

Young Spartacus

NUMBER 53

25 CENTS

APRIL 1977

As Stalinists Preach "Sacrifice," Push Austerity—

Student Strikes Rock Italy

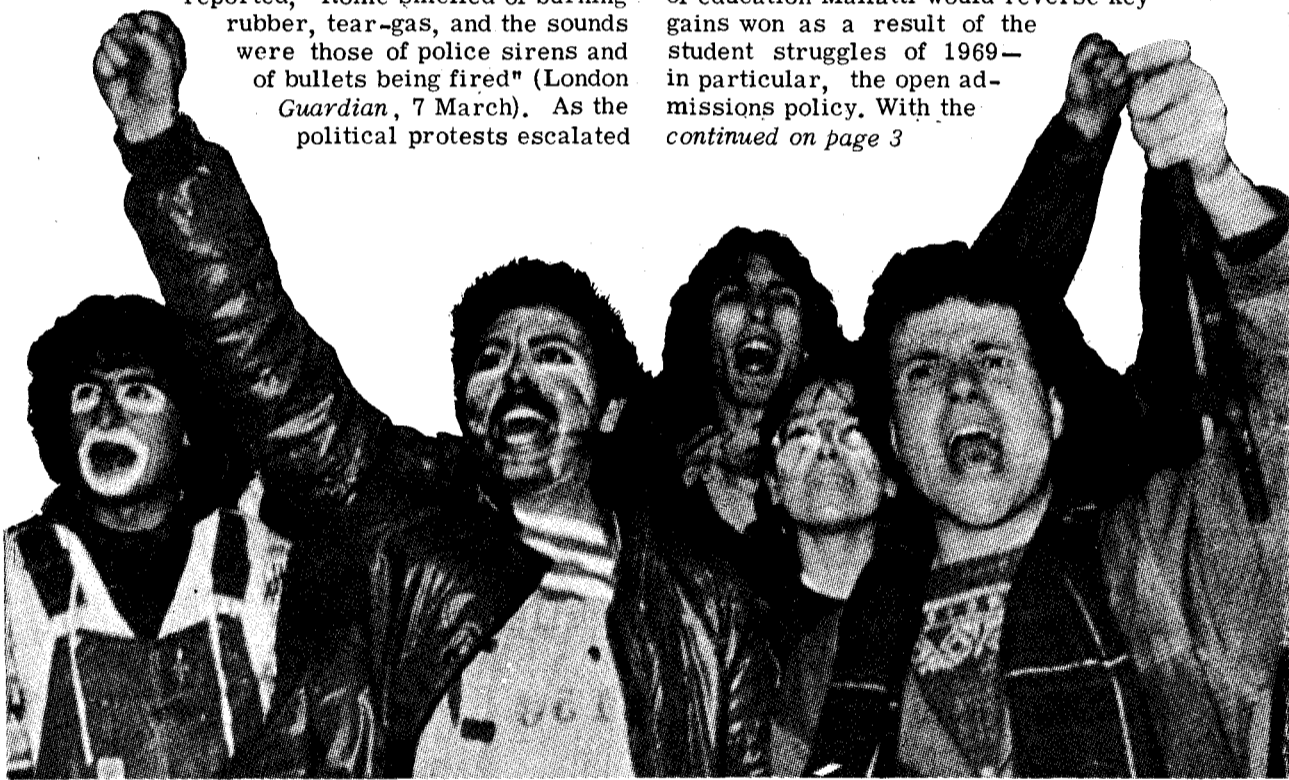
March 25—During the past several weeks Italy has been rocked by the most massive student protests since the "l'Autunno Caldo" (Hot Autumn) upheavals of 1969. Nearly all major Italian universities have been hit with militant student strikes and occupations, while in Rome, Bologna, Torino and Milano demonstrating youth have repeatedly clashed with armed fascist bands as well as riot police backed up by tanks.

"Large parts of Rome's ancient center looked like a battle field today, with burned out cars, smashed shops and ransacked offices, restaurants and nightclubs," declared the *New York Times* March 14. Another account from the week before reported, "Rome smelled of burning rubber, tear-gas, and the sounds were those of police sirens and of bullets being fired" (London *Guardian*, 7 March). As the political protests escalated

the bourgeoisie attempted to whip up an anti-radical hysteria; the newsweekly *L'Espresso* (20 March) questioned, "Is this the beginning of the Italian civil war?"

The student-centered struggles erupted last month in response to new university reforms proposed by the minority Christian Democratic government of prime minister Giulio Andreotti. In line with the "stangata" (austerity measures) already imposed by the Andreotti regime (including restraints on industrial wage increases, cuts in cost-of-living allowances, reduction on the 17 paid holidays and large hikes in gasoline and cigarette prices), the education reforms drawn up by minister of education Malfatti would reverse key gains won as a result of the student struggles of 1969—in particular, the open admissions policy. With the

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Italy's Days of Rage: the "Metropolitan Indians" don warpaint during campus seizure (left); students battle cops as tear-gas bellows over streets of Rome (right).

Protests at Columbia Hit War Criminal

KEEP KISSINGER OFF CAMPUS!

NEW YORK CITY, March 25—"No teaching post for imperialist war-criminal Kissinger!" "Chilean workers will not forget Kissinger and Pinochet!"

Chanting these and other militant slogans, about 80 students and workers demonstrated at Columbia University today to protest a proposed campus position for Henry Kissinger, that Metternich of American imperialism now retiring to a vice chairmanship at the Rockefellers' Chase Manhattan Bank. The rally had been called by the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus, a united front initiated and energetically built

by the Columbia Spartacus Youth League (SYL).

Denouncing Kissinger at the demonstration were speakers from the Ad Hoc Committee, the SYL, the Friends of the Filipino People, the Friends of Santucho, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union, as well as socialist Columbia professor Alexander Ehrlich. (Although the Progressive Labor Party at first verbally endorsed the Ad Hoc Committee, these sectarian Stalinists later sheepishly backed off upon discovering the prominent role of the "Trotskyite" SYL.)

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Editorial Notes

Free Shakur!

"You have convicted a woman who had her hands in the air."

These were the bitter words of Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard), former member of the Black Panther Party, when she was convicted on two counts of murder and six counts of assault on March 25 after 22 hours of deliberation by an all-white jury in Middlesex County, New Jersey.

Locked up for four years despite acquittal of every phony charge against her on three occasions; isolated for a year in solitary confinement under 24-hour surveillance in a vermin-infested basement of a men's maximum security facility; denied the custody of her prison-born child, Shakur has now been sentenced to life imprisonment.

Shakur has been framed up for the murder of state trooper Werner Foerster and of her comrade, Zayd Shakur, both of whom were killed when police opened fire on a car of ex-Panthers on the New Jersey Turnpike in 1973. The driver of the car, Sundiata Acoli, a member of the Panther 21, was convicted of the same charges in an earlier trial and is now doing life plus 24-30 years in a Trenton maximum security prison.

The month-long trial of Assata Shakur was a blatant railroad job by the bourgeois state. Shakur was accused by prosecuting attorney Edward Barone of shooting Foerster with his own gun when Shakur herself was so seriously injured she nearly died. Moreover, at the trial two doctors testified that Shakur's wounds were such that she could only have had her hands and arms *above her head* at the moment of the shooting.

The prosecution of Assata Shakur stems from the nationwide manhunt of black militants in the late 1960's and early 1970's. In accordance with the Cointelpro "Memo on Black Nationalist Hate Groups," the FBI perpetrated the murders of Black Panthers such as Fred Hampton, Mark Clark and Bobby Hutton and railroaded many others into prison. Shakur herself was the target of a police dragnet that resulted in the intimidation and harassment of many black women who bore no resemblance to her whatsoever.

Now Shakur has been convicted at a time when bourgeois political opinion is shifting increasingly rightward; in a state which has recently convicted two other black frame-up victims, Reuben Carter and John Artis, and which has been pushing for the reinstatement of the death penalty; by a jury selected from a county which, because of an intense government/media campaign of racial hysteria (labeling Shakur a "cop-hater" and the "soul"

of the Black Liberation Army), can only be prejudiced against her. Yet she still faces another trial in Brooklyn on trumped-up charges for an incident that occurred four months before the New Jersey shootings.

Assata Shakur is the victim of a government terror campaign to "get" the Panthers. Labor and socialist militants and all those concerned with defense of democratic rights must rally to her cause. Free Assata Shakur! Drop All Charges Now!

ROTC: Recruiting For Racist Rhodesia

It has been widely recognized for some time that the U.S. government turns a blind eye on the illegal recruitment of Americans to fight black-nationalist guerrillas in southern Africa. But the latest news is that the U.S. Army has been giving the racist mercenary recruiters a helping hand as well.

Last month Lawrence Meyers, who recently returned from serving as a mercenary in the Rhodesian armed forces, blew the whistle on the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) at the Berkeley campus of the University of California (UC). In a press conference reported in the UC Berkeley *Daily Californian* (8 March) Meyers, a former Berkeley student and ROTC cadet, related how last April he received an unsolicited phone call from a Rhodesian army major in Salisbury seeking to recruit him and, after deciding to join, how he was required to obtain a letter of recommendation from his former ROTC commander.

When approached, Berkeley ROTC commanding officer Monte Bullard informed Meyers that he had "no compunction" about providing the Rhodesian military with the letter and that he was "more than glad to help." Moreover, Meyers stated that his name was very likely given to the Rhodesian recruiter by the Berkeley ROTC in the first place.

These disclosures have provoked an outcry from several public officials, including California black Democrat Ron Dellums, who has called upon the Department of the Army to investigate and halt "the traffic of hired guns." While welcoming any further exposure of ROTC, which has attempted to keep a low profile while making a quiet comeback on many campuses, we warn against placing any confidence in the imperialist army or bourgeois politicians to bring to light the covert operations of the military establishment here or abroad.

Unlike the liberal Democrats, who opposed covert military operations only after they have been disclosed, we call for a campaign to protest all military recruitment and imperialist intervention

abroad. Two years ago at Berkeley the Spartacus Youth League initiated a series of militant united-front demonstrations against the re-accrediting of ROTC. What is needed now is a similar campaign to mobilize students, faculty and campus workers behind the demand: ROTC OFF CAMPUS!

Cultists and Custody

Religious sects seem to be in the news a lot lately. One recent article in the *New York Times* (March 25) reported that five children belonging to the Unumation Church of South Korean "messiah" Sun Myung Moon were forcibly remanded into the custody of their parents by California Superior Court Judge S. Lee Vavuris. But what made this particular case so egregious is that these "children" ranged in age from 21 to 26!

Declaring that "the child is the child even though a parent may be 90 and the child 60," Judge Vavuris on March 24 ruled in favor of parents who had claimed that the five "children" had been "brainwashed" during their stay at a Moon retreat in Boonville and that parental custody was required to send them to "deprogrammers" at a dubious "Freedom of Thought Foundation" in Tuscon. (Only four days later a "professional deprogrammer" in Denver was convicted for the second time in two years on charges of "false imprisonment" of cultists!)

The Vavuris decision represents a dangerous precedent for denying adults their legal rights on the basis of their alleged non-conforming beliefs. Legally extending "childhood" up to senility ("second childhood"?) the California decision bolsters the legal prerogatives of parents. Pontificating on the nuclear family, Judge Vavuris declaimed, "We are talking about the essence of civilization—mother, father and children."

Socialists advocate the reduction of the legally recognized age of adulthood. Our attitude is based on opposition to the bourgeois family, which is oppressive for all its members and is the social mechanism for "brainwashing" (socializing) children for their roles in bourgeois society. We demand that the state provide free education for all, from kindergarten to college, and call for a state stipend for young people who do not wish to remain at home. We recognize that under socialism the enslaving nuclear family will be replaced and human association will develop on a new and higher basis of genuine social equality and freedom.

While militantly hostile to all religious obscurantism, socialists uphold the democratic right of freedom of individual conscience, even when it involves a rabidly anti-communist sect closely affiliated with the murderous Park Chung Hee regime. While there is much about the Moonies that is suspicious (their acolytes have a way of falling

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SYL Denounces Whitewash of Nazi Genocide

EVANSTON—A storm of protest was provoked at Northwestern University here last month when the *Daily Northwestern* disclosed that Arthur Butz, an associate professor of electrical engineering, has authored a pro-Nazi tract titled *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.

Published by the fascist National Front in Britain and circulated in this country by the National Socialist White People's Party (Nazis), *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* attempts to whitewash the hideous systematic extermination of 6 million Jews by the Nazis during World War II. Citing such "authorities" as the sadistic monster Heinrich Himmler, Butz flatly claims that the Nazi genocide was "a pack of lies" spread by the Zionists and that at most "one million Jews" perished in the Nazi concentration camps "as a result of disease and starvation."

In response to this provocative filth the Spartacus Youth League at Northwestern University distributed a leaflet denouncing *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* and on February 24 held a public forum, "Fascism: What it is, How to Fight it." About 30 people heard SYL speaker Ed Jarvis present a Trotskyist analysis of fascism and a revolutionary perspective for smashing the ultra-rightist terrorists.

In his presentation Jarvis argued that although it is unclear at present whether Butz is in fact a direct representative or supporter of a fascist organization like the Nazi party, and regardless of whether Butz voices any other fascist ravings, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* is a piece of fascist propaganda. Unlike pseudo-scientific theories which purport to "prove" black genetic inferiority (propounded most prominently by Shockley and Jensen), the claims of Butz and others who have penned

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SYL spokesman Ed Jarvis.

similar tracts lack even the pretense of scientific objectivity. The gas chambers, the soap made from human remains, the photos of towering mounds of corpses, the ghastly testimony of thousands of survivors—these are facts which can not be disputed.

The SYL maintains that this book should be treated like any fascist tract. For example, should *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* be placed on sale anywhere, militant protest to force its removal—better yet, its destruction—would certainly be in order.

No less than a card-carrying, swastika-wearing Nazi, Butz deserves to feel the wrath of outraged students, workers and survivors of the infamous death camps of Hitler. We refuse to recognize any "democratic rights" for this Nazi apologist. We only warn against calling upon the Northwestern University administration to do our job for us. Any administration action against Butz would set a dangerous precedent for future political firings of left-wing faculty and workers accused of being "extremists."

Jarvis concluded by explaining the need for the formation of labor/black defense to combat fascist provocations. Although still relatively miniscule and generally unpopular, fas-

cist groups like the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan even today pose a threat to the lives and democratic rights of black people, from Marquette Park in Chicago to South Boston. A disciplined defense based on the strength and authority of the mass organizations of the working class and black community is needed to mobilize overwhelming force to smash the fascist vermin. ■

Young Spartacus

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

Published monthly, except bi-monthly in July and August, by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 925-4295 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013. Domestic subscriptions: \$2.00 per year. Application to mail at second class postage rates is pending at New York, N.Y.

Not Status Quo Quotas, But Open Admissions!

Thousands Protest Bakke Ruling in Berkeley

BERKELEY—Over 3,000 students at the University of California (UC) campus here turned out for a demonstration on February 25 called to protest a California Supreme Court ruling against special admissions programs in graduate schools throughout the state.

The court decision last fall upheld a suit filed by a white student, Allan Bakke, who had charged the UC Davis School of Medicine with racial discrimination after being denied admission twice (see "Reactionary Court Ruling Bars Minority Quotas," *Young Spartacus*, November 1976). Last month the "Bakke decision" became a national issue when the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear the case and both Attorney General Griffin Bell and HEW Secretary Joseph Califano entered the legal fray (*New York Times*, 18 March 1977).

The largest demonstration at UC Berkeley in years, the protest against the Bakke decision featured Democratic Party "personalities" Ron Dellums and Tom Hayden, Communist Party spokesman Angela Davis and Berkeley professor Harry Edwards, who was recently denied tenure following a witchhunting administration campaign of harassment. While Davis limited her remarks to apolitical enthusiasm over the New Left student movement of a decade ago (which the CP at the time mainly denounced) and Edwards appealed to ethnic-purist Carter to oppose the Bakke decision,

only the Spartacus Youth League raised the call for *open admissions* to all colleges and universities.

Speaking at the teach-in which followed the rally an SYL spokesman opposed the recent California Supreme Court decision, which will eliminate even the token gains in minority enrollment which have resulted from the special admissions policy. But the SYL does not advocate such quota systems, which accept and quantify racial discrimination.

At best, minority quota admissions programs are a lesser evil to the existing discriminatory system; they cannot provide a solution to racial discrimination in educational opportunity, especially at the level of the professional schools, where the overwhelming majority of applicants are white, middle class and male. Moreover, the SYL calls for a state-provided living stipend and the remedial educational programs necessary to make open admissions academically meaningful and economically feasible for the masses of working people.

Our call for open admissions at the rally received significant support from the audience. When the rally organizers, dominated by the Young Socialist Alliance, attempted to silence the SYL speaker, the crowd protested. Apparently feeling on the spot, Harry Edwards attacked our demand for open admissions by point-



ing to its defeat in New York City.

Similar "arguments" were heard at the March 5 meeting of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), the empty shell front group of the YSA. When SYL supporters intervened again and again to raise the slogan of open admissions, the incompetent junior reformists of the YSA feebly responded as well as they could—babbling about how to make posters and sell buttons. So politically routed were the YSA reformists that when one conference participant rose to oppose busing, only the SYL took the floor to defend school desegregation! After "polemicizing" against the SYL call for open admissions as too "advanced" the YSA squirmed in their seats when a leader

of the recently formed NSCAR branch in San Diego supported the SYL position.

In the face of an impending U.S. Supreme Court decision which may well spell the end to all special admissions programs, a perspective limited to demanding a return to the status quo of the California special admissions program is doomed to a bitter defeat. Tens of thousands of students in New York have fought for the very demand which the YSA and Harry Edwards write off as "utopian." Only a struggle for open admissions throughout the California university system can prevent further erosion of minority gains and open the way for free quality higher education for all. ■

Cultists...

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down elevator shafts), the present campaign against the Unification Church does have an element of racism; the equally fanatic nativist Pentacostal sects and the more self-destructive Christian Scientists receive little attention. Moon's biggest liability—in his crusading as well as his ultra-rightist political ambitions—is that he is Korean and thus will never make it as another Father Coughlin.

But our concern is not for Moon but for the leftists who are threatened by the Vavuris ruling. In this country "radicals" has come to mean "eccentrics" and "crazies." Such rulings would be used most viciously and frequently not against young cultists devoted to a megalomaniacal Korean charlatan, but against socialist youth. ■

Italy...

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unemployed now numbering 1,200,000 and steadily increasing, the Malfatti counter-reforms would close the Italian universities to many plebeian youth who otherwise face only joblessness and a precarious lumpen existence.

Simmering discontent exploded into massive demonstrations on February 2 when a student protest at the University of Rome was attacked by a gang of fascists, who left one student critically wounded. Later, when thousands gathered at the university to protest the fascist attack, the cops repeatedly provoked the demonstrators; then, without warning, two men emerged from the police lines and opened fire on the students with machine guns, seriously wounding two.

At once barricades went up at the University of Rome, as outraged students poured into the streets. Ten-

sions soared, leading the chief of police to ban all student demonstrations and on February 5 to deploy the *carabinieri* (military police) to surround the University of Rome.

As the battle lines were drawn, the Communist Party of Italy (PCI), the reformist mass workers party, rushed to the defense of the CD government. But this is nothing new. The PCI keeps the Christian Democracy in office through abstentions in parliament, just as it uses its authority and control over the mass organizations of the Italian working class to enforce the "stangata." Firmly committed to implementing its so-called "Historic Compromise" the PCI was concerned once again with convincing the Christian Democracy that they need the Stalinists to maintain capitalist "law and order."

Given that the PCI proposal for educational reforms dovetails with the Malfatti measures, the PCI from the outset set itself against the student protests. The PCI's *L'Unita* printed not a single word about the students shot by the fascists and cops, but seized upon the subsequent wounding of a policeman to "prove" that the seizure of the University of Rome was the work of "a handful of provocateurs."

As the struggle escalated the PCI youth federation (the FGIC) was quickly left behind. So despised was its pro-"stangata" line that at a number of universities and high schools PCI youth groups were run off campus by militant students.

Early on, and especially in Rome, the leadership of the student upsurge fell into the hands of a melange of New Left leftovers, Maoists, spontaneists and syndicalists grouped under the banner of "Workers Autonomy"—the name of the workers councils which had arisen in opposition to the PCI during the massive strike wave of 1969. In the period immediately following 1969, these workers councils emerged as a healthy left reaction to the betrayals of the PCI. In the intervening years, however,

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Urgent PDC Fund Appeal Exiled Chilean Militant Needs Your Aid

Fernando Marcos is a 30-year-old Chilean miners union organizer now exiled in France. He was blinded in a 1972 industrial accident, but continued to aid the workers' struggles until the bloody Pinochet coup forced him to flee the country. Previous operations to regain his eyesight have failed due to inadequate medical attention, first from a pro-junta doctor in Chile and then in a charity ward in exile. His last chance to see again involves a delicate corneal transplant operation at the world-renowned Barraquer Clinic in Barcelona. The cost: \$10,000. The Partisan Defense Committee has undertaken to raise the funds necessary for this operation, one which will determine if Marcos can again dedicate himself with his fullest abilities to the cause of the oppressed. The PDC solicits and welcomes your financial support in this effort.

Enclosed please find my contribution of \$_____ to aid the campaign on behalf of Fernando Marcos (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee and earmark "Marcos Fund.")

Enclosed please find my contribution of \$_____ to aid the work of the Partisan Defense Committee.

Name _____

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The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization, which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

Flag-Waving Labor Fakers Eye Carter's Army—

Why Socialists Do Not Advocate Soldiers' Trade Unions

For the first time since the Vietnam war moves are afoot to organize soldiers serving in the U.S. armed forces. But today the organizing drive has been mounted not by anti-militarist activists, but rather by super-patriotic, trade-union bureaucrats.

Plans to unionize active-duty military personnel have been recently announced by several trade unions, including the National Maritime Union (NMU), the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) and the Association of Civilian Technicians (ACT). During the last several months AFGE and AFSCME organizers have begun to sign up soldiers at U.S. Army bases in Massachusetts and New Jersey.

Army Base as Dues Base

Never once having led a strike against the Vietnam war or having come to the defense of democratic rights denied conscripts, these "labor lieutenants of capital" (as the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats were aptly dubbed by early American socialist leader Daniel De Leon) now eye the all-volunteer U.S. armed forces as a potential dues base well suited to their conservative "business unionism." As David Cortright, a prominent liberal advocate of military unionization, observed, "Volunteer recruitment seems to encourage enlistees to see military service as a job like any other, and with typical trade union grievances arising often, the prospects for military organizing grow brighter" (*Nation*, 21 February 1976).

Although the planned organizing drives have hardly begun, the issue of unionizing the military has already generated national controversy, provoking stiff resistance from several quarters. Speaking before Defense Department employees, President Carter on March 1 voiced his opposition to union organizing in the armed forces. Staunchly backing Carter are not only senior officers of the services (including the Army Chief of Staff and the Chief of Naval Operations) and the powerful kingpins of the Senate Armed Services Committee (most notably, Strom Thurmond and John Stennis), but also AFL-CIO president George Meany.

Earlier this year Strom Thurmond introduced a bill to prohibit unionization of military personnel. More recently, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown announced on March 18 that military installations might soon be ruled "off limits" to union organizers.

In opposing unionization, Thurmond, Brown and Stennis have each argued that in the six European member nations of NATO where soldiers unions exist (West Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands) the armed forces have been forced to concede to demands for higher pay and for limited relaxation of military discipline. Writing in a recent issue of *Defense Review* Thurmond thundered, "If military unions have proved irresponsible in other countries, we can hardly permit them to be organized in the United States on the flimsy hypothesis that they may possibly be more respon-

sible here" (quoted in *New York Times*, 4 March 1977).

"A Job Like Any Other"?

Unlike the AFL-CIO bureaucrats and liberals like David Cortright, communists do not consider military service to be merely "a job like any other" and do not regard the imperialist armed forces as part of the labor movement. Socialists and labor militants should oppose the organization of the military along trade-union lines. Why?

The U.S. army is not a factory, and soldiers are not workers, even though in this country they are overwhelmingly recruited from working-class youth and the plebeian unemployed. Marxists draw a class line between defensive organizations of the working class, such as trade unions, and the repressive agencies of the capitalist state. The bourgeois armed

proved retirement benefits and higher pay) would, to the extent that they are successful, produce better-paid and more privileged soldiers with higher morale—that is, would help make the U.S. imperialist army more stable and effective.

Bureaucrats Bow to "National Security"

Contrary to the ravings of militarist Strom Thurmond, the Social Democratic soldiers unions in Europe have not in the least subverted the discipline of the armed forces of the six NATO countries. Even David Cortright, who promotes the illusion that unionization would "democratize" and "civilianize" the U.S. armed forces despite the opposition of the brass, has been forced to admit that in Europe "unionization [in the army] has had little negative consequence" (quoted in *New York Times*, 4 March



forces (the standing army, police and special forces) are the "armed bodies of men" (Engels) that form the backbone of the capitalist state and give the ruling class its authority.

Despite the working-class background of much of the rank and file, soldiers in the bourgeois army serve to uphold the oppressive class rule of the capitalist exploiters and defend their interests against domestic and foreign threats. In short, the U.S. Army is deployed to break strikes, not to win them; to suppress ghetto rebellions, not to smash racist reaction; to wage imperialist wars, not to "make the world safe for democracy."

Our attitude toward military organizing is always guided by the recognition that successful proletarian revolution requires a struggle to disorganize and shatter these "armed bodies of men" bound by the iron hoops of military discipline. But organization of the military in permanent trade-union bodies does not challenge the bourgeois officer corps and military command structure, but rather accepts them as a legitimate "bargaining agent." Unions organized in the military solely to bargain over "guns-and-butter" issues (such as faster promotion, better training, im-

1977).

Similarly, the national-chauvinist "labor statesmen" of the AFGE and AFSCME certainly have no intention of organizing and running military unions which in any way might threaten the sacred "national security." For example, last June the AFGE executive council voted that any unions formed in the armed forces "would voluntarily undertake the obligation not to strike" and would "permanently limit the scope of its activities" to "exclude all national emergency and purely military operational activities and issues" (quoted in *Guardian*, 8 September 1976).

Unions in the armed forces formed by such "red-white-and-blue" labor traitors would certainly not oppose—but more likely would assist—the government and military command in mobilizing troops to be used against the working people at home and abroad. By vowing never to interfere with the functioning of the imperialist army, these military unions could only play a reactionary role during a "national emergency" (such as a major strike) or during "military operations" (such as another Vietnam).

It is necessary for class-struggle militants within the unions to actively

oppose the current plans to unionize volunteers and career officers in the armed forces as part of a struggle against the entrenched labor bureaucrats. Such a fight has been waged in the NMU by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus a class-struggle opposition group in the union which distributed a leaflet at the October convention entitled "Organize Maritime Workers, Not the Army!" (see "NMU Officials Up Dues, Vote Selves 50 Percent Raise," *Workers Vanguard*, 15 October 1976). At the same time, socialists and labor militants must oppose any attempt by the brass or government to ban union organizers from military bases or to deny military personnel the elementary democratic right of association, including forming and joining trade unions.

Organize the "Action Army"?

It is not accidental that the conservative AFL-CIO bureaucrats began to consider military organizing only after the U.S. Army became an all-volunteer force four years ago. Whenever possible these labor tops seek to extend their dues base by unionizing the most docile and regimented elements.

Historically, bourgeois volunteer armies resemble mercenary forces, composed of individuals who are militantly loyal to the status quo. For example, today in Britain, where a high level of class consciousness prevails in the working class and when military service usually involves duty in Northern Ireland, the volunteer army is drawn overwhelmingly from consciously reactionary individuals.

In a programmatic sense, the volunteer army should be regarded like the police force. It is against the interests of labor to support the economic demands of volunteers and their self-organization into unions to improve their material conditions. While rejecting a positive orientation for "democratizing" the volunteer army, we oppose particular manifestations of racial and sexual discrimination in the armed forces when an overriding democratic issue is posed. For example, the left and labor movement must oppose the recent victimization of 14 black Marines accused of breaking up a Ku Klux Klan meeting at Camp Pendleton (see "Black Marines Victimized for Clash with KKK," *Young Spartacus*, March 1977).

Only in a pre-revolutionary period would our political orientation toward a volunteer army in the U.S. differ from our attitude toward the cops. Especially in this racist and violent society the cops have been so animalized by their direct daily oppression of the masses and so corrupted by their routine involvement in illegal activities that in any serious class battles they can be expected to stand virtually to a man on the opposite side of the barricades.

But given its present racial composition the U.S. Army might well waver and even fracture when mobilized to suppress a massive proletarian upheaval. As graphically portrayed by a recent feature story in *Newsweek* (28 March 1977) a large section of the American volunteer army is composed of youth who enlisted mainly to escape unemployment and to hopefully acquire some useful job skills. Unlike in Britain, American volunteers today are not in the main consciously reactionary elements. Moreover, racial discrimination in a shrinking job market has resulted in a high proportion (now 29 percent) of black people in the U.S. armed forces.

Consequently, numerous government officials and military chiefs have begun to express concern over the "reliability" of the volunteer army; they correctly recognize that black youth recruited mainly through economic (job-training) incentives can not be relied upon to turn their

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Defend Victimized Ann Arbor Strikers!

ANN ARBOR, March 24—The 26-day-old strike of 2300 AFSCME campus workers at the University of Michigan (U-M) ended in defeat Monday as the union voted 729 to 188 to return to work. A vicious union-busting drive by the U-M administration has left 17 workers without jobs and 9 others indefinitely suspended, including the local president. Seven student workers have been fired for their support to the strike.

From the first day of the strike, the custodians, hospital aides, mail carriers, cafeteria and maintenance workers of AFSCME Local 1583 were subjected to flagrant administration attacks designed to smash the union. Club-wielding Ann Arbor cops were called in to harass, beat and arrest picketers to clear the way for scabs. University chief negotiator William Neff assaulted two workers on the first day of the strike, and four days later drove a scab truck into a picket line, hitting a member of the union bargaining team. Some students had been mobilized into a scab labor force, staffing dorm food service operations and university buses.

The administration has succeeded in ramming through an outrageous contract settlement with a 60 cent increase over two years—only 5 cents more than the insulting offer that precipitated the strike—a paltry \$125 in retroactive pay and no cost-of-living allowance. Even more egregious, the contract contains a "reprisal clause" giving U-M the power to fire any worker framed up on charges of "misconduct" during the strike.

The university's strike-breaking offensive must be met with immediate campus-wide action. From the beginning, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) in Ann Arbor had been marching on union picket lines and working to organize students and campus workers in support of the strike. SYL leaflets and signs have put forward the crucial necessity of honoring picket lines, no scabbing and a campus-wide strike with a student boycott of classes.

In a leaflet distributed during the strike, the SYL pointed out:

"With the former UAW clericals local now decertified and the GEO [Graduate Employees Organization] without a contract and severely weakened, the University is turning a scab-herding and cop harassment campaign loose on AFSCME. Only militant action by workers, students and faculty to shut down the entire campus can defeat this attack. When a union which has employees in nearly all areas of the university is on strike it means NO BUSINESS AS USUAL anywhere on the campus."

Such a militant strategy, however, has been sabotaged from the start by the sellout misleadership of AFSCME local president Joel Block, who is uncritically hailed by the reformist Communist Party (CP). Block and Co. encouraged non-AFSCME workers and students to cross picket lines, requesting only that they not do "AFSCME work." The bureaucracy went so far as to oppose a motion for a GEO sympathy strike which was raised by one militant worker at a GEO meeting early in the strike. Rather than organizing strong picket lines to beat back scabs and repel the cop attacks, Block advised picketers only to "slow down" scab delivery trucks and preached reliance in the cops' boss, Democratic mayor Al Wheeler. Having stifled the militancy of the strikers, the AFSCME bureaucracy sold out for a rotten contract—with a reprisal clause that is now being used against strikers!

The AFSCME misleaders were enthusiastically tailed by the Student

Support Committee (SCC), a wholly-owned subsidiary of the CP's youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL). Handing out "I SUPPORT AFSCME" buttons while holding strike support meetings in struck buildings, the SCC refused to call on students to boycott classes and voiced not a word of opposition to the sellout contract.

The Revolutionary Student Brigade



Young Spartacus

(RSB), for its part, uncritically tailed the YWLL. This is all in keeping with its tradition, however. During the 1975 GEO strike, the RSB opposed a motion by an AFSCME member and SYL supporter to respect GEO picket lines!

Not to be outdone, the Clericals for a Democratic Union (CDU), a small workerist clique which includes former members of the recently decertified UAW Local 2001 at U-M, undertook lunch-time picket duty only to

cross the lines after the break to go back to their jobs! In order to justify their own scabbing, the CDU issued a four-page leaflet which attacked the SYL for upholding the long-standing principle of labor solidarity that picket lines mean "Don't Cross!"

The CDU condemns the SYL for our "absurd position" that non-AFSCME workers who cross picket lines are scabs, pointing to the fact

that AFSCME workers crossed the lines of striking GEO workers two years ago. But it is precisely this mutual back-stabbing by fellow union members that has enabled the administration to pick off the unions one by one and which led to the defeat of the struggles of both AFSCME and GEO.

Hiding behind the backward consciousness of many isolated and demoralized campus workers, the CDU argues that militants will be fired

or disciplined for staying out of work. But all their pretentious arguments and quotes from Lenin cannot hide the fact that these campus parochialists do not have the elementary courage to honor a labor action of their class brothers and sisters. The "non-AFSCME" Teamsters who refused to cross picket lines during both the recent AFSCME strike and the 1975 GEO strike stand as an example. The Teamsters need not fear company victimization precisely because of the strong tradition of not crossing picket lines which has been established through the violent history of the American labor movement.

At a meeting called yesterday by the RSB, the SYL initiated a united-front campaign to defend those workers who have been fired or suspended as a result of the strike around the demands: No reprisals! Drop the charges! Reinstatement all workers with back pay! After initially opposing the proposal for a demonstration or rally on campus, the YWLL agreed to participate (although waffling on the issue as we go to press), as did the RSB and several of the fired workers. A meeting to plan a concrete action has been called for March 30.

Students, workers and faculty at U-M must not allow the administration to succeed in its union-busting drive. All who oppose the university's attacks must rally to the defense of the victimized AFSCME members and the fired student workers! ■

As Liberals Haggle To "Open the Books" at Chicago —

SYL Says: Open Up Elite Universities!

"If we know why, maybe it wouldn't be so bad," headlined the campus press at the University of Chicago (UC). At first glance the article in the *Maroon* of 25 February on the controversial tuition hike at UC appeared to be by some administrator attempting to provide an economic rationale for the rising cost of an education at elite UC (\$3,720) and for the plunge in financial aid (which has led to a 15 percent drop in black enrollment over the last three years).

But the aptly headlined article turned out to be a political statement by a spokesman of a campus coalition which is attempting to build a movement at UC against the tuition hike. During the past several weeks a "Speakout Coalition" has been circulating a petition at UC calling for the administration "to make public to the entire university community the financial affairs of the University" and for "a moratorium on the tuition increase and all cutbacks until this is done." The focus of the "Speakout Coalition" campaign has been a call for the UC—founded and run by the Rockefeller dynasty—to demonstrate financial penury "justifying" the increased tuition.

The brokers of this hat-in-hand, campus-parochial coalition were the junior reformists of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). When the mood on campus is militant (as at CUNY during the anti-cutbacks student mobilizations last year), the YSA occasionally raises the demand for an end to all tuition. But at elite UC, a bastion of privilege surrounded by the sprawling south Chicago ghetto, the ivory tower "socialists" of the YSA have refused to call for an end to tuition and

merely "demand" (on their hands and knees) that the UC trustees disclose their financial empires. In its leaflet distributed at UC on March 3 the YSA hailed the "Speakout Coalition" as "the most significant political development on campus in years" and described an administration statement (which, in the words of the YSA, only "restated already existing [budgetary] information") as "a victory for the Coalition."

No doubt the YSA considers as "most significant" the release of some statistical abstracts by the UC administration. Yet last year at UC the YSA tried to sabotage—and then impotently ignored—the hundreds of strong demonstrations which the Spartacus Youth League initiated to protest the complicity of UC professors Milton Friedman and Arnold Harbinger with the Chilean junta and the killings in Soweto by the white-supremacist apartheid regime of South Africa. (see "Chicago Demos Blast Apartheid Repression," *Young Spartacus*, November 1976 and "Protests Continue to Lash Braintrusts for Chilean Junta," *Young Spartacus*, April 1976).

In its leaflet on the tuition hike the SYL counterposed to the weak-kneed liberalism of the YSA a perspective of militant struggle against the elitism of the UC:

"Unlike the Coalition, we are straightforwardly and unconditionally AGAINST TUITION HIKES; we are for NO TUITION. By all means, OPEN THE BOOKS to expose the university's financial chicanery, its rent-gouging real-estate empire, its anti-union expenditures, its police budget—this has been one of our demands for years. But we will not support this Coalition formed to 'discuss' tuition increases.... The ad-

ministration's budget cuts have entailed layoffs, speedup, worsening working conditions, and cuts in benefits and real wages for campus workers. It is not surprising that the 'responsible' organizers of the Speakout Coalition have ignored these issues."

The divergent perspectives of the SYL and the YSA were revealed most graphically at the March 3 "speakout" which had been organized by the Coalition. Speaker after speaker representing the Coalition paraded across the stage appealing to the administration to be "honest" with them and present "an administration point of view." In the discussion period an SYL spokesman (and member of UC Student Government) sharply exposed the illusions of the Coalition in the administration and raised the call for an end to tuition, for open admissions and for the nationalization of UC and the replacement of the UC administration with student/teacher/campus-worker control of the university. A black SYL supporter also took the floor and argued for the need to struggle against the class/race-biased admissions standards of the UC.

Although the SYL comrades drew catcalls from the YSA and other Coalition supporters, their interventions were met with a sympathetic response from the audience. As a reporter from the *Chicago Sun-Times* wrote in the 4 March issue,

"Reaction at the meeting [to Speakout Coalition speakers] was low key. The speakers who drew the most response were two who were not coalition members. Sandor John, a member of the Spartacus Youth League, a Communist group, was cheered when he proposed abolishing tuition—and the administration."

ON THE CLASS CHARACTER OF THE USSR

THE ANTI-MARXIST THEORY OF "STATE CAPITALISM"

A TROTSKYIST CRITIQUE

I believe that our political differences with the "state-capitalist" tendency of Cliff and Co. over the character of the USSR can be posed in the form of the following inter-related questions.

Does the planned economy of the USSR function according to some economic law of motion that maximizes the rate of accumulation at the expense of wages? Would the rate of industrialization in the USSR be *qualitatively* changed as a result of a proletarian political revolution that shatters Stalinist bureaucratic rule and reestablishes soviet democracy? Would an isolated workers state be subject to an economic law of motion governing the rate of accumulation?

Whither the "Law of Stalinist Immiseration"?

Aside from its terminological charlatanism, the "state capitalism" theory of Cliff relies upon the argument that in the Soviet Union under Stalin real wages declined sharply.

As is to be expected, Cliff resorts to crude oversimplification and a disdain for mere "facts." During the First Five Year Plan in the Soviet Union wages indeed fell drastically. But wages recovered somewhat during the late 1930's, then dropped again during World War II and were restored to the 1928 level about the time of Stalin's death in 1953.

But what happens to the so-called "law of Stalinist immiseration" in the post-Stalin era? Within a few years Beria and Molotov—who were certainly bonafide Stalinists—instituted the so-called "New Course," under which consumer goods prices were slashed. All this did was aggravate the extreme shortage of consumer goods. Nevertheless, Stalin's immediate successors did attempt to redistribute income in favor of consumption, because they sensed there was mass discontent and they lacked the authority of the "Great Leader."

Between 1955 and 1968, real per capita wages in the Soviet Union increased by 56 percent (G.E. Schroe-

EDITOR'S NOTE: In the last few years political controversies over the class character of the Soviet Union have loomed large on the American left. The political attitude that the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy is a new "capitalist class" has become more prevalent—even somewhat faddish—within petty-bourgeois radical milieux.

No longer are pseudo-Marxist theories of so-called "Soviet imperialism" confined merely to "State Department" socialists, "Third Camp" social democrats and sundry anarcho-libertarian New Leftists. Recently several pro-Peking tendencies have felt compelled to elaborate upon the Maoists' epithets against "Soviet social-imperialism." These Maoists have concocted often elaborate theories of "Soviet state capitalism" as part of their attempt to rationalize China's reactionary alliance with U.S. imperialism against the USSR. When the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy sided with American/South African imperialism against the Soviet-backed/Cuban-led MPLA forces during the Angolan civil war, the Revolutionary Communist Party even attempted to demonstrate that Cuba was no less "capitalist" than the USSR.

In opposition to all such "theories" which contend that the dictatorship of the proletariat has been completely liquidated in Russia, the SYL upholds the Trotskyist analysis of the Soviet Union as a bureaucratically degenerated workers state: a post-capitalist state based on proletarian-collectivist property forms that must be unconditionally defended from imperialism but ruled by a usurping

bureaucratic caste that must be overthrown through workers political revolution.

The following is the conclusion of a three-part article which refutes the "state capitalism" thesis and demonstrates its reactionary political implications. The first section of the article, which appeared in the February issue of *Young Spartacus*, described how the planned economy of the USSR operates (focusing on the role of enterprise profit) and explained why the law of labor value does not hold sway in the Soviet economy.

The second part, printed in our March issue, analysed the "state capitalism" position developed by the ex-Trotskyist Tony Cliff, the titular leader of the reformist British International Socialists (IS—recently renamed the Socialist Workers Party). It argued that the "Third Camp" position of the Cliffites is based on an underlying economist/quasi-anarchist hostility to the workers state as a proletarian-revolutionary weapon and leads directly to programmatic conclusions that are counterposed to the economic policies of the Soviet workers state under Lenin as well as the policies later advocated by the Trotskyist Left Opposition.

"The Anti-Marxist Theory of 'State Capitalism'—A Trotskyist Critique" is an edited transcript of a presentation given by Joseph Seymour of the Spartacist League Central Committee at an SYL east coast educational gathering in December 1975. The entire article will be included in the forthcoming SYL pamphlet entitled *Trotskyism vs. Maoism: Why the USSR is Not Capitalist*.

der, "Consumption in the USSR: A Survey," in Morris Bornstein and Daniel Fusfield, *The Soviet Economy*). This was less than the growth of total output—less, I would argue, than a Trotskyist government would have increased wages—but nonetheless a significant increase in wages.

Likewise, the 1970-75 Five Year Plan reversed the traditional Stalinist policy that the producer-goods sector must grow faster than consumer-goods output. Because of agricultural shortfalls, that plan was not fulfilled. But the intention was there. So, even from the standpoint of orthodox Cliffism, one would have to concede that Russia is becoming less "capitalist," since the "rate of exploitation" is diminishing.

And Where Is Endemic Unemployment?

There is another aspect to the question of wages besides real wages *per worker*. Does Stalinist practice maximize accumulation at the ex-

pense of *total* wages (aggregate workers income)? Here one gets a very different picture than the "state-capitalist" exponents would have us believe.

Fearing political instability, the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy, unlike the bourgeoisie, has always sought to prevent the emergence of a reserve army of the unemployed. During the 1930's, Russian peasants who could not find jobs in the cities were forcibly shipped back to their collective farms. Stalinist economic planning, with its overriding goal of maximizing physical output (and its unconcern for minimizing cost per unit), encourages enterprise managers to over-employ and hoard labor; Soviet enterprises are grossly overmanned in the sense that many workers would be more productive if shifted elsewhere. Very much like a typical capitalist manager—right?

The extreme fall in real wages in the USSR during the early 1930's was not the deliberate intent of the Stalin regime, but arose largely be-



Stalin and Bukharin.



Leaders of the Left Opposition.

cause managers employed more labor than the plan for consumer goods had anticipated. Yet, within the framework of bureaucratic rule by a privileged caste, there was one important egalitarian aspect of Stalinist industrialization: Russia did not and does not look like contemporary Brazil or India, with a huge urban lumpen population living in desperation below the industrial proletariat.

Trotsky vs. Stalin on Economic Policy

Now to the second question: Is there reason to expect—in an historical or a future projection—that in the USSR a soviet regime established through a political revolution against the bureaucracy would have a qualitatively lower rate of accumulation and industrialization than the Stalinist regime? Does the fundamental conflict between Trotskyism and Stalinism center on the division of resources in the USSR between accumulation and workers' consumption, as the advocates of "state capitalism" would have us believe?

Certainly none of Trotsky's major programmatic statements on the political revolution in Russia—*The Revolution Betrayed*, *The Transitional Program*—advocates either a fundamental redistribution of national output from accumulation to consumption or a necessarily slower rate of growth. To be sure, particularly in the early 1930's Trotsky (and even Preobrazhensky) was sharply critical of the catastrophic fall in real wages in the USSR and demanded a re-ordering of priorities. For example, in 1932 Trotsky called for the Five Year Plan to be suspended for a year so as to re-order the economy and restore living standards. So, there is a superficial parallelism between Cliffism/Shachtmanism and Trotskyism.

However, the difference is that the "state-capitalist" tendencies basically grant that Stalinist economic policy on its own terms was rational and successful. They assume that the greater the investment in heavy industry, the faster the overall rate of economic growth.

But Trotsky never accepted the premise that Stalin was maximizing real economic growth, albeit at the expense of the workers. His alternative to the First Five Year Plan was not more consumption and a lower rate of industrialization. Rather, his alternative to Stalinist industrialization policies was that a more balanced economic growth with a higher level of consumption would ensure a comparable rate of development.

The Ravages of Stalinist Industrialization

First, unbalanced investment and
Socialist Worker



Tony Cliff.

forced-draft growth on the scale pursued by Stalin in the 1930's wastes large quantities of resources at the micro level. At that time in the USSR there were enormous bottlenecks and severe shortages. Half-erected factories collapsed. There were numerous cases of insane economic adventurism. The overriding emphasis on increased output statistics led to a severe deterioration in product quality.

Another even more well-known aspect of the economic destructiveness of Stalinist industrialization is that forced collectivization led to a catastrophic decline in agricultural output. All one has to do is read the newspapers today to see that the USSR is still bleeding from the wound that Stalin inflicted on its economy in 1929.

In addition, the rapid fall in real wage levels in the USSR, combined with the totalitarian terror of the Russian bureaucracy, must have shat-

The economic policy advocated by the Left Opposition was not one of favoring workers living standards over rapid industrialization. Trotsky argued that a more balanced economic policy, including higher consumption levels, could have produced a comparable rate of industrialization without Stalin's excrescences.

In 1932 Trotsky emphatically insisted that Stalin's forced-march industrialization policy, carried through by bureaucratic mass terror against the workers and peasants, was detrimental to the rational and rapid development of the Soviet economy:

"Does this mean that the tempos of industrialization and collectivization should be lowered? For a given period—undoubtedly. But this period may not long endure. The participation of workers themselves in the leadership of the nation, of its politics and economy; an actual control over

Soviet Life



Proletarian revolution opened vistas of culture and technology to backward Russian peasant masses.

tered labor creativity and work discipline. Both at the technical/administrative level and among the direct producers there must have been a total collapse in work morale.

Below a certain level—and Stalin breached that level—driving down wages to release resources for investment in heavy industry does not accelerate but arrests economic growth. Industrialization is not simply building more factories or adding more equipment per workers. There is also an important element of raising the cultural level of the population as a means of fostering disciplined, technologically competent and creative labor. The most sophisticated bourgeois governments know that the super-exploitation of illiterate peasants-off-the-farms is not the most profitable labor policy. In France, many foreign workers (particularly North Africans) are illegal immigrants, live in hovels and work below the minimum wage. But in Sweden an immigrant Yugoslav or Algerian worker is first given \$300 a month to learn Swedish and then an industrial skill. And I assure you that Swedish capitalism exploits its foreign labor far more profitably than does the French practice of super-exploitation.

the bureaucracy; and the growth in the feeling of responsibility of those in charge to those under them—all these would doubtless react favorably on production itself: the friction within would be reduced, the costly economic zigzags would likewise be reduced to a minimum, a healthier distribution of forces and equipment would be assured, and ultimately the *coefficients of growth would be raised*. Soviet democracy is first of all the vital need of national economy itself." [our emphasis]

—What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat

Bukharinite Economics and "Peaceful Coexistence"

There is another aspect to the whole question. It is characteristic of "Third Campists" to see a fundamental discontinuity between Stalin of the Stalin/Bukharin bloc and Stalin of the First Five Year Plan. This Trotsky never did. Trotsky and the Left Opposition never regarded the intent of Stalinist industrialization to be the defeat of the imperialist West through economic/military means. The Stalinist reaction to the imperialist threat is the quest for "peaceful coexistence," the chimera of international class collaboration.

The connection between Bukharinite economic policy and conciliation with imperialism has re-emerged with the phenomenon of "liberal" Stalinism of the Dubcek type. A more conciliationist foreign policy would presumably allow the Soviet bloc to cut back military expenditure and shift resources from heavy industry to consumption.

For example, there's a Soviet economist named A. Birman who advocates the abolition of central planning, unrestricted workers management and market socialism—essentially a syndicalist program. It's not accidental that he's very pro-"detente," because he figures that the only way the USSR could get such an economic system is if there were to be no significant external threat.

When things open up in the Soviet bloc—and here the Prague Spring of 1968 is very indicative—there will be all kinds of advocates of conciliation with the West—anti-militarization, anti-heavy industrial growth, pro-consumption. And they may well have a certain following. Bukharin is regarded highly by many "liberal" Stalinists; he's considered something of a forerunner. When Trotskyists are struggling for political revolution in the Soviet bloc we will find that the struggle Trotsky waged against Bukharin/Tomsky will be replicated—under very different circumstances, in a very different context, but essential programmatic elements will be the same.

Proletarian State Power: Weapon of the Class Struggle

So now we come to the last question and the conclusion of this talk. Can we speak of an *intrinsic* law of economic motion, external to political considerations, in an isolated workers state?

No. The workers state is a weapon in the class struggle. It is different from the party, but no less a weapon. In a workers state the allocation of available resources between the military, heavy industry, peasant incomes, wages and so on has an important strategic and tactical dimension. The allocation of resources by the proletarian regime must respond to constantly changing political needs and pressures. Therefore, one cannot speak of a law of accumulation in an isolated workers state.

In this regard there is, of course, an important difference between a workers party and a workers state. The party is a voluntary organization, whereas a workers state is not.

A revolutionary party in power must take into account the material and cultural needs and interests of the entire proletarian and petty-bourgeois population. With the obvious exception of wartime the economic policy of a workers state should be designed—and within the framework of workers democracy would have to be designed—to insure a steady rise in the standard of living of the masses. However, if productivity is increasing sufficiently rapidly, it is possible to raise wages and peasant incomes, while also increasing the proportion of total product devoted to investment or military expenditure.

I want to close by noting that the importance of this subject is not determined by our present level of political competition with those propaganda groups adhering to "state-capitalist" theories. In our struggle for power in the Soviet bloc, and even after we take power, we are going to face, in a much more dangerous form, the Tony Cliffs and the Max Shachtmans in the workers movements of those countries. And the position that the development of the industrial strength of the workers state is not of the highest importance, is not a *decisive component* of a world revolutionary perspective, is genuinely counterrevolutionary. ■

NSCAR's "Anti-Apartheid" Actions

Routed In Boston, Disco Dancing In Detroit

March 27—"Peaceful, legal!" "Peaceful, legal!" So chanted the contingent of the National Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) in Boston yesterday as its march called to protest apartheid in South Africa retreated from the provocations of a handful of anti-busing hooligans from the South Boston "Defense" League.

The demonstration of the "March 26 Coalition Against Apartheid," an empty-shell front group of the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), ran into trouble when the march entered Government Center in downtown Boston, where the clot of racist thugs threatened the 200 protestors and provoked several scuffles. Although its marshals had used strong-arm tactics earlier in an unsuccessful attempt to exclude the Spartacus Youth League contingent from the march, NSCAR was not about to stand its ground. NSCAR "leaders" beseeched the cops for protection and, when the cops refused to act against the thugs, turned the march back.

The fiasco in Boston demonstrated with a vengeance the bankruptcy of NSCAR's liberal strategy. The entire "anti-apartheid" campaign was adopted as a way of abandoning an activist orientation to busing after the April 24 "March on Boston" had to be cancelled when NSCAR could not rely on the cops to protect that march from the anti-busing goons (see "NSCAR Grotes for New Gimicks," *Young Spartacus*, November 1976). NSCAR turned its back on the busing struggle, but the anti-busing forces have now turned on a protest having nothing to do with school desegregation. NSCAR criminally preached reliance on the cops and troops to defeat the racist backlash in Boston, but the cops still ignore, and even encourage, racist provocations.

Eisewhere, NSCAR activities were saved from fizzling only when the SWP/YSA could rely on some "big-

name" speaker. But its featured speakers Tsietsse Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo, both student leaders in Soweto during the anti-apartheid protests there last year, proved to be no more reliable as "allies" than Tom Atkins of the legalist National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who has jilted NSCAR more

applause!

At other rallies Mashinini and Seatlholo descended into blatant race-baiting and reactionary nationalist demagogy. In Chicago, for example, Mashinini called for "driving the whites into the sea" and "turning the tables of oppression" in South Africa. In Cleveland Seatlholo came



SYL contingent at Boston NSCAR demonstration on March 26th.

than once over the last two years.

In city after city during his NSCAR-sponsored tour Mashinini caused the SWP/YSA endless embarrassment. When he attacked the Pan-African Congress, several endorsers of the "March 26 Coalition" in Boston (including the Communist Party and International Socialists) split. At San Francisco State University Mashinini, responding to an SYL speaker who had pointed out the contradiction between his "pick-up-the-gun" rhetoric and the SWP/YSA-NSCAR call for federal troops to invade Boston, retorted, "The YSA and NSCAR are immaterial to me." After his speech the supporters of the SWP/YSA in the audience broke into

out in support of the sadistic tyrant Idi Amin, while co-speaker Liman Jangha of the All African People's Revolutionary Party delivered an hour-and-a-half tirade which included anti-Semitic remarks ("Jews own all the wealth in America"), after which many in the audience walked out, leaving the SWP/YSA holding an empty donation bucket.

But the bottom of the reformist barrel was reached where NSCAR could not muster such "celebrity" speakers. In Los Angeles the NSCAR "mass action" could not even attract most of its endorsers and called for nothing more than organizing a picket line at the upcoming Davis Cup tennis competi-

tion to protest apartheid. Even such sub-reformist moralistic gestures were absent at the Detroit NSCAR rally, where disco music blared from the public address system as NSCAR supporters danced... in "support" of the black anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa.

Unlike the SWP/YSA, which dances while anti-busing thugs feel free to attack any left demonstration in Boston, the SYL is determined to continue to initiate and participate in demonstrations in solidarity with the anti-apartheid revolt in South Africa and in defense of school desegregation, as we have from Boston to Chicago to the Bay Area.

The SWP/NSCAR reformists have no perspective for the oppressed black masses of Southern Africa. They offer only liberal moralizing and race-baiting. They seek to counterpose the necessary democratic struggles against apartheid and for majority rule to the proletarian perspective which is the only means to win these just and urgent demands.

But Bolsheviks, armed with an understanding of the permanent revolution, must expose this false counterposition. In Russia in 1917 the elementary demands for "peace, land and bread" could be won only under the leadership of the proletariat, through revolutionary transformation, simultaneously addressing the democratic and socialist tasks. Not the "democratic" bourgeoisie, but only the revolutionary proletariat of Southern Africa can achieve racial justice for the black masses. It is not by counterposing majority rule to socialist revolution, but—as Trotsky explained—through their linkage, that victory will be won.

**SUPPORT SCHOOL INTEGRATION—
EXTEND BUSING TO THE SUBURBS!
NO RELIANCE ON THE COPS—FOR
LABOR/BLACK DEFENSE AGAINST
RACIST ATTACKS!
SMASH APARTHEID—FOR WORKERS
REVOLUTION IN SOUTH
AFRICA!**

Maoists...

continued from page 12

On the contrary, Stalin insisted that Hitler could be relied on to keep his promises, and refused to prepare for a German attack. Gilles Perreault's *The Red Orchestra*, an account of the work of the heroic Soviet spy Leopold Trepper, recounts how Soviet agents in Vichy France, Japan and Switzerland sent report

after report to Stalin of the Germans' precise invasion plans—including the date the invasion was to begin!—only to have "the Boss" dismiss the reports as "British provocations."

Even when the world press reported under banner headlines that the German Wehrmacht was massed on the river Bug at the Polish-Soviet border, poised to strike eastwards, Stalin refused to admit even the possibility that his "ally" Hitler would violate the nonaggression pact. Tragi-

cally for the Russian workers, Stalin really believed that his "detente" deals and diplomatic maneuvers could keep Hitler at bay and indefinitely forestall the plunge into World War II.

Moreover, the Red Army in 1937 had been decapitated and crippled by a purge affecting 25,000 officers. Mikhail Tukhachevsky and other experienced Soviet generals had been executed in this purge. Stalin's trust in the worthless guarantees of the Hitler-Stalin pact and the chaos pro-

voked by the purge of the Red Army greatly facilitated the Germans' penetration 2,500 miles into Soviet Russia after 22 June 1941.

The Stalin-Hitler pact was a "diplomatic master stroke" for Hitler and a disaster for the defense of the Soviet Union. Stalin's touching faith in Hitler's word cost the heroic fighters of the Red Army and the working population of the Soviet Union countless unnecessary martyrs.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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BOSTON: "The Trotskyist Program for Political Revolution in the USSR"; Wednesdays at 7:30 p.m.; Boston U., April 6, CLA 418; Harvard, April 13, Phillips Brooks House; (617)254-4236.

CHICAGO: "Basic Works of Marxism"; Wednesdays at 7:30 p.m.; April 13, 20, 27; Spartacist Bookstore, 65C So. Clark, 2nd Floor; (312)427-0003.

NEW YORK CITY: "Strategy for Socialist Revolution"; alternate Thursdays at 7:45 p.m., Columbia, April 7, 21, Hamilton Hall, Room 703; (212)925-5665.

PURCHASE: "Strategy for Socialist Revolution"; alternate Thursdays at 7:45 p.m., SUNY, April 14, 28, Conference Room, C.C.S.; (212)925-5665.

SAN FRANCISCO: "The Struggle for the International Revolutionary Party"; date to be announced, 7:00 p.m., Benjamin Franklin School Library, 1430 Scott near Divisadero; (415)835-1535.

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO: "Towards International Proletarian Revolution"; Wednesday, April 6 at 7:30 p.m., University of Toronto, room to be announced; (416) 366-4107

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For Labor/Student Mobilizations Against Cutbacks!

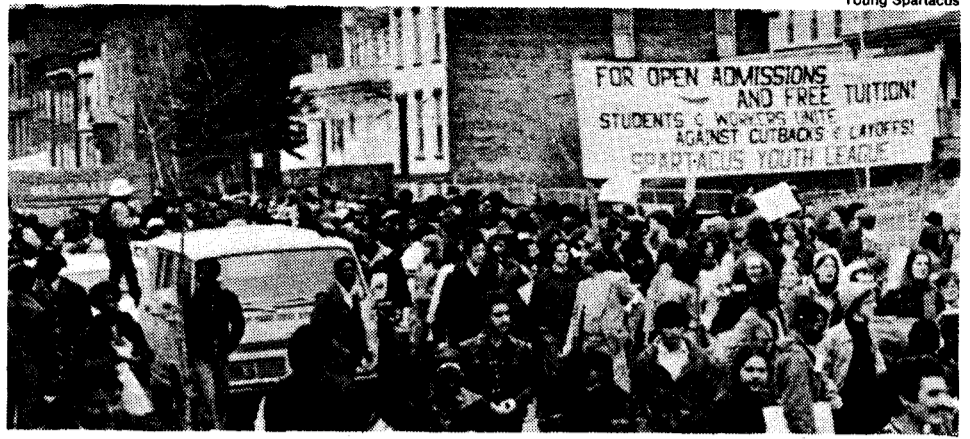
NEW YORK CITY, March 16—One year ago today the New York State Capitol was surrounded by 10,000 chanting students demonstrating against devastating austerity measures imposed on the City University of New York (CUNY) and the State University of New York (SUNY). But the demonstration held yesterday at the same site to protest recent educational cutbacks totaling \$40.7 million was anemic in comparison and attracted only 2,000.

Organized by the CUNY University Student Senate and the Student Association of the State University (SASU), the action in Albany was called to mobilize students throughout the state to lobby "their" state legislators. To set the stage for the ultra-"respectable" protest, student careerists of SASU spent the three days before the demonstration attempting to hobnob with

bourgeois politicians in the Capitol's antechambers.

At the rally speaker after speaker droned on about the importance of "making our voices heard." But the only voices allowed at the rally were mouthpieces for the liberal Democrats. When catcalls greeted one state legislator, Ed Roberts, the president of the University Student Senate intervened to hush the restless crowd. To prevent any outburst of militancy like last year, when hundreds stormed the Capitol stairs, "marshals" (read: goons) were provided by the Young Workers Liberation League, youth group of the reformist Communist Party, which had prominently backed the demonstration.

Yet the "budget balancers" in Albany and City Hall have already shown that they will turn a deaf ear to such liberal pressure politics. While



CUNY has been made more attractive to the relatively affluent, especially Nassau and Suffolk county suburbanites (for example, the qualifying grade requirements for the four "elite" CUNY campuses have been lowered and tuition for out-of-city students has been halved), tens of thousands of poor and minority students will be victimized by the massive slashing of the Tuition Assistance Program.

In its banner and leaflet at the demonstration the Spartacus Youth League emphasized the need to link the struggle against these cutbacks in education with the working class. As the demise of last year's militant protests has demonstrated once again, student protests alone do not have

the social power to wrench and defend significant concessions from the bourgeois authorities. Only the program and perspective of the SYL points the way forward for a successful fight against the capitalist austerity drive in New York.

For labor/student mobilizations against cutbacks and layoffs! Open admissions/no-tuition must be restored to CUNY and extended to SUNY! For a state-paid stipend to provide living expenses for students and their dependents! For federal funding of all education and social services—from health care to welfare! Down with the BHE and SUNY administration—for student/worker/teacher control! ■

"Selective Index" Targets Minorities at Chicago Circle—

Fight for Open Admissions!

CHICAGO—In the guise of "raising academic standards," a vicious attack on minority and working-class students has been launched by the union-busting, budget-slashing, tuition-hiking administration of the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus (UICC).

Recently UICC chancellor Donald Riddle proposed the institution of a "selective index"—an admissions program based on a score calculated from each applicant's high-school grades and admissions test results. The other components of Riddle's "quality education" package are a \$90-\$120 tuition hike, the reinstatement of "academic drops" (flunk-outs) and a tougher grading policy. For the many black, Spanish-speaking and working-class youth who have received their "education" in Chicago's notoriously segregated, decrepit public school system and who can barely afford to pay tuition at its present level, Riddle's plan might well mean an end to any hope of attending UICC.

In response to this attack, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) at UICC called for a united-front demonstration to mobilize students, campus workers and faculty in a militant protest against the "selective index," the tuition hike and the reinstatement of academic drops, and any budget cuts and layoffs of campus workers. Moreover, the SYL has championed the call for open admissions with a full state-paid stipend to address the race and class bias already built into the capitalist education system.

In the several meetings held to discuss Riddle's proposal, however, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), Federacion Universitaria Socialista Puertorriquena (FUSP—unofficial youth group of the social-democratic Puerto Rican Socialist Party) as well as assorted student government bureaucrats, petty-bourgeois nationalists and careerists banded together in opposition to the SYL proposal. Coalescing into a "Coalition of Concerned Students and Staff," these opportunists argued that "the time is not right for militancy" and resolved

to confine themselves to endless hot-air sessions and talkathons.

But the Coalition did manage to muster enough energy to launch a slander campaign against the SYL, replete with gangster attacks and political censorship. At one meeting called by the Coalition, an SYL spokesman was slandered as a "reactionary bitch who wants to get all of us shot," while the SYL's united-front resolution was smeared as a plan to "burn down buildings."

At a subsequent meeting, when an SYL spokesman calling for militant action drew vigorous applause from many of the 250 participants, the chairman grabbed away the microphone. Two SYL supporters who had approached the chair to request a vote on their motion were pushed and threatened by a gang of Coalition goons.

The anti-labor, nationalist character of the Coalition was further revealed at its "Seminar on the Urban Crisis," which featured Dr. Quentin Young, who had been instrumental in organizing doctors to cross picket lines during a nurses' strike at Cook County Hospital last year. Confronted by the SYL with the fact that the Coalition's symbol of "community support" was a despicable scab, an



FUSP supporter and member of the Coalition's steering committee retorted, "We don't care about those nurses, what we care about are the Latinos who are going to be cut out of the school," and added, "Your girls are always telling our men what to do!"

Only when the SYL called for a demonstration at the March 10 Academic Senate meeting to protest the "selective index" did the Coalition decide to act—by announcing a rally on the same day as the demonstration, but at a different place and one-and-a-half hours earlier. Still eschewing militancy, the Coalition called for a delegation to "go in [to the administration] and ask for data so we can argue at their level [!] and hopefully defeat them."

On March 10 a large SYL contingent marched to the rally, called on all present to join together in the demonstration at the administration meeting and then marched to the site of the Academic Senate. After entering the meeting, the SYL was handed an "Open Letter to the Spartacus Youth League" from a faculty member and administration mouthpiece. Along with the usual appeal to "good will," the letter revealed that Coalition spokesmen had been meeting behind closed doors with the

administration:

"Some measure of constructive dialogue about admissions policy has been opened between the responsible leadership of the Coalition of Concerned Students and Staff on the one hand, and the Campus Administration and Senate Council on the other. I understand that evidence of this healthy turn of events will become evident early in today's meeting."

And indeed it did! Chancellor Riddle himself immediately turned over the floor to a Coalition spokesman who appealed to "all parties to bring this charged emotional issue to the table of dialogue and reason" and, evoking the memories of Thomas Jefferson, Tom Paine and Samuel Adams, advocated "the American ideal of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." He ended with a call for a joint Academic Senate/Coalition committee to "study" admissions policy and for Coalition supporters to "go home and study!"

After Riddle denied speaking time to the SYL, the SYL contingent walked out, chanting "Smash the selective index—abolish the administration!" While the YSA, RSB and other Coalition members collaborate with the administration, the SYL will continue its fight to mobilize students, faculty and campus workers against the "selective index" and all administration attacks. ■

Workers Vanguard

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Soldiers "Unions" . . .

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guns against black people in a major ghetto uprising or strike. Among leading bourgeois circles the growing support for reimposing conscription reflects a desire for a return to a less black—and hence more "reliable"—armed forces.

Communists and the Conscript Army

Our attitude toward draftees and organizing in the conscript army is considerably different. Unlike volunteers, conscripts serve in the armed forces against their will, so that they may be regarded as simultaneously oppressed and oppressors. Revolutionists are by no means indifferent to the grievances and myriad special problems which conscripted youth must face. (One need only recall that during the 1905 Russian revolution the *Potemkin* mutiny was sparked by protests of the sailors over rations unfit for human consumption.)

Socialists favor the political organization of conscripts. While supporting particular struggles by GIs over economic issues and democratic rights, we insist that any united-front soldiers organizations must be based on certain minimum *anti-militarist and anti-imperialist demands*. In peacetime, such servicemen's committees must at least be based on the call for an end to conscription. For example, we sharply criticized the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire when during 1975 these fake-Trotskyists uncritically supported the formation of soldiers committees on a program which was limited to democratic demands and accepted conscription (see "French Pseudo-Trotskyists Campaign to Reform Army," *Young Spartacus*, February 1975).

During an imperialist war, however, the central agitational demands of a servicemen's committee must also include opposition to the war. At the time of the Vietnam war *GI Voice*, a newspaper published by soldiers in political solidarity with the Spartacist League, agitated for the demand, "immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all American troops from Vietnam and all other countries." In addition, *GI Voice* defended democratic rights of conscripts, opposed all racial discrimination in the armed forces and called for a "real working alliance [of GIs] with labor struggles" (*GI Voice*, 5 July 1969). While fighting conscription, the Spartacist League and *GI Voice* opposed the strategy of individual draft resistance, calling upon anti-war activists, when drafted, to enter the armed forces and fight to win over rank-and-file soldiers. Individual draft dodging is impotent and, in addition, tends to discredit in the eyes of conscripts the otherwise correct anti-war convictions of individual draft resisters.

For Soldiers Committees!

In a pre-revolutionary situation, revolutionists are faced with the immediate task of neutralizing and splitting the army. In Portugal following the fall of the Salazar/Caetano dictatorship soldiers committees proliferated in the armed forces, which had been radicalized by the long, unpopular colonial wars in Africa. The Portuguese soldiers committees represented embryonic organs of *dual power* within the military.

In such a situation communists must develop and consolidate these

committees into soldiers and sailors soviets, as part of the struggle for a unitary, democratically elected national council of soviets—the basis for a workers government. But in the absence of a Trotskyist vanguard party capable of breaking the masses from all illusions in the "progressive" Armed Forces Movement (MFA), the Portuguese soldiers committees remained subordinate to the discipline of the bourgeois officer corps and, consequently, were suppressed in the aftermath of the 25 November 1975, purge in the army.

In a revolutionary period communist work in the military takes on crucial significance. As the Portuguese experience once again demonstrates, in such periods of intense class struggle and polarization the military question becomes the question of state power. In such a situation revolutionaries must struggle to develop soldiers committees in the army linked to workers soviets under the leadership of a Trotskyist party—the highest expression of communist organizing in the military and the prelude to the conquest of power. ■

Kissinger . . .

continued from page 1

Following the rally, the demonstrators marched across campus to Uris Hall, where the University Senate had gathered to discuss raising the "several million dollars" outlay which Kissinger has demanded. Already his publishers have promised Kissinger \$2 million for his as-yet-unwritten memoirs, plus \$350,000 for extra secretaries and office space, plus a \$1.4 million insurance deal.

"Academic Freedom" and All That

In the late 1960's Henry Kissinger would not have dared set foot on Columbia University, then a bastion of anti-war activism. But now, while many of those student radicals are still hunted by the FBI and the cops, the principal surviving political architect of imperialist genocide in Indochina is free to wrap himself in the gowns of academia. This is an obscenity! There must be no posts as "honored professor" and no walnut-paneled suite at Columbia for this mass murderer!

Responding to the growing controversy on campus over the proposed appointment, Columbia president William McGill and other august scholars have raised a hue and cry about defending "academic freedom" for Kissinger. We do not suppose that Kissinger would have the phones of his colleagues in the Political Science Department tapped or that he would order "retaliatory" air strikes against neighboring Harlem. Nor do we suppose that the trustees of Columbia would send Kissinger around the world to conduct gunboat diplomacy on their behalf. But, whether in the State Department of Nixon/Ford or in the Political Science Department of Columbia, Kissinger remains the shameless butcher of Indochina, the successful protégé of the butcher of Attica, Nelson Rockefeller.

At issue here is *not* academic freedom at Columbia University. The prestigious faculties of Columbia shelter a plethora of well-salaried conservative professors fully capable of arguing in defense of American imperialism and—unlike the SYL—fully free to voice *their* opinions on campus without the slightest administration harassment. The ventilation of such opinion must be regarded as a legitimate exercise of academic freedom.

But Henry Kissinger is not just an apologist for imperialism, although he cut his academic spurs by elevating

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pure imperialist power politics to the level of "theory." This man was the main orchestrator of the Christmas bombing of Vietnam; the coordinator of the "Forty Committee" which aided the Chilean right in preparation for the bloody Pinochet coup; and the oily diplomat for U.S. imperialism who has backed the vicious white-supremacist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa.

Why should Kissinger be allowed to don the robes of academic respectability while Nazi war criminal Rudolph Hess remains confined in Spandau prison? Why not invite the remaining Gallo brother or some other gangster to lecture in the criminology department, or invite Charles Manson to teach religious studies at Columbia?

Henry Kissinger must be driven away from Columbia—not for his views, but for his *deeds*. His proposed appointment confronts the students, faculty and staff of Columbia with a plebiscite: to allow this war criminal to occupy an academic position would be to tacitly endorse his atrocities. What is needed now is a campaign of protest and militant demonstrations to keep Kissinger off campus!

"Respectable" Protest Rebuffed

Boycotting and even attempting to

sabotage today's demonstration was a small gaggle of Columbia liberals and "independent" Maoists banded together in a so-called "Ad Hoc Committee to Oppose Kissinger's Appointment." At earlier meetings on campus, supporters of this "Ad Hoc Committee" *opposed* SYL proposals for immediate action on a united-front basis, counterposing a petition campaign to pressure the administration to reconsider the proposed Kissinger appointment.

But despite its innocuous petition campaign this "Ad Hoc Committee" was brusquely rebuffed by president McGill at the University Senate meeting today. After unsuccessfully attempting to exclude the press, McGill opened the meeting by threatening to hold the session behind locked doors if the "disruptions" of the chanting picket line outside were brought into the chamber. A faculty member then presented McGill with the petition circulated by the "Ad Hoc Committee," dissociating herself from the picket-line protest outside. "I am impervious to petitions," retorted McGill, and contemptuously dismissed signatures of campus union members as "not germane!"

In response, Alexander Ehrlich noted that many of these union members lost sons in Vietnam and had every reason to oppose Kissinger. In addition, Ehrlich read a statement on behalf of Alison Shore, member of the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus and supporter of the SYL.

While successful, the demonstration today represents only a first step. In the days and weeks ahead the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus and the SYL will be working on campus to mobilize a broad campaign to block the Kissinger appointment and protest the crimes of U.S. imperialism. Join us! ■

SUB DRIVE TOPS QUOTA!

The editorial board of *Young Spartacus* is pleased to announce the successful completion of the *Young Spartacus* subscription drive held from February 1 to February 28. Through the energetic and determined effort of the members and supporters of the Spartacus Youth League the national subscription quota was achieved—and surpassed by 41 percent. Every local organization of the SYL more than fulfilled its quota, while the comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada contributed a full 97 points in the sub drive. Special recognition for the highest individual sub score goes to comrade Marilyn (Madison SYL), who carried the honors with 45 points. The *Young Spartacus* editorial board welcomes new subscribers and pledges to continue working toward the high journalistic and political standards which have always guided *Young Spartacus*.

	Total	Quota	%
Bay Area	164.5	150	110
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Chicago	118.5	100	119
Cleveland	60.5	50	121
Detroit	82.0	75	109
Los Angeles	84.5	75	113
Madison	50.5	10	505
New York	159.5	125	128
Philadelphia	12.0	10	120
Toronto	66.5	—	—
Vancouver	30.5	—	—
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TOTAL	945.0	670	141

Spartacus Youth League Directory

Ann Arbor: SYL, Box 89, 4th floor Michigan Union, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 769-6376

Bay Area: SYL, c/o SL, Box 23372, Oakland, CA 94623, or call (415) 835-1535

Boston: SYL, Box 227, Boston U. Station, Boston, MA 02215, or call (617) 492-3928 or 254-4236

Chicago: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 427-0003

Cleveland: SYL, Box 02182, Cleveland, OH 44102, or call (216) 281-4781

Detroit: SYL, c/o SL, Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 869-1551

Houston: SYL, c/o SL, Box 26474, Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 413-0160

Madison: SYL, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704

New York: SYL, Box 825, Canal Street Sta., New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 925-5665

Philadelphia: SYL, c/o SL, Box 13138, Philadelphia, PA 19101

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, or call (416) 366-4107

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 291-8993

Italy...

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many of them have returned to the PCI orbit, while the remainder have tended to become increasingly marginal to the organized proletariat. More recently, the name "Workers Autonomy" has been appropriated by New Leftist and workerist elements for their own purposes.

Thus, strong tendencies toward classical ultra-leftism—opposition to trade unions as such and to the Leninist conception of the party—can find expression in anti-Communist outbursts. While many of the militants in "Workers Autonomy" would find their way to a revolutionary party, if one existed in Italy, a few could turn to the fascists in their disillusion with the "left."

On the one hand, some tendencies in "Workers Autonomy" have raised slogans against any sacrifices for the government and correctly exposed the de facto collaboration of the CP, headed by Berlinguer, with the minority government headed by Andreotti by denouncing the "Berlingotti government." On the other hand, some of these groups have extended their hatred for the reformist PCI to the mass organizations of the working class and to workers organized in ostensibly Leninist groups to the left of the PCI.

Indicative of their hostility to the Stalinist leaders is a "Workers Autonomy" chant, "In Chile it was tanks, in Italy it's the trade unions" (quoted *Cambio 16*, 13 March). Explicitly denying the role of the proletariat in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, "Workers Autonomy" groups often counterpose to the working class "student, unemployed, prisoner" vanguardism and an appetite for street confrontation with the repressive forces of the state reminiscent of the early Weathermen.

Prominently included in the "Workers Autonomy" menagerie are dregs of the Italian New Left known as the "Metropolitan Indians"—the Italian version of Yippies-cum-Weathermen, but with a far greater following (at least for the moment). The "Metropolitan Indians" espouse a program which calls for repatriation of all animals in the zoos to their country of origin, lowering admissions prices at the movies and "against capitalism, for criminal struggle." Dedicated to fighting the "white man" the world over, the "Metropolitan Indians" smear their faces in war paint and mindlessly run through the streets brandishing tomahawks, chanting "more work, less pay" and crying, "scemi, scemi" (crazy, crazy)—bringing to mind the followers of Salvador Dali who in the thirties chanted "Down with intelligence, Long live death." With their anti-union impulses, petty bourgeois rage and glorification of lumpenism the "Metropolitan Indians" quite conceivably could spawn significant recruits for the fascists, even though at present a blood line separates them.

The fact that the "Workers Autonomy" and "Metropolitan Indians" can at times get a wide hearing among militant students speaks volumes about the repulsive class-collaborationism of the PCI. It also is a damning revelation of the effects of the gross opportunism of the Italian so-called "far left," in particular, the sizable Lotta Continua, Avanguardia Operaia (AO) and PDUP (Party of Proletarian Unity). In the June 1976 Italian elections, these centrist "far-left" groups formed an electoral bloc, Democrazia Proletaria, patterned after the popular-front Unidad Popular of Allende. Refusing to pose an uncompromising left opposition to the CP—calling for what they themselves admit would be a bourgeois "government of the lefts"—they instead present themselves as the left con-

science of the "Historical Compromise"/popular front. Some militants of "Workers Autonomy" are not incorrect in seeing that these groups offer no consistent alternative to the CP. In the past year, these groups have suffered considerable political demoralization and organizational disintegration, including major splits in the case of AO and PDUP.

Rome: Drawing the Lines

On February 17 the confrontation between the PCI and the "Workers Autonomy" led to a collision at the University of Rome. Luciano Lama, the Stalinist leader of the CGIL trade-union federation, appeared on campus with the stated purpose of addressing the striking students.

A heated debate flared among the students over whether or not Lama should be allowed to speak. Both the "Workers Autonomy" and the "Metropolitan Indians" called for excluding Lama (the banners of the "Metropolitan Indians" carried the slogan, "Lamas Belong in Tibet"), but they were outvoted by the majority of striking students, who wanted a debate with Lama. Among other things, this vote revealed that, despite sensationalist press accounts, the "Metropolitan Indians" were by no means the recognized, hegemonic leadership of the striking students.

But no sooner did the "Metropolitan Indians" and "Workers Autonomy" come face to face with the throng of PCI "marshals" (several hundred strong) than fists began to fly. Just who started the brawl remains murky, but the result was that scores were injured on both sides and Lama was forced to flee campus.

After the melee at the University of Rome the PCI stiffened its opposition to the student strikers. When the cops attacked the University of Rome (using bulldozers and a tear gas barrage that soon covered the city) only hours after Lama was driven off campus, a PCI leader was quoted as saying, "We should have sent in the carabinieri immediately" (*L'Espresso*, 27 February).

At the same time, the University of Rome free-for-all produced critical reactions to the PCI trade



Students and PCI "marshals" clash at University of Rome on February 17.

confrontations continued to mount. Then, on March 11 during a student demonstration in Bologna which had been called to protest attacks on the left by Communion and Liberation (a right-wing Catholic youth group) a leader of Lotta Continua, Francesco Lorusso, was deliberately shot and killed by a cop. The murder of Lorusso touched off pitched battles in the streets between leftist students (who were not under the influence of the "Metropolitan Indians") and the cops of a CP-controlled city which is the center of the "red belt" in Italy and has long been held up by the CP as an example of their capacity to "responsibly administer" a major city.

Whereas the political thrust of the students who drove the strike-breaking trade-union bureaucrat Lama out of the University of Rome had been unclear, the streetfighting and other confrontations which raged in Bologna for two days clearly represented a left/right polarization. The PCI lined up with the cops as the defenders of capitalist "law and order," threatening, "When armed bands having nothing to do with the student movement devastate, pillage and kill, the duty of the democratic forces of order is prevention and repression" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 15 March).

The PCI was faced on the one hand with the demand by the governing Christian Democracy that it demonstrate its ability to hold the masses in line. On the other hand, significant sectors of the trade unions re-

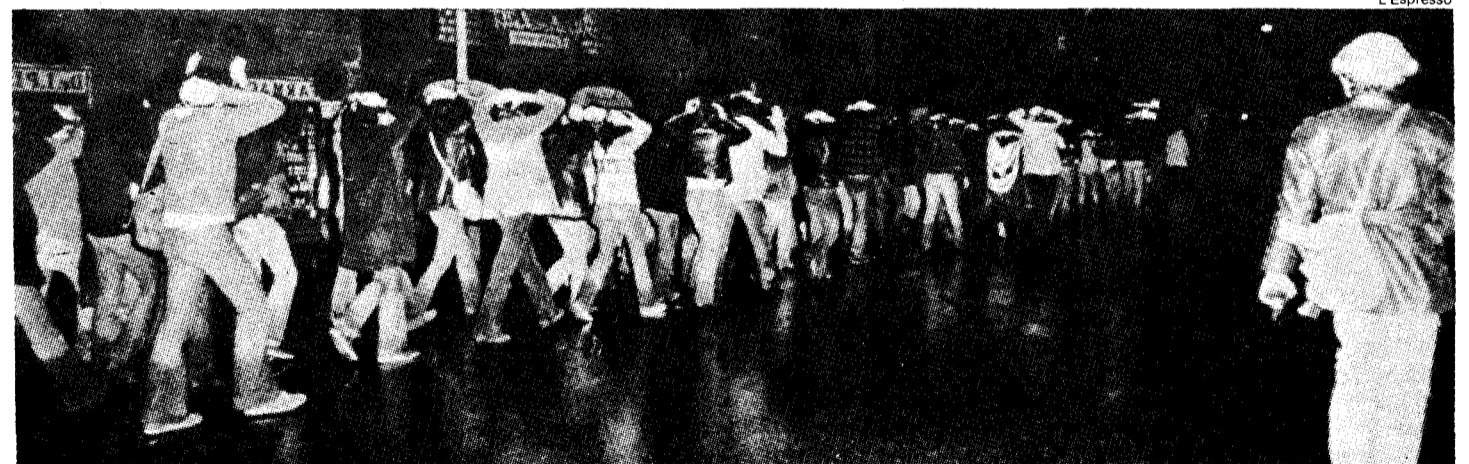
they agree that when Francesco Lorusso was shot, "the state had applied the principle of self-defense" (quoted in *La Repubblica*, 13-14 March); Lotta Continua quite correctly refused.

No to the Popular Front!

At a subsequent demonstration on March 16 the PCI attempted to justify the murder of Lorusso. Speaking to some 200,000 people (in a city of 480,000) the Communist mayor of Bologna declared, "When the forces of the police suppress violence, they can rest assured that a powerful popular force is on their side. This demonstration proves it" (quoted in *Informations Ouvrières*, 23 March).

What has been posed so sharply on the streets of Italy is the need for a resolute struggle against the popular front. Even though the Stalinists have yet to officially consummate their "Historic Compromise," the PCI has formed a de facto popular front government and is using its political strangle hold over the Italian proletariat to do the hatchet work of the Christian Democrats. Quite conscious of his role, long-time PCI leader Giorgio Amendola observed at the height of battles in Bologna, "We are in Chile before we have even got into the government" (quoted in *Economist*, 19 March).

Italy today cries out for the intervention of a Trotskyist vanguard party to raise the banner of uncompromising class independence, especially among the restive PCI ranks in the re-emerging factory councils as well



So directionless was the mass left-wing street demonstration in Rome on March 12 that at the highpoint, amid chaos and violence, 400-500 demonstrators "surrendered,"...to no one in particular.

union leaderships. When 30,000 students staged a march through Rome on February 19 to denounce the PCI's "Little Prague," their banner carried the slogan, "Workers, Students, Women, Unemployed, Against the Government of the Abstentions" (referring to the PCI's "non-mistrust" abstentions in parliament which keep the CD minority government from falling). Moreover, three factory councils in the Rome district condemned the PCI intervention at the University of Rome (*Lotta Continua*, 20 February). Even the Stalinist youth federation took the PCI leadership to task for having demonstrated "gross political insensitivity" (quoted in *Lotta Continua*, 25 February).

Bologna: Left vs. Right

In the weeks that followed the political tensions and small-scale

jected its categorical identification of the striking students with "fascist provocateurs"; in particular, the metalworkers federation called for discussions with the students. The PCI again felt compelled to side with the bourgeoisie, calling for a massive demonstration on March 12 in Bologna against "violence."

When a contingent of 3,000 students headed by Lotta Continua were denied entrance into the rally site, spokesmen of the Metalworkers union stated, "At this point they deserve to speak." But under the direct orders of the Christian Democrats the PCI refused to allow the students, who were chanting "We are Francesco's comrades!", enter the square or have a speaker. Only when the Lotta Continua delegation forced its way into the square did the PCI back down and offer the students five minutes of speaking time—provided

as among the tens of thousands of student strikers who in recent PCI-organized parades sought a bridge to the workers. The crisis of the centrist groups—who shamefacedly tail after, alternately, the PCI and the popular front and the petty-bourgeois politics of "spontaneous revolt"—has once again demonstrated the utter bankruptcy of half-way measures. Only a Bolshevik-Leninist party which breaks with support, including electoral support, to class-collaborationist politics can provide a clear pole around which to struggle for the leadership of the militant Italian proletariat.

No to the Malfatti reforms! No to the "Historic Compromise"! Break with the Christian Democrats—For a general strike against austerity measures! Forward to a Trotskyist party in Italy, section of the international Spartacist tendency! ■

Young Spartacus

How RCP "Studies" History —

Maoists Reaffirm Stalinist Class Treason

At times the American Maoist movement can give the impression of having passed through the looking glass of Lewis Carroll. Such was indeed the case at the travelling "Conference on the International Situation" which the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) staged in New York City, Los Angeles and, most recently, the Bay Area.

At these confabs the RCP and its main Maoist rival, the October League (OL), traded double-talking disputations and at times heated exchanges over "main danger" versus "principal danger," "main enemy" versus "primary enemy" and "mainblow" versus "unity and struggle." As if to further mystify matters, their polemics often were peppered with historical references to "the dark clouds of the Munich trend" and "the Munich trend of thinking."

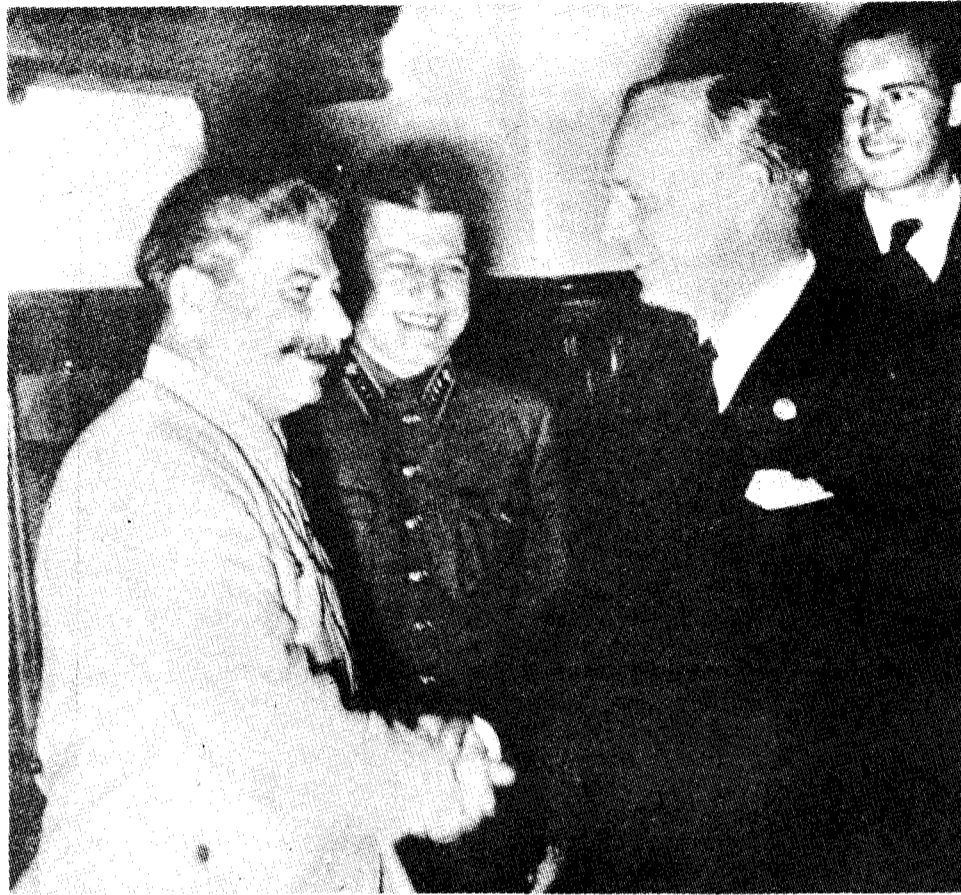
What's It All About?

Despite appearances, important political issues lurk behind all this studied obscurantism and "dialectical" jabberwocky. Increasingly during the last several years the Chinese Stalinist regime has rationalized the Sino-Soviet split and the subsequent U.S.-China alliance by denouncing the USSR as the "main enemy of the peoples of the world" and the "main danger to world peace."

Betraying proletarian internationalism in pursuit of an elusive (indeed, reactionary-utopian) "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism, the parasitic Peking bureaucracy which monopolizes political power in the Chinese deformed workers state has become the most strident supporter of capitalist militarism—urging the rearmament of Japan, hailing the feverish arms build-up by the Shah of Iran and calling for increased NATO forces in Europe. It is in this context that the "Munich trend" analogies arise; *Peking Review* incessantly warns the American and European imperialists not to "appease" the so-called "social-fascist" Soviet Union as British prime minister Neville Chamberlain appeased Hitler at Munich in 1938.

Especially after the Angolan civil war, when Peking sided with the South African/U.S.-led forces against the Cuban-led/Russian-backed MPLA, the "Third Worldist"/Maoist movement sharply polarized as disputes flared over where to "direct the main blow"—at U.S. imperialism or "Soviet social-imperialism." The poles were soon established by the armchair-Maoist *Guardian* on the one hand, and Peking mouthpiece William Hinton (until recently the head of the U.S.-China Peoples' Friendship Association) on the other. While the "critical-Maoist" *Guardian* respectfully [read: cynically] differed with Peking and denied that the USSR and Cuba, as opposed to South Africa and the U.S., were the "main enemy" in Southern Africa, Hinton followed the Peking line to its logical conclusion and called for a political alliance with the "democratic" U.S. bourgeoisie against the "most dangerous of the two superpowers"—meaning the bureaucratically degenerated Russian workers state.

Unwilling to openly criticize China or to become simply drummer boys



Stalin and Nazi Foreign Minister Ribbentrop after signing Hitler-Stalin pact.

for Wall Street, the RCP has attempted to straddle the fence—arguing that both "superpowers" are the "main" (?!) enemy. Striking a hard workerist stance the RCP maintains that revolutionists must direct the "main blow" at their own ruling class.

But the RCP does not draw the conclusion that in the event of a new world war the "main enemy" would be the *entire* American ruling class. Although alienated from the present Chinese regime (failing to take a line on the purge of the "gang of four" six months ago!) the RCP still clings to the Stalinist strategy of building a class-collaborationist popular front with the "progressive" bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie against the allegedly "social-fascist" USSR. Despite its ultra-militant posturing, already the RCP is prepared to capitulate to liberal anti-Sovietism. In a polemic with the OL in *Revolution* (February 1977) the RCP argues that in this country "more and more people will be drawn into struggle against the Soviet rulers even before they grasp its capitalist and imperialist character"—that is, while they still consider the USSR to be a socialist state!

To defend its position the RCP has delved into history and produced its own rendition of Stalinist policy during World War II. This "study," entitled "On the Character of World War 2" by one John B. Tyler, appeared in the October issue of the *Communist*, the new "theoretical" journal of the RCP. A more appropriate title for this tract would be, "Popular Frontism Made Simple," since in it the RCP "sums up" the "do's" and "don'ts" of class collaborationism.

Cover Up No. 1

The basic thesis of the RCP article is that on the eve of and during WW II Stalin demonstrated how to form a "united front" with the imperialists to defeat the "main enemy" of the moment. But the RCP

simply passes over the *entire period* leading up to the outbreak of World War II! These were the years of the "Popular Front" against fascism, when Stalin ordered Communist Parties around the world to support the "national defense" of the imperialist "Democracies."

In France, Stalin and French foreign minister Pierre Laval on 2 May 1935 signed a "nonaggression" pact which stated, "Mr. Stalin understands and fully approves of the policy of national defense made by France in order to keep its armed strength at the level of security." Chaining the French proletariat to their exploiters through the popular front government the Stalinists demanded that the workers submit to class "nonaggression" and later *broke* the massive general strike of 1936.

In Spain Stalin tried to convince his prospective British and French allies that he could crush a revolution as efficiently as Franco. Following the May Days in Barcelona the Spanish Stalinists led the popular-front Republican government in smashing the workers militias, collective farms and workers control of the factories, while hounding and executing revolutionists. "Democratic" officers turned over entire cities to Franco.

The exhausted and demoralized workers and peasants, their courageous attempts to fight Franco by means of social revolution having been crushed by the Stalinist/liberal alliance, were delivered over to the Falangist assassins. The flame of the Spanish workers revolution—which could have ignited all Europe, making possible the revolutionary overthrow of Hitler and Mussolini and the "democratic" imperialists—was extinguished with proletarian blood.

Hitler: From "Main Friend" to "Main Enemy"

According to the RCP, after late summer 1939 and before the German

invasion of the USSR, it was correct to support the fascist robbers against the "democratic" ones. Tyler dubs the Hitler-Stalin nonaggression pact of 23 August 1939 "a diplomatic master stroke" for the Soviet Union.

Trotskyists are the staunchest defenders of the surviving conquests of the October Revolution—that is, nationalized property and planned economy—and have always supported the military defense of even the bureaucratically degenerated USSR against imperialism, while fighting for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist usurpers and re-establish soviet democracy. We have never denied the USSR's right to make a purely military accord with a capitalist government *if that accord is necessary to the defense of the USSR*.

But the Hitler-Stalin pact was not such an accord, nor was it even a "detente." The Stalinists made not merely a military but a *political* alliance with the Nazis.

Soviet foreign minister Molotov, speaking of Hitler's Germany, told the Supreme "Soviet" on 31 August 1939: "Yes, only yesterday we were enemies in the sphere of foreign relations. Today, however, the situation has changed, and we are enemies no longer." Whereas before the pact the Stalinists characterized Germany and its allies as the "aggressor states" and covered up for the "democratic" imperialists (whose "national defense" meant defending markets and colonial plunder from rival German, Italian and Japanese imperialism), now they denounced France and England and made excuses for Hitler.

"It was not Germany who attacked Britain and France, but Britain and France who attacked Germany," declared Stalin in *Pravda* on 30 November 1939. Stalin thus gave his seal of approval to the Nazis' annexation of western Poland. In September 1939 Molotov sent a telegram to Germany's ambassador to the USSR stating: "I have received your communication regarding the entry of German troops into Warsaw. Please convey my congratulations and greetings to the German Reich Government."

Tyler also "forgets" to mention the Supplementary Protocol to the Hitler-Stalin pact, signed in September 1939. The protocol stipulated:

"Both parties will tolerate in their territories no Polish agitation which affects the territories of the other party. They will suppress in their territory all beginnings of such agitation and inform each other concerning suitable measures for this purpose."

Stalin instructed the Communist parties to cease anti-Nazi propaganda and only criticize the crimes of British and French imperialism. In occupied France, the Communist Party's *L'Humanité* appeared without a single word against the German occupation! *L'Humanité* was distributed *openly* with the tacit approval of the German army and its editors applied to the military authorities for legal publication rights!

Incredibly, the RCP "study" asserts that the Hitler-Stalin pact "turned German attention away from the Soviet Union" and "bought time... for the Soviet Union to prepare itself militarily and politically" for war.

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