EVENTS

ANN ARBOR

Class
TOWARD A COMMUNIST WOMEN'S MOVEMENT
Wednesday, 10 July, 7:30 PM. Michigan Union, U. of Mich. For more information: (313) 921-4626.

BAY AREA

Class Series
THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY AND THE WORKING CLASS
Continuing bi-weekly series. First class in July takes place on Monday the 8th, 7:30 PM. SL/RCY Public Office, 330 40th St. (near Broadway), Oakland. For more information: (415) 653-4668.

BOSTON

Class Series
LENINISM
Bi-weekly series begins Tuesday, 9 July, 7:30 PM. For more information: (617) 354-5268.

BUFFALO

Class Series
INTERNATIONALISM
Continuing series. Classes in July take place on the 10th and 24th and in August on the 7th and 14th, 8 PM. Rm. 330, Norton Union, SUNYAB. For more information: (716) 837-1854.

CHICAGO

Class Series
LENINISM, TROTSKYISM, SPARTACISM
Continuing weekly series. First class in July takes place on Wednesday the 3rd, 7:30 PM. For more information: (312) 728-2151.

CLEVELAND

Class Series
REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE
Continuing weekly series. First class in July takes place on Wednesday the 3rd, 8 PM. Rm. 444, Cleveland State U. For more information: (216) 651-4613.

DETROIT

Class
TOWARD A COMMUNIST WOMEN'S MOVEMENT
Tuesday, 9 July, 7:30 PM. State Hall, Wayne State U. For more information: (313) 921-4626.

LOS ANGELES

Class Series
BASIC MARXISM
Continuing weekly series. First class in July takes place on Friday the 5th, 7:30 PM. For more information: (213) 485-1838.

MADISON

Class Series
Continuing weekly series begins on Thursday, 4 July, 7:30 PM. Rm. to be posted, Memorial Union, U. of Wisc. For more information: (312) 728-2151.

NEW YORK

Class Series
BASIC TROTSKYISM
Continuing bi-weekly series. First class in July takes place on Thursday the 18th, 7:30 PM. SL/RCY Public Office, 260 West Broadway (near Canal St.), Manhattan. For more information: (212) 925-5665.

Young Spartacus

Editorial Board:
Libby Schaefer (managing editor)
Reuben Samuels
Production manager: K. Johnson
Circulation manager: M. Sanders

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

Subscriptions: \$1.00 for six issues.
Write RCY, Box 454, Cooper Sta.,
New York, NY 10003

currently battling it out in the U.Sec. are united by a common petty-bourgeois methodology.

The RMG has wholeheartedly endorsed SDS's "anti-racism" strategy reflected in the disruption of the Banfield lecture. Its only criticism of SDS has been for not seeking "united action with other leftists to prevent Banfield's appearance" and that SDS had "called on the administration to ban Banfield" instead of relying on the student masses (part of the new mass vanguard?) to do the job (RMG leaflet, March 1974). Additionally, the RMG supported SDS's policy of making the defense committee an ongoing political bloc around liberal anti-racism (although SDS declared it was not interested in uniting with "Trotskyites").

While the LSA made some formally correct criticisms of the liberal idealism of the SDS-RMG positions, it counterposed to this its own social-democratic strategy of building "mass" single-issue reformist movements.

YSA Nationalism, SDS Liberalism on Black Question

Throughout the defense campaigns at WSU and UC the RCY has made clear its opposition to the approaches of the YSA and SDS in fighting racism. The YSA's notorious theories of self-determination for any oppressed group (blacks, Chicanos, women) make a mockery of the Leninist theory of the right of any nation to self-determination. For Marxists, the right to self-determination does not apply to racial minorities in the U.S. who do not fulfill the criteria of nationhood (a separate language and culture and the basis for a separate political economy) but are integrated into the working class at the bottom. The strengthening of nationalist illusions only serves to block the need for an integrated class fight against all forms of oppression.

The RCY gives no political support to SDS's "anti-racism" campaign which projects a strategy of shouting down racist professors and calling on the racist administration to censor racist textbooks and fire racist instructors as the way to defeat racial oppression. Despite SDS's "bold" pseudo-militancy, this campaign is based on a liberal-academic view that separates the struggle against bourgeois ideology from the class struggle against the capitalists. SDS builds the illusion that "bad ideas" can be defeated through the promulgation of "good ideas" or the silencing of those who speak in favor of these bad ideas.

For Marxists the necessary fight against racism is dependent upon a successful fight against the oppressive material conditions of capitalism which allow for the growth of these backward, reactionary ideas and against the rule of the capitalists who attempt to strengthen this backward consciousness in their efforts to divide and weaken their class enemy.

The fight against racism on campus

SL/RCY Public Offices

BAY AREA

Wednesday and Thursday } 1:00-6:00 p.m.
Saturday } 2:30-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday } 1:00-6:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

must be equipped with a working-class, socialist program which can both set forward the solution to these aspects of capitalism and provide the basis to build a student-youth auxiliary to the class-struggle oppositions in the trade unions.

Definitively rejecting this class-struggle orientation at its 1972 National Convention, SDS sank completely into the narrow, wasteful and rotten reformism of its campus anti-racism campaign. The only residue of its past pro-working-class militancy is the "tough" rhetoric of "smashing," "banning" and "firing" in the service of liberalism.

Class Struggle, Not Struggle in the Classroom!

The complete impotence of SDS's approach has been proven over and over again at campus after campus. Just to cite one example, SDS at WSU spent several months in the summer and fall of 1973 campaigning against a "racist textbook" (*Introduction to Sociology* by Biesanz). The Sociology Department was able to simply snub SDS's militant posturing by granting a removal of this book.

SDS's efforts to build a "mass movement" on this issue came to nothing. Most left-wing WSU students are able to see that the important enemy is exemplified by the giant auto industry (in which many students have worked or are presently employed) and the conditions of poverty and brutality in the ghettos surrounding WSU.

Focussing on one "racist textbook" seems, at best, meaningless. Of far more importance in this period were an RCY forum presenting a Marxist analysis of the world "energy crisis" and an SL/RCY-initiated united-front demonstration to protest the UAW goon attacks on UAW militants and left-wing newspaper salesmen—events which PL/SDS of course ignored.

The campaigns at WSU and UC have allowed the RCY to convince more students about the real nature of racial oppression and how to fight it and, as against the self-defeating sectarianism of PL/SDS and the YSA, the RCY has won numbers of left-wing students to see the need for united defense against Administration-cop attacks. The RCY has no intention of allowing the WSU and UC Administrations to make any progress in their fight against the left and, despite the difficulties of building a defense in the face of SDS's hostility and attempts at sabotage, the RCY is firmly committed to carrying this fight through to victory. ■

RCY Local Directory

- BERKELEY: RCY, Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, CA 94701, or call (415) 653-4668
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- TORONTO: RCY, c/o Committee of Toronto Supporters of the International Spartacist Tendency, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

...CCNY Elections

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to obstruct this campaign with slander and falsification."

This incident was the first controversy of the campaign and its impact on the campus probably sparked more interest in the elections as a whole. *The Campus* did not print the statement in full, but quoted from it, maintaining its own innocence. Subsequently, the black newspaper on campus, *The Paper*, did print the full text of the statement, with sympathetic remarks in an accompanying article.

In addition to ethnic studies and budget cuts, three other campus issues became significant during the campaign: Administration repression/political discrimination in the Asian Studies Department, the question of day care and a women's center and the Administration's anti-democratic policies regarding the student elections.

Asian Studies

Two rallies were called by the Ad Hoc Committee for a Relevant Asian Studies Program, a loose amalgam of Asian Studies students, their supporters and some Maoists centering on demands for more student control of the Department and criticisms of the Department chairman. While the RCY opposed the overwhelmingly student-power content of the struggle, we supported demands for the reinstatement of Boreysa Tep, a work-study aide whose firing was an act of political discrimination (he was later rehired), and for the appointment, with tenure, of Professor Sunoo, who had been eliminated from the teaching staff next fall at CCNY through Administration maneuvering.

The left-wing students of the Department, some of whom are Maoists, had been rebaited by the Administration. The RCY stood in solidarity with these students against the Administration and unconditionally defended the Department from Administration attack, at the same time remaining sharply critical of the nationalist and liberal view that racial discrimination could be alleviated through ethnic studies and a parochial, exclusionist unity, or that education could be improved qualitatively through increased student participation.

Women's Center

The issue of day care was raised by the CCNY Undergraduate Women's Caucus, made up of women from the Attica Brigade, Radical Jewish Union and independent feminists. An RCY representative attended planning meetings on day care, raising the demand for free, 24-hour child care for all, to be paid for by the employer or the state. This demand had from the beginning been part of the RCY's election program.

Additionally, the question of a campus women's center became an issue when the Women's Caucus successfully attempted to gain space from the College to hold meetings, provide health referrals and so on. The RCY supported the Caucus's democratic right to campus space but opposed its feminist male-exclusionism and its anti-democratic attempt to monopolize state funds and facilities in order to run health services under its feminist-Maoist dictatorship. Instead, we demand that the university provide social services to be administered under teacher-student-campus worker control on a democratic and non-exclusionist basis.

Anti-Democratic Election Rules

The RCY opposed the anti-democratic Administration policies vis-à-vis the student elections. The City University Administration holds veto power over all student elections in the event that less than 30% of the student body votes—which has always been the case. Thus, the Administration

can, at its whim, invalidate the entire election process.

Additionally, a gross anti-democratic and inherently anti-communist policy of an enforced open ballot was inflicted upon the student body. As students voted, they were required to record their ballot number on a roster. Thus the Administration could check names against numbers and determine who voted for whom. These Administration policies threw into sharp relief the importance of the RCY demand for teacher-student-worker control of the universities.

Attica Brigade-YSA Tailism

The two other left-wing organizations with some history on the CCNY campus, the Attica Brigade and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), did not run candidates in the elections. The YSA, which, like the Attica Brigade, has experienced extreme organizational slump on the campus this semester, announced to the RCY that our campaign was non-Marxist, sectarian and unsupported. Predictably, the YSA refused to distinguish itself in any way from the liberal and nationalist politics of the PSC slate.

An Attica Brigade supporter told the RCY that organizations should not participate in such elections unless they have the necessary "mass base" to justify their running. What this has meant on other campuses where the Attica Brigade has run in elections is that it will hook on to "mass" motion of almost any sort, attempt to become its spokesman and run for office on a "program" that does no more than advocate militancy in defense of prevailing sentiments for, e.g., more funds for certain courses or services or more student participation in certain university affairs. The Attica Brigade sees such "mass" student issues as "progressive" and promotes the notion that student-power movements of a "left" character are inherently revolutionary and part of the "anti-imperialist mass movement."

This delusion is clearly counterposed to the conception of the RCY. While the RCY seeks to be in the forefront of campus struggles directed against any form of social oppression, including the petty tyrannies of bourgeois academia, it is with the express purpose of bringing a Marxist worldview to even these "campus-issue" struggles and linking them to the larger questions of capitalist society, especially the strategic role of the working class led by its Leninist vanguard as the agent of social emancipation, that we enter student elections.

The RCY intends to enter more such student election campaigns in the coming school year. Unlike groups like the Attica Brigade and the YSA whose mealy-mouthed tailism of lowest-common-denominator student powerism and liberalism leaves them buried in the undifferentiated student mass, the RCY will continue to win serious, left-wing students to a Marxist worldview. The eight percent who voted for the RCY slate did so on the basis of support for an explicitly revolutionary socialist program and represent a base of consciously pro-communist students, as opposed to the YSA-Attica Brigade's "base" of reformists, nationalists and liberals. ■

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Wayne State and U. of Chicago RCY Lead United-Front Defense of SDS

SDS-YSA Sectarianism Undercuts Defense

Defense of the left and working-class movement is a question of principle for Marxists. A successful attack by bourgeois forces against any left-wing group or individual strengthens the bourgeoisie's hand against the entire workers movement and opens the gates for increased repression of the left. The historic failure of Stalinists, reformists and centrists of all stripes to understand the fundamental question of class defense has led to catastrophic defeats for the working class, as in Germany in 1933. Following from the narrowest sort of organizational conservatism, such tendencies refuse to unite for defensive action, even when united action becomes a question of survival for their own organizations and the labor movement as a whole.

It is this question of defense of the democratic rights of organizations on the left which has been at issue in recent Administration attacks against SDS at the University of Chicago and at Wayne State University in Detroit. In the face of SDS's criminally stupid refusal to seriously defend itself and its monumental sectarianism vis-à-vis other left groups, the defense itself has fallen to the leadership of the RCY which has taken on the necessary task of beating back this campaign of Administration repression. The RCY bears no love for the rotten liberal politics of the Progressive Labor (PL)-led SDS, but we recognize in the actions of these two Administrations against SDS the beginning of a campaign to isolate and eliminate left-wing presence on the two campuses.

U. of Chi. Repression of SDS

The repression of SDS at the University of Chicago (UC) began after SDS members prevented a scheduled talk by Edward Banfield, former Nixon advisor and author of the racist and anti-working-class *The Unheavenly City*, from occurring. SDSers shouted, heckled and sang until the talk was cancelled.

The UC Administration brought two student members of SDS before a Faculty-Student Disciplinary Committee and succeeded in having one sentenced to disciplinary probation and the other to reserved suspension, both for a period of two years. If either is now found in violation of UC rules, he will most probably be expelled. Administration harassment and intimidation caused three student signers of SDS's campus registration form to withdraw their names, thereby endangering SDS's status as an official campus organization.

The most serious repressive effort of the Administration has been directed against six off-campus SDSers who allegedly participated in the Banfield disruption. In legal suits which the Administration has brought against them they have been charged with disorderly conduct, mob action, criminal trespass and, in one case, assault. UC is attempting to have two of the alleged disrupters, who are students at Wayne

State University in Detroit, extradited to Illinois to stand trial.

In alliance with the reactionary UC Administration are several right-wing students who convinced the UC Student Government to suspend SDS's recognition as a student organization until November 1974, thus denying SDS the right to use campus facilities.

The RCY-initiated and -led campaign in defense of SDS at UC has included a call for a united-front defense committee, circulation of an SDS-authored petition, wide-scale publicity of the facts involved and analysis of the issues, a demonstration and rally and an attempt to overturn the Student-Government decision through a suit in the campus Student-Faculty-

do with Trotskyists even in behalf of defending SDS. SDS refused the RCY's call for a united-front defense committee, excluding the RCY from the first of its defense meetings (which drew few independents), bureaucratically limiting the RCY's speaking rights and threatening violent exclusion at others. SDS members even went so far as to refuse to give RCYers defense petitions to circulate until the protestations of a member of the campus press caused one of the SDSers to hand some over.

The absurdity of SDS's actions reached a low point at a 5 June defense demonstration when the SDSers retreated to the sidelines five minutes after the RCY joined the picket line and

Actions." SDS refused to co-sponsor the demonstration saying they had "more important" things to do. The demonstration was endorsed by three professors (including the SDS faculty advisor) and three campus organizations—the New American Movement, the Young People's Socialist League and Science for the People—though none of these organizations did anything to build it. The Harringtonite Democratic Socialists withheld endorsement but one of their leading members came to the rally to speak in defense of its demands. Additionally a liberal member of the PL-led Committee Against Racism (CAR) spoke in solidarity with the demands.

SDS also refused an RCY proposal to co-sponsor a rally at UC the day after



Picket in defense of SDS at U. of Chicago.

Administration Court. At Wayne State University (WSU) in Detroit, the RCY has led the effort to defend the two student SDSers who have been arrested and threatened with extradition.

SDS Sabotages Own Defense

SDS's "defense" policies have served mostly to aid the Administration's campaign of repression. SDS has refused to raise publicly the issue of campus recognition, claiming in private that this really will not harm SDS's campus work and totally ignoring the issue of democratic rights. Until the WSU arrests, SDS refused to call for dropping the charges against the off-campus SDSers, failing even to mention the charges in any of its public statements. Its pathetic campaign to defend the two students brought before the Disciplinary Committee included only a student petition and a publicity campaign to bring students to the trial, but failed to raise the demand that the charges be dropped.

SDS has consistently sabotaged its own defense campaign by its sectarian refusal to cooperate with the RCY, claiming that it would have nothing to

stood by while the RCY and most of the independents present kept marching. SDS then began its own, much smaller, picket line a few feet away from the original one, making themselves look even more foolish by stopping their own chant of "Defend SDS" whenever the RCY picked it up.

U. of Chi. Defense Campaign

The UC RCY has used its radio show (*Young Spartacus: A Marxist Commentary*, WHPK, 88.3 FM), leaflets and press releases to publicize the facts and issues involved in the defense, even when SDS did not do so. We pointed out the blatant violation of democratic rights involved in denying SDS the use of campus facilities and raised demands to reinstate SDS as a recognized student organization and for dropping of all charges against the two UC SDSers. The RCY publicized the fact that the Administration was bringing legal action against off-campus SDSers and raised the demand, "Drop the State Court Actions"—long before the arrests at WSU.

On 24 May the RCY initiated a demonstration around the slogans, "Reinstate SDS" and "Drop the State Court

the WSU arrests, in order to publicize what had happened and protest the Administration's actions. The RCY went ahead with the rally which drew 30 people and considerable attention on campus.

In addition to the demonstration, rally and press campaign, the RCY, along with some sympathetic Student Government members, filed a suit in the Student-Faculty-Administration court, charging the Student Government with procedural violations at the meeting at which the decision to suspend SDS was made and asking the court to overturn the decision. One of the bases for the suit was the fact that the SG leadership had failed to inform all the members of the time and date of the meeting at which the decision was made. The RCY was unable to attend the meeting and argue against the suspension because of this. On 4 June, the court ruled in favor of the SG; it has not yet produced a written statement on the grounds for its decision. The RCY plans to continue the fight to reinstate SDS despite this decision.

Wayne State

The course of events at WSU has continued on page 6