

# Young Spartacus

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## From Berkeley to Columbia— ROTC OFF CAMPUS!

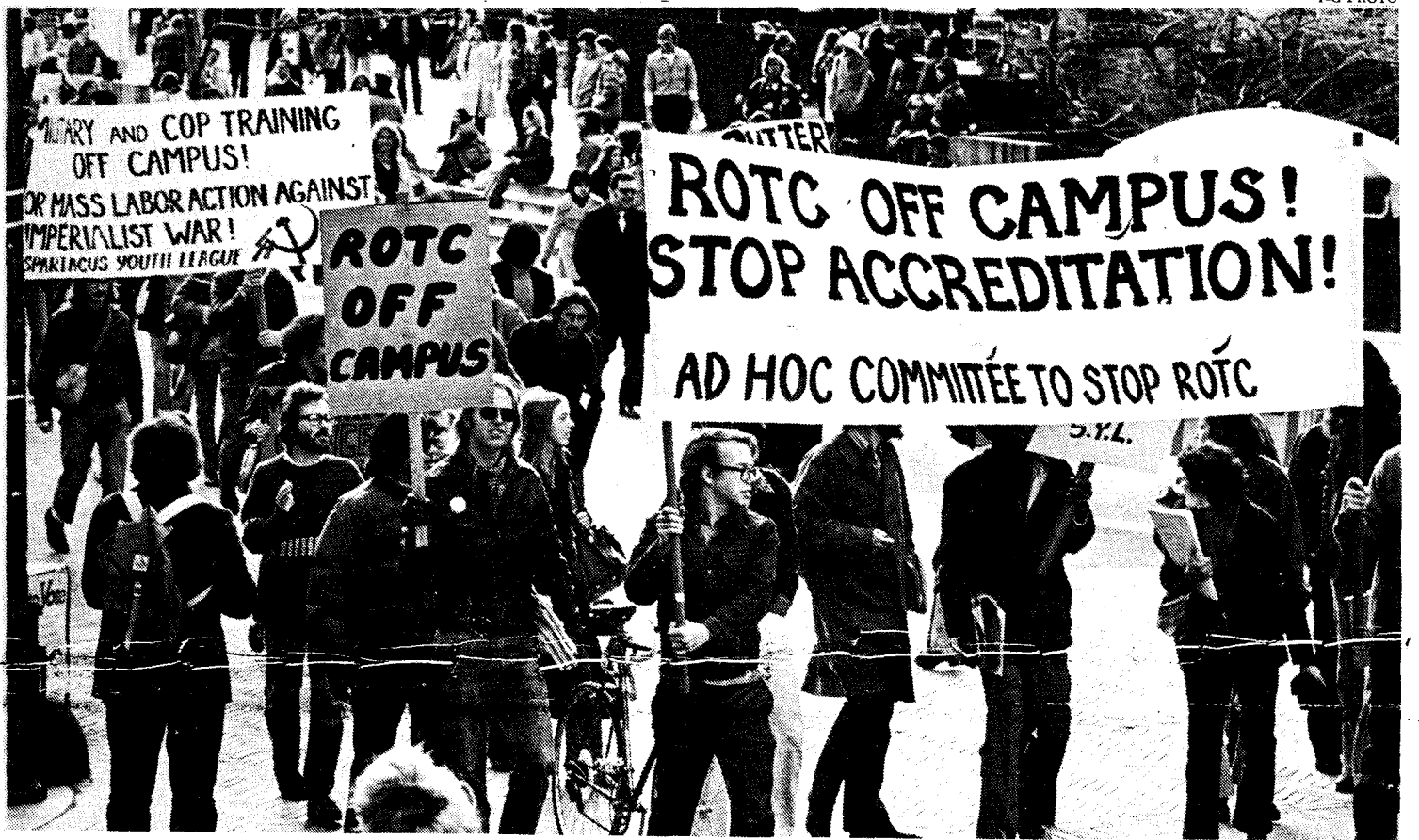
February 21—Around the country during the past year there have been moves for the reintroduction of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) on many campuses where ROTC had previously been forced out by militant anti-Vietnam-war demonstrations. From 1967 to 1969 ROTC had to be withdrawn from more than 100 campuses, and in the next four years all but 20 of the 161 schools with compulsory ROTC eliminated the programs.

During this academic year, however, the administrations at more than a dozen schools—including the University of California at Berkeley, Columbia University, the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, Northwestern University, Harvard University, Boston University and Boston State—have announced either that ROTC would be reintroduced or that the question of reintroduction was being considered. This emerging pattern represents the response of all the capitalist boards of directors and trustees to the pressure campaign which has been mounted by the Defense Department and its allies in Congress. The Defense Department is crying for an increase in the influx of ROTC-trained educated personnel to beef up the officer corps of the military, which at present is too thin for conducting any major ground operations, especially a renewal of highly specialized anti-insurgency warfare in Indochina. For the bourgeoisie, the reintroduction of ROTC also functions as a testing of public opinion on military mobilization for possible future interventions.

On their part universities which are already groaning under the burdens of the economic crisis are careful not to jeopardize their federal funding. Lashing out at those universities which have refused ROTC funds but receive other Defense Department funds, Representative Edward Herbert of the House Armed Services Committee made the following veiled threat: "if some defense money is dirty to them, then it's all dirty" (quoted in *New York Times*, 9 February 1974).

While in the last several months anti-ROTC protest demonstrations have been held at Columbia, Ann Arbor and Northwestern University (called by the SYL), the Berkeley campus of the University of California has been the scene of the largest anti-ROTC demonstrations. ROTC was kicked off Berkeley as the result of student demonstrations in April 1970 that were so militant that the campus press frantically headlined, "GUERRILLA WAR ROCKS CAMPUS" (*Daily Californian*, 16 April 1970).

When ROTC began to make an unobtrusive comeback on a few campuses in 1973, many bourgeois commentators remarked with great satisfaction at the lack of any mass organized student protest. One journalist pointed out,



SYL-initiated Committee to Stop ROTC holds first demonstration on January 29. U.C. Regents are reportedly determined to re-accredit ROTC, which produces educated officer cadre for the U.S. war machine.

"the decrease in anti-ROTC sentiment is especially noticeable" at Berkeley. The Berkeley administration likewise must have felt that the campus was so politically quiescent that it could make the bold move of reaccrediting ROTC.

But little did the administration expect that its January 13 announcement of the opening of reaccreditation hearings would be answered by a militant anti-ROTC demonstration of 250 students two weeks later! Determined that the move to reaccredit ROTC would not go unchallenged, the SYL had called for and played the leading role in building this demonstration, which was organized around the demands, "Stop the Accreditation!" and "ROTC Off Campus!" (for full coverage, see "Students Say: 'ROTC Must Go!'," *Young Spartacus*, February 1975).

Immediately following the first demonstration the SYL issued a call for a planning meeting on February 4 to establish a united-front committee to build for future actions. This meeting, which was attended by several of the groups supporting the first demonstration, established the "Committee to Stop ROTC" (CSROTC) as a united front based on the two demands, "ROTC Off Campus!" and "Drop Academic Senate Review—Stop Accreditation!"

After working to broaden support for the anti-ROTC campaign, the CSROTC called for a mass rally and march around the two united-front demands for February 12. Despite bad

weather, some 150 people turned out for the demonstration on Sproul Plaza. The speakers that addressed the demonstration included representatives of the SYL, the (now-defunct) Committee to Save the Crim School, Socialists for Independent Politics, Committee for Working Class Studies, Merrit College Black Student Union, National Interim Committee for a Mass Party of the People, and the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union. While all speakers emphasized the role which ROTC plays in the armed forces of U.S. imperialism, the strategies advanced for fighting militarism beyond the confines of the campus varied widely, including recommendations to cease payment of taxes and the meaningless exhortation to make working-class policy "in the streets."

Both the SYL representative and Gene Herson of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus clearly linked the struggle against militarism on campus to the perspective of class struggle to overthrow capitalism. Herson declared that what was needed to fight the attempt by the capitalists to gear up for a war economy is a militant working-class movement. He pointed out that in the trade unions it was necessary to build oppositional caucuses based on a full program of class-struggle demands like that of the M-SC in order to oust the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. Herson emphasized: "Only when labor turns the switch off, when labor sits down and occupies factories, when labor

walks outside those plants, are we going to be able to stop imperialist wars. This is why labor strikes against wars have to be built!"

The SYL speaker picked up on Herson's last point and noted that the Revolutionary Communist Youth, the predecessor of the SYL, during the massive student antiwar upsurges of 1970 and 1972 established "Work Stoppage Committees" on several campuses; these committees sought to win students to the recognition that the social power to stop imperialist wars lies in the labor movement and mobilized students to approach unions with the call for labor strikes against the war.

The SYL speaker also referred to the attempted wrecking job on the CSROTC by the Revolutionary Student Brigade. Recognizing the leading role which the SYL was playing in the CSROTC, the sectarian and cowardly RSB set up a competing anti-ROTC committee, which of course excluded Trotskyists. The only students to attend the RSB "planning meeting" were several organizationally unaffiliated students from the CSROTC who went to protest the RSB's sectarian maneuvers. Totally isolated, the RSB then shunned the entire ROTC struggle. Some "anti-imperialists" are these!

The comrade from the SYL also denounced the RSB's position on the Vietnam war, or rather, the Vietnam "peace." He attacked the Vietnamese

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

# RSB Exclusionism Backfires

On January 28 Bonnie Breen, a member of the Spartacus Youth League, was forcibly excluded from an accredited "Class on Women" conducted by the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) at the Berkeley campus of the University of California. Unable to defend its crassly reactionary line on the woman question from the Trotskyist politics which our comrade had been raising in the class for three weeks, the RSB in desperation finally organized a goon squad of about ten at the classroom entrance and pugnaciously informed Breen, who was registered in the class, that henceforth members of the SYL were not allowed to attend.

But this time the Stalinist goon-tactics of the RSB boomeranged and resulted only in further discrediting the RSB on campus. The students in the class



SYL member  
Bonnie Breen.

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drawed solid support from the students in the class, as well as other students and members of the Left Alliance of the ASUC Senate. The RSB found itself isolated with only one ally—the university administration, which officially pronounced that "an instructor can eject a student if he or she disrupts a class" (*Daily Californian*, 6 February 1975).

Despite the manifest sentiment in opposition to the exclusion in the class and on the campus, the RSB flaunted its action and declared that it would first terminate the class before tolerating the voicing of Trotskyist politics. Only when sufficiently pressured by their academic departmental supervisors did the RSB instructors back down, readmit Breen and agree not to exclude other students who might express agreement with SYL politics.

The SYL repeatedly warned that such politically motivated exclusionism will play into the hands of the administration and right-wing groups who are always seeking precedents for "ejecting" leftists and militant minority students who "disrupt" the campus. During our aggressive campaign protesting the exclusion, we firmly established our categorical opposition to all forms of administration monitoring and interference in the activities of left organizations. In the leaflet calling for the picket line, the SYL clearly stated that we would unconditionally defend the RSB should the administration seize upon the provocative violation of our democratic rights as a pretext to intervene. We actively persuaded students supporting our comrade not to approach the administration for redress.

Posturing as the group which will rekindle a mass radical student movement, the RSB has opted for cowardly abstention from the broad-based anti-ROTC movement on campus simply because the SYL has played a dynamic and leading role in this struggle. The RSB's vulnerability to our scathing exposé of its reformism is so keenly felt that one SYL student in one classroom was too much for the RSB! While the RSB gnashes its teeth, the SYL will continue to expose the political bankruptcy and cowardice of these fake "anti-imperialists."

## 'Nuff Said

The recent anti-ROTC demonstrations at the Berkeley campus of the University of California have prompted the campus press, the *Daily Californian*, to venture an appraisal of the general state of the campus left. In a lengthy article the *Daily Californian* (12 February 1975), which is by no means inclined to

sympathy with the radical left at Berkeley, offers a full survey of the organized left on campus, including the Spartacus Youth League, Young Socialist Alliance, Revolutionary Student Union, Revolutionary Student Brigade, Asian Student Union and several other foreign student associations and academic groups.

These vignettes are based upon solicited statements from spokesmen of each group, but also include an assessment of the profile which each group projects in its campus activity. What is interesting is how the "roving eye" of the *Daily Californian* perceives the YSA and the SYL.

Speaking first of the YSA, the article gives the following assessment:

"Among American Trotskyist groups, the Young Socialist Alliance is by far the largest and most moderate. The YSA works hard to avoid scaring off potential socialists. Aside from electioneering, general strategy has been first to unite as many people as possible on an issue and then introduce its Trotskyist principles.

"During the late 1960's and early 1970's, the YSA-dominated Student Mobilization Committee sponsored Democratic politicians like Vance Hartke of Indiana to speak at rallies against the Vietnam war... The YSA and SWP seek out the signatures of mainstream community and union leaders for petitions for their various causes.

"By watering down socialism for popular consumption, the YSA isolates itself from other radical groups but it also makes itself more accessible to the public."

After this indeed perceptive analysis of the reformist YSA, the article next passes on to consider the SYL:

"The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) is a smaller and harder-line Trotskyist organization, also nationwide... They pass out leaflets, sell papers, and hold classes on Trotsky's ideas. A few weeks ago the SYL organized a demonstration to remove ROTC from campus which attracted some 200 people... Members of the Spartacist organizations work hard for their ideal, and have an evangelistic style about them... The Spartacists reject the soft-sell techniques of the Young Socialist Alliance. Unlike the YSA, which is so careful to maintain a respectable image in the eyes of the average student, the SYL boldly puts forward its usually unpopular ideas, almost unmindful of the response.

"'We're communists,' said one member of Berkeley SYL, 'and we should call for communism. If some apolitical people think that's weird, okay. Should we hide our ideas? People should know we're the flaming reds. Right on.'"

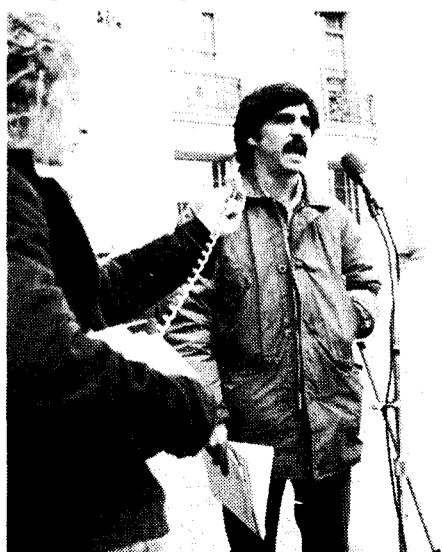
Right on!

## ROTC...

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Stalinists who have repeatedly betrayed the heroic struggles of the workers and peasants against imperialism and the native landlords and bourgeoisie for promises of a class-collaborationist coalition government. He called for the military victory of the NLF/DRV over imperialism and for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution. He declared that the petty-bourgeois NLF/PRG misleaders could not be relied upon to smash capitalism, and that the Stalinist bureaucracy of the DRV must be ousted through political revolution.

At the conclusion of the rally the demonstrators marched to the ROTC building, where they discovered that the surrounding fences had been locked and the main entrance was guarded by several campus cops. The group then set up a spirited picket line. After about 15 minutes, an SYL member called for an immediate march to the Academic Senate offices to confront Professor Vetter, the chairman of the policy committee, with the demand for an open hearing on ROTC.



Keith Anderson of the SYL speaks at anti-ROTC rally on Sproul Plaza.

Once again, the cops scrambled to block the building, but this time the demonstrators found an unguarded side entrance and filed into the building. When the passage to the Academic Senate offices was closed off the group proceeded to hold a meeting in the hall. An SYL proposal for a petition campaign demanding ROTC off campus and the opening up of the private ROTC hearings for a mass student "deliberation" with speaking rights for all on February 26 was adopted by the group. Chanting "ROTC must go!", the demonstrators then left the building.

The CSROTC has begun to pick up support from wider sections of the campus left. While the Radical Student Union has not formally endorsed the campaign against ROTC, several RSU supporters have been active in the struggle. The participation of the National Interim Committee in the February 12 demonstration is also a reflection of growing support.

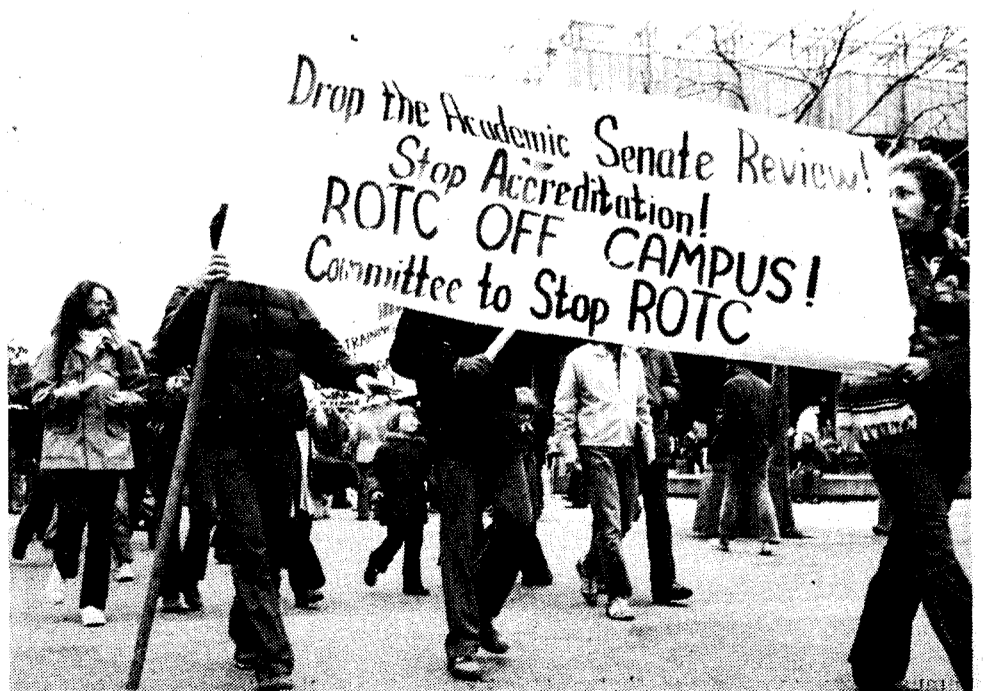
The RSB, however, seems committed to continuing its sectarian abstentionism. Although a few RSB members were present at the rally, they took no active part in either the march or picket line. The Young Socialist Alliance formally endorsed the CSROTC, but has done nothing else. The YSA reluctantly carried the leaflets for the demonstration on its literature table in Sproul Plaza, but refused to distribute them. The YSA also declined to exercise its right to a speaker at the rally.

The anti-ROTC issue has generated a wave of interest on the campus, largely because of the aggressive work of the SYL. The *Daily Californian*, which plays the role of a campus forum on such issues, has been swamped with letters on ROTC, and ran a two-page spread on ROTC the day of the CSROTC demonstration. The CSROTC has built support through the petition campaign, which has already received 1,000 signatures. Another rally has been called for February 26. ROTC OFF CAMPUS! ■



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Anti-ROTC demonstration on Berkeley campus, February 12.



# "Red Tide" in Swamp

## International Socialists Comes by a Youth Group



WORKERS' POWER



RED TIDE

"LOS ANGELES—On the weekend of December 14-15, 40 people from around the country arrived to found the Red Tide, the youth section of the International Socialists."

—Workers' Power, 26 December-15 January 1975.

"LOS ANGELES—On the weekend of December 14-15, 55 people from around the country arrived to found the Revolutionary Youth Organization."

—Red Tide, January 1975

LOS ANGELES—On the weekend of December 14-15, about 50 people arrived here to found the "Rebels." According to the social-democratic International Socialists (IS), this convention founded the new youth group of the IS called... the Red Tide (RT). But according to the small high school collective around the newspaper *Red Tide*, this same convention founded the new youth group of the IS called... the Revolutionary Youth Organization! With this ludicrous squabble over the very name of its new "youth section," the IS "consummates" its swamp-style "fusion," ingesting like an amoeba two small grouplets of radical youth—the Red Tide collective in Los Angeles and the Contra Costa Socialist Coalition (CCSC) in the Bay Area.

### "Fusion," IS Style

The apparent recruitment of the RT and CCSC represents the first youth "regroupment" to come the way of IS since the SDS split of 1969, when several "independent" caucuses and individuals who couldn't stomach Progressive Labor's pro-working-class line found a home in IS, the proud builders of the wretched left-liberal Peace and Freedom Party and ardent champions of student-power protest politics. Following this "fusion," the fad of workerism swept mainstream petty-bourgeois radicalism, and the IS accordingly "rediscovered" the working class. Since there was no longer a campus-based "Movement" worth tailing, the IS abandoned student work and for the next several years traipsed about on a haughty workerist kick (see *International Socialists: Left Wing of Social Democracy, Young Communist Bulletin No. 2*).

As a result of its heavy workerist posturing, the reformist IS next picked up the Communist Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party, a cynical crew that plunged into the petty-bourgeois IS in search of the American proletariat. Then the IS "fused" last autumn with the Socialist Collective, a Los Angeles-based grouping of black socialists under the misleadership of the opportunist Joe Johnson.

When its binge of rank-and-file economism brought only stagnation and frustration, the IS zoo polarized, and in late 1973 its New Left/SDS and Communist Tendency wings "unfused" in an eruption of clique warfare that

split the IS. As for the much-touted "fusion" with the Socialist Collective, the IS honchos had not even completed the national tour celebrating with great fanfare this merger when the members of the Socialist Collective, the majority of whom are subjectively to the left of the IS, came bursting out of the IS holding their noses.

Saddled with "fusion" fiascos that have made it a laughingstock, the IS, for whom "sect" irrelevance is an absolute anathema, is obviously desperate for this youth recruitment. The IS can no longer afford to indulge in sneering at campus-based youth work. To the contrary, the IS press has recently been filled with articles extolling the good ol' days of petty-bourgeois protest politics!

But the recent split of the Socialist Collective may well have repercussions among the IS' new "youth section," since the RT elements in the past have had a political relationship with the Socialist Collective. One "fusion" down; another to go?

### What is the Red Tide?

Both the RT and the CCSC originated in 1971 as groupings of high school activists. Throughout its entire existence the CCSC never published a paper, but according to the "fusion" announcement in IS' *Workers' Power* the group was active "in the movement to end the Vietnam War." The group at present is involved in low-level, semi-political high school work. The RT, however, was built from its outset around a newspaper and may be considered a political tendency in the Los Angeles left.

The RT began as a typical "underground" newspaper at upper-middle-class University High School. For its first year, RT was saturated with mindless "anti-Pig" rhetoric and hippie-jive drug enthusiasm. The first issue of RT announced "our three point program: DOPE, ROCK & ROLL, AND FUCKING IN THE STREETS." Referring to themselves as "commies," the RT with typical unseriousness suggested that their classmates "get rid of the problem at the source, which means, Blow the Motherfucking School Up!"

By its second year, the RT advanced beyond this infatuation with Yippie "politics" and settled into a low-level New Leftism. Now describing itself as a "Hi School Community News Service,"

RT "served the people" with programless articles on school conditions, police repression, women's liberation, pollution, black history, the plight of the farmworkers and "Third World" struggles. While in personal contact with IS supporters and occasionally drawing from *Workers' Power*, the RT confined its "socialism" to quotations from its New Left idols: Che, Mao, the NLF and Leo Huberman (*Red Tide*, September 1972).

The following year the RT began to borrow more consistently from IS politics, running several pedagogic articles on socialism very similar to the effusions of IS' social-democratic cousins—the New American Movement and the Young People's Socialist League. RT conspicuously avoided mentioning "revolution," always searching for innocuous euphemisms like "total reorganization of society." This new-found "socialist perspective" had no effect on the actual work of the RT, and its major campaigns in 1974 were confined to student power-oriented demands: against the arrest of student dope dealers and for the right of students to wear hats in Locke High School.

### "State Department Socialism" Makes a Recruit

The RT had quite clearly consolidated around IS politics with its first issue for the 1974-75 school year. A basic statement, "What We Are, What We Stand For" (*Red Tide*, September 1974), paraphrased the essentials of IS' "Third Camp" socialism. The statement points out that "Socialism and communism are two words which strike fear into the hearts of most Americans," but promises assuringly that:

"We believe that socialism or communism exist nowhere in the world today. The 'communist' revolutions in China, Cuba and North Vietnam, while driving out U.S. imperialism have not brought socialism, but a new form of oppressive class society. We stand in opposition to all forms of exploitative class society, both capitalist (USA, Britain, etc.) and 'Communist' (Russia, China, etc.)." [original emphasis]

Trotskyists uphold the position that the Sino-Soviet states in their class character are *bureaucratically deformed workers states*. Because these states defend a collectivized form of property that corresponds historically to the economic foundation of proletarian

rule, we stand resolutely for the unconditional defense of the deformed workers states from imperialist attack. Because the proletariat of these states is politically expropriated by the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracies ruling in the name and in the place of the working class, we call for a political revolution by the proletariat and its peasant allies to oust these treacherous bureaucratic castes and to restore soviet democracy and proletarian internationalism.

But the RT, like its IS mentors, is concerned above all to pledge before bourgeois "public opinion" its fundamental hostility to communism. Comfortably ensconced in the very citadel of imperialism, the RT and IS refuse to defend the Sino-Soviet states from an imperialist assault that aims to destroy the monumental gains of the revolution and restore these countries to imperialist domination. If U.S. imperialism in its death agony should attempt to devastate the "totalitarian Communist world" with hydrogen bombs, it can count on the theoretical neutrality and opportunism in practice of these servile "opponents" of imperialism.

Consistent with IS' social-democratic hostility to Leninism, this same RT statement not once mentions the need for a vanguard party. But, after all, why should RT call for a vanguard party when it never mentions the need for a revolution against capitalism? The only mention of "revolution" is the warning that the "revolutions in China, Cuba and North Vietnam" have resulted in totalitarian "new class" societies. Let the deformed workers states be smashed; in this

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**Left Wing of Social Democracy**

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# "Prairie Fire"— Weather Underground's "Greening of Amerika"

Since the January 28 bombing of Agency for International Development offices in the State Department and the nationally coordinated release last July of a 156-page "political statement" entitled *Prairie Fire*, the Weather Underground has begun to receive significant publicity from the bourgeois media and to furrow the brows of many speculating radicals. Reporting on the AID bombing, the *New York Times* asserted, with intriguing ignorance, that the terrorist group which surfaced the bombing statement under the name "Weather Underground" is a "new" organization, different from the old "Weatherman."

Although deeply underground, the organization which exploded into national headlines during the Chicago "Days of Rage" demonstrations in 1969 apparently still is to some extent intact and functioning. The Weather Underground (WU—the name assumed by Weatherman beginning in December 1970) continues to leave a trail, sparse yet dramatic, marking its political "interventions." While the AID bombing was admittedly sensational, the appearance of *Prairie Fire* (PF), which "represents the politics and collective efforts of an organization" according to the introduction by authoritative Weatherleaders Bernardine Dohrn, Billy Ayers, Jeff Jones and Celia Sojourn, is of far greater import.

PF is being read and discussed on many college campuses and other enclaves of radical youth, and some PF collectives have already sprouted, with roots in the "Prairie Fire Distributing Committee." When compared with the statements and corresponding actions that gained the Weathermen almost instant notoriety four years ago, PF almost could be misinterpreted as the statement of a "new" organization.

## Weatherman Politics

The Bernardine Dohrn/Billy Ayers/Mark Rudd-led Weatherman group originated in the Revolutionary Youth Movement bloc that "expelled" the Worker-Student Alliance Caucus of Progressive Labor Party at the infamous SDS split convention of June 1969. Weatherman's founding document, "You Don't Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way the Wind Blows," counterposed to PLP's crude working-class orientation a vicarious nationalism based on "Third World" vanguardism (which included the fictitious black "nation" in the U.S.).

The document simply regurgitated the thesis of the Fanon/Debray-oriented New Left that peasant-based guerrilla struggles under Stalinist or petty-bourgeois nationalist leaderships "will continue to set the terms for class struggle in America," because "the main struggle going on in the world today is between U.S. imperialism and the national liberation struggles." Class struggle in America was not on the agenda until the liberation of the countries under imperialist domination: "Winning state power in the U.S. will occur as a result of the military forces in the U.S. overextending themselves around the world and being defeated piecemeal." The Weathermen envisioned that the "cities of the world will be encircled by the rural areas of the world" (Lin Piao) through "two, three, many Vietnams" (Che Guevara).

Basing themselves on this anti-Leninist schema of global "peoples' war" (a militant Menshevik two-stage revolution), the Weathermen could "fight on the side of black people and the Third World" by delivering blows to the "belly of the monster," knocking a little wind out of imperialism from "behind enemy lines" and thereby softening it up for eventual outside destruction by the insurgent forces of the "Third World." The "armed struggle" of Weatherman began as ultra-militant confrontation-

ism in street and campus demonstrations. The mindless "Off-the-Pig" trashing of the summer and fall of 1969 was gleefully described by Weatherman as "out of sight destructive actions" and "tearing up in the gut of the monster" (*New Left Notes*). Continuing to escalate their impotent New Left protest politics to the most violent tactical extreme in frustration and frenzy, the Weathermen went underground in winter 1970 to begin a campaign of terror bombings directed against targets symbolic of bourgeois authority.

The daring terrorist actions were the ultimate gesture of moral solidarity with the struggling forces of national liberation that were seen as chopping off the tentacles of imperialism one by one. Flushed with satisfaction over the bourgeoisie's consternation, the WU claimed that "We are not just 'attacking targets'—we are bringing a pitiful helpless giant to its knees" ("Fall Offensive" communiqué, 8 October 1970). But the WU soon was forced to admit that the bombings could only be messages of solidarity:

"Most of our actions have hurt the enemy on about the same military scale as a bee sting. But the political effect against the enemy has been devastating. The world knows that even the white youth of Babylon will resort to force to bring down imperialism."  
—"New Morning—Changing Weather" communiqué, 6 December 1970

The Spartacist League and the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus of SDS (the predecessor of the Spartacus Youth League) have been alone on the left in consistently defending the Weathermen against state repression for their terror bombings and politically criticizing their self-defeating strategy of individual terrorism as only reformism with bomb in hand (see in particular: "SDS Leaders Sell Out Over Weatherman Bombing," *Revolutionary Marxist Caucus Newsletter*, December 1970; "Terrorism and Communism," *Spartacist*, August-September 1970; and "Terrorism No Strategy for Revolution," *Young Spartacus*, May-June 1974). The WU's terrorism never transcended militant reformism, and nothing could demonstrate this more clearly than *Prairie Fire*.

## "The Times They Are A-Changin'"

The perspective of "peoples' war" retains its full centrality in PF, which is permeated with panegyrics to the struggles and cultures of all "Third World" peoples:

"Because the U.S. is so dependent on its colonies (the super-exploitation of the Third World), national liberation both here and abroad is a knife to the strategic underbelly of the monster."

Lauding the Black Liberation Army and the Symbionese Liberation Army, the WU reaffirms its commitment to "urban guerrilla warfare" and "armed struggle" against the state: "Our intention is to disrupt the empire... to engage the enemy... to encourage the people... to forge an underground."

What is new in PF, however, is the realization that the destruction of imperialism in the conflagration of "Third World" revolts is not imminent and consequently that it is necessary to strengthen the "anti-imperialist front" in this country through developing an open "mass movement":

"Revolutionary war will be complicated and protracted. It includes mass struggle and clandestine struggle, peaceful and violent, political and economic, cultural and military, where all forms are developed in harmony with the armed struggle."

"Our goal for this period is to help build a mass anti-imperialist movement and to build the armed struggle, the guerrilla forces. Legal and clandestine struggle are both necessary: agitation

and attack, peaceful methods and violent methods, sometimes organizing the people step-by-step, and sometimes taking a leap thru action to a new level."

This is not the first time that the WU advocated mass actions to supplement its terror bombings. From the outset of its underground existence, the WU envisioned its bold bombings galvanizing the mass "youth revolt"; its "Fall Offensive" communiqué of 8 October 1970, projects the revolutionary potential of "the underground and mass movement responding together." Reflecting its total isolation, the WU issued its "New Morning" communiqué (December 1970) which repudiated the primacy of "armed struggle" and uncritically embraced hippie "culture." The conception of PF, however, is that of developing a mass "anti-imperialist" movement that would function as an integral component of the underground guerrilla operation, as opposed to either substituting for "armed struggle" or randomly responding to the vanguard actions of a shadowy underground.

## "The Movement" Resurrected

In sharp contrast to the adamant stance that "revolutionary violence is the only way" (WU's first underground communiqué), PF now expansively explains that "There are many faces to militant resistance and fighting, a continuum between guerrilla and mass work." In this regard, PF points to ghetto uprisings, attacks on the police (not "pigs," but "police," mind you), prison rebellions and the Weathermen's own insane "Days of Rage." But the WU's new notion of "militant resistance

with barricades immediately on the agenda. Rather, PF now speaks of the need for a "class analysis," the purpose of which "is to isolate the enemy and to identify our potential friends."

This "class analysis," however, is based not on the Marxist understanding of the relationship of various social groups to the means of production, but on the Weathermen's appraisal of the reaction of these groups to the Vietnam war, "the defining event of our time":

"The vanguard nature of Vietnamese liberation in the past decade means that we can approach the difficult question of class analysis, consciousness and potential, by looking at how various groups within society were affected by anti-war struggle. This way we avoid an idealist or opportunist class analysis, and begin with our understanding, based on practice, of the leading anti-imperialist forces in society."

From such a profoundly moralistic, anti-Marxist perspective the WU of course concludes:

"In the U.S. in the past twenty years, the white industrial proletariat has seldom exercised its revolutionary initiative. Third World peoples in the U.S., and also women, youth and members of the armed forces have shown the most consistent initiative and practice as measured by the decisive anti-imperialist struggle of this entire period: the war in Vietnam. These groups have been the carriers of proletarian internationalism for this time.

"For us, proletarianization means recognizing the urgency of revolution as the only solution to our own problems and the survival of all oppressed peoples."



Weathermen rampage in Chicago in October 1969 during "Days of Rage."

and fighting" also generously includes "pouring blood on draft files," "draft card burnings," "spray paintings," occupations of "symbols such as the Statue of Liberty, People's Park" and "mass demonstrations" such as the pacifist peace crawls of the Old/New/National Mobs!

In its evaluation of "The Sixties," PF bursts into psalms of praise for the mainstream New Left "Movement," described as "our people's great moments." PF declares: "we strongly affirm the general thrust and direction of the politics and movements of the last decade." The "mass movement" desired by the WU thus turns out to be New Left protest politics of circa 1968, the heyday of student radicalism when "the demonstrations built on each other; each struggle was unique and beautiful."

But the fundamental catalysts of the ephemeral New Left student radicalization of the late 1960's—naked imperialist intervention in Vietnam, massive eruptions in the ghettos and the dynamic emergence of the radical-nationalist Black Panther Party—have qualitatively receded. No longer does the WU pose "Which side are you on?"

For Weatherman, the role of vanguard falls to whomever is swept up in the protest movement and not to the working class, which alone has the social power and objective interest to halt all imperialist wars.

## "All White Babies Are Pigs"

Dismissing the white working class as bribed by the crumbs of imperialist plunder, the Weathermen in the past have determined "our potential friends" by demanding that whites give up their so-called "white skin privileges." For the Weathermen, racial equality could only be possible as an equality of poverty, which was the moral vow whites had to accept. To atone for their "complicity" in the continued oppression of black people and the peoples of the economically underdeveloped countries, whites had to be "put up against the wall" and shamed into identifying with the oppressed:

"The main question white people have to face today is not the state of the economy (for many, the question of selling their second car) but whether they are going to continue to allow genocidal murder, in their name, of oppressed



people in this country and around the World."

—"Attica" communiqué, 17 September 1971

From the standpoint of this inverted liberalism, the Weathermen could not see class war, only race war. Thus, at the December 1969 "National War Council" in Flint, Michigan (their last meeting prior to going underground), the Weathermen actually debated the question of retaliatory genocide against whites who refused to sacrifice their "white skin privileges." In the course of a typically self-indulging debate on whether killing white babies would be "correct," one Weatherman captured the sentiment of Weatherman guilt-politics with the ejaculation: "All white babies are pigs!" (reported in *Great Speckled Bird*, January 1970).

PF still maintains that imperialism has secured "a pacified sector of privileged workers." But PF is cleansed of all the earlier sanguine rage and berserk rhetorical savagery. It is now conceded that many whites who "receive benefits from the super-exploitation of the colonies" are also "exploited by imperialism" and that the "crisis cannot be contained among the dispossessed—it attacks the common family, the working person."

Likewise, PF now preaches that "We must learn how to reject and expose the racism without rejecting the person." Quite a change from "rejecting," that is "offing," white babies! Similarly, while the WU previously assumed that black people could win "self-determination" and state power "without this white movement," PF assumes the necessity for some "mass base among oppressor-nation people" and speaks in terms of "relative social/material white-skin privilege" (emphasis added).

### From Manson to the March of Dimes

The Weathermen have always looked to life-style radicalism and "youth culture" as an "alternative" to capitalist society. But earlier the Weathermen reveled in their total alienation from this philistine and oppressive bourgeois society.

At the Flint "National War Council" Weatherleader John Jacobs incanted:

"We're against everything that's 'good and decent' in honky Amerika. We will burn and loot and destroy. We are the incubation of your mother's nightmare."

—quoted in *Guardian*, 10 January 1970

Dohrn harangued the same gathering with the message that what the Weathermen are all about is "being crazy motherfuckers and scaring the shit out of honky Amerika." She then regaled the Weathermen with perverse paeans for the pathological killer Charles Manson and his sex-slave cult:

"Dig it: first they killed those pigs, then they ate dinner in the same room with them, then they even shoved a fork into the victim's stomach. Wild!"

—quoted in Kirkpatrick Sale, *SDS*

This enthusing over the sickening murder of innocent people was expressed also in the earlier emulation of Marion ("Live Like Him!") Delgado, an apparently deranged five-year-old who in 1947 succeeded in derailing a passenger train in California.

PF includes a section on "Youth Culture," in which the "cultural rebellion of youth" is glorified as "a proud and beautiful thing" and "a significant assault on the controls of empire." But the blood-lusting and mind-blowing rhetoric is absent. The psychedelic ecstasy of the earlier Weatherman has been replaced in PF by a sober concern for drug abuse reminiscent of a half-way house: "The problems of heroin, methadone, alcohol and pills have not been dealt with."

"Youth culture" no longer symbolizes the quest "to be the farthest-out people" like Charles Manson. PF approvingly notes:

"A large segment of youth has rejected the traditional values of society and has struck off in search of a better way, a more fulfilling life, more humane and dignified social relations. Young people

have become committed to collective work styles, to communities where work and life are integrated, where respect for community and nature and environment are priorities."

From the earlier "burn and loot and destroy" Hun-mentality the WU has now come to embrace the hyper-respectable naturalist/conservationist philosophy of the *Whole Earth Catalogue*. "Amerika" has now become "America" the Beautiful ("a huge and naturally beautiful land").

Far from scaring "honky Amerika," PF throbs with humanitarianism: "Old age, instead of being a mark of respect and value, is scary in our society." Far from shrieking "all white babies are pigs," PF denounces the capitalist media which "subject young people to a brutal culture of ultra-violence!"

### Weatherman's "What Is To Be Undone?"

PF is the WU's bid for resurrecting the "movement." "Now the movement is disorganized, divided and defensive," mourns PF; "In the movement times are hard." PF is directed above all to the Weathermen's own generation of homeless New Left radicals. It is for this reason that PF is so "reasonable" and "non-sectarian," having the tone of a "movement" soap opera.

The Weathermen's earlier "polemics" took on a physical form, both outside and within the WU. The peers of the Weathermen will recall that the Weathermen did not merely rant about "being crazy" and scaring "honky Amerika," but actually acted on this. This resulted, however, not so much in "scaring the shit out of honky Amerika" as out of the "soft" supporters of Weatherman.

One of the main purposes of PF is obviously to present a grandstanding public "self-criticism." At the very beginning of the document is a section entitled "Self-Criticism," in which the following revealing passage occurs:

"In the course of preparing for armed struggle in late 1969 we began mistaking friends for enemies. We applied the strictest standards of willingness to risk everything to comrades and allies, as well as to the real opportunists who represented the politics of retreat. We attacked those who could not come along the whole way, sometimes just because they were not ready to support everything we said and did." [emphasis added]

PF does not care to indicate exactly what it was "we said and did" to attack "those who could not come along the whole way."

First, there was the "beat the people" line. During the summer and fall of 1969, the Weatherman sought to recruit white lumpen youth on a "program" of macho "kick-ass" toughness. The Weatherman collectives would provocatively hold demonstrations with NLF flags on beaches and in parks in working-class neighborhoods, invade high schools shouting "jailbreak" and "confront" the "street kids" in hang-outs and drive-ins. These kamikaze stunts were supposed to "put white kids against the wall and force them to make the choice of either fighting for the pig or fighting for the people of the

were denounced: "There's a war going on, and anyone who does not fight for black and Third World liberation and who doesn't organize white youth to join that fight is the enemy" (*ibid.*). In his "Strategy to Win" speech at the August 1969 Cleveland National Action conference, Bill Ayers summed up the Weatherman's "beat the people" line:

"But the more I thought about that thing 'fight the people,' it's not that it's a great mass slogan or anything, but there's something to it... There's a lot in white Americans that we have to fight, and beat out of them, and beat out of ourselves."

—*New Left Notes*, 12 September 1969

If some radicals did not like how "we smashed ideas and built our movement off of toughness and combatted liberalism in ourselves," Ayers pugnaciously snarled, then "a lot of these so-called movement people are just going to have to get out of the way, drop out." And drop out is just what many Weathermen and fellow-travelling "movement people" did.

During the same period the Weatherman leaders initiated a "smash individualism" campaign within the collectives. In the same Cleveland speech Bill Ayers declared:

"... we have one task, and that's to make ourselves into tools of the revolution. We know what we have to do, and that means a lot of heavy stuff. It means a lot of invading things that people didn't think should be invaded before, and it means a lot of resisting."

In the Weatherman's bizarre version of Stalinist forced collectivization, all monogamous relationships in the organization were broken up, and couples were split up and forced to live in collectives. Unable to cope with the incessant ego-smashing and total deprivation of privacy, many left the collectives. Furthermore, it was an unwritten law of the "smash monogamy" campaign that no Weathermember could refuse sexual relations with another. As a consequence, some Weatherwomen considered less attractive by the Weathermen honchos were driven out of the organization on flimsy "political" pretexts.

Finally, there was the "gut-check." To recount this, we yield the floor to former Weathermen:

"The lack of armed struggle by white people was explained in subjective terms (cowardice, holding back, etc.) rather than in material terms... Within Weathermen the question of armed struggle was handled in the same subjective fashion. In its crudest form this can be seen in the way Weatherman recruited new cadre. In the main, people were not recruited on the basis of political principles or from an evaluation of their practice. The issue was whether or not the potential cadre had the 'guts' to carry out armed struggle, or to be a *real* revolutionary, to be a *Weatherman*. Are you revolutionary enough to smash your closest relationships? Are you revolutionary enough to give away your children? This style of 'struggle' came to be known as 'gutcheck.' It was an important form of 'struggle' within the organization on every question."

—"It's People's Games That You Got To Dodge," quoted in John Jacobs (ed.), *Weatherman* [original emphasis]

### Weatherman With a Human Face

PF thus introduces the "new, improved" Weather Underground. It is an attempt to attract the scarred and shell-shocked veterans of the old Revolutionary Youth Movement and Weatherman, the New Left orphans of the Mayday Tribe and Venceremos, jaded hippies and Yuppies, "serve-the-people" community organizers, atomized "movement" activists and the younger generation of petty-bourgeois radicals turned off by the "sectarian" factionalism rife in the established "Marxist-Leninist" movement.

PF consciously avoids anything that could be contrived by homeless New Left radicals as "sectarianism." In discussing "Anti-Revolutionary Errors in the Movement," PF vaguely addresses its cryptic criticisms to anonymous organizations. The only political organization actually mentioned by name in the entire document is the Communist

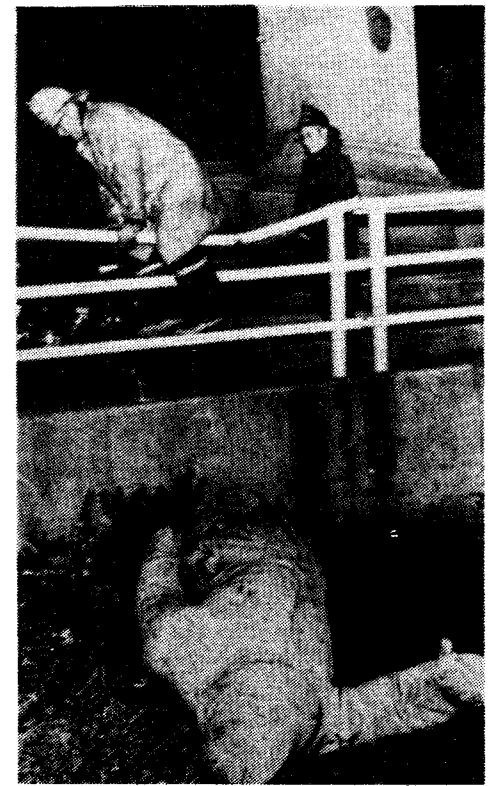
Party, which is praised for its "right-on" work during the thirties and gently criticized for its later revisionism.

PF moreover assiduously maintains either a bland neutrality or a superior know-nothingness on all the political questions in dispute among Maoists today. PF even tip-toes over the Sino-Soviet split with an agnostic, "we are studying these issues."

On the crucial question of the nature of the black struggle, PF merely repeats in passing the "Black nation" characterization in use since the days of tailing the Panthers. PF makes it abundantly clear that the WU favors uncritically tailing *all* black "leaders"—from Malcolm X to the old SNCC to Martin Luther King to the black Democrats! And why not? All have opposed in some way the Vietnam war, which, after all, is the WU's penultimate criterion for everything.

While in the early days denouncing the New Left feminist movement as "counter-revolutionary," the WU now sees the emaciated women's liberation movement as "a popularly-based movement, imbued with an unique spirit and the fierce beauty of masses of women actively claiming our power and our futures." The WU has carried its "re-evaluation" of feminism first ventilated in its "Collective Letter to the Women's Movement" (24 July 1973) to exuberant enthusing over "revolutionary feminism."

But perhaps most important is that PF appears as a beacon of "Movement-



Weathermen "Off the Pig": Blow up statue of cop in Haymarket Square, Chicago, 1970.

ism" at a time when each "Marxist-Leninist" organization is involved in "old-line" Stalinist "party-building." PF rises as the standard-bearer of unreconstructed New Leftism:

"There is room for lots of creativity in application and choice of work. Go to the people. Organize and mobilize. Build the struggle. Read and Study. Carry your books... Organize poor and working people. Go to the neighborhoods, the schools, the social institutions, the work places. Agitate. Create struggle... There are a thousand threads of forward motion in the social explosion of our times. A thousand threads to untangle and engage. Find a way for everyone to fight the enemy."

Through PF the isolated and largely discredited WU hopes to bury its own abject failure under cheap and outrageously dishonest "self-criticisms" and to revive the bankrupt politics of liberal social-work and impotent protest of the moribund New Left. Should the WU continue to attempt to surround this pallid reformism with the militant reverberations of bombings like the AID/State Department, the Spartacus Youth League will remain firm in our policy of working-class defense of the WU against state repression. We are no less committed to destroying politically any resurgence of graveyard New Leftism and winning young radicals away from the PF brand of terrorism/liberalism to the program of Trotskyism. ■



Weatherman "Red Army" practices karate in public park.

world" (*New Left Notes*, 20 Sept. 1969).

The inevitably hostile receptions given the Weatherman squads (including a broken jaw for Mark Rudd) demoralized many Weathermen and repelled many supporters. Those who could not plunge deliriously and recklessly into the vortex of "wargasm" confrontations

# RMG Tap Dances to Oblivion— “Trotskyist” Impostors Unmasked by Canadian Spartacists

VANCOUVER, January 24—For the first time the mutually warring Canadian factions of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) finally found themselves compelled to confront the Spartacist tendency in a public debate on the topic, "What Strategy for the Canadian Left?" The debate, held today at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, attracted some 40 people to hear representatives of the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency (CCIST); the Young Socialists (YS), youth group of the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA—Canadian supporters of the USec minority); the centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG—supporters of the USec majority); and two local groups, the Anarchist Collective and the Maoist Liberation Support Movement. The two-hour discussion proved to be a rout for the fraudulent "Trotskyists" of the YS and RMG, as Spartacist supporters aggressively exposed the political unseriousness, dishonesty and revisionism of these organizations.

## YS' Bilge Hoodwinks No One

The debate was opened by YS spokesman Greg Gigg, who bemoaned that so few politically unaffiliated (meaning naive) students appeared to be in attendance and credited this to their supposed disgust for "sectarian" wrangling. Directing his remarks to those students "who do not know about socialism" (meaning revisionism), Gigg proceeded to bore everyone with a platitudinous discourse totally devoid of programmatic content on the virtues of a future socialist society.

Gigg indicated that socialism could be inaugurated through the LSA/YS' "transitional approach." Having nothing in common with the Trotskyist transitional program, this "approach" is from the rear: tailing petty-bourgeois protest movements, liquidating the Trotskyist program and ensuring that they are channeled into the dead-end of reformism. For example, the LSA/YS' most recent major activity has been a single-issue campaign for the release of Henry Morgentaler, a Montreal physician victimized for performing "illegal" abortions. The LSA/YS has limited its intervention simply to calling for the release of Morgentaler, refusing to raise any programmatic points linking this democratic issue to the need for an anti-capitalist struggle against the oppression of women. When Spartacist supporters have intervened in pro-Morgentaler demonstrations with chants such as "Free Abortion on Demand" and "For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution," the LSA/YS furiously attempts to drown out these slogans so that its liberal allies in the women's liberation movement will not be offended.

A Liberation Support Movement representative followed Gigg with a brief presentation of its New Left/Fanon theory that the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries is hopelessly "bourgeoisified" by the drippings of imperialist plunder of the "Third World." Next, the Anarchist Collective spokesman gave a short talk on the importance of personal liberation and community organizing,

boasting that the Collective had "no specific dogma."

## Spartacist Blasts Revisionists

The Spartacist presentation sharply counterposed the revolutionary program of the Spartacist tendency to the revisionism of the other organizations, in particular, the abject reformism of the LSA/YS and the impressionistic centrism of the RMG. The Spartacist representative analyzed the common revisionist methodology that underlies the superficially different programs of the LSA/YS and RMG.

The LSA/YS has a long history of liquidationist "deep entry with a non-split perspective" into the right-social-democratic New Democratic Party, while the RMG liquidates its nominally Trotskyist program in New Left-derived trade union economism. In its campaign for the last federal election, the RMG ran on a so-called "revolutionary" program that failed to mention defense of the Sino-Soviet states against imperialism, expropriation of industry, workers control of production or a workers government! The Spartacist comrade challenged the RMG spokesman to answer for once the political criticisms of the CCIST and concluded his presentation by emphasizing the importance of political struggle between competing ostensibly revolutionary organizations.

## RMG's Empty Soliloquy

Speaking for the RMG, Michael Kaufman opened with the complaint that the main problem of the "revolutionary left" is that "it is having meetings like today's." He contemptuously denounced political debate as a "smorgasbord of the left," where each organization comes to "present its wares" and the "audience is supposed to sit back and choose." "We," sneered Kaufman, "are not interested in doing this."

For the remainder of his time, Kaufman babbled about the need for a "specific understanding of the reality of the world." Concluding his revelation of this "new world reality," he invited all who were really interested in RMG politics to speak with RMG supporters privately and to read the RMG press, *Old Mole*.

A Spartacist supporter began the discussion period by pointedly challenging the RMG once again to address the political issues in dispute. Kaufman's response was a shrug, and RMG supporters in the audience fidgeted in cowardly silence. Then a YS supporter asked Kaufman at least to clarify what had been said in his presentation. He again refused, pouting that it really was quite impossible to discuss the politics of the RMG in such a setting.

Another Spartacist supporter then pointed out that after months of adamantly refusing to debate the Spartacist tendency, the RMG national leadership, under the pressure of its local Toronto supporters, finally agreed to a debate on its terms last April... only to back out of the political confrontation at the last moment. In the past nine months the Spartacist tendency in Canada has scored a rapid growth, much of which has been at the direct expense of the RMG.

In those areas where the CCIST has

a presence, the RMG in recent months has suspended holding public forums, retreating to the sanctuary of its mole holes. It is only recently that the RMG has regained the courage to hold forums and face the criticism of the CCIST. The RMG prohibits under the threat of discipline its supporters from attending Spartacist tendency forums and classes. Recently the Toronto RMG even expelled two members of one of their study circles for expressing political agreement with the CCIST. The RMG's posture of favoring political discussion is hypocrisy, the Spartacist supporter concluded, as the RMG has demonstrated that it is unable to defend its opportunist line that translates into such slogans as "Workers of the World, Caress!"

## RMG Resorts to Vaudeville

To this Kaufman replied, "I would much rather be caressing right now than listening to you and the next three speakers from a vampire sect that does nothing but follow the RMG around from city to city trying to suck us off." This slander was met by out-

cries from the audience, "Give us some politics, Kaufman!" In desperation, one person called out, "Give us a tap dance, Kaufman!" Hearing this, Kaufman with typical juvenility hopped up and... tap danced! When these antics only further exasperated the entire audience, including the previously sedate anarchists, Kaufman decided to conclude by re-emphasizing his only political point: the RMG doesn't pretend to have a correct revolutionary program. With this we certainly concur!

As the Spartacist spokesman aptly concluded in his summary to the debate:

"This afternoon's performance has been a test case for centrism. The Spartacist tendency raises political criticisms, and comrade Kaufman's response is to give us a dance, both literally and figuratively. The RMG speaks of practice as the key. We agree, but practice means the application of a program.... We challenge the RMG to debate us on any aspect of our practice, for example trade union work, in the confidence that our revolutionary program will prove superior." ■



# SPARTACIST

canadian committee of the international spartacist tendency

Number 5

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The current issue of the Canadian *Spartacist* contains a valuable historical critique of the reformist LSA/YS. Don't miss it! For free copy and information write:

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### Bay Area

Class Series—  
THE WORLD IN CRISIS AND THE  
TROTSKYIST PROGRAM FOR  
WORLD REVOLUTION  
March 11, 7:30 p.m., Tan Oak  
Room, Student Union, U. of  
California at Berkeley.

### Cleveland

Class Series—  
CRISIS IN CAPITALISM: THE  
MARXIST SOLUTION  
March 12 and 26, 7:30 p.m., Room  
419, Main Classroom Bldg., CSU.

### Los Angeles

Class Series—  
MARXISM AND INTERNATIONAL  
REVOLUTION  
Weekly, Fridays, 12 Noon, Room to  
be announced, U. of California at  
Los Angeles.

### Madison

Class Series—  
TOWARD THE WORLD SOCIALIST  
REVOLUTION  
Alternate Thursdays. Next class:  
March 13, 7:30 p.m., Memorial  
Union. Room to be announced.

### New Haven

Class Series—  
MARXISM, TROTSKYISM AND THE  
SPARTACIST LEAGUE  
Alternate Wednesdays. Next class:  
March 5, 7:30 p.m., Room WLH 15,  
Yale U.

### New York

Class Series—  
THE LENINIST PARTY AND  
PROGRAM FOR REVOLUTION  
Alternate Wednesdays. Next class:  
March 19, 7:30 p.m., Hamilton  
Hall, Room 304, Columbia U.

# Fig-leaf Orthodoxy to Cover Call for Troops

# YSA "Discovers" Cops at Berkeley

The response of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) to the busing crisis in Boston has been to scramble for an alliance with bourgeois politicians and the NAACP, offering its organizational services for building a "new civil rights movement" (see article page 10). As its first overture for a class collaboration tryst, the reformist SWP/YSA vociferously championed the slogan "Federal Troops to Boston!" the moment it was advanced last October by the NAACP and the Massachusetts Black Caucus Democrats.

As an essential part of our months-long campaign in support of busing and the formation of a labor/black defense, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League have exposed in our hard-hitting agitation and propaganda the SWP/YSA's ultra-reformist position that the armed forces of the capitalist state (the army, national guard, cops) under appropriate mass pressure can be relied upon to "protect" the struggles of the oppressed (see in particular "Not Federal Troops, But Labor/Black Defense!", *Young Spartacus*, December 1974). To deflect our scathing polemics, the SWP/YSA has been forced to defend its pro-troop line publicly and in the *Militant*.

## Crim School Ruse

To find some orthodox fig-leaf to cover its naked reformism on the troops question the SWP/YSA has scavenged about and picked up the issue of the School of Criminology at the Berkeley campus of the University of California. Last spring a mass student upsurge was sparked by the administration's plan to liquidate the Crim School, dismissing the troublesome radical sociologists and shifting the cop-training criminalistics courses to other departments. At that time the SYL (then the Revolutionary Communist Youth) pointed out that the "Committee to Save the Crim School" was conducting its campaign around not merely the defense of radical and liberal professors from a purge, but also the preservation of cop training on campus. The SYL therefore actively intervened with the principled slogans, "Defend Radical Crim Professors, Defend Ethnic Studies!" and "Cops and Cop Training Off Campus!" (see "Cops and Cop Training Off Campus!", *Young Spartacus*, July-August 1974).

Opportunistically drooling for influence in the mass protests, the YSA uncritically tailed after the "Committee to Save Crim" and supported the "Crim

School Referendum," which in turn supported the "present program and organization" of the cop-training Crim School. At that time SWP Congressional candidate Paul Boutelle issued a statement, "Where Socialists Stand on the Crim School," which declared: "The Socialist Workers campaign pledges full support to this fight. SAVE THE CRIM SCHOOL!!!" Eager to push the "serve the people" cop-training illusions of the "Committee to Save Crim," the YSA refused to support, much less raise, the demand for cops and cop training off campus.

## Protests Recede, YSA "Principles" Emerge

With the "Save Crim" mass upsurge fully exhausted by summer, the same Paul Boutelle issued another statement last October which declared: "The Socialist Worker campaign opposes all cops and cop training in any form on the Cal campus; we call for the abolition of the Crim School." This sudden reversal of line was intended for YSA internal consumption. Absolutely no mention of it was made in the *Militant*; rather, the line change was fully developed and introduced to the YSA membership at the recent St. Louis YSA convention in a national leadership-endorsed internal document entitled "The Nature of the Police: Lessons of An Error" (*Young Socialist Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XVIII, No. 5, December 1974).

The purpose, character and timing of this flip-flop can be understood only as an attempt to create a cheap facade of orthodox Marxism on the dead issue of the cops to cover the current treacherous pro-troop crusade, which took center stage at the YSA convention. The purpose of the document is to "educate on the question of the police in general" for those YSA supporters uneasy about the SWP/YSA's attitude toward the state. Copying out phrases from its dusty volumes of Marx and Lenin, the YSA performs a ritual of orthodox Marxist exposition on the nature of the state and the police. The document states, quite correctly, "the question of the police is in reality a question about the capitalist state."

Passing over to programmatic considerations, the document poses the question of "community control" of the cops as follows:

"Since there are no workers militias to counterpose to the police, most people, including all [sic] of our opponents and most radicalizing youth, look to various 'reform' schemes to control or limit the police."

In its crescendo of orthodoxy the document confidently makes the startling assertion—a lie so brazen that it leaves anyone even vaguely familiar with the SWP/YSA's practice over the past several years totally dumbfounded—"we do not support the concept of 'community control' of the police" and "we expose these schemes":

## YSA's Theory of Combined and Uneven Opportunism

But the YSA, if it is to fabricate orthodoxy on the cop question, must likewise indicate that this methodology is not to be applied to the army. For on the troop question, the SWP/YSA for months has pursued a precisely parallel argument, but drawn the opposite conclusions: since there are no workers militias in Boston to counterpose to the intervention of federal troops, the SWP/YSA therefore calls

for troops and preaches that they can be effectively "controlled."

The document, while never mentioning busing in Boston, disposes of this contradiction by declaring, "Our attitude to the army is different than our attitude to the police." This revisionist distinction between the "good" troops and the "bad" cops has been central to all the SWP/YSA's arguments in defense of the call for troops into Boston to "protect" black people. After lecturing on the significance of the plebian character of the army, the document makes the sweeping pronouncement, "soldiers can be won over to the side

Not one fact included in this section of the document was unknown to anyone at all involved in the Crim School struggle last spring. This information was well publicized in literature distributed by the "Committee to Save Crim" and the SYL. Even the earlier, pro-Crim School statement by Boutelle admitted, "schools of criminology were set up in order to professionalize the police and make them more effective." For the YSA to pretend now that "our factual knowledge of the situation was seriously lacking" is a patent and shameless fraud. The document was produced precisely at the time of the

*"we do not support the concept of 'community control' of the police, because this implies control over the present police force, an impossible task."*

**Young Socialist Discussion Bulletin, Vol. XVIII, No. 5, December 1974**

## Camejo for control of police

BERKELEY—Antonio Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Berkeley, issued a statement on Jan. 26 supporting an amendment to the city charter to reorganize the Berkeley police force. The amendment, which will be on the ballot in the April city elections, would allow for the election by the community of boards which would hire and fire police. Camejo is the only mayoral candidate who supports the amendment. Since

*Militant*, 26 February 1971

of the working class." While in times of acute social struggle and with the proper intervention by the revolutionary party the army can be polarized, with masses of soldiers crossing over to the side of the proletariat, the YSA implies that the troops are simply inherently susceptible to mass control. The YSA therefore concludes: "The difference in our understanding of the cops and the army means that we take different attitudes to many concrete events." A facade of Marxist orthodoxy on the nature of the capitalist state is indeed useful for the SWP/YSA, but let no YSA supporter mistakenly apply it to "concrete events" like the Boston troop question!

## Why So Belated?

If the line change and falsification of the record on "community control" of cops is not motivated primarily by the need within the YSA for an orthodox foil, then why did this "re-evaluation" occur almost six months after the Crim School struggle itself? The document offers the feeble, contrived explanation that the YSA had "to do extensive research into the School of Criminology":

"Since the campus was closed during the summer, we took as much time as possible to research the question thoroughly.... We therefore waited until we had completely thought out all aspects of the question involved, and until we had thoroughly researched the facts, before the local executive committee presented its report to the local... we had slowly and carefully reconsidered all aspects of this rather complex question."

And what was the result of this meticulous, slow research that was so delicate that the rank and file was not informed? The YSA can now disclose that the Crim School... trains cops!

SWP/YSA's defensive efforts to justify its pro-troop line.

## The Spectre of the SL/SYL

Any lingering doubt about the real motivation for this orthodox decoy should be entirely dispelled by the special "appendix" to the document, entitled "A Footnote on a Sect's Evolution." This section on the "extremely sectarian" SL/SYL is a scurrilous attempt to portray the SL/SYL to the YSA ranks as "soft" on cops, thereby seeking to discredit our effective polemics and interventions, which exposed the YSA's pro-cop enthusiasm last spring during the Crim School struggle and its current pro-troop position in Boston.

The YSA claims that because the SYL does not call for the abolition of the Crim School, we therefore favor cop-training on campus, albeit "cloaked in radical rhetoric." This is a despicable slander, since the YSA knows very well that the SYL came out very clearly for the abolition of those courses which serve exclusively to train members or future members of the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state. If the Crim School involved *simply* cop training, as implied by the YSA, then why was the Berkeley administration so intent on forcing its closure and reorganization? The YSA is as dishonest in representing the SYL's position on the Crim School as its own position on "community control" of the cops.

The SL/SYL has a consistent record of principled opposition to any reliance on the armed forces of the capitalist state. The SWP/YSA's recent posturing of orthodoxy on the question of the cops, shot through with lies and slander, cannot cover the treacherous role which the SWP/YSA has played in preaching reliance on the bosses' army. ■

## Young Spartacus

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## Juliet Mitchell on Freud and Marx

# "Psychoanalysis and Feminism"

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND FEMINISM by Juliet Mitchell. New York: Random House, Pantheon Books, \$8.95 hardcover, 456 pp.

### A Review by Ed Clarkson

The pioneering theories of Sigmund Freud have engendered stormy controversy in scientific, literary and political circles ever since their embryonic formulation around the turn of the century. The birth of the psychoanalytic movement was attended by a split between co-workers Freud and Breuer, and dissension was frequently to beset the developing psychoanalytic school as many of Freud's collaborators and followers rejected central tenets of his theories—the role of the unconscious, the importance of sexuality and its energizer libido, and the critical significance of the Oedipus conflict in personality development.

Likewise in the communist movement heated debates have raged over the validity of Freudianism as a science of human behavior. As a consequence of the growing bureaucratic degeneration of the backward and isolated Soviet workers state, Freudian theory came under attack in the Soviet Union in the mid-1920's from both Stalinist-Bukharinist bureaucratic philistines in the party and the intelligentsia following Pavlov, whose ideas had the dual advantage of being more ostensibly materialistic and having a Russian origin—no small consideration for the proponents of "socialism in one country."

### Marxism vs. Freudianism?

It was the embattled Trotsky who insisted against the vulgar materialists that Freudian psychoanalytic theory required attentive consideration. In a 1926 essay on culture and socialism, which is breathtaking in its brilliance, Trotsky evaluates Freud as follows:

"The school of the Viennese psychoanalyst Freud proceeds in a different way [than Pavlov]. It assumes in advance that the driving force of the most complex and delicate of psychic processes is a physiological need. In this general sense it is materialistic, if you leave aside the question whether it does not assign too big a place to the sexual factor at the expense of others, for this is already a dispute within the frontiers of materialism. But the psychoanalyst does not approach problems of consciousness experimentally, going from the lowest phenomena to the highest, from the simple reflex to the complex reflex; instead, he attempts to take all these intermediate stages in one jump, from above downwards, from the religious myth, the lyrical poem, or the dream, straight to the physiological basis of the psyche....

"The attempt to declare psychoanalysis 'incompatible' with Marxism and simply turn one's back on Freudianism is too simple, or, more accurately, too simplistic. But we are in any case not obliged to adopt Freudianism. It is a working hypothesis that can produce and undoubtedly does produce deductions and conjectures that proceed along the lines of materialist psychology."

Psychological theories conflict with dialectical materialism when they at-

tempt to demonstrate that human beings are innately incapable of organizing society in such a manner that would qualitatively advance their material conditions of existence. For instance, Robert Audrey's theory of territoriality and Konrad Lorenz' theory of aggression are counterposed to Marxism precisely because they set out to prove that human cooperation beyond the narrow limits established by class, particularly capitalist, society is impossible.

There is a historical fatalism to be found in Freud's thought, especially in his pessimistic post-WWI writings, in which Thanatos (the death wish) hovers over a self-immolating humanity. Because Freud's petty-bourgeois world view does intrude upon his effort to formulate a scientific theory of behavior, many in the working-class movement regard Freudianism with hostility.

In *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930) Freud declares that the possibilities for human satisfaction and happiness are "limited from the start by our constitution," and "the natural human aversion to work gives rise to the most difficult social problems." The abolition of private property would "in no way alter the individual difference in power and influence." Commenting on a by then Stalinized Soviet Union, Freud confirms his skepticism by accepting the bureaucracy's claims of "socialist" society:

"The Russian Communists, too, hope to be able to cause human aggressiveness to disappear by guaranteeing the satisfaction of all material needs and by establishing equality in other respects among all members of the community. That, in my opinion, is an illusion. They themselves are armed to-day with the most scrupulous care and not the least important of the methods by which they keep their supporters together is hatred of everyone beyond their frontiers."

—"Why War?," *Collected Papers*, Vol. 5

### Freud and Feminism

While his views on Marxism and the Soviet Union brought Freud denunciation by the Stalinists and fellow-travelling intellectuals, his theories of femininity similarly evoked considerable antipathy from feminists. For Freud, two themes were of "paramount importance" in analysis: "the wish for a penis in women and, in men, the struggle against passivity [toward other men]...." (*Analysis Terminable and Interminable*, *Collected Papers* Vol. 5). To feminists this theory of penis envy seemed to doom women to the status of biological second-class citizenship—men in wish, but not in being.

In the context of the general anti-Marxist and anti-Freudian biases of New Left feminism, the "socialist-feminism" of Juliet Mitchell's first book, *Woman's Estate* (1971), appeared as a left bulge in "Movement" feminism. A quasi-Marxist and a "scientific" Freudian, Mitchell argued that Marxism was both relevant to the liberation of women (which it certainly is) and in harmony with the feminist "principle" of women organizing separately as women (which it is not). *Woman's Estate* even criticized, albeit mildly, the implications of the

anti-Leninist basis of New Left feminism:

"Feminist consciousness will not 'naturally' develop into socialism, nor should it. If we simply develop feminist consciousness (as radical feminists suggest) we will get, not political consciousness, but the equivalent of national chauvinism among Third World nations or economism among working-class organizations."

The penchant of American behaviorist psychologists to focus on "anti-social" behavior, recently expressed in the extreme by Skinner's apologetics for a benevolent totalitarianism, has prompted the radical petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, yesterday sympathetic to the "progressive" pragmatism of Skinner's *Walden II*, to search elsewhere for a psychological justification for their liberalism. Much in vogue in the feminist milieu have been the humanist psychology of Maslow, the hyper-genital theories of Reich and the "schizophrenia-is-good-for-you" ravings of Laing.

### Debunking Reich and Laing

Juliet Mitchell's most recent book, *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, is an attempt to come to terms with a declining movement which has become hardened in its anti-Marxism, anti-Freudianism and virulent bourgeois feminism. By this time, the reconciliation attempted in *Woman's Estate* between an eclectic Marxism, Freudianism and anti-capitalist feminism had obviously become untenable. Something had to give; it was Juliet Mitchell's "Marxism."

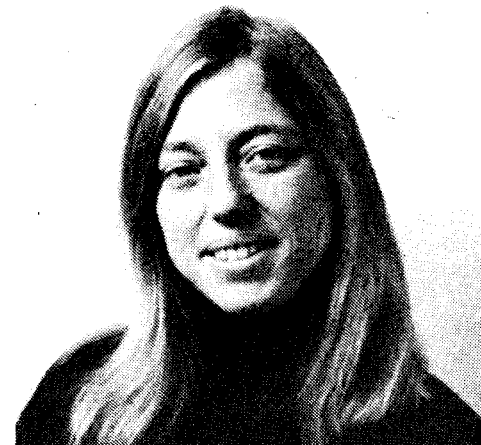
For those who prefer Freud to his detractors, *Psychoanalysis and Feminism* will prove, at least in part, an eminently satisfying work. Mitchell presents an intelligent and for the most part accurate exposition of the core elements of Freudian theory, especially the analysis of femininity. This is combined with insightful critiques of the "radical psychotherapists" Reich and Laing and of Freud's feminist critics, Simone de Beauvoir, Betty Friedan, Eva Figes, Germaine Greer, Shulamith Firestone and Kate Millett.

Mitchell argues convincingly that most criticisms of psychoanalysis are based on a misunderstanding of an important distinction in Freudian psychology: the distinction between the psychic representation of the conflict of social reality with instinctual forces (the data of psychoanalysis) and the biological instincts themselves. Freud fully realized that he was dealing only with the former; the latter he regarded as the subject of investigation for a future, more advanced science.

Reich asserts the matter in more "basic" terms: the repression of sexual energy is bad, its "ultimate" orgasmic expression good; heterosexual genitality is natural, homosexuality unnatural; the vagina is thus the biological counterpart of the penis. Lost are Freud's insights into the inherently bisexual natural of human sexual development and the extent to which the conflict between human drives and social reality both shape (through sublimation) and distort happiness and role. For Reich, instinct is all. Similarly, where Freud analyzes both normal and abnormal behavior as manifested through the a-logical operations of the unconscious, Laing sees the delusional



EDWARD SEBLEY



Freud and daughter, Anna (above). Juliet Mitchell (below).

world of the schizophrenic as a logical response to a current conflict. For Laing, humans are simply reactive.

Although Mitchell is frequently brilliant and incisive in her defense of the "science" of psychoanalysis, she is disquieted by Freud's insistence that all understanding of behavior, in the final analysis, must be grounded on the bedrock of biology. In Mitchell's schema biological determinism has no place, and her uneasiness with its presence in Freudian theory leads her to distort precisely that area of Freudianism she is most concerned to defend—his hypotheses concerning the "psychological consequences of the anatomical distinction between the sexes."

### Freudianism and the Oppression of Women

Generally Freud carefully distinguishes between the psychological impact of biological factors and the factors themselves. When Freud takes up the problem of the psychological development of women, however, he sidesteps this distinction.

Freud posits that the fear of castration for males is caused not merely by the sight or conception of penisless beings (women), but in addition by an actual, although perhaps implied, threat of castration. The female case is different:

"A momentous discovery which little girls are destined to make [is that] they notice the penis of a brother or playmate, strikingly visible and of larger proportions, at once recognize it as the superior counterpart of their own small and inconspicuous organ, and from that time forward fall a victim to envy for the penis.... A little girl... makes her judgment and her decision in a flash. She has seen it and knows that she is without and wants to have it." (our emphasis)

—"Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction Between the Sexes," *Collected Papers*, Vol. 5

For Freud, the esteem for the penis is established not socially, but phylogenetically: "The penis (to follow Ferenczi) owes its extraordinarily high narcissistic cathexis to its organic significance for the propagation of the species" (*ibid.*). The penis is valorized because of its role in reproduction.



Although the clitoris is "analogous to the male organ," Freud regards the vagina as the "true female organ" (*Female Sexuality*). Freud thus considers women as constitutionally inferior to men.

Freud's error is a logical one, based, no doubt, on the intrusion of male chauvinist assumptions into his scientific thinking. His letters to his wife are adequate testimony to his susceptibility to such influences. They reek of sexism, although of the icky-poo, "women-as-the-salt-of-the-earth" variety. Mitchell's aversion to Freud's biologicisms, however, is motivated not by political opposition to their anti-feminist implications, but by the desire for an idealistic revision of psychoanalysis which could provide the long-sought feminist "answer" to Marxist dialectical materialism.

**Mitchell Contra Engels**

In *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, Mitchell sweeps aside the self-proclaimed Marxist orientation of *Woman's Estate* and poses anew the fundamental question of the cause of women's oppression:

"The longevity of the oppression of women *must* be based on something more than conspiracy, something more complicated than biological handicap and more durable than economic exploitation (although in differing degrees all these may feature)."

The missing link turns out to be "culture"; specifically, patriarchal culture:

"It seems to be the case that contemporary anthropology supports Freud's contention that human society in many ways equals patriarchy rather than Engels' notion that patriarchy can be limited to strictly literate civilization."

Using the anthropological theories of academic doyen Claude Levi-Strauss, Mitchell argues that since the exchange of women by men between kinship groupings (exogamy) has characterized all human societies, all human society has been patriarchal, i.e., "fathers not men" have "determinate power." The Oedipus complex now becomes for Mitchell the internalized manifestation of the cultural tyranny represented in the incest taboo. With the dissolution of the Oedipus complex, "man finally enters into his humanity."

Mitchell realizes that kinship systems are obviously neither operative nor relevant in modern capitalist society and therefore maintains that the bourgeois nuclear family is socially redundant, merely "created to give that law [the patriarchal law] a last hearing." The struggle against the oppression of women no longer must be directed against capitalism or even the "domination of men," but must become a "struggle based on a theory of the social non-necessity at this stage of development of the laws instituted by patriarchy."

This contention that fathers have "determinate" power flies in the face of the fact that their role in anthropologically earlier (avuncular) societies was not significantly greater than the mother's. Nor is the father's son prohibited from copulating with the father's wife (the Oedipus complex as understood by Freud), although biological mother-son sexual relationships have apparently generally been taboo. The most primitive societies seldom have mechanisms for identifying either the father's sons or his mates (i.e., the nuclear family).

Incest (the prohibition of heterosexual copulation between certain biologically related individuals) only imperfectly correlates with the more primitive forms of unilinearity (kinship determined by membership to either the mother's or the father's clan) and exogamy (marrying out of one's clan). The incest taboo as such is a more recent historical development associated with increasingly differentiated social arrangements and the rise of the monogamous family.

Completely absent from Mitchell's analysis is any sense why the "law of patriarchy" should endure. Basing his hypothesis on inadequate anthropo-

# International Women's Day

## BERKELEY

### *International Women's Day: A Class-Struggle Perspective*

Saturday, March 8th, 7:30 P.M.  
U. of California at Berkeley  
Room to be announced  
Speaker: Bonnie Breen

**RALLY:**  
Friday, March 7th, Noon  
Sproul Plaza  
U. of California at Berkeley

## CLEVELAND

### *From Feminism to Trotskyism*

Tuesday and Wednesday,  
March 11th and 12th,  
John Carroll University (Tuesday)  
Case Western Reserve (Wednesday)  
[For more information on time and room, call (216) 621-3379]  
Speaker: Diana Miller

## PHILADELPHIA

### *From Feminism to Marxism*

Saturday, March 1st, 7:30 P.M.  
Germantown Community  
United Presbyterian Church  
Green and Tulpehocken Streets  
Speaker: M. Salzberg

## NEW YORK

### *Forward to a Women's Section of the Vanguard Party*

Wednesday, March 5th, 7:30 P.M.  
Barnard Hall—Room 306  
Barnard College  
117th St. and Broadway  
Speaker: Kay Blanchard

## HOUSTON

### *CLUW : Feminism and Reformism vs. Class Struggle in the Trade Unions*

Week of March 10th  
Sundry School  
University of Houston  
[For more information  
on date and time, call  
(713) 926-9944]  
Speaker: Sue Shepherd

## WASHINGTON D.C.

### *From Feminism to Marxism*

Friday, February 28th, 7:30 P.M.  
American University  
Hurst Hall—Room 2  
Speaker: N. Gerard

logical data (Morgan's studies), Engels wrongly inferred that a matriarchal stage preceded the development of patriarchy. But the essence of Engels' method, however, is the appreciation of the role of social relationships (the emergence of private property) in causing a qualitative perjurioration of the condition of women. Mitchell draws her analysis, however, from Freud's unfounded, fanciful hypothesis that in the dawn of primitive society exogamy and the incest taboo resulted from the successful alliance of sons against the sexual privileges of the all-powerful father, which resulted in the cannibalization of the father and the sharing out of his women.

**Forward to the Pages of Ms.**

*Psychoanalysis and Feminism* thus floats above any concern for the actual oppression of women. The degradation suffered by women imprisoned within the nuclear family and oppressed by capitalist society simply becomes the equivalent perforce of men exchanging women. Prostitution, social isolation, divestiture of legal rights, sole responsibility for child raising—all features of the monogamous nuclear family noticeably absent in most primitive societies—recede in importance for Juliet Mitchell. The bourgeois nuclear family is "not in itself important." Rather, it is the kinship system, which "in our society...barely can be seen to regulate social relationships," that is the source of women's oppression, because "it is within kinship structures that women, as women, are situated!" Mitchell has accomplished an ideal-

ist subversion of even that rudimentary Marxist understanding revealed in *Woman's Estate*. Now she conceptualizes culture as having its own dynamic (exactly what, remains unstated) and being transmitted through the unconscious independent of material conditions. Mitchell now recognizes "two autonomous areas: the economic mode of capitalism and the ideological mode of patriarchy."

In *Woman's Estate* Mitchell envisioned the revolution as the product of a coalition of oppressed groups, each raising its consciousness of its own particular oppression by a theoretical operation-bootstrap and then working to a point of solidarity. From her revised perspective, Mitchell has come to consider even a tactical unity between the women's liberation movement and the labor movement as unnecessary:

"Because patriarchy is by no means identical with capitalism the successes and strengths of the two revolutionary movements [the women's liberation movement and the working-class movement] will not follow along neatly parallel paths."

Not only are these paths not "neatly parallel," but they may in fact diverge. Mitchell readily admits that "It is perfectly possible for feminism to make more gains under social democracy than it does in the first years of socialism." Indeed, if capitalism has already rendered women's oppression redundant, then it is difficult to explain why the liberation of women could not occur under any form of capitalist government, from reformist Laborism or the popular front to fascism. In fact, the most optimum conditions could

well be a fascism where there are sufficiently strong drives toward racial purity as to necessitate the challenging of the "utility" of the incest taboo.

The politics of *Psychoanalysis and Feminism* are a justification for "Movement" feminism at any of its stages, from the radical, anti-capitalist New Left period through its current trivial, careerist and venal expression. For Juliet Mitchell the battle against cultural oppression no longer need be waged in the streets; the need for a Popular Front against Patriarchy can be propagated with equal efficacy from the pages of Ms. ■

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## Boston NSCAR Conference

# NAACP and "Left" Entourage Push Impotent Liberalism

BOSTON, February 16—The nearly 2,000 people who attended the founding conference of the "National Student Conference Against Racism" (NSCAR) here this weekend had been promised by the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) a "militant and uncompromising" strategy to "defeat the racist mobs in Boston and wherever they raise their ugly heads!" But instead they were witness to nothing more than the SWP/YSA's latest tribute to liberalism. For the last six months of racial polarization in Boston these fake socialists have turned their backs to the black masses, "seeking to make themselves as "respectable" and "responsible" as the NAACP and the Black Caucus Democrats. That the SWP/YSA has its sights set on a cozy alliance with the liberals has been made abundantly clear by its trumpeting of the demand for federal troops into Boston. Such a call may endear them to the pacifist misleaders like NAACP head Tom Atkins and Democratic senator Bill Owens but it is suicide for the black masses. The troops will arrive in Boston only to smash whatever self-defense efforts are made by the black community.

NSCAR is the SWP/YSA's latest attempt to solidify a class-collaborationist front group. The conference was billed as an attempt to build a movement "just as in the civil rights movement of the 1960's," and indeed the gallery of liberal misleaders hosted and toasted by the SWP/YSA preached the same tired pacifism, legalism and slavish reliance on the capitalist federal government that sabotaged the mass movement for racial equality 10 years ago.

Featured orator at the opening teach-in Friday night was Tom Atkins, head of the Boston NAACP, who called for a mass rally here on May 17 in support of school desegregation and "to begin the national drive to protect the Constitution" (*Militant*, 28 February 1975). Other speakers included author Jonathan Kozol, Luis Fuentes and Reverend Vernon Carter of the All Saints Lutheran Church in Boston, all of whom supported the SWP-NAACP rally call.

Though a near majority of the 2,000 participants at the conference were members or supporters of the SWP/YSA, the Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League had well over 100 supporters present. The two organizations used the conference for

a limbo tournament, competing for the distinction of politically bending over backwards the most for the liberals. Both organizations pledged with great solemnity to work to involve church groups, community organizations and even the Young Democrats and Young Republicans. When SL and SYL supporters raised the need for a working-class mobilization against the anti-busing forces, the response of these reformists was an outburst of frivolous laughter. The SWP/YSA went so far as to applaud wildly when a YWLL member barked that any discussion of Trotskyism was "irrelevant" in this conference.

While there was considerable organizational judo between the CP/YWLL and SWP/YSA over who will end up controlling NSCAR, there was no substantive political disagreement between these two reformist organizations. The ex-Trotskyist SWP/YSA and the Stalinist CP/YWLL can organizationally grapple on common political footing because both operate with a common perspective of class collaboration.

In the Saturday afternoon workshops, SL/SYL supporters argued for a motion which we subsequently put before the conference plenary session: support for implementing and extending the busing plan in Boston, and calling for the creation of a labor/black defense to protect the black people from racist terror. At one workshop, which was restricted on a racialist basis to blacks, two white SYL comrades were allowed to participate on the basis of their support to labor/black defense. The SL/SYL motion received about 20 percent of the vote in this workshop. Later in the afternoon, the Maoist elements which dominated this group succeeded in excluding the SL/SYL over the objection of some of the participants.

As soon as the evening plenary began, a loose assemblage of nearly 100 black and minority students, politically heterogeneous but with the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization and the February 1 Movement (a group resulting from the fusion of the Youth Organization for Black Unity and several smaller collectives) the dominant forces, grabbed a floor mike, filled the aisles and demanded unlimited speaking time. They proceeded, amidst shouting and turmoil, to denounce the SWP's opportunism and denounce its pandering to NAACP

politics and reliance on federal troops. A large percentage of this group also opposed busing in the name of "community control." Many members of this grouping viciously red-baited the SWP, mixing their justifiable outrage at the SWP's reformist pablum with reactionary anti-communism.

The consternation and embarrassment of the SWP/YSA, which wished to avoid political struggle at all costs, was evident, and quickly the SWP "marshals" surrounded the protesters. After nearly 25 minutes, the group walked out and proceeded upstairs to meet for several hours. The politically heterogeneous nature of the

ary 1975) slanders the intervention of the SL/SYL, stating that we were "yelling encouragement" to these forces in disrupting and walking out of the conference. In fact, the SL/SYL took up sharp struggle with this grouping: not only against their walkout tactic (which only strengthened the SWP's political control of the conference) but also against their confused politics and red-baiting of the SWP. By the end of the conference the impact of this political struggle was evident, as many of the militants expressed interest in SL/SYL literature and continued discussions.

After the walkout only the SL/SYL



SL/SYL class-struggle contingent in Boston December 14th march.

group was fully brought out, and the meeting could not agree on any strategy, tactics or political statement.

While the SWP/YSA denounced these "disrupters," the attitudes and politics of the dissidents represent in many ways the harvest of the opportunist seeds that the SWP has been sowing over the past decade. Even though the SWP/YSA occasionally bends its left knee to Leon Trotsky, it has long advocated and tailed "community control" reformism and black nationalism, politics which many of these students correctly sense is more consistent with Maoism than authentic Trotskyism. It is a shameful commentary on the SWP's legalist pacifism that many minority youth have been driven into the arms of bankrupt Stalinism.

The SWP/YSA's *Militant* (28 Febru-

stood in opposition to the reformist conception that "all" can be united across class lines to end racism and advocated a revolutionary working-class program for black liberation.

The May 17 March, if the NAACP actually works nationally to build it, may well draw thousands earnestly wishing to combat the racist offensive. But they will only find a line-up on the podium similar to the kick-off NSCAR rally: the NAACP, clergymen, politicians and sewer "socialists" like the SWP/YSA. The speakers on May 17 will have no answers for those who seek a serious perspective against racial oppression. The SYL will struggle to bring militants to this march under our own revolutionary banners and will pose a class-struggle alternative to impotent liberalism. ■

## Red Tide...

Continued from page 3

capitalist country the RT merely wants to build a "movement for social change" and to work for "changing the system."

The statement contains not one revolutionary demand. In fact, it contains not one demand, period! The following issue of *Red Tide*, in which the affiliation with IS is announced, carries a slightly condensed version of this same statement that manages to include exactly one demand: "We demand the right to form our own education according to our needs and desires, and to shape our lives as we see fit." This meaningless call for some vague "self-determination for high school students" indicates that the "socialism from below" of the IS' youth group will be even "below" the reformism of the IS; it is simply sub-reformism.

### IS: A School of Reformism

Comrades of the RT and CCSC, you declare that "The goals of the IS are the same as ours." By joining the IS you embrace a political tendency whose goals for decades have been guided by anti-communist hostility to the Sino-Soviet states, a hostility that makes the IS subordinate ultimately to the imperialist bourgeoisie.

You are joining an organization whose goals are to become advisors for "left"-talking, sellout trade-union

bureaucrats. The IS sings praises to the Coalition of Labor Union Women, while the strike-breaking CLUW bureaucrats attack working women and build their bureaucratic fiefdoms. The IS swooned over that "rank-and-file leader" in the United Mine Workers, Arnold Miller, who has smashed rank-and-file militancy and sold out the miners' strike this fall. For years the IS has offered itself as career counselors and publicity agents for the fake militants of the United National Caucus of the United Auto Workers like Jordan Sims, who once in office voted for the bureaucrats' sellout Ford contract, who supported Democrat Coleman Young for mayor of Detroit, and whose only "struggle" is trying to drag the union onto the chopping block of the capitalist courts.

By joining IS you will not be laying the basis for a Leninist youth organization, organizationally independent and politically subordinate to the revolutionary Marxist party. The relations between the reformist IS and its new "youth section," therefore, will not and cannot be regulated according to Leninist norms—horrors no, that would be "totalitarian"—but by cliquism, subterranean maneuvering and bureaucratic arbitrariness, as the bickering over the name already indicates.

By joining the IS, the RT and CCSC ensure that, whatever their subjective impulses and intentions might be, this new group will take its place as one more obstacle to proletarian revolution in this country. ■

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# Strike at Ann Arbor...

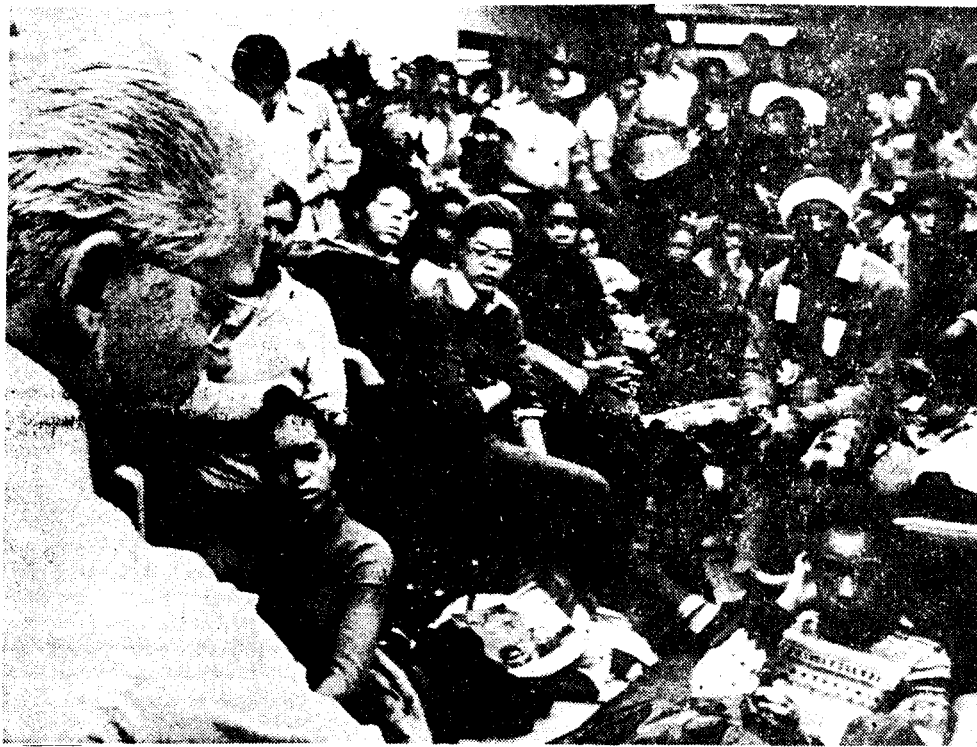
Continued from page 12

radical image. At the February 14 noon rally, which attracted 2,000 supporters of the GEO, the GEO leadership announced that the union had "settled" on the "affirmative action" issue. The University did grant a clause in the contract barring discrimination based on sexual preference, but the union had negotiated away even its token commitment to the struggle against racist and sexist status quo employment practices by dropping its inadequate "affirmative action" plan and accepting the University's empty promise to abide by the guidelines on discrimination of the racist U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

As the inevitable pressure began to build for students to return to their classes in the second week of the strike, the union fostered demoralization by telling students to return rather than face penalties for missed tests, and many began trickling back. The USC, still not willing to differentiate itself from the union leadership, also could only tell students: "Do what you want...."

## Sit-In Erupts

The brief campus upsurge was thus on the verge of collapsing when 200 minority students led by the Third World Coalition Council (TWCC) occupied the Administration Building demanding the reinstatement of a victimized black nursing student. Four years ago at UM, the Black Action Movement (BAM), through a series of militant actions that culminated in an eight-day massive student strike, forced concessions from the University including promises of 10 percent black enrollment, increased Chicano enrollment, active recruitment of minority faculty and students, financial aid, and tutoring and counseling programs. The black students confronted UM President Robben W. Fleming with the fact that four years after the BAM



MICHIGAN DAILY  
Students confront President Fleming during TWCC sit-in.

strike, black enrollment was still only seven percent of the student population. In his carefully phrased but condescending reply the rigid class bias of the educational system becomes clear:

"Because of the recession and the present job market a lot of [black] students' have dropped out or are not enrolling.... The number of all students going to college has dropped. There are many jobs available that do not require a college education...."  
—Ann Arbor News, 19 February 1975

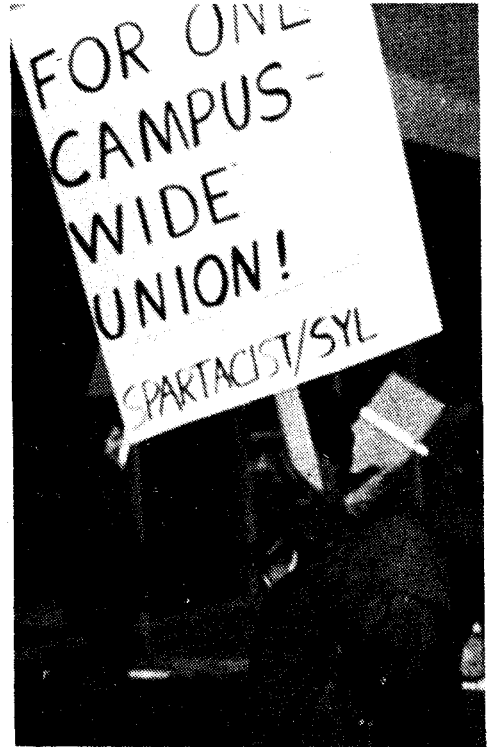
On the second day of the sit-in, when rumors of imminent police attack were rampant, some members of the SYL who had been inside the building contacted the steering committee of the USC requesting it to mobilize GEO picketers to rally in front of the Administration Building. In spite of its publically declared support for the sit-in, the YWLL refused the SYL's request with the incredible excuse that such support to the TWCC action would be strike-breaking!

The peaceful sit-in lasted three days and ended with the University administration "promising" to "negotiate." Although GEO and the TWCC exchanged messages of support, the strict ethnic

exclusionism insisted on by the leaders of the TWCC, as well as the vacillations of the GEO leadership, precluded a truly united and powerful struggle against the administration. Inside the occupied building, white students were ordered to caucus separately and return to the main body with their plans for supporting the minority students. The SYL argued that instead of dividing forces along racial lines, a united struggle—black and white, students and campus unions—is needed to defeat the administration and its racist and anti-union policies.

## No Student-Power Illusions!

Support for the strike is dwindling and it appears that it will probably be settled over the spring vacation. At the union's support rally during the second week of the strike, where attendance was down to 500, one-quarter of what it had been the week before, the RSB once again took up its call for the rebirth of the student movement of the "good old days." The difficulty of sustaining student support for the GEO strike and the ephemeral nature of both BAM's 1970



SYL on picket line.

victory and the administration's promise to negotiate now with the TWCC, are characteristic of student struggles which are limited to the campus. Militant and radical students will not find in a rekindling of the "good old days," whose bankrupt student-power illusions produced many more cynical radicals than significant victories, a program for changing society. It is in the Trotskyist program of the SYL that the best and most serious radicals will find a strategy that can finally replace this capitalist society with socialism. ■

FLASH—February 27—Yesterday the GEO leadership announced that it had dropped its demands for a wage increase and for a clause in the contract regulating class size. Sensing that the GEO's earlier retreat has now become a rout, the University continues to refuse to sign a contract, and early this morning some 20 GEO picketers were arrested and charged with trespassing. The University seems determined to wait out the strike. Now more than ever a militant united struggle must be waged for union recognition and defense of the victimized militants!

## SYL Directory

- ANN ARBOR: Call (313) 662-1548
- BAY AREA: SYL, Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, CA 94701, or call (415) 653-4668
- BOSTON: SYL, Box 137, Somerville, MA 02144, or call (617) 782-7879
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- CHICAGO: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 427-0003
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- DETROIT: c/o SL, Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 921-4626
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- LOS ANGELES: SYL, Box 29115, Vermont Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 485-1838
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- NEW HAVEN: SYL, Box 1363, New Haven, CT 06505, or call (203) 432-1170
- NEW ORLEANS: SYL, c/o SL, Box 51634, Main P.O., New Orleans, LA 70151, or call (504) 866-8384
- NEW YORK: SYL, Box 825, Canal Street Sta., New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 925-5665
- PHILADELPHIA: SYL, c/o SL, Box 25601, Philadelphia, PA 19144, or call (215) 667-5695
- TORONTO: SYL, c/o Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, or call (416) 366-0871
- VANCOUVER: SYL, c/o Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency, Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., Canada

## SL/SYL OFFICES

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Phone: 653-4668

### CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00—8:00 p.m.  
Saturday 2:00—6:00 p.m.

538 So. Wabash  
Room 206  
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Phone: 427-0003

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# Young Spartacus

## Strike and Sit-In Oppose Discrimination at Ann Arbor

ANN ARBOR, February 21—A strike by some 800 graduate students and a concurrent sit-in by 200 minority students have politicized the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor on a scale not seen here in the last several years. The Graduate Employees Organization (GEO), which represents the majority of Ann Arbor's graduate teaching, research and staff assistants, has followed the example of the militant struggle for union rights waged by Teaching Assistants (TA's) at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in 1970. Since the first of this year, the GEO has doubled its membership, and when picket lines finally went up on the morning of February 11, support for the strike mushroomed. By the end of the first week of the strike, a rally called by the GEO and an Undergraduate Support Committee drew over 2,000 students and strikers. A solidarity strike by undergraduates was almost totally observed in the liberal arts colleges during the first week and about 50-60 percent effective campus-wide. Mass pickets held at the Physical Plant building drew as many as 300 people.

The GEO, which now represents 1,200 employed graduate students, has been bargaining with the UM administration for over eight months to win the right to a contract, a salary increase and control of working conditions (such as class size and office space). University administrations have always justified the notoriously



Two thousand GEO strikers and supporters rally at U. of Mich. on February 14th.

work for the university in conjunction with their education, they must receive equal pay for equal work. A TA who is entirely responsible for teaching a freshman physics class should receive the same remuneration the Nobel Prize winner would receive for teaching the same class.

### Discrimination and "Affirmative Action"

One of the most prominent bargaining issues in this strike was the GEO's demand for "affirmative action" hiring

recruitment and appointment of GSA's may at best enable a few to make it into the presently predominantly white, male academic professions, and we therefore support the GEO's plan. However, we point out that these programs seldom go beyond tokenism. Quota systems will not fundamentally alter an educational system which institutionalizes class and racial discrimination from grammar school on. Racial and sexual discrimination, moreover, is rooted in the material oppression of black people and women in bourgeois society, and can be eradicated only through the proletarian revolution that smashes capitalism and inaugurates socialist development.

To fight against discrimination on the campus, it is necessary to demand open admissions to the universities, including graduate departments. Key to insuring equal access to higher education is the demand for a state-supplied stipend for all students. Such a struggle would also demand that the university use its resources for the tutorial and remedial programs necessary to compensate for previously inadequate schooling and training. The degree system itself is a codification of the class bias inherent in educational institutions under capitalism; at best grades may provide useful measurement standards, but flunkouts and the degree system must be abolished.

### SYL Builds Strike Support

From the beginning of this semester, the Ann Arbor SYL and its supporters inside the GEO began to mobilize students for the approaching strike. When the strike began, the SYL had already signed up 150 students for picket duty on the GEO's strike lines.

An Undergraduate Support Committee (USC), which had been dormant since its formation the previous year, was reactivated by supporters of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), youth group of the Communist Party. At a meeting of 50 students on January 30, the USC adopted a united-front proposal presented by the SYL which established that the Committee be open to all who agree to defend the strike, respect all picket lines and refuse to work for the University during the strike. SYL members argued for a student support committee which would function independently from, though in collaboration with,

the GEO union leadership. The SYL proposal stated specifically that participants in the Committee would be free to raise their own positions on any of the particular issues generated by the strike.

The Committee started out as a vehicle which could mobilize the broadest student forces, uniting those with divergent political views to strike together at their common adversary. But this potential was soon destroyed by the organizational maneuverings of the members of the YWLL and the social-democratic New American Movement (NAM), who were more anxious to curry favor with the GEO leadership than to insure the united-front basis of the strike support committee.

The Stalinist YWLL began its wrecking operation when it flagrantly violated the democratic guidelines voted by the Committee at the January 30 meeting and canceled a public USC meeting. Next the YWLL distributed a leaflet which carried the name of the USC but which had never been authorized or even seen by anyone else on the Committee.

At the second meeting of the USC, the YWLL, NAM and the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), under the guise of allowing the Committee to take positions in its own name on all the demands raised by the union, together pushed through a motion which changed the nature of the Committee from one which was open to all who supported the strike to one which would exclude those who could not pledge uncritical support to all the policies of the GEO, such as the union's pledge from the outset of the strike to accept binding arbitration on any contract. Protesting this sabotage, the SYL announced that it was forced to withdraw from the USC, but would continue to build support for the strike. SYL members and supporters were on the lines when picketing began at dawn on February 11 and have been present ever since then, carrying slogans such as, "For One Campus-Wide Union," "For a Campus-Wide Strike to Defend GEO," and "Worker-Teacher-Student Control of the University."

### GEO Retreats

The maneuvers of the USC were soon to backfire as the union leadership began to compromise its militant,

*continued on page 11*



GEO picket line stops truck at Physical Plant Building.

low wages paid TA's with the argument that the work done by employed graduate students is simply part of their training. University negotiators told the GEO that a Graduate Student Assistant (GSA) should not expect to be able to live off his wages. In a leaflet the GEO has pointed out correctly that this is an argument "for making graduate education available only to the privileged few who can pay their way alone."

TA's frequently carry the burdens of teaching, conducting discussions and grading papers for a course, yet invariably receive only a pittance of what the more senior professor who conducts the lectures receives. If students

of GSA's. At present only 4 percent of the GSA's at UM are black and only 28 percent are women. The union's "affirmative action" plan called for the University to increase recruitment of minority and female graduate students so as to provide a larger, "more representative" pool of graduate students from which women and minorities would then be hired on a population-parity basis. The union also insisted that there should be more GSA appointments.

Under the present capitalist educational system, securing a GSA appointment frequently is the only way a graduate student can continue his or her academic work. Such preferential