

Young Spartacus

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Israel Out Of The Occupied Territories!

Zionist Atrocities Provoke West Bank Upheaval

MAY 29—During the past several weeks Palestinian Arab demonstrations have swept West Bank towns. Protests continue to flare against the brutal and humiliating Israeli occupation and the Zionist-expansionist settlements. Faced with rising restlessness within the Israeli Arab population, the Zionist regime has resorted to murderous repression throughout the West Bank.

On May 16, in the wake of Palestinian Arab protests coinciding with the anniversary of the creation of the Zionist state, a 16-year-old Palestinian, Lena Hassan Nabulsi, was gunned down by Israeli forces. Although the shooting occurred at some distance from a Palestinian Arab demonstration which had been dispersed by Israeli soldiers, the military authorities dismissed the murder as an "accident." Apparently Nabulsi had been followed several blocks and cut down as she visited the home of a friend (*New York Times*, 17 May 1976).

The killing of Nabulsi was followed by two more such murders over the next two days as Israeli forces attacked Arab protest demonstrations which rocked the West Bank. An Israeli soldier raking an Arab demonstration with machine gun fire sent a bullet through the brain of Abdullah Mustapha Halil Hawas.

The following day in Jerusalem trigger-happy Israeli border police opened fire on a group of protesting Arabs, putting three bullets through the

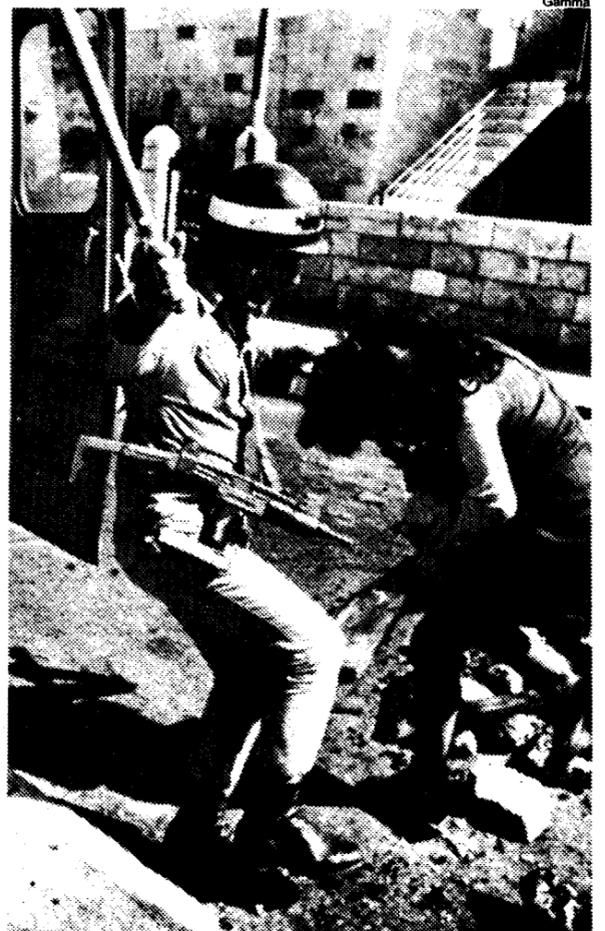
head of 21-year-old Mahmoud Kurd. The Israeli military command "explained": a "warning shot" had "accidentally" strayed (*New York Times*, 19 May 1976). In a desperate attempt to contain the upheavals, the Zionist government has slapped a strict curfew on the more "troublesome" Arab areas, even erecting huge steel gates to seal some neighborhoods like concentration camps during the curfew.

Clerical Fascists Pounce on West Bank

Fueling the boiling outrage of the subjugated West Bank Arabs has been the establishment of a Zionist squatter settlement in Kadum (near Nablus in the West Bank) by the clerical-fascist Gush Emunim ("Band of the Faithful"). Gush Emunim, which is backed by the National Religious Party, proclaims "the inalienable right of every Jew to every part of the land of Israel" and calls for the further dispersal of the Palestinian Arabs.

Determined to drive the first Zionist spike into the heart of the West Bank the Gush Emunim mobilized 20,000 rabid Zionists—many brandishing machine guns—for a provocative march into the West Bank during April. Arab counter-demonstrations were brutally dispersed, with three demonstrators hit by Israeli gunfire.

Resembling a recrudescence of the Zionist terror

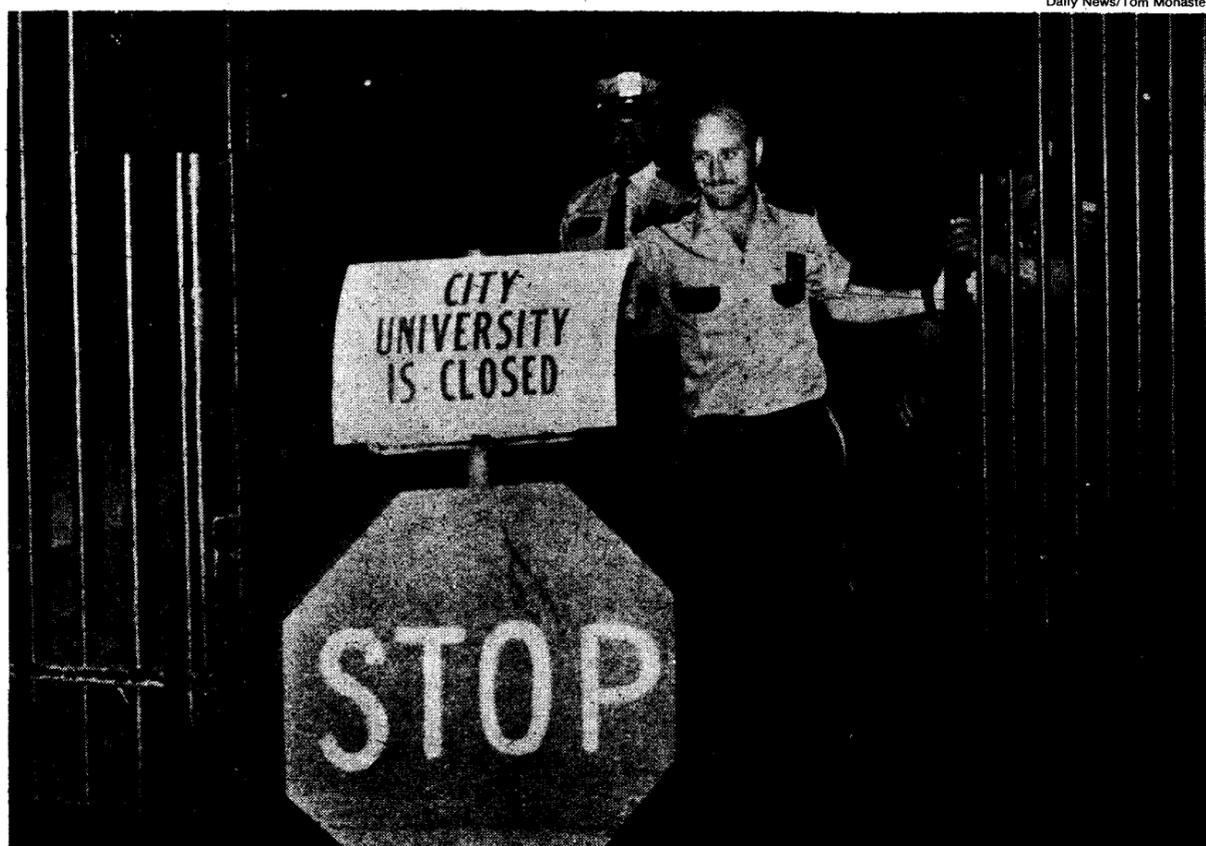


Israeli soldier clubs Arab woman.

gangs which carved out the state of Israel by dismembering the Palestinian Arab nation, the Gush Emunim land-grabbing expedition, while "unofficial" and the source of contention within the Israeli Cabinet, nevertheless represents the same expansionist policies pursued by the Zionist regime since the occupation of formerly Arab territories at the end of the 1967 war. Since then the Israeli government—despite the occasional opposition of the U.S.—has established 68 Israeli settlements on the West Bank and Gaza strip, through which the Zionists are attempting to consolidate the new borders of Israel.

Until now only the densely populated central West Bank region around Nablus has been spared Zionist settlements. According to the "Allon Plan" Israel was to hold this central area of Samaria as a bargaining chip, to be tossed back to Jordan in return for major concessions. But under pres-

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Daily News/Tom Monaster

LOCKOUT: CUNY Admin. Slams Gates On 300,000 Students, Staff

NEW YORK CITY, May 29—In a display of bureaucratic arbitrariness toward students and campus employees Chancellor Robert Kibbee yesterday shut down the entire City University of New York (CUNY) in the middle of exams, shoving its nearly 300,000 students, faculty and campus workers onto the street.

Pleading impending financial default CUNY Chancellor Kibbee first announced that the 12,000 faculty would not receive their paychecks that day. Then, later in the afternoon, Kibbee ordered the entire university closed; within hours 20 campuses were emptied and the gates of CUNY locked.

Behind this affront, which leaves paychecks, grades, degrees—and futures—in abeyance, stands nothing but pressure politics and buck-passing between the Board of Higher Education (BHE) which administers CUNY and the state politicians in Albany.

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Mass Student Strikes Sweep France



Paris cops run amok dispersing student demonstration.

For the last two months universities in France have been engulfed by a wave of student strikes. The current student upsurge represents the most massive student struggle in France since the May 1968 student strike, which touched off the May-June general strike. Igniting the protests has been the pervasive opposition to proposed educational reforms which would reduce the number of working-class students admitted to the universities and which would result in a more "job-oriented" curriculum.

In the month of April mounting local student protests against the reforms triggered the nationwide student strike, which now has closed most of the universities and even spilled over to 300 French high schools (*lycées*) and vocational schools. The national demonstrations on April 15 mobilized over 100,000 students, including 40,000-50,000 in Paris alone.

At first determined not to negotiate over the reforms, the government headed by president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing unleashed brutal police force

drawn into the strike. A language professor at the University of Clermont-Ferrand interviewed by the *Nouvel Observateur* (17 April 1976) stated:

"The street demonstrations assemble 2,000 students. And they are hard; Molotov cocktails are being made everywhere. There is a gasoline odor on all floors, to the point that you don't dare light up a cigarette."

Spectre of Unemployment

The university reforms, decreed last January but scheduled to be implemented next fall, intersect one of the most explosive issues facing French students: unemployment. In France almost all universities are public institutions. As a result of the reforms granted during the May-June 1968 upheavals, all universities (except the *grandes écoles*) are open to all *lycée* graduates who have passed their *baccalauréats* (entrance examinations). Tuition is free, and even partial stipends are available. As a consequence of these reforms the number of students enrolled in the French university system has soared from 300,000 to 800,000 today.

But with the sharp economic downturn which has hit the French economy, an ever-increasing number of French university graduates walk from the campus into the ranks of the unemployed; an estimated one half of the total unemployment in France consists of youth under the age of 25. The reforms are designed to reduce the number of students graduating each year and thereby reduce the pressure of the potentially explosive army of unemployed educated youth.

Under the proposed reform, passing the standardized examinations of the "first cycle" (the equivalent to the junior and senior years at an American university) no longer would ensure admission to the "second cycle." Moreover, the "second cycle" diploma would become a *diplôme terminale* which would no longer enable the recipient to pursue further studies. The "second cycle" program would then be adjusted to the immediate needs of local businessmen through "technical studies groups" staffed by businessmen and their lackeys.

To a far greater extent than during the May-June 1968 upheaval the present student strike has formulated demands which address the needs of working-class youth. The strike is demanding that the universities no longer require the *baccalauréat*, that students receive a living stipend from the state and that graduating students unable to find work be eligible for unemploy-

ment benefits. In addition, the demands also call for no hiring of outside "experts" from the business community and for the elimination of the examinations required for securing teaching positions (at present only about ten percent of the candidates manage to pass these exams).

Reformists Restrain Struggle

The student strike upsurge occurs in the context of the intensification of the class struggle in France and the recent electoral victories of the two mass reformist workers parties, the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Party (SP). In early March public employees throughout France went out on a solid one-day political strike, and later in the month the entire country was almost paralyzed by wildcat rail strikes. During mid-May factory occupations were in progress at over 100 plants.

The March cantonal elections, moreover, brought a 10-12 percent electoral gain for the SP and CP, which together with the bourgeois Left Radical Party constitute the popular-front Union of the Left. Created in 1972 by the CP and SP, the Union of the Left presents a "Common Program" pledging to maintain not only the bourgeois state but even the present anti-democratic Gaullist constitution. In addition, this platform for "advanced democracy" calls for nationalizing a mere 40 enterprises, mainly banks and insurance companies, with compensation. By entering into a coalition with a bourgeois party, the reformist workers parties suppress the contradiction between their class base and their class-collaborationist program and leadership in favor of the dominant bourgeois element in the bloc. Revolutionary Marxists oppose voting for the Union of the Left, or for the candidates of the CP or SP as long as they remain part of the Union of the Left. The reformist workers parties must be called upon to break with the popular front.

With their electoral victory in the March local elections the CP and SP are determined to cut a road to a national electoral victory in 1978. Yet the electoral victory in March has begun to arouse the political aspirations of the masses who mistakenly regard the Union of the Left as a more favorable terrain to wage the class struggle. Thus, to bid for power in the 1978 elections the SP and CP must demonstrate to the bourgeoisie their willingness and usefulness in dampening the class struggle.

During the postal workers strike in October-November 1974, for example, the Stalinist CP and the social-democratic SP did everything possible to prevent the wildcat from spreading to other sections of the workforce. The reformists called for rotating strikes on a staggered basis to ensure that there was not too much disruption at any one time, and organized one-day-at-a-time and one-section-at-a-time strikes on the railways. More recently, the CP has ostentatiously wrapped itself in the Tricolors, expunging the "dictatorship of the proletariat" from its program, and has hinted quite loudly

its willingness to drop its opposition to French nuclear strike capacity.

The role of the CP and SP in restraining mass struggles against capitalism could not be more clear in the recent student strikes. The CP-dominated student federation—the French National Students Association/Renewed (UNEF/R)—almost from the outset of the strike attempted to channel the upsurge into a movement simply for "serious negotiations" with the Secretary of the Universities, Alice Saunier-Seite. When a few less-than-taken concessions were granted at the end of April, the UNEF/R attempted (unsuccessfully) to get the students back to class (*Le Monde*, 29 April 1976)! So discredited were the Stalinists that at the May 6 national strike meeting a motion was introduced to expel them.

Similarly, the CP-controlled faculty union—the National Union for Education (SNE Sup)—refused to join the week-long student strike called for April 15. Since then, the SNE Sup, while staging its own local strikes, has continued to refuse to join the student strike.

In the recent upsurge the French "far-left" (organizations ostensibly standing to the left of the CP) have managed to capitalize on the capitulationist role of the CP. In fact, the inability of the CP to harness the student strike produced this irritated response from Secretary Saunier-Seite:

"The assembly of Toulouse-Le Mirail has confirmed that the ultra-leftists, notably Trotskyists and Maoists, have overrun the UNEF (Renouveau)...[the "ultra-left"] hardly talks anymore about the reform of the second cycle...their intention is to create disorder in the university, with the objective of enlarging it (1) to industry, in order to stop the economic recovery; (2) to the lycées, in such a way as to perturb family life."

—*Le Monde*, 21 April 1976

Fake Trotskyists Capitulate to Pop Front

The two fake-Trotskyist organizations whose militants are playing an active role in the student upsurge are the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) and the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR)—the leading party of the majority tendency of the "United" Secretariat whose American "sympathizing" section and factional opponent is the Socialist Workers Party). In the 1974 French national elections, both these centrist parties failed the test on the popular front: what Trotsky characterized as "the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch." With little pretense of opposition to popular frontism, the OCI called for a vote on the first round to François Mitterrand, first secretary of the Socialist Party, who was running as the single presidential candidate of the Union of the Left. For their part the LCR, arguing that the Union of the Left is not really a popular front because the bourgeois Left Radicals are an insignificant force, endorsed a vote to Mitterrand on the second round of the elections.

With the CP largely discredited among layers of student youth, both for its sniveling obeisance before Saunier-Seite and its treacherous role in 1968, when it was the major instrument for short-circuiting the ten-million strong workers' general strike, a revolutionary Trotskyist party would seize on this opportunity for leadership and, in addition to demanding abolition of the proposed reforms, would attempt to direct the students' anti-government and pro-working-class sentiment toward broader political questions and to focus the students' militancy around a program which included a demand that the reformist CP and SP break with their bourgeois partners in the popular front.

In 1968 the absence of such a revolutionary party meant that the majority of the students and the many workers who deplored the strike-breaking betrayals of the CP could not find a viable alternative and so were eventually forced to acquiesce to the CP's well-

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to slow the momentum of the demonstrations. At the conclusion of the April 15 demonstration in Paris, for example, police surrounded the crowd and then charged, hurling caustic gas grenades and clubbing student demonstrators in the area for over an hour-and-a-half (*Le Monde*, 17 April 1976).

In Toulouse, when cops attempted to disperse a demonstration on April 13, students erected barricades at the Place d'Occitanie, using five gutted cars and materials from a nearby construction site. For more than an hour the students battled the cops with rocks, clubs and even Molotov cocktails. Then police bent on revenge savagely attacked the next demonstration on April 15; the cops stopped and emptied the buses passing through the vicinity of the demonstration, beating and arresting all the young passengers and then gassing the railroad workers who attempted to come to their rescue.

Even campuses with little history of militant student struggle have been

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As New York Cutbacks Continue:

Student Strike Shuts City College

NEW YORK CITY—On May 5 the City College of New York (CCNY) was shut down by a student strike protesting the slashing budget cuts and layoffs which threaten the education and jobs of thousands in the City University of New York (CUNY) system.

Called by the University Student Senate and "The Committee" (a CCNY anti-cutbacks coalition), the strike was observed the first day by a solid 85 percent of CCNY students and attracted at least 1,500 students to the picket lines and marches. Yet within two days the strike disintegrated and collapsed, "led" to defeat by the Stalinists and cliquists comprising "The Committee."

The initial student support for the strike at CCNY revealed once again the potential for mass mobilizations against the cutbacks and layoffs. But the CCNY strike leadership—involving primarily the Maoist El Comité/Frente Estudiante Puertorriqueño and the left-liberal Emergency Committee—at every step rejected proposals to broaden the leadership of the strike to include all campus organizations opposing the cutbacks and even rejected calls for convening mass meetings of the student strikers to discuss political strategy and tactics.

Rather, "The Committee" called the strike without any attempt to coalesce a united front of campus organizations opposing the cuts and with a determination to exclude all other left organizations on campus. In contrast, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) at CCNY intervened in the strike with proposals for a united-front strike committee and with propaganda explaining the need for CUNY-wide actions building toward labor/student mobilizations with the goal of a general strike of city labor against the cutbacks and layoffs.

Marches, Marches, and Then Marches

On the first day of the CCNY strike "The Committee" organized picketing on campus and then led a march into Harlem. Following the march the steering committee held a brief rally—"featuring" only speakers from "The Committee"—and then called for another march.

At a "militant action" workshop later in the afternoon the SYL not only emphasized the need for a broad-based united-front strike committee but also counterposed to mindless campus paro-

chialism our perspective of labor/student mobilizations organized under slogans linking the needs of CUNY students to the class interests of the proletariat in its struggle against the capitalist system of exploitation. Organizationally unaffiliated students called for open steering committee meetings, broadening the strike at CCNY and extending the protest to other campuses in the CUNY system. A motion presented by the reformist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) proposing a mass meeting to discuss strike strategy the following day was adopted...only to be subsequently "tabled" at a clandestine meeting of "The Committee."

On the second day of the strike more than 1,000 students gathered to man the picket lines. Without any strategy for building and extending the strike, "The Committee" herded the striking students into another aimless march around the entire campus and then through nearby Harlem. When the march returned to campus the strike "leadership" announced...yet another march. And when the weary demonstrators finally arrived at the CCNY north quadrangle the steering committee went into a huddle, only to emerge calling for—you guessed it!—a march back to the South Campus!

By this time hundreds of footsore students had become impatient with the endless marches ordered by the steering committee, and a large contingent of the marchers finally blocked the sound car of "The Committee" in the middle of Convent Avenue in Harlem, demanding the immediate convocation of a democratic meeting of the strikers. At this point the SYL intervened to once again call for a united-front strike steering committee, a proposal denounced as "stupid" by one supporter of "The Committee." Faced with the adamant commandism of the "leaders" of the strike, students streamed away from this open-air meeting disgusted and demoralized.

Strike Disintegrates

Following this "long march" fiasco the picket lines the next day drew less than 50 students. Unable to mobilize another march the strike misleaders consented to convene a mini-"mass meeting" to discuss strategy. In an attempt to revive student interest in the strike, these remaining activists,



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including SYL supporters, fanned out across campus to attempt to draw students from classes for an "emergency strike meeting."

But campus sympathy and active support for the strike had dissipated. Few students joined the roving contingents of strikers. When the demoralized "emergency meeting" convened, steering committee spokesmen delivered "self-criticisms" of "The Committee." But when an SYL member again called for a united-front steering committee, a member of "The Committee" intervened to declare that all students not interested in building "The Committee" as an on-going organization should leave the meeting. Thus, the meeting dissolved in chaos, and the strike collapsed.

During the three-day strike only the SYL fought for an inclusive and representative strike committee organized on a united-front basis and raised a program linking the cutbacks to the struggle against capitalism. In contrast, the "R-r-revolutionary Communist" Progressive Labor Party completely submerged its politics, while the juvenile Revolutionary Student Brigade made one futile attempt to seize a building but was overpowered by "Committee" goons. The YSA, once

excluded from the strike leadership, simply toadied to "The Committee" and limited its political intervention to distributing YSA campus-election literature.

In contrast to the mindless pseudo-activism imposed by the CCNY strike "leadership" the 19-day student occupation of Hostos Community College, broken by cops on April 12, in comparison was a well-organized student strike with active community support. Yet both the CCNY and the Hostos strikes shared the same fatal flaw: neither "The Committee" nor the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which led the Hostos occupation, took even the first step toward broadening the struggle to other CUNY campuses. Nor did they raise a political program for the strike with demands linking the needs of students to the class struggle of the proletariat against capitalism.

In contrast, at CUNY the SYL argued that, as a first step, students should be organized to approach the Transit Workers Union and other city unions in an effort to mobilize labor solidarity. While standing in the forefront of the struggles against cutbacks, the SYL openly intervened at CUNY to struggle to win students to the Trotskyist program which points the way forward to the socialist revolution. ■

End Cal. Discrimination Against Chicanos!



Richard Barnes

BERKELEY, May 21—Demanding that the University of California (UC) end its discriminatory underenrollment of Chicanos, over 450 students rallied on campus here today in response to a call for a one-day, statewide strike raised by Chicano student and faculty organizations. The chanting demonstrators marched from "People's Park" to Sproul Plaza. Following a spirited rally the crowd marched on the office of the UC president, chanting, "Open it up or we'll shut it down!"

The enrollment statistics of Chicano students in UC tell the story of university discrimination: 17 percent of the population in California is Chicano, but Chicanos comprise less than 2 percent of the UC student body. While the administration touts its "affirmative action" sop, Chicano enrollment has actually declined, dropping from a "high" 2.1 percent in fall 1973 to a mere 1.8 percent in fall 1975, and it is expected to decline even more in the near future.

The Spartacus Youth League participated in today's demonstration, raising the call for open admissions and an end to tuition. We have stressed that the state must provide a living stipend for students and their dependents as well as remedial programs (including bi-lingual education) in order to make open admissions academically and financially meaningful for working-class youth victimized by the inferior "education" in public schools. Even under the token "affirmative action" schemes at UC only 80 of the 200 Chicano applicants accepted at Berkeley in fall 1974 were able to scrape together the money to enroll. Sweeping away the exploiters and their oppressive capitalist system, a workers government will open the doors of the universities for the first time to the masses of working people.

New York Rallies Defend Hostos



Young Spartacus

May 14 demonstration opposing closure of Hostos Community College.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Recently the ultra-legalist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) issued a bulletin, *The Fight Against Fascism in the USA*, largely devoted to defending its "free speech for fascists" policy against the polemics of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. Last month *Young Spartacus* published the first part of "Why We Do Not Recognize 'Free Speech For Fascists'," which demonstrated the bankruptcy of the SWP/YSA perspective for combating armed fascist gangs merely through the "democratic process" of education, electoralism and "peaceful, legal" counterdemonstrations. The first part exposed the SWP/YSA for giving whispered lip service to the Trotskyist slogan of workers defense guards in *The Fight Against Fascism in the USA* while vociferously calling for cops and troops to "protect" black people in Boston. The article recounted the tradition of anti-fascist struggle of the American Trotskyist youth, who sharply polemicized against the social-democratic/liberal "free speech for fascists" trend of their day and whenever possible organized demonstrations aimed at driving the fascists off campus.



Martha Stevens



Martha Stevens

At Chapel Hill, protests by black students (right) prevented KKK ringleader David Duke (left) from speaking.

Why We Do Not Recognize "Free Speech for Fascists"

For the past year in Boston the paramilitary South Boston Marshals have spearheaded the racist anti-busing offensive with its murderous terror directed against black people. From the outset infested with fascist thugs, the South Boston Marshals recently have begun to openly identify with the Nazis and the nativist-fascist Ku Klux Klan, now even flaunting fascist insignia and Confederate flags.

Even more emboldened by the sharpening of racial divisions, fascist organizations over the past few years once again have begun to venture into campuses across the country, attempting to gain "academic respectability" for their racist, inflammatory demagoguery. Many of the KKK vigilantes sent to Boston to foment savage assaults against black people were recruited by KKK ringleader David Duke through his campus appearances. Even prior to the formation of the South Boston Mar-

shals, *Newsweek* (16 December 1974) reported with characteristic understatement,

"Duke, who does most of his recruiting in speeches on college campuses, claims an influx of 'quality people' reminiscent of the early Klan. Duke turned up in Boston this fall to lend his support to the South Boston whites who were heatedly resisting inter-neighborhood school busing. He says he won some Klan converts among the Bostonians. 'They are just as Klan-oriented as the Southern people, maybe more so,' Duke maintains."

No wonder David Duke demands his so-called "right to speak" on campus!

Fascists Have No "Right" to Foment Racist Terror

What is needed to stop racist vigilante terror is the formation of a disciplined, integrated defense based on the strength and authority of the mass

organizations of the labor movement and black community. But it is also important that when fascist demagogues such as Duke crawl out of the dirt to rear their heads on campus, students and workers mobilize in protest actions which demonstrate that such fascist provocations will not be passively tolerated.

On more than a few occasions recently the Nazis and David Duke have been prevented from spewing their racist poison on campus by effective demonstrations. At San Francisco State University (SFS) on March 10, 1975, a united-front, picket-line demonstration, initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and endorsed by other left and campus organizations as well as the campus workers' union and several class-struggle union caucuses, not only prevented the Nazis from speaking but also forced the small clot of fascists to flee campus. De-

spite the hue and cry over this suppression of "free speech" for the fascists raised by the administration and some students, the SYL solidarized with the flushing out of the fascist scum and organized a successful campaign against an attempted administration witchhunt.

When David Duke attempted to give his "recruitment speech" at the Chapel Hill campus of the University of North Carolina (UNC) on January 16, 1975, some 300 chanting students drowned him out for over an hour, finally forcing Duke to abandon the stage. The angry black students refused to be silenced by the repeated cries for "free speech" raised by the overflow audience of 2,000 as well as by administration officials and the black student government president.

As at SFS, the UNC administration attempted to use the "disruption" of Duke's speech to repress black student organizations on campus. Similarly, the campus *Daily Tar Heel*, the local *Chapel Hill Newspaper* as well as out-of-town newspapers, including the *Greensboro Daily News* and the *Raleigh News and Observer*, bristled with editorials critical of Duke but condemning the protest for denying his "right of free speech."

"Respectable Radicals" Use Backlash to Whip Militant Protests

With an insatiable appetite for bourgeois respectability the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) joins the liberal chorus denouncing demonstrations which "disrupt" the fascist demagogues. Just as the SWP/YSA tails the liberal Democrats by calling for the Boston cops and imperialist troops to "protect" black people from racist attack, these social democrats have become the no less vociferous champions of "free speech for fascists." At SFS



NSCAR member (center) hushes Houston students outraged by "speech" of KKK mayoral candidate Scott Nelson (arrow).

the YSA not only refused to protest the appearance of the Nazis on campus but even fired a letter to the campus press deploring the demonstration as "unfortunate" and a "disruption" (*Zenger's*, 19 March 1975).

Attempting to deflect the criticisms of the SYL, the SWP/YSA has devoted *The Fight Against Fascism in the USA* to the fight against "the tactic of shouting down racist and right-wing speakers or attempting to physically break up their meetings." In a lengthy appendix smearing the anti-Nazi protest at SFS, the SWP/YSA bulletin advocates the civil libertarian "tactic" of "opposing the fascists" but defending their "right to speak":

"The tactics adopted [at SFS] should have made it clear that it was the Nazis and their racist acts, and not the rights of the assembled students to hear a particular reactionary speaker, that were the target of the protest.... Since the pivot of the action was opposition to democratic rights for fascists rather than opposition to fascists because of their attacks on democratic rights [?!], the SYL assured that students who favored free speech for everyone and opposed Nazism would not be in the demonstration.... By crowing about 'pummeling' a few Hitlerites, the SYL helped the university administration to portray the ultraleft opponents of fascism as swaggering toughs.... The SYL tactics gave the administration a handle for trying to suppress the left in the name of academic freedom and free speech." [original emphasis]

With this hand-wringing concern for ultra-legalist respectability, the SWP/YSA policy can only defuse militant protest and hold back the struggle against fascism. David Duke suffered a stinging defeat at Chapel Hill only because the black students refused to recognize the alleged "right" of Duke to speak and the "rights of the assembled students to hear a particular reactionary speaker." They refused to be silenced by "students who favored free speech for everyone and opposed" fascism and refused to cringe before the specter of a possible administration witchhunt.

"Reformists Have a Good Smell for What the Audience Wants"

The SWP/YSA position defending "free speech for fascists" represents an abject capitulation to liberalism. In this country, where fascist organizations have not been able to muster a mass movement since the U.S. entered World War II, illusions in bourgeois democracy run deep among the masses of working people. Students on campus today have never experienced the disruption of meetings and the rout of mass demonstrations by bands of pipe, chain and knife-wielding fascists. Nor has the present generation of workers witnessed their leaders lynched, their strikes smashed and their unions annihilated by fascist mobilizations.

While Jews who have survived Nazi concentration camps, or black people who know Klan lynchings and fascist firebombings, are often militantly unsympathetic to "free speech for fascists," many people in this country who sincerely oppose fascism mistakenly believe that fascists should be granted "freedom of speech" in the name of democratic principles. At the

same time most cling to the illusion that the fascists can be effectively suppressed through the "democratic process."

More than once Trotsky warned the SWP—then a revolutionary organization which denounced "free speech for fascists" and opposed calling upon the armed fist of capital (the cops and troops) to "defend" the oppressed from fascist attacks—that the struggle against the festering fascist menace in America required an uncompromising fight to dispel the "very thick atmosphere of previous traditions" clouding the consciousness of the working people. When in 1938 the American Trotskyist leaders recounted the difficulties in convincing workers of the need for trade-union defense guards to smash fascist provocations, Trotsky observed that the will to struggle against illusions in bourgeois democracy reflects "the difference between Marxism and reformism":

"The reformists have a good smell for what the audience wants—as Norman Thomas—he gives them that. [Social democrat Norman Thomas defended "civil liberties for fascists" in his radio speeches.] But that is not serious revolutionary activity. We must have the courage to be unpopular.... "But revolutionary courage is not only to be shot but to [bear] the laughter of stupid people who are in the majority. But when one of them is beaten by Hague's gang he will think it is good to have a defense committee and his ironic attitude will change." —Writings of Leon Trotsky (1938-39)

By preaching that fascists must be allowed the "right" to campaign for racist terror the SWP/YSA, which abandoned the struggle for revolutionary politics more than a decade ago, cannot combat but can only foster civil-libertarian illusions.

Fig Leaf for a Straw Man

Like its reformist brethren in the Communist Party, the SWP/YSA almost invariably attempts to portray left criticism of its civil libertarianism as "ultra-left adventurism." Heaping abuse on the SFS anti-Nazi demonstration, the SWP/YSA bulletin bellows,

"Underlying the demonstration was the concept that small groups of radicals should attempt to forestall the growth of a mass fascist movement by taking 'upon themselves the suppression of fascist meetings and demonstrations,' even if the surrounding community is hostile to the 'suppression' and the working class is indifferent."

What demagoguery! The SWP/YSA attempts to pose as the tactically-sensible advocate of mass labor action to suppress fascist meetings, while simultaneously recognizing the "right" of fascists to speak and the "right" of their audiences to hear them speak! Defending "free speech for fascists" does not educate the workers to recognize the need for suppressing fascist meetings through workers defense. On the contrary, "free speech for fascists" can only fortify the civil-libertarian opposition to any suppression of the fascists, either by small groups or a mass workers militia.

As opposed to the SWP/YSA policy, Trotsky in his 1938 discussions with the American Trotskyists maintained that the disruption of fascist meetings was only a tactical question:

"In order to prevent fascist meetings it is a question of the relationship of forces. We alone are not strong, but we propose a united front.

"Hitler explains his success in his book. The Social Democracy was extremely powerful. To a meeting of the Social Democracy he sent a band with Rudolf Hess. He says that at the end of the meeting his thirty boys evicted all the workers and they were incapable of opposing them. Then he knew he would be victorious. The workers were only organized to pay dues. No preparation at all for other tasks. Now we must do what Hitler did except in reverse. Send 40 to 50 men to dissolve the meeting. This has tremendous importance."

—Writings of Leon Trotsky (1938-39)

Trotskyists do not advocate endless, inconclusive clashes with the fascists; the fascists must be confronted with overwhelming power which can strike

fear in these thugs and demoralize their followers. Especially now, when the fascists remain relatively isolated, fascist provocations should be opposed by united-front demonstrations organized under the banners of labor/black defense and aimed at drawing the mass organizations of the labor movement and black community behind the struggle.

But, as Trotsky emphasized, the disruption of a fascist meeting should be decided not by the so-called "rights" of the fascists to speak or the "hostility" of the "surrounding community" but by the relationship of forces, and the organizational and political preparation of the left. During the March 10 demonstration at SFS, for example, the SYL opposed the tactic of entering the classroom building in search of the Nazis, not because we were opposed to any "disruption" of their so-called "right" to speak, but because we were concerned that the large crowd packed into the narrow corridors of the building would be dangerously vulnerable to attack by the fascists or the cops.

At UNC, on the other hand, 300 black students were arrayed against David Duke in a solely verbal confrontation. The demonstrators prevented Duke from speaking not through a kamikaze attack on the platform or assaults on the audience but through sustained vocal protest. Unlike the SWP/YSA, revolutionaries welcome such opportunity to silence fascist speakers.

Fascists and the Universities

In denouncing "the tactic of shouting down racist and right-wing speakers or attempting to physically break up their meetings," the SWP/YSA bulletin harps that "a fascist movement cannot be 'nipped in the bud' no matter how many of their meetings are disrupted." From this the SWP/YSA concludes that fascist speakers... must never be "disrupted."

History has passed a harsh judgment on this policy. The rise of fascism in Italy during 1919-22 certainly could not have been "nipped in the bud" merely by the prevention of fascist meetings and speeches on the Italian university campuses. But a policy of defending the so-called "right" of the fascists to organize on campus would only have nurtured the bud of Italian fascism.

During late 1919 and 1920 Mussolini recruited his initial squads of Black Shirts largely from student youth. While still a tiny organization, the *Fasci di Combattimento* ("fighting groups") staged meetings and rallies on Italian university campuses, attracting discontented bourgeois and petty-bourgeois student youth by radical demagoguery and bravado:

"In Milan, Turin and Florence, the intellectuals and students played an exceptionally prominent part... they were among the first to welcome the *fasci*, not only as an employment but as an opportunity to defend their personal honor. In the *fasci* of the above named cities these students, journalists, lawyers and intellectuals were prominent, if not predominant."

—Herbert W. Schneider, *Making the Fascist State*

By March 1920, only one year after its formation, the *Fasci di Combattimento* had established fascist groups on numerous campuses as a result of their agitation (these small groups later became the National Federation of Fascist University Groups). Still a tiny minority, the fascists reaped rich rewards from their campus organizing: "Large numbers of students and youths, eager for adventure and action, embittered about the rising wages of the workers, and their own misery, detesting the boring routine of their daily lives, also joined the *squadre d'azione* of the Fascists" (F.L. Carsten, *The Rise of Fascism*). Recruited from the campus, students officered many of the fiendish Black Shirt gangs which during 1920-21 Mussolini defiantly hurled against socialist meetings, strikes and workers organizations (A. Rossi, *La Naissance du Fascisme, L'Italie de 1918 à 1922*).

The Italian Socialist Party youth certainly did not respect the "rights"

of the Black Shirts to speak on campus, and leftist students and the fascists frequently clashed. But the Socialist Party failed to recognize early on the deadly threat of the still-small *squadristi* movement and consistently refused to mobilize its powerful forces in organized workers militias. The resistance against the shock-troops of reaction remained uncoordinated and atomized, resulting in the further emboldening of the fascists and demoralization of the workers.

Not unlike the SWP/YSA today, the reformist Socialist Party leaders preached reliance on the government to curb the fascist terrorism and denounced the united-front *Arditi del Popolo* ("people's militia") for provoking "public opinion." As the fascist squads intensified their murderous "punitive expeditions" against the workers and poor peasants, Socialist leader Giacomo Matteotti (later assassinated by the Black Shirts) pronounced, "Even silence and cowardice are sometimes heroic" (quoted in Rossi, *La Naissance du Fascisme*). Once even a mass workers party sticks its head in the sand, it is easy for the small fascist bands to bury the rest.

What About Bourgeois Politicians?

In its appendix devoted to denouncing the SYL, *The Fight Against Fascism in the USA* denigrates our insistence in *Young Spartacus* that

"fascists like the Ku Klux Klan are armed thugs in political garb who are dedicated above all to action: the genocide of racial, ethnic and religious minorities; the totalitarian suppression of bourgeois-democratic rights; and the annihilation of the organized socialist and labor movement."

With consummate demagoguery the SWP/YSA "argues,"

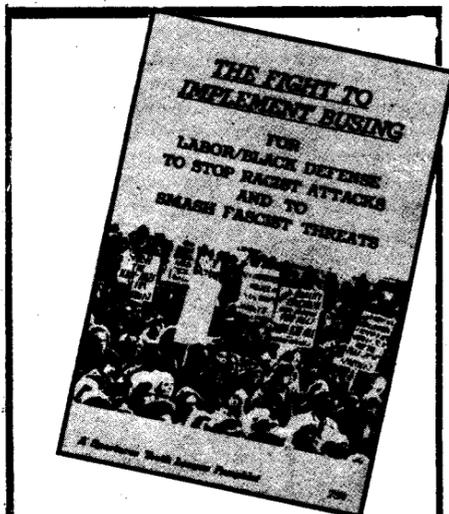
"If the SYL were to be logical, it would have to extend its prohibition against free speech to include not only fascists, but all capitalist officials, politicians, and parties since all are dedicated precisely to action (often very violent action) in defense of the racist institutions of decaying capitalism."

This "argument" is simply sophistry to equate "No Platform for Fascists" with "no platform for anybody." Far from equating fascism with bourgeois democracy, the SWP/YSA preaches that under democratic "mass pressure" the bourgeois state can be "forced" to take action to "protect" black people from racist attacks and to deal "blows" to the racist status quo.

Despite the distortions of the SWP/YSA, the SYL maintains that bourgeois politicians—ranging from "schoolhouse door segregationist" George Wallace to the "drugstore liberal" Hubert Humphrey—are not fascist leaders. But we recognize that some reactionary politicians, while not fascist, nevertheless make such provocative or outrageous statements that evoke understandable indignation.

At the so-called "Jobs Rally" staged last April in Washington, D.C., by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy to pressure its "friends of labor" in Congress, more than 1,000 angry workers drowned out "distinguished guest" Hubert Humphrey by chanting "jobs now!" While

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75¢



SWP/YSA condemned "disruption" of Humphrey speech by angry workers at D.C. Jobs Rally.

Support Campaign to Save Hunted Chilean Workers' Leader!

The international campaign to save the life of Mario Muñoz, the Chilean mine workers' leader presently being hunted by the murderous Argentine junta, has taken important strides in the short time since the initial report in the last issue of *Young Spartacus*.

Co-sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and the European-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz is waging this campaign of protest and pressure to force the Argentine junta to cease its manhunt and to secure asylum elsewhere for Muñoz and his family.

Mario Muñoz, a miner since the age of 14, was responsible for organizing and leading the powerful and combative mine workers' union movement in the northwest of Chile. As a revolutionary trade-union leader of the Regional Miners Councils, he was forced to flee to neighboring Argentina when the Pinochet coup toppled the Popular Unity government in September 1973. Despite the enormous hardships faced by the exiles, Muñoz devoted his efforts to aiding Chilean refugees in Argentina. Now, in the wake of the Videla coup, the armed forces of both Chile and Argentina have orders to shoot Muñoz on sight.

Growing Support

During the last month the campaign to save the life of this exemplary workers' leader has amassed a long list of endorsements, encompassing four continents and reflecting a broad range of political convictions. The widespread opposition and revulsion toward the Chilean dictatorship and its cognate in Argentina have brought together individuals and organizations with widely divergent political viewpoints in this non-sectarian campaign.

Just a few of the more recent prominent endorsements include:

Angela Davis, attorney Charles Garry, Martin Sostre, Kate Millett, Bobby L. Rush, Jean-Paul Sartre, Israeli civil rights activist Israel Shahak, the Committee of Arab Students at Jerusalem University, the Canadian Labour Congress, the Vancouver District Labour Council, British Labour Party Members of Parliament Frank Allaun, Martin Flannery, Tom Litterick, Stan Newens and George Rodgers, Esteban E. Torres (assistant director, international affairs department of the United Auto Workers), Noam Chomsky, Dick Gregory, Jane Fonda, San Quentin Six Defense Committee, Australian Labour Party Federal president Bob Hawke, Edmund Samarakody (leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Ceylon and prominent Ceylonese advocate and former MP), the French Parti Socialiste Unifié and Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire. (For a partial list of endorsements see facing page.)

The campaign to save Mario Muñoz has also succeeded in amplifying its publicity efforts through recent international press coverage. In this country during the past weeks the campaign has been covered in the *Chicago Defender*, as well as the *New York Review of Books*. French language press coverage has included *Le Monde*, *Le Jour*, *Libération*, *Politique*, *Informations Ouvrières*, *Lutte Ouvrière* and *Rouge*. The *Australian Tribune* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* have also covered the campaign.

Freedom for Edgardo Enríquez and All Class-War Prisoners

In a related development the Partisan Defense Committee has called for vigorous international protest to free Edgardo Enríquez, leader of the far-left Chilean Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) who, according to *Le Monde*, has been captured by Videla's police and extradited on April 27 to Chile, where ghastly torture and perhaps execution await the leftist opponents

Individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, work with the Committee and/or contribute financially should fill out the blank below and send to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

I endorse*
 My organization endorses*
 the international defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz, organized around the demands:
 Hands off Mario Muñoz!
 Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!
 Free all victims of right-wing repression in Argentina and Chile!
 Stop the Manhunt!

Name _____
 Organization _____
 Address _____

I am willing to work with the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.
 I pledge \$_____ to help save Mario Muñoz. (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee. Earmark for Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.)

*Endorsement indicates willingness to permit your name or your organization's name to be used to internationally publicize the campaign of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.

of Pinochet. Arrested with Enríquez was a Brazilian national, Regina Marcondes.

The Partisan Defense Committee already has sent a telegram to the Argentine and Chilean authorities demanding the freedom of Enríquez and Marcondes. Despite our deep political differences with the petty-bourgeois guerrillaist politics of the MIR, we call upon the entire left and labor movement, as well as all who stand for democratic rights, to rally to the defense of Edgardo Enríquez and Regina Marcondes.

Like Edgardo Enríquez, the plight of Mario Muñoz and his family is the plight of tens of thousands of Chilean refugees who have been trapped in Argentina. The fight for Muñoz is the fight for all the Latin American exiles threatened by the iron-fisted Videla dictatorship. A victory for Muñoz will be a victory for the cause of international labor solidarity and an inspiration for the class-war prisoners in Argentina and Chile.

But time is short. The campaign

to save the life of Mario Muñoz must drive forward with unflinching determination. Demonstrations have been held, and letters, telegrams, press releases, telephone calls and petitions on behalf of Mario Muñoz have been directed to politicians and other government officials, to trade unions and other working-class organizations, and to civil libertarian organizations and prominent individuals.

To continue this campaign funds are urgently needed. We urge our readers to send contributions to the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz (see box above). All who oppose the violation of democratic rights under the military dictatorships in Latin America should throw their support into building a massive international campaign demanding freedom for Mario Muñoz and all victims of right-wing repression in Chile and Argentina!

STOP THE MANHUNT—HANDS OFF MARIO MUÑOZ! FREEDOM FOR EDGARDO ENRIQUEZ AND ALL CLASS-WAR PRISONERS! ■

Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Declaration of Fraternal Relations

between the international Spartacist tendency and the Organización Revolucionaria of Chile

The Declaration appears in *Workers Vanguard* No. 111, 28 May 1976, 25 cents. Write/make checks payable to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001.



Picket-line demonstration in defense of Mario Muñoz at Argentine consulate in San Francisco.

Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

The Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee are co-sponsoring a Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. Among the endorsers of the international campaign are:

ASIA

Revolutionary Workers Party, Sri Lanka
Edmund Samarakkody, Revolutionary Workers Party, Sri Lanka

AUSTRALIA

Australasian Meat Industries Employees Union
Laurie Brereton, Legislative Assembly, New South Wales
A. E. Bull, Sec'y, Waterside Workers Federation of Australia*, Melbourne branch
Hon. Dr. Jim Cairns, House of Representatives, Australian Labor Party (ALP)
Hon. Dr. Moss Cass, House of Representatives, ALP
Senator Ruth Coleman, ALP
Federated Engine Drivers and Fireman's Association of Australia, Victoria and New South Wales branches
Senator Arthur Gietzelt, ALP
Frank Hardy, novelist
Bob Hawke, Federal President, ALP; Pres. ACTU
Ted Innes, House of Representatives, ALP
Seamen's Union of Australia
Ship Painters and Dockers Union, Victoria
Socialist Workers Party
Transport Workers Union of Australia, New South Wales branch
Union of Postal Clerks and Telegraphists
Waterside Workers Federation of Australia

CANADA

David F. Aberle, Prof. of Anthropology, U. of British Columbia
African Liberation Week Committee
David Archer, President, Ontario Federation of Labour
Black Education Project
Trent M. Brady, Prof., York U.
Andrew Brewin, Member of Parliament, New Democratic Party (NDP)
Ed Broadbent, MP, Leader, NDP* (verbal)
Brian Campbell, NDP*, Vancouver
Canadian Arab Federation
Canadian Labour Congress
Canadian Union of Public Employees, Local 1230
Dr. Maria Canive
Dr. Jose Canive
Denis Cassin, National Organizer, Irish Republican Clubs*, USA & Canada
Florie Chacon, Inter-Church Committee on Chile
Paul Copeland, Law Society of Upper Canada
Sheila Delaney, Prof., Simon Fraser U.
C.H. DeRoos, Instructor of English, Simon Fraser U.
Don J. DeVoretz, Dept. of Econ., Simon Fraser U.
Ogualdo Di Santo, Member of Provincial Parliament, Ontario NDP
Dominicans in Support of Progress
Rosie Douglas
Jan Duszka, MPP, Ontario NDP
Group for Defense of Civil Rights in Argentina
Sami Gupta, Dept. of Communication Studies, Simon Fraser U.
Janet Howard, Alderman, 7th Ward, Toronto
Jamaica Nationals League
Ron Johnson, NDP*, Vancouver
Stu Leggett, MP, NDP* (verbal)
Edwin Levy, Philosophy Dept., U. of British Columbia
Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, Montreal
Bob McBurney, Shop Steward, Letter Carriers Union of Canada*, Local 1
Leo McGrady, Atty.
Norman Penner, Prof. of Pol. Sci., Glendon College, York U.
Alex Power
Revolutionary Marxist Group
Charles Roach, Atty.
John Rodriguez, MP, NDP*
H.M. Rosenthal, United Nations Assn., Vancouver
R.B. Scranton, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union
Socialist League
Sudbury and District Labour Council
Dorothy Thomas, Alderman, Ward 9, Toronto
Vancouver Area Council of the NDP
Vancouver Chilean Association
Gordon Vichert, Sec'y, Ontario NDP* (verbal)
William Vidaver, Prof. of Biology, Simon Fraser U.
Micheline Walker, Dept. of Romance Languages, McMaster U.*

EUROPE

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Alliance Against Fascist Dictatorship in India, London
Louis Althusser, Paris
Argentine Support Movement, London
Asian Socialist Forum, London
Association Francaise des Juristes, Democrat
Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, London
Ernst Bloch, philosopher
Claude Bourdet, journalist, Paris
Dr. Peter Brandt, Berlin
Pierre Broue, Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI)*, Grenoble
Campaign for the Release of Indian Political Prisoners, London
Campaign to Repeal the Immigration Act, London
Carmen Castillo, Chilean MIR*
Comite International Contre la Repression, Paris
Commission of Overseas Students Organization, U. of Birmingham*
Pierre Daix
H. Dubedout, mayor of Grenoble
Jean-Pierre Faye, writer, Paris
Mario Felmer, Chilean Young Socialists*, London
Martin Flannery, MP, British Labour Party*
J.-A. Gau, deputy
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Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, London
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Jean Michel Krivine, Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR)
Pierre Lambert, OCI*
Gerard Lancombe, Grenoble
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Marxist-Leninist Organization of Britain
Prof. Klaus Meschkat, U. of Hannover*
Miners International Federation
A. Minkowski
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Stan Newens, MP, British Labour Party*
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North London Committee Against Repression in Spain
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Parti Socialiste Unifie (PSU)
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Friedrich Prechtel, chairman, Railroad Union*, Austria
Michele Ray, photographer/journalist, *Politique Hebdo**, Paris
Ernie Roberts, assistant general secretary, Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers*, London
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Joshua Sobel, writer and journalist
M. Warschawski, Revolutionary Communist League (Matzpen-Marxist)*

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Robert L. Allen, editor, *The Black Scholar**
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John August, Teamsters for Democracy, IBT 695*
Roldo Bartimole, editor, *Point of View**
Thomas Barton, member 1199*
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Larry Binsky, General Manager, KPFA Radio*
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James Bond, City Council of Atlanta, Ga.
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Finley Campbell, Progressive Faculty Caucus*, U. of Wisconsin*
Joe Carnegie, Dir., Brooklyn Fight Back*
John Carroll, Esq., Southern Poverty Law Center*
Chicago Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression
Noam Chomsky
David Clarenbach, state senator, Wisconsin
William E. Clark, Sec'y, Graduate Assistants Union, U. of Conn.
Coalicion de Latinoamericanos
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Comandos de la Resistencia de la Republica Dominicana
Comite Pro Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en la Republica Dominicana, New York
Committee Against Friedman/Harberger Collaboration with the Chilean Junta, Chicago
Committee of Palestinians in New England
Communist Cadre
Community Action on Latin America, Madison
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Dave Dellinger
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East Bay Women for Peace
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Elizabeth Dore, Latin American Institute, Columbia U.*
Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action
Thomas I. Emerson, Prof. of Law, Yale U.*
Alexander Erlich, Prof., Russian Institute, Columbia U.*
Rick Feinberg
Michael Ferber, Lecturer, English Dept., Yale U.*
Lawrence Ferlinghetti, City Lights Books, S.F.

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Mauricio Font, Group on Latin American Issues*
Geoffrey Fox, Chicago Commission of Inquiry into the Status of Human Rights in Chile*
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Friends of Indochina
Marina Garcia, Sec'y, Assoc. of Latin Musicians of America*
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James Gillespie, Local 1247, Boilermakers*
Jorgen Goderstad, Chairman, S. Central Wisconsin local, Socialist Party*
Harvey Goldberg, Prof. of History, U. of Wisconsin*
William Goodman, Nat'l Pres. Nat'l Lawyers Guild*
JoAnne Granquist, U. of Wisconsin, Madison, School of Nursing*
Lee Grant
Rev. G.G. Grant, S.J., Amnesty International*, Committee to Save Lives in Chile*
Jim Grant, SCEF*
Dick Gregory
Eliot Grossman, Nat'l. Lawyers Guild, Hastings Chapter*
Group of Concerned South Asians
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Burton Hall, Atty.
Bill Hampton
Harlem Fight Back
Paul Harris, Atty.
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James Houghton, Harlem Fight Back
Tom Hayden
Nat Hentoff
Adam Hochschild, editor, *Mother Jones**
Richard A. Hodge, Atty.
William L. Hoover, Dept. of Soc., Kent State U.*
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International Socialists, Chicago local
International Socialists, Madison local
International Student Defense Committee, U. of Chicago
International Workers Party
Iowa City Federation of Labor
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Paul Jacobs, ex-editor, *Ramparts**
E. Roy John, Dir. Brain Research Laboratory, New York Medical College*
Dale Johnson, Prof. of Sociology, Rutgers U.*
Sanford Katz, Atty.
Ira Katznelson, Assoc. Prof. Pol. Sci., U. of Chicago*
Neil Kauffer, Dove County, Board of Supervisors*
Theodore W. Keller
Joan Kelly-Gadol, Dept. of History, City College of New York*
Mark Kelly
Florynce Kennedy, Atty.
Michael Kennedy, Atty.
Martin Kenner, screenwriter and author
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Pat Knight, Pres., Social Service Employees Union (SSEU)*, Local 371
Paul Krassner, editor, *The Realist**
Labor Struggle Caucus, Local 6, United Automobile Workers (UAW)*
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Lavender and Red Union, L.A.
League for the Revolutionary Party
Amy Lee, Dir. American Indian Rights Assn., Kent State U.*
Gerald Lefcourt, Atty.
John Leggett, Assoc. Prof. of Sociology, Rutgers U.*
Sidney Lens, author
Denise Levertov
Ben Levy, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee*
Longshore Militant, S.F.
Richard Lowenthal, Dept. of Soc. and Anthro., Kent State U.*
Froben Lozada, Chicano Studies Faculty, Merritt College*
Salvador Luria, Nobel Laureate
Florence Luscomb, activist/leader women's suffrage movement
Conrad Lynn, Atty.
Staughton Lynd, author
Bradford Lytle, War Resisters League*
Madison Women's Union
Aadeddin A. Malley, Organization of Arab Students*
Tanya Mandel
William Mandel
Michael Marcus, Prof. of Math., Northwestern U.*
Robert Mattoon, Jr.
Gertrude Mayes, San Quentin Six Defense Committee
Edward McGehee, English Dept., Kent State U.*
Helen McMillan
John McMillan
Dr. Kim McQuaid, Hist. Dept., Northwestern U.*
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Memorial Union Labor Organizations
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Militant Action Caucus, Communication Workers of America (CWA), Local 9410*
Militant-Solidarity Caucus, National Maritime Union*

Militant Solidarity Caucus, Local 906, UAW*
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Ian Mueller, Dir. of Grad. Studies in Philo., U. of Chicago*
Mark Naison, Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians Society*
National Jury Project
National Lawyers Guild, Chicago chapter
National Lawyers Guild, Massachusetts chapter
National Lawyers Guild, Yale U.*
New American Movement, national office
New American Movement, U. of Chicago*
David Newby, State V.P., Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, AFT*
New York Unemployed Council
Richard Newhouse, state senator, Illinois
Azirina Nwafor, author
Skip Oberbrunner, Steward, Local 171 AFSCME
OCAW, District Council 8
Dr. Philip Oke, UN rep., Christian Peace Conference*
Organization of Arab Students, Boston chapter
Grace Paley, Sarah Lawrence College*
Partido Revolucionario Dominicano
Susan Paul, American Friends Service Committee*
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Joseph Persky, Union of Radical Political Economists (URPE)*
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Portage County Campaign for a Democratic Foreign Policy
Postal Action Committee
Adam Przeworski, Assoc. Prof. Pol. Sci., U. of Chicago*
Joanne Fox Przeworski, Chicago Commission to Investigate Status of Human Rights in Chile, 1974*
Leonard Radinsky, U. of Chicago*
Rank and File Coalition, Local 6, UAW*
Justin Ravitz, Judge, Records Court, Detroit
Revolutionary Communist League- (Internationalist)
Revolutionary Marxist Committee
Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee
Revolutionary Socialist League
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Janet K. Roach, Instructor, Eastern Connecticut State College*
Michael Rogin, Prof. Pol. Science, U. of Cal. at Berkeley*
Norm Roth, former Pres., Local 6, UAW*
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Richard Rubinstein, Prof. Pol. Sci., Roosevelt U.*
Bobby L. Rush
Richard Sable, Atty.
Joel Samoff, Dept. of Pol. Sci., U. of Michigan*
J. Leon Samper, Dept. of Soc., U. of Conn.*
Maria Samper
San Quentin Six Defense Committee
Fay Schmidt
Henry Schmidt, Member of Bay Area Pensioners*
Jay Schulman, National Jury Project
Charles Schwartz, Prof. of Physics, U. of Cal. at Berkeley*
James Scully, Prof., U. of Conn.*
Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine
Dennis Serrette, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists*
John Sharpe, Sec'y, international Spartacist tendency
James J. Sheehan
Sylvia Sherman, Sec'y, Local 171, AFSCME*
William M. Shepherd, Prof. of Economics, U. of Michigan*
Carl Shier, International Representative, UAW*
Socialist Party, S. Central Wisconsin local
Roney L. Sorenson, Alderman Dist. 5, Madison, WI.
Martin Sostre
Spark
Stan Steiner, author *La Raza*
I.F. Stone
Student Government, University of Illinois*, Circle Campus
Doris E. Strieter, Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile*
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Walter Teague, Friends of Indochina Studs Terkel, author
Tom Thompson, editor, *Los Angeles Vanguard**
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United Farmworker Support Committee, Madison, WI.
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Individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, work with the committee and/or contribute financially should fill out the blank on the opposite page and send to: **PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.**

* Organization listed for identification purposes only.

(partial listing)

Fascists ...

continued from page 5

this protest alone cannot substitute for the necessary fight within the unions for a break with the bosses' parties, socialists and labor militants certainly should solidarize with this expression of outrage by workers fed up with bombast from bureaucrats and "pro-labor" posturing by the bourgeois politicians paraded across the platform. But the SWP/YSA, eager to serve as political pimps for the labor scabates, denounced the angry workers as "disrupters" who "took it upon themselves to decide for [the] majority [!:] who would be allowed to speak" (*Militant*, 9 May 1975).

When in 1971 the SWP/YSA coaxed "dove" Democrat Vance Hartke to deliver the keynote address at a conference of its bourgeois-pacifist National Peace Action Coalition, supporters of the Spartacist League put forward a motion from the floor proposing that Hartke not speak. But the motion was ruled "out of order," since the SWP/YSA had taken it "upon themselves to decide for the majority who would be allowed to speak."

When Hartke then approached the podium, supporters of the Spartacist League and the Progressive Labor Party (PL) justly protested the speech of this imperialist politician by chanting anti-capitalist slogans from the floor. Infuriated by this "disruption"

of its long-sought alliance with the liberal "anti-war" bourgeoisie, the SWP/YSA unleashed its goon squad on the SL and PL supporters, who were viciously beaten and ejected from the conference hall. Never has the SWP/YSA directed such fury against the fascists, only against the left!

YSA Opportunism

While today railing against "the tactic of shouting down racist and right-wing speakers," the SWP/YSA in the past has uncritically enthused over just this tactic. Several years ago Progressive Labor embarked on an "anti-racist" campaign of hounding and shouting down academic racist ideologues

such as William Shockley. At one point such anti-Shockley demonstrations assumed the character of a fad among left-liberal academic circles. Since the bandwagon was crowded with liberals, the "respectable" SWP/YSA climbed on.

When chanting Yale students prevented a debate between Shockley and *National Review* editor William Rusher in April 1974, the YSA applauded: "Inside the auditorium, another 300 people continuously clapped and shouted, making it impossible for Shockley to deliver his speech" (*Young Socialist*, June 1974). Likewise, a few weeks earlier at the University of Georgia the YSA participated in a protest which resulted in the disruption of a debate

Cops Attack Chicano Workers' Strike

SANTA BARBARA—On May 1 a cop riot was unleashed against 500 striking sanitation workers and their supporters, who in defiance of a court injunction had mobilized to stop scab trucks from leaving the yard of Browning-Ferris Industries (BFI) here. The attack was vicious and unprovoked: equipped with shotguns and grenade launchers, 100 Santa Barbara cops trapped the picketers and, following "warnings" few heard, waded into the crowd, swinging clubs and spraying mace. The cops singled out picket monitors, women, and even a crippled strike supporter for especially brutal treatment. One picketer was handcuffed and beaten until his face was a bloody pulp, while others were chased for blocks by rampaging motorcycle police. In all, 31 picketers were arrested, and many more were injured.

The workers at BFI—nearly all Chicanos—have been on strike for over four months now, facing an intransigent company in collusion

local Teamster bureaucrats have lifted not a finger in solidarity. This is quite in the character of the sellout Teamster bureaucrats, who seek to contain the militancy of their members in order to maintain their privileged position as the "labor lieutenants of capital." In fact, in some parts of the country, the Teamsters have even organized cops into their union—cops just like those attempting to break the BFI strike!

A strike support committee, composed of students from the Santa Barbara campus of the University of California and members of the surrounding community, has been active from the outset of the strike. After having mobilized several hundred for the May 1 mass picket, the committee on May 16 organized a solidarity rally attended by 400. Support committees have reportedly been set up in several other cities, including Houston, Los Angeles, Seattle, San Jose and Ann Arbor.



Santa Barbara News-Press

Cop brutality at May 1 picketing.

with the cops, as well as a union bureaucracy which has reacted with indifference to the strike. BFI, the largest sanitation service in the country, offered only a token wage increase, which was subsequently reduced. Moreover, BFI refuses to return strikers' jobs which have been filled by scabs.

At the same time, BFI has enlisted the cooperation of the Santa Barbara cops, who by their own admission have committed 20 to 30 percent of the police force to the daily scab herding, harassment and arrest of picketers. The role of cops as the hired thugs of the capitalist class could not be more clear.

Unfortunately, the BFI workers have been battling their bosses with no backing from their "leaders" in Local 186 of the United Brotherhood of Teamsters (UBT). While the strikers struggle against company/cop collusion and try to survive on \$35 a week in strike benefits, the

Such efforts can be an important component in the victory of a strike. But were the Teamster bureaucracy to throw the full support of the union behind the strike, victory could be won within days. The specter of such support was certainly in the minds of the cops as they attacked the picketers on May 1. Singling out the students and community supporters for assault and arrest, the cops betrayed their fear that attacks on the workers themselves might finally provoke action from the union tops. When BFI worker Guadalupe Martinez and his wife were arrested, the officer was heard to say, "[we] fucked up, this one is a worker" (*Si-Se Puede*, 7 May 1976).

BFI workers must demand that their union mobilize its considerable weight and resources behind the strike. Drop the charges against BFI strikers and supporters! Down with the anti-labor injunction! For labor solidarity against company/cop collusion! Victory to the strike!

WORKERS VANGUARD

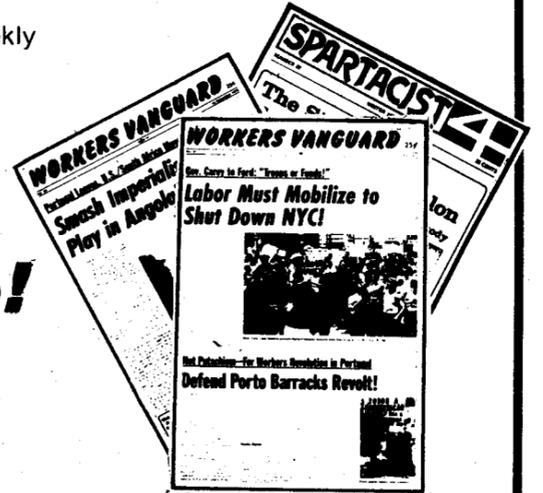
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between Shockley and Georgia professor Lyle Schoenfeldt (*Young Socialist*, May 1974).

At this time the SWP/YSA breathed not a word about the "right" of Shockley to speak or the "rights of the assembled students" at Yale and Georgia "to hear a particular reactionary speaker." Nor did the SWP/YSA lecture that such "ultraleft" tactics "assured that students who favored free speech for everyone and opposed [Shockley] would not be in the demonstration." And these opportunists refrained from howling that the Yale and Georgia anti-Shockley protests, both of which resulted in attempted administration reprisals, only "gave the administration a handle for trying to suppress the left in the name of academic freedom and free speech."

At Yale and other campuses the SYL has solidarized with the sentiments of outrage expressed by demonstrations which prevented Shockley and his cronies from speaking. But, unlike the opportunist SWP/YSA, we have sharply criticized the campus-parochialist, liberal-reformist illusion (most energetically promoted by PL) that censoring Shockley constitutes a strategy for combatting racial oppression.

At the time of the Yale Shockley controversy, the SYL (then the Revolutionary Communist Youth) drew the necessary distinction between a reactionary ideologue, whose theories apologize for racial oppression, and a fascist leader, who might expound those theories to justify a call for genocide:

"The RCY maintains that insofar as academic apologists for racial oppression and the capitalist system attempt to present a pseudo-scientific theory to justify racial oppression and the other injustices of capitalism, then they must be discredited and 'silenced' by trenchant, scientific criticism the way Marx discredited the reactionary economist Malthus. . . . The 'Shockley question' is not about 'free speech,' but about winning people away from reactionary ideology.

"The distinction must be drawn between reactionary political movements and their agents and the ideologues whose hold on the minds of the working class must be defeated through scientific refutation. . . .

"If these academic ideologues were in fact leaders of a fascist movement, that is, a political mobilization of the petty bourgeoisie and lumpenproletariat to defend capitalism through the destruction of the organizations of the working class, we would be in favor of their suppression by whatever means necessary."

—*Young Spartacus*, March-April 1974

Thus, a debate between a revolutionary Marxist and a racist ideologue such as Shockley might prove useful in exposing the reactionary implications of pseudo-scientific theories. But the Yale Shockley-Rusher "debate" over the most effective means "to diagnose and treat tragic racial I.Q. inferiorities" is nothing other than a racist affront which deserves to be met with militant protest.

For Labor/Black Defense Against Racist Attacks!

The Fight Against Fascism in the USA purports to present an effective "mass action" strategy against racist attacks and fascist provocations. But the "strategy" of preaching reliance on the racist cops and imperialist army to "enforce the law," while in practice opposing and ridiculing labor/black defense, has only led to reinforcing dangerous illusions in the bourgeois forces of "law and order" in the face of the alarming emergence of the proto-fascist South Boston Marshals and the escalation of the vicious anti-busing offensive. Likewise, the "strategy" of preaching "free speech for fascists," while in practice denouncing and even quelling militant anti-fascist protest, can only encourage the David Dukes to organize and recruit on campus with impunity. By fostering civil libertarian illusions and advocating liberal pressure politics the SWP/YSA policy can only politically disarm the fight against the fascists, whether they appear in suit and tie in a university auditorium or in paramilitary uniform in the night-riding squad cars of the South Boston Marshals.

[TO BE CONCLUDED]

In Campus Elections

SYL Candidates Campaign For Communist Alternative

During the past two months the Spartacus Youth League has fielded communist candidates in student elections on four campuses in Boston and Chicago. In opposition to the "student-power" reformists and sundry campus careerists, the SYL seeks to use campus election campaigns as another platform for our struggle to win students to the program and cause of proletarian socialist revolution. On campus only the SYL presents an election platform which links the needs of student youth to broader social issues and the class struggle against capitalism.

Boston University

At Boston University (BU), SYL candidate Mark Rosen (the only leftist entering the student government race) used the campaign to focus campus attention on the need to support busing for desegregation and to oppose the racist terror which has gripped the city in recent weeks. The SYL election literature explained the need for integrated defense based on the mass organizations of the working class and black community against the racist onslaught.

Pointing out the danger of reliance on racist cops or the imperialist army to "defend" black people—the "solution" promoted on campus by the reformist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and its captive National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR)—the SYL campaign stressed that the urgent task of defending black people from racist attacks requires

"a political struggle centered in the trade unions, to build working-class support for desegregation and racial equality and to forge unbreakable links between the cause of labor and the struggle of oppressed minorities. This can only be done under banners which draw the class line between the battles of the oppressed and the armed fist of the oppressor."

The SYL campaign also addressed the drastic cutbacks threatened by BU president John Silber, for months the target of faculty and student protests. While other candidates reduced the struggle against the cutbacks simply to the bungling and mismanagement of Silber, the SYL argued that, although Silber certainly represents a high-handed campus despot who deserves to be dumped, calls for the firing of Silber "were certainly no answer to the cutbacks or layoffs, the responsibility for which resides not only with Silber and the Board of Trustees, but most importantly with the bosses—the capitalist class." The university administration, a bureaucratic institution committed to the preservation of the class-biased and racially/sexually-discriminatory

system of capitalist higher education, must be abolished, and private universities like BU must be nationalized and placed under the democratic control of the students, teachers and campus workers.

Northwestern University

At Northwestern University in the suburbs of Chicago the SYL candidate Julian Chasin campaigned for Associated Student Government president with a program which counterposed to the proposed ten percent tuition hike the demand for the end to all tuition. In contrast to the conservative "Student Voice" slate, which advocated placing a ceiling on faculty salary increases as the "solution" to a tuition hike, the SYL campaign proposed united-front actions by students, faculty and other campus workers to combat the cutbacks.

The SYL campaign emphasized that the solution to the cutbacks at Northwestern was the nationalization of the university and full federal funding of all higher education. In order to break down the ivy walls of Northwestern the SYL advocates a policy of open admission with a state stipend and all remedial programs necessary to make open admissions financially and academically meaningful for working-class and minority students, who are most victimized by capitalist "public education." "Quality education," concluded the SYL election statement, "will be made available to all only by a workers government, when the capitalist exploiters who profit from racism and sexism have been overthrown through workers revolution."

University of Illinois

At the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus (UICC) SYL candidates Ellen Bulman and Mary Hickey were forced to run a write-in campaign because of the discriminatory election rules, requiring that candidates run in slates of three, be full-time students and not be on academic or disciplinary probation. These undemocratic regulations, which disqualified not only the SYL but also the Black Students Organization for Communication and even the incumbent Student Government president, must be overturned.

In its campaign the SYL emphasized the need to fight the cutbacks and layoffs at UICC through labor/student mobilizations. In addition, the SYL campaign called for support to the pending busing plan for desegregating Chicago public schools. In response to the Nazi-instigated racist terror on the south side of Chicago, Bulman and Hickey raised the call for labor/black defense, pointing to the successful union defense of a victimized black

family by Local 6 of the United Auto Workers last year.

University of Chicago

For the second consecutive year at the University of Chicago (UC) an SYL member was elected to Student Government. The most active left organization on campus, the SYL during the last year initiated and energetically built a united-front campaign to protest and expose the collaboration of UC professors Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger with the barbaric Chilean junta. In addition to raising the issue of the UC collaborators with Pinochet, the SYL representative to Student Government this year used SG as a platform to protest administration discrimination against women and minorities, the Chicago visit of *Washington Post* union-buster and UC Trustee Katherine Graham, and the persecution of leftist foreign students.

Through behind-the-scenes wrangling, the social-democratic New American Movement (NAM) has gained organizational control of the new Student Government. Newly-elected SG president Margaret Dudney, a NAM member, has abandoned all pretense of radicalism in a grovelling declaration of her willingness to "work with" the administration. The *Chicago Maroon* (25 May) reports that Dudney views herself as a "moderating influence" in SG who will "try to limit" the amount of time the assembly devotes to issues related to national and foreign policies." Dudney stated that the investigation of the collaboration of Friedman and Harberger with the Chilean junta "was not handled diplomatically and became somewhat of a witchhunt"! No "extremist" she, Dudney declared—hand over heart—"I love the University of Chicago, I'm glad I got to go to school here."

With campus political attention recently focused on the admissions and recruitment policies of elite UC, the SYL in particular denounced the racist "benign neglect" which has resulted in a decline of black enrollment to a mere 4.8 percent of the student body. In contrast to the campus parliamentary cretinism of the "respectable" YSA (all three YSA candidates lost), the SYL candidate summed up his campaign:

"The University of Chicago is a racist, sexist and class-biased institution serving the needs, not of society's working majority, but of the tiny capitalist ruling class. Snobbery and elitism are not merely pervasive, cultivated attitudes in the gargoyled groves of UC academia: they are part of the very foundation of the university. . . . We must cut at the root of the bourgeois exclusionism of the university and demand open admissions. Instead of quotas and half-way measures, the doors of UC must be opened to minority and working-class youth!" ■

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Zionist Atrocities...

continued from page 1

sure from the National Religious Party, which holds the balance of power in the Israeli parliament (Knesset), the Cabinet struck a "compromise," guaranteeing the Gush Emunim another settlement in the West Bank and promising dozens of additional settlements in the Golan Heights, the Jordan Valley, the Rafah region of the Gaza strip as well as other areas of the West Bank.

Zionist Land Grabbing

Ever since the formation of Keren Keymeth as a land-grabbing company in 1905, Zionism has been based on two "principles": conquest of land and conquest of labor. Ruthless in their acquisition of land the Zionists prohibited the employment of Arab workers to till Jewish land or to work for Zionists.

By 1947 the Zionists nonetheless had acquired only 5.8 percent of the land of Palestine. By the time the dust had cleared from the 1948 war, however, the Zionists were in possession of ten times this amount of land, much of which had been grabbed from Palestinian Arabs who either had been forcibly driven from their homes or had fled as a result of the war (*MERIP Reports*, May 1976). Israel simply proclaimed the Zionist state to be custodian of the absentee lands and subsequently denied the "right of return" to Palestinian Arabs. By 1954 more than one third of the Israeli Jewish population lived on absentee property, and nearly a third of the new immigrants (250,000 people) settled in urban areas abandoned by the Arabs (Don Peretz, *Israel and the Palestine Arabs*).

Today in Israel the 450,000 Arabs who remain scratch a meagre existence from land for which the Zionists can find no use. Although nominally full citizens, Israeli Arabs have been able to win only five seats in the 120-seat Knesset. Per capita income of the Arabs lags far behind that of the Israeli Jews, while Arab unemployment is much higher than the rate for Israeli Jews.

Apartheid-like regulations keep the Israeli Arabs chained to the bottom of society. No Arab can travel even a few miles to a neighboring village without a pass from the police; separate offices for Arabs are maintained at every level of government; Arab children are forced into segregated, inferior schools; and Arabs are barred from the military, which in Israel is an important route into the upper echelons of government and commerce.

The brutal oppression of the Palestinian Arabs represents a fundamental obstacle to the development of class-consciousness within the Israeli working class. Not only the Palestinian Arabs but also—and especially!—the Israeli working class must demand that Israel withdraw immediately from the occupied territories and cease all retaliatory military strikes on Palestinian refugee camps. The left and labor movement in Israel must champion the struggle for full citizenship rights to the Palestinian Arabs: the "right of return" only for the Palestinian Arabs!

From the Halls of Versailles to the Shores of Tripoli?

As Palestinian Arab protests continue on the West Bank, the Palestinian refugees in neighboring Lebanon, a country reduced to rubble by the protracted communal war, once again find their interests buried beneath the machinations of both the imperialists and their "Arab brethren" ruling in Damascus, Amman and Cairo.

Last week French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in his New Orleans speech set afloat a French offer to dispatch armed forces to Lebanon, formerly a French colony. Yet the French threat of military intervention represented a vacant gesture.

Now that capital has fled from Beirut, the major imperialist powers are only concerned that the communal strife remain contained within Lebanon. For the moment the imperialists

seem pleased with the "peace-keeping" role played by Syrian President Hafez al-Assad. The self-proclaimed "radical" Ba'athist regime in Damascus has waded into the bloodbath in Lebanon in order to contain its Arab "allies" or cushion the defeat of the Christian rightists.

With barely suppressed irredentist ambitions for a return to a Greater Syria and a concern for quarantining the communalist conflict within Lebanon (before it spills over into Syria), Assad has invaded Lebanon with an estimated 7,000 Syrian army troops. Assuming the role of a power broker, Syria recently was instrumental in tipping the presidential election in favor of conservative Christian banker Elias Sarkis. While the Palestinian Arab and Lebanese Muslim forces united in the National Movement had counted on a majority for their candidate, Raymond Eddé, their Syrian "allies" simply herded the uncommitted deputies into parliament at gun point for the election, thereby "winning" the majority for Sarkis.

In the field as well the Syrians have intervened to restrain the National Movement forces. After a brief respite fighting has erupted anew between al-Saiqa units backed by Syrian army forces and the National Movement militias. Moreover, Syria has maintained a land-and-sea blockade of the territory held by the Palestinians and Lebanese Muslims, effectively preventing the influx of military aid. Most recently the "radical" Assad joined the ultra-rightist Lebanese Phalange in voicing approval of the French offer to send "peace-keeping" forces to Lebanon (*New York Times*, 23 May 1976).

The Syrian troops in Lebanon today—not to mention any French imperialist forces which might land in Tripoli tomorrow—can only play a reactionary role in anchoring the status quo of the "confessionalist" system. Revolutionary socialists are opposed to any armed intervention into Lebanon by the imperialist powers or the Ba'athist colonels in Damascus. No French troops! Syrian army out of Lebanon!

In the past the Syrian regime has enjoyed considerable authority among Palestinian nationalists. The Syrian Ba'athists acquired their "radical" credentials largely as the result of their limited military intervention in Jordan on the side of the Palestinian commandos mercilessly attacked by King Hussein during the "Black September" civil war. In addition, Syria has backed the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in its successful tug-of-war with Hussein to be recognized as the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

But now this "beacon" of the "Arab Revolution" has stabbed in the back the West Bank Palestinians as well as the Lebanese. With the developing rapprochement between Syria and Jordan, the PLO and other Palestinian nationalists have begun to fear that their "allies" might unilaterally conclude a "peace" settlement with Israel which would result in the transferral of the West Bank and perhaps a slice of Lebanon as well to a Syrian-Jordanian confederation (*Economist*, 22 May 1976). Indeed, few in the West Bank would relish the prospect of the replacement of the Israeli military occupation by a return to a "fraternal" Jordanian occupation.

Conflicting National Claims

The Zionist state of Israel was created through the forcible expulsion and subjugation of the Palestinian Arabs. Unquestionably the Palestinian Arabs—for decades dumped into the squalid refugee camps of the surrounding Arab states, jammed into the West Bank or shunted onto the most barren land in Israel—have a legitimate right to national self-determination.

But the Hebrew-speaking people who now occupy the historic homeland of the Palestinian Arabs also constitute a nation with a just claim to its national rights. It is certainly true that the Hebrew-speaking people in relation to the Palestinian Arabs constitute an oppressor nation. Unlike petty-bourgeois

nationalists and New Left moralists, however, Marxists do not regard past historical injustices as *karma* condemning an oppressor nation to suffer genocide or national oppression as retribution; for example, socialists have never called for driving the Turkish people into the sea, even though the modern Turkish nation was consolidated over the corpses of literally millions of slaughtered Armenians and Greeks.

Historically, the Hebrew-speaking people and the Palestinian Arabs represent geographically interpenetrated peoples. Consequently, under capitalism the exercise of the right of self-determination for either one can only result in the denial of the same right for the other. The conflicting national claims of interpenetrated peoples can be resolved democratically only through transforming the property relations in a socialist revolution. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat the counterposed national claims of the Hebrew-speaking people and the Palestinian Arabs can be harmonized and equitably resolved within the framework of a collectivist society and soviet democracy.

Not Jew Against Arab, But Class Against Class!

The dispossessed Palestinian masses can gain nothing by following the reactionary crusade of the Arab ruling cliques to conquer Israel and reverse the terms of oppression in Palestine. In the recurring national wars in the Near East the Palestinian masses always have been pawns for the irredentist and expansionist appetites of one or another Arab bourgeoisie. Just as the "Marxist-Leninist" generals in Baghdad have crushed the just national liberation struggle of the Kurdish people in Iraq, and just as "anti-imperialist" King Hussein slaughtered the Palestinian commandos during "Black September," the "radical" Syrian regime will betray the West Bank Palestinians just as Assad

has turned his guns against his "Arab brothers" in Lebanon.

But the petty-bourgeois nationalist schemes of the PLO also offer no solution to the "Palestinian question." The PLO has indicated its willingness to accept a Palestinian mini-state on the West Bank and Gaza strip. While a deformed realization of Palestinian self-determination, such a mini-state would simply be the Bangladesh of the Near East: a destitute and powerless country totally subservient to world imperialism and dependent upon its surrounding Arab overlords as a client state.

While advocating the mini-state as the "first stage" of an illusory two-stage "democratic" revolution, the PLO calls for a "democratic secular Palestine" as its ultimate goal. But under capitalism the dispossessed Palestinian Arabs cannot democratically exercise their right to their homeland, since their homes and their land are owned by another people. Under capitalism a "democratic secular Palestine" could produce nothing more than another Lebanon, with the Jews on top and the Arabs on the bottom, pitted against each other in a "confessional" system doomed to civil war and, very likely, another imperialist-imposed partition.

To unlock the cycle of reactionary national wars in the Near East, which threatens to ignite a nuclear war and World War III, the Arab and Hebrew working masses must overthrow their ruling classes through proletarian revolution. Only the creation of Trotskyist parties in the Arab states and in Israel can break the chains which bind the masses to their oppressors and can forge new links of internationalist solidarity between the Hebrew-speaking proletariat and the masses of Arab workers and poor peasants. The revolutionary conflagration which razes the reactionary Zionist and Arab nationalist regimes will raise the Arab and Hebrew workers to power in a multi-national socialist federation of the Near East. ■

Defend Radical Professors Purged at Berkeley!



BERKELEY, May 24—In a blatant political purge the administration of the University of California here has just fired three radical professors in the Field Studies Program, citing its dissatisfaction with their "course content." In addition, four other professors in the same department have been told to "re-structure" their courses.

The three fired professors are Michael Lerner, author of *The New Socialist Revolution* and founder of the social-democratic New American Movement; Brian Glick, who taught a course in "Public Advocacy Law and Social Change"; and Bruce Rappaport, who co-taught the class with Glick.

Today a demonstration to defend the three victimized faculty called by the Committee to Fight Political Firings drew over 150 students and campus employees. At the Sproul Plaza rally statements of support were read from the campus workers' union (AFSCME Local 1695) as well as from local politicians, including Democrats Tom Hayden and Ron Dellums. The demonstration concluded with a march and picket line at Sather Gate.

While the rally was enthusiastic and vocal, the Committee planning meeting later today was dominated by fatalism. Convinced that nothing could be done to build a defense during the last few

weeks of school, the Committee decided to turn its efforts to organizing a new political organization in the fall with the academic New Left politics of Lerner and his associates.

The SYL argued for establishing a united-front defense campaign to maintain the momentum of the protest and enlarge the base of support to more campus organizations and unions. But the fired professors, joined by members of the Education Liberation Front ("ELF"), insisted on turning the meeting into a self-indulging "dialogue" within their clique on how to make students "confront" their "oppression" as students.

Conspicuously absent from the protest activities was the reformist Young Socialist Alliance, known for its sectarian defense policies. Supporters of the Revolutionary Student Brigade did attend the meeting, only to leave after a few minutes.

An effective campaign to defend the fired faculty requires a united front of all who oppose this administration purge. New Left moralizing and petty sectarianism can only play into the hands of the university administration.

REINSTATE LERNER, GLICK AND RAPPAPORT! STOP HARASSMENT OF FIELD STUDIES FACULTY! ■

NSCAR Abandons "Mass Actions" In Boston...

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these feeble protests.

During the past month NSCAR has been able to offer as its "strategy" to defend black people in Boston only a telegram campaign to put "continued pressure upon the city, state and federal governments to provide large deployments of police, state troopers, and federal troops" (*Militant*, 30 April 1976). But even ROAR leader Louise Day Hicks now challenges the government to send troops to Boston, knowing well that the U.S. army can certainly be relied on to smash any attempts by the black people of Boston to organize for self-defense.

NSCAR Votes Against Busing

At the steering committee meeting NSCAR leader Maceo Dixon spelled out clearly that, despite the gaining racist offensive, NSCAR would plan no actions before securing the blessings of a pantheon of bourgeois politicians and big-name black leaders. Cautiously Dixon suggested the possibilities for "discussions" with the Urban League and the NAACP, "forgetting" that the NAACP bolted the "April 24 Coalition" in order to endorse the "March Against Violence" called by Mayor Kevin White.

Dixon reminded the meeting that at least the Urban League and NAACP leaders, unlike the NSCAR leaders, could get an audience with Gerald Ford. Dixon added that such hobnobbing would represent a "positive" and "progressive" step in the fight for desegregation.

During the ensuing discussion period the SYL intervened to counterpose the call for labor/black defense to reliance on the armed fist of the class enemy. SYL speakers condemned the liberal pressure politics advocated by the SWP/YSA and NSCAR which have not—and can never—defend black people from racist attack and defeat the segregationist offensive.

In addition, the SYL raised a motion "To support busing as a minimal step toward desegregation and call for its extension to the suburbs." But the NSCAR supporters defeated this motion. One NSCAR speaker attempted to justify the opposition on the basis that busing allegedly was not merely a "minimal step"; according to the SWP/YSA, since desegregation is "the law of the land," integration does not require the revolutionary destruction of capitalism but only "upholding the law." But another NSCAR supporter was more candid: "We didn't vote against the motion, we voted against you." Such is the sectarianism of those who smear the SYL as "sectarian."

During the discussion, supporters of the political-gangsterist Workers League/Young Socialists (WL/YS) also raised a motion opposing the call for troops to Boston. But the WL/YS opposes busing as a "scheme to divide workers" and a "provocation to whip up the racist forces like ROAR in Boston." Capitulation to backward consciousness within the working class and accommodation to the racist policies of the labor bureaucracy have long characterized the politics of this band of super-cynical opportunists.

The WL/YS refuses to fight for demands which are directed toward the special oppression of black people and women. Most glaring has been its endless campaign which, without mentioning the need for ousting the labor bureaucracy which defends the racist status quo, calls upon George Meany to form a "labor party." Seizing upon the WL/YS resolution, the SWP/YSA and NSCAR supporters demagogically equated opposition to troops with opposition to busing.

"Geritol of the Civil Rights Movement"?

So limp and mealy-mouthed were the speeches by Maceo Dixon and his SWP/YSA cohorts that Detroit NAACP

leader Joe Madison was able to pose as a "militant." In his message of greetings to the gathering Madison exhorted the feeble NSCAR to become the "Geritol of the civil rights movement." How? Madison called on "young people" to emulate the 1965 civil rights march into Cicero, Illinois, led by Martin Luther King and to "get their heads beaten in" and "even lose their lives"! Then Madison called for a march to the Bunker Hill monument in Charlestown on July 4!!

To advocate a march into the racist stronghold of Charlestown—moreover, on the patriotic holiday which for the racists, as the very name of ROAR reflects, symbolizes the fight to "restore our alienated rights"—is the height of criminal irresponsibility. Such a deliberate provocation of the racists on their "turf" could very likely ignite a full-scale race riot. Yet Madison advocates just such suicidal confrontationism simply as a means to bring in the troops. Madison chastised NSCAR for cancelling the April 24 March on Boston, pointing out that a racist attack on the march probably would have resulted in the deployment of federal troops.

While endlessly denouncing as "irresponsible" our call for disciplined self-defense based on the mass organizations of the working class and black community, the SWP/YSA cheered this demagogic call for a senseless and supremely dangerous confrontation with the racists at Bunker Hill. Don Gurewitz, former SWP candidate for governor of Massachusetts, took the floor to endorse Madison's proposal. But soon cooler social-democratic heads prevailed; Maceo Dixon suggested that "national black leaders" be consulted before any action was called in Boston.

NSCAR is only the most recent vehicle created by the SWP/YSA for an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. Unable to attract any significant capitalist politicians, however, the SWP/YSA today grovels before the anti-communist NAACP and Urban League in the hope that it can link up with the Democrats through the traditional liberal/black alliance. Clinging to its policy of reliance on the government and promoting "respectable" black misleaders, NSCAR today can offer nothing more than "discussions" with the Urban League and "debates" with the racists and fascists in Boston.

SUPPORT BUSING—EXTEND BUSING TO THE SUBURBS! NOT FEDERAL TROOPS, BUT LABOR/BLACK DEFENSE AGAINST RACIST TERROR! ■

CUNY Lockout...

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Kibbee and the BHE clearly ordered the closing of CUNY as a means to pressure the New York State Legislature to appropriate emergency funds for crisis-ridden CUNY. When the legislature reconvenes following its Memorial Day recess the capitalist politicians are expected to vote on a bill which would provide CUNY with an immediate \$24 million in emergency cash but in return would require that CUNY abandon its 129-year-old policy of no-tuition.

In addition, by closing CUNY Kibbee hoped to turn the tables on the CUNY teachers' union (the Professional Staff Congress). When Kibbee announced that faculty would not be paid yesterday, the PSC threatened to strike.

The closing of CUNY is one more attack on the education and livelihood of hundreds of thousands who are being forced to suffer the austerity drive of the bourgeoisie and its administrative lackeys. Slashing one social service after another in New York City the capitalist city government is determined to destroy CUNY as an

S.F. Cops Assault Iranian Students Demo

BERKELEY, May 29—The San Francisco *Chronicle* today reports that more than 25 club-swinging, riot-clad cops yesterday dispersed a large demonstration at the Iranian Consulate here called by the Iranian Students Association to protest the recent wave of executions in Iran.

According to the press four Iranian students were arrested in connection with the protest, and at least several required hospitalization. For foreign students from authoritarian countries, especially Iran, an arrest can often lead to deportation. And for Iranian students such a deportation often does lead to vicious reprisals by the barbaric police-state regime of the Shah.

The left and labor movement must rally to the defense of these arrested students and demand: **DROP THE CHARGES NOW!**

institution of free higher education.

Already the BHE has adopted enrollment requirements which will spell the end of open admissions, thereby excluding from CUNY tens of thousands of working-class, especially minority, youth. Already the BHE has decided to eliminate through closure and merger four entire campuses of the CUNY system. And now Kibbee and the BHE have locked everyone out of CUNY and suspended paychecks simply for a power play with the wrangling politicians in Albany.

To be sure, the gates of CUNY will reopen. But the end of open admissions and the imposition of tuition will mean that the gates of CUNY will remain closed for the thousands upon thousands of working-class and minority youth who every year are able to gain access to higher education only because of the open-admissions/no-tuition policy of CUNY. Determined to drastically cut back municipal government services, the capitalist class is no longer willing to tolerate the "luxury" even of token egalitarianism in educational opportunities offered by open admissions and free tuition. The imposition of \$750-900 tuition and the establishment of class-biased and racially discriminatory entrance requirements will close the doors of CUNY to the poor, for whom higher education is one of the few escape hatches from a life of drudgery in a sweatshop or a life of despair in the unemployment line and on the streets.

This affront at CUNY affects hundreds of thousands of students and workers and poses point blank the need for joint labor and student mobilizations, including campus occupations, to roll back the cutbacks and layoffs. The entire New York City labor movement must be mobilized to defeat this attempt to impose payless paydays and graduation days without graduates.

Students and workers in New York City must demand the immediate reopening of CUNY, the preservation of no-tuition and the restoration of open admissions and special programs. In response to cries of bankruptcy by the BHE, we must reply with the demand that CUNY and all educational institutions in this country be adequately funded at the federal level.

Moreover, we must fight to extend open-admissions/no-tuition to all universities. The state must provide the necessary remedial/special programs and the living stipends required to make open admissions financially and academically meaningful to working-class youth, who suffer most from inferior preparatory "education" and the necessity to support themselves while attending school.

Students and campus employees should not be pushed around as pawns of the BHE in its maneuvers with the state government; the capitalist educational bureaucracy should be eliminated, and CUNY and all universities placed under faculty/campus worker/student control. Students and workers must answer this lockout with labor/student mobilizations building toward a general strike of New York City labor to smash the capitalist austerity drive.

The bourgeoisie has no interest in expanding the intellectual abilities and cultural horizons of the masses of working-class youth. So long as the bosses hold power, education must remain subservient to the social needs

of their rotten capitalist system. As communists on campus the SYL fights to win students to the revolutionary program and party. We are fighting for the day when, the ruling class having been swept aside by the proletarian revolution, the institutions of higher education will truly be open to all to enrich the knowledge of mankind. ■

Mass Student Strikes Sweep France...

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orchestrated back-to-work stratagems.

The CP is presently maneuvering with great delicacy to broaden its vote-getting ability by wrapping itself in national chauvinism ("communism under the Tricolors") while not losing its millions-strong working-class base, which follows the CP as a left alternative to social democracy. The centrists of the OCI and the LCR flounder impotently, if militantly, in this situation, unable to do more than lead students into street battles with the police and to preside over the eventual disintegration of the student strike.

Thus, the OCI-led student federation (UNEF/Soufflot) attempts to compete for respectability with the reformists by sending a delegation to engage in "discussions" with Saunier-Seite! Moreover, the UNEF/Soufflot tends to concentrate its fire simply on the reforms of the "second cycle."

On the other hand, the LCR denies the need for a struggle within and against the mass reformist organizations to split the working-class base away from the class-collaborationist tops. Rather, the LCR orients toward the so-called "broad vanguard" (primarily petty-bourgeois youth standing outside both of the mass reformist workers parties); according to these liquidationists, this so-called "broad vanguard" is capable of forcing the reformist workers parties to bend in a revolutionary direction. After the March local elections which gave the Union of the Left a majority the LCR shamelessly called for this popular front to take power: "Giscard's in the Minority. Kick Him Out!"

In the recent upsurge the LCR has enthused over the "broad vanguard," limiting its programmatic intervention to campus parochialism and youth vanguardism. Thus, the LCR focuses its organizing around a call for a "general educational strike" and the *Rouge* of 16 April bluntly characterizes as "insufficient" the analysis of the social role of students by Lenin and Trotsky.

The class-conscious French working class will be led to victory in the struggles ahead only over the political corpses of the grovelling, chauvinist reformists of the CP and the SP and the vacillating centrist groups, such as the LCR and the OCI. In the struggle against popular frontism will be forged the vanguard party, French section of the reborn Fourth International, capable of marshalling the historic militancy of the French workers into the decisive assault against the capitalist state. **NO TO THE REFORMS! CP-SP BREAK WITH THE POPULAR FRONT! FOR THE REBIRTH OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL! ■**

Young Spartacus

NSCAR Abandons "Mass Actions" In Boston

BOSTON—As the racist onslaught against busing for desegregation continues to imperil the democratic rights and safety of black people here, the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) called a national meeting at Boston University on May 29 to "map plans for a campaign of action and education in defense of busing." Despite its much-touted "mass action strategy" NSCAR, an empty-shell "coalition" dominated by the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), demonstrated its complete political bankruptcy when this "emergency steering committee meeting" abandoned all plans for pro-busing action in Boston.

Unable to muster a "quorum" of "respected black leaders" and bourgeois politicians (Massachusetts state representative Elaine Noble and Cambridge vice mayor Sandra Graham were among the several "featured

speakers" who didn't bother to appear), the poorly attended NSCAR meeting voted to do nothing more than sell NSCAR buttons, "debate" the racist leaders of ROAR, picket public appearances of Gerald Ford and support the social-patriotic "Bicentennial Without Colonies" demonstration in Philadelphia on July 4!

Today NSCAR stands condemned by its entire past policy of reliance on the government to enforce desegregation and to defend black rights. For two years the SWP/YSA has used NSCAR as a vehicle to build pro-busing parades and rallies in Boston under liberal slogans and dominated by liberal speakers. Tailing capitalist politicians such as Bill Owens and promoting black misleaders such as the legalist NAACP, the SWP/YSA and its misbegotten NSCAR have preached reliance on the cops and federal troops to "protect" black people from racist

attack. Ridiculing the call of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League for labor/black defense, the SWP/YSA and NSCAR from the outset of the anti-busing backlash declared that "moral [!] and political pressure" can force the racist Boston cops or the imperialist army "to smash the racist offensive and guarantee the safety and constitutional rights of Black people" (*Militant*, 18 October 1974).

"Mass Action Strategy" Postponed

After nearly two years of preaching that its annual parades in Boston demanding troops "set back the racists," and recently even trumpeting that the vicious racist assault on black attorney Theodore Landsmark in April "put the racists on the defensive," the SWP/YSA is now reduced to the most abject

reliance on the class enemy. When the need for an effective defense of black people and desegregation has never been more urgent, the SWP/YSA discovers that it cannot count on the liberals to support—much less the cops to defend—another impotent parade in Boston.

First NSCAR was compelled to "postpone" its April 24 March on Boston, admitting that its liberal sponsors abandoned the demonstration and that the cops could not be counted on to protect this march... called to "force" the cops to "protect" black people from racist attack. Next NSCAR retreated and called for "pro-busing teach-ins and picket lines" (elsewhere) on May 15-16. Although these token gestures were not endangered by the threat of vicious racist attacks, NSCAR could not attract a cast of bourgeois big-wigs anywhere and thus called off even

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The Lines They Are A-Changin'



"The sentiment for Black separation stems from the fact that Blacks are fed up with the racist, oppressive U.S. society in which every institution, every value held within the society is utilized to maintain the oppression of Black people." [photo and caption, *Militant*, 18 June 1971]



"JOIN THE FREEDOM RIDE TO BOSTON! MARCH AGAINST RACISM/DECEMBER 14" [photo and caption, *Militant*, 29 November 1974]

"The American Federal, state, and local governments have always been willing to use troops against black people—from slave revolts to today's rebellions. The events in Detroit prove once again that we must defend ourselves by any means necessary."

—Paul Boutelle, SWP Candidate for Vice President (*Young Socialist*, September 1967)

"... we are forced to live under an occupation force called the Police Dept., an organization which has proven itself totally incapable of and unwilling to defend our interests. The job of the Police is to keep us in our place, by any means necessary!"

—Maceo Dixon, SWP candidate for Detroit Mayor (campaign brochure, 1973)

"You [the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League] say that bringing federal troops to Boston would necessarily lead to the suppression of both Black and white workers. That's not true.... The call for trade-union defense guards isn't realistic right now.... It's not a serious proposal. It has nothing to do with meeting the needs of the Black community today."

—Peter Camejo, SWP Candidate for President (*Militant*, 1 November 1974)

"Our resources from city, state, and federal governments must be used to implement the law. If city police, national guards, or federal troops are needed to enforce the law—so be it."

—Maceo Dixon (*Militant*, 21 November 1975)

"Send those troops and tanks to Boston to enforce the law and to protect Black children from racist lynch mobs!"

—Maceo Dixon (*Militant*, 30 May 1975)

On the fundamental question of the role of the armed fist of capitalism (the cops and troops) the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance has long based its line not on the granite foundations of Bolshevism but on the shifting sands of rank opportunism. At the time of the liberal-dominated civil rights movement the SWP/YSA, then chasing gradualist Martin Luther King and the legalist NAACP, adopted the liberal call for federal troops to be sent to the South to "protect" black people and civil rights

activists from segregationist backlash and to "enforce the law." But with the rise of the Black Power movement the SWP/YSA, having passed over to reformism by 1965, shelved its call for troops and "rediscovered" that the imperialist army no less than the local cops are the enemies of the oppressed in their struggle against the racist status quo. For example, in an aptly titled article, "Which Side are You On?," the SWP/YSA, echoing the militant Black Power movement, denounced Martin Luther King for

his calls for troops to Detroit in 1967 (*Young Socialist*, September 1967). Today tailing the liberal black Democrats and NAACP—once again!—the SWP/YSA glorifies the liberal-pacifist movement of Martin Luther King and champions the treacherous call for the cops and troops to enforce "law and order" in Boston. Reliance on the capitalist state and its armed forces can only lead the masses to defeat! And that is the lesson of the demise of the civil rights movement.