

Young Spartacus

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NLF Advances, Rightist Opposition Mounts:

Turmoil Engulfs Thieu Regime

The decades-long, heroic struggle of the Indochinese workers and peasants against imperialism and the Indochinese landlords and capitalists has been betrayed repeatedly by the Stalinist misleaders. In 1945-46 the Indochinese Stalinists, who for the Soviet bureaucracy were but a pawn to be sacrificed for "peaceful coexistence" with Anglo-French imperialism, handed control over the country back to the French army in return for promises of "negotiations" that would give them power. After militarily defeating French imperialism in 1954, the Indochinese Stalinists, again under pressure from both the USSR and China, accepted the Geneva accords which gave back to the French all South Vietnam that had been won by the blood of the workers and peasants. The Stalinists settled for "building socialism in one half a country," and established a bureaucratically-deformed workers state in the North.

The Soviets and Chinese, seeking to appease imperialism and strengthen their own nationalist bureaucratic self-interest, have refused to supply the Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam/National Liberation Front (DRV/NLF) with the military assistance needed to defeat the U.S. imperialists. From Moscow the NLF has received a trickle of relatively outmoded armaments, while the most advanced weaponry is flowing to the reactionary Egyptian, Syrian and Iraqi governments. From Peking the NLF has received Maoist homilies about "self-reliance,"

while the Chinese bureaucracy eagerly bargains for detente with the U.S. "Paper Tiger" and generously lavishes millions on Bandaranaike's Ceylonese government as a reward for butchering the youth of the "people's war"-inspired Janata Vik-mukhti Peramuna [People's Liberation Front].

Moreover, the Stalinists' stated aim in the South is not a socialist revolution, but a "people's democratic revolution" leading to a coalition government with the capitalists. Forced by the Sino-Soviet bureaucracies into accepting, and themselves politically desirous for, the Paris "peace" agreement, the PRG/NLF has attempted to present this sellout as a great "victory" and as the means for forcing new elections and establishing a coalition government.

Renewed Fighting

Recently there has been much speculation in the bourgeois media on the possibility of a major NLF military offensive being mounted in the near future. The sharpest fighting since the signing of the January 1973 Paris "peace" agreement has flared along "cease-fire" lines in the Mekong Delta region. In the month of December alone, significant territories of the provinces around Saigon have fallen to the NLF and many sections of Highways 1, 4 and 22 have been cut off.

It is not yet certain that this stepped-

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Buddhist monk in recent anti-Thieu demonstration.

For Labor/Black Defense in Boston!

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EDITORIAL NOTES

Fasting At Yale: Naiveté, with a Vengeance

The mass destruction of human life that has become identified today by the euphemistic and objectivist catchphrase, "World Food Crisis," will according to official estimates claim millions of victims before next year's harvest. The results of the imperialist "development" of the backward nations is the searing spectacle of a mass famine sweeping across the economically backward areas of the world, from the Indian subcontinent to Africa and South America. Every day in Bangladesh thousands of human beings perish. The threat of widespread starvation has even gripped Brazil, the U.S. State Department's example of model capitalist development.

The responses to this crisis, engendered directly by imperialism and solvable only through international socialist revolution, have ranged from callous indifference to moral anguish to ludicrous utopianism. U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Butz, who has distinguished himself by spewing racial epithets and lecturing the masses to eat less meat, informed the Rome "World Food Conference" that no emergency aid would be forthcoming from the U.S. imperialists. Rather, of the 3.5 million tons of food provided by the U.S. "Food for Peace" program, 2.5 million will go to "pacify" Vietnam and Cambodia, ravaged by imperialist war.

Between the stance of the imperialists and the position of the Maoists there is a virtual congruence. At the Rome conference the representative of the People's Republic of China declared that "third world" countries would be able "by relying on their own efforts, persevering in struggle and strengthening their unity and mutual aid, energetically to develop their national economy, develop agriculture, increase food production, and gradually shake off the plunder and control practiced by the imperialists and the superpowers by means of food—thus solving the food problem through self-reliance" (quoted in the Maoist *Guardian*, 4 December 1974). The Maoists' solution to the agrarian question is not the struggle for socialist revolution, but exhortations for "self-reliance." Your national bourgeoisie would have the situation well under control, if only the imperialists would leave them alone!

From those who regard mass starvation not as a political problem but as a humanitarian problem have increasingly come appeals for fasting as an act of moral or religious witness. An estimated 250,000 Americans observed the November 21 "Fast for a World Harvest" called by Oxfam-America and "Project Relief." To the question, "Why fast?" the Oxfam brochure calling for the fast replied, "to identify with the world's poor." On the day of the fast, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops likewise called for fasting and abstinence for the world's starving.

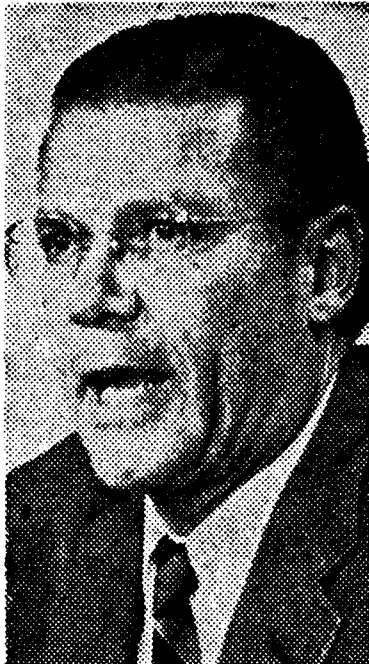
Such appeals for the gesture of fasting subtly seek to arouse both guilt and moral conceit. Oxfam blames starvation on the fact that "Americans—and others in the affluent nations—have switched their diet from bread or rice to meat." At the same time, addressing "thoughtful and compassionate Americans," Oxfam depicts fasting as the individualistic response of the morally sensitive: "your quiet commitment may attract the attention of this noisy world"... like a prayer.

The recently-organized "Yale Hunger Action Project" (YHAP), whose leading light is the fading pacifist William Sloane Coffin, speaks of spearheading a hunger-consciousness movement on U.S. college campuses. As a "symbolic gesture" (what else!), the YHAP called for a fast at Yale University on November 5, with the rebate from missed dormitory meals going to one of several charities. Between the food refunds of the 2,200 students who fasted and straight donations the YHAP succeeded in raising a token \$7,600 in economic relief. (Incidentally, several days later Yale students, fully recovered, engaged in a different "symbolic gesture": the mass bombarding of the Princeton University band with oranges during the big annual Yale-Princeton football game!)

Like Oxfam, the YHAP cries that "our own life styles are causally connected with the plight of

starving children." In addition to nationwide fasting, meatless days and fuel cutbacks, the YHAP advocates hunger consciousness-raising beginning with the most "sensitive": "It is natural then to begin in the universities in the hope that the educational process will proceed from there to communities throughout the country." The YHAP has recently announced that a future speaker in its educational series on the plight of "third world" masses will be... Robert McNamara, the imperialist butcher who served Johnson as war minister at the height of the imperialist invasion of Vietnam and who now heads up imperialism's World Bank!

NEW YORK TIMES



Mass murderer
McNamara
has "expertise"
YHAP respects.

While these "feel hungry like the rest of the world" fasts, which draw in the sincere and the morally self-indulging, are futile, they contribute to the atmosphere of austerity desired by the bourgeoisie in order to push its attacks on the living standards of the working people. In this period of economic contraction and social crisis, the "world hunger" issue will be used by the capitalist class as one more justification for transferring the burdens of the crisis of their own outmoded system onto the backs of the working class.

We have little patience, and even less sympathy, for YHAP's fasts and other such misguided moralism. Only the international socialist revolution can smash imperialism and begin the period of socialist construction that will no longer know of stalking famine and hunger.

Dimitrov and the YMCA

Georgi Dimitrov was one-time head of the Bulgarian Communist Party and executive secretary of Stalin's Communist International during the Popular Front period. The Young Men's Christian Association is the far more familiar organization advocating Christian fellowship, personal hygiene and the butterfly stroke. They would seem to have nothing in common, to say the least.

But the relationship between Stalinists and the YMCA was most seriously discussed at the Third National Convention of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), the stand-by youth group of the Communist Party, held in Philadelphia over the weekend of 13-16 December.

"The united front of the youth," declared Matthew Berkelhammer in his organizational report, "flows from the nature of the ruling-class' attack on all strata of youth." The ruling class is attacking all youth; so there must be a "united front of all youth" in order to fight back. The 640 conference delegates and observers were referred to a sheet of quotations from Dimitrov on the youth united front which had been provided.

Berkelhammer next pointed out that a united front consists mainly of organizations, not individuals. Once again there was a reference to Dimitrov. The conclusion was finally drawn: the united front of youth must consist of the organizations of the youth.

But, since in the U.S. there are no mass political organizations of the youth, how then is the united front to be built without youth organizations? "Just

look at the YMCA and YWCA," Brother Berkelhammer declared. There are some 3.2 million members in the YMCA and another 2.2 million in the YWCA. Now, that's organization! In the ensuing farcical discussion period, several hack Stalinists rose to report on their work with the "progressive" YMCA.

In order to find a place in this "youth united front," the YWLL is currently attempting—or so it claims—to transform itself into "A League of Mass Youth Action." Berkelhammer spoke of the need to drop candidate membership status and argued that "even if the youth only agree with one aspect of our program, then they should join the YWLL." The method for drawing the masses of youth into the YWLL is to be the New Deal-inspired "Youth Rights Campaign," conducted through such innocuous front groups as "Youth United for Jobs." This thoroughly liberal campaign is based on the central slogan, "Youth have a right to earn, learn, and live." Here's an unobjectionable sentiment with which the YMCA, also in favor of "daily bread," in all its fairness and honesty cannot disagree.

Another essential element in this "Youth Rights Campaign," again one with which the YMCA can agree, is the fellowship of nations and world peace; that is, U.S./USSR detente and peaceful coexistence. The convention hall was dominated by a huge banner reading "Detente Means Jobs!" According to YWLL chief Jarvis Tyner in his main political report, "The struggle for the relaxation of international tensions has a big bread-and-butter relationship for U.S. youth."

Given this orientation, the draft theses (which, with the "confidence" characteristic of Stalinists, were published *publicly* before the YWLL membership even convened to "discuss" them!) predictably made much ado about fighting "sectarianism." First, on fighting "ultra-leftism" outside the YWLL, Tyner declared: "We have beat the Trotskyites politically, ideologically and organizationally." There was a commotion and someone said something to Tyner. "Yes, and physically!," added "henchperson" Tyner, followed by stormy applause.

Tyner next warned that the YWLL must fight sectarianism within its own ranks as well. The YWLL, he continued, must stop being sectarian toward... the YMCA. Later on Saturday night, Lucian Blackwell, president of International Longshoremen's Union Local 1332, told a public YWLL rally that they must also stop being sectarian toward the Democratic Party, "even if it is politically immature." Be patient, the Democrats may yet "mature" to Rooseveltian stature! Brother Blackwell of course received a hearty applause. This is not significant in itself, however. Everyone and everything received applause, usually standing ovations. The first hour of the convention consisted of seemingly uninterrupted ovations for various individuals during the staged "Convention Opening" ("We have just heard that Gus Hall has arrived and is in the audience now"—and the house came down).

Just how this humdrum Stalinist pageantry will relate to the actual work of the reformist YWLL is difficult to say. We recall all the fanfare and big plans of the last YWLL convention, for example, and saw nothing materialize. In fact, in our youth work we rarely encounter the YWLL, presumably because its supporters are buried in some front group of a front group. When we curiously approach some bake-sale raising funds for some liberal cause, and when the person behind the table dryly informs us, "We don't sell cupcakes to Trotskyites!"... then we know that the YWLL is on campus.

Young Spartacus

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CIA/FBI Must Be Smashed!

JANUARY 7—On December 22 the *New York Times* published a lid-blowing detailed expose of illegal and massive CIA domestic spying operations: the surveillance—to the extent of 10,000 dossiers—of antiwar activists, student radicals and other political dissidents, including even liberals, in the late 1960's and early 1970's; and illegal wire-taps, break-ins and mail inspection since the mid-1950's. This is the first time that allegations of illegal covert operations on such a scale have been made by such a "respectable" source, and a report submitted by CIA head William E. Colby to Ford has been reported to substantiate the charges (*New York Times*, 6 January 1975).

The *New York Times*' revelations reflect the desire of the liberal bourgeoisie to shake out of the capitalist state's intelligence apparatus all embarrassing and potentially damaging irregularities, and thereby hopefully contribute to restoring public confidence in a government shaken by the constitutional crisis of Watergate. The liberal outcry over the mushrooming CIA exposures is in protest to the apparent fact that the CIA has in part slipped out of Congress' field of vision and has been treading the FBI's "beat," in direct violation of its 1947 enabling legislation prohibiting internal security operations.

We have absolutely no confidence that Congress or any body of the capitalist state will now, any more than in the past, pursue a fully public investigation and disclosure of the alleged illegal operations of the CIA, which requires the license of secrecy in order to carry on its dirty work for

U. S. imperialism. And we have as much confidence in the Kissinger-inspired, Ford-appointed eight man "blue ribbon" investigative panel of "respected citizens" which is "to determine whether the CIA has exceeded its statutory authority" (*New York Times*, 6 and 7 January 1975).

Ford had the gall to appoint imperialist king-pin, Vice President Nelson Rockefeller to head up this supposedly impartial panel. Since 1969 Rockefeller has sat on the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, established as a high-level "civilian" review of secret intelligence operations following the 1961 Bay of Pigs disaster. Rockefeller has never once mentioned a word about domestic CIA spying, about which he certainly must have been aware for the last six years, at least. During his Senate confirmation hearings, Rockefeller refused to comment on allegations of CIA domestic spying, although he did defend overseas covert CIA operations.

Joining Rockefeller is another imperialist chieftain, General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, who as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff guided the counterrevolutionary Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. As for investigative disclosure, Lemnitzer had denounced the release of the Pentagon Papers as "a traitorous act."

Appointee C. Douglas Dillon, prominent Cold War economic strategist for U.S. imperialism, was directly responsible for the CIA cover-up of the ill-fated U-2 flight over the USSR in 1962 and two years later played a central role as advisor to Kennedy during the Cuban missile crisis.

Also included is ex-California Governor Ronald Reagan, whose attitude toward student radicals and other "subversives" is not to spy on them, but to shoot 'em (as put in his infamous "bloodbath" 1970 campaign speech).

Then there is John T. Connor, the pharmaceuticals tycoon who forked over millions of dollars in drugs as ransom to get Bay of Pigs prisoners out of Cuba. And Erwin N. Griswold, who as Solicitor General in the Justice Department was the government's chief attorney in the legal battle over publication of the Pentagon Papers and who declared in 1972 before the Supreme Court that the U.S. Army's domestic surveillance was not a violation of constitutional rights or federal law. Finally, Lane Kirkland stepped across the class line into the panel from the upper councils of the pro-imperialist Meany bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO, which in the past has collaborated closely with the CIA in its programs for promoting anti-communist, "free" trade unions around the world. Labor must demand that Kirkland leave this gallery of imperialists at once.

Only the feeble-minded and pathologically gullible can expect anything but a whitewash or cover-up from an investigative commission of such outrageous composition. And from the four Congressional committees out to investigate the CIA, we can expect no more. The capitalist secret police, together with the police and army, can never be controlled by the working people, but must be smashed by the victorious proletarian revolution.

Students' Rights and the "Buckley Amendment"

The question of students' access to their school records and files has cropped up on Watergate-sensitive Capitol Hill. In August Congress passed a rider to an omnibus educational subsidy bill that withholds federal funds to any school that "has a policy of denying, or which effectively prevents" the parents of students under the age of 18, or students themselves 18 and older, the right to examine school files directly related to the student and to control the release of any data in those records. Furthermore, the rider also gives parents and students 18 and older the right to a hearing to challenge the contents of the records.

The amendment, which went into effect November 19, was introduced by "individual rights" champion, ultra-conservative New York Republican James Buckley. As noted by his brother, conservative columnist William Buckley, the "Buckley Amendment," as it has become known, was enacted as the result of combined conservative and liberal support, the latter including the American Civil Liberties Union (*New York Post*, 26 September 1974).

Socialists favor and fight for the fullest democratic rights. The "Buckley Amendment" provides, within a restricted domain, the elementary bourgeois-democratic right of personal privacy and protection from unwarranted search. We are opposed to personal school files—into which any and all kinds of biased, unfounded and damaging characterizations can be and are entered by administrators, teachers, psychologists and "guidance" counselors—remaining closed to the student and open to the investigative agencies of the bourgeois state and the capitalist employers.

Cases of cop investigation into students' files are numerous, the most recently publicized being that of the routine FBI surveillance of a New Jersey high school student who had simply corresponded with the offices of the Socialist Workers Party. Many young workers who have been forced to falsify their employment applications to get a job have been victimized by the company's check on their school records.

The "Buckley Amendment," however, in recognizing the right of access for the parents of primary and secondary school students, is based upon the existing legal definition of adulthood, which itself represents a form of generational discrimination. We demand in our program a reduction of the legal age of adulthood, which when combined with a state stipend would permit high school students to free

themselves from parental dependency and authority and begin to lead full social lives. High school students, at least, should have the right to access and control of the files.

Opposition to the "Buckley Amendment" has been raised by the American Council on Education and the United Federation of Teachers. To a large extent this opposition is an attempt to safeguard existing professional privileges: that evaluative documents in the files have been and should continue to be assured confidentiality with regard to the subject. Confidentiality is a professional privilege supposedly enabling the teacher or counselor to be "candid," i.e., to give a disparaging evaluation, whether justified or not. But under the present educational system, these recommendations and evaluations form a part of the tracking system. Professional privileges like confidentiality of recommendations, regardless of any abstract merits, grow out of a discriminatory educational system. Our solution is not the search for some scheme insuring "fair" confidentiality, but the struggle for free quality higher education for all who wish to learn. Thus, we demand an end to "flunk outs" and tracking, the nationalization of private colleges and universities, and a policy of open admissions with state stipend.

More significantly, Albert Shanker of the UFT has strongly suggested that "community control" interest groups, such as the Ford Foundation-supported National Citizens Committee in Education which backs the "Buckley Amendment," will use the right to a hearing as a means to politically victimize or harass unpopular teachers (*New York Times*, 24 November 1974). The law, however, does not *ipso jure* cut across the legitimate due process of the teachers' unions. Should a hearing or other legal action challenging documentation in a student's files be used to attempt to destroy job security due process and union prerogatives, then we struggle to defend job security and the union.

In response to the outcry of criticism, Senators Buckley and Pell have announced that they intend to amend the amendment, so that the confidentiality of existing documents is preserved and so that students may waive the right to inspect certain classifications of documents (such as letters of recommendation). To make the law simply prospective and not fully retroactive is a partial denial of the right to access. The "right" to waive a right is simply an invitation to abuse (i.e., if you want a decent recommendation, then you will be forced to sign the waiver).

We have no illusions that the "Buckley Amendment" will guarantee protection for students. The bourgeoisie will ignore and circumvent its own legislation, when necessary, in order to harass and victimize radicals, black and labor militants and other "troublemakers." But socialists for this reason cannot simply ignore bourgeois legislation protecting civil liberties. The "Buckley Amendment" is a measure expressing the right of personal privacy for students, and therefore should be supported.

Kicking 'Em While They're Down?

Throughout the entire Watergate furor, the Maoist Revolutionary Union/Revolutionary Student Brigade paraded in trivial, pseudo-populist "Throw the Bum Out" demonstrations that invariably climaxed in the infantile abuse of a Nixon effigy. However, the Chinese bureaucracy, cherishing above all their "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism inaugurated by the Nixon visit, openly expressed sober reservations about seeing the "Bum" thrown out.

NEW YORK TIMES



When the U.S. bourgeoisie finally dumped the crook Nixon, the RU/RSB hailed this as a great "people's victory" and in their "mass line" exhorted, "Keep All the Bums on the Run" and "Kick 'Em While They're Down." The Maoist bureaucracy, not unexpectedly, feels a little different about the sulking and ailing Nixon. According to the *New York Times* (5 December), the "Bum," quite down, has recently received a letter of sympathy and get-well flowers from none other than No. 2, Chou En-lai!

Marxism & the American Indian Question

AKWESASNE NOTES

By Gracinha Soares
and John Perkins

Part 2

At the heart of the conflict between the tribal societies of the North American Indians and the expansion of capitalism in the New World lay the clash of productive systems at vastly different levels of development. The continued organic evolution of the Indian tribes, many of which had not advanced beyond the primitive technology of the late Stone Age, was a possibility cancelled by history.

The economic base of tribal society, extensive tracts of land forming communal hunting and gathering grounds, was an obstacle to capitalist exploitation of the continent's natural resources through mechanized agriculture, lumbering and mining. The material foundation of capitalist society in America was built on the destruction of tribal society by the seizing of the traditional means of production in land and shattering the pre-capitalist mode of production.

In the second half of the 19th century, industrial and then finance capital rose to dominance in the U.S. In 1890, the year of the final Indian massacre at Wounded Knee, the frontier was officially declared closed, and the following year for the first time industrial exceeded agricultural output. The Indians' nomadic life on the open plains, and with it their religion and culture, could not survive the historically-progressive period of capitalist nation-building. Momaday has poignantly written of the circumstances of the last Sun Dance rite of the Kiowa:

"The buffalo were gone. In order to consummate the ancient sacrifice—to impale the head of a buffalo bull upon the medicine tree—a delegation of old men journeyed into Texas, there to beg and barter for an animal from the Goodnight herd. . . . They could find no buffalo; they had to hang an old hide from the sacred tree. Before the dance could begin, a company of soldiers rode out from Fort Sill under orders to disperse the tribe. Forbidden without cause the essential act of their faith, having seen the wild herds slaughtered and left to rot upon the ground, the Kiowa backed away from the medicine tree. That was July 20, 1890. . . ."

—Momaday, *The Way to Rainy Mountain*

The ascendancy of industrial capitalism widened the already-existing gap between urban progress and rural stagnation, the historical antagonism of town and country that grows out of the "existence and development of capital independent of landed property" and "runs through the whole history of civilization to the present day" (Marx, *The German Ideology*). The result in



Fort Laramie Treaty Commission (1868) recognized sovereignty of the Sioux.

the American countryside was, on the one hand, agribusiness controlled by huge monopolies and, on the other, backward pockets of rural poverty in remote areas like Appalachia's "hill-billy" hollows, the Oklahoma hills of the Cherokee full-bloods and the Indian reservations in South Dakota, Arizona and New Mexico.

Pushed onto the marginal reservation lands—50 percent are classified as severely eroded, the other 50 percent as slightly eroded—Indians benefited little from the general advance of capitalism in America. It was not simply the backwardness of a primitive heritage that kept the Indians isolated from the productive forces and the material and cultural wealth of capitalist society. The bourgeoisie was unable to provide for the assimilation of the tribes into capitalist society. Defeated, subdued and degraded, the Indians were denied the old world of the tribe, shattered forever, and the new world of capitalist society, whose doors were closed.

Treaties and Land

The changes in the legal status of the tribes reflect the successive defeats of the Indians in their struggle to preserve some independence from the capitalist state. After the War of Independence, the terms of the Treaty of Paris, which conferred political sovereignty on the new republic, were applied to the Iroquois and other former Indian allies of the British. The conquest of Britain's Indian allies also resulted in the government seizure of Indian territories east of the Mississippi, which represented an important source of revenue to the nearly bankrupt new government.

Secretary of War Henry Knox soon recognized, however, that military expeditions and campaigns to impose such a settlement on the tribes were prohibitively expensive and therefore reformulated Indian policy to provide for tribal possession of the land and treaty relations with the Indians. Although the subsequent treaties acknowledged Indian sovereignty "as long as the grass shall grow," the ability of the tribes to exercise any degree of independence from the central state power was continually subverted.

The application of treaties, like diplomacy in general, is determined, in the final analysis, by the actual balance of military forces. In 1830, the Supreme Court ruled that Indian tribes "had always been considered as distinct, independent, political communities, re-

taining their original natural rights" (quoted in Collier, *Indians of the Americas*). President Andrew Jackson, however, summarily informed Chief Justice Marshall that the Supreme Court could try to enforce this decision, but he controlled the army and was going to relocate the Cherokee in Oklahoma.

In addition, the federal government regularly circumvented intransigent tribal leaders to deal with the more pliant. For example, in 1875 a government-appointed Nez Perce chief sold the Wallowa Valley to the federal government. Chief Joseph bitterly described this sale of the tribal homeland as follows:

"Suppose a white man should come to me and say, 'Joseph, I like your horses. I want to buy them.' I say to him, 'No, my horses suit me; I will not sell them.' Then he goes to my neighbor and says to him, 'Joseph has good horses. I want to buy them but he refuses to sell.' My neighbor answers, 'Pay me the money and I will sell you Joseph's horses.' The white man returns to me and says, 'Joseph, I have bought your horses and you must let me have them.' If we sold our land to the government, this is the way they bought it."

—quoted in Beals, *I Will Fight No More Forever*

Tribal Vulnerability

Traditionally the dispersed tribes were led by chiefs, who inherited their authority, and warriors, who had gained the confidence of the tribe through proven leadership. Indians conducted their tribal affairs—hunting, horticulture, war, diplomacy and so on—on the basis of mutual consent; there existed no coercive power standing above tribal society. But the reduction of tribal land holdings prevented the Indians from resolving their antagonisms in the traditional manner: the division of the warring sides into separate bands. By setting tribal leaders against each other, the government conveniently fostered in-fighting and factionalism in tribal politics.

Internal dissension, demoralization and physical decimation through economic dislocations and genocidal military conquest left the remnants of the tribes prostrate and unable to continue the resistance. In 1871, only the final military campaign against the Plains tribes remained to complete the destruction of Indian society, and Congress codified this when it voted to end treaty relations that recognized the tribes as independent political entities.

With the destruction of aboriginal tribal society, Indians became social refuse and wards of the state. Although the federal government finally granted citizenship rights to Indians in 1924, the state maintains an essentially custodial relationship to the reservations, holding the land "in trust." Until the New Deal's Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934, the reservations were ruled autocratically by the agents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Designed as a reform measure to introduce limited self-rule on the reservations, the IRA resulted in the creation of a layer of Indian bureaucrats on the reservations who dispense the jobs and government funds, rubber-stamp government programs, sell tribal land and mineral holdings and take in the only five-figure salary to be found on the reservation. The tribal councils have become cesspools of corruption.

Industrial Reserve Army

Under capitalism, the Indian peoples are consigned to a subsistence-level, socially-marginal existence in what Marx termed the industrial reserve army. For the bourgeoisie, the reservations, where unemployment runs over 40 percent, are a reserve of cheap labor.

Indians were employed in industry on a significant scale for the first time during World War II, when the bourgeoisie found it economically and socially necessary to draw upon the industrial reserve army. In the case of the Navaho, nearly 3,600 were recruited into the armed forces to be cannon fodder for the imperialist war while some 15,000 Navaho men and women left the reservation for jobs in war plants or in the fields of the Southwest as migratory agricultural workers.

With the end of the war and the reconversion to a peace-time economy, the Indians, like most women and black people who entered war-time production, were laid off. The unemployed Indians drifted back to the Navaho reservations, and welfare programs had to be introduced. In the post-war period the Bureau of Indian Affairs established the Relocation Programs, which consisted of setting up open-shop, minimum-wage factories off the reservations. In addition to the legally-sanctioned open shop, the Relocation Programs established off-reservation schools for Navaho children that were designed to suppress

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Women and Revolution

Maoism and the Family...2



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SYL Routs October League In Debate

ANN ARBOR—For the first (and possibly the last) time the New Left Maoist October League (OL) departed from its Stalinist "principle" of "no discussion with Trotskyites" and publicly debated the Spartacus Youth League on December 12 at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. About 50 people, including supporters of the SYL, the OL, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, the New American Movement as well as a sizable number of organizationally unaffiliated students, attended the debate on "Revolutionary Perspectives" and witnessed a decisive rout of the OL.

Karen Hammer, representing the OL, began the debate by not debating. For what turned out to be at least two-thirds of her presentation, she droned on in a rambling, low-level political autobiography. Nearing the conclusion of her remarks, she finally ventured to give a flat, brief rap on how the OL emphasizes "party building" and the "united front against imperialism."

Internationally, this "united front against imperialism" was comprised of all those who, for whatever "selfish reasons or opportunist reasons," would band together to fight the two "superpowers," i.e., the U.S. and the Soviet "social imperialists." As an example, she cited the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, that united front of profit-bloated, blood-stained Arab ruling classes. The only example given for the "united front against imperialism" in the U.S. was the struggle of students:

"There are a lot of students today, in fact, that objectively are working against imperialism either by trying to provide alternative ways to deal with medicine like not using, not going along with Westernized medicine as it bases itself on profit, or working in labor-support groups."

Speaking for the SYL, Ron Anderson criticized the OL for refusing to state its positions on the mutually-agreed subject of debate: revolutionary perspectives and trade-union strategy. Comrade Anderson proceeded to present the SL/SYL strategy for work in the trade unions, explaining in detail the necessity for militant oppositional caucuses based on a class-struggle program to struggle for leadership in the unions. Particular emphasis was devoted to the questions of connecting the needs of the working class, and the fight against the special oppression of black people and women, to the struggle of the vanguard party for socialist revolution.

Comrade Anderson attacked at length the OL's opportunist tailing of



OL speaker (right) was unable to answer SYL presentation in Ann Arbor debate.

the fake-militant Brotherhood Caucus in the United Auto Workers Local 1364 at Fremont, California, and denounced the OL's support for a court suit against the union pressing for "inverse seniority layoffs." He contrasted to the opportunist Brotherhood Caucus the work of the Committee for a Militant UAW, an oppositional caucus in the same local. This militant opposition, he argued, provides a concrete example of class-struggle trade-union work around transitional demands, in particular the Committee's recent campaign within the union against racial and sexual discrimination and against layoffs and speed-up.

OL and Opportunists: Live and Let Live

Another OL supporter intervened to represent the OL in their rebuttal, which while feeble was at least reluctantly political. He dwelled on the necessity for uniting with trade-union bureaucrats and careerists on the make:

"The way that you're able to win over people, how you do it, raises this question of who you unite with and why. It raises the question of uniting with opportunists. And there's no doubt that these folks are opportunists, a lot of them. Miller, for example. Sadlowski. They're all opportunists. There's no problem about that. The question is, do you shoot them? No. The question is, how you unite with them."

He insisted that the OL strategy was

not a carbon copy of the Communist Party's old "left-center coalition," because the OL recognizes that by not relinquishing its "independent strength" as did the CP of the 1930's the OL will successfully pressure the bureaucrats and the capitalists to act consistently in the workers' interests. But "folks" like the Brotherhood fakers and Chavez will only take so much "pressure," and then they dump opportunist suckers like the OL.

He passed on to the "anti-imperialist united front" and the role of students, declaring that the OL sees the need "to expand and rebuild the student movement, somewhat like it was in the '60's, although probably on a better basis." This "better basis," however, turned out to be the same, tailist protest politics of the bankrupt New Left.

OL speaker Hammer chimed in to correct his statement that the Brotherhood Caucus was "opportunist"; only its main leader was opportunist! She admitted that the Fremont court suit would result in older workers getting laid off, but added, "that's where political education comes in." That is to say, because of their "privileges," they had it coming!

Replying for the SYL, Comrade Anderson concentrated on exposing what the Maoist "united front against imperialism" means in reality: support to the Shah of Iran, Yahya Khan of Pakistan and Bandaranaike of Ceylon. The OL's criticism of the CP in the 1930's and 1940's is a sham, he charged, since it fully supports Stalin, who dictated the class-collaborationist policies and engineered the great betrayals of that period.

OL: Shah is Not the Enemy

In the course of the discussion period which followed, SYL speakers managed to wring some political arguments out of the defensive OL supporters. The OL spokesman, defending the "united front against imperialism," declared that it is necessary to unite "not only with the working class and not only with the peasants, but with the governments in those countries." "That's why," he concluded, "we oppose the slogan of 'No Arms to the Shah.' We don't see the Shah as the principal enemy of the people of Iran. We see the principal enemy of the people of Iran as being Soviet social imperialism."

Later the same OL supporter attacked the Trotskyist Transitional Program as a means for "reforming your way to revolution," because "it doesn't talk about political education." The OL, on the other hand, doesn't talk about a trade-union program—other than building the prestige and power of opportunist fakers—because "you got to get out there and figure it out, you can't just sit down and write it."

Several SYL supporters attacked the OL's position on the woman question and homosexuality that defends the nuclear family and bourgeois morality. Hammer nervously replied that, while under capitalism only women are confined to monogamy, under socialism monogamy will be extended to men, so that when people freely marry, "they will be faithful to each other until they divorce." She then tossed out the usual Stalinist tripe that homosexuality is a capitalist sickness, but added:

"We support the democratic rights of people who are homosexuals. We don't think that people should be oppressed on the basis of being a homosexual. But we don't support the right of people to be homosexuals."

For the OL, in other words, if they weren't sick, they wouldn't have these problems!

Much of the discussion centered on the strategy for black liberation, and speakers supporting the SYL demonstrated that none of the criteria of nationhood developed by Lenin and Stalin (when he was still a Bolshevik) apply to the black population. Crudely attempting to defend their Stalinist theory of the "Black Belt" nation, the OL supporters argued that a "common" language, territory, culture and economic life did not mean "separate": black people have a common language—English; a common territory—the South; a common culture—American; and a common economic life—southern sharecropping. By standing Lenin on his head, the OL has demonstrated that the people of Florida, of New York, of any region constitute nations!

The SYL thus smashed the OL on every point, and most of the unaffiliated students in attendance agreed that the OL had been trounced politically. For the SYL, the debate was a useful and satisfying opportunity to expose the reformist politics and revolutionary posturing of the OL on campus. ■

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Southern Tour Completed

Members of the Spartacus Youth League recently completed a several-weeks tour of major southern cities and important college campuses. The tour enabled the SYL team to present a forum, "Black Liberation and Working-Class Revolution," and hold discussions with many interested activists throughout the South.

The SYL speakers presented eyewitness accounts and a revolutionary analysis of the Boston busing crisis, and stressed the political significance of the agitational campaign for the formation of a labor-black defense against racist attacks which the SL/SYL alone has been energetically waging. The forum also explained the SL/SYL's analysis of the black question in the U.S. and demonstrated the bankruptcy of nationalism in all its varieties to provide a solution for the special oppression of black people. Our forum emphasized that the strug-

gle against racial oppression must be linked to the struggle of the entire proletariat against capitalism through the revolutionary program and party.

Highlights of the tour were the forums and discussions held under the auspices of campus groups at two important black colleges, Tougaloo College in Mississippi and Southern University in New Orleans. In Nashville, Tennessee, a special presentation on the trade-union work of the SL was given before a local study group. The forum on black liberation was also presented at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, the University of Texas in Austin and the University of Houston. The team also covered college campuses in Atlanta, Georgia, Louisville, Kentucky, and Jacksonville and Gainesville, Florida.

The tour represents a modest but important step towards the further expansion of the SL/SYL in the South.

Sham Anti-Racism Demonstration No Answer For Labor/Black Defense in Boston!



Only SL/SYL contingent intervened in December 14 march with militant class-struggle slogans.

The fierce racist onslaught against the democratic rights and the safety of black people continues to shake Boston. In this intensely racially-polarized situation, almost any incident threatens to ignite a conflagration of bloody race riots. For several tense hours on December 11, a crazed mob of more than 1,000 whites, frenzied to the point of lynch-mob violence by the stabbing of a white by a black student, trapped 131 black students inside barricaded, police-cordoned South Boston High School. The schools were closed down, days before the scheduled holiday recess, in an effort to avert an almost-certain explosion of racial fighting.

We support busing as an application of the basic democratic right of black people to equality in education. In this situation of acute crisis, the question of busing—which means the continuation of busing—is above all a *referendum on racism*. The racist mobilization in Boston is challenging the basic democratic rights of black people. The racist rage is not some kind of heated debate over the relative efficacy of busing programs in achieving "better education." The racist offensive is dangerous and must be defeated! The busing plan must continue to be implemented, and extended to the suburban schools! The lives of the school children and all black people must be safeguarded!

Liberal Windbags and Obedient Opportunists

The December 14 "National March Against Racism," organized by an

"Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism," attracted about 8,000-10,000 demonstrators, but only for one more liberal-dominated, temporizing and desultory "action" for inaction. The organizational initiative and impetus came from the Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) and the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA).

Early on, populist-demagogue black Democrat Bill Owens eyed the planned anti-racism demonstration, coming at a time when the Boston busing crisis continued to be in the spotlight of national attention, as a vehicle for emerging as a self-styled, militant black bourgeois politician. YAWF was enthralled with Owens' militant image, cheap rhetoric and willingness to "unite" with them, i.e., to use them. For their part, the SWP/YSA had been in the market for just such a bourgeois politician to head up their sought-after, new liberal "civil rights movement."

YAWF pulled Owens into the "Emergency Committee," which he proceeded effortlessly to capture. From the outset, Owens was granted and wielded absolute decision-making power over the slogans, the speakers and other aspects of the planned demonstration. YAWF and the SWP/YSA willingly played the role of publicity agents and leg-work organizers for Owens. In terms of decision-making and political direction, this "Emergency Committee" was a committee of one—Owens. Owens sat firmly in his "Organizing Committee" sedan chair, carried along

on the shoulders of the plodding YAWF and SWP/YSA.

It was thus clear that the demonstration being organized by the "Emergency Committee" would be nothing more than a podium for liberal-pacifist palliatives and a forum for the grandstanding bombastic Owens. In fact, the main slogans of the demonstration—"No to Institutionalized Racism, No to Racist Mob Violence, No to Racism in Education"—were all negative and conspicuously avoided even mentioning busing! In a crisis situation, crying for a concrete and immediate course of action for protecting the school children and implementing the busing plan, the "Emergency Committee" provided nothing.

How a Struggle for Pro-Busing Action Began

Unlike the SWP/YSA, unlike YAWF and unlike Owens and the Black Caucus Democrats, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League from the beginning of the racist backlash has fought continuously and energetically for a mass mobilization of labor, black, community and left organizations to defend the black children from racist attack and to insure the implementation of the busing plan. As early as September 22, the SL/SYL in Boston addressed an open letter to and approached scores of Boston-area organizations in a determined effort to force these organizations to use their influence and authority to call for and build a mass, united-front demonstration around the central demand, "Stop the Racist Attack on Black School Children!"

And the response to this principled campaign? The NAACP and Black Caucus liberals, with their crowded coterie of fake-left supporters, refused to act, despite the mounting violent racist attacks. Only when the endurance of Boston's black people had demonstratively reached a breaking point did the liberal politicians of the Black Caucus act: running to the bourgeois courts and demanding federal troops to "protect" black people. Right on cue, the reformist Communist Party and SWP/YSA likewise chimed in with the demand calling for the bosses' army to occupy Boston.

A token October 13 pro-busing demonstration was built reluctantly by the NAACP and Black Caucus, excluded whites from the march and told the rally

to go home and wait for the troops. The trade-union bureaucrats, even those "progressives" who only for the record have made public-relations, liberal-humanitarian statements against racist violence and for equality in education, have also refused to act.

SL/SYL Intervenes

The SL/SYL could not endorse this "Emergency Committee," since Owens and his hangers-on had ensured that the only relation any left organization could have with "his" committee was one of political liquidation. Owens had made it perfectly clear that the demonstration would be firmly tied to Democratic Party politics and would not be a rallying point for action by black people and their allies in the labor movement for turning back the racist offensive.

While the SWP/YSA and YAWF scurried about for weeks politically promoting Owens' "Emergency Committee," our comrades in Boston distributed thousands of copies of a special *Workers Vanguard* supplement, entitled "Not White Against Black, But Class Against Class!", in the black community, on campuses and at important work places and transit centers. The supplement explained the importance of an anti-racist mobilization and a labor-black defense, exposed the "Emergency Committee" as a sham in the pocket of a liberal politician, and called upon people to join the SL/SYL in a class-struggle, pro-busing contingent.

Owens Postures, YAWF Invites Cop Attack

On December 14, thousands waited in drizzly, cold weather in Roberto Clemente Park, while contradictory and confusing commands concerning the route of the march were announced in succession. The Boston police had refused a permit for the march to proceed down Boylston Street, a shopping area, and issued a permit for nearby Commonwealth Avenue, a residential area. The SWP/YSA distributed printed maps indicating the Commonwealth Avenue route, but roving march coordinators informed the crowd that Boylston was the official route. Meanwhile, Owens and YAWF argued with the Mayor and police over the Boylston route, until the march was an hour late. The "Emer-

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gency Committee" marshals repeatedly refused to inform representatives of various organized contingents exactly what the "Emergency Committee's" plans were.

Then, as march officials amid great confusion continued ordering demonstrators to group in one corner of the park, the large SWP/YSA-led contingent began the march. In this confusion, the disciplined SL/SYL-led contingent of about 125, which was lined up immediately behind the SWP/YSA contingent, jumped off with the SWP, as did Progressive Labor Party. As it turned out, the SL/SYL arrived at the correct tactical decision.

Owens and YAWF had finally decided to settle the route-question with the police at the barricades at Boylston and, without informing the majority of the marchers of their decision for a confrontation with the Tactical Police Force, began their march. For an idiotic show of militancy over a totally non-political issue, Owens and YAWF brought thousands of marchers into a potentially highly-dangerous police trap.

After being subjected to months of taunting by white racists for supposedly "siding" with blacks, the racist cops were clearly yearning for a provocation that would at last give them the opportunity to prove themselves by stomping on blacks, radicals and "outsiders." Given the *cul-de-sac* into which the march would be crammed, a swift police attack from the front and rear could have left literally hundreds seriously injured.

As the head of the march ran up against the solid cordon of cops, Owens climbed atop a police car and shouted, "We'll go down Boylston Street at any cost!" A number of YAWF supporters acted on Owens' battlecry, and charged into the cops. In the melee that ensued, several demonstrators were badly beaten and arrested.

Satisfied with this dangerous, totally mindless confrontation, Owens and his supporters quickly pulled back and directed the march down the original Commonwealth Avenue route. Capitalizing on the confrontationists' militancy, Owens and several of his cohorts departed from the march and strutted down Boylston courting a symbolic arrest, which the police at this point spitefully declined to offer. Thus, Owens and the main body of the march joined the other body of waiting demonstrators in Boston Commons.

Liberal Pep Rally

The confrontation with the police, of course, was intended by Owens merely as a token militant prelude to his liberal rally. As at the previous night's SWP/YSA-controlled "teach-in" at Harvard University, the Boston Commons rally offered up a parade of liberals, such as Julian Bond, Ralph Abernathy and Owens. None of the speakers, Owens included, mentioned as much as a single concrete tactic, much less a strategy of action, for stopping the racist attacks. All of the speakers, Owens in particular, avoided addressing the question of busing! As Owens approached the microphone, the large SL/SYL contingent raised the militant chant, "Break with the Democrats, Build a Workers' Party!" Owens de-

livered the same liberal platitudes about racism as the other liberals, but in more militant rhetoric.

As the scheduled rally drew to a close, Imamu Baraka of the Congress of Afrikan Peoples, having elbowed his way through Owens' lackeys and goons, launched into a militant-sounding speech. Baraka spoke about the connection between racism and imperialism, denounced busing as a trick to divert the struggle against capitalism, and railed against politicians—whom he discreetly chose to leave unnamed—who talked about racism without mentioning capitalism as merely out "to get a place in the system."

Baraka and the CAP, however, do not support the call for a labor-black defense and do not oppose the call for federal troops. At a forum the night before in New York City, Baraka attacked the SL/SYL's call for a labor-black defense as "unrealistic" and totally evaded the challenge repeatedly made by several SL/SYL speakers from the floor for CAP to state their position on federal troops into Boston. While a professed "Marxist-Leninist," Baraka's speech was fundamentally no different than Owens', who also had criticized "capitalism" and "big business."

On December 14 a coordinated "anti-racism" rally was also staged in San Francisco. The rally was largely dominated by the SWP/YSA and attracted some 500-600. The rally featured such liberal speakers as Willie Brown, whose single noteworthy comment was that Gerald Ford should be leading the Boston demonstration, as well as the usual complement of priests, ministers and musicians.

Andrew Pulley of the SWP spoke, stressing that these demonstrations can force the federal government to send troops into Boston and can force the troops to protect the black school children. Popeye Jackson of the United Prisoners' Union attacked the call for federal troops and declared that blacks and their allies had to rely instead on their own organized integrated self-defense. When the SL/SYL contingent started to chant, "For Labor-Black Defense to Stop the Racist Terror," a black marshal with a bullhorn joined in together with a sizable section of the crowd.

No Confidence in Liberal Politicians! For a Labor-Black Defense!

The December 14 Boston demonstration has accomplished nothing in the way of even the beginnings of an effective counter-offensive to the racists. The need for a massive, militant demonstration in support of busing and the defense of the school children remains as urgent as ever. In fact, only two days after the Owens-led demonstration an emboldened Boston School Committee refused to approve the new court-ordered city-wide busing plan for next school year, signaling another rallying point for the racist anti-busing forces. Temporizing, manifest disorganization and desultory pep rallies render the racists more determined and hence more dangerous. A real fight to defeat the anti-busing forces must be launched at once! ■



YOUNG SPARTACUS

NEW YORK TIMES



December 14 rally: SWP called for bosses' army to occupy Boston (above); Democrat Owens (left) and "Marxist-Leninist" Baraka (right) vied in programless rhetoric.

YSA Convention: FBI In, SYL Out

It was to be a convention for "democracy." At least that's how the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), billed its national convention, which took place in St. Louis December 28 through January 1.

For weeks in advance, the upcoming YSA convention was the backdrop for the SWP's widely publicized court suit seeking to block FBI surveillance of the Jefferson Hotel convention. The initial December 13 federal court ruling prohibiting FBI spying was in short order reversed, and the FBI packed for St. Louis.

The labor and socialist movement must rigorously oppose and fight government intervention into or harassment of a workers organization. We recognize, furthermore, that use of the bourgeois courts in certain situations provides a possible tactical recourse.

But, for the SWP/YSA, which impatiently aspires to become and be recognized as the mass American social-democratic party, respectability is an important complement to its reformist program and practice. Thus, the SWP rushed into court precisely in order to convince the government that, as Barry Sheppard bluntly put it, "The SWP does not engage in or advocate violence or any other illegal activity!" (For full story, see "SWP Renounces Revolution in Court," *Workers Vanguard*, 3 January 1975.)

If the SWP/YSA was unfortunately unable to keep FBI agents out of its convention, it was successful in excluding the Spartacus Youth League! The YSA had widely advertised the convention as open to the radical public: "The gathering is open to all young people interested in socialist

ideas" (*Militant*, 20 December 1974).

However, when a supporter of the SYL attempted to register, the YSA informed him that "the gathering" was closed to supporters of the SL/SYL. No further explanation was offered. The comrade then returned to the several other SYL supporters standing nearby and notified them of the exclusion. Almost immediately, about 20 YSA goons approached, surrounded our comrades and threateningly informed them that the entire hotel was closed to SL/SYL supporters.

As the SYL supporters began protesting this intolerable violation of workers democracy, the goons began physically forcing our comrades out of the hotel. The SYL thus was forced to set up its literature display outside. (The arrangements committee subsequently backed down and "permitted" the SYL supporters access to the lobby—but not for sales—and their previously reserved room!)

Inside, the convention proved to be particularly apolitical and lackluster. Attendance—about 900—was down significantly from previous years. The sessions dragged on with seemingly endless reports on the SWP/YSA's campaign for "democratic rights"(!), the more-promising-than-ever 1976 SWP presidential campaign, the party's expanding bureaucratic apparatus, the mushrooming "radicalizations," *ad nauseum*. Each report was followed by an embarrassing non-discussion. The back-slapping YSA leaders had little trouble passing the resolutions, since very few in the yawning audience (which was in a constant commotion as bored participants drifted out to television sets and the snack bar) bothered to vote one way or the other.

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Turmoil Engulfs Thieu...

Continued from page 1

up military activity signifies an imminent nationwide military offensive by the NLF on the scale of 1968 and 1972. The DRV has given indications that such an all-out offensive is on the agenda. In August the North Vietnamese Stalinists declared that "it is no longer a matter of simply re-taking territory seized by the puppets during nibbling operations," but rather "of carrying the response to the heart of the enemy bases" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 30 August 1974). The well-informed, pro-DRV/NLF publication *Indochina Focal Point* likewise declares in its most recent issue (December 14-January 6) that an increase in the fighting "seems certain to occur in January, the anniversary of the Paris Agreement."

In the past, NLF military offensives in the fertile Mekong Delta have been mounted during the dry season (from the beginning of the year until spring), when the NLF forces begin to exhaust their food supplies and when mobility is possible. The current battles, therefore, may not be escalated beyond the annual "rice war." As observed by the *New York Times* (12 December 1974), "much of the current fighting is thought to be a struggle for control of the winter harvest." The recent DRV/NLF advances could represent a strategy to seize rice land now, eliminating the necessity for a dry-season offensive, as much as the opening of a major military offensive.

Crying Wolf?

The venal and isolated Saigon regime of the Thieu clique, as usual, is hysterically alerting the United States imperialists to the imminent "enemy offensive" and the urgent need for increased U.S. aid. Early in December the Saigon military command released documents purported to be NLF plans for such an offensive. This is the first time that Saigon has backed up their predictions with documents, in the past usually citing unverifiable aerial reconnaissance. Nevertheless, seasoned foreign diplomats and journalists in Saigon are still rather skeptical. "I believe we went through something like this last year," commented one European diplomat (quoted in *New York Times*, 4 December 1974).

President Thieu was charged this May by Senate investigators with "deliberately exaggerating the scale and seriousness of enemy activities to influence the action of the U.S. Congress on pending aid legislation" (*Los Angeles Times*, 1 June 1974). An official of the Saigon Embassy in Washington admitted as much when he disclosed to a newspaper correspondent posing as a conservative student:

"When talking to private researchers, such as yourself, we say in perspective that the Communists may launch an offensive. To the press, however, we say that they are very likely to launch an offensive this year.... We don't really know."

—quoted in *Indochina Focal Point*, 16-28 February 1974

In addition, the conservative *Far Eastern Economic Review* (13 May 1974) has reported that:

"the current upsurge in fighting is widely thought to have been 'ordered' by U.S. Admiral Graham Martin to justify the Administration's demands for increased military assistance to South Vietnam for fiscal aid in 1975."

Rightist Opposition Stirs

In the past several months there has emerged in South Vietnam a significant anti-Thieu opposition movement. While there were hints of an opposition about a year ago, this "Third Force" movement began in early June, when the Catholic opposition around the Redemptorist priest Tran Huu Thanh organized a demonstration of priests. At this

demonstration the now well-known "Act of Accusation No. 1," charging Thieu with illegal real estate and housing deals that brought him \$267,460, was released to the press. This demonstration led to the organization of the "Popular Movement of Struggle Against Corruption for National Salvation and the Reestablishment of Peace" (PMAC) in August.

The PMAC, the largest of the opposition groups, is led by Thanh, who is a life-long anti-Communist and was a religious mentor to former President Diem. Thanh proudly estimates that no less than 3,000 South Vietnamese colonels and lieutenant colonels have passed through his courses on anti-communist psychological warfare.



Veteran anti-communist, Father Thanh: leading figure in opposition movement.

Thanh's PMAC politically is more resolutely opposed to the DRV/NLF Stalinists than to Thieu. As succinctly characterized by the *Economist* (5 October 1974):

"the Catholic assault comes from the right: the charge is that corruption is eroding South Vietnam's defenses against the communists by weakening the army and alienating the people from the government. It was tolerable, say the Catholics, when there were American troops and American dollars around, but this is no longer so."

The speculation of an imminent major NLF offensive understandably has had a large effect on the activity as well as the appeal of the "Third Force" opposition. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (23 August 1974), "the communist military threat plays a major role in hampering its development into a significant opposition movement." Likewise, the Soviet Stalinists have charged Thieu with "whipping up war hysteria" in order to silence "sober-minded people in his regime" opposing his policies (quoted in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 11 September 1974).

Given an actual military offensive by the NLF, the PMAC without doubt would simply assume the role of the loyal opposition. The shifting goals of the PMAC, however, seem to reflect at least in part the as yet uncertain military situation in the South. Thus, in early October the PMAC advocated "reform of social evils," but not the ouster of Thieu. One month later, the group was calling for Thieu's resignation. And on November 14 Thanh him-

self issued a proposal for the formation of a 12-member advisory council including the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of the Stalinists that could "assist" Thieu on major policy decisions (*New York Times*, 24 November 1974).

Rightists Divided

The other major organization of the "Third Force" is the "National Reconciliation Force" (NRF), which was founded by the Catholic opposition but since December 14 has come under the control of Senator Vu Van Mau and the Venerable Thich Tri Thu of the Ang Quang Buddhist Association. While the PMAC holds that corruption must be eradicated in order to win victory over the NLF, the Buddhists of the NRF maintain that corruption is the product of war and hence "peace" with the NLF is necessary in order to eradicate corruption. Furthermore, unlike the vacillations of the PMAC, the NRF of the Buddhists has continuously held a position demanding Thieu's resignation (*Economist*, 9 November 1974). The Buddhists are amenable to making "peace" with the Stalinists through a coalition government, if necessary, while Thanh has refused to consider it. Thanh has stated that when the war is over, "the communists can come peacefully to co-habit with us and to engage in political competition" (quoted in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 6 December 1974).

Thanh has, however, carefully and shrewdly dissociated his PMAC from Thieu's clearly hopeless uncompromising opposition to the Stalinist-led PRG/NLF. Thus, the anti-communist Thanh has endorsed the "Communists' promises of social reform," while of course rejecting "their authoritarian methods" (*New York Times*, 19 October 1974). Thanh similarly has announced that "it is time... for Catholics to adopt an attitude of love which excludes all anti-Communist hate campaigns" (quoted in *Indochina Focal Point*, 1-21 November 1974).

Closely associated with the NRF of the Buddhists and an important element in the "Third Force" movement is the



Anti-corruption demonstrators clash with Thieu's police in Saigon.

former President of South Vietnam, General Duong Van ("Big") Minh. General Minh was a leader of the U.S. imperialist-backed overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963. "Big" Minh clearly supports the NRF of the Buddhists: "The formation of this force," he says, "is logical and timely. Working for the peace of the country, I believe that the force will get the support and participation of the whole people" (quoted in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 20 September 1974).

"Big" Minh is not in the leadership of the NRF mainly because his past

connections with the South Vietnamese government have compromised him and thus would be detrimental to the NRF. Nonetheless, he commands real authority with the leadership of both the PMAC and the NRF (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 27 September and 11 October 1974).

U.S. Imperialism Eyes Opposition

Thanh and the PMAC claim that it "is in the Americans' interest to support the new movement and even suggest they are being watched with interest" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 20 September 1974). The U.S. government, in response to Stalinist charges that Thanh is a "stooge" of American imperialism, has confined itself to noncommittal declarations that "the United States supports no political factions in South Vietnam" (as reported in the *New York Times*, 24 November 1974).

While the Ford administration still supports Thieu, the U.S. imperialists are clearly concerned with the ability of the corrupt, unpopular Thieu regime to oppose the PRG/NLF successfully and ensure stability in South Vietnam. As the *New York Times* (3 November 1974) quite accurately observed, Thieu still has U.S. support, but this "support" has "the ring of the early 1960's and the days of President Ngo Dinh Diem." And again, it was none other than "Big" Minh who, backed by U.S. imperialism, overthrew Diem.

It is significant that a carefully modulated anti-Thieu public opinion campaign is underway in this country. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee drew up a staff report on Vietnam that does not bode well for Thieu, and the *New York Times* ran a series of articles (19-20 August 1974) "exposing" in lurid detail the fascistic political repression in "democratic" South Vietnam.

An additional indication of the bourgeoisie's attitude toward the "Third Force" is provided by the U.S. government's reaction to the exposure of Thieu's "Operation Comet," a plan of action to smash the opposition using

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such methods as the dissolution of South Vietnam's National Assembly. The plan was discussed with representatives of the U.S. Embassy. Until not so very recently, such a plan of political repression would have been received with unanimity by the U.S. But in the case of "Operation Comet," the U.S. government has chosen to remain undecided (*Indochina Focal Point*, 1-21 November 1974).

Stalinist Somersault on Thieu

The attitude of the PRG/NLF to the

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—Revolutionary Literature

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anti-Thieu opposition movement, therefore, is determined by their position on Thieu. It is important that the Stalinists have recently changed their position on Thieu. Since the "peace" negotiations opened in Paris in late 1972, the PRG/NLF ceased calling for Thieu's ouster. On September 9, however, Radio Hanoi called for the overthrow of Thieu and the formation of "a Saigon government that would respect the Paris peace accords" (*Guardian*, 18 September 1974). Likewise, the PRG issued a call to action on October 8, which declared:

"Notabilities, political, social and religious organizations throughout South Viet Nam! The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, highly appreciating any statements, any actions truly favorable

ing to "divert" the opposition falsely imputes to him goals fundamentally different from the "Third Force" as a whole. The PRG/NLF's criticisms of Thanh in their press, *South Vietnam in Struggle*, carefully avoid mentioning anything adverse about the PMAC. According to the Stalinists, Thanh "unmasked" himself with his proposal for a 12-member advisory council for Thieu, which was a "cunning trick" to keep Thieu in power (*New York Times*, 24 November 1974). The PRG/NLF is obviously playing upon the negative response Thanh's proposal has to date received from the "Third Force," the An Quang Buddhists in particular.

The Stalinists similarly seek to attribute the reactionary politics of the "Third Force" simply to U.S. manipu-

American Indians...

Continued from page 4

the Navaho language, culture and religion and enforce a reform-school discipline.

The Relocation Programs proved to be a complete failure. Most Navahos refused to endure the flagrant discrimination in the factories, and in the period from 1952 to 1964 about 35 percent of the original 4,258 who had relocated returned to the reservation to live on government welfare and perhaps the precarious traditional subsistence economy.

More recently on the reservations, Indians have been faced with government attempts to "free" the Indians by terminating tribal status and thereby ending the federal-assistance programs and tax-exemption, the economic margin upon which many Indians survive. The move to break up the reservations has already been accomplished in the cases of the Menominees, the Klamath and four bands of Utes and Paiutes. Through this effort to finalize the dispossession of the Indian, the capitalist class seeks to rid itself of the burden of either developing the reservations or integrating the Indians into bourgeois society and the labor force.

Capitalism confronts the Indians, who are cynically termed the "Vanishing American," only with the prospects of either oppressive urban lumpeniza-

tion or the abominable reservation, with its squalor, cultural deprivation, high infant mortality, chronic alcoholism and rampant teenage suicide. Only the destruction of capitalism through proletarian revolution and the inauguration of the era of socialist development can insure the all-sided voluntary integration of the American Indian into society on the basis of the fullest equality and meet the special needs created by well over a century of injustice and oppression.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

-Corrections-

In the last issue of *Young Spartacus*, the article, "PLO Calls for Palestinian Mini-State," stated incorrectly that "Israel and Egypt" had already mobilized their troops; this should have read, "Israel and Syria..." The same article concluded with the call for "...a bi-national Palestine workers state..." This formulation should have read, "...bi-national Palestinian/Hebrew workers state..."

In the article on the federal troops question, Gary Rowe, the accomplice in the murder of a civil-rights activist following the 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery freedom march, was identified as "an FBI agent." Rather, he had been an FBI informer for six years (*Washington Post*, 22 April 1965).

"Hail the Paris agreements that ended the war and restored peace to Vietnam"
—NLF sign



for peace, independence, and democracy in South Viet Nam, now invites all political forces, regardless of their political and religious characters, and all individuals, regardless of their backgrounds, who sincerely wish to see the war ended and peace and national concord achieved, to join one another in unity and in concerted actions and strive for an end to the United States' military involvement and interference in South Viet Nam, the overthrow of Nguyen Van Thieu and his clique, and the establishment in Saigon at an early date of an administration willing to implement the Paris Agreement seriously."

—*South Vietnam in Struggle*, 14 October 1974

This new policy increases the importance of the rightist opposition for the Stalinists. The "Proposal for Implementing the Paris Agreement" issued by the PRG in late March had already asserted the importance of the "Third Force" movement for the Stalinists. "This force," the document states, "must play a worthy role in the political life of South Vietnam at present and in the future." The declaration expresses the PRG's "willingness to enter into consultation with the organizations or personalities of the third political force, in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, equality and mutual respect, with a view to speeding up establishment of the Council," that is, the coalition government.

Wooing the Rightists: "Unite All Who Can Be United"

The Stalinists have characterized Thanh as a "stooge" of U.S. imperialism trying to "divert" the popular struggle movement." The Stalinists seek to present Thanh as unrepresentative not only of the "Third Force" movement, but also of his own PMAC! The very charge that Thanh is attempt-

lation. An NLF radio broadcast of September 20 declared:

"The other way for the US [to maintain its position in South Vietnam] is to interfere in the uprising movement of the urbanites by sending a number of its henchmen to control the movement, to sow division, to divert the movement, to create a new political position for its new henchmen, and to prepare for a situation in which it will be forced to change horses."

—quoted in *Indochina Focal Point*, 14 December-6 January

For Socialist Revolution in South Vietnam! For Political Revolution in the DRV!

Should the NLF in fact launch a major military offensive, their strategy will undoubtedly be to press on the battlefield the campaign for ousting Thieu and implementing the Paris Accords. But a coalition government of the PRG/NLF, the Saigon government minus Thieu, and the "Third Force" based on the imperialist-dictated Paris agreement, which insures the "right to property ownership and right to free enterprise," provides no solutions to the fundamental class questions that have plunged Vietnam into civil war for over three decades. The maintenance of capitalism and the driving aspirations of the masses of workers and peasants are counterposed, and any coalition government in Vietnam will be smashed by either revolution or counter-revolution.

As communists, we declare that only successful socialist revolution, driving out the imperialists and smashing the native capitalists and landlords, can open the road forward for the oppressed masses of Vietnam. Despite the treacherous Stalinist misleadership of the PRG/NLF, we call for the military victory of the NLF, and declare our unconditional defense of the North Vietnamese deformed workers state against imperialism.

At the same time, we assert that the Stalinist bureaucracy leading the DRV/PRG is an obstacle to the socialist revolution and the development of a workers state pledged to workers democracy and proletarian internationalism. The bureaucracy must be overthrown by a political revolution, and such a struggle requires the crystallization and development of a Trotskyist party in North and South Vietnam, section of a reborn Fourth International. ■

syl events

[To contact local chapters for more information, see Directory.]

Bay Area

Class Series
THE WORLD IN CRISIS AND THE TROTSKYIST PROGRAM FOR WORLD REVOLUTION
Tuesday, January 21, 7:00 P.M. Room to be posted. Berkeley Student Union, U. of California.

Chicago

Class Series
MARXISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE
Wednesday, 15 January, 7:30 PM. Room to be posted. Northwestern U.
REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE
Date and room to be announced. Circle Center, U. of Illinois.

BASIC MARXISM
Tuesdays. Date, time and room to be announced. U. of Chicago.

Cleveland

Class Series
REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM: BASIC PRINCIPLES AND THEIR APPLICATION TODAY
Place and time to be announced. Cleveland State U.

Detroit

Class Series
THE STRUGGLE FOR REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP IN THE TRADE UNIONS
Tuesday, January 14, 7:30 P.M. Student Center Building, Wayne State. Wednesday, January 15, 7:30 P.M. Room 2207, Michigan Union, U. of Michigan.

SYL MIDWEST EDUCATIONAL [Public Session]
HISTORICAL MATERIALISM VS. IDEALISM-STALINISM
Speaker: John Sharpe, International Sec. of the I.S.T., Jan. 24, 7:30 P.M. Hillbury B, Student Center Building, Wayne State U.

Houston

Class Series
BASIC MARXISM
Wednesday, February 26. Room and time to be announced. U. of Houston.

Los Angeles

Class Series
MARXISM AND INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION
Friday, 24 January, noon. Room 2412, AU, UCLA.
Forum
ECONOMIC CHAOS 1975: A MARXIST EXPLANATION
Speaker: Judith Sinclair, SL Central Committee. Thursday, 16 January, noon. Room to be posted. UCLA.

Madison

Class Series
TOWARD THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION
Wednesday, January 15, 7:30 P.M. Memorial Union, U. of Wisconsin.

New Haven

Class Series
MARXISM, TROTSKYISM AND THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE
Wednesday, February 5. Room and time to be announced. Yale U.

Forum
MARXISM IN THE EPOCH OF CAPITALIST DECAY
Speaker: Ed Clarkson, SL. Thursday, January 30, 7:30 P.M. Place to be announced.

New York

Forum
NATIONAL LIBERATION AND PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN THE NEAR EAST
Speaker: Reuben Samuels, SL Central Committee. Saturday, January 11, 7:30 P.M. Washington Square Methodist Church, 135 West 4th St.
Forum
CRISIS IN MAOISM
Speaker: Joseph Drummond, SYL National Chairman. Time and place to be announced.

SYL RADIO PROGRAM:

**"Young Spartacus:
A Marxist
Commentary"**

Thursdays 6:30 p.m.

WHPK, 88.3 FM

(southside Chicago radio station)

CHICAGO

Chavez Purges Dissidents...

Continued from page 12

of poor leadership. Today the UFW has literally only a handful of contracts. These cover only five percent of the grape harvest and roughly the same proportion of the lettuce crop. The only other significant contract is with Minute Maid in Florida. As a labor union, the UFW is in its death agony.

Fake Lefts Front for Chavez

For years nearly the entire U.S. left has been dotting on the "progressive" Chavez, uncritically supporting him and fronting for his every betrayal. But now that dissatisfaction with and opposition to Chavez' deportations policy has become widespread, some of these opportunists now consider it safe to begin to squeak some criticism of Chavez for the first time.

Thus, it is by no means coincidental that most of the fake lefts have combined their criticism of Chavez with coverage of the nationwide anti-deportations demonstrations of August 31 and with familiar uncritical enthusiasm over Chicano organizations such as the CASA (Center for Autonomous Social Action) that are protesting the government's anti-"illegals" campaign. Furthermore, all these "criticisms" of Chavez' deportations policy assiduously avoid any criticism of Chavez' previous betrayals and refuse to advance any program for struggle, much less suggest that the misleader Chavez should be ousted.

The Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) has raised its gentle criticism in the form of essentially an open letter to Chavez, entitled "Why UFW Should Solidarize with Undocumented Workers" (*Militant*, 2 August 1974). On the opposite page there appears—lo and behold—an article on CASA, "New Support for 'Stop Deportation' Action." While pleading for Chavez to consider advocating "full civil rights for undocumented workers," the SWP/YSA avoids

genetics for Chavez issued by the social-democratic International Socialists (IS). In an article on deportations, the IS suggests that the UFW might consider following the wonderful example of CASA (of course!), but is quick to warn that we all must be sympathetic to Chavez' predicament:

"The current UFW campaign is an act of desperation, faced as it is with the enormously powerful and well financed coalition of agribusiness and Teamster leaders. The UFW's struggle is, in fact, the struggle for the whole labor movement."

—*Workers' Power*, 5-31 July 1974

But the IS does not even call for full citizenship rights. Rather, the IS suggests that the UFW assist the "underground railways" to "transfer workers without documents to other areas where they cannot be fingered"! It is precisely because the undocumented workers are hounded and vulnerable that they can be so easily mobilized as scabs. And it is precisely Chavez who is doing the fingering!

The Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU), which in the past has acted as goons for Chavez in attempting to silence the criticism of the SL/SYL, has likewise tacked its criticism of Chavez onto an article enthusing over the August 31 anti-deportations actions (*Revolution*, October 1974). The RU breathes not a word of criticism for Chavez' past policies, but simply declares:

"Chavez' openly reactionary and chauvinist line has turned off a lot of working people who have actively supported the UFW, including many Chicanos and a great many 'illegals' and their families and friends."

It is only because so many people have become "turned off" by Chavez' policy on "illegals" that the RU has now turned off its support to Chavez, its darling of yesterday. And what does the RU counterpose to the "reactionary and chauvinist line" of Chavez? Nothing! The article does not as much as mention the question of full citizenship rights for the illegal immigrants.

The Stalinist Communist Party, however, seems determined to cling to Chavez and to comment favorably on CASA. Thus, the CP press, the *Daily World* and the *Peoples World*, have yet to criticize Chavez and simply print without comment bland reports of both Chavez' anti-"illegal" campaign and CASA's anti-deportations campaign. All the Stalinists have done is to speak of challenging the constitutionality of some of the immigration laws and winning "civil rights" for the undocumented immigrants.

Responding to the criticism of his waterboys of yesterday, Chavez has lashed out at the left in a slanderous, red-baiting attack:

"Most of the left attacking us has no experience in labor matters. They don't know what a strike is. They've never been to a picket line."

—*El Malcriado*, 18 October 1974

Chavez can make these anti-communist attacks with the authority of a "progressive," an authority which the opportunists who now are attempting to criticize Chavez in no small part helped to build!

Bureaucratic Attacks

With its membership precipitously declining, its number of contracts shrinking, its few strikes often broken by the growers and the Teamsters, its boycott campaign dragging on fruitlessly, and its anti-"illegals" policy receiving widespread opposition, the UFW has little between it and extinction except the Support Committees. Fearful that any criticism from within the UFW apparatus or from the Support Committees might find fertile ground among the discontented ranks of farmworkers, Chavez has attempted to enforce a heavy-handed control over all UFW and support activities and has launched an attack on dissident ele-

ments within the UFW and the Support Committees who have dared to criticize or demonstrate the slightest independence.

In Florida, three UFW organizers who had protested the official deportations campaign were recently sacked by the UFW bureaucracy (given "leaves of absence"). In a letter to Chavez dated August 9, Florida UFW State Director

Committee accepts the defeatist boycott strategy, confining most of its criticism to organizational matters. On no less than four separate occasions, the Boycott House has renounced its support in an attempt to force the Eastside Boycott Committee to dissolve. Such pressure tactics have proved successful in the past. In 1973, a similar UFW support committee in Berkeley

YOUNG SPARTACUS



UFW goons, assisted by IS, excluding SYL contingent from supermarket demonstration, Bay Area.

Mark Lyons states that the three were dumped "because of their inability to understand and carry out the Union's policy in regard to illegal strike-breakers." Their criticism of the deportations policy, the statement declares, means "they are as much a part of the opposition" as the government, the growers, the Farm Bureau and the Teamsters!

Staff members of the Atlanta Boycott Committee and the Tampa Boycott Committee have recently been fired simply for voicing their disagreement with Chavez' anti-"illegals" policy. These political purges as well as the deportations policy itself have been denounced in open letters being circulated by the UFW Support Committees of Jackson, Mississippi, and Birmingham, Alabama.

Similarly, UFW tops have recently attempted to silence all criticism of the deportations policy within Support Committees in the Bay Area. Within the official UFW Boycott Committee in Hayward, for example, a dozen dissatisfied individuals attempted to form a group to do independent UFW support work. While not opposing Chavez' reformist perspective and limiting their activities to the boycott, the group did venture a criticism of the "illegals" policy:

"... we see it as important to organize all farmworkers whether or not they possess [immigration] papers. We oppose this attempt by government, large corporations and union bureaucrats to blame immigrant workers for the economic crisis. We oppose deportations and mass immigration raids like Operation Cleansweep."

—untitled and undated statement of principles

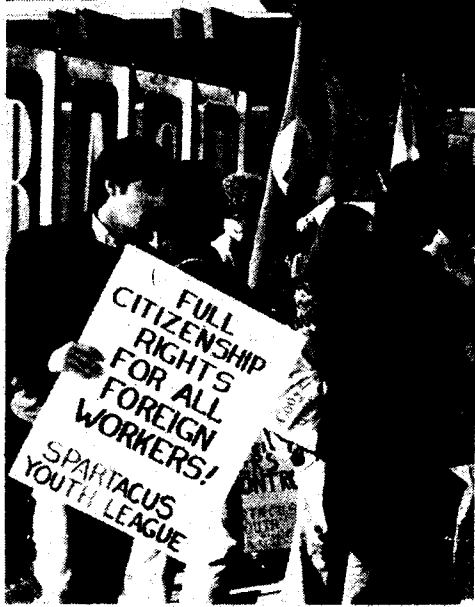
For this position the group was summarily expelled from the official Support Committee in September and the group subsequently disintegrated.

The Eastside Boycott Committee in San Jose, which maintains a formal independence from the local Boycott House (the official arm of the UFW), has been even more circumspect in raising disagreements with the deportations policy. In its position paper, the Eastside Boycott House timidly criticizes the San Jose Boycott House for the "lack of informing and educating the rank and file Farmworker supporters to the struggles of the overall Farmworker movement (for example, the stand on illegals)." The Eastside

was disaffiliated, publically denounced and successfully dispersed by the UFW leadership.

More recently, the UFW misleaders have felt compelled to carry through their rule-or-ruin campaign in the Campus UFW Support Committee at the Berkeley campus of the University of California. From its inception this fall, the Support Committee in its majority was disgruntled with Chavez' deportations policy. The Berkeley SYL actively participated in the Support Committee,

DICK WHEELER



SYL at November 6 demonstration against scab produce being served in cafeteria at UC Berkeley.

even hinting that the UFW should always have championed full rights for the "illegals."

The SWP/YSA's meek "criticism" is simply one more apology for Chavez. The *Militant* declares that the UFW "had" to turn to the boycott strategy and notes optimistically that the leadership of the UFW once before corrected a mistake and backed away from supporting the Kennedy-Rodino Bill. The *Militant* article concludes by assuring Chavez that he can count on the loyal support of the SWP/YSA:

"Supporters of the UFW have an inescapable responsibility to continue to actively promote the boycott of scab produce. They also have a responsibility to persuade the union that in this matter it is making a serious, costly mistake."

Even more disgusting are the apolo-

SYL Local Directory

- BAY AREA: SYL, Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, CA 94701, or call (415) 653-4668
- BINGHAMTON: SYL, Box RCY, SUNY Binghamton, NY 13901
- BOSTON: SYL, Box 137, Somerville, MA 02144, or call (617) 282-7587
- BUFFALO: SYL, Box 6, Norton Union, SUNY, Buffalo, NY 14214, or call (716) 877-8235
- CHICAGO: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 728-2151
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East Coast Educational a Success

Members and supporters of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League from more than a half dozen East coast cities gathered in New York City over the December 20-21 weekend for the Spartacus Youth League East Coast Educational Conference. About 160 people attended the Friday evening public session, a forum given by James Robertson, a member of the Central Committee of the SL, entitled "The Leninist Party in Motion: Program and Conjuncture."

The presentation discussed the tasks of the SL/SYL posed by the present economic situation and the perspectives for the building of the vanguard party. The modest, continued growth of the SL/SYL; the regular publication of *Workers Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus* and *Women and Revolution* as well as numerous foreign language publications; the enrichment and growing experience of our cadre; the development of black cadre; and the growth of international Spartacist tendency have enabled the SL/SYL to surge ahead of a number of formerly close competitors on the left. Now there are several pseudo-Trotskyist tendencies that devote their entire political existence to disabusing the working class of the alleged betrayals of the allegedly irrelevant SL/SYL.

The speaker emphasized the central importance which the SL places on international work: any tendency locked into one country must sooner or later adapt to the national climate of opportunism and become subservient to the bourgeoisie of its own country. Although still small in numbers, the international Spartacist tendency represents the only international, programmatically cohesive democratic-centralist Trotskyist tendency in the world.

The speaker analyzed the present severe economic crisis, dismissing those "Marxists" whose entire perspective is based upon the discovery

that the allegedly miraculous, crisis-free post-WWII economic expansion ("The Boom") has now suddenly turned into a terminal, final collapse ("The Crisis"). Such impressionism ignores the intersection of political and economic developments. The economic situation in the U.S. today, for instance, could significantly change in the event of outbreak of a major war in the Middle East.

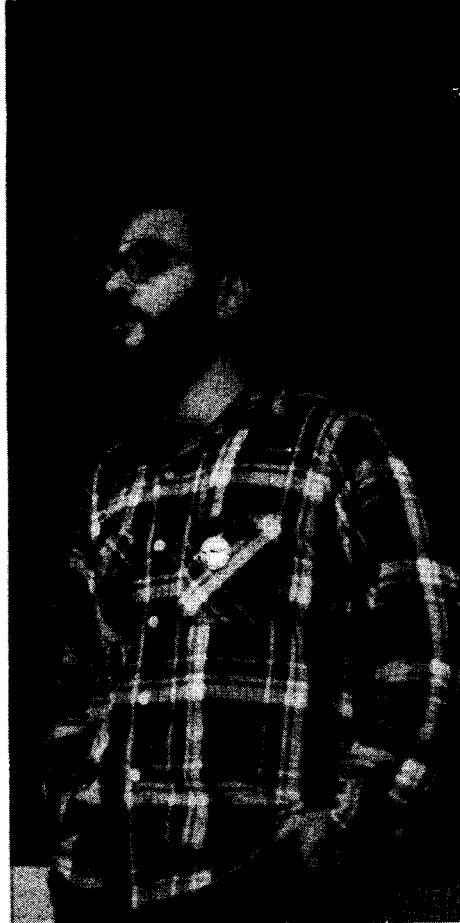
A particular problem faced by the SL/SYL is the danger of the dissipation of its trade union implantation as a result of the current acute economic crisis and resulting massive layoffs. The ability of the SL in the next period to maintain or re-establish its trade-union fractions, the speaker asserted, is a crucial test of the viability of the SL. Comrade Robertson added that the trade-union work of the SL, in particular our position on the sub-reformist, Labor Department-backed Arnold Miller of the United Mineworkers—whom virtually the entire left gave support, albeit some with "criticisms"—has resulted in drawing a number of very senior trade-union militants around the SL.

Given the current economic conjuncture, we can probably expect a rise of struggles of the unemployed. He pointed to the difficulties which communists have encountered in work among the unemployed. Ephemeral and lacking a class centrality, unemployed work is a breeding ground for all manner of phenomena from "New Dealism" to lumpen rage. Communists must intervene in the struggles of the unemployed to fight for our class program, but this intervention must always be linked to trade-union work which is key to the struggle for the interests of both the employed and unemployed.

Turning to the SL/SYL's campaign in Boston for a labor-black defense, the speaker noted the exacerbation of racial tensions in the U.S. arising from the deterioration of the living

conditions of the working class and oppressed and the intensification of job competition. The core of the SL/SYL's perspective in Boston and

YOUNG SPARTACUS



Reuben Samuels, one of the speakers at the East Coast Educational Conference.

other cities like Detroit where the possibility of race riots is very real is to seek to deflect race riots into ~~sharp manifestations of struggle~~ against the capitalist class. The SL/SYL has an objective importance today, comrade Robertson noted, and we are under pressure to dissipate ourselves in our struggle to provide leadership in situations where our tasks are enormous.

The presentation was followed by a brief period of discussion from the floor. At the conclusion of the program those assembled rose to sing the "Internationale."

The second day of the educational, for members and sympathizers of the SL/SYL, was devoted to three classes on various aspects of dialectical materialism. In "The Origins of Marxism: the Historical Materialist View," comrade Reuben Samuels outlined the development of dialectical materialism and discussed the influence of Hegel and Feuerbach on Marx. He also discussed the contributions of Plekhanov and Lenin to the study of dialectics. In the discussion period that followed, many comrades addressed the question of the relationship between dialectical method and program and practice.

The second presentation, "The Dialectics of Nature," was given by comrade George Foster. He demonstrated how Hegel could not extend his dialectic to nature without completely undermining his idealism, and proceeded to discuss the contribution of Engels' *Dialectics of Nature*. The relationship between our understanding of dialectical materialism and the enormous advances of 20th century physics was the topic of a lengthy and spirited discussion.

The final presentation was given by comrade John Sharpe and was entitled "Dialectical Materialism vs. Idealism/Stalinism." Comrade Sharpe analyzed the works of the revisionists Lukacs and Althusser, demonstrating the manner in which their philosophical concepts function as an apology for New Leftist and Stalinist reformism.

The educational was quite successful in stimulating a great deal of lively discussion and interest for further study on an entire range of questions. The SYL has planned its Midwest Educational Conference for January 24-25 in Detroit, with a West Coast conference to follow in the near future.

emphasizing the necessity for defending the UFW while sharply criticizing the treacherous policies of Chavez and Co.

At one meeting organized to discuss the October 26 UFW support demonstration called by the Alameda-Contra Costa Central Labor Council, the SYL proposed a draft leaflet for factory and other work-site distribution advocating mass labor action in defense of the UFW: mobilizing workers and students on the UFW picket lines to keep all scabs out of the fields, hot-cargoes by other unions and a state-wide general strike in defense of the UFW.

Representatives of the Oakland Boycott House turned up at the same meeting, announcing that at the scheduled

rally at an Oakland Safeway supermarket (the destination of the march) there would be a non-violent obstruction of the grape display inside and hopefully token arrests.

IS Advises Chavez

In this meeting, those long-standing toadies of Chavez, the IS, voted against the SYL-proposed leaflet and presented its own motion to "ask" the Boycott House if it perhaps might not be more advisable to have 200 people engage in this publicity stunt instead of the planned handful of nuns, priests and "prominent" individuals!

At the demonstration several days later, a squad of Boycott House goons "non-violently" excluded the SYL contingent, ripping up several SYL placards in the course of their physical intimidation. The goons stated that our class-struggle slogans were objectionable. In the heat of the exclusion, an IS supporter lined up with the goons to back up their strong-arm intimidation with "Marxist" arguments; this "revolutionary democrat" proclaimed that the demonstration was not a "united front," and therefore the UFW had the "right" to censor the signs of the participants!

Given the opposition of Chavez from the SYL and others in the Support Committee, a representative of Boycott House declared in the November 12 meeting that the Committee no longer could have any decision-making powers. The SYL put forward a motion to reject both this bureaucratic fiat and the class-collaborationist policies of Chavez. Rather than supporting this motion, which all but perhaps two or three Chavez loyalists supported privately, the gutless IS voted to part with the official Support Committee on

friendly terms and to create an additional committee for general strike support work, thereby avoiding the necessary political confrontation with the UFW bureaucrats.

In the first meeting of the new "Strike Support Committee," the Stalinophobic IS gained an ally in its unprincipled struggle against the SYL... the Stalinist Revolutionary Union. At the opening of the meeting, a supporter of the RU, which previously had played no role in the Berkeley UFW Support Committee, snarled that the SYL was "Trotskyite," "counterrevolutionary," "disruptive," and should be thrown out of the new committee. After the Committee adopted some obviously IS-inspired "Principles of Unity," the IS declared that since the SYL did not fully accept them, we indeed should be expelled. The SYL supporters stated that the newly adopted "Principles" were so vague

that the SYL could still work in the Committee. As previously demonstrated at the Safeway picket, the IS had no trouble participating in a Stalinist expulsion of communists, and now had a Stalinist helping them do it! The IS thus pushed through our expulsion.

In expelling the SYL, the opportunist IS and RU were simply imitating the bureaucratic methods of Boycott House and the same anti-communist slander of Chavez. Following our exclusion, several unaffiliated radicals walked out of the Committee in disgust.

This anti-communist Committee, after first capitulating to Boycott House and then expelling the communists, has already proved itself incapable of doing more. While this unprincipled collection of political cowards presently shows all signs of collapse, the SYL continues its activities for labor solidarity in defense of the UFW. ■

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Historical Materialism vs.

Idealism-Stalinism

Speaker: John Sharpe

International Secretary,
International Spartacist Tendency

Wayne State University
Student Center Building
Hillbury B

24 January 1975
7:30pm

Detroit

Young Spartacus

As Opposition to Deportations Grows in UFW and Support Committees— Chavez Bureaucracy Purges Dissidents

For the first time since the formation of the United Farm Workers Union (UFW), significant numbers of active UFW supporters around the country are coming into open opposition to the treacherous policies of UFW president Cesar Chavez. While his policies have always been disastrous for the union, Chavez until recently has been enshrined in liberal-radical popularity, and the network of UFW Support Committees exacted uncritical support for the Chavez bureaucracy from those seeking to express their solidarity with the farmworkers.

Chavez has now alienated a large section of erstwhile followers, however, with his "solution" to the real problem of scab farm labor: deport all illegal immigrants back to Mexico. As the UFW misleaders have put it, "the 'illegals' must either be granted full democratic rights... or they must go" (*El Malcriado*, 18 October 1974). But the UFW bureaucracy has done less than nothing to fight for full citizenship rights for foreign workers. On the contrary, Chavez and Co. have devoted an enormous amount of the union's resources, the product of the sweat and sacrifice of the oppressed farmworkers, to a vicious, anti-working-class campaign to drive out the illegal Mexican immigrants. In Florida, the UFW has gone to court to stop the importation of Jamaicans who work in the sugar cane fields.

Last summer Chavez went beyond fingering undocumented immigrants to *la migra* (the U.S. Immigration and

of the patrol... Chavez said 'soon the only thing that will cross that border without our knowledge will be desert rats, and even those will have to go underground!'"

—*El Malcriado*, 18 October 1974

UFW members have been withdrawn from the entrances to the fields and deployed in a "tent city" that runs along 25 miles of the Arizona-Mexico border (*Fresno Bee*, 11 October 1974). Chavez is thus organizing the UFW ranks not for a strong and militant picketing of the fields of the growers, but for acting as the voluntary agents of the capitalist state against their class brothers from Mexico.

Chavez' United Front with Wall Street

Chavez' policies are an open invitation for a brutal anti-labor offensive by the capitalist state. Responding to the increasingly dire economic forecasts, Attorney General Saxbe in October called for the mass deportation of one million illegal aliens. This pernicious, anti-alien public-opinion campaign continues to escalate.

More recently, California Democrat Leo J. Ryan contended that "illegals" were "the greatest single factor in the economic recession," since they allegedly were "taking" 1.2 million jobs from American citizens (*New York Times*, 11 December 1974). He went on to laud Chavez' hard anti-alien stand, commending the UFW for repeatedly mending a hole in the border fence at

Cesar Chavez, George Meany: both agree on deporting illegal immigrants.



supported the Dixon-Arnett Bill and until March 1973 the passage of the Kennedy-Rodino Bill, both of which were drawn up to increase the discrimination and harassment of the "illegals." Faced with the treacherous attack of the dues-greedy, corrupt Teamsters' bureaucracy, Chavez refused to mobilize a labor campaign to get the Teamsters out of the fields, but rather took the Teamsters into the capitalists' courts, whose "justice" in enforcing injunctions for the growers and allowing them to murder farmworkers with virtual impunity is well known. By taking the Teamsters Union to court, the UFW destroyed the possibility of successfully appealing to the

cultural workers across the borders.

Render Unto Cesar...

Cesar Chavez built his image as the Mahatma Gandhi of Chicanos in the U.S. He portrayed himself not as the leader of a labor union, but as the inspirer of a nationalist, pacifist and religious "movement" of Chicano liberation. But, his bellicose stand on deportations has compromised to the point of destroying that image.

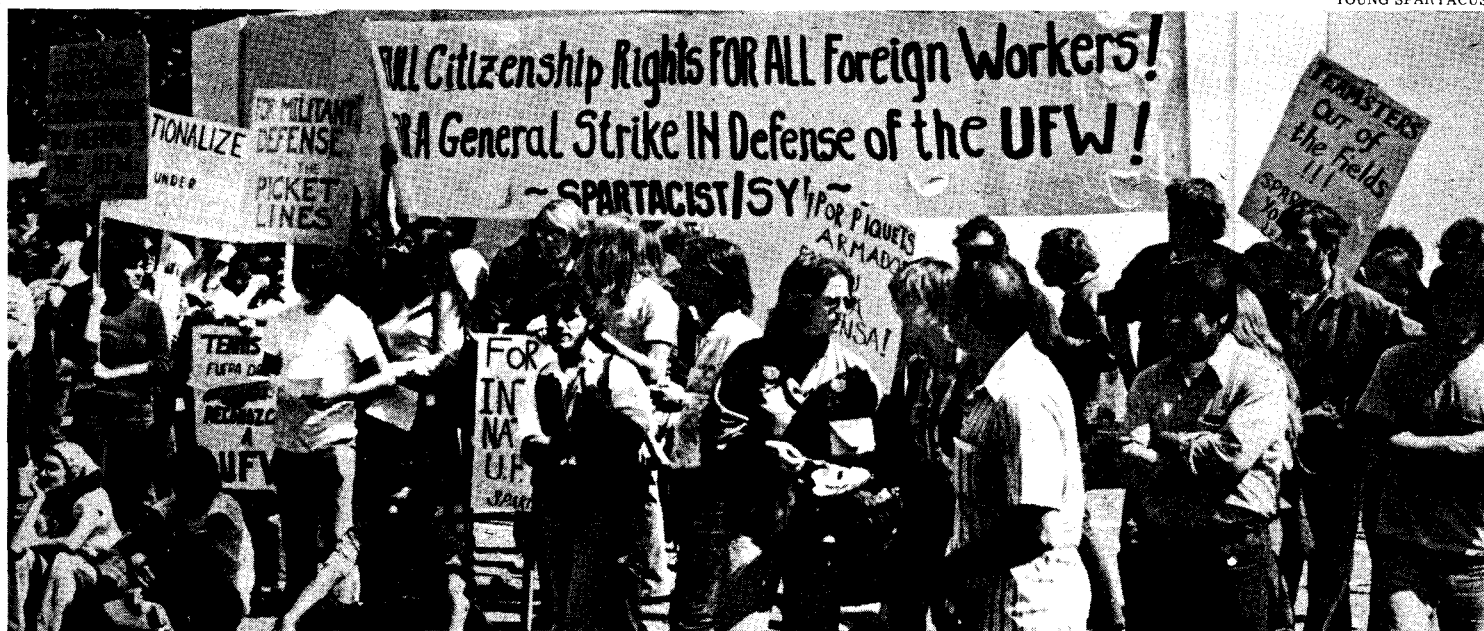
There are in the U.S. several million undocumented workers from Mexico. Many Chicanos either themselves are, or are related to, illegal immigrants. For them, it certainly must be difficult to take inspiration from Chavez' appeals to the justly despised *la migra*.

Another important factor in the decline of Chavez' popularity is the increasingly critical attitude of the UFW ranks toward the performance of the leadership. For the farm laborer, the most important fact is that the policies of Chavez have miserably failed. Chavez was helpless before the criminal Teamster-grower alliance, and during 1973 UFW membership plummeted from a high of over 70,000 to below 10,000. There were very few strikes in 1974, none of which resulted in any important gains.

Last summer's strategy was to concentrate on the consumer boycott. Most of the UFW's organizers were dispersed to cities around the country, and the boycott generally squandered the union's meager resources. In the absence of hard-hitting, militantly-guided strike activity, the consumer boycott is a diversion that can only demoralize the workers and dissipate their capacity for struggle. Labor's greatest strength is its ability to shut down production, not to appeal moralistically to the consciences of the tens of millions of consumers. By abandoning the strike weapon and substituting the futile boycott gimmick, Chavez as much as conceded the defeat of the UFW. A campaign by the UFW for hot-cargoing (refusal to handle scab goods) by other unions, the Teamsters in particular, could have resulted in scab produce rotting in the crates before it ever reached the hundreds of thousands of supermarkets.

What strikes as there were last summer—for example, the Morganville mushroom strike—often were pessimistically and carelessly conducted, resulting in demoralization, disillusionment and not infrequent complaints

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SL/SYL has consistently fought for full citizenship rights for undocumented workers: Bay Area UFW demonstration, September 1974.

Naturalization Service), issuing affidavits containing vicious racist attacks on Mexican "illegals," petitioning and testifying before Congress for the more strict enforcement of existing immigration laws and for beefing up the U.S. Border Patrol. In the course of a strike against lemon growers in Yuma, Arizona (one of the few UFW strikes last year), the UFW bureaucracy "hit upon an imaginative solution to the problem of strikebreakers who sneak across the border from Mexico." Here it is:

"Approximately 600 men and women... have been transformed into a day and night border patrol that is, according to one observer, 'at least 50 times more effective than the highly paid U.S. Border Patrol.'... Top UFW organizer Manuel Chavez is currently arranging for the rental of dune buggies, walkie-talkies and tents to extend the range

San Luis, Arizona.

While undocumented workers are an asset to a rising or booming capitalist economy, foreign workers, among the first to be laid off, and their families are a headache for the bourgeoisie during a slump or depression. For the ruling class, the cheapest solution is simply to get rid of them. Chavez has thus lined up with the most reactionary, racist and "America-first" chauvinists.

Chavez' criminal position on "illegals" grows from his long-standing refusal to rely on the strength of the proletariat. Rather, he has turned to the Vatican, bourgeois politicians and the capitalists' courts and cops. In its early years of organizing, the Chavez-led UFW called for deportation of undocumented workers. Later, Chavez

Teamster ranks for labor solidarity.

Chavez' policies will lead to the complete destruction of the UFW before they eliminate scab labor from the fields. The class-struggle approach to the problem of scabbing by undocumented workers is directed at undermining the oppressive conditions which render this group vulnerable to scabherding. Only the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) has consistently struggled for a class-struggle program: a labor campaign for full citizenship rights for all foreign workers, organize all farmworkers, enlist the active support of other unions to keep scabs out of the fields, refusal of other unions to handle scab produce and extend the union into Mexico to raise the abysmal living standards which drive Mexican agri-