

Young Spartacus

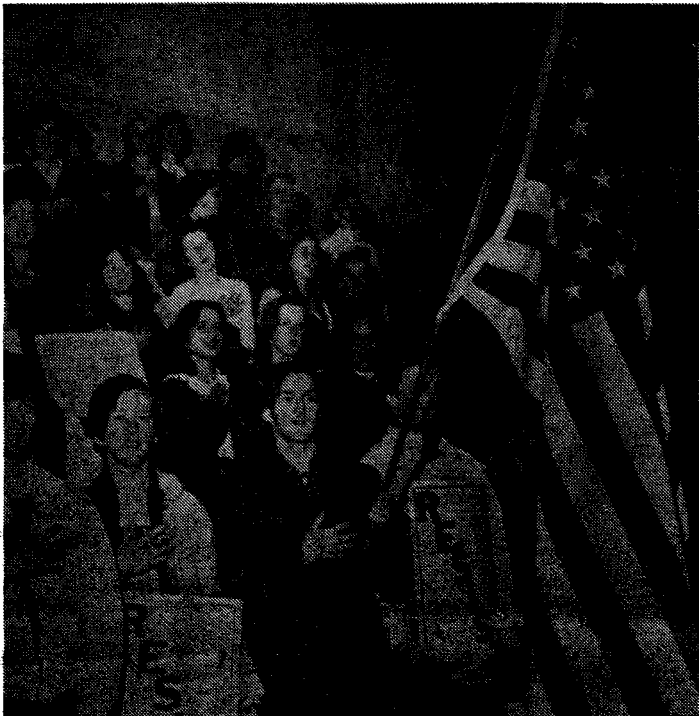
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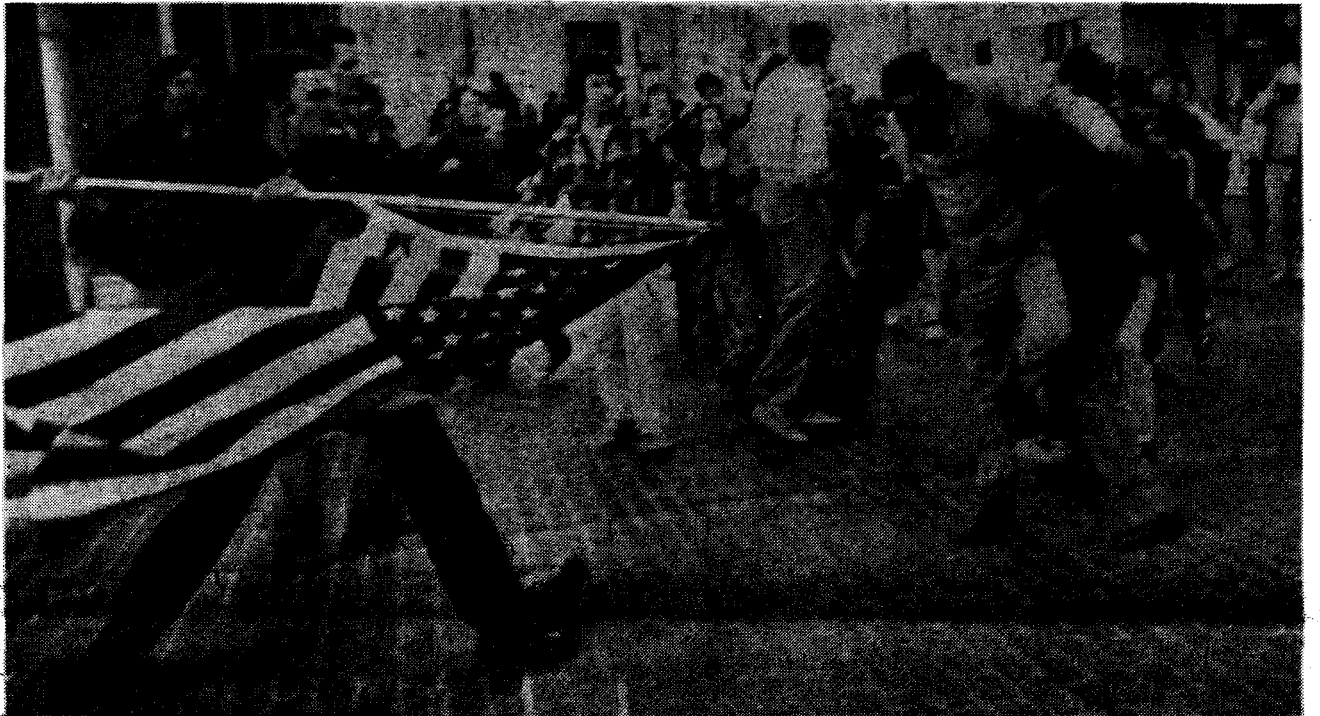
May 1976

Boston: Racist Onslaught Must Be Defeated!

Herald American Staff Photos



Herald American Staff Photos



At Boston City Hall racists "pledge allegiance" to segregation (left), then murderously charge black passerby (right).

**For Labor/Black Defense!
Cops Out of the Ghetto!**

**Enforce Desegregation—
Extend Busing to the
Suburbs!**

BOSTON—For the past several weeks Boston has been rocked by repeated racist atrocities as white backlash against court-ordered busing continues to rage.

Emboldened gangs of white bigots and paramilitary, fascist-infested "community defense squads" have plunged this city into a maelstrom of racial turbulence and violence as the racists lash out at the embattled black people and their democratic rights.

Triggering this latest convulsion of racist violence was the savage attack on a black lawyer, Theodore Landsmark, by a pack of white punks outside City Hall on April 5. This outrageous assault occurred when a rowdy crowd of racist white youth poured out of City Hall, where they had just concluded an anti-busing demonstration, replete with hot chocolate courtesy of ROAR leader and City Councilwoman Louise Day Hicks.

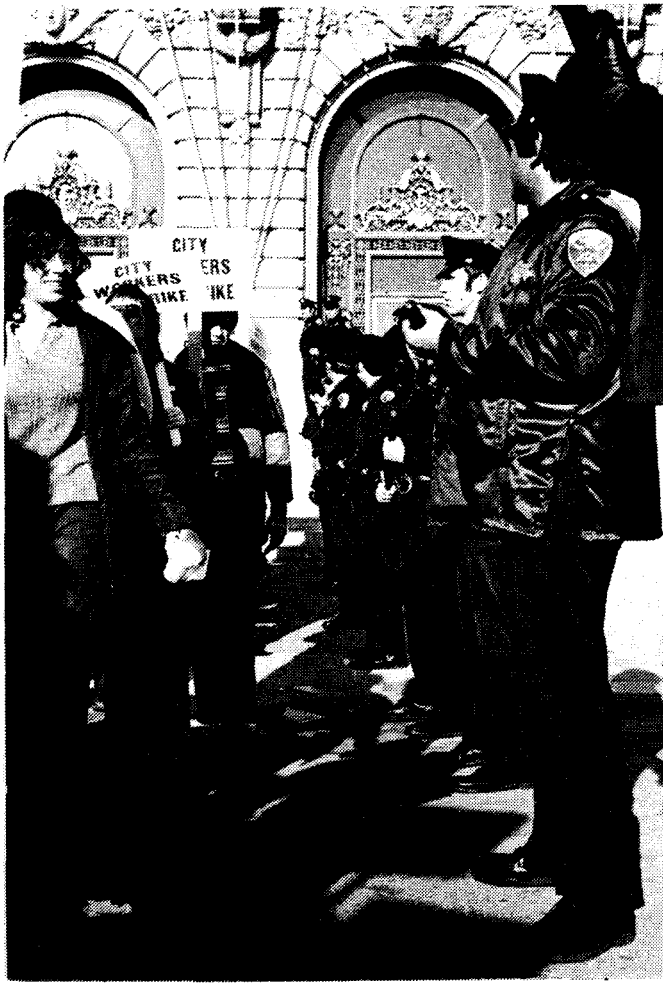
Outside, these racist youth began a scuffle with a bi-racial group of students leaving the building. Then a clot of some 15 to 20 spotted Landsmark approaching City Hall. According to the Boston *Herald-American* (6 April),

"The youths grabbed Landsmark and began to punch him.... One youth, carrying the American flag, smashed the black man viciously in the face with its staff. The staff broke his nose. His eyeglasses shattered on the brick pavement. He fell to the ground with blood gushing from the wound. The youths began to kick and punch him. They shouted, 'Get the nigger, kill him.'"

Meanwhile, "His Honor" Mayor Kevin White gazed down upon the scene of the brutal gang beating from his overlooking office window. He did nothing. At the same time the cops clustered throughout the area only intervened after Landsmark had been kicked and beaten on the ground.

continued on page 2

For a San Francisco General Strike!



San Francisco strikers confronted by cops.

Young Spartacus

SAN FRANCISCO, April 27—"It's either capitulation or a general strike."

Much as he would like, George Evankovich, president of the striking Laborers union here, can find no other alternative. Indeed, either the striking city labor unions will suffer a humiliating defeat at the hands of the union-busting Board of Supervisors, or San Francisco will have to be shut down by a general strike, which the blowhard bureaucrats in the Central Labor Council threatened three weeks ago but have done everything to prevent.

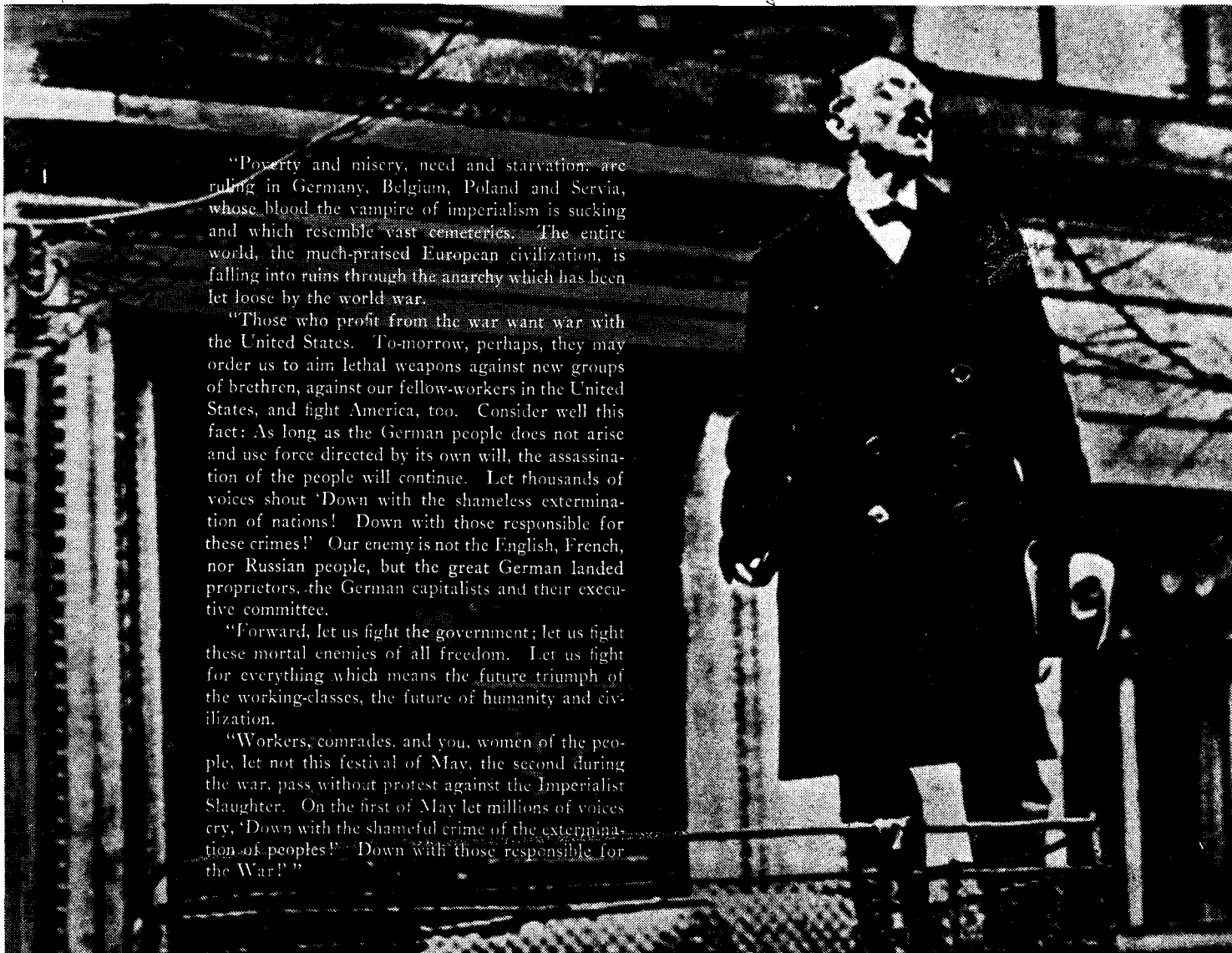
Now in its fourth week, the strike by 1,900 craft-union workers has polarized this city. The craft unions have secured the support of Transport Workers Union Local 250A, whose 2,000 members shut down the Municipal Railways (buses and cable cars) by refusing to cross picket lines set up at the transit barns. Two mass meetings of Muni drivers have demanded implementation of the call for a general strike. Yet within the Bay Area labor movement there is little active sympathy for the craft-union leadership, which condoned scabbing in the past, forced a three percent pay-"raise" on non-craft workers, and now thrashes about unable and unwilling to lead its own strike to victory.

From its side of the bargaining table the capitalist Board of Supervisors has adamantly refused to bargain over anything, pressing relentlessly for a rout of the craft unions which would prepare the field for an

continued on page 5

Salute May Day!

In the proletarian spirit of May Day, international holiday of the struggle, we reprint Karl Liebknecht's 1916 May Day Manifesto. Liebknecht, founder of the socialist youth movement, gave this historic speech 50 years ago today, when the proletariat, betrayed by reformism, was in the darkest hour of the imperialist system. His courageous and clarion call for proletarian internationalism brought him fame. But it was only months later that the red dawn of the October Revolution broke in the east, roused the German workers. For inspiring and personifying the Spartacist Uprising of 1919, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered in the white terror unleashed in its wake by the treacherous Social Democrats. In the spirit of the original Spartacist League of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the SYL greets this May Day as we prepare for the class struggle ahead.



"Poverty and misery, need and starvation, are ruling in Germany, Belgium, Poland and Serbia, whose blood the vampire of imperialism is sucking and which resemble vast cemeteries. The entire world, the much-praised European civilization, is falling into ruins through the anarchy which has been let loose by the world war.

"Those who profit from the war want war with the United States. To-morrow, perhaps, they may order us to aim lethal weapons against new groups of brethren, against our fellow-workers in the United States, and fight America, too. Consider well this fact: As long as the German people does not arise and use force directed by its own will, the assassination of the people will continue. Let thousands of voices shout 'Down with the shameless extermination of nations! Down with those responsible for these crimes!' Our enemy is not the English, French, nor Russian people, but the great German landed proprietors, the German capitalists and their executive committee.

"Forward, let us fight the government; let us fight these mortal enemies of all freedom. Let us fight for everything which means the future triumph of the working-classes, the future of humanity and civilization.

"Workers, comrades, and you, women of the people, let not this festival of May, the second during the war, pass without protest against the Imperialist Slaughter. On the first of May let millions of voices cry, 'Down with the shameful crime of the extermination of peoples!' Down with those responsible for the War!"

Snark International

Boston...

continued from page 1

As Landsmark was removed to the hospital the white mob proceeded to march to the Federal District Court, along the way "taunting several blacks with obscenities and by imitating apes." At least one black man was spat upon.

This ugly spectacle of Jim Crow terror shot into international headlines. Liberal spokesmen around the world hastened to deplore the "incident," while the racists in Boston basked in their publicity. James Kelley, the chief of the anti-busing South Boston Information Center, announced the Center's "legal and moral support" for the thugs who attacked Landsmark. Louise Day Hicks augured, "Unless busing is stopped, I am most fearful of the consequences to this city" (*Herald-American*, 8 April).

But the exchange between black legislator Robert Fortes and racist state representative Francis Coppinger captured the high-charged moods which have now gripped Boston. Warns Fortes, "If you want a blood bath in Boston...keep on." Coppinger fires back, "Thousands of white persons might be waiting for such a thing" (*Herald-American*, 7 April).

Stop the Racist Terror!

Today in Boston the democratic rights and personal safety of black people are in peril. Busing represents a means of enforcing school desegregation and must be supported. But again and again the capitalist government and its racist cops have demonstrated that they cannot be relied upon to defend black people from racist attack and implement desegregation.

Only the masses of working people independently mobilized through the mass organizations of the labor movement and black community have the strength and determination to defeat the racist offensive. Ever since the outset of busing in Boston the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League alone have raised the call for a labor/black defense to protect black people from racist attack and to defeat the racist offensive. To date urgently needed defense patrols have not been organized, in large measure because of the criminal inactivity of the trade-union bureaucrats and black community misleaders, who remain loyal to the bosses' Democratic Party.

Instead, the NAACP and black Democrats, including Massachusetts senator Bill Owens, leapt to their knees to promote an April 23 "Procession Against Violence" called by Mayor White. What hypocrisy! The "prayerful" procession, which attracted some 20,000-40,000 white middle-class marchers, was called not to protest the racist reign of terror directed against black people but to pacify the white racists, who were prepared for lynch-mob violence in the aftermath of the near-fatal beating of a white man, Richard Pollet. Both the Boston black community and the ROAR forces boycotted the march, and Mayor White prohibited all banners and chanting for fear of igniting the smoldering racial tinderbox.

With the white racist gangs well organized and on the offensive, and the embattled black masses defenseless and reeling under the onslaught, Boston hurtles toward a race riot. Each day black people are subjected to intimidation, harassment and wanton terror:

● 3 April—The paramilitary South Boston Defense League vows in a handbill to eliminate "communist filthy swine

crawling around this city."

● 5 April—Landsmark attacked; when it is reported that enraged black youth are stoning the cars driven by white motorists near the predominantly black Mission Hill housing complex, a fleet of cop cars is deployed to lay siege to the projects.

● 6 April—A black man from Dorchester is shot twice by a sniper while waiting in a car parked in Charlestown.

● 7 April—Four white thugs beat a black man bloody at an entrance to the Boston Commons.

● 9 April—A 100-strong white "safety patrol force" begins to cruise the streets of South Boston allegedly to "guard" against "outside agitators." Meanwhile, carloads of white hoods make periodic forays and punitive expeditions into Roxbury, smashing car and store windows.

● 12 April—Vandalism at William Lloyd Garrison High School forces a transfer of students.

● 14 April—Racial violence rips the all-female Cardinal Cushing High School.

● 17 April—In South Boston two black bus drivers are attacked at dawn by a half dozen hoodlums, screaming racist epithets and whipping the drivers with an uprooted car antenna; three white drivers then come to their defense. Said one of the victimized black drivers: "Every day it's the same when I drive through South Boston. I get stoned in my bus and spat upon."

● 19 April—A white man, Richard Pollet, is pulled from his car and brutally beaten by 15-20 black youth. He is not expected to live.

● 20 April—When it is reported that cars are being stoned in the black area of Mattapan, cops from three districts converge on the scene. Beefed-up cop patrols are ordered to invade Roxbury

with riot gear.

● 21 April—A black man is beaten with lead pipes by a white gang in a subway station. ROAR leader Charles Johnston warns black people to stay out of Charlestown and vows to "protect the community by any means necessary."

● 22 April—A bomb blast rips through the second floor of Suffolk County Courthouse, injuring more than 20 people. An underground prison reform collective claims credit, but the explosion boosts tensions in the city.

April 24 March Postponed

Surrounded by this mounting tide of racial violence and hostility, the "April 24 Coalition," a coalition given paper endorsement by numerous sponsors but brokered and largely built by the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance through its National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), was compelled to postpone its planned April 24 pro-busing march in Boston. Said NSCAR leader Maceo Dixon, "We the organizers of this march—after many discussions with the police, the mayor's office, and leaders of the Black community—have come to the conclusion that it is not possible to protect our people..." (*Militant*, 30 April 1976).

But the SWP/YSA has been the most vociferous and active proponent of those policies which have brought Boston to the brink of full-scale race war! Ever since the racist backlash began well over a year ago the SWP/YSA, tailing after the legalist NAACP and black capitalist politicians like Massachusetts Democrat Bill Owens, has endlessly preached reliance on the capitalist state by demanding that federal troops be sent to Boston to "protect" black people from racist attacks.

Snearing at our call for labor/black defense as "irresponsible" and "meaningless," the SWP/YSA has organized "mass actions" demanding an invasion of Boston by the imperialist army and then, when the troops were not sent, demanding "all necessary force," including the racist Boston cops. In an attempt to muster a "mass action" like the impotent NAACP-sponsored parade last May 17, the SWP/YSA and NSCAR called the April 24 "March on Boston" around the single demand that the Boston cops and, "if necessary," federal troops "uphold the law" and enforce desegregation.

While the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League has consistently warned that the cops and troops would intervene in Boston only to smash black militancy and resistance and to uphold the racist status quo, the SWP/YSA ceaselessly prattled that with semi-annual liberal protest parades in the streets and big-name, god-fearing big-wigs and politicians at the rallies, the cops or troops, and their capitalist masters, would be forced to "protect" black people and defend desegregation.

But now the "strategy" of the SWP/YSA and its captive NSCAR is being implemented in Boston! Armies of riot-clad cops move through the black communities of Boston to suppress every manifestation of black resistance and to intimidate the black masses. Gangs of racists and paramilitary squads of fascist and proto-fascist thugs again and again strike at black people with virtual impunity, but the April 24 March on Boston, which was to "force" the cops to "protect" black people and defeat the racists, could not even secure cop protection for its parade. Having preached reliance on the racist armed fist of capitalism and on liberal "pressure politics," the SWP/YSA and NSCAR can only recoil in confusion and horror as the liberals abandon the embattled black people and rally behind the "law and order" of Mayor White and his racist cops.

Recognizing the dangerous atmosphere of racial polarization and the abandonment of the April 24 March on Boston by many of its sponsors, the Spartacist League declared before the cancellation of the march,

"The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League had announced intentions to form a contingent marching under the banner of extend the busing, no reliance on troops or cops, for labor/

continued on page 11

Madison Campus Work Stoppage Sabotaged

"On Strike" Means Shut It Down!



Teaching assistants on strike at Madison.

MADISON, April 15—A threatened strike by the Teaching Assistants Association (TAA) at the Madison campus of the University of Wisconsin was called off on April 12, when the membership voted to accept a woefully inadequate contract just hours before the strike was to begin.

The teaching assistants—graduate students who also work part-time as teachers for the university—had been working for seven months without a contract, while both sides disputed class size, wages and TA/student participation in educational decisions. While the union membership repeatedly rejected the hard-nosed administration proposals, they also refused to authorize a strike.

Although today lacking a militant leadership the TAA originated in a bitter four-week strike against the university during the spring of 1970, when campuses across the country exploded in protest over the imperialist invasion of Cambodia and the murder of unarmed Kent State demonstrators by Ohio National Guardsmen. Militant around-the-clock picketing which prevented deliveries on the campus and a student class boycott which cut attendance by 60 percent were instrumental in forcing the university to recognize the TAA.

As the first successful union of graduate teaching assistants in the country, the TAA became the model for other campus organizing efforts and strikes. Only one week ago a successful student strike shut down the Buffalo campus of the State University of New York in solidarity with a threatened strike by graduate employees, organized as a result of the Madison experience. SYL supporters participated in the Buffalo strike, calling for a campus-wide strike in support of the teaching assistants.

At Madison the TAA in March finally voted for a two-day "work stoppage" on April 1 and April 2, to be followed by a strike on April 12 in the event that the "work stoppage" did not force an acceptable contract. The "work stoppage" was successful in rallying campus support: hundreds of teaching assistants and students walked the picket lines, the unionized teaching assistants were out solid, and a class boycott was 50-75 percent effective. But the tactic of a trial-run strike, especially by small unions wielding very little social power, cannot be effective against the kind of determined resistance maintained by the university administration.

On campus the Spartacus Youth League was the only group to call for a campus-wide strike, a proposal which was taken into the TAA by several union militants. The SYL argued that all workers, especially campus workers, should respect the TAA picket lines and refuse to work for the university during the "work stoppage," regardless of whether there was a picket line in front of their particular work places; the TAA had made it clear that the strike was directed against the entire university administration and requested campus workers to honor its strike.

In contrast, the TAA leadership equivocated on the question of shutting down the university during the "work stoppage." The leadership led the ranks to assume that during the "work stoppage" only students and teaching staff were expected to honor the TAA picket lines, and even then only where a picket line was actually present. Furthermore, the TAA neglected to dispatch pickets to the loading docks, the service and laboratory buildings, or the large engineering and agricultural campuses.

As a result, the relatively successful mobilization of support for the TAA "work stoppage" failed to shut down the campus. Even though the Teamsters had pledged to support the strike, Teamster chief stewards advised the drivers to cross the TAA picket lines, arguing that the TAA lines were intended only for university personnel.

Scabs and Strike Support

Anticipating a strike, the TAA organized an undergraduate strike-support committee, Students for Quality Education (SQE). Established as an autonomous organization working in collaboration with the TAA, the SQE intended to work simply for a student boycott of classes, rather than to form a strike-support committee comprised of all who supported the victory of the then-planned TAA strike.

Furthermore, the SQE refused to take a stand limiting its membership to only those students and university employees who were supporting the strike by refusing to attend class or to work. This is not surprising, given the fact that several of the prominent organizers of the SQE were supporters of the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/

YSA), which has a sordid record of scabbing on campus workers' strikes.

At the University of Chicago during September 1974, a supporter of the SWP/YSA involved in an SYL-initiated strike-support committee was discovered by members of the SYL to be working for the university during the campus workers' strike (see "Workers Strike at U. of Chicago—SYL Builds Support, Fake Lefts Scab!," *Young Spartacus*, November 1974). As a result this scab was voted out of the leadership of the strike-support committee.

In a subsequent meeting of the committee, however, supporters of the SWP/YSA together with members of several other "socialist" organizations and sundry campus anti-communists voted down an SYL proposal restricting membership in the committee to those who supported the strike and honored the picket lines. When these fake-lefts thus managed to turn the committee into an organization condoning scabbing, the SYL was forced to withdraw. (The scab-support committee soon collapsed, while the SYL continued to be recognized by the striking workers as the genuine supporters of the strike.)

Likewise, at Madison the SYL was prepared to wage a fight within the Madison SQE against scabbing and scab participation. The SQE, however, was stillborn as a strike-support committee; the TAA strike was called off at the eleventh hour.

Recognizing the weakness and isolation of the TAA, the administration launched its final offensive: withdrawing its former contract offer, challenging the TAA to a long showdown, threatening reprisals against striking teaching assistants and their supporters, and preparing to mobilize faculty, staff and non-union teaching assistants to substitute teach in place of the striking assistants.

For a Campus-Wide Union

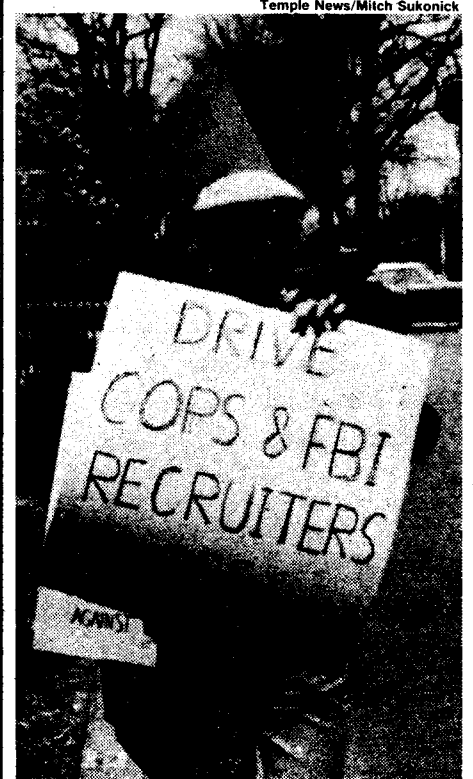
The TAA defeat once again points to the need to extend campus workers' strikes throughout the campus, ensuring that the entire campus will be shut down. One campus-wide union is required to bring together all non-supervisory campus employees, including staff, teaching assistants, faculty and employed students. ■

Cop Recruitment Slammed at Temple U.

PHILADELPHIA—Bearing placards with the slogan, "Drive Cop and FBI Recruiters Off Campus!," a spirited picket line organized by the Spartacus Youth League at Temple University protested representatives of the Philadelphia police, the District Attorney's office and the Federal Bureau of Investigation invited to campus to recruit students to a career in strike-breaking, racist "law enforcement."

The cops of Mayor Rizzo are notorious for their wanton intimidation and brutality against black people here. Let's look at how Rizzo's "finest" uphold "law and order": On March 5 a drunken mob of about 30 whites armed with clubs, bottles and bricks besieged a black family in an integrated Philadelphia housing project. Willie and Deborah Butler at once phoned the cops. Willie Butler later related that when the cops arrived, "I then walked over to the whites with the cop. They said to him, 'You can leave. We don't want to bother you. We just want the nigger.' The cop then got in his car and left. Then all hell broke loose" (*Philadelphia Tribune*, 13 March).

At Temple University the only ostensibly left organization to join with the SYL in protesting recruitment for such "careers" was the YSA. Nevertheless, when earlier approached by the SYL for its endorsement, the YSA refused, citing its opposition to such phrases in the demonstration call as "sub-human" prisons and "well-hated racist cops." Even the participation of the YSA at the picket line was minimal. These ultra-"respectable" junior reformists even refused to chant the SYL slogan, "Drive the FBI Off Campus, Defend the SWP/YSA," and bolted the picket line once the campus press had arrived and interviewed them.



While the YSA grudgingly demonstrated against the cops, the Revolutionary Student Brigade conducted as a counter-"event" an infantile stunt. These clowns stood 150 yards from the picket line and held aloft a banner carrying the slogan, "Heap High the Bicentennial Garbage," to advertise its counter-Bicentennial hoopla planned for July 4. Once again the RSB has demonstrated that it deserves the same resting place as its Bicentennial garbage: the dustbin of history.

COP RECRUITERS OFF CAMPUS!

Cutbacks Continue, But Not For Cops— New York Sit-Ins Smashed

NEW YORK CITY—Surrounded by hundreds of chanting Puerto Rican students and drenched in the glare of TV floodlights, New York City cops on April 12 picked their way through the successive barricades sealing Hostos Community College and arrested 40 of the demonstrators who for the last 19 days had been occupying this City University of New York (CUNY) campus. Only hours earlier city cops smashed the sit-in at Lehman College in the Bronx, arresting 19 students and ending the 13-day occupation. The arrested students have been charged with "illegal trespass" for staging these militant protests against the cutbacks destroying CUNY. This repression must be met with protest action demanding that all charges against the arrested demonstrators be dropped at once!

The most recent round of student protest in New York City had been triggered by the threats of the Board of Higher Education (BHE) to eliminate five CUNY campuses through closure or merger. Ratified on April 5, the Kibbee Plan will close Hostos and Richmond College in Staten Island and cut predominantly black Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn from a four-year senior college to a two-year junior college. On the day of the BHE decision, a protest demonstration outside the BHE offices was dispersed by club-swinging cops, while black students from Medgar Evers staged a sit-down stopping traffic on FDR drive. With two campuses already occupied city authorities the following day dispatched special police to CUNY campuses in anticipation of an eruption of student protest.

Education Goes...

In this context the Hostos sit-in became the symbol of resistance to the slashing budget cuts designed to squeeze working-class and especially minority students out of CUNY. The seizure of Hostos, organized by supporters of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and its student affiliate, the Puerto Rican Socialist University Federation (FUSP), enjoyed widespread support from the surrounding Puerto Rican community. Moreover, the tactical leadership of the sit-in was exemplary; throughout the full 19 days of the building occupation the steering committee maintained a well-organized 24-hour security apparatus, organized political workshops and film showings, provided daycare facilities and food services, and established communication with the media.

But above all Hostos represented a rallying point for the entire South Bronx, ravaged by unemployment and the drastic cutbacks in vitally needed public services. To a far greater extent than commuter campuses like the City College of New York (CCNY), colleges such as Hostos are symbols of the aspirations of the surrounding community. Consequently, many of the recent protests against the cutbacks have centered on the smaller community colleges and resemble the community protests of a decade ago more than the radical student upheavals of the New Left era, when student youth were drawn into political activism primarily under the impact of broader social issues, such as the imperialist war in Vietnam and civil rights.

While often very large and militant, the struggles against the budget cuts in New York nevertheless have remained relatively apolitical. Unlike the radical student movement of the 1960's most students today are demonstrating in defense of their future jobs and security so immediately threatened.

For students at Hostos and other community colleges in the CUNY system, an education is their only hope to escape the drudgery of a sweatshop or the despair of the unemployment line.

Hostos could have catalyzed broader student and community struggle, but the reformist PSP/FUSP failed to transcend a narrow community orientation. Without engaging the support of the city labor movement as well as students on other CUNY campuses an isolated campus occupation, even effectively organized, can at best secure only the most easily reversible concessions.

While virtually the entire New York left applauded the sit-in from afar, the Spartacus Youth League sent supporters to Hostos on a number of occasions to demonstrate our solidarity with the protest, to engage in political discussions and to attempt to enlist the participation of the Hostos leadership for support activities on other campuses, in particular CCNY. The sit-in leadership welcomed our gestures of solidarity and was receptive to our proposals for joint rallies at CCNY, but unfortunately failed to take any initiatives in extending the protest.

Furthermore, on the night of the arrests the SYL responded to a call from the Hostos leadership for CUNY students to join the occupation and help with defense. But at the last minute, when the police were reported to be on their way to Hostos, the PSP/FUSP leadership asked the SYL supporters to leave the building, declaring, "We have our own people who we want arrested." At just the moment when the broadest support was most necessary the Hostos leadership opted for go-it-

Defend the Hostos Students!

Young Spartacus urges all its readers to send messages of solidarity and contributions for the defense of the 40 arrested at Hostos to:

Coalition to Save Hostos
Student Government Office
Hostos Community College
475 Grand Concourse
Bronx, New York

For more information, call:
(212) 960-1149

alone sectarianism. Reconciled already to a defeat, the PSP/FUSP apparently was concerned above all that only its own supporters be the "martyrs." Yet the only reason the cops remained orderly during the arrests was that the slightest provocation could well have touched off a riot in the surrounding Puerto Rican ghetto.

...Cop Training Remains

The original Kibbee Plan had proposed that the John Jay School of Criminal Justice be closed, with its cop training courses transferred to Baruch College. But when a hue and cry was raised from several quarters about the "need" for special cop training, the BHE reconsidered its decision. According to the Kibbee proposal ratified by the BHE, John Jay will be kept open and all its cop training programs will be maintained, but all its liberal arts courses and facilities have been axed!

Ever since the Kibbee plan was first announced the SYL has demanded that John Jay be stripped of all cop training but kept open as a CUNY campus providing educational facilities for New York working people. In contrast, other "radical" tendencies ignored the "divisive" issue of John Jay, bleating about the need for "unity" in the movement



Cops break into occupied Hostos (top), lead away arrested demonstrators (bottom).

against cutbacks. Only the SYL insisted that such opportunist "unity" with the cops and cop students at John Jay was unity with strikebreakers, brutal goons and racist killers.

Although Puerto Ricans in New York are among the most victimized by cop repression, the PSP has failed to demand an end to cop training at John Jay. The nationalist politics of the PSP leads it to advocate "unity" among all Puerto Ricans. Just as it never misses the opportunity to put in a good word for "progressive" Democrat Herman Badillo, so the PSP reformists support the Puerto Rican cops and cop students enrolled at John Jay. The PSP even favorably reported a demonstration by John Jay students that raised the chant, "Save John Jay, Police are Okay" (*Claridad*, 7 March).

Even more disgusting, however, has been the response of the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA). In the past the SWP/YSA nominally has opposed cop training on campus. But these pseudo-radicals now have completely dodged the issue of cop training at John Jay. In the face of a campaign to "save John Jay," the SWP/YSA decided to "save" its liberal appeal and simply ignore the issue of cop training.

No Cuts! No Closures! No Cops!

With the defeat of the Hostos occupation student protest has ebbed. Yet the devastating cutbacks imposed upon higher education in New York continue. The day after the ratification of the Kibbee proposal, for example, state officials demanded that \$76-million more be slashed from the CUNY budget and that the imposition of tuition be considered, ending the 127-year history of no tuition at CUNY.

In addition, Chancellor Kibbee recently announced that the entire CUNY system might go broke by mid-May, forcing the university to shut down before final exams (*New York Times*, 17 April). At the same time representatives of the Emergency Financial Control Board as well as some bour-

geois politicians have mounted an attack on Kibbee, several even calling for his resignation on the basis that he has not been ruthless enough in his budget cutting!

One after another the policies and programs enabling thousands of poor and working people to enter CUNY each year are being hacked away and bled white. Open admissions: going. Entire campuses: going. Special programs: gone.

Now more than ever students must mobilize to fight these crippling cutbacks that will slam shut the doors of CUNY for tens of thousands of working class and minority people. But student protests, while urgently necessary, are far from sufficient. Campus struggles must strive to link up with the working class, which has the social power and class interest to smash the bosses' austerity programs and wrench vitally

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needed reforms and social services from the state. Students must struggle for labor/student mobilizations against the budget cuts and layoffs.

To begin, a fight must be waged to preserve and extend open admissions throughout New York. And to make open admissions policies economically and academically meaningful the state must be forced to provide students with a living stipend and all necessary remedial programs. In particular, special programs and bi-lingual education (presently offered at only two colleges in the entire country, one of which is Hostos) must be defended and extended. What is more, CUNY and all public educational institutions should be funded at the national level. NO CUTS, NO CLOSURES, NO COPS! ■

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Interview With Bay Area Union Militants

On April 26, *Young Spartacus* interviewed Howard Keylor and Bob Mandel, two longtime trade-union militants in the Bay Area. In the interview, Keylor and Mandel discussed what efforts they and other union militants in the San Francisco Bay Area have made to drive forward the city workers' strike, and what lessons can be drawn from the strike.

Howard Keylor is a longtime trade unionist, with over twenty years activity on the waterfront. Brother Keylor is on the Executive Board of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10 (longshore division) and, along with Executive Board member Stan Gow, edits the *Longshore Militant*. Since the beginning of the city workers' strike, he has been speaking at numerous union meetings, putting forward a program to extend and defend the city workers' strike. He has also spoken at two campus rallies sponsored by the Emergency Committee to Support the City Workers' Strike and was the guest speaker at a San Francisco Spartacist League forum, "Shut Down San Francisco! Victory to the City Workers!"

Bob Mandel has also been playing a prominent role in the current strike events in the Bay Area, in particular, the Victor strike of ILWU Local 6 (warehouse division). Mandel has a long history not only in the Bay Area union movement, but also as a civil rights and antiwar activist during the 1960's and as one of the "Oakland 7." On April 23, Mandel was the guest speaker at the San Francisco Spartacist League forum, "Bust the Union Busters!" Brother Mandel is a member of the Militant Caucus in ILWU Local 6, which publishes the *Warehouse Militant*.

We reprint below a selection from the interview.

* * * * *

Young Spartacus: What sort of efforts have been made to extend the city workers' strike in San Francisco beyond the bounds of the unions on strike now and into important sectors of private industry, such as transport and communications, in particular, as well as Longshore?

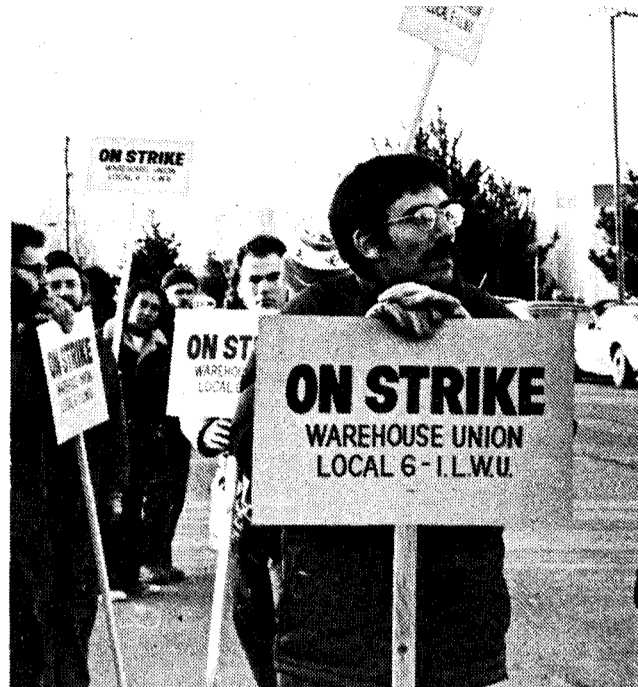
Keylor: You know, the Central Labor Council announced their intentions of calling a general strike and setting a date. I think that was as early as April 6. Up to this time, the striking craft union leadership has made no appeal, direct, indirect, or any way, shape or form that I know of to the membership or even to the leadership of the significant unions of San Francisco—either in transportation such as the Teamsters, the Longshore or to some of the other larger unions such as Machinists. Certainly not the Warehousemen, nor the Culinary Workers Union, which is probably the largest group of workers in S.F., about 26,000 workers. As a matter of fact, when we first projected this idea to a group of striking craft workers, they responded to it with enormous enthusiasm. I especially found it interesting in talking to the city workers, to run down for them how the '34 general strike was won, how the strike was spread and accelerated from the waterfront to the entire labor movement in San Francisco. And they were especially interested and fascinated when I described to them the way in which the Longshoremen sent mass delegations, as high as 300 and 400 Longshoremen to the membership meet-



Howard Keylor

ings of all major unions in S.F. And I explained to them that it was this kind of direct worker-to-worker appeal that turned the tide and brought the labor movement into the defensive posture that ended up in the 1934 General Strike. My experience is that the vast majority of the striking city workers are aware that they're going to lose the strike unless it is accelerated up to include at least the major unions in S.F., and probably up to and including a general strike. But the question always remained, "How is it going to get there?" And very few of the striking workers now expect their leadership to make that appeal or to make that call.

Mandel: Hitting on something else again, although it's not so much on the question of elected strike committees: But when we took on the question of the general strike, what we tried to do was to develop a set of demands which would lay the basis for extending the strike. Now the first one doesn't deal with extending it beyond the city workers' union so much as to the city workers' union. It's the question of dumping all the present contracts. The precondition for the breaking of the strike has been, as I said earlier, that they negotiated the contract separately, so that the unskilled workers got between 3 and 10 percent wage increases. And their basic attitude is "Well, what the hell, why should I stay out on the line? Why should I honor the picket lines when this is all we're getting ourselves?" So one of the central things that we've been raising in our efforts inside the union, and in talking to the city workers' union is—reopen all the contracts, big wage boost for all, full cost of living, and also fight for a shorter work shift at no loss in pay. And that's a central demand in terms of mobilizing the unemployed behind an attempted general strike. Because, you know, when you're dealing with a general strike, you're dealing with a mobilization of class forces which essentially, historically, often translates into the question of state power. Who is going to rule? You know, it is a full mobilization on both sides between the working class and the ruling class. In



Bob Mandel

order to draw as many strata as possible over to the side of the workers, you have to raise demands that speak to the needs of the unemployed. And for instance, in Minneapolis during the general strike there in '34, Teamsters Local 574, which was organized by a leadership which was Trotskyist, consciously established a union section for the unemployed and to fight for relief for the unemployed. Similarly, the other things we've been calling for: no wage cuts, smash Prop B, the unrestricted right to strike for all city unions. Those demands again get to the very bread-and-butter of the other workers in the city. Not just city unions, but ILWU, Teamster, CWA and so on. This spring, in June, the ballot measure will restrict the right of all public employees to strike. It will eliminate it. And once you move into that kind of legislation against public employees, the next step is the private sector unions. So to us the question is as much the political demands which you raise as the demands of the general strike as also techniques for mobilizing the membership to take control over the strike itself....

Keylor: Just in summary. It's very likely that this strike will go down to a partial defeat. However, it will probably not be a total defeat. But a whole series of trade-union struggles are going to take place shortly in the Bay Area, including the fact that the Municipal Bus Drivers' contract is up in June. We've always known, we've been talking for some time about the need to build caucuses, class-struggle caucuses, within the trade-union movement, that can project the kind of program both in the long term and in the immediate crisis situation that can lead to victory. It's never been more glaringly obvious that such caucuses that can give leadership to workers in a crisis like this is absolutely necessary. And the problem now, the task for the future is to build such rank and file, class-struggle caucuses—similar to the caucus Bob and I work in—in the trade-union movement in San Francisco and throughout the country.

S.F. Strike...

continued from page 1

all-out attack on the rest of the labor movement in the strongest "union town" in this country. With the Chamber of Commerce and its Board of puppets frothing at their media mouthpieces in anti-union tirades, the San Francisco petty bourgeoisie, including a significant section of the student population, has been swept up in the anti-labor crusade.

Union-Busting Offensive

As the calls for a general strike and the polarization of public opinion indicate, the issue involved in the present city workers' strike goes far beyond the dollars-and-cents demands of the striking unions. Especially since the militant city workers' strike of March 1974, the Board of Supervisors above all is determined to reverse the gains which San Francisco labor has wrested from the bosses since the

general strike of 1934.

In its latest offensive the Democrat-stacked Board of Supervisors is trying to shove down the throats of the city unions the "yellow dog" contract, which would force the craft workers to cross picket lines set up by other workers. It is demanding that the unions accept pay cuts averaging \$3,000 per worker. It is demanding that the 35-hour week won by the craft workers be returned to the "normal" 40 hours. It is demanding that overtime provisions be cut from double-time pay to time-and-a-half pay. And it is demanding that the established Monday-through-Friday workweek be apportioned to any 40 hours at the discretion of the Board.

Anti-labor "public interest" appeals to the "enraged taxpayer" have provided the capitalist Board of Supervisors with the noose by which it hopes to hang the city labor movement. In the wake of the 1974 strike the local bourgeoisie placed on the ballot the charter amendment "Proposition L," which provided for the freezing of the wages of two-thirds of San Francisco city workers and undermining their right to strike. It was defeated, but not by

a wide margin.

Escalating its slanderous anti-union campaign, especially in the press of the Hearst empire, the Board managed to pass its "Proposition B" by a two-to-one margin in the November elections, and this charter amendment now is being used to impose the pay cuts on the striking craft unions. At present the Board is rumored to be planning to introduce yet another charter amendment, this one to ban all strikes by city workers!

Bureaucrats Balk

But the greatest threat to the city workers' strike comes from the bureaucratic chieftains of the craft unions. Forced to strike only by the intransigence of the Board, and kicked in the teeth by their "friends" of labor in city hall, the doddering, flabby, bourgeoisified bureaucrats running the craft workers' unions, who have never led a strike, refuse now to organize an effective strike. Rather, fearing militant strike action from the ranks, they demand (on their hands and knees!) assistance from their cronies in the

Democratic Party and maneuver with the Republicans in a clumsy power play.

The need of the hour is for the extension of the strike through the election of strike committees at each work location. Such committees could begin to effectively organize and broaden the strike, building toward a mass meeting of all San Francisco labor unions to support the city workers and to prepare a general strike. The dynamic of an unfolding general strike could enable class-struggle militants in the unions to counterpose themselves to the treacherous, class-collaborationist cretins presently perched on top of the unions and to contend for political and tactical leadership (see "Interview with Bay Area Union Militants" above).

From the very first day of the city workers' strike the Spartacus Youth League has consistently manned the picket lines and worked to mobilize students from area campuses to picket in solidarity with the striking workers. Through this day-in-day-out gesture of

continued on page 10

Why We Do Not Recognize "Free Speech for Fascists"

A few months ago a gang of about thirty uniformed Ku Klux Klan fascists picketed the New Orleans public headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA). The rat pack carried placards emblazoned with fascist epithets and chanted racist, anti-communist slogans, such as "Hitler had the right idea, kill the niggers and the Jews," "Eight-six-four-two, go home jigaboo, send the Jew to Africa too" and "Down with communist pigs like Evelyn Reed."

Part of a recent ominous escalation of murderous KKK intimidation and terrorism in the South, this vicious provocation soon attracted an outraged crowd of predominantly black people from the neighboring ghetto as well as supporters of the Maoist October League (OL). According to the *Militant* (13 February 1976), newspaper of the SWP/YSA, one angry black youth shouted to a cop fraternizing with the fascists, "What right do they have to come into a Black neighborhood?"

To that pointed question the *Militant* offered... no reply. Why?

Even when it is the target of an aggressive KKK mobilization, the SWP/YSA insists that fascists must be granted their alleged "right" of free speech!

hostile audience each time indignant verbal protest was voiced!

Rendering Liberalism More Profound

In an attempt to defend this disgusting civil libertarianism, the SWP/YSA last month issued an "Education" For Socialists bulletin, "The Fight Against Fascism in the USA—Forty Years of Struggle Described by Participants." Although the SWP/YSA dismisses the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League as allegedly less than "irrelevant," the bulletin is primarily a polemic directed against the Spartacist League and SYL. In *Young Spartacus* and the SYL pamphlet, *The Fight to Implement Busing—For Labor/Black Defense to Stop Racist Attacks and to Smash Fascist Threats*, we have exposed the "respectable" SWP/YSA for capitulating to liberalism with its "free speech for fascists" policy. In addition, the SYL has published an educational bulletin entitled *What Policy to Fight Fascism?*, which reprinted articles by the SWP and its youth group during the anti-fascist struggles of the 1930's and 1940's, when the then-Trotskyist SWP, con-

"EVERY RIGHT OF THE WORKING CLASS MUST BE DEFENDED—EVERY RIGHT OF THE FASCISTS MUST BE TAKEN AWAY BY US."

—"The Youth in the Struggle Against American Fascism," 1934 Resolution of the Spartacus Youth League, the first American Trotskyist youth organization.

Spartacus which cover the SYL-initiated united-front demonstration against the Nazis at San Francisco State last March. In the "introductory note" to the *Young Spartacus* articles, as well as in the article reprinted from the *Militant* entitled "Free Speech and the Fight Against the Ultraright," the SWP/YSA attacks the so-called "ultraleft" and "sectarian" SYL for allegedly "oppos[ing] the strategy of building mass mobilizations against the reactionaries" and for allegedly advocating "adventurist" attacks on fascists by small groups of leftists. The SWP/YSA accuses the SYL of seeking physical confrontations with "the small and un-influential fascist formations that exist today" rather than building effective "mass mobilizations" to protest the far more ominous racist attacks by anti-busing groups such as ROAR:

"The description of the Nazis [in *Young Spartacus*] as 'the most vicious killers of Black people' is a gross exaggeration of the present-day reality. Nazis are not the main killers of Black people today, despite their murderous actions and goals. Hundreds of Blacks are shot down each year by racist cops. Blacks in Boston face would-be lynch mobs organized by a wing of the Democratic Party. The absence of a sense of proportion in the SYL's estimate of the Nazi's role today leads to substituting small-scale fist fights with Nazis for the broader struggle against racist oppression."

Praising the Past in Order to Bury It

Far from opposing "mass mobilizations against the reactionaries" in Boston or advocating clashes by small groups of leftists with the paramilitary South Boston Marshals gang, the SYL and only the SYL has consistently advocated the formation of a *labor/black defense* to defend black people from racist terror. But ever since the racist offensive erupted nearly two years ago the SWP/YSA and its captive NSCAR have ridiculed and opposed the tactic of integrated defense based on the authority and strength of the mass organizations of the working class and black community. Seeking to lure the liberal "wing of the Democratic Party" and sundry bourgeois big-wigs into leading its parades in Boston, the SWP/YSA has called for the class enemy—the racist cops and imperialist army—

to "defend" black people from racist attacks and to enforce desegregation. First tailing black Democrat Bill Owens and then courting the legalist NAACP, the SWP/YSA and NSCAR have built "mass mobilizations" which treacherously preach reliance on the troops and cops... "the main killers of Black people today!"

After each of its liberal protest parades in Boston the SWP/YSA foolishly boasted that the racists had been delivered a "damaging blow." While the racists (undoubtedly joined by fascists) organized their South Boston Defense squad for terrorist action against black people and pro-busing activists, the SWP/YSA bulletin prattles that the semi-annual parades were able "to out mobilize them in the streets, to show them that they are a minority and cannot intimidate the opponents of racism." But the recent wave of racist violence, actively fomented by the paramilitary South Boston Marshals, has dealt a "damaging blow" to the strategy of the SWP/YSA, forcing the cancellation of its April 24 march amidst vicious racist violence.

Denouncing labor/black defense as "impossible," the SWP/YSA has fostered the dangerous illusion that "mass pressure" can "force" the cops or troops to reliably "protect" black people from racists and fascists and "defeat" the reactionary offensive (see the "Education" for Socialists bulletin entitled *From Mississippi to Boston: The Demand for Troops to Enforce Civil Rights*).

"A Remarkable Idea"

Trotsky, however, more than once demolished such reformist twaddle. When the French Stalinists and Social Democrats in 1934 declared that the capitalist state could be "pressured" by the masses to defeat the fascists, Trotsky replied:

"... [Stalinist] Vaillant-Couturier takes a decisive step backward: the Fascists will be disarmed not by the united front but by the police of Doumergue, 'under the pressure and control' of the united front. A remarkable idea: without revolution, by means of 'ideological' pressure alone, to transform the Bonapartist police into an executive organ of the proletariat! Why then the armed conquest of power when the self-same results can be obtained in a peaceful



Militant/Greg Nelson

KKK fascists picket New Orleans SWP office.

Unlike the angry black youth who gathered to confront the KKK, the SWP/YSA can only regard this brazen fascist mobilization and inflammatory racist chanting as the inviolable "right" of the KKK scum to free speech and assembly.

An ultra-legalist reformist tendency which abandoned Trotskyist politics more than a decade ago, the SWP/YSA today renounces all action and even propaganda which denies the fascists their so-called "right of free speech." At San Francisco State University last March, for example, a united-front demonstration initiated by the Spartacus Youth League prevented the Nazis from speaking on campus. Not only did the SWP/YSA refuse to protest the appearance of the fascists but these "respectable radicals" denounced the militant demonstration as "unfortunate," "counterproductive" and a "disruption" (*Zenger's*, 19 March 1975).

And that is not all. In the recent past the SWP/YSA has even resorted to actively stifling anti-fascist protest in order to defend the "rights" of the fascists. When KKK leader Scott Nelson appeared at the University of Houston last November, the SWP/YSA distributed a leaflet at the fascist "forum" insisting that "Scott Nelson must have the right to speak at the University of Houston," and SWP/YSA supporters in the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) intervened to hush the

temptuously denouncing those who defended "free speech for fascists," conducted exemplary anti-fascist propaganda and campaigns.

Responding with *The Fight Against Fascism in the USA* the SWP/YSA reprints documents and articles on anti-fascist struggle from its revolutionary past (several of which first were reprinted in the SYL pamphlet and bulletin) in an attempt to cover its naked reformism with Trotskyist trappings. In this bulletin the SWP/YSA suddenly "discovers" the Trotskyist call for workers defense guards to repel and defeat fascist attacks.

"By way of contrast" the SWP/YSA bulletin includes as a lengthy "appendix" two articles reprinted from *Young*

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way? 'Under the pressure and control' of the united front Germain Martin nationalizes the banks, while Marchando will clap the reactionary plotters into prison, beginning with his colleague Tardieu. The idea of 'pressure and control' in place of revolutionary struggle was not invented by Vaillant-Couturier. It was borrowed by him from Otto Bauer, Hilferding, and the Russian Menshevik Dan. The purpose of this idea is to divert the workers from revolutionary struggle. As a matter of fact, it is a hundred times easier to disarm the Fascists with one's own hands than with the hands of a hostile police. And when the united front will become sufficiently powerful to 'control' the apparatus of the state—consequently after the seizure of power, and not before—it will simply drive away the bourgeois state and replace it with the workers' militia."

—Whither France? (1934)

Yet the entire political perspective of the SWP/YSA today rests upon just such a social-democratic appetite to simply pressure the bourgeois state for reforms. With shameless candor the *Militant* has reminded the bourgeois authorities that the SWP/YSA does not advocate "illegal" or "violent" activity; rather, the SWP/YSA is presently campaigning for a "Bill of Rights for Working People" that promises a "workers government" through constitutional amendment!

Not only has the SYL counterposed labor/black defense to futile and dangerous reliance on the capitalist authorities and their hired guns, but we have also cautioned against physical confrontations with the Boston cops or South Boston bigots by defenseless pro-desegregation demonstrations: the provocative red flag May Day march through South Boston last year led by Progressive Labor Party, the reckless confrontation with the cops staged by demagogic Democrat Bill Owens during the December 1974 march, and the NAACP-led march by unprepared and vulnerable black people into a white mob at Carson Beach last summer. While lambasting PL for its provocative May Day march, the SWP/YSA nevertheless refused to criticize its on-again/off-again allies Bill Owens and the NAACP for their ill-considered and potentially bloody confrontationism. Reliance upon the "discipline" of the cops leads bourgeois liberals like Owens and the NAACP not merely to whimper but at times to bluster... while month after month the black people of Boston, without an independent defense force, are subjected to vicious racist terror.

"Democratic" Cretinism

Underlying the entire SWP/YSA bulletin in defense of "free speech for fascists" is one argument: since the fascists are "small and uninfluential" and "unacceptable to the masses in the United States," these "would-be fascist terrorists" can be effectively combatted simply through the *democratic process* of "education" and "peaceful, legal" protest. Confident of the vitality of bourgeois democracy and democratic public opinion, the SWP/YSA argues that by championing democratic rights for all the left will be able to "win over the majority" against the fascist minority. Conversely, advocating slogans such as "no platform for fascists" and "the tactic of shouting down racist and right-wing speakers or attempting to physically break up their meetings" only "allows these thugs to pose as a persecuted minority or as defenders of democratic rights" while making the left appear hypocritical and totalitarian.

But history has demonstrated that fascist movements—extra-legal paramilitary forces dedicated to preserving capitalism by smashing the organizations and democratic rights of the working class and oppressed minorities—can be effectively combatted only by workers defense guards prepared to fight the fascists on their own ground. Fascist forces flourish in periods when the "democratic process" no longer proves capable of regulating and containing a growing social crisis—when the proletariat threatens bourgeois rule but is not mobilized by its reformist or vacillating leadership for a decisive struggle for power; when the bourgeois-

sie begins to lose confidence in the ability of the "democratic" regime and "normal" repressive apparatus to preserve the capitalist order; and when economically precarious layers of the petty bourgeoisie begin to look upon both "big labor" and "big business" as obstacles to a swift resolution of the social impasse. In such conditions the fascist gangs demonstrate their effectiveness not by political struggle through the "democratic process" but by bold and merciless attacks on the labor movement and persecuted racial, ethnic and religious minorities.

Ballots vs. Blackjacks

It is certainly true that in this country today the fascists are still small

Thus, despite the mass base of the social democrats, their repeated general strikes against the reactionary terror and their overwhelming electoral victory over the Fascists in the 1921 elections, the crumbling "democratic process" and evaporating democratic "public opinion" could not save the reformists from the revolvers, razors and rampages of the Black Shirts: Fascism rose to power in 1922.

SWP/YSA: "Flabby Pacifism"

In France, when the small fascist bands first seriously confronted the workers movement following the triumph of Hitler in Germany, Trotsky directed a scathing polemic against the French Stalinists and Social Demo-

armament of his Fascist guard. Nothing is so dangerous for the proletariat, especially in the present situation, than the sugared poison of false hopes. Nothing increases the insolence of the Fascists so much as 'flabby pacifism' on the part of the workers' organizations. Nothing destroys the confidence of the middle classes in the working class as temporizing, passivity, and the absence of the will to struggle."

—Whither France? (1934)

Throughout this period Trotsky stressed that even when—or rather, especially when—the fascists were still a small and despised force, the only reliable road to ensuring the defense of the workers tomorrow is to begin preparing the workers today for a struggle "to smash, disarm and terrorize the bandit gangs of reaction" (*Whither France?*). Over and over Trotsky emphasized the need for preparing "an armed defense in order, in our turn, to go over to the offensive."

At the same time Trotsky sharply counterposed any suppression of the fascists by the workers to the repression of the fascists by the capitalist state; as the "executive committee of the ruling class," the bourgeois regime inevitably would direct any repressive measures opposing "extremist" organizations against the left far more frequently and ferociously than against the ultra-right (as the U.S. government did with the Smith Act during WWII). Working-class defense involves the interlinked tasks of smashing the fascists through a workers defense, and defeating every encroachment by the bourgeois state upon civil liberties and democratic rights.

"...By All Possible Means..."

In sharp contrast to the SWP/YSA today, the American Trotskyist youth during the 1930's vigorously opposed the "free speech for fascists" position upheld at the time by the Social Democrats and Stalinists. When in 1934 the Social Democrats founded the Youth Committee Against Fascism (YCAF) with a "free speech for all" principle, the Spartacus Youth League, the first Trotskyist youth organization in this country, replied:

"The dangers of an organization such as the YCAF is clearly shown in its program of 'pledge.' The individual adherent is asked to pledge—among other things—'To oppose attacks on civil, religious or radical liberties and to support equality and justice for all.'"

"This pledge cannot be taken by any genuine anti-Fascist fighter. Is he going to defend the 'civil liberties' of the Fascists? Is he going to support 'equality and justice' for the Fascists and the anti-Fascists? Arthur Garfield Hays, a liberal anti-Fascist, recently defended the civil rights of the Fascists to assemble in New Jersey. According to the program of the Y.C.A.F. this action should be supported. Then what becomes of counter-demonstrations to Fascist rallies?"

"In our opinion, it is important that, today when Fascism in the United States is still in its infancy as a movement, a mass movement of all anti-Fascist

continued on page 8

A Short History of Liberalism



SWP cartoon, from *Socialist Appeal*, 17 March 1939.

and isolated, while civil libertarian illusions and anti-communist prejudices remain strong. But insisting that the working class must respect the "rights" of the fascists can only embolden these murderous thugs and disorient the anti-fascist struggle. Preaching that the fascists should be granted "free speech" so that they can be "exposed" and "defeated" through the "democratic process" can only pave the way for an unfettered rise of the fascist bands.

Just consider the SWP/YSA line in light of the Italian experience: Mussolini launched his Fascist Party in 1919 with only 100 members. Only one month later, however, these declassed thugs brazenly burned down the headquarters of the Italian Socialist Party press *Avanti*. In response the 100,000-strong Socialist Party called a general strike; but without the organization of workers defense squads even this general strike—certainly a "mass countermobilization" by SWP/YSA standards!—did not intimidate the Italian fascists. While even the Italian social democracy never suggested that the Black Shirts should be granted the "right of free speech," the Socialist Party leaders nevertheless refused to mobilize the workers to take the offensive against the swiftly growing fascist bands. As Trotsky emphasized:

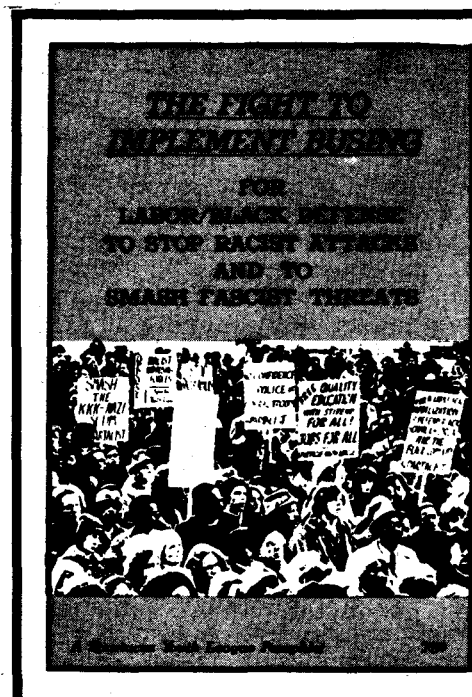
"The [Italian] social democracy hoped that the docile conduct of the workers would restore the 'public opinion' of the bourgeoisie against the fascists. Moreover, the reformists even banked strongly upon the help of King Victor Emmanuel. To the last hour, they restrained the workers with might and main from giving battle to Mussolini's bands. It availed them nothing."

—What Next? *Vital Questions for the German Proletariat* (1932)

crats, who were babbling about defeating the fascists through the "democratic process":

"To struggle, it is necessary to conserve and strengthen the instrument and the means of struggle—organizations, the press, meetings, etc. Fascism threatens all of that directly and immediately. It is still too weak for the direct struggle for power but it is strong enough to attempt to beat down the working class organizations bit by bit, to temper its bands in its attacks, and to spread dismay and lack of confidence in their forces in the ranks of the workers."

"Fascism finds unconscious helpers in all those who say that the 'physical struggle' is impermissible or hopeless, and demand of Doumergue the dis-



*Why we support busing and call for its extension to the suburbs.

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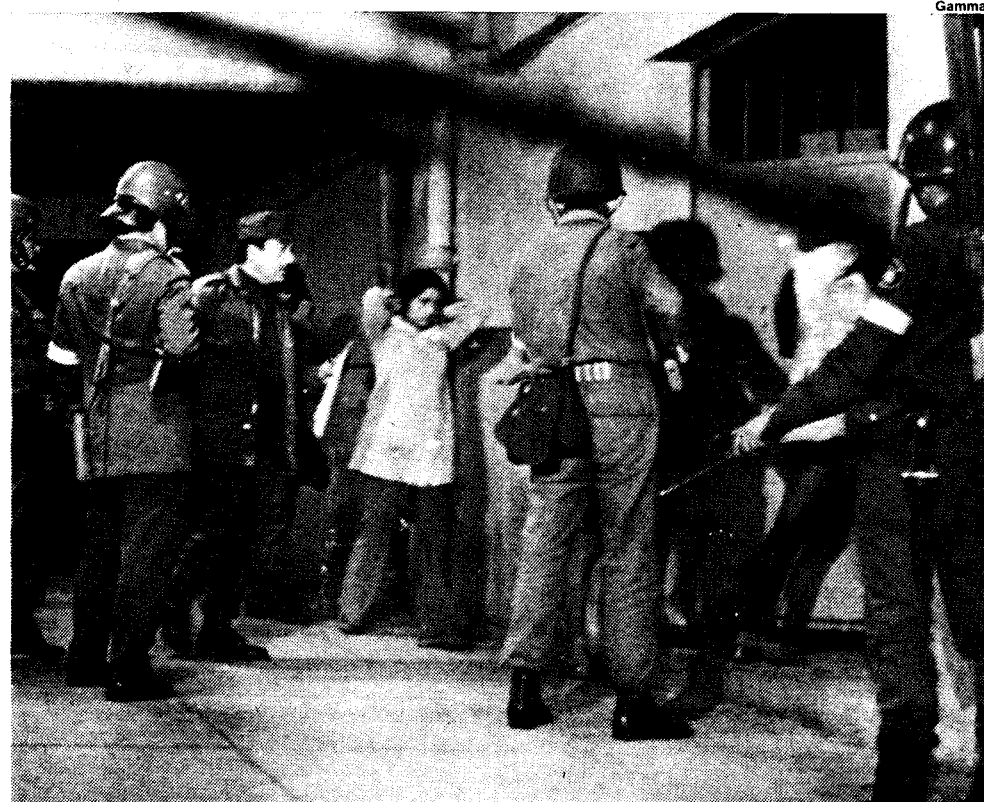
Only Their Faces Are Red—

Maoist Mouthpiece Admits Betrayal In Chile

NEW YORK CITY—"It's true," admitted Maoist apologist William Hinton during his forum on China's foreign policy held at New York University on April 6. Grilled by pointed questions about Chile and Angola from an audience including numerous "critical Maoists," Hinton admitted that during the September 1973 military coup in Chile the Chinese embassy in Santiago closed its doors to leftist militants desperately seeking asylum from the murderous repression.

It is no revelation that the Santiago embassy of "People's" China betrayed leftists hounded by the shock troops of the gorillas (see the SYL pamphlet, *China's Alliance with U.S. Imperial-*

ism). Nor is it a secret that since the coup the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has aided the barbaric junta by proffering diplomatic recognition, a \$58-million loan and even "selected arms for the Armed Forces of Chile" (according to the letter of the Chinese Ambassador to the Chilean Foreign Minister, quoted in *Expresso* [Lima], 2 March 1976).



Chinese embassy closed its doors to Chilean leftists hunted down by junta.

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But until now the Maoist bureaucracy and its authoritative mouthpieces like Hinton have maintained a stonewalling

silence on the Chinese response to the Chilean coup. In the past Maoists of all stripes have attempted to dismiss our denunciation of the Chinese betrayal of persecuted Chilean leftists as "Trotskyite slander." With Maoist and "independent Marxist-Leninist" circles in crisis over China's bloc with U.S. and South African imperialist intervention in Angola, however, this straight-from-Mao's-mouth spokesman for Peking felt compelled to acknowledge that the "Trotskyite slander" is... the Wisdom of Mao Tse-tung Thought.

Responding to a question about Chile from the audience, Hinton "explained" that the Chinese embassy in Santiago closed its doors to fleeing leftists al-

legedly because its premises were not "secure." Turned away to the "security" of the streets these Chilean militants paid with their freedom—and many with their lives—for this single betrayal of elementary proletarian solidarity by their Chinese "comrades."

Hinton quickly added, however, that the Chinese officials in Santiago offered to transport leftists to "other" embassies for refuge. Unlike "People's" China, many capitalist countries opened their embassies to Chileans seeking asylum. Yet Hinton "forgot" to mention that every embassy in Santiago during the coup was surrounded by Chilean army units, except the United States embassy and the Chinese embassy. While the Chinese bureaucrats kept their unguarded embassy "neutral," many leftists were apprehended or shot by the armed forces as they attempted to approach and enter these more "secure" embassies.

This account of China's so-called "assistance" (!) to Chileans attempting to escape the junta terror perhaps may be true, although it has never before been mentioned by the Maoists or corroborated by any Chilean refugees. On the other hand, leading Chilean Maoist Robinson Rojas Sanford has indicated that he received absolutely no aid from the Chinese officials in Santiago in escaping from Chile after the coup; Rojas was harbored in Santiago only by Chilean compatriots, and this number one Chilean Maoist spokesman made his way to Peking... through the Soviet bloc.

In reviewing Rojas' *Murder of Allende* the "independent Maoist" *Guardian* (31 March 1976) recounts his harrowing escape but refrains from explaining why this Maoist leader was not aided by the Chinese. Nor does the "critical Maoist" *Guardian* dare mention, much less attempt to "explain," the failure of the Chinese regime to come to the defense of the victims of the junta or to even condemn the Chilean dictatorship.

While Rojas and the *Guardian* now criticize Allende for not arming the Chilean workers, Hinton during his presentation parroted the standard Peking line that Allende was pushed "too far, too fast" by the "adventurist" pro-Moscow Communist Party of Chile (CP). According to Hinton, Allende and his Socialist Party (SP) should have appeased the Chilean bourgeoisie and not "put himself in a position to be smashed."

Well before the coup the Chinese bureaucracy likewise urged Allende not to arm the workers but to restrain them. Far from opposing the "peaceful road to socialism" in Chile espoused by the CP and the SP, Chou En-lai in a letter of 3 February 1973 cautioned Allende to take only "prepared and gradual" steps (see *China's Alliance With U.S. Imperialism*).

But the reformist CP and SP dragged the Chilean workers down to a bloody defeat precisely because they refused

to move "too far, too fast" and break with the bourgeoisie. To maintain their class-collaborationist alliance with the so-called "democratic" bourgeoisie through the Unidad Popular coalition, Allende and Co. chained the combative and class-conscious Chilean working class to the pillory of capitalism. Preaching reliance upon the "progressive" bourgeoisie and the allegedly "non-political" military the Unidad Popular government restrained the class struggle, even resorting to smashing strikes, suppressing "illegal" factory and estate occupations, and banning independent workers militias.

With the proletariat disoriented and strait-jacketed by its reformist misleaders, the pro-capitalist policies of Allende and his Stalinist allies could succeed only in aggravating the social crisis, alienating the vacillating petty bourgeoisie and finally demoralizing the workers and disarming them before the raised fist of bourgeois reaction. The "prepared and gradual" steps encouraged by the Chinese bureaucracy, eager to elbow in on the so-called "Soviet social-imperialists" in Chile, lead straight to disaster.

Neither Hinton nor his Chinese mentors have ever criticized the class collaboration pursued by the "ill-advised" Allende. Today "critical Maoists" can squeak criticisms of Allende for failing to arm the workers, because China only coached the betrayal from the sidelines.

But the Mao bureaucracy pushed the same class-collaborationist policy in Indonesia more than a decade ago. The result: a military coup in 1965. The toll: a reign of terror and 500,000-1,000,000 leftists and workers slaughtered. The lesson drawn by the Maoists: the Peking-guided Communist Party of Indonesia went "too far, too fast" and committed "revisionist errors"... under the influence of Moscow.

Many "critical Maoists" and "independent Marxist-Leninists" are now stumbling away from slavish loyalty to a regime which has trained Africans for an imperialist-led intervention in Angola and which has slammed the doors of its Chilean embassy in the face of hounded militants. But only Trotskyism represents the program and traditions of Bolshevism-Leninism. In this country only the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League warned that the Unidad Popular would lead the workers to defeat. SMASH THE JUNTA —FOR WORKERS REVOLUTION IN CHILE! ■

No "Free Speech for Fascists"...

continued from page 7

organizations and elements be organized to prevent, by all possible means, the growth of the murderous Fascist bands. This has meant and will mean physical clashes with the Fascists to prevent them from assembling and spreading their insidious program of the destruction of labor organizations and the denial of civil liberties for all anti-Fascists.

"All attempts of Fascist bands to break up working class meetings must be met with united front workers' defense groups. But this is hardly sufficient. Immediate action to obstruct their 'civil rights' to assemble forces which

can effectively conduct such destructive activity is also needed. No true anti-Fascist can reject or overlook such a task."

—*Young Spartacus*, 12 October 1934 [emphasis added]

Likewise, when the convention of the Stalinist-dominated American Youth Congress (AYC) adopted a "free speech for all" position, the Spartacus Youth League intransigently defended its opposition: "As revolutionaries we distinguished ourselves from the liberals by qualifying our interpretation of civil rights. We aim to deny these rights to our enemies.... The formulation of the A.Y.C. allowed freedom of speech for the fascists..." (*Young Spartacus*, August 1935).

Like the SYL today, the Trotskyist youth during the 1930's centered their anti-fascist work on propaganda calling for workers defense guards, just as they often directed their polemics against reformists advocating "free speech for fascists." Moreover, like the SYL today, the Trotskyist youth also campaigned on campus to protest the appearance of fascist speakers, denying that these scum had any "right"

to spew their inflammatory "ideas" in public.

Drive the Fascists Off Campus!

On numerous occasions during the Depression the Trotskyist youth initiated protest marches and picket-line demonstrations on campus that raised the slogan "Drive the Fascists off campus!" as the rallying cry for anti-fascist countermobilizations. During this period the Trotskyists also at times advocated the tactic of confronting fascist speakers with militant and sustained verbal protest. At the University of Chicago in 1939, for example, the Trotskyists campaigned to mobilize students for demonstrations inside the auditoriums where fascists were scheduled to speak:

"Three fascist speakers were scheduled to talk, three men who are preparing the ground for the fascist gangs. Presumably 99 percent of the people on campus are democrats hating fascism; yet how did they act? Only one small group prepared to stop these sycophants of terror. That group was the Socialist Club [the Trotskyists]. Mirroring on a small scale the tre-

mendous demonstrations held by the Socialist Workers Party outside the Bund Madison Square Garden meeting, the Socialist Club took the lead in the anti-Fascist struggle on campus. When the Political Union announced that Maertz was to talk we prepared to go in to stage a demonstration that would have made the stately beams of Mandel [auditorium] blush.... What did the liberals do? They rose in arms and girded their loins, but not against the fascists. As one voice they belled forth their disapproval of those fanatics who would not let a fascist talk, who were not willing to hear all points of view."

—*"Fascism and Free Speech," Soapbox*, April 1939

This is the kind of militant anti-fascist protest which the SWP/YSA today denounces as "ultra-left" and "adventurist." But the SYL with pride upholds the militant traditions of Trotskyist anti-fascist campaigns. The SWP/YSA line can only result in more Scott Nelsons appearing on campus and more cops swarming through Boston. We stand instead for labor/black defense against right-wing attacks and fascist mobilizations.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Defend Anand Kumar!

CHICAGO—The long arm of the repressive Indira Gandhi regime has reached from India to the University of Chicago (UC) campus. Gandhi's government—which since the June 1975 "Emergency" has jailed thousands of opponents from both left and right and "suspended" virtually all civil liberties—has found a new victim in Anand Kumar, an Indian graduate student in sociology at UC.

Anand Kumar, a prominent supporter of petty-bourgeois populist opposition leader J.P. Narayan, has had his Indian government scholarship revoked on the basis of "adverse reports received by the government [of India] on his activities in this country." He has been ordered to return to India, where he would without doubt join the multitude of left and liberal "detainees" crowding the dungeons of the Gandhi dictatorship.

In response to the politically motivated termination of his student status, UC has granted Kumar a temporary scholarship. But the Indian government's moves against Kumar continue to represent a grave threat to his safety and his very life. The persecution of Anand Kumar is clearly intended as a warning to the many Indian students in North America who have protested Gandhi's iron-fisted crackdown on all oppositionist activity.

A defense campaign for Anand Kumar has begun at UC and other campuses. Initiated by the UC-based International Student Defense Committee (ISDC), the campaign demands the restoration of Kumar's scholarship by the Indian government, the end to the witchhunt against him and the cessation of Gandhi's anti-democratic measures in India. Despite our political differences with Kumar and our political opposition to J.P. Narayan's popular-frontist Opposition bloc, the SYL has

participated in the defense effort from the beginning, attending planning meetings, circulating petitions, publicizing the case and advocating a large public meeting on the case at UC.

In meetings of the ISDC the SYL and the Partisan Defense Committee, an anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, have argued for the formation of a broad-based, united-front committee to defend Anand Kumar (which the ISDC has opposed) and have fought against the sectarian attempt to exclude "ideological" organizations from the ISDC. The move against political organizations began when Maoist-influenced ISDC members proposed the exclusion of the SYL. But the ISDC ended up excluding *all* organizations; it is now open only to "individuals acting as individuals." Despite the exclusionist decision that makes it impossible for us to be part of the ISDC, the SYL and PDC will continue to actively defend Kumar.

On April 21 at UC a spirited demonstration protested the visit of Indian Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Dharmakir Sinha. About 40 students picketed, chanting "Hands Off Anand Kumar," "End the State of Emergency," "Restore Freedom of the Press," "Smash the Police State" and *inquilab zindabad* ("Long Live the Revolution"). Among the slogans raised by the SYL in addition to "Hands Off Anand Kumar" were "Smash Indira, Workers to Power" and "Asian, Latin, Black and White: Workers of the World, Unite!"

A meeting at UC to defend Anand Kumar has been scheduled for May 6. Hands Off Anand Kumar! Indian Government: Restore Kumar's Scholarship! Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers and Students! ■

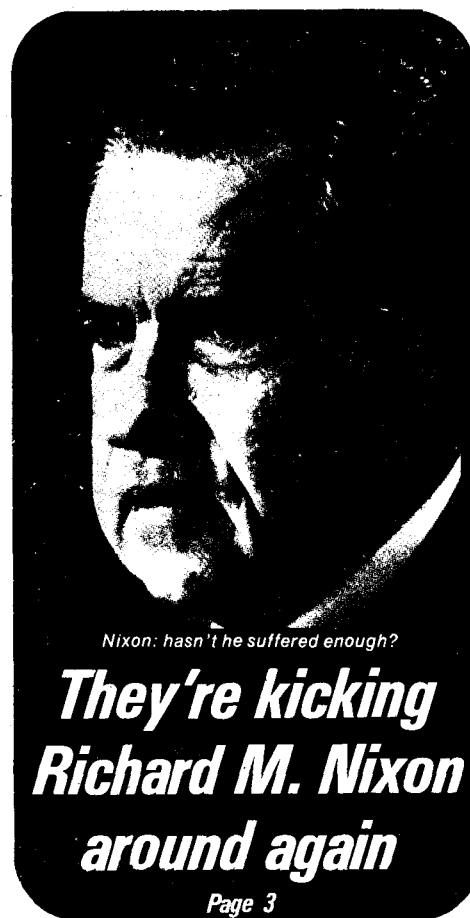
What disgusting cynicism and shameless hypocrisy! Now the SWP/YSA is preaching that the black masses can rely upon the troops and cops to "defeat" the racists in the white communities, even though they will not "protect" the black people from racist attack. Yet demanding martial law in South Boston can only enflame the raging racist reaction, while leaving the black people of Boston unorganized and defenseless. The SWP/YSA still refuses to politically support labor/black defense or to devote its resources toward rallying support for mass mobilization of the labor movement and black organizations which could lead to labor/black defense, instead of building reliance upon the armed fist of capitalist oppression.

Cops Out of the Ghetto— For Labor/Black Defense!

The racist offensive sweeping Boston today will not be stopped by the imperialist U.S. army or the racist Boston cops, the hired guns of the capitalist class.

In counterposition to the SWP/YSA and its liberal darlings, we say that only the tactic of labor/black defense can defeat the racist offensive and drive forward the struggle against racial discrimination. Only the development of an independent defense based on the mass organizations of the working class and black community can rouse the embattled black masses with new hope and confidence, providing an effective means to channel the enormous pent-up anger of the black masses. Without an organized and authoritative defense force, the just rage boiling in the black community will inevitably be dissipated or misdirected in outbursts of retaliatory violence directed randomly against whites as well as self-defeating clashes with the cops.

SUPPORT BUSING—EXTEND SUPPORT TO THE SUBURBS! COPS OUT OF THE BLACK COMMUNITIES—FOR LABOR/BLACK DEFENSE AGAINST RACIST ATTACKS! ■



Nixon: hasn't he suffered enough?

**They're kicking
Richard M. Nixon
around again**

Page 3

NIXON'S Guardian ANGEL

Are they kidding?! Perhaps the Maoist *Guardian* of April 14 is just trying to be ultra-sarcastic when its front-page box, announcing a review of *The Final Days* by Woodward and Bernstein, asks, "Nixon: hasn't he suffered enough?" Yet, like its Peking mentors, who have just brought this crook and mass murderer back to China as an esteemed statesman, the *Guardian* stresses in its review that Nixon really is no worse than any other bourgeois leader. Unable to "explain" Mao's rehabilitation of Nixon, the *Guardian* might well beseech Mao, "haven't we suffered enough?!"

B.U. Cutbacks Provoke Protests

Alan Bergstein



Spartacus Youth League contingent marching in 500-strong demonstration against drastic cutbacks at Boston University on April 8 (above). Over the last few weeks a series of mass meetings and large marches have protested tuition hikes and budget cuts imposed by BU president John Silber. Student careerists dominating the movement on campus have made the call for the resignation of Silber the main issue, while stifling political discussion on proposals raised by the SYL and others and turning mass meetings into rallies for the faculty and deans opposed to Silber. When opposition to the budget cuts was finally declared to be "unrealistic," the SYL withdrew from the Student Union coalition. NATIONALIZE BU—FOR STUDENT/WORKER/TEACHER CONTROL OF THE UNIVERSITIES! DEMAND OPEN ADMISSIONS AND NO TUITION AT BU!

Boston...

continued from page 2

black defense to stop racist attacks. However, with the liberal politics of the march, and given the present extreme racial tension in Boston and lack of community support for the march, it would be irresponsible to urge militants to participate in the April 24 march."

—*Workers Vanguard*, 23 April 1976

Now the SWP/YSA and NSCAR suddenly "realize" that the capitalist armed forces no "victory" for black people and the struggle for black equality. Like a voice from the jaws of defeat, the SWP/YSA and its NSCAR are opposing troops for the black communities of Boston but demanding troops for the racist strongholds! Wails Maceo Dixon, "These troops should be sent to South Boston, Charlestown, East Boston, Hyde Park, and other racist strongholds to deal with the racist lawbreakers and *not*... I repeat, and *not* into our community."

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SYL Midwest Educational Meets

Young Spartacus



Over the weekend of April 16-18 more than 125 supporters of the Spartacus Youth League and Spartacist League gathered in Chicago for an SYL midwest educational conference. The main sessions of the conference were devoted to a presentation on Marxism and the 1848 revolution, a discussion of class-struggle defense policies, national and regional reports of SL and SYL activities, and a vivid account of the city workers' strike in San Francisco by a comrade from the Bay Area. The educational follows similar SYL gatherings on the East Coast and West Coast.

S.F. Strike...

continued from page 5

solidarity, which no other left organization in the Bay Area has demonstrated, SYL supporters have earned recognition and respect from many of the strikers. The bureaucrats' red-baiting attack on the "Spartacuses" has largely fallen on deaf ears, while many workers have welcomed our support.

Our Task

On campus the SYL has worked to win students to actively support the city workers' strike. In several leaflets and forums, as well as two united-front rallies, the SYL has explained the issues involved in the strike, cut through the anti-labor hysteria whipped up by the bourgeois media and presented the revolutionary program of Trotskyism as the only guide for victory to the struggles of the working class. We recalled how in 1968, during the Richmond oil workers' strike, San Francisco State students joined the picket lines in large numbers. The strikers reciprocated by coming to San Francisco State during the student/worker/teacher strike against president Hayakawa.

The SYL-initiated Emergency Committee to Support the City Workers Strike, organized as a united front based on the demand "Victory to the City Workers' Strike," has organized contingents of students to walk the



San Francisco State students rally in support of city workers.

picket lines. In addition, the SYL has sent its supporters to join the International Longshoreman's and Warehouseman's Union Local 6 picket lines at Victor California, where for the last nine months secretaries have been fighting for union recognition.

Strike-support activities on campus in the Bay Area can play an important role in mobilizing broad support for the strike and undercutting the attempt of the bourgeoisie to rally the petty bourgeoisie against the working class. At the time of the 1934 general strike, the Berkeley Placement Center was established for the sole purpose of recruiting student scabs to break the general strike; 1,600 scabs were drawn

from the Berkeley campus and housed on a barge off the Embarcadero, well-protected from the militant strikers lining the waterfront. While today students are not turning out to break the strike, nevertheless, the prevailing mood on campus toward the strike ranges from apathy to hostility.

On April 15 the Emergency Committee held a rally in support of the city workers' strike on the Berkeley campus of the University of California. Receiving media coverage from Channels 5 and 9 as well as from Pacifica radio KPFA, the rally featured as speakers the president of AFSCME Local 1695, the vice president of the Muni drivers' union, a spokesman for SEIU Local 250, a representative from the ILWU currently striking at Victor California, Howard Keylor of the *Longshore Militant* group, the Spartacus Youth League, Progressive Labor Party, Workers and Oppressed United and the Emergency Committee. Funds were collected for the defense of arrested strikers, and a meeting following the rally mapped out plans for organizing car pools to transport students across the Bay to join the picket lines.

A week later, on April 22, the Emergency Committee organized a similar rally at San Francisco State University, which attracted about 150 students. Speakers included a representative from the machinists' union, a Muni bus driver, Howard Keylor of the *Longshore Militant*, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, the Progressive Labor Party, and the Spartacist League and SYL.

Fake Lefts Capitulate

In sharp contrast to the energetic work of the SYL on campus, other left organizations have all capitulated in varying degrees to anti-strike sentiments among students. The rhetoric-spouting Revolutionary Student Brigade was simply overwhelmed by events and retreated into a "business-as-usual" daze, organizing a competing Bicentennial rally to expose the role of the capitalists... 200 years ago.

The Stalinist Progressive Labor Party, on the other hand, did occasionally walk the picket lines. The urgency of the situation in San Francisco, moreover, prompted Progressive Labor to transcend its usual sectarianism and agree to participate in a rally initiated by "Trotskyites." While calling for students to support the strike and join the picket lines, Progressive Labor nevertheless declared that on campus students should concentrate on "fighting"... racist textbooks. This is simply an opportunist gesture enabling Progressive Labor to pose as the "revolutionary communists" on the picket lines while avoiding having to draw the class line on the campus.

Most craven, however, was the role of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA). At Berkeley the SWP/YSA refused to support the united-front rally, which had received significant labor endorsement, on the basis that it was "sectarian" (?). But apparently the Berkeley rally, and the united front built for the San Francisco State

rally, changed its mind, for the SWP/YSA spokesman at the San Francisco State rally declared, "These kinds of rallies are decisively important."

On the contrary, "decisively important" is the struggle within the unions to extend the city workers' strike into a general strike. But *this* is opposed by the SWP/YSA! Prominent SWP/YSA spokesman Nat Weinstein informed a *Workers Vanguard* reporter that the SWP/YSA opposed a general strike and favored a "modified defeat"!!

Crawling before labor bureaucrats who have never sold out a strike only because they have never led one, the SWP/YSA pushes protest rallies as a means to "modify" the defeat:

"A single modest [!] escalation of strike pressure—such as closing down the airport—is possible, practical, and necessary. Even a one-day mass mobilization on a Saturday, when support could be mustered from non-striking workers as well, would go a long way toward reversing the tide of battle."

—Militant, 23 April 1976

Yet even the hardened labor bureaucrats admit that "It's either capitulation or a general strike." To call for a Saturday afternoon picnic or parade is less than a capitulation.

Now is not the time for passivity. There must be militant and united action of the entire city labor movement to shut down San Francisco and defeat the union-busting offensive of the Board of Supervisors.

To be successful a general strike must defend the interests of all city workers. It must demand: No Pay Cuts! Smash Prop B! Reopen All City Workers Contracts! For a Big Pay Boost and Full Cost-of-Living Allowance For All City Workers! No Layoffs—For a Shorter Workweek With No Loss in Pay! Defend the Right to Strike! Down With All Anti-Labor Legislation!

Forward to a General Strike!

The Board of Supervisors now holds up the specter of municipal "bankruptcy" if it doesn't get its union-busting way. By "bankruptcy," of course it means that the city will not be able to keep up its huge payments on the debt service of city bonds held in the main by the large banks.

The working class has no interest in maintaining these wealthy parasites or their oppressive government. We must demand cancellation of the city debt and expropriation of the banks and all large industry without compensation. Such a task cannot be accomplished under the capitalist government. The government of the bosses must be swept away and replaced with a workers government, run in the interests of all the working people and committed to the expropriation of the entire capitalist class and the institution of rational economic planning.

To accomplish this task the working class needs its own political party standing for a workers government and against the Democratic Party and all phony "friends of labor." Such a party can be forged only through the struggle to oust the labor bureaucrats and mobilize the labor movement for the struggle for socialism. BUST THE UNION BUSTERS! FOR A SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL STRIKE! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

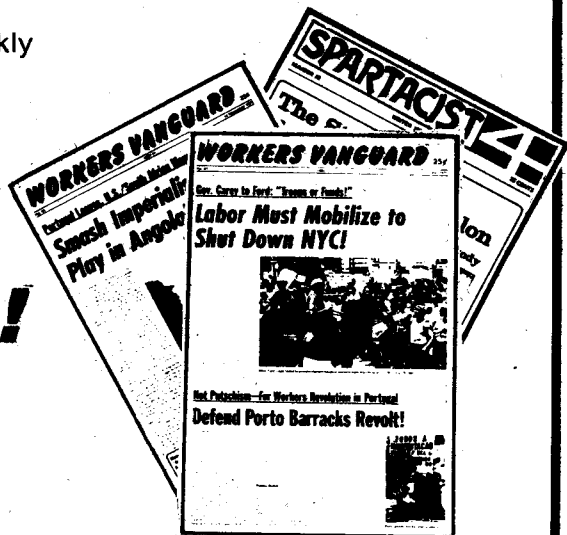
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Save Mario Muñoz...

continued from page 12

But the fight has just begun. The campaign must span oceans and continents. It must mobilize a broad range of political opinion. Important first steps have been made with the support received from Labor Party and trade-union leaders in Australia and Canada as well as personalities such as Jiri Pelikan, former Central Committee member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and now editor of the Paris-based opposition journal, *Listy*. In addition, Amnesty International from London issued an Urgent Action memorandum on behalf of Mario Muñoz.

Recently the Committee to Defend

With the 1970 electoral victory of the class-collaborationist Unidad Popular, Muñoz used his authority to compel the popular-front leaders not to intervene against the mine seizures. In 1971 Muñoz joined the Socialist Party, but at once led a left opposition against the anti-labor policies of Allende.

When the Unidad Popular government finally took a stand against the mine seizures and launched a campaign of slander against Muñoz, he publicly denounced the government policy and continued to lead mine seizures in bold defiance of the increasingly frenzied Unidad Popular tops. At one point Muñoz led a column of miners to Santiago and occupied the central offices of the Ministry of Mines and the National Mining Enterprise in a successful effort to force the government to grant the workers the deeds to a seized mine.

In the period immediately preceding the rightist coup which toppled Allende,

During these last few months before the coup Muñoz took the lead in organizing local workers and peasants councils in Valparaiso and Aconcagua to resist the reactionary threat. When the military finally struck, it issued orders to shoot Mario Muñoz on sight. With his life in danger Muñoz and his family managed to escape across the Andes mountains into Argentina, leaving behind a brother murdered by the reaction.

In Argentina Muñoz has thrown himself into aiding and defending Chilean refugees, for which he was ordered out of the country by the Peronist government. Faced with repression Muñoz went underground in Argentina. Within hours of the coup, the junta launched a manhunt for Muñoz, sealing off the entire province of San Juan and pouncing upon his compañera and children, beating and intimidating them in an unsuccessful attempt to learn the whereabouts of Muñoz.

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz has begun to organize public meetings and demonstrations to focus public attention on the fate of Muñoz and the thousands of other leftists held or hunted by the Argentine junta.

On April 17 in Chicago over 125 people picketed the Argentine consulate, chanting "Chilean Workers' Leader Must Not Die!" and "Videla/Pinochet, Hands Off Mario Muñoz!" The picket-line demonstration later rallied at a nearby downtown plaza and heard speeches of solidarity from the Partisan Defense Committee, international Spartacist tendency, Trotskyist League

of Canada, International Socialists, International Workers Party and the Revolutionary Socialist League.

The following week, on April 22, a New York City demonstration called by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz brought together 175 people for a militant picket line. Reverberating against the walls of the Argentine consulate were chants such as "Mario Muñoz, Workers' Leader Must Live to Lead Again!" and "Stop Videla's Witchhunt, Free Class-War Prisoners!"

Participating in the demonstration and addressing the crowd were representatives of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, Partisan Defense Committee, Purchase College Fightback Coalition, Revolutionary Socialist League, League for a Revolutionary Party, Communist Cadre, International Workers Party, Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee, as well as trade-union militants from rank-and-file caucuses in the United Auto Workers and National Maritime Union.

In the days and weeks ahead more demonstrations, meetings, press conferences, delegations, telegram campaigns and other forms of protest will be undertaken and organized. Only a powerful campaign of international solidarity can save the life of Mario Muñoz and his family!

STOP THE MANHUNT--HANDS OFF MARIO MUÑOZ! FREE ALL VICTIMS OF RIGHT-WING REPRESSION IN ARGENTINA AND CHILE! ■

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

I endorse
 My organization endorses
the international defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz, organized around the demands:

Hands off Mario Muñoz!
Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!
Free all victims of right-wing repression in Argentina and Chile!
Stop the Manhunt!

Name _____
Organization _____
Address _____

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

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

the Worker and Soldier Prisoners in Chile released a biographical statement on Muñoz, which makes it vividly clear why this militant is so hated by the Argentinian junta ("Mario Muñoz: Miner, Working-Class Leader, Hunted Refugee," *Workers Vanguard*, 30 April 1976).

Before the 1973 coup in Chile, Mario Muñoz, a miner since the age of 14, rose to become a recognized leader of the Chilean mine workers. In 1968 Muñoz organized the Interprovincial Union of Contract Miners in the provinces of Valparaiso, Aconcagua and Santiago. For years a leading militant in the Chilean Communist Party (CP), Muñoz led numerous mine seizures and class-struggle union mobilizations. Through these struggles Muñoz developed links with the peasants in the region, and the Interprovincial Union extended its support to the seizures of large estates by the peasants. When the CP refused to support these class-struggle policies, however, Muñoz and his supporters quit the CP in disgust.

Muñoz broke with the class collaboration of the Socialist Party. As described by the account of the Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile:

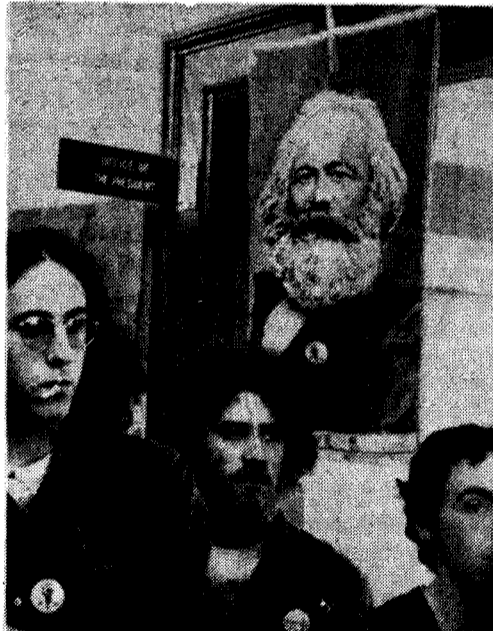
"Shortly before the coup a mass meeting of miners took place in the building of the UNCTAD workers in downtown Santiago, where Muñoz met with Allende. In addition to assuring him of the unconditional support of the miners to defend the government against the impending reactionary coup, Muñoz asked how long he (Allende) would continue betraying the workers' interests in open conciliation with the bourgeoisie. Some parties of the UP, principally the CP, tried to prevent Muñoz' speech with goons in the service of their treacherous politics. The miners forcefully defended workers democracy and their leader, and marched afterward to the center of Santiago shouting 'Break with the Bourgeoisie!' and 'Stop the Fascist Coup!' As a result Muñoz broke with the social-patriotism of the SP, demanding freedom for workers and peasants (of Panama, etc.) imprisoned by the UP government."

—"Mario Muñoz: Miner, Working-Class Leader, Hunted Refugee"

On March 31 at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, students began an occupation of the office of University President Morton Appley, demanding that radical professor Alan Gummerson be granted tenure and that "Marxist" instruction be given a permanent place in the Clark curriculum. According to Administration decision Gummerson, who has taught at Clark for six years and would gain tenure at the end of his seventh, will not be rehired next year.

only that Gummerson be retained in some capacity, without tenure.

By the time the sit-in was abandoned, a TAG spokesman was declaring "Gummerson is no longer the issue," and the ranks of the hunger strikers had shrunk to ten. TAG left the president's office with only one of its original demands—amnesty—met by the University. Alan Gummerson will not teach in any capacity at Clark next year, and "Marxist" studies await a similar fate: the Administration has



Clark Sit-In Backs Radical Professor

The Clark Socialist Union, a grouping of radical and liberal students, initiated the formation of the Tenure Alan Gummerson committee (TAG), which organized the sit-in. Reflecting the strong student sentiment supporting Gummerson, over 50 students maintained the occupation for nine days, despite threatened cop action. But in spite of the militancy of the TAG supporters, they failed to rally widespread support behind their cause; most Clark students remained apathetic, while some were actively hostile to the occupation.

Midway through the sit-in approximately 40 students began a hunger strike. While further dramatizing the demands, a hunger strike is only a moral gesture and cannot substitute for an active campaign to involve larger numbers of students in the struggle. At the same time, TAG reduced its demands, asking

agreed to no more than a "full and fair hearing through the normal channels for proposals to develop a program for Marxist study" (*Harvard Crimson*, 10 April). While President Appley intoned that "All concerned recognized that the university could not and did not compromise its principles," a TAG spokesman was reduced to "hoping and praying for good faith" from the Administration (*Crimson*, 10 April).

This defeat was not recognized by TAG and its supporters; on the contrary, many viewed the outcome as a "victory," and the mood at a post-occupation party was described as "jubilant."

But Clark students should expect no "good faith" from the Administration. The threatened firing of Gummerson should be met by the demand: **NO ADMINISTRATION FIRINGS!**

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Trotskyist League of Canada

TORONTO: Box 222, Station B, Toronto, Ontario, or call (416) 366-4107
VANCOUVER: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 299-5306

Young Spartacus

Chilean Workers' Leader Hunted by Argentine Junta For International Labor Solidarity To Save Mario Muñoz!



Young Spartacus

Chicago demonstration demands, "Hands Off Mario Muñoz!"

An international campaign has been launched to save the life of Mario Muñoz, Chilean mine workers' leader presently being hunted down by the murderous Argentine junta.

This campaign to protest the repression in Argentina and to pressure the junta to grant Mario Muñoz and his family a safe exit from Argentina is being conducted by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz, jointly sponsored by the European-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee (an anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League).

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz has undertaken an international campaign based on the demands, "Hands Off Mario Muñoz!," "Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!," "Free All Victims of Right-Wing Repression in Argentina and Chile!" and "Stop the Manhunt!"

Mario Muñoz Salas is a Chilean mine workers' leader who was forced to flee Chile when the military coup overthrew the Unidad Popular regime in September 1973 and unleashed a ferocious reign of terror against leftists. A living symbol of undaunted courage and revolutionary determination, Mario Muñoz once again stands in the death shadow of a junta which has issued a

death warrant: "shoot Muñoz on sight." Already Muñoz' compañera and children have fallen into the clutches of the barbarous junta and have been tortured.

The fate of Mario Muñoz is the fate of thousands of Paraguayan, Uruguayan, Brazilian and other Latin American refugees now trapped in Argentina. His cause is our cause, the cause of the international brotherhood of labor. From around the world a mighty voice of protest must be raised to stay the hands of the Argentinian executioners and compel the junta to permit Muñoz and his family to exit the country safely. Not a single moment must be lost in this urgent campaign to rescue this exemplary working-class leader from death!

The plight of Mario Muñoz was first brought to the attention of the world working-class movement in an appeal issued last month by the Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile ("Urgent Appeal for Solidarity to Save Mario Muñoz," *Workers Vanguard*, 16 April 1976). Within days of its publication the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz secured endorsements from dozens of prominent individuals, trade unionists, socialists, labor and civil libertarian organizations. Now the Committee has the backing of an array of organizations and individuals (see box below).

continued on page 11

Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

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

ENDORSERS:

Raymond Lee Abraham, Jr., B.S.O.C.
Eqbal Ahmad
All-African People's Revolutionary Party
Argentinian Support Movement, London
Associated Student Government, Northwestern University*
Daniel Berrigan
James Bond, City Council of Atlanta, Ga.*
Fred Branfman
Laurie Brereton, Legislative Assembly, New South Wales, Australia*
Andrew Brewin, Member of Parliament, New Democratic Party* (NDP), Canada
Ed Broadbent, Leader, NDP*
Hon. Dr. Jim Cairns, House of Representatives, Australian Labor Party*
Canadian Labor Congress
Joe Carnegie, Dir., Brooklyn Fight Back*
John Carroll, Esq., Southern Poverty Law Center*
Hon. Dr. Moss Cass, House of Representatives, Australian Labor Party*
Noam Chomsky
Coalicion de Latinoamericanos
Communist Cadre
Fred Cohn, Atty.
Senator Ruth Coleman, Australian Labor Party*
Comandos de la Resistencia de la Republica Dominicana
Comite Pro Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en la Republica Dominicana
Committee Against Friedman/Harberger Collaboration with the Chilean Junta
Community Action on Latin America, Madison
Robert H. Cowen, Math Dept., Queens College*
Dave Dellinger
Desmond Trotter Defense Committee

Edward Disanto, Member of Parliament, NDP*
Frank Donner, Gen. Counsel, U.E., member ACLU*
Rosie Douglas
Jan Dukasczta, Member of Parliament, New Democratic Party, Canada*
Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action
Alexander Erlich, Prof., Russian Inst., Columbia U.*
Thomas I. Emerson, Prof. of Law, Yale*
Federated Engine Drivers and Firemans Association of Australia, Victoria and New South Wales branches
Mario Felmer, Chilean Young Socialists*
Friends of Indochina
Barbara Garson, author
Eugene Genovese, Prof. of History, Rochester U.*
Arthur Gietzett, Senator, Australian Labor Party*
Jorgen Goderstad, Chairman, S. Central Wisconsin local, Socialist Party*
Harvey Goldberg, Prof. of History, U. of Wisconsin*
Dick Gregory
Will Haasch, pres., Local 507 GAIU, Madison*
Burton Hall, Atty.
Frank Hardy, novelist
Harlem Fight Back
James Houghton, Harlem Fight Back
Tom Hayden
Nat Hentoff
Janice Howard, Alderman, 7th Ward, Toronto*
Independent Caucus, FFT, New Jersey State College*
Ted Innes, House of Representatives, Australian Labor Party*
International Socialists, Chicago local

International Student Defense Committee, U. of Chicago*
International Workers Party
Dale Johnson, Prof. of Sociology, Rutgers U.*
E. Roy John, M.D.
Sanford Katz, Atty.
Florynce Kennedy, Atty.
Ronald Kent, Field Rep., Wisconsin State Employees Union, AFSCME*
Noah Kimerling
Rose Kirk, Chief Steward, OCAW Local 7507*
Pat Knight, Pres., SSEU Local 371* (verbal)
Labor Struggle Caucus, UAW Local 6*, Chicago
Lavender and Red Union
League for the Revolutionary Party
Gerald Lefcourt, Atty.
John Leggett, Assoc. Prof. of Sociology, Rutgers U.*
Stu Leggett, Member of Parliament, NDP*
Sidney Lens, author
Ben Levy, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee*
Longshore Militant, S.F.
Salvador Luria, Nobel Laureate
Conrad Lynn, Atty.
Staughton Lynd, author
Herbert Marcuse
Militant Caucus, S.F.
Militant-Solidarity Caucus, NMU*
Militant Solidarity Caucus, UAW Local 906*
John Mitchell, International Rep., Meatcutters Union*
Ian Mueller, Dir. of Grad. Studies in Philo., U. of Chicago
Mark Naison, Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians Society*
National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression, Chicago chapter
National Jury Project
National Lawyers Guild, Massachusetts chapter
Ira Katz Nelson, Assoc. Prof., Pol. Sci., U. of Chicago*
New American Movement, U. of Chicago*
David Newby, State V.P., Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, AFT*
New York Unemployed Council
Richard Newhouse, Dem., Ill., State Sen.
Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Union, District Council 8
Dr. Philip Oke, U.N. Rep., Christian Peace Conference*
Dean Peerman, *Christian Century**

James Petras
Jiri Pelikan
Adam Przeworski, Assoc. Prof., Pol. Sci., U. of Chicago*
Rank and File Coalition, UAW Local 6*, Chi.
Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee
Bill Robinson, Exec. Brd., Local 634, AFSCME
John Rodriguez, Member of Parliament, New Democratic Party of Canada*
Norm Roth, former Pres., UAW Local 6*, Chicago
Richard Rubenstein, Prof. of Pol. Sci., Roosevelt U.*
Jay Schulman, National Jury Project
Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine
Dennis Serrette, Pres., Coalition of Black Trade Unionists*
James J. Sheehan
Sylvia Sherman, Sec'y, Local 171 AFSCME
Ship Painters and Dockers Union, Victoria, Australia
Socialist Party, S. Central Wisconsin local
Roney L. Sorenson, Alderman Dist. 5, Madison, Wisconsin*
Martin Sostre
Spartacist League
Spartacus Youth League
Stan Steiner, author *La Raza*
I. F. Stone
Doris E. Strieter, Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile*
Walter Teague, Friends of Indochina
Studs Terkel, author
Rip Torn, actor/director
University of Chicago Student Government
United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA)
Gordon Vichert, Prov. Sec'y, Ontario New Democratic Party, Ontario, Canada*
Richard and Cristina Whitecross
Sidney E. William, Youth Vision Integrity*
Women and Revolution
Women's Coffee House Collectors, Ltd.
Bernard Wiltshire, Desmond Trotter Defense Committee
Howard Zinn
Marvin Zonis, Prof., U. of Chicago*

*Organization listed for identification purposes only

Partial listing

Individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, work with the Committee and/or contribute financially should fill out the blank on page 11.