

# Young Spartacus

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## Labor/Black Defense Critically Needed in Boston

# Racial Violence Intensifies



Boston cops charge demonstrators at Carson Beach.

BOSTON—As the summer draws to a close and the reopening of schools here under Judge Garrity's Phase 2 busing plan approaches, convulsive eruptions of ugly racial violence in this acutely polarized city threaten to escalate and ignite a full-scale race war. The racist anti-busing forces, led by Louise Day Hicks' Restore Our Alienated Rights (ROAR), are mobilizing for an onslaught to drive the black schoolchildren back into the ghettos.

A victory for the racists would represent an enormous defeat for the oppressed black masses in this country. The busing of schoolchildren, which represents a step toward ensuring black people's democratic right of equal access to public educational facilities, must be implemented this fall and, moreover, extended throughout Boston and into the suburbs.

The development of an organized labor/black defense force to intimidate and demoralize the racist vigilantes, to ensure the implementation of busing, to protect black people and especially the schoolchildren threatened with racist attacks, to channel the just rage of black youth away from random retaliation into an effective, organized counteroffensive, this remains the urgent need of the hour! And this has been the call raised by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League in Boston and across the nation during the entire last year.

Large areas of the city are enemy

territory for black citizens. Intimidation and violence by gangs of lumpen white youth, including unprecedented attacks on black homes long established in white areas, has increased in frenzy and boldness. As in the past the police consistently fail to protect the threatened black people.

### Race Riot at Carson Beach

This summer Carson Beach on the South Boston shore has become a battleground for racial confrontation and attacks. In the past this beach had always been used by both whites and blacks. But on July 27 six out-of-town black Bible salesmen who unsuspectingly ventured onto the beach were assaulted by a mob of enraged whites.

To defend "their" beach from a rumored "black invasion" 300 pugnacious white racists gathered there on August 3. When no black people appeared, gangs of racists swarmed into the adjacent neighborhood looking for a fight. Cars driven by black and Latin people were pelted with large rocks, and one Puerto Rican child had to be hospitalized.

Then Tom Atkins, Boston leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), held a meeting with Mayor White and Governor Dukakis, at which Mayor White gave Atkins a written statement promising police protection for black citizens desiring to use the beach. The

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# Civil War in Angola

AUGUST 27—In Angola the fierce fratricidal feuding between the three rival independence movements—the radical-nationalist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the anti-Communist National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the pro-imperialist National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)—has exploded the fragile June truce and with it the disfunctional transitional coalition government established by the Portuguese last February, plunging the country into the holocaust of civil war.

In the past several weeks alone thousands of Angolans have perished as the nationalist forces, each contending for hegemony, collide again and again in bloody clashes along shifting battle lines. In the recent eruption of fighting the MPLA has driven the FNLA out of the Angolan capital, Luanda, while the FNLA and UNITA together have battled their way into the major harbor city of Lobito.

While not yet the direct victims of the carnage, most of Angola's 500,000 whites are stampeding to flee the

country. With the 24,000 Portuguese troops in Angola rebelling against further involvement in colonial wars, the pronouncement by the Portuguese High Commissioner that Portugal was resuming executive control of Angola on August 14 was brusquely dismissed by everyone.

The fighting still rages and Angola may continue to be carved up by the three nationalist movement. The MPLA controls a central zone stretching from Luanda eastward to Henrique near the Zaire border, as well as the fabulously oil-rich enclave of Cabinda. The FNLA holds sway over the northern territory and has pockets south of Luanda. The UNITA commands the city of Nova Lisboa and the entire southern slice of the country.

The regional strongholds of each of the nationalist forces are by no means accidental, but correspond to the different tribal and social groups upon which each is based. While in the past having support among some eastern tribes, the MPLA at present draws the core of its support from the working class and plebeian masses of the



MPLA soldier after battle of Luanda.

major cities, including the petroleum complex in Cabinda. The FNLA and UNITA remain tribalist organizations. The FNLA represents the Bakongo tribes of the north, and its leader, Holden Roberto, actually is the worshipped head of the Bakongo dynasty. UNITA is based on the Ovibundu and Chokwe tribes of the south.

The long-standing antagonisms between the three groups are rooted in historic tribal wars and ethnic hostilities. Since each group lacks the social base sufficient to enable it to emerge as the preponderant power to rule and exploit black labor in an "independent" Angola, each nationalist force feels the compulsion to destroy

the social base of the rival movements.

The conflagration in Angola has sparked panic on tribal lines, and already population transfers are underway. Many Ovibundu who worked the coffee plantations and diamond mines in the FNLA-held north have fled to the UNITA territories in the south. During the battle for Luanda, Cape Verdians, many of whom are sympathetic to the MPLA, were attacked by the FNLA, while thousands of Bakongo fled to the north after being subjected to reprisals by the victorious MPLA.

Communists demand the immediate and unconditional independence of Angola and all other Portuguese

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# EDITORIAL NOTES

## Buckley Goes to Pot

Recently capitalist politicians in a number of state legislatures, most notably California and New York, seem to be moved by the spirit of liberal reform: the irrational and often draconian laws prohibiting the possession and use of marijuana are being questioned, criticized and in a number of states modified.

In the last several months Alaska, Maine, Colorado and California have followed Oregon's example and passed legislation decriminalizing private possession of small amounts of marijuana; possession of up to a few ounces now is a civil offense, like illegal parking, and not a crime and is punishable by a moderate fine administered through citations like traffic tickets. Similar reform laws are now before state governments in New York, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Washington, D.C., Ohio, Minnesota and Hawaii, and their enactment appears certain (*New York Times*, 13 July).

The pattern of legal reform is a reflection of shifting bourgeois opinion on marijuana usage. Although considerable sentiment still exists for stringent laws and more strict enforcement, many authoritative officials and prominent individuals have lined up in opposition to the long-standing criminal sanctions against marijuana.

U.S. Attorney General Earl Silbert, for example, has refused to prosecute cases alleging possession of less than five joints. A former Deputy Director of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics now sits as an advisory board member of the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws, the influential pro-pot lobby heavily funded by bourgeois institutions such as the fashionable Playboy Foundation. Even Art Linkletter, whose daughter committed suicide several years ago apparently while under the influence of drugs, came out publicly in favor of the new California marijuana law. And the arch-conservative William F. Buckley, Jr., has recounted how he sailed his yacht into international waters in order legally to sample grass, admitting that it really isn't bad after all! Recently the bourgeois media has been giving prominent coverage to the findings of a federal government study conducted in Jamaica that marijuana is harmless, as if this had not already been established by a mountain of medical evidence over the last three decades!

In this country drug laws historically have been employed as a means to harass and victimize racial and ethnic minorities. During the 19th century drug addiction afflicted as high as four percent of the American population. However, the bourgeoisie enacted no drug legislation, precisely because the overwhelming majority of addicts were white, middle-class women who had become hooked on the morphine in patent "medicines."

The first prohibitory drug laws were passed in the Western states and proscribed opium. As an Oregon judge so bluntly admitted in 1886, these laws represented "a desire to vex and annoy the 'Heathen Chinese'" (quoted in Bonnie and Whitebread, *Virginia Law Review*, LVI, 1970). The first federal drug criminalization legislation was a direct response to the massive influx of black people and Mexican immigrants into the large cities and were accompanied by hysterical, racist attacks by the bourgeois media and state officials.

The Federal Bureau of Narcotics commissioner, for instance, warned during the 1937 Marijuana Tax Act hearings, "I wish I could show you what a small marijuana cigaret can do to one of our degenerate Spanish-speaking residents... most of whom are low mentally, because of social and racial conditions" (*ibid.*). Exploiting public ignorance about marijuana, newspapers carried lurid stories of alleged violent sex crimes against innocent children committed by Mexicans or Negroes delirious from the "killer weed." The sensationalist scare campaigns produced such trash as the film "Reefer Madness," which now is labelled "camp."

During the McCarthy witchhunt, reactionary laws such as the Boggs Act of 1951, which provided for even harsher drug penalties, were justified by shrill allegations that Communists were undermining the morals of American youth. Likewise, drugs were identified with the student unrest and ghetto rebelliousness of the 1960's. Marijuana busts were widely used to harass and imprison student radicals, black militants and other troublesome non-conformists. In line with his "law and order" crusade, President Nixon maintained a pulp-pounding opposition to relaxing the drug laws, even when his own National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse recommended abolition of penalties for private possession and use of marijuana.

The bourgeoisie effectively employed its mari-

juana laws for the intended intimidation and harassment as long as usage was confined to the ghettos, barrios, bohemian enclaves and a few campuses. But over the last several years pot smoking has become de-mystified and increasingly prevalent, spreading among the white working class and especially the petty bourgeoisie. In 1972 the National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse estimated, probably conservatively, that 24 million Americans had at least tried marijuana.

Pot arrest records spotting the lives of the children of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie have created a just outcry on the part of anguished "respectable citizens." Commenting on the trend toward liberalization of the marijuana laws, the liberal *New York Times* (13 July) now hypocritically points to the "growing sense that the typical marijuana smoker is not a criminal." The bourgeoisie realizes that any attempt to enforce consistently and equally the long-standing marijuana legislation would clog the penal court system. Last year over 400,000 people were arrested on marijuana charges, and California alone spent \$100 million to prosecute its cases.

The bourgeois state is reforming the marijuana laws only because they have ceased to be a convenient weapon of repression against black and Spanish-speaking people, political dissidents, and "social undesirables." Frame-ups alleging possession of hard drugs will certainly continue, facilitated by the reactionary "no-knock" legislation which abrogates basic democratic rights of privacy against cop intrusion supposedly assured by the Constitution.

The bourgeois state has no right to interfere in or regulate the private lives of individuals. We demand the repeal of all laws against so-called "crimes without victims" (such as drug addiction, gambling, pornography, prostitution, homosexual practices, etc.), which serve to reinforce reactionary social attitudes and strengthen the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state. Let the U.S. Army and the Central Intelligence Agency, whose secret experiments with hallucinogenic drugs led to the death of at least several unsuspecting victims, stand trial.

While opposing all laws against "crimes without victims," we are not unconcerned with the often deleterious and debilitating results of widespread drug addiction within the working class. But social evils such as narcotic addiction, chronic alcoholism, and prostitution must be combatted by the authority of the workers vanguard, not by the class-biased, racially discriminatory, repressive laws of the capitalist state, and their material causes will be eradicated under socialism.

## It's Mr. Hayden Now, If You Please

With a new-found, avidly cultivated respectable image (and best-supporting-actress award going to Jane Fonda for her unlikely role as the young Eleanor Roosevelt) and vehement assertions of seriousness, Tom Hayden, author of the 1962 founding document of SDS, is currently running for California senate in the Democratic Party. Hayden's pitch is to dispense inanities from his New Left repertoire as the "common sense of the Seventies."

Listen to Hayden's proposals to fight the depression and high unemployment rates: "for Vietnam veterans to take care of senior citizens, for unemployed construction workers to build bicycle paths, for laid-off auto workers to open repair shops..." (*Village Voice*, 11 August). As for capitalism, Hayden opines: "I think there's a lot of merit to free enterprise" (*Bay Guardian*, 14-27 June). Willfully unmindful of the ironic contrast to his New Left rhetoric but quite aware of the votes in Southern California, this buffoon in the service of the bosses insists, "I don't believe automatically that any defense contract ought to be cut in the face of mass unemployment. The whole defense issue has got to be recast... First you need to develop a consensus on a new foreign policy" (*Bay Guardian*, 14-27 June).

When Tom Hayden was billing himself as an American Ho Chi Minh, he vied for the constituency of black nationalist and "Third Worldist" leaders and ideologues. No longer. The New Left has gone full circle, from "Part of the Way with LBJ" to sending Mr. Hayden to Washington. Now Hayden believes he is competing for the same votes as... George Wallace. Hoping to key in on the same rugged individualist/populist sentiment with which California Governor Jerry Brown is seeking to fabricate a political personality, Hayden claims that "the only real votes will be for me or Wallace" (*Village Voice*, 11 August). One friendly reporter observes that Hayden has the most difficulty "relating" to his for-

mer Berkeley constituency; when Hayden spoke to a radical audience, he was "more uncomfortable and defensive than I'd seen him at any time in the campaign."

Most nauseating, however, has been Hayden's response to recent events in Taft, California. The only black people in the small oil town were thirteen athletes from the local college. Last Memorial Day, whites gathered to taunt and harass three of the black students, chasing them through Taft's streets in cars and on foot. When one of the young whites, armed with a knife, lunged at one of the black students, he was shot through the neck in self-defense. An enraged mob stormed the residence halls at the college; by the next day the black students were gone.

Fearful that denouncing the white racist lynch-mob frenzy and defending the rights of the black students might have alienated conservative Democrats throughout the San Jauquin valley, Hayden delicately temporized. He called for better police protection from the same Taft cops who, far from defending the blacks, had refused to control the mob and instead had "escorted" the blacks out of town. Hayden then met with the Chamber of Commerce (Taft's road signs used to read "No Niggers After Sun Down") and called for an outdoor concert featuring an actor from "The Waltons" TV show to "bring everyone together!"

## China Attacks "Poisonous Weeds of Revisionism"...

Egypt's Aswan Dam was constructed by the Soviet Union as a monumental prestige project. However, the stretch of the Nile River below the Dam over the years has become clogged with weeds. The Russian technicians have been unable to devise a method to clear the river.

Always scheming to rival or diplomatically outmaneuver the so-called "Soviet social imperialists," the Maoist bureaucracy in China has promised to rid the Nile of the revisionists' "poisonous weeds." Thus, the Sino-Egyptian trade agreement signed on May 31 pledged that China would supply Egypt with... 20,000 weed-eating fish!

## ...Salutes Nixon

Former President Nixon, whose chicanery and brazen infractions of bourgeois decorum and legality against his bourgeois opponents forced him to flee office, often sulkily complains that his many detractors belittle his "positive achievements." Perhaps his greatest achievement, he reminds reporters, was "normalizing relations" with People's China, gaining an ally against Russia.

The Chinese Stalinists certainly haven't forgotten Nixon's "positive achievements." In fact, they would even like to see the imperialist butcher rehabilitated and returned to public political life. According to the hermit Nixon, Mao personally has written and cordially invited him to visit China, as though he were still a head of state (*New York Times*, 14 August).

Furthermore, Mao actually has come to the defense of the crook Nixon, who should be in jail. According to the Premier of Thailand, who recently returned from Peking where he discussed with Mao himself, the Great Helmsman speaks quite fondly of Nixon and said that the Watergate scandal was the result of "too much freedom in the United States" (quoted in *New York Times*, 10 July). As for wire-tapping and electronic surveillance by the government, Mao contended: "What's wrong with taping a conversation when you happen to have a tape recorder with you? Most people in America love playing with tape recorders!" Well, unlike Mao, most people in America would love to hear the Nixon tapes playing over national radio!

## Young Spartacus

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## Philadelphia Busing Postponed

# Parochial Schools Conciliated

This summer the Catholic hierarchy in Philadelphia mobilized more than 30,000 parents and children, priests and nuns, local politicians and marching bands to demonstrate at Independence Mall against a recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling limiting state aid to private schools. The court decision affects about \$33 million in public funds formerly allocated almost entirely to the Catholic schools.

The Supreme Court had ruled that two Pennsylvania laws providing for loans of instructional materials and for "auxiliary services" were in violation of the First Amendment of the Constitution, which prohibits any legislation respecting an establishment of religion, and would require state entanglement in church affairs to assure that public personnel were not propagating religion. The court, however, did not question the "right" of the state to continue distributing textbooks and furnishing public transportation for children attending parochial schools.

Opposition to the Supreme Court decision within Philadelphia's large archdiocese continues to simmer. With the political objective of placating the formidable Catholic vote, the Pennsylvania legislature last month voted to restore the cuts by providing increased aid to children enrolled in private schools through certain public school facilities.

### No State Aid to Parochial Schools!

Socialists oppose on principle any state aid to parochial schools. The separation of church and state is a fundamental, progressive bourgeois-democratic demand. During the epoch of the national bourgeois revolutions in Europe against the feudal nobility and absolutism, the nascent bourgeoisie attacked the church, which was an institutional bulwark of medievalism holding vast landed properties and extracting enormous revenues which the rising capitalist class coveted. The liberal bourgeoisie fought, *inter alia*, for the closing of schools operated by religious orders and monasteries and for the expropriation of their endowments.

With the consolidation of the capitalist order, the bourgeoisie soon recognized in the church a powerful ally for the enslavement of the masses and reconciled its secular state with the ecclesiastical regime. The fiery anticlericalism and radical demands of bourgeois democracy were extinguished or gutted. Thus, in this country the liberal Supreme Court Justice William Douglas, justifying accommodation of the supposedly secular public school education to the "religious needs" of students, could pronounce in 1952: "We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being."

Marxists, however, consistently and resolutely uphold the call for the complete separation of school from the

church. This democratic objective was incorporated as an explicit demand in the program of the Bolshevik Party under Lenin (see Bukharin and Preobrazhensky, *The ABC of Communism*).

The proselytizing of religion, "the opiate of the masses" (Marx), is antithetical to scientific, scholastic education. Any state aid to parochial schools or conversely any religious intrusion in public education, from prayers to evangelical groups appearing at high school assembly programs (common in the South), must be opposed.

Socialists advocate free, secular, compulsory public education in co-educational and racially integrated quality schools for all. We oppose the Supreme Court decision (1925) which established the principle that compulsory education could take place in parochial schools, which were deemed "useful and meritorious." Our support for compulsory public education is based on the democratic principle that education must be a social responsibility and reflects absolutely no illusions about the class character of education under capitalism.

Parochial schools, like all private educational institutions, should be nationalized and incorporated into the public school system. Those facilities (such as chapels), materials (like church-issued "textbooks" or religious treatises) and instructors (clerics) which presently serve a parochial function in these schools must revert to the domain of the church, remaining available to those who insist on attempting to indoctrinate children in obscurantist, stupefying religious instruction. Catechizing, worship or any other religious observance should remain a private affair, conducted by the church when public school is in recess.

Thus, while patiently but adamantly combatting the crippling religious prejudices and superstitions of the workers, socialists scrupulously defend the democratic right of individual freedom of conscience *in relation to the state*. In this country church-state conflicts historically have reflected religious discrimination. America developed as a capitalist country on a Protestant basis. Despite the Enlightenment deism of many of the "Founding Fathers," the bourgeoisie never was forced to lead an historic assault against the church as the pillar of a feudal order. Separation of church and state was established largely because no Protestant sect was influential enough to impose its doctrine on the others. The public schools evolved out of the Protestant schools and consequently incorporated teachings which Catholics considered offensive or sacrilegious.

The fight against state aid to Catholic schools during the latter part of the 19th century in large measure was directed against the waves of destitute Irish, and subsequently Eastern European and Italian, immigrants. The movements for compulsory public education were spearheaded by right-

Catholic mobilization in Philadelphia demanding state aid to parochial schools.



wing, "America-first" chauvinists, such as the American ("Know-Nothing") Party, and were associated with campaigns for the denial of voting rights for aliens and the outlawing of organizations loyal to a foreign church or government. For its part the Catholic hierarchy was concerned primarily with maintaining a hold on the immigrant Catholic masses, who upon arrival in this country tended to drift away from the church.

### Anti-Busing Hysteria

Behind the outcry of thousands of Philadelphia Catholics and their supporters is not the fear of religious persecution. Philadelphia is rigidly segregated between the sprawling black ghettos and the checkerboard of tenacious white ethnic communities. The Catholic schools are saddled with severe financial burdens as rising costs and the hardships of an economic depression have resulted in a 33 percent decline in Philadelphia parochial school enrollment. Simultaneously, the public school system, which presently is 62 percent black, is under court pressure to formulate a plan for achieving racial balance by this year. For the last several years busing plans have been buried through jurisdictional and bureaucratic maneuvers. This year the perennial plan for desegregation once again may be postponed under the pressure of fierce white opposition.

Many Catholic parents now fear that increased parochial school tuition or fees prompted by the elimination of state aid might force them to relinquish the "privilege" of sending their children to the overwhelmingly white, relatively better private schools rather than to the overcrowded, largely black inner-city public schools. The Catholic parochial schools in Philadelphia are over 80 percent white, and the negligible racial integration is sham tokenism. Despite the hypocritical sermonizing of the Catholic church about equality and racial brotherhood, the Catholic church in Chicago, the nation's largest archdiocese, has responded to its bud-

getary difficulties by announcing that its four parochial schools in a black ghetto, attended by many non-Catholic black youth desperate for any alternative to the hell-hole ghetto public schools, will be the first to close (*New York Times*, 27 July).

In addition to secularizing the education of about one third of Philadelphia's school-age population, compulsory secular public education would contribute significantly to the racial integration of the school system. Moreover, the public school buses presently allocated to private schools should instead be employed to bus students out of their segregated neighborhoods and into integrated public schools.

While never relenting in our struggle against racism and backwardness in the working class, we nonetheless are not insensitive or unnecessarily provocative regarding the unfortunately ingrained religious sensibilities of many workers. Engels criticized the manifesto of the fugitive Blanquist Communards and later the philosophical treatise of Dühring for raising declarations of war on religion which only serve to revive interest in religion or stimulate militant clericalism. Demands for an end to state aid to parochial schools, for compulsory secular public education and for an end to segregation in the schools should be linked to the demand for free, universal quality education at all levels at the expense of the bosses. To the predominantly working-class Catholic parents who demand state aid for parochial schools we say: Remove the religious instruction from these schools, let these schools be transferred to the public school system, and then your children's education indeed will be financed by the state.

Religion is a manifestation of the oppression of class-divided societies, an "inverted consciousness of the world because the world is itself an inverted world" (Marx). Religion cannot simply be abolished by fiat or persecution but will be conquered consciously as the working class destroys capitalism and grasps the helm of mankind's destiny. ■

## MADISON

### Forum—

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM AND FASCISM—  
A WORKING-CLASS PERSPECTIVE

Speaker: R. Gold, SYL National Committee

Guest Speaker: Marc Freedman, Member of Labor Struggle Caucus,  
Secretary of Civil Rights Committee, UAW Local 6,  
Chicago

Friday, September 5, 7:30 pm.

Room to be posted, Memorial Union, U. of M.

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STRATEGY FOR SOCIALISM

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Room to be posted, Memorial Union, U. of M.

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# Mao Sacrifices Guerrillas on Detente Altar

In the wake of the smashing of capitalist rule in Indochina by Stalinist-led insurgent forces, the Maoist bureaucracy misruling the People's Republic of China has become politically eclipsed in this region by its more powerful rival in Moscow. While all of Vietnam, the dominant country of Indochina, now is in the Russian orbit, Mao and Co. are left with only the loser Prince Sihanouk.

Regarding Southeast Asia the Chinese Stalinists now are concerned above all with the increasing influence of their "number one enemy," the bureaucratically degenerated Russian workers state. As one Maoist mouthpiece fulminated in a typical anti-USSR tirade, "Particularly since the U.S. defeat and withdrawal from Indochina, the Soviet Union has stepped up its activities in Thailand, Laos and other Southeast Asian and Indochina countries in an attempt to fill the vacuum" (*Ta kung pao*, 19 May). To counterbalance the increased weight of the Kremlin in Indochina the Chinese bureaucracy treacherously has been exhorting U.S. imperialism to maintain its counter-revolutionary military forces in Asia (just as the Maoists call for a strengthening of the imperialist NATO alliance in Europe) and simultaneously has been pursuing its own diplomatic offensive, promising the remaining shaky capitalist regimes in Southeast Asia Chinese support for the status quo and Chinese renunciation of the pro-Peking insurgent forces in the Philippines, Malaysia and Thailand.

## China's "United Front" with the Pentagon

On numerous recent occasions the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has expressed its interest in the maintenance of U.S. militarism in Asia. Several months ago Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping indicated during a meeting with American newspaper editors that U.S. forces stationed in Japan should not be withdrawn (*New York Times*, 3 June). The well-informed *Far Eastern Economic Review* (13 June) with unceasing satisfaction has observed, "Peking no longer objects vociferously to U.S. military bases in Japan (or indeed in other parts of the region into which the Soviet Union might move should the U.S. withdraw)." Likewise, the *New York Times* (12 July) reports approvingly that China has voiced its support for a strong U.S. military force in Asia, and "For that reason China has carefully avoided criticism of American bases in the region." And one high-ranking U.S. diplomat in the Philippines bluntly "summed up" the Chinese policy, as follows: "China and every other Asian country want the U.S. here" (quoted in *New York Times*, 19 April).

Thus, for temporary diplomatic advantage and criminal anti-Russian maneuvers the sellout Maoist bureaucracy, which like its counterrevolutionary Russian counterpart is committed to maintaining its privileged rule over the masses, comes out in support of the imperialist military machine that props up reactionary regimes and has slaughtered the struggling masses of Asia by the millions. Like the Moscow bureaucracy, the Chinese Stalinists cynically regard their loyal followers, among whom are dedicated and courageous revolutionaries, as mere pawns to be supported or sacrificed, according to the momentary needs and self-serving appetites of the privileged bureaucracy.

In 1971 the Maoists renounced all support for the Eritrean Liberation Front in return for diplomatic recognition by the supposedly "anti-imperialist" feudal-autocratic tyrant Selassie and air service between China and Africa by Ethiopian Airlines. In the same year Chou En-lai lauded the massacre of the Maoist-Guevarist Janatha Vimukti Peramuna by the Ceylonese government as "defending state

sovereignty" from "acts of rebellion," extending the Bandaranaike regime a long-term, interest-free loan of 150 million rupees (full text in *Ceylon Daily News*, 27 May 1971).

In exchange for diplomatic relations with Zaire the Chinese in early 1973 terminated support for the Congolese rebel Pierre Mulele and as recompense gave pro-imperialist lackey Mobutu an interest-free loan of \$100 million. And when they finally achieved detente with Iran, the Chinese Stalinists cut off all aid to the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and called upon the Shah, whose expeditionary force was ruthlessly exterminating the guerrilla movement in Oman, to increase "military potential to fight subversive activities" (for documentation, see "Dhofar Revolt Pounded By Shah, Betrayed By Mao," *Young Spartacus*, May 1975).

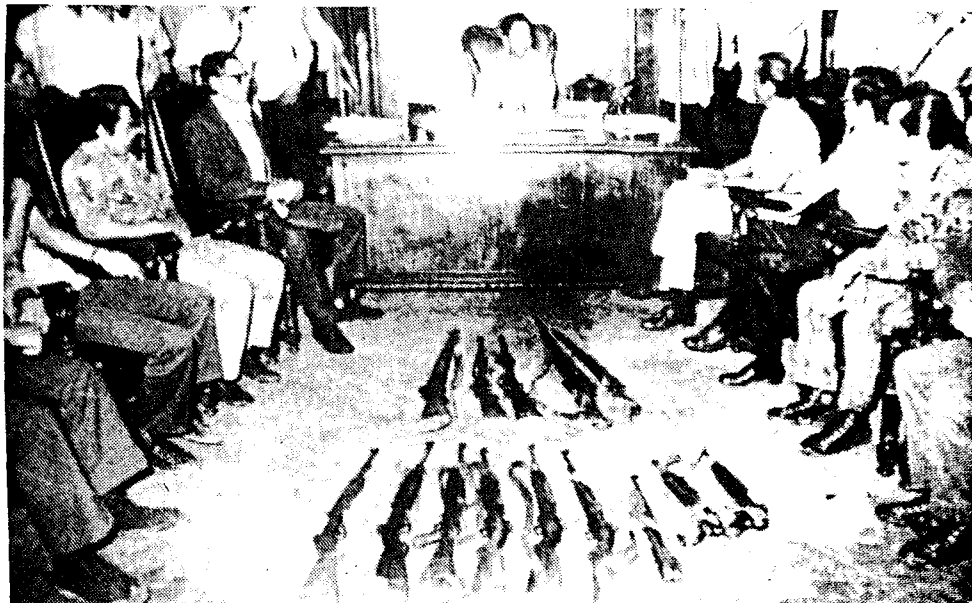
## China Abandons Asian Rebels

While supporting U.S. militarism against the USSR at the immediate expense of the downtrodden masses, the Chinese misleaders at the same time seek to exploit U.S. imperialism's setback in Indochina not by struggling to advance socialist revolution but by pursuing "peaceful coexistence" deals with the remaining bourgeois regimes in Southeast Asia. Following the collapse of the capitalist regimes in Indochina, the bourgeoisie and ruling cliques in the Philippines and Thailand, long the servile lap dogs of imperialism, recognized the role Peking could play enforcing stability throughout the area. Consequently, the Philippines and Thailand established diplomatic relations with People's China on June 9 and July 1, respectively, while Malaysia had already opened relations in May 1974.

When Malaysian Prime Minister Abdul Razak traveled to Peking to negotiate diplomatic agreements, the Chinese press praised this reactionary swine, who has waged bloody campaigns of extermination against the Communist Party of Malaya/Malayan National Liberation Army, for "safeguarding national independence and sovereignty" (*Jen-min jih-pao*, 28 May 1974). During the discussions the Chinese Stalinist leaders assured Razak that their "support" for the desperate pro-Peking guerrillas was "only verbal and moral" (reported in *New York Times*, 30 May 1974).

When the Malaysian insurgents recently began to acquire small numbers of U.S. arms, apparently through the Thai black market, the Chinese ambassador in Malaysia several times publicly reiterated that China gives absolutely no support to the guerrillas (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 11 July). The Chinese protestations were confirmed by a correspondent in Malaysia for the *Wall Street Journal*, who reported on June 16 that the insurgents "surprisingly never before have been supplied by Communist allies."

In the Philippines the Maoist Communist Party/New People's Army for



Maoists denounced pro-Moscow Philippine CP for disarming, supporting Marcos. New Peking line portends similar betrayal.

years has sustained armed struggle against the military dictatorship of the Marcos gang, although advocating a multi-class, "people's democratic" bourgeois regime subordinating the exploited to their exploiters. But the Chinese are prepared to abandon the Philippine rebels as a gesture of their reliability as an ally of a stable bourgeois Philippines. Thus, the China-Philippines pact signed in Peking amidst unprecedented fanfare condemns "subversion and all attempts by any country to control any other country or to interfere in its internal affairs."

According to the Philippine Foreign Secretary, the Chinese informed Marcos in Peking that his military dictatorship "should be free to deal with any insurgency, subversion or rebellion" and that "revolutions would not be exported" (quoted in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 11 July). Upon his return to the Philippines the butcher Marcos publicly declared that his previous "doubts" concerning China's willingness to cease supporting the guerrillas had been dispelled completely in Peking (*New York Times*, 12 June).

The anti-internationalist, class-collaborationist foreign policies pursued by both Peking and Moscow stand as the most immediate indication that the proletariat in fact does not politically rule in the deformed workers states. The Communist International was forged and under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky struggled precisely to "interfere" in the "internal affairs" of capitalist countries with the declared goal of overthrowing the bourgeois order. Unlike the epigones Stalin and Mao, Comrade Lenin never prattled about, much less subordinated an internationalist revolutionary perspective to, "building socialism in one country," but rather insistently argued that the defense of the proletarian revolution and its future development toward socialism urgently required its extension internationally, above all to the advanced capitalist countries.

Although the beleaguered, war-

wary and devastated Soviet state under Lenin at times was forced to make tactical retreats and negotiate unfavorable agreements and concessions with dominant world capitalism, the Communist International in this period never for a moment departed from its revolutionary strategy and activities, ever more resolutely and heroically struggling to organize and lead the proletariat in an onslaught against the international capitalist order, including those states with which the Soviets had concluded diplomatic or commercial agreements.

Mao and Brezhnev, however, are willing to barter the lives and struggles of Communists and anti-capitalist fighters for transitory deals and power maneuvers. Fundamentally hostile to the spread of proletarian revolutions, which would not only antagonize imperialism and threaten "peaceful coexistence" but also arouse the workers in the deformed workers states, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has never attempted to launch a new Communist International (Stalin dissolved the Comintern in 1943, assuring his bourgeois allies that it had "served its purpose!").

Mao bows before reactionaries like Marcos, shamelessly inviting them to "deal with"—that means, crush!—the guerrilla forces. And now that the Muslim secessionist forces have concluded a truce with the Philippine regime (*New York Times*, 22 August), Marcos is free to marshal the entire military might of the government against the Maoist guerrillas. For the Maoist betrayers an armada of U.S. long-range bombers, missiles and nuclear submarines in bases on the Philippines and throughout Asia is more advantageous for the moment than revolutionary cadres and anti-imperialist struggles.

## Red Book Advice for Reactionaries

The China-Thailand agreement, which was modeled on the pact with the



Chicago SL/SYL participating in anti-Marcos picket-line demonstration.

Philippines, likewise pledges mutual "non-interference in each other's internal affairs" and "peaceful coexistence." Apparently the Chinese prepared this detente by eliminating their meager aid to the pro-Peking Communist Party of Thailand/Thai People's Liberation Armed Forces.

Last year Chou En-lai assured the Thai Defense Minister that "China had stopped supporting insurgents in Thailand, Laos and other Southeast Asian countries" (reported in *New York Times*, 17 February 1975). Furthermore, the day after the China-Thailand accords were signed, Thai Premier Kukrit Pramoj acknowledged that China did not support the Thai guerrilla forces (*New York Times*, 3 July).

When Pramoj raised the issue of the four U.S. bases and 19,000 American military personnel in Thailand, the Chinese delegation, he reports with surprise, remained "neutral" on the question. On the "guerrilla problem," however, the Chinese were not at all neutral.

According to Pramoj, Mao himself offered unsolicited advice on means to "solve the problem of Communist insurgents in Thailand" (quoted in *New York Times*, 10 July). According to Pramoj's account, which has not been disputed or denied by the Chinese government, Mao suggested that the Thai government not engage the guerrillas in combat ("If you send in soldiers, the insurgents will run away into the jungle, and when the soldiers leave the insurgents will return") and not conduct propaganda campaigns or re-

# Cleveland Killer Cops Gun Down Black Youth

In Cleveland the racist, trigger-happy cops are killing black people with impunity. In late May Dwain Hawkins, a 19 year old black youth, was shot in the back inside his own home by a Cleveland cop. The court ruled this cold-blooded killing "justifiable homicide," and this cop now roams the streets, in uniform, armed, free to kill again "in the line of duty."

Even more outrageous was the gunning down of 20 year old Derrick Browne by cop Ralph Thomas. Supposedly on the trail of a stolen motorcycle, Thomas pursued Browne through the streets of the ghetto; when Browne allegedly wheeled around on his motorcycle (while racing at full speed!) and shot at the police car, Thomas killed him. However, more than a dozen eyewitnesses testified that they did not see Browne with the revolver "found" at the scene. In fact, two other cops who arrived at the scene within two minutes of the shooting later revealed in court that they were not even aware of Thomas' allegations. Yet the indictment handed down on June 25 simply charged negligent homicide—a misdemeanor!

Capitalist oppression and economic stagnation, which hit black people the hardest, breed crime, and Cleveland has experienced a sharp 23 percent increase in serious crimes over the past year. The Ohio gun control legislation, passed two days after the Browne killing, is clearly aimed at the black community. The bourgeois authorities intend to enforce "law and order" by any means necessary, including disarming black people and unleashing their unruly brutal cops with an unwritten license to kill. It is the cops who should be disarmed! The well-being and struggles of the masses of poor and working people can reliably be protected only by organized labor/black defense patrols, which could be developed in the course of the class

struggle into a future workers militia.

When Cleveland's black community reacted to the killing of Browne with unexpectedly bitter outrage, the city government and police department struck differing postures under the pressures of sharply polarized public opinion. Thus, black Democratic City Councilman George Forbes, who registered no protest over the Hawkins slaying (at the time he was fighting for full insurance for cops), lambasted the police department after the Browne killing, declaring, "It's outright murder and I'm not going to let them get away with it." So he called for an "independent" investigation... responsible to himself and headed by an ex-cop! On the other side, the Cleveland Police Patrolman's Association attacked the media for bias and glorified the cops as "working for a just and sane society" (*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 26 June).

## Protest Actions

The killings of Browne and Hawkins were the issues upon which much of the Cleveland left's activity was focused this summer. On June 22 about 200 people attended a protest rally called by a coalition which was dominated by the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP) and the Revolutionary Union (RU). This coalition raised the supportable demand for prosecuting Thomas, but coupled it with liberal cries for justice under capitalism and "responsible" cops.

Although CAP was responsible for much of the organizational work building the rally, these "revolutionary nationalists" failed to issue a leaflet or even speak, apparently in order to attract the support of the liberal, Model-Cities type "community leaders." Likewise, the RU intervened through a fake front group, the Com-

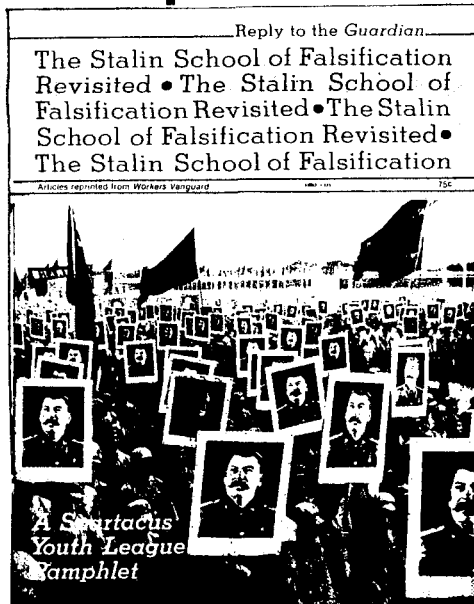
mittee for Justice for Dwain Hawkins. Attempting to present itself as a less offensive alternative to Councilman George Forbes, the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) called for an independent investigation, but minus the cops and ex-cops, and for community control of the cops ("a security force democratically chosen and supervised by the black community"), a utopian-reformist scheme fostering illusions in the bourgeois state and subverting the felt need for working-class self-defense.

One week later the bourgeois National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) held a meeting to protest the misdemeanor charge granted Thomas by the grand jury. The SWP/YSA, presently the "best builders" of NAACP do-nothing liberalism, passed out 7,000 leaflets advertising the meeting. In between prayers, gospel singing and exhortations to vote, the NAACP deplored rumors of a "hot summer" in Cleveland, pledged themselves to preventing any anti-establishment violence by people and railed against armed self-defense and black "terrorism."

On August 3 the RU-CAP coalition held a second rally as well as a march, in which the Maoists again opportunistically took political refuge in their non-programmatic reformist "mass line"—"People Unite!"—with the RU contingent even marching behind an unsigned banner. When the SL/SYL contingent countered with "Workers Unite!," the SWP/YSA joined the Maoists' chant in an attempt to drown us out.

Despite the outpouring of protest from the Cleveland black community and the demonstrations by the left, the cops responsible for the death of Dwain Hawkins and Derrick Browne remain free. Jail the killers of Hawkins and Browne! ■

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prisals against them ("You will make martyrs of them"). Mao is concerned with the stability of the fragile bourgeois regime in Thailand; as for the guerrillas, let them rot in the jungle!

Mao renounced the guerrillas knowing full well that his advice would be publicized and employed by the Thai government to discredit and demoralize the insurgents. Indeed, following Pramoj's return from China, the leading Thai English-language press, *The Nation*, headlined: "MAO TELLS HOW TO PUT DOWN REDS."

## American Maoists Apologize... Again

In this country the Maoists are attempting to portray the "peaceful coexistence" deals of the Chinese bureaucracy as an application of the "two-line struggle": support for the "progressive," struggle against the reactionary. Desperately searching for some "anti-imperialist" aspect of the Philippine dictatorship, the Maoists can only trumpet Marcos' recent rhetoric opposing the present system of U.S. bases. But Marcos, who upon returning

from China emphatically reiterated his dedication to a strong U.S.-Philippines alliance, is pressuring the U.S. imperialists not to withdraw but merely to pay compensation for maintaining their bases. By this "anti-imperialist" bargaining the Marcos military dictatorship hopes to obtain the revenue needed to escalate the brutal war against the Muslim and Maoist insurgents.

Likewise searching for some manifestation of Chinese "support" for the guerrilla forces in the Philippines, Thailand and Malaysia, the American Maoists point to the recent Chinese messages addressed to the several pro-Peking parties in Southeast Asia. While Chinese lip service may reassure or console Mao's loyal followers, these statements do not perturb the more sagacious bourgeois regimes in the region. For instance, Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik in an interview with the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (4 July) was asked, "Is it true that China did make a statement in support of the outlawed PKI [Communist Party of Indonesia]?" He replied, "we found out from one of the embassies in Peking that it was, in fact, only a routine congratulations, every year, like the one they send to all communist parties." (In 1965 the three million strong PKI, whose pro-Peking leadership had politically and militarily subordinated the workers and peasants to the "anti-imperialist" Sukarno regime for the sake of maintaining their Chinese mentor's "peaceful coexistence" with a "non-aligned" Indonesia, was crushed by a coup and subsequently outlawed; over 500,000 Communists were victims of Mao's "two-line struggle"!)

Subjectively revolutionary youth who mistakenly seek in Maoism a strategy for proletarian revolution must confront the colossal betrayals of the interest of the international proletariat by the Chinese bureaucracy. The Chinese Stalinists pour extravagant aid

into the coffers of the class enemy, from Mobutu to Bandaranaike, but the pro-Peking insurgent forces whose struggles are detrimental to "peaceful coexistence" receive nothing. The Chinese Stalinists dispense face-saving formulaic revolutionary rhetoric, but their bourgeois allies are given the green light to liquidate the guerrillas, assured of China's "non-interference" and perhaps earning a fat Chinese loan for filling their rivers with decapitated corpses, as did Bandaranaike. The emancipation of the masses of Asia from the excruciating yoke of capitalism and feudal reaction, and the defense of the existing revolutionary gains embodied in the property foundations of the Sino-Soviet states from imperialist attack, require the forging of Trotskyist parties throughout Asia and the ousting of the Stalinist bureaucracies by workers political revolutions. ■

## Corrections

In the last issue of *Young Spartacus* (July-August 1975) the article "Budget Cuts, Tuition Hike Ignite Student Protest at Wayne State," in recounting the June 13 demonstration called by the WSU Ad Hoc Committee Against Tuition Hikes and Cutbacks, stated: "When the Committee spokesman began to address the demonstration on putting the question of entry [into the Board of Governors meeting] to a vote, the YSA supporters began shouting and even turned off the microphone."

The precise sequence of events was as follows: First a supporter of the Progressive Labor Party, in an attempt to circumvent the leadership of the Ad Hoc Committee, called upon the crowd to enter the building and confront the bureaucrats. As the PL representative was speaking, a politically unaffiliated student disconnected the sound system. When the microphone was again functioning, the representative of the Committee as planned began to address the demonstration on the question of entering the building. It was at this time that a supporter of the Young Socialist Alliance attempted to disconnect the sound system, but fortunately was stopped by PL and others.

The article "Canadian Spartacist Protest Deportations" carries a photograph of our comrades of the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency in a Toronto anti-deportations demonstration. However, this is not the demonstration against the Green Paper in June (witness the heavy overcoats!), but rather a demonstration last winter against the deportation of Haitians.

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**Young  
Spartacus**

# SWP/YSA Defends "Right" of

At San Francisco State University on March 10 a united-front demonstration initiated and largely built by the Spartacus Youth League under the slogan "No Platform for Fascists!" confronted and drove off campus a gang of Nazis, who unfortunately had been invited to present their fascist "ideas" before a speech class. The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), not only did absolutely nothing to protest the appearance of the fascists, but chiming in with the administration even denounced the well-publicized militant demonstration as "unfortunate," "counterproductive" and a "disruption"!

During the night of April 23, the YSA's office at Cleveland State University was ransacked and vandalized by fascist hoodlums, who left behind threatening signs carrying racist, anti-semitic and anti-communist slogans. The SYL at CSU immediately called for a broad united-front protest demonstration around the slogans "For United Defense Against Fascist Attack!" and "Down With Fascist Scum!" The YSA not only refused to endorse or even participate in the April 29 demonstration held in its defense, but actively sought to sabotage it, attempting to dissuade endorsers from attending and harassing the SYL. Failing in this, the YSA dashed off an indignant letter to the campus press (*Cauldron*, 1 May), condemning the highly visible demonstration as "meaningless"! As its response the YSA called a press conference (the only press to attend was *Young Spartacus*), where once again these social democrats begged for the cops to protect them. (For an example of how the Cleveland cops "protect" civil liberties, see "Cleveland Killer Cops Gun Down Black Youth" in this issue.)

In the past period the SYL has sharply exposed as craven reformism and flabby civil libertarianism the SWP/YSA's opposition to militant actions against the fascists and its reliance upon the repressive arm of the bourgeois state for protection. Apparently feeling the sting of our lashing polemical criticism, the SWP/YSA in two lengthy articles (*Young Socialist*, July-August 1975, and *International*

*Socialist Review*, August 1975) recently has attacked the Spartacist League and SYL, finally admitting and defending politically its demonstrated attitude toward anti-fascist struggle.

With the hoary phrases of liberalism and pacifism the SWP/YSA claims that since fascism is undemocratic, the consistent championing of "democracy" is the most effective means of combatting the fascist menace. These gas-bags and poltroons wax eloquent

While small in numbers today, the fascists even now are dangerous. The very fact that the fascists can rear their heads indicates a receptivity or tolerance for their presence.

Unlike vulgar democrats, Marxists recognize no "right" of free speech for fascists. The defense of the working class, gentlemen of the SWP/YSA, can be assured *only* if the labor movement "begins by placing qualifications on democratic rights in the case of fas-

to assemble forces" (*Young Spartacus*, 12 October 1934). In its resolution, "The Youth in the Struggle Against American Fascism" (*Young Spartacus*, October 1934), the SYL likewise boldly asserted, "Every right of the working class must be defended—every right of the Fascists must be taken away by us."

When in 1939 the SWP's call for a militant counterdemonstration to break up a fascist rally in Madison Square

## A Short History of Liberalism



TO THE POINT: Cartoons from the Trotskyist press of late 1930's ridicule present SWP/YSA line.

in opposition to any infringement of the alleged "rights" of the fascists, passionately arguing that

"an effective struggle against reactionary ideas and violence cannot be carried out if one begins by placing qualifications on democratic rights in the case of fascists.... Because of the importance of democratic rights to the oppressed, the denial of this right to racists or fascists can only backfire."

—*International Socialist Review*, August 1975

Thus, the SWP/YSA respects the alleged "rights" of free speech and assembly for fascists "without qualifications" (*Young Socialist*, July-August 1975). Period.

## No Platform for Fascist Scum!

The Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan and other fascists are ultra-reactionary armed thugs in semi-political garb who mobilize for *action*: terrorization and genocide against black people and Jews, smashing of the labor movement, extermination of communists, and totalitarian suppression of bourgeois-democratic rights and institutions. Unlike conservative bourgeois politicians (George Wallace), right-wing propaganda groups (John Birch Society) or reactionary academic charlatans (William Shockley), fascist gangs represent an extra-parliamentary, paramilitary extremist movement offering the bourgeoisie in a period of extreme capitalist crisis the ultimate weapon for smashing the workers movement.

Fascists are the sworn enemy of the working class and racial, ethnic and religious minorities. Fascists recruit and grow not through political campaigning, but through demonstrating in action their intentions and strength. Today these racist beasts torture and murder black people, lusting to herd millions of black victims into gas chambers tomorrow. Today the fascist sadists assault communists and even left-liberals, yearning to fill concentration camps tomorrow. Fascist "speech" is a call for destroying all rights for the labor movement and annihilating black people and commu-

nists." Upholding the "right" of fascists to work for the destruction of the left and labor movement "can only backfire." The labor movement never has recognized the "right" of scabs to break strikes and starve out striking workers. Likewise, labor does not respect the "right" of fascists to pulverize working-class organizations and murder the oppressed.

For socialists, denial of "civil liberties" for murderous fascist gangs is a right of the labor movement, not the capitalist government. Any government ban against extremist armed groups always will be used as a bludgeon against the left, not the right. For every fascist persecuted by the state thousands of labor militants and leftists will be victimized.

The SWP/YSA lectures us on this truism—knowing full well that the SL/SYL has never once called upon the *state* to ban or otherwise curb the fascists—because these social democrats seek to present a government ban as the only alternative to recognizing "free speech for fascists." While championing the "rights" of fascists, the SWP/YSA on more than one occasion has appealed to the bourgeois authorities to deny democratic rights for the left! Most recently, the YSA at Wayne State University attempted to have the Progressive Labor Party stripped of its status as a recognized student organization and thrown off campus (see "YSA-Attempted Purge of PL Strengthens Repression," *Young Spartacus*, July-August 1975).

## SWP vs. SWP

Throughout the 1930's, 1940's and 1950's, the SWP, then a genuinely revolutionary organization, continually warned against granting any "democratic rights" for fascists. In the 1930's the first Trotskyist youth organization in this country, the Spartacus Youth League (whose name we proudly have taken as our own), polemicized against the position of civil liberties "for all" advocated by the Social Democrats and many liberals. With regard to the fascists, the SYL called for "immediate action to obstruct their 'civil rights'

Garden brought out 50,000 people and sent the civil-libertarian guardians of "free speech for all" into a frenzy, the SWP responded with the article "Should Fascists Be Allowed the Right of Free Speech?" (*Socialist Appeal*, 3 March 1939), which concluded:

"The workers who spend all their time and energy in the abstract discussion of the Nazis' 'democratic rights'—to say nothing of working themselves into a lather in defense of these 'rights'—will end their discussion under a fascist club in a concentration camp.... The wailing and weeping about the Nazis' 'rights' can safely be left to the prissy Liberals and the phoney Democrats. The self-preservation of the working class demands that it cut through all abstract chatter and smash the fascist gangs by decisive and relentless action."

## Fascists Fear No "Exposure"

Today the SWP/YSA chatters that fascism should be combatted not by decisive and relentless action but by ideological exposure: "What is needed are actions that can demoralize the racists and politically isolate them by exposing the reactionary character of their ideas" (*Young Socialist*, July-August 1975). As a model of such action the SWP/YSA proudly points to the May 17 NAACP demonstration in Boston "in defense of the Constitution," claiming that as a result of this and the December 14 demonstration "ROAR has experienced a decline in membership and influence" (*Young Socialist*, July-August 1975).

One can hardly imagine a more foolish strategy or a more brazen lie! In Boston the racists are not in retreat, but rather are on the offensive (see "Racial Violence Intensifies" in this issue). Far from "demoralizing" the racists, the May 17 rally was menacingly taunted by a small gang of self-confident fascists. The SWP/YSA marshals in fact protected the fascists from a formidable group of demonstrators, including supporters of the SL/SYL and trade-union militants, until the cops arrived to escort the fascists safely to the

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# Free Speech for Fascist Scum!

edge of the park. Shortly later, a large number of demonstrators, enraged by the fascist provocation, streamed toward the clot of fascists, driving them out of the area entirely.

As Trotsky suggested, when the relationship of forces is overwhelmingly against the fascists, anti-fascists should give the scum a good "education":

"The tactical, or if you will, 'technical,' task was quite simple—grab every fascist or every isolated group of fascists by their collars, acquaint them with the pavement a few times, strip them of their fascist insignia and documents, and without carrying things any further, leave them with their fright and a few good black and blue marks."

—reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*, 2 December 1974

But the only "actions" advocated by the SWP/YSA are those impotent protests called by the liberal NAACP and bourgeois politicians which the SWP/YSA can tail. Although repeatedly attacked by fascists, especially in Houston and Los Angeles, the SWP/YSA has refused to call for any protest actions or to attempt organizing self-defense measures, but instead has preached reliance on the cops for protection. In Houston, the SWP/YSA publicly proclaimed its refusal to resort to measures of armed self-defense and called upon the KKK-infested Houston police to "stop despicable Ku Klux Klan from roaming the streets," fostering the dangerous illusion that "the KKK is a cowardly group who will crawl back into their holes at the first sign of the police upholding the law against them" (SWP campaign press release, 5 March 1975).

The sermonizing and impotent "mass actions" pushed by the SWP/YSA today was the same strategy advocated by the Stalinists and sellout trade-union bureaucrats in the late 1930's for fighting Jersey City Mayor Frank ("I am the law") Hague. At the time SWP leader James P. Cannon devastated the arguments about "exposing the reactionary character of his ideas":

"Fascism fears no 'scandal' and is not to be bluffed. It has to be beaten down. It is not sufficient to denounce Hague as a violator of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. These documents are sacred only for the dupes of capitalist propaganda, not for the real masters themselves. The workers in reality have only such rights as they are ready and able to defend with their own strength. Everything else under the subject of democratic rights is a lie. Hague, the authentic American fascist, answers all palaver with brutal force. For their part, the magnates of industry and finance, alarmed by labor's

aggressiveness of the past few years, cannot fail to notice with satisfaction that all the arguments in court and all the pious sermons and editorials about the Constitution carry little weight against the fists and clubs of Hague's hoodlums. *Force is the argument of the advance guard of American fascism. Woe to the workers of America if they do not learn in time to talk the same language!*" [emphasis ours]

—*Socialist Appeal*, 9 July 1938

## SWP Turns the Other Cheek

The oh-so-respectable SWP/YSA today is categorically opposed to using force against the fascists:

"Another argument used to justify a call for banning or physically breaking up reactionary meetings is that fascism can thereby be 'nipped in the bud,' or somehow 'stopped even before it gets started."

"For example, the *Young Spartacus*, publication of the SYL, carried an article in its June 1975 issue that prominently displayed in large letters a quote attributed to the German fascist leader Joseph Goebbels: 'If the enemy had known how weak we were, it would probably have reduced us to jelly... It would have crushed in blood the very beginning of our work.' The implication is that that is precisely what should be done today."

—*International Socialist Review*, August 1975

When still a revolutionary party, the SWP always contended that fascism could and must be "nipped in the bud." Trotsky hammered home this lesson over and over. When the workers who pummeled the fascists at the 1939 Madison Square Garden rally were denounced as "intolerant" by a chorus of liberals, the *Northwest Organizer* (2 March 1939), newspaper of the Trotskyist-led Teamsters Local 544 in Minneapolis, enthusiastically responded, "Three cheers for such intolerance!" As for the Goebbels quote, from which the SWP/YSA today shrinks aghast, this very same quotation—in bold print, mind you—was used by none other than SWP leader Joseph Hansen in a 1939 article on fighting fascism (*Socialist Appeal*, 14 July 1939), precisely for its "implication":

## For Workers Defense Guards!

The experience of the SWP's anti-fascist campaign in the late 1930's was codified in the *Transitional Program*, one of the founding programmatic documents of the Fourth International. Denouncing the reformist Social Democrats and Stalinist bureaucrats for hiding behind the "sacredness of democracy," the *Transitional Program* states:

"The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office but in the factory—and ends in the street. ... In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating workers' groups for self-defense."

For years the SWP raised the slogan of workers defense guards as the answer to fascist attacks. "Form Workers Defense Committees!" "Labor Guard Must Answer Hague Menace," "Fight Fascism With Workers' Guards!" and "Answer Hague and Harvey with Workers' Defense" are the titles of just a few of the many agitational articles published in the *Socialist Appeal* and later in the *Militant*. Around the time of the 1939 Madison Square Garden rally, several substantial articles calling for workers defense guards were published which stand as powerful polemics against the SWP and NAACP today:

"...the best of the workers must be organized into Workers Defense Guards, prepared and trained to smash the fascist gangs. There is no other

way. The fascist gangs do not believe in abiding by the results of the ballot-box, or by any other peaceful procedure. On the contrary, the fascists plan to come to power by physical violence against the labor movement and anti-fascists generally. To appeal to 'democracy' against the fascists is like trying to stop bullets with the biblical edict 'Thou Shalt Not Kill.'"

—*Socialist Appeal*, 14 March 1939

According to the SWP/YSA today, the only way to stop the fascist gangs is by staging parades which are led by Bible-quoting Uncle Toms and ballot-conscious bourgeois politicians and which are kept peaceful, even in the face of fascist provocation, by SWP/YSA marshals.

While the ability of socialist and labor militants to organize defense guards or successfully disperse the fascists depends on the level of class struggle and influence of the vanguard party, Trotskyists always explain in our propaganda and agitation that this strategy is the only way to guarantee the defense of the workers and black people from fascist and racist attacks. During the 1930's and 1940's, when the SWP had developed modest but significant roots in the labor movement, the Trotskyists succeeded in organizing some union defense guards, most notably the Union Defense Guard organized in 1938 by Teamsters Local 544 in Minneapolis. Other unions also had organized squads against fascists such as the rural-based Silver Shirts; a Youngstown, Ohio, union defense guard had the honor of breaking up a meeting of this organization. The motto of the guard was "Offense is the best defense!" (reported in *Northwest Organizer*, 24 November 1938).

When forced to address the question of labor/black defense guards, the SWP/YSA today mutters that since such formations do not now exist it would be "irresponsible" to call for them. But even at the height of its isolation during the McCarthyite witchhunt, when the tasks of calling for and organizing workers defense guards was tenfold more difficult, the SWP still propagandistically explained the need for workers defense guards. A 1954 SWP pamphlet, "Racist Terror at Trumbull Park, Chicago," argued against the NAACP's criminal reliance on the bourgeois government, as follows:

"The Socialist Workers Party knows the fascist attack can be stopped at Trumbull Park. Not by depending on the bosses' representatives in City Hall—but by depending on the workers."

"No confidence in the bosses! No confidence in the bosses' parties! Confidence in a workers' demonstration! Confidence in a workers' defense committee!"

Today the SWP/YSA "answers" fascist attacks by preaching confidence in the bosses' state and by denouncing independent working-class action. This "answer" would bring nothing less than defeat for the workers movement, including the reformist SWP/YSA. ■

## In Next Issue

Why SWP/YSA, in calling for a "New Civil Rights Movement," must falsify history of struggle against Jim Crow and betrayals of NAACP.

Don't Miss It!

## Letter

### Resignation from the Young Socialist Alliance

Dear Comrades,

I have been concerned with the YSA's non-revolutionary approach for some time. I am particularly concerned about the YSA position on Black nationalism.

The YSA campaign around the 17 May marches showed the YSA shrinking into petty-bourgeois reformism and away from the basic class struggle. As Marxists we must see the Black movement as part of the larger class struggle. Tailing behind the NAACP can only lead the YSA away from that struggle. That's what really happened around the 17 May marches. In Los Angeles the YSA did not even have a YSA speaker. Laura Moorhead spoke for SCAR. While there were liberals and preachers abounding Willie Mae Reid was there and she just stayed on the side. There was the SWP vice presidential candidate, on tour, and she could easily have spoken. Instead it was arranged so there were no revolutionary speakers.

I have also had questions about the YSA demanding troops to be sent to Boston. Last weekend I had the chance to see the issue discussed at the "educational weekend," when some comrades from the Spartacus Youth League came. Even with the short time you allowed for discussion I could see the YSA and Comrade DeBerry did not answer the many charges of these comrades. All you said was that the Spartacist League "wanted the oppressed to wait," and that they "abstained." But they pointed to very real things that are being done today in unions, by groups like the Labor Struggle Caucus in Chicago. I am still waiting to hear why the *Militant* never mentioned this

important development, when so many other left newspapers did.

In contrast to the kind of example the Spartacists pointed to, Comrade DeBerry answered a question I raised by giving an example of workers at UPS somewhere who had united. What had they united to do? Defend a Black family's home? No. They had united so that the Blacks could have the Black-nationalist flag on their trucks, and the whites could have what DeBerry called "Old Glory." He seemed to think this was a great step forward. To me this seems to be a good example of what is wrong with the YSA approach—you think this is a model to hold up.

After serious consideration I have decided that I can no longer maintain my membership in the YSA. I haven't been a member for very long, and it would be all too easy for me to get discouraged and drop out. Or I could conclude that if the YSA is Trotskyist, as it says, then there must be something wrong with Trotskyism. But these are not my thoughts. I still see the need for building a revolutionary movement. I think this could best be accomplished by my full participation with the Spartacist revolutionary organizations. I have learned that any similarity between the YSA and a socialist organization is purely accidental. From my experience so far the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League look very different. I intend to work with them and think that this will confirm what I now think—that the Spartacists should be welcomed by everyone who wishes to see a true revolutionary Trotskyist movement in action.

Jim H.

July 3, 1975

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## At Fourth National Conference

# SYL Plans Political Offensives

Over 130 delegates and observers met over the Fourth of July weekend in the Midwest for the Fourth National Conference of the Spartacus Youth League. The steady and dynamic growth of the SL/SYL over the past year is mainly the result of recruitment by the SYL's campus fractions. Approximately 40 percent of the SYL membership has been recruited in the last year, confirming once again the essential role of our Leninist youth organization for increasing and replenishing the ranks of communist militants with youth prepared to wage revolutionary struggle in the trade unions and other arenas of SL work.

The conference discussions left no doubt that the SYL will continue to develop authority as the communist pole of attraction for radicalizing students seeking a revolutionary world view and strategy for action. This fall the SYL will have established activist fractions on 21 of the major college and university campuses in the country, from Berkeley to Harvard and from Madison to the University of Houston. Having achieved significant gains both in recruitment and influence through regional work last year, the SYL also will be conducting systematic contacting and sales of *Young Spartacus* and *Workers Vanguard* at 15-20 other campuses which have been political centers in the past, such as Kent State, Bloomington and Stanford.

In discussions the delegates evaluated a year of interventionist and politically powerful campus cam-

paigns, especially the anti-ROTC and anti-fascist work in the Bay Area, the Chicago and Ann Arbor strike-support work and the nationwide efforts of the SL/SYL in support of busing and a labor/black defense of black people threatened by racist violence.

paigns are an opportunity to enhance the SYL's authority as militant fighters against the capitalist state and in the interests of the working class and oppressed. They are a vehicle for presenting uniquely characteristic points of the Trotskyist program in pedagogical explanations

the most vital, burning and principled questions facing the left and working-class movement, demonstrating that only the intervention of Trotskyist leadership can point the way forward in situations of upsurge and social crisis.

The SL/US delegation to the SYL

Delegates voting during session of SYL conference.



Drawing the lessons of these modestly successful efforts to mobilize students produced fruitful insights about the role of campaigns for a Trotskyist propaganda league. Cam-

accessible to broad layers of students. Far from advocating activism for its own sake or engaging in stupid publicity stunts à la the RSB, the SYL will seek to initiate campaigns around

conference stressed that the projected leap to the weekly *Workers Vanguard* would transform our campus work as well as the rhythm of the entire SL/SYL common movement in the fall.

The Fourth National Conference of the Spartacus Youth League heard rousing messages of fraternal greeting from representatives of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands, Nucleo Spartacista d'Italia, Ligue Trotskyste de France, Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency and Spartacist League (U.S.A.). The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand and the Osterreichische Bolschewiki-Leninisten unfortunately were unable to send representatives to the conference.

Below are excerpts from the messages which our comrades delivered to the assembled conference participants:

"We are a young organization... We're looking to establish two campus fractions, one at the University of Toronto and one at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia... We do look to the work of the SYL, given that we have very little experience in this arena... and so, 'Forward to the Spartacus Youth League of Canada!'"

—representative of the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency

"The tasks are to guide the social struggles in which the proletariat emerges as a class for itself and at the same time to provide the continuity of theory and organization. The active participation of the comrades in social struggles is the implementation of Marxist theory and program. This constitutes the conditions for a correct internal party life—democratic and revolutionary—in the organization. These are the tasks of the party and of the youth section... I bring you greetings from the Italian nucleus!"

—representative of the Nucleo Spartacista d'Italia

"We Trotskyists are not modest, we are, in the words of Karl Marx, not frightened by the monstrosity of our own aims... So we [in Germany] are quite optimistic, and I especially, since here at this conference I can see the spirit of common work. It is in this spirit of common work for the rebuilding of our world party that I am happy and very proud to forward to your conference the revolutionary greetings of the Trotskyist League of Germany!"

—representative of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands

"There's the question of what your party wants from you... we want recruits... and we want new party cadre. It's outstanding, for example, that the burden of the task of developing our black membership into cadre primarily falls to the youth... and comrades should feel a great pleasure in this. This will generally be true of the need to develop that next generation of party leadership... We look forward very much to the work of the SYL in the next period under a real leadership that is able to lead it forward... Good luck in your Fourth Conference!"

—representative of the Spartacist League (U.S.A.)

"For us the work at these conferences is something very, very important... I would just also like to congratulate you for the very excellent paper which you put out which is probably a model of a Trotskyist press... At this moment it is a bit early to begin thinking of the rebuilding of Trotskyist youth leagues in France or anywhere else in Europe—obviously because of the size of our forces—but we should be working in that direction as part of the work for the rebirth of the Fourth International!"

—representative of the Ligue Trotskyste de France

The comrade from the Ligue Trotskyste de France absorbed the attention of the assembled delegates and observers at the SYL conference with a recounting of the May 1968 events in France. In those months the comrade was one of the thousands of students and workers to join the fighting on the barricades in protest against the vicious police assaults on student leaders. These demonstrations sparked a massive general strike and were the prelude to a pre-revolutionary situation in which 10 million French workers shook the very foundations of capitalist rule.

"...The importance of the barricades in May '68 was to show that it was possible to resist the attacks of the cops, that is the state, which means that it is possible to struggle. That is the essential lesson which the French working class drew out of May '68. It is only in this sense that it is occasionally important to conduct exemplary military conduct, and in this sense it was absolutely necessary to fight on the barricades.

"One must also keep in mind that every night when a new barricade would go up that meant at least 5,000-10,000 people behind it. At first it was simply students but more and more it was also young workers. It was that which was to lead to the unfolding of the general strike....

"[May 13th] was the largest demonstration which ever took place in France... a demonstration of 500,000 to 1,000,000 people, where the ranks were primarily filled with workers. Also try to imagine that all these people were constantly singing the *Internationale*, that they all had red flags, that there were no economic demands to the strike, and that the main slogan was 'Ten Years of Gaullism is Enough; De Gaulle Get Out Now!'"

"The strike began that very night... Try to imagine the following... the announcer [on the radio] says a factory was just taken over and the red flag is now flying over the factory... and he continues making these announcements every 3 or 4 minutes and that this continues for several days... at the end of 3 days... 10 million strikers....

"The struggle to build a revolutionary party and a Trotskyist youth group is long and difficult. One can fairly often be tempted by pessimism... In France [the events of May '68] took place under the leadership of people who are politically completely incapable. Consider the very critical importance at that moment of even a very small group which has very strong ties and roots in the working class and which obviously has the correct program... At any given moment in history the feelings or level of the masses can change very, very profoundly and with very great speed, which of course does not mean that you will have the exact same situation of May '68, but it is for a period such as that which one must obviously work....

"The workers stopped striking not because they got their 10 percent wage increase or because they got their strike days paid. They only stopped because nobody—least of all the so-called Trotskyist organizations—proposed a solution to the crisis which they had opened. The strike retreated. It was a political defeat, but a defeat which has already begun to be overcome in the last two years. The outcome of the strike was the popular front and the struggle now must be the struggle against it.

"The lessons which we must draw from May '68 are that there are these situations, these privileged historical occurrences, whether they take the same form as May '68, or not. But at this moment it is absolutely necessary, in order that these situations may unfold in favor of the workers, that we should have prepared, and should have been preparing, for a long time the organizations which will be capable of leading the masses. That is our job—yours here and ours elsewhere—that is, the rebuilding of the Fourth International!"



A weekly press will be a genuine rallying weapon, and the decision of the SL for *WV* to go weekly is an expression of confidence in our capacity to initiate and lead the activities of our supporters in the unions and elsewhere.

The increased press frequency and the influence that it portends will undoubtedly augment our forces with new recruits, but the period of transition will put severe strains on the SL and SYL, demanding the most conscious and careful planning and selection of priorities. The weekly frequency will also allow the party press to cover the campus work of the SYL with more regularity.

### Our "Socialist" Competitors

The work of the SYL to expose our opponents, as the delegates emphasized, should be inspired by an understanding that the workers movement must be politically cleansed of those who would lead the masses to defeat. Persistent and unremitting offensives directed against the ostensibly revolutionary organizations were deemed a high priority for the campus fractions in the fall.

Given the popularity of China among radical and left-liberal youth and the adaptability of Mao Thought to non-proletarian political sentiments, such as pseudo-nationalism and student power, the Maoists, in particular the Revolutionary Union/Revolutionary Student Brigade, remain numerically larger and more influential than the SL/SYL, although when in direct competition, we occasionally have been able to render them organizationally impotent (e.g., in Berkeley). The high-volume polemics within the American Maoist movement over the last year have given the superficial impression of enormous political ferment. However, the Maoists remain fundamentally loyal to the line of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy and committed to upholding its privileged interests, so all the polemical snorting, point scoring, line changes and "Trotskyite" baiting do not reflect any decisive programmatic motion.

The Maoists' dodging over the spectrum of political positions is based on a New Left/Stalinist conception of program: "struggle" is the all-important goal and political shifts are justified by the "discovery" of the "new" period. While the RU has consolidated around an indisputably reactionary position on the black question, this political shift no more places it decisively to the right of the October League than does the RU's "jamming the unions" rhetoric place it decisively to the left of the OL, which is overtly vying for a niche in the trade-union bureaucracy.

The Maoists' change from a "Third-Worldist," multi-vanguardist strategic-union-front line to an emphasis on "building the party" and on the role of the working class does not represent any qualitative leftward motion but instead is an attempt to harden their respective memberships and to codify their appetites for growth into slogans which define each sect's primary "turf." Thus the OL, in addition to seeking to ingratiate itself with the trade-union bureaucracy, is also currently the most shamelessly forthright apologist for the Chinese bureaucracy.

The RU, pressured by the opportunities of an expanding student base and of influence with the Iranian Students Association, felt compelled to risk the charge of heresy over Iran, although never breaking fundamentally with the Chinese justification for alliance with the Shah. To compensate, the RU demonstrated its devotion to the Peking bureaucracy by being the first to justify "theoretically" Chinese support to Western militarism against the USSR (*Red Papers* 7)—a task which even the Chinese have never risked, for in the garbled explanations of Stalin's "weaknesses" and restorationist tendencies in the bureaucracy lurks the specter of Trotskyism.

The Maoists' vicious anti-USSR diatribes come increasingly to the fore as the Chinese step up their maneuvers against Russia and their support to NATO. This issue will be the focus of much of the SYL's polemics against the Maoists; we will insistently hammer home that the conclusion of the "Soviet social-imperialism" line is support to NATO and that an attack on the Soviet Union by imperialism poses the gravest threat to the rest of the deformed workers states, in particular, China. At this juncture the SYL will be on the offensive around this issue, for a pro-NATO line will do little to endear the Maoists to the majority of American student radicals.

Furthermore, this issue must be hit hard in an attempt to discredit and sterilize the Maoists' unabashedly anti-communist propaganda. Should the examples of the Indochinese revolvers make some Maoists skeptical of the "two-stage revolution" myth, the SYL may have for a period an important contradiction to intersect and to exploit.

The RU's plans to transform its "anti-imperialist" RSB into a "young communist league," youth group of the "new Revolutionary Communist Party" (née RU), were also discussed at the SYL conference. This move by the RU has apparently met with predictable opposition; the RSB conference scheduled for June was postponed to the fall, obviously to allow RU members to canvas the country building support for and weeding out the opposition to their proposals. Such a "ycl" promises to look very much like the RSB—a profusion of front groups. However, this "ycl," unlike the RSB, will be ostensibly anti-capitalist and politically responsible for defending the line of the RU, thus potentially more vulnerable to SYL polemics and interventions.

The other nation-wide ostensibly socialist organization on the campuses, the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance, continues its social-democratic degeneration, openly demonstrating its non-revolutionary intentions at every turn. On the campuses the YSA generally remains larger than the SYL, but increasingly the SWP/YSA has been forced publicly to attack the SL/SYL. The SWP/YSA relies on "machine politics" to extend its influence. Thus, although there was manifestly little support generated on the campuses for the February NSCAR conference or for the May NAACP march, large turn-outs were insured through the SWP/YSA's "connections" in student governments, the NAACP, etc.

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The disgusting reformism of the SWP/YSA is of great use to the SL/SYL's other political opponents, especially the Maoists. When the Maoists want to inoculate their supporters against Trotskyism they can still conveniently cite the betrayals of the SWP/YSA. To a limited degree we have been successful in gaining recognition as the genuine Trotskyists. This is not the least important reason for our continued polemics against the SWP/YSA.

### Forward to Another Year of Struggle!

Having voted on the documents and resolutions, the delegates elected the incoming SYL National Committee. The delegates then joined in a spirited singing of the *Internationale*, reaffirming their determination and enthusiasm for the political struggles and organizing efforts ahead. ■

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## Boston...

Continued from page 1

next day a meeting of black organizations was called at the Freedom House in Roxbury and attracted a broad spectrum of groups, from the liberal NAACP, legislative Black Caucus and the National Student Coalition Against Racism (front group of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance) to the newly formed black-nationalist United Black Strategists. The meeting decided to hold a "Black Community Picnic and Swim-In" at Carson Beach on August 10 for the purpose of "testing," as Atkins put it, the commitment of local and state officials to protect black people.

This criminally dangerous scheme would be regarded by the well-organized racists as a "black invasion," and Atkins knew it. Like Democrat Bill Owens, who recklessly led the December 14 march into a senseless confrontation with the cops simply as a self-serving demonstration of his "militancy," the do-nothing misleader Atkins, who has only preached reliance on the racist government and faith in god, proposed to lead a relatively small number of defenseless black demonstrators through hostile neighborhoods and into a dangerous confrontation with the racists so that his followers hopefully could get the militancy out of their systems before busing resumed in the fall. Atkins will risk a possible massacre but refuses to call for organized labor/black defense of busing which could confront and defeat the racists.

### "Let the Cops Do the Job"

When the motorcade arrived at the beach the black demonstrators were met by a racist mob prepared for a melee. The confrontation quickly developed into a three-hour pitched battle between an estimated 2,000 blacks and 4,000 whites, with both sides hurling rocks and bottles. The 800 police, supposedly there to protect civil rights, kept the black demonstrators confined to a narrow strip of beach, enforcing

this with brutal clubbing and reckless motorcycle and horse charges. Southie marshals cheered, "Let the cops do the job!" Ten were arrested and over 40 were reported injured, including one older black woman who was run over by a police motorcycle.

Unable to control the angry black crowd, Tom Atkins finally shouted, "The picnic is over." At this point some young black militants yelled out, "Atkins, you know you led us into a blood bath." (reported in *Boston Globe*, August 11). Successive cop charges drove the black demonstrators off the beach and in retreat toward Columbia Point. Roving bands of white racists rushed in pursuit, seeking skirmishes and even wrecking a passing car.

That night black youths threw up a human barricade to prevent whites from approaching the vicinity of the Columbia Point housing project. According to the bourgeois press, they also hurled objects at cars driven by whites. Because of the refusal of the trade-union and community misleaders to attempt to mobilize an integrated, labor/black defense, the just rage of Boston's black youth is translated into undirected violence rather than an organized, powerful fist for self-defense.

During the course of the "picnic," black nationalists who have attempted to exclude all whites from all pro-busing "community" actions viciously assaulted, according to the *Boston Globe* (11 August), supporters of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and its front-group Committee Against Racism (CAR), who allegedly were calling upon the black demonstrators to fight the cops. The PL and CAR protesters were reportedly beaten brutally, and one was chased into the water, beaten, forcibly submerged, yanked up by hair and then slapped by nationalists screaming "white bitch." The United Black Strategists, in particular, have since claimed "credit" for participating in the attack. Some blacks reacted to this assault, which itself was an invitation for a cop charge, by chanting, "Fight ROAR, not them!"

This anti-white exclusionism and  
*continued on next page*

# Boston...

Continued from page 9

anti-communist gangsterism of these politically bankrupt nationalists must be sharply condemned by the left and labor movement. Despite our very considerable political differences with PL and its own despicable long record of violence against other tendencies on the left (most recently PL supporters armed with clubs and wrenches on July 5 attacked at Brigham's Circle salesmen of *Spark*, press of the Party for Workers Power), we have and will continue to defend PL from attacks by the bourgeois state and by elements on the left who trample upon workers democracy.

The reaction of the police to the ensuing week of racial violence in Roxbury and South Boston was to ignore racist assaults in South Boston, while using police dogs on residents of the Mission Hill housing project and keeping the Tactical Police Force on alert in Roberto Clemente Park next to Roxbury! On August 16 a 200-strong protest march through downtown Boston was held by the Concerned Citizens of Mission Hill. This march, which was politically dominated by nationalists and policed by NSCAR marshals, correctly demanded an end to the cop invasion of Mission Hill, but instead of calling for an integrated defense force suggested a black boycott of white businesses, a sub-reformist, diversionary tactic.

## PL-CAR: Provocative Substitutionalism

The situation in Boston has been exacerbated by the provocative profile and actions of PL. Its ultra-adventurist May Day March through South Boston, during which PL chanted "death to the racists" and other real "r-r-revolutionary communist" slogans, has been followed by its "Freedom Summer" campaign, which has included small weekly demonstrations in South Boston and at several ROAR headquarters.

Having recklessly waved the red flag, PL as well as its liberal CAR is now being gored by the charging bull. In response to PL's purposively provocative incursions into "ROAR turf," the first indigenous fascist gang has emerged and is growing with alarming sympathy from the racist whites. The so-called South Boston Citizens for Self-Defense, whose core is comprised of South Boston Information Center marshals, was responsible for mobilizing racists to attack PL's May Day March through South Boston (its rabble-rousing call to arms: "bring a bat... it's open season").

This secretive gang has been training white youth for combat with baseball bats—a lethal weapon!—in South Boston parks during the summer. The racists, mobilized to drive "the Communists" out of South Boston this summer, will be the shock troops for racist attacks on the black schoolchildren in the fall.

PL's May Day March was protected from a racist mob assault largely by an army of Boston cops. But since the emergence of the South Boston Citizens for Self-Defense, the cops consistently have sided with the fascists, refusing to respond to their attacks and victimizing PL-CAR activists.

On June 14 a CAR demonstration at Upham's Corner shopping area was suddenly attacked by three carloads of baseball-bat-swinging thugs from the Citizens for Self-Defense, as the uniformed and plainclothes cops assigned to the peaceful demonstration stood by and watched. The cops who soon arrived in a fleet of squad cars simply permitted the fascists to leave and then arrested one of the seriously injured CAR supporters for "disturbing the peace"!

Shortly after a violent attack by racists on a July 23 Hyde Park CAR meeting, the cops broke into the CAR headquarters and hauled away 17 members, charging that they assaulted a ROAR member. Since the Carson Beach confrontation there have been almost

daily attacks on CAR meetings and demonstrations by the baseball-bat wielding goon squads, with frequent follow-up frame-up arrests by the cops. And on August 13 District Attorney Garrett H. Byrne stated that the "outside agitators" of PL and CAR would be immediately brought before a grand jury. It is the responsibility of the left, the labor movement and pro-integrationist forces to come to the defense of the PL-CAR activists.

PL resorts to moralistic, substitutionalist "put-your-body-on-the-line" bravado to give a militant cover to its reformist "anti-racist" program. The political focus of the "Freedom Summer" campaign was confined to a petition drive. Moreover, most of the demands of the CAR petition are innocuous reformist pablum about "quality education" which even Louise

Day Hicks could not find offensive.

PL-CAR's "solution" to the racist backlash in Boston is a call for the Boston City Council to indict Hicks and Kerrigan. Since eight of the nine city councilmen are opensympathizers of ROAR, PL-CAR is ridiculously calling on Hicks and her cohorts to indict themselves. As for the power of a liberal petition campaign, Councilman "Dapper" O'Neil, when presented by a CAR delegation with the petitions on August 18, scoffingly offered to use them as toilet paper (*Boston Evening Globe*, 19 August).

## Self-Defense in East Boston

An indication of the felt need and potential for a labor/black defense organization was the defense of black families in the Sumner and Maverick housing projects in East Boston. These

projects house the only significant concentration of black residents in East Boston, which Judge Garrity exempted from the busing plan for this fall. In the spring, black and Latin families in the Orient Heights project and elsewhere in East Boston were subjected to firebombings by racist vigilante gangs.

When the attacks began against black families in the Sumner and Maverick projects, however, the white lumpen street gangs were stopped in their tracks by the formation of an interracial defense squad. The *Boston Globe* tried to bury the story. The *New York Times*, at a safer distance, gave the cops credit. And the *Boston Phoenix* portrayed the defense actions as a race riot within the housing projects.

The self-defense effort was carried out by the black tenants of the Sumner and Maverick projects and coordinated by the East Boston People Against Racism, a community group which participated in the May 17 "March Against Racism" in Boston. Also involved in the defense were the Greater Boston Tenants and Workers Against Racism, comprised mainly of Boston area tenant organizations, and Greater Boston People Against Racism, a coalition prominently supported by the Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF).

The prime obstacle to the development of a city-wide, integrated organized labor/black defense force has been the pro-capitalist bureaucrats of the trade unions and the sellout "black community leaders" like Atkins, Owens and their ilk. By refusing politically to fight these misleaders and advance a program for combatting racial oppression through a class-struggle perspective, the ostensible left has contributed to keeping the black movement under the thumb of the misleaders and hence under continued racist attack.

The fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance has wailed the longest and loudest for the murderous U.S. Army to invade Boston to "protect" black people from racist attack. The SWP/YSA hailed the decision to send the National Guard, the butchers of Kent State, into Boston this fall. In order to channel militancy into impotent protests, the SWP/YSA has organized the NSCAR to function as a youth auxiliary to the Uncle Tom leaders of the bourgeois-legalistic NAACP.

Although spouting more militant rhetoric, the WWP/YAWF likewise has politically prostrated itself before these same phony leaders. WWP/YAWF exhausted itself building a parade for black Democrat Bill Owens on December 14 and politically endorsed the social-patriotic NAACP march in Boston on May 17. While apparently conducting itself responsibly in the defense effort at the Sumner and Maverick housing projects, WWP/YAWF was centrally involved in attempting to lead the demonstrators on the December 14 march into a suicidal charge of the police lines... for the glory of Bill Owens. Furthermore, WWP/YAWF is one of the very few leftist organizations in Boston which denies that PL's tactics are adventurist.

## No Retreat! Implement Busing!

The working class and large sections of the petty bourgeoisie of this country are deeply dissatisfied and restless. The economy continues its downspin, bringing considerable insecurity and privation to broad sections of the population. At the same time the government's fiasco in Vietnam and scandals at home have seriously eroded its authority. The potential for sharp class struggle is enormous, but the anger and bitterness churning within the working class continues to be suppressed by the class-collaborationist, sellout trade-union bureaucracy. This contradiction between objective conditions and the relative quiescence in the class struggle dangerously threatens to explode in race war.

Racism is poison for the class struggle. United class action against the common enemy at the point of production is a powerful weapon for

continued on next page

# Setback for Integration in Detroit



NEWS PHOTO DUANE E. BELANGER

Racist "Breakthrough" group demonstrates against busing in Detroit.

DETROIT—On August 16 Federal Judge Robert E. De Masicio terminated months of hearings on proposals to desegregate the public school system by ruling against the busing plans submitted by both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Detroit Board of Education. Hailed as a major victory by the racists, the court decision refused to order busing for the fall on the basis of "practicalities" and so-called "legitimate educational concerns" (*Detroit Sunday News*, 17 August). De Masicio rejected setting any timetable for desegregation, and the school board, moreover, is required to demonstrate "need" for any busing measures subsequently proposed.

This court ruling against a busing plan for the city of Detroit is the latest blow by the government against desegregation of the inner-city public schools, which now are over 70 percent black. In July 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed a lower court ruling that children from Detroit be bused to the overwhelmingly white suburbs. Soon thereafter, Congress passed an education bill which carried an amendment prohibiting the busing of students beyond the limits of the next closest school.

In the U.S. today opposition to "forced busing" has become the rallying cry for all racist and reactionary forces. Boston's ROAR has already moved into Detroit and established a headquarters, while the Nazi party has set up a "training camp" in Port Huron, Michigan.

Totally capitulating to the anti-busing sentiment of racist whites, Mayor Coleman Young and "black leaders" such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the New Detroit (a black business organization) and the black-oriented *Michigan Chronicle* are scrambling to repudiate busing as a means to achieve racial integration. Mayor Young, who formerly sup-

ported busing, now believes that continued support would alienate not only his white constituency, who will support him as long as he can control the black ghetto, but also the black people of Detroit, many of whom fear that busing inevitably would bring racist mob terror, as in Boston, and then the introduction of murderous troops, as in this city during the 1967 ghetto uprising.

Unlike Boston, however, Detroit is a solidly union town. The powerful United Auto Workers in particular could be the base for organizing a movement to demand a busing plan, incorporating the relatively better suburban schools, and to ensure its implementation through integrated labor/black defense squads. With the organized might of the labor movement behind them, such labor/black defense squads could sweep aside any racist mob attacks.

Last spring, for example, Detroit UAW members participated in a defense squad organized by a black veterans group to protect a black family in Dearborn terrorized for moving into a largely white neighborhood. A similar defense effort was conducted by UAW Local 6 in Chicago at the instigation of the Labor Struggle Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the union.

But the UAW tops, several of whom sit on the executive board of the NAACP, are backing Young's new position and have been pressuring the NAACP to drop its busing proposal, inadequate as it is. What is needed for the forging of a fighting unity of black and white workers against the bosses and against the special oppression of black people is the development of class-struggle leadership within the unions, represented today by the struggles of caucuses like the UAW Labor Struggle Caucus. When conscious of its historic mission to smash capitalism, the working class, black and white united, will be invincible! ■

## Angola...

Continued from page 1

colonial possessions. Despite the treacherous and compromising petty-bourgeois leaderships of the MPLA, FNLA and UNITA, we extend military support (as distinguished from political support) to these nationalist forces when they are struggling against or are attacked by the imperialists. While both the MPLA and the FNLA in the past have fought the Portuguese, the MPLA, it should be recognized, generally has opposed Portuguese colonial rule more decisively and battled the Portuguese forces more consistently than the FNLA.

But in the present highly unstable situation, where the Portuguese colonial apparatus is disintegrating and its army for the moment remains peripheral to the conflict, and where the civil war poses the possibility of tribalist genocide, we cannot categorically call for the military victory of one force over the others.

However, unlike the FNLA and UNITA, the MPLA draws its present support from the masses of urban dispossessed, semi-proletarians and working-class elements. For the FNLA and UNITA to defeat the MPLA, the FNLA and UNITA would have to conduct wholesale slaughter and terrorism, decimating, demoralizing and dispersing the plebeian mass which can form the basis for a future independent movement of the working people.

In specific confrontations between the MPLA and FNLA and/or UNITA, most important in the battles for Luanda and Lobito, communists in Angola, while never ceasing to attack politically the treacherous MPLA leadership, might pursue the tactic of proposing episodic, concrete fighting agreements, military blocs, with the MPLA forces to defend the proletariat and poor. We recognize, however, that should communists in the course of this struggle begin to rally around their program and leadership MPLA supporters or especially to split a section of the MPLA ranks away from their bourgeois leaders, then the MPLA would turn on and savagely attack not only the communists but also its own ranks. The task of a military bloc thus could abruptly shift to defending an independent proletarian formation from the MPLA, not to mention the FNLA and UNITA.

Given their weak social bases, none of these nationalist formations who aspire to exploit the Angolan masses can hope to rule without a foreign sponsor or overlord. The MPLA receives substantial military and material aid from the Soviet Union and may well establish a self-proclaimed "socialist" (but in fact capitalist) state diplomatically aligned with Russia, not unlike Congo-Brazzaville or Somalia.

The FNLA is subservient to imperialist stooge Mobutu of Zaire (Holden Roberto is Mobutu's brother-in-law). The FNLA military units are trained and supplied by Zaire, with substantial assistance by the Chinese Stalinists, who are willing to support these vile anti-Communists against the Russians' MPLA. Zaire also is the headquarters for the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave (FLEC), which declared Cabinda "independent" on August 1 and named one Luis Ranque Franque president of its emigré government. This FLEC, which should be called the Gulf Oil Liberation Front, is bankrolled by foreign interests, and its leader, Ranque Franque, is a former high official of the French oil imperialists. Through the FNLA and FLEC Mobutu aspires to pounce on Cabinda and establish Angola as a client state of Zaire, or at least annex its northern territories.

The UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi, has the support of the apartheid government of South Africa and Zambia. Courting the Portuguese landowners and business elite, Savimbi has opposed any nationalizations and favors increased imperialist investment in Angola. As a result, the Portuguese as well as the South African white regimes have been "flocking to UNITA" (*Le Monde*, 21 April). The *Johannes-*

# Confrontation Over the "Paris Hotel" CCNY Students Fight Cutbacks

NEW YORK—After a summer of seemingly endless budget disputes between New York City Mayor Abraham Beame, "Big MAC" (the Municipal Assistance Corporation) and the municipal labor unions, students returning to the campuses of the City University of New York (CUNY) are facing the drastic slashing and possible elimination of SEEK ("Search for Education, Elevation, and Knowledge," a special state program providing funds and services overwhelmingly for minority students) and increased fees as a result of the runaway financial crisis.

Although the city spends \$2 million a year to provide free housing and even maid service (!) for 11 CUNY presidents, 150 students at the City College of New York (CCNY) were threatened this summer with eviction from an aging dorm (the "Paris Hotel"), which provided the SEEK students with rent-free accommodations. While the Board of Higher Education (BHE) has considered abandoning this dorm for several years, the city finally announced the closing during the summer recess, when students and teachers would least be able to mobilize protests.

On August 12, three days before the scheduled closing of the run-down hotel, about 50 SEEK students began a sit-in at the office of Dean Robert Young in the BHE headquarters, demanding an extension of the lease. The sit-in soon was extended to the BHE payroll and personnel offices. A compromise was worked out for phasing out the dorm: a three-year extension on the lease was negotiated, but no new students will be enrolled in the residency program.

The Spartacus Youth League solidarizes with the grievances of the SEEK students who resorted to the sit-in at the BHE headquarters. But even with the administration's concession, SEEK students still will live in the woefully inadequate "Paris Hotel." Rather than accepting the status quo in the capitalist educational system and only fighting to rescind the cuts and restore the previous inadequate

facilities, the SYL demands free, quality higher education for all who wish to learn. The stipend offered to the SEEK students is a pittance: \$11 every two weeks! To make CUNY's open admissions program economically meaningful, we demand that the state provide students with full stipends adequate to cover all living expenses. To allow those with children to attend school the state must provide free, 24-hour professional daycare centers.

CUNY has been allotted a budget from the city which is \$87 million less than what university officials say is needed to run the university. The BHE will make up about \$68 million of this by increasing mandatory fees, which constitute disguised tuition, by placing a freeze on new programs, while phasing out old ones and by admitting no out-of-state students in the fall. The faculty will face greater workloads and enjoy fewer leaves. In addition, there will be no replacement of personnel and no new appointments. The remaining \$19 million deficit will be compensated through an across-the-board slashing of university services. Moreover, the city may still axe another \$32 million from the CUNY budget.

The SYL has participated in struggles against tuition hikes and budget cutbacks within the CUNY system and across the country. While fighting for broad-based, united-front actions by those affected and threatened by the cutbacks, the SYL emphasizes that without the working class, whose role in production gives it the social power to smash capitalism, such mobilizations cannot be assured of victory. The two day wildcat of New York City sanitation workers in July dramatically demonstrated that strike action is a real threat to the bourgeoisie. The muscle of organized labor can mean victory for the working people in the present financial tug-of-war with the capitalist city and state government.

While often an appropriate militant tactic for political protest, sit-ins by themselves cannot roll back the capital-

ists' present austerity program in New York. What is needed in New York City now is a joint labor/student mobilization posing a city-wide general strike against the layoffs, wage freeze and cutbacks and demanding cancellation of the municipal debt and expropriation of the banks without compensation.

Clearly "Big MAC" now is deciding the fate of educational programs at the CUNY campuses. Educational opportunities for thousands of New York students hang on the figures ruthlessly calculated by a handful of greedy fat-cat bankers in some smoke-filled room. All the pretense of democratic city government exercised by duly elected city officials responsible only to the electorate has been abandoned as the financial moguls flaunt their power. Marxists have always explained that bourgeois democracy is, as Lenin declared, "a paradise for the rich and a snare and a deception for the exploited, for the poor," and that democratic institutions in fact "are subjected by the stock exchange and the bankers" (*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*). In New York City today the "dictatorship of capital" is naked. Abolish the BHE! Let the universities be controlled by the students, faculty and campus workers!

### Forum:

"FOR A LABOR-STUDENT  
MOBILIZATION TO FIGHT  
THE NYC CRISIS"

A trade-union militant  
from the UAW will be a  
special guest speaker.

Thursday, September 25  
12:00 noon  
Wagner 105  
City College, CUNY

NYC

*burg Star* in one issue alone (3 May) carried four articles on Savimbi, each overflowing with effusive praise; one article, entitled "Savimbi: Man of the Hour," hailed Savimbi as "the hope of thousands of Angola whites." Similarly, *Newsweek* (23 June) reported: "West European businessmen are lining up behind Savimbi, who shuttles around the country in a Hawker Siddeley executive jet that belongs to Lonrho, Ltd., a giant British mining and industrial empire." Permit us to record in passing that the "Man of the Hour" is also staunchly supported in this country by Baraka's Pan-Africanist Congress of Afrikan People (see the panegyrics in *Unity and Struggle*, August 1975)!

Like Zaire, South Africa also is eyeing Angola for annexations or establishment of a client state carved out of the territory presently held by UNITA. Already the South African army is reported to have invaded Angola and occupied the strategic Cunene Dam in the south (*Economist*, 16 August).

In Angola, where the native bourgeoisie is non-existent as a class, where the proletariat is weak and lacking developed class-consciousness, and where the vast rural population is divided by myriad tribal and ethnic differences, any of the petty-bourgeois nationalist formations which might come to power through military means will establish a regime of a bonapartist character, becoming the new middlemen for continued imperialist exploitation. The Angolan nationalists will follow in the steps of Nkrumah, who banned strikes and imprisoned labor militants; Nyerere, who outlawed working-class organizations; and Sekou Touré, who instituted forced labor. ■

## Boston...

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overcoming racial divisions. But it is not enough. Racism is rooted in the all-sided material oppression which black people suffer in this society. Communists must relentlessly struggle for the elimination of the social isolation of black people in segregated schools and neighborhoods.

In order to undercut white parents' fears about the safety and educational opportunities of their children in an integrated school system, socialists call for an end to the discriminatory tracking system and free, quality education for all, made economically meaningful through a state stipend to cover living expenses for all students. Furthermore, construction of low-rent,

integrated, quality public housing throughout the cities would contribute to breaking down residential segregation.

The potential for united class struggle against this racist, oppressive system will be considerably weakened if Boston explodes in a bloody race war this fall. The left, labor movement and all forces standing for integration and against the racist reaction must join forces and organize the beginnings of a labor/black defense now! ■

## Iranian Students Protest...

Continued from page 12

lead the proletariat to power. Lenin did not abandon the working class for peasant-based guerrilla war or call for an alliance with the supposedly "progressive" Russian capitalists and Orthodox Church against the Czar, and the Iranian October will not be made by the Maoist strategy of class collaborationism.

Among the ranks of the Iranian students are many who aspire to lead a struggle for the emancipation of the working masses of Iran from all wage slavery and oppression. These comrades must delve into the fundamental ideological conflict of the world working-class movement—Stalinism vs. Trotskyism—and confront the historic betrayals of their Stalinist mentors. For in the program of Trotskyism, upheld today only by the international Spartacist tendency, lies the socialist future of Iran and all countries of the world. ■

### KENT STATE

Portugal: An  
Eyewitness Report

Speaker: Richard Cramer,  
Spartacist League

Friday, October 3

Kent State University,  
Kent, Ohio

For room and time,  
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FORUM

# Young Spartacus

## Hunger Strike at Univ. of Houston

### Iranian Students Protest Shah's Repression

HOUSTON—The political atmosphere at the University of Houston (UH) campus recently was electrified by a dramatic hunger strike by about 50 members of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) to protest the savage political repression in Iran. The strike began on July 22 and was sustained for 11 days, in conjunction with strikes in San Francisco and Washington, D.C.

At UH the ISA members from Houston, as well as Texas Southern University, Lamar Tech, University of Texas and the University of Oklahoma, camped on the university grounds 24 hours a day with only water for sustenance in order to draw student attention and support for a petition which demanded: "International observers must be allowed to investigate the conditions of Iranian political prisoners; Stop torturing Iran's 40,000 political prisoners; Free all political prisoners!"

The Spartacus Youth League at UH was the only left organization to solidarize publicly with the just sentiments of the ISA, while pointing out that the tactic of a hunger strike is not an effective means of protest. Neither the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance, nor the October League, nor the Revolutionary Union, nor the Progressive Labor Party, nor the Youth Against War and Fascism as much as lifted a finger to defend the hunger strike. Particularly despicable was the attitude of the so-called "Trotskyist" SWP/YSA, which has maintained a political presence on the UH campus. When confronted by the SYL these ultra-reformist campus politicians sneered that it would not be "smart" to support the strike!

#### Chauvinist Reaction

The ISA's hunger strike in the center of campus rapidly polarized student opinion at the normally sedate UH. This determined protest by the ISA drew more attention than any other during the past year in Houston. While the spectacle of weak, prostrate Iranian students protesting the police state repression in Iran attracted signatories for the petition, the hunger strike also provoked a disgusting, chauvinist reaction (before which the "smart" SWP/YSA retreated).

From passers-by one could often hear such vituperation as "Why don't they go back home!" A particularly nauseating commentary on the hunger strike and the SYL's protest against the UH administration's attacks on foreign students appeared in the campus press (*Cougar*, 31 July):

"They quit eating for several days and wear funny masks. Somehow that seems to be just a bit ludicrous. Sort of like having the Three Stooges lead a march against stupidity.... If these lovers of 'The People' really wished to remove such horrid destroyers of democracy, perhaps they should protest a little closer to home.... It seems that those starving waifs have at least one supporter in the person of a young spartacan [sic]. He also wishes to announce his dissatisfaction with 'repressive regimes'.... Maybe one of these days I'll get around to spitting on a picture or two."

A number of letters to the campus press in subsequent weeks attacked equally the ISA and the SYL. "Do you really think," declared one attack on the SYL, "that we all stopped, looked at those sprawled bodies and with their masked faces and dirty feet" (*Cougar*,

14 August). While the "smart" SWP/YSA remained absolutely silent and absent throughout the highly controversial hunger strike, the SYL at UH attacked the bigoted backlash on campus in a leaflet as well as in letters to the campus press (*Cougar*, 7 August).

#### Administration Cracks Down on Foreign Students

Encouraging the open expression of the sick drivell appearing in the campus press has been the recent drive by the UH administration to cut back the enrollment of foreign students on campus by 30 percent through a series of measures which are clearly aimed at left-wing political activists. As an SYL letter to the campus press (*Cougar*, 24 July) pointed out, the decision by the university to increase academic standards for foreign students, moreover, on the heels of the proposed 200

percent hike in tuition for foreign students, will lead to deprivation of student status for large numbers of foreign students and hence deportations. For those who have protested the oppressive regimes in their own countries, in particular the Iranian students, this means condemnation to unspeakable tortures and often death at the bloody hands of the SAVAK, the Shah's storm troopers.

Those foreign students who opposed these measures when they were first disclosed in April were quickly intimidated by sweeps of FBI and Immigration and Naturalization Service agents through their homes and workplaces. State Representative Fred Agnich further revealed the target of these measures when he proposed in the Texas House of Representatives that the 200 percent tuition hike for foreign students be doubled for citizens of OPEC countries.



Masked for security, Iranian hunger strikers at UH assist weak compatriot. Hunger strikes are only symbolic, not effective tactic.

Finally, it has come to light that the UH administration intends to create a special committee for reviewing admissions of foreign students, which will be encouraged to reject status for any international student revealing "emotional problems, etc." In the hands of the UH administration this policy will be used to screen out left-wing foreign

students who do not share the "mental health" of students who write the anti-ISA poison-pen letters and articles appearing in the campus press.

The tuition hikes and stiff entrance requirements for foreign students is just one more aspect of a university educational system which discriminates against working-class and especially minority youth. To combat the class and race bias of education under capitalism we demand open admissions and no tuition, the nationalization of all private institutions of higher education and a state-provided stipend to cover living expenses for all students. For students who have been deprived of adequate preparatory education or otherwise suffer the disadvantages of educational deficiencies, such as many foreign students, we advocate free remedial and tutorial programs. We vigorously oppose all discrimination and undemocratic measures directed

against foreign students in this country and call for full citizenship rights for all foreign students and workers. For the Iranian students in particular, protection against politically motivated deportation can literally be a matter of life and death.

In line with its drive against radical foreign students, the UH administration denied the ISA, a duly recognized student organization, its democratic right to room facilities for the hunger strike, claiming that the action was a "health hazard" for which the university would be responsible. The ISA consequently was forced to use the arbor of the University Center.

By day the Iranian students, growing weaker and weaker from hunger, were subjected to the blazing Texas summer heat. And by night the strikers were forced onto the steps when the arbor was locked, completely vulnerable to racist, night-riding vigilante gangs who in the past have assaulted the ISA. So much for the supposed concern about the Iranians' health by the UH administration, those lackeys of the oil tycoons!

But as the strike continued, the administration, apparently misjudging the endurance and determination of the Iranian students, completely lost patience and on the tenth day of the strike threatened eviction from the arbor. At an open meeting of the University Center Policy Board attended by representatives of the ISA as well as the SYL, the administration declared that the sight of starving Iranians was "unpleasant" for students using the University Center and that the Iranian strikers were "smelly"! The administrators snarled that they were sick of "bending over backwards" (!) to accommodate the ISA. Then rose a doctor, livid with rage and actually trembling, who vented his spleen against the Iranian students and protested the "degradation" of having to treat the Iranians who fell ill from hunger.

When the ISA spokesmen attempted to speak at this "open" meeting, they were silenced almost every time. The SYL representative took the floor and denounced the undemocratic, repressive measures of the administration and explained the importance of the issues raised by the strike. It was only after the sharp intervention of the SYL that the Policy Board grudgingly voted to grant the strikers one more day. (Later the same day, however, the ISA national leadership called off the strikes in Houston, Washington and the Bay Area.)

#### ISA: Dead-End Strategy

The struggle of the ISA against the repressive regime of the Shah not only is repressed here by the government and SAVAK agents, but also is misled by the Stalinist petty-bourgeois nationalist conceptions prevalent in the ISA.

On the one hand, the ISA generally follows the Stalinist strategy of building a liberal "peoples coalition" against political repression and thus limits its propaganda to such classless slogans as "Free All Political Prisoners," rather than drawing the class line and calling for freedom for the victims of the Shah's white terror. The ISA, in accordance with the Stalinist "two-stage revolution" schema (first building a "democratic front," then struggling for socialism), refuses to raise any revolutionary demands or even indicate socialist aspirations in its struggle against the Shah.

On the other hand, the ISA refuses active collaborative support in "its" actions. At UH the ISA not only restricted the hunger strike to Iranians, but also sent away students who wished to assist in the collection of signatures. When the SYL distributed a leaflet on campus solidarizing with the strike but criticizing the strategy of the ISA, the ISA leadership flew into a rage, some even threatening our comrades with physical violence. Other ISA members attacked the leaflet for allegedly red-baiting the ISA, because it stated "Many of the students involved in this protest courageously call for the overthrow of the Shah and desire the working masses to take power in Iran."

Iran, with its fragile ruling crust, combative proletariat, desperate peasantry (in some areas subsisting on grasshoppers as a food staple!) and suppressed national minorities, may well prove to be the cockpit of revolution in the Middle and Near East. In many respects the template of Russia in 1917 fits Iran today. But lacking is a Bolshevik party which can rally the vast masses of rural poor and

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